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Europe: Electoral Implications

- Should investors worry about a populist Europe? Our short answer is not yet, but the growing share of votes directed towards hard- and far-right parties needs monitoring. More importantly, heavy elections defeats for German Chancellor Olaf Scholz and French President Emmanuel Macron have likely damaged their political capital.
- Although the hard-right and far-right parties' share of the vote has been rising steadily, the number of seats they obtained in these European parliamentary elections is not high enough to exert any obvious control over policy making. Indeed, the mainstream parties (conservatives, social democrats and centrists) have enough seats for a majority.
- Yet, hard- and far-right parties' influence is growing on issues ranging from tougher immigration policies to a stronger push-back against the 'green agenda'. A more protectionist Europe with a greater focus on its industrial policy and less open to EU enlargement might also be the consequence of this shift to the right.
- Will Macron's political gamble pay off? After a crushing defeat in the EU Parliamentary elections on Sunday 9 June, French President Emmanuel Macron declared that in accordance with Article 12 of the constitution, he was dissolving the lower house of parliament. Legislative elections take place over two rounds separated by one week.
- We see two main scenarios: 1) Either far-right National Rally (RN) becomes the largest party in parliament but without a stable coalition partner to govern, or 2) voters judge that RN is too risky and return a Presidential majority in the lower house but with a centre-right bias, paving the way for a president from the right in 2027. Either way, Macron's attempt to dynamite the French political system would have lasted only a decade.
- **UK: All change on July 4th?** Polls have been extremely stable and the gap between the Conservatives on 23% and Labour on 44% remains at an impressive 21 percentage points.
- One new factor that could reduce the number of seats that the Conservative party hopes to retain is the decision by Reform UK leader Nigel Farage to enter the fray and to present a candidate in as many constituencies as possible to win seats from the Conservatives.

Portfolio implications

- On May 22, 2024 our Global Investment Committee upgraded both Europe ex-UK and Swiss equities from a neutral to an overweight position in our risk level 3 USD model portfolio. Over the next 12-18 months, we remain positive on these markets, believing they offer investors the opportunity to broaden out their exposure from US equities.
- In the last two days, the 10-year OAT-Bund spread has widened by 17bp to 65bp, its highest level since March 2020 at the peak of the pandemic. Such levels of government bond yields are starting to become more attractive given fiscal constraints that EU governments find themselves subjected to as part of their euro currency membership. Note that RN under the leadership of Marine Le Pen removed 'Frexit' from its policy agenda after losing to Emmanuel Macron in the second round of the 1997 Presidential elections.

Should investors worry about a populist Europe?

Our short answer is not yet, but the growing share of votes directed towards hard- and far-right parties needs monitoring. More importantly, heavy elections defeats for German Chancellor Olaf Scholz and French President Emmanuel Macron have likely damaged their political capital, perhaps hampering their ability to deliver on important issues for Europe when deals are being made in the European Union Council of heads of states and governments.

Europe has been displaying a stronger appetite for populism and nationalism. This much is clear from the results of the EU parliamentary elections that were held at the end of last week in the 27 EU member states.

Since 2004, the share of the hard-and far-right vote has been rising markedly in the EU parliamentary elections (FIGURE 1). These parties tend to attract voters who respond to the concept of populism and nationalism. The former could be defined as a political approach to appeal to people who feel that their concerns are disregarded by the elite or the establishment more broadly. The latter often stand further to the right of the political spectrum, expressing a desire to share the same ethnic group, culture, language and to form an independent country, while fighting against the evils of globalization.

An example of a recent populist movement in Europe was the 'Vote Leave' campaign in the United Kingdom to take the country out of the EU during the 2016 referendum (i.e.: Brexit). The campaign pitted 'sovereigntists', whose highly effective motto was to 'take back control' against the 'Remain' camp, which they defined as the internationalist pro-immigration elites who benefited from the status quo and the perceived lack of direct democratic control.

Preliminary EU elections results show that in the eight largest countries (representing 77% of total population), hardand far-right parties obtained 130 seats, roughly 31% of parliament. Spain is the country with the smallest percentage of the hard- and far-right vote with around 15%, while France is topping the table with 43% (FIGURE 2).

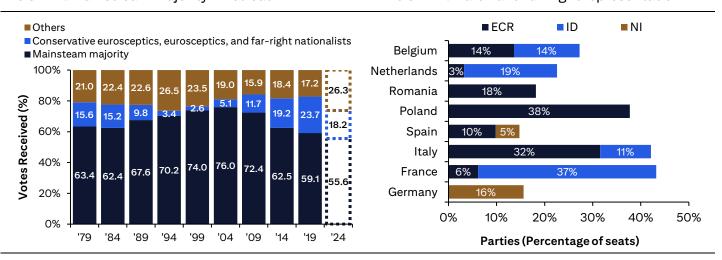
Although the hard-right and far-right parties' share of the vote has been rising steadily, the number of seats they obtained in these European parliamentary elections is not high enough to exert any obvious control over policy making. Indeed, the mainstream parties (conservatives, social democrats and centrists) have enough seats for a majority.

But their influence is growing, and they could find themselves supporting the mainstream conservatives on issues of shared concerns, ranging from tougher immigration policies to a stronger push-back against the 'green agenda.' A more protectionist Europe with a greater focus on its industrial policy and less open to EU enlargement to other member states might also be the consequence of this shift to the right in coming years.

For the time being, it is not obvious how these hard- and far-right parties could agree on a common policy platform (given fundamental differences on defence issues, as well as the role of the EU itself) to create a signal group in the EU parliament that would lead to a shift in the current political equilibrium.

FIGURE 1: Mainstream majority in retreat

FIGURE 2: Hard- and far-right representation



Sources: https://results.elections.europa.eu/ and Citi Global Wealth Investments, as of June 11, 2024. ECR (European conservatives and reformist, hard-right), ID (Identity and Democracy, far-right), NI (Non-attached).

Will Macron's political gamble pay off?

After a crushing defeat in the EU Parliamentary elections on Sunday 9 June (**FIGURE 3**), French President Emmanuel Macron declared that in accordance with Article 12 of the constitution, he was dissolving the lower house of parliament. Legislative elections take place over two rounds separated by one week. The first round will be on Sunday 30 June and the second round on Sunday 7 July.

This announcement was a surprise, but President Macron concluded that this was the only way to deliver political stability, arguing that "France needs a clear majority in serenity and harmony." Macron's decision came after his 'Need for Europe' list came second with around 15% of the vote, while the National Rally (RN) of Marine Le Pen got twice as much.

Polling institutes are working frantically to estimate how many seats RN could obtain in the lower house compared to the 2022 elections when it came third, obtaining some 18.7% of the vote and 89 seats in the 577-seat parliament.

On Monday, the four main parties on the left of the political spectrum (Socialists, Unbowed France, Communists, and Greens) agreed to resurrect their Nouvelle Union Populaire Ecologique et Sociale (NUPES) alliance and to present a single 'Popular Front' candidate in each of the 577 constituencies. There is yet no indication whether the Conservatives (LR) could envisage some alliance with President Macron's coalition of centrist parties. However, there are indications of negotiations between parties on the far right.

A first online poll conducted by Toluna Harris Interactive between 9-10 June suggests that RN would likely obtain around 34% of voting intentions, ahead of NUPES with 22%, followed by President Macron's Renew and allies with 19%. LR would come a distant fourth with 9% of voting intentions.

Seat projections suggest that RN would be in pole position (**FIGURE 4**), with a range of 235–265 (up from 89). Despite being the only party to make gains versus 2022, it would fall short of the 289 seats for an absolute majority. Renew and allies would gain between 125 and 155 seats (down from 249), and NUPES would be in third place, having between 115 and 145 seats (down from 153). LR would come last, obtaining between 40 to 55 (seats down from 74).

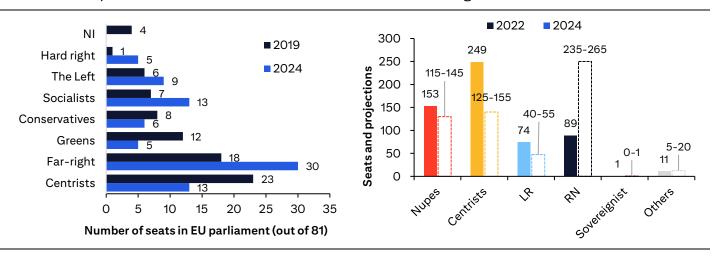
President Macron will likely have to change his prime minister on 7 July, based on the political equilibrium that will yield an alternative government majority. The last president to be in the same situation was conservative Jacques Chirac, who had to work with Socialist Party leader Lionel Jospin from 1997 until the end of his 7-year term in 2002.

Macron's gamble might still pay off. Either RN becomes the largest party in parliament but without a stable coalition partner to govern, or voters judge that RN is too risky and return a Presidential majority in the lower house but with a centre-right bias, paving the way for a president from the right in 2027. Either way, Macron's attempt to dynamite the French political system would have lasted only a decade and resulted in increased political polarisation.

If Macron's gamble were to back-fire, it would leave him as a lame duck domestically and with a diminished standing on the European stage, likely reducing the likelihood of big decisions being adopted by the EU Council when necessary.

FIGURE 3: European elections 2019 vs. 2024

FIGURE 4: Legislative elections



Sources: https://results.elections.europa.eu/, Toluna Harris Interactive for Challenges and Citi Global Wealth Investments, as of June 11, 2024. Past performance is no guarantee of future returns.

UK: All change on July 4th?

Polls have been extremely stable in the UK during the past week. The gap between the Conservatives on 23% and Labour on 44% remains at an impressive 21 percentage points. PM Rishi Sunak has been struggling to explain to the electorate why he cut short an international gathering of world leaders to mark the 80th anniversary of D-Day in Normandy. Conversely, Labour leader Keir Starmer has continued to stress that the country needs change after 14 years of conservative rule and that he would remain committed to the fiscal plans of his opponents.

One new factor that could reduce the number of seats that the Conservative party hopes to retain is the decision by former Brexit party leader and now Reform UK leader Nigel Farage to enter the fray and to present a candidate in as many constituencies as possible to win seats from the Conservatives (**FIGURE 5**).

In our <u>January 2024 note on the UK elections and asset price movements</u>, we concluded that while equities have been largely politically agnostic, the UK gilts and sterling markets tend to be more reactive to fiscal (and monetary) policies. We continue to believe that the most important variable likely to influence the price of UK assets will be any meaningful changes by the new administration to the current restrictive trajectory of fiscal policy.

Portfolio implications

On <u>May 22, 2024 our Global Investment Committee</u> upgraded both Europe ex-UK and Swiss equities from a neutral to an overweight position in our risk level 3 USD model portfolio. Over the next 12-18 months, we remain positive on these markets, believing they offer investors the opportunity to broaden out their exposure from US equities.

In the short-term, there is a significant risk that investors will wait for the results of these two parliamentary elections and assess the lay of the land before committing any fresh capital. Yet, we doubt that a possible change of political majority would have lasting negative implications on the valuation of companies listed on these stock exchange, given the significant share of their earnings coming from non-domestic and/or non-European sources.

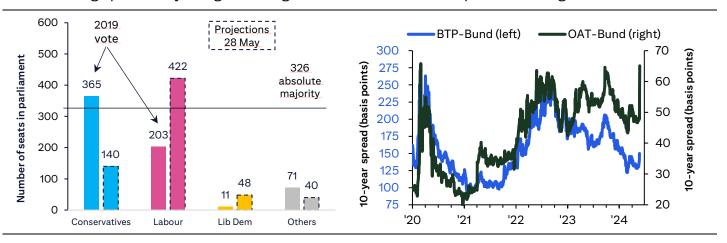
At the time of writing on Tuesday 11 June, the market reaction to the snap French elections has been broadly negative. The CAC-40 index is on a three-day losing streak, down almost 3% versus last Thursday's close before Friday's US employment report. The euro has been weakening against most G10 currencies, losing around 0.6% versus the US dollar to 1.0730 since President Macron's announcement.

More important perhaps, the sovereign bond market has reacted negatively to the possibility of less fiscal rectitude. The French 10-year yield is up 19bp to 3.29%, while the German Bund 10-year yield is up 2bp to 2.63%, pushing the 10-year OAT-Bund spread up by 17bp to 65bp, its highest level since March 2020 at the peak of the pandemic (**FIGURE 6**).

Such levels of government bond yields are starting to become more attractive given fiscal constraints that EU governments find themselves subjected to as part of their euro currency membership. Note that RN under the leadership of Marine Le Pen removed 'Frexit' from its policy agenda after losing to Emmanuel Macron in the second round of the 1997 Presidential elections.

FIGURE 5: High probability of regime change

FIGURE 6: Spread widening has been sizeable



Sources: YouGov MRP poll for SkyNews, Bloomberg and Citi Global Wealth Investments, as of June 11, 2024.

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High quality (very strong)	Aa	AA	AA
Upper medium grade (Strong)	А	А	А
Medium grade	Baa	BBB	BBB
Not Investment Grade			
Lower medium grade (somewhat speculative)	Ва	ВВ	ВВ
Low grade (speculative)	В	В	В
Poor quality (may default)	Caa	CCC	CCC
Most speculative	Ca	CC	CC
No interest being paid or bankruptcy petition filed	С	D	С
In default	С	D	D

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² The rating from AA to CC by Standard and Poor's and Fitch Ratings may be modified by the addition of a plus or a minus to show relative standings within the category.

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- · restrictions on transferring interests in the Fund;
- · potential lack of diversification and resulting higher risk due to concentration of trading authority when a single advisor is utilized;
- absence of information regarding valuations and pricing;
- complex tax structures and delays in tax reporting;
- · less regulation and higher fees than mutual funds; and
- manager risk.

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