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US Policy Pulse

2024 General Election Series

The 2024 general election series consists of monthly reports examining the relationship between financial markets, the economy and electoral outcomes. Please note this series will be published in addition to our flagship *US Policy Pulse* reports.

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New in This Edition

- President Biden faces two key risks: Sticker inflation and slowing growth weigh on consumers, while some domestic social unrest on US Middle East policy may impact his favorability. However, former president Trump faces a conviction risk, and some voters may withdraw support if he is convicted before the election.
- Trump's court cases have reduced his fundraising and campaigning presence while Biden maintains a strong funding and cash advantage.
- Biden's historically high disapproval rating remains above Trump's at this point in his term, while Trump continues to lead polling in all swing states.
- Congress passed a \$95 billion supplemental funding bill for Ukraine, Israel and Taiwan. Biden has announced greater import tariffs on a number of Chinese industrial and clean energy goods.
- Two Senate Democrats and an independent who caucuses with the Democrats have announced retirements. Since two of those seats are in battleground states, we see the potential to flip control to the Republicans, while redistricting in the House of Representatives may switch control to the Democrats.
- Consumer sentiment declined significantly in May to a six-month low and remains below the election-year average, which by historical standards, now indicates a Republican presidential victory. Sentiment among independents fell by more than either party and remains anchored to Republican sentiment.
- Our analysis of industries that may benefit from a Democratic or Republican win indicates that the stock market may be positioning for a GOP victory.

The 2024 General Election

The 2024 election is just months away and will have significant investor implications. The next president will play an important role in developing tax and trade policy, addressing budget deficits and the debt ceiling and navigating geopolitical unrest. Given the highly consequential nature of this election, we leverage financial market and economic data to guide investors and identify risks and opportunities as they develop. While this report focuses on current

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performance, we encourage investors to refer to our [History of General Election Performance Part 1](#) and [Part 2](#) reports for our comprehensive and historical election views.

What's New in Policy

The extent to which President Biden and former president Trump can frame this election to their advantage is critical. Trump aims to cast the election as a referendum on Biden's term in office, while Biden seeks to frame it as a choice between him and Trump. However, Biden faces two risks: economic uncertainty and foreign policy. Stickier inflation and slowing growth complicate Federal Reserve policy this year and hint at a weaker overall economic picture, weighing on households. The economy is historically a top indicator for reelection chances. Second, domestic social unrest from the Middle East war has impacted Biden's favorability, especially if younger and more left-leaning voters, who make up much of his base, abstain from voting.

That said, a risk remains for Trump too: criminal conviction. Just some voter withdrawal due to a criminal conviction may sway the election in Biden's favor. Even absent a conviction before Election Day, Trump's court cases have reduced his presence on the campaign trail and hurt his fundraising efforts, where Biden has a \$40 million cash advantage and can deploy more resources to swing states.

Congress successfully passed a \$95 billion supplemental military funding bill for Ukraine, Israel and Taiwan in April. Meanwhile, Biden aims to increase import tariffs on steel, aluminum and various clean energy goods from China. Ahead

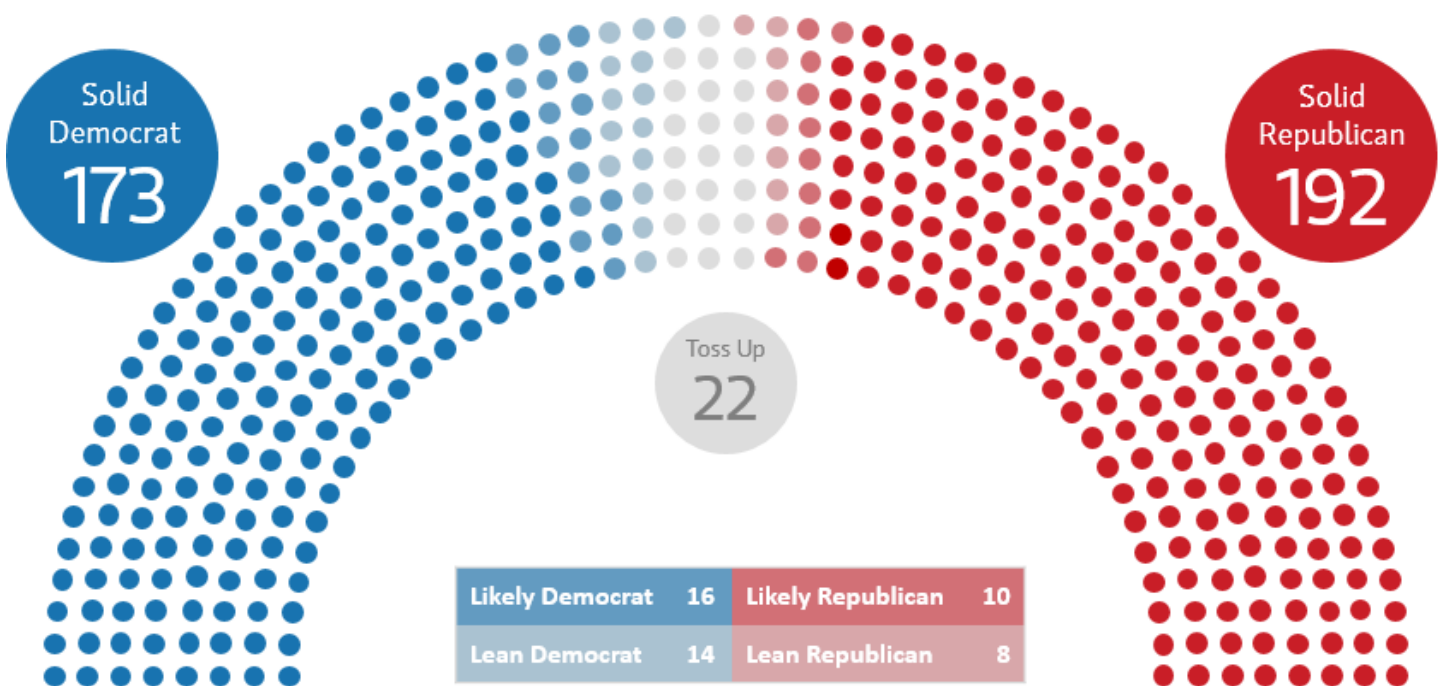
of the election, he has also cancelled a total of \$160 billion, or 10% of total outstanding student debt, via multiple batches of loan forgiveness, which may help attract more voters.

The House of Representatives

Republicans currently maintain a narrow 217-213 majority over Democrats in the House of Representatives, with four GOP and one Democratic seat vacant, allowing for just one Republican to defect before tipping control to the Democrats. The balance of power is subject to change further, as every two years all 435 House seats are up for election. Its ultimate composition is dependent on several factors, including candidate electability, voting trends shifts due to redistricting and the combination of retirements and legislators seeking other public offices. As of this writing, 45 House members (20 Republicans and 25 Democrats) are leaving their seats either due to retirements or in pursuit of other office.

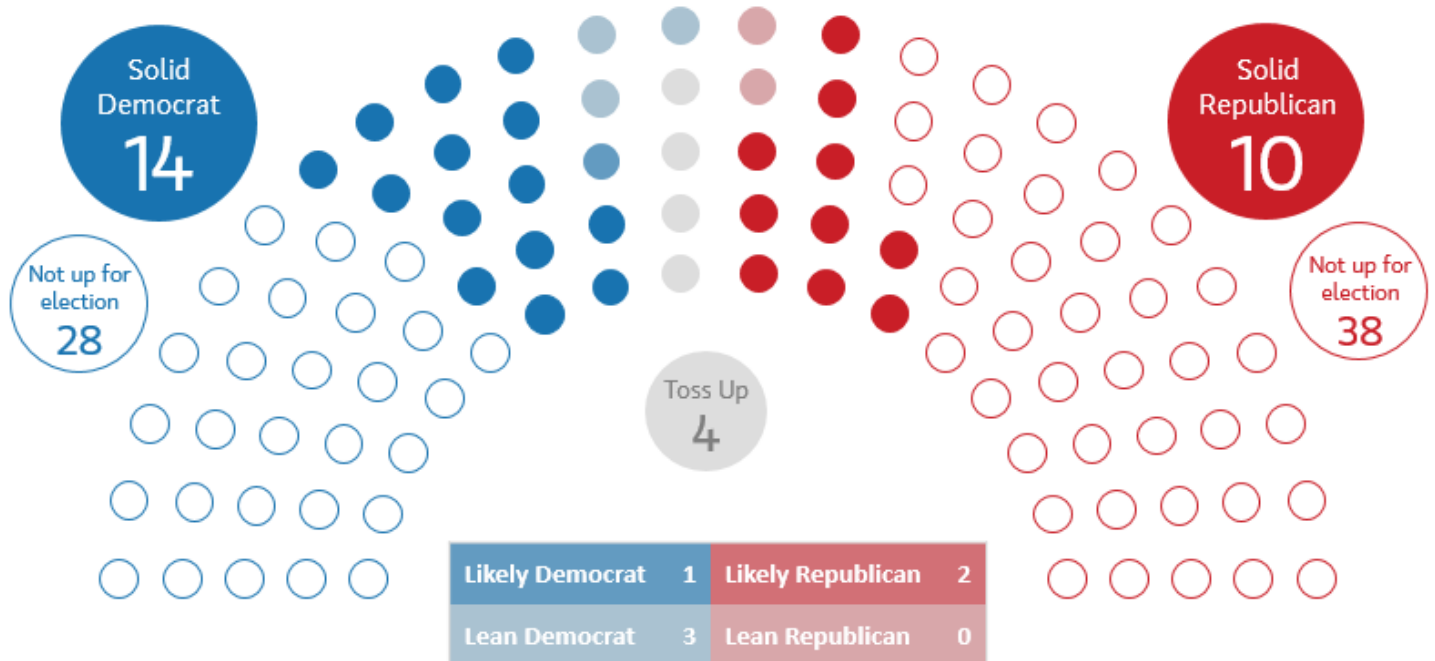
While both parties see opportunity in certain races, we anticipate the House is likely to fall under Democratic control, primarily due to advantages from recent congressional redistricting. Furthermore, the Cook Political Report (CPR) projects that 173 seats are solidly Democrat—not considered competitive—while 30 seats are likely or lean Democrat. It projects 192 solidly Republican races, with 18 likely or lean Republican races (see Exhibit 1). Importantly, CPR also considers 22 races "toss ups," adding considerable competition to the fight to control the House.

Exhibit 1: House Race Competitiveness



Source: Cook Political Report, Morgan Stanley Wealth Management Global Investment Office as of May 13, 2024

Exhibit 2: Senate Race Competitiveness



Source: Cook Political Report, Morgan Stanley Wealth Management Global Investment Office as of May 13, 2024

The Senate

In the Senate, Republicans maintain 49 seats, while Democrats and independents who caucus with them give Democrats a slim 51-49 majority. Unlike the House, where all seats are up for election every two years, Senate terms are six years so only one-third of seats are up every two years. Of those seats up this year, CPR now rates 14 solid Democrat, 10 solid Republican, four likely or lean Democrat and two likely or lean Republican. Four seats are now considered "toss ups" (see Exhibit 2). We believe this breakdown puts the Democratic majority in the Senate at risk: specifically, the retirement of Sen. Joe Manchin (D-WV) opens a seat in a state where Trump won 69% of the vote in 2020. The retirement of Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (I-AZ) opens another seat in a state which Biden won by a narrow 10,000 votes in 2020. Lastly, the retirement of Michigan Democrat Debbie Stabenow sets up a potential flip in another swing state.

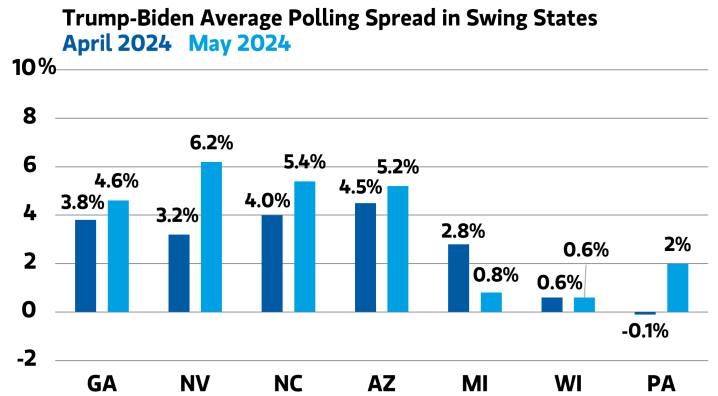
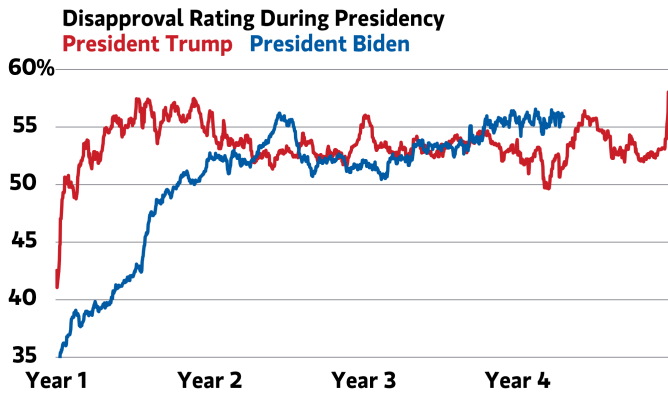
The Presidency

Biden's historically high disapproval rating of 56% exceeds former President Trump's 51% at this point in his term (see Exhibit 3, left). Concerns remain among voters about the president's age and health, as well as his handling of other issues such as the economy and foreign policy. Inflation has fallen but is stickier than expected and many voters still view high costs of living as their top concern. Escalating Ukraine and Middle East conflicts, as well as immigration issues and social unrest, further pressure his favorability.

In contrast, according to RealClearPolitics polling averages, Trump currently leads Biden in all seven swing states, each of which were decided by less than three percentage points in 2020. Trump has shaken off Biden's State of the Union bump and increased or maintained his lead in six of the seven swing states since last month, though he has lost ground in Michigan, a highly competitive state (see Exhibit 3, right).

However, Biden has a \$55 million cumulative fundraising lead, and \$40 million cash-on-hand lead, according to Federal Election Commission filings. Though fundraising does not ensure victory, the pace of donations positions Biden to expand campaign and advertising operations in swing states prior to the election. As the longest US presidential election campaign kicks off, both candidates will focus their rhetoric on painting starkly different pictures of America, especially on economics and foreign policy.

Exhibit 3: President Biden Remains Unpopular Among Voters, While Trump Extends His Lead in Swing States

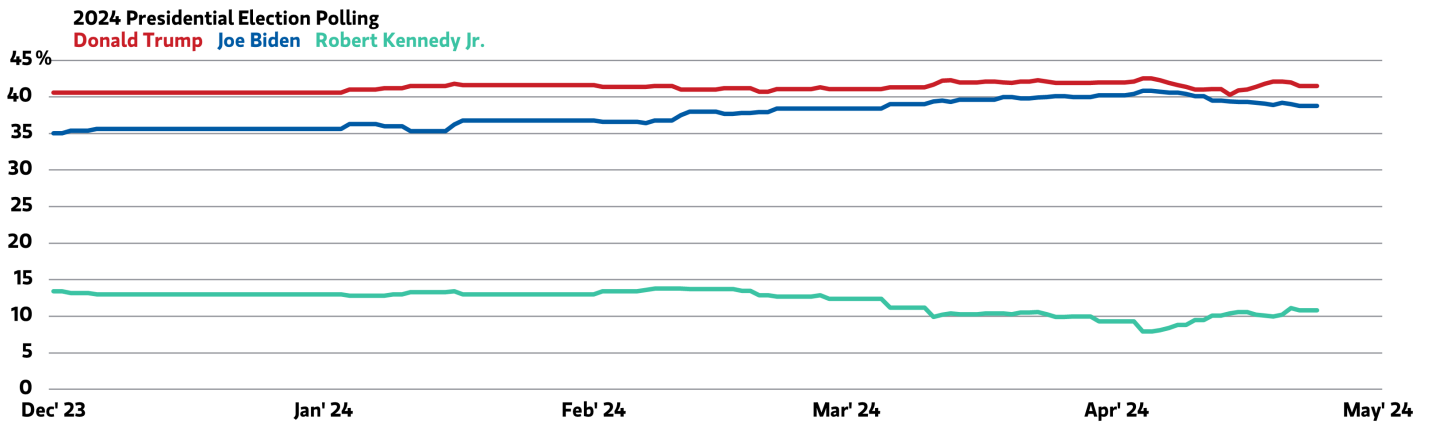


Source: 538, RealClearPolitics, Morgan Stanley Wealth Management Global Investment Office as of May 13, 2024

Polling for Trump, Biden and Robert Kennedy Jr., the leading independent, shows notable disparities as well. In average polling, Trump leads Biden by three points, while Kennedy polls at almost 11%, up from 8% in mid-April (see Exhibit 4). Though winning the presidency outright may be difficult, the historically high disapproval of the two major party candidates provides an opening for a challenger who offers an alternative to the established parties (see Exhibit 4). As in 2016 and 2020, where just a football stadium’s worth of

votes decided the outcome, Kennedy’s polling is crucial to watch in 2024, as his relatively strong polling can divert votes away from major-party candidates, especially in battleground states. Throughout their campaigns, both Trump and Biden will not only seek to retain their votes against Kennedy but will also need to pull voters away from Kennedy as long as his polling numbers remain high. As a result, we expect sustained rhetoric from both established candidates against Kennedy for the remainder of his campaign.

Exhibit 4: Third Party Candidates Could Impact Major Party Candidate Polling in the Near Term



Source: RealClearPolitics, Morgan Stanley Wealth Management Global Investment Office as of May 13, 2024

Macroeconomics, Markets and the Election

Macroeconomic Indicators

While not the only determinant, presidential outcomes are correlated with voter sentiment on the economy, namely GDP in the months prior to an election. According to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a 5% increase in GDP results in a corresponding 6% gain in incumbent vote share. As such, slower annualized first quarter GDP of 1.6% has corresponded to a 2% drop in Biden’s approval rating this year.

Beyond GDP, voters’ perceived wealth is often connected to inflation and the “economic pinch.” For example, Morgan Stanley & Co. Research’s latest AlphaWise survey shows inflation and the economy to be the top concern for 61% of consumers. As geopolitical risks weigh, average US gasoline prices are up over 10% this year and almost 50% since Biden took office. Wage growth is slowing and unemployment is on an uptrend, while stickier than expected inflation may lead to higher for longer Fed policy and risks overtightening. Taken together, much of Biden’s reelection chances hinge on a patchwork of geopolitical, inflationary and economic outcomes, and the extent of drag on consumer confidence.

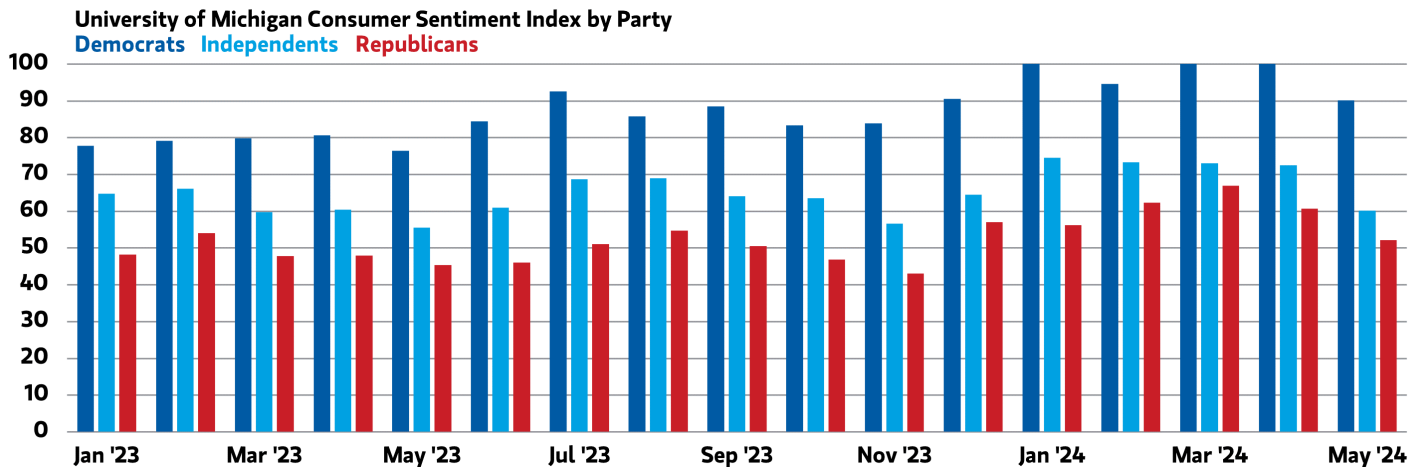
The University of Michigan Consumer Sentiment Index (MCSI), a proxy for consumer confidence, fell 10 points to a

six month low of 67.4 on a preliminary basis in May, from 77.2 in April. The index remains below its pre-pandemic level and its historical election year average of 85.0, indicating hesitancy about the economic outlook amid election uncertainty. In fact, consumer sentiment was only this low in May of an election year five other times, three of which resulted in the unseating of the incumbent and another time resulting in a party change, given it was an open election.

Analyzing sentiment by political party, we unsurprisingly see high readings among Democrats and low readings among Republicans today, which is historically consistent depending on the party in office. For Democrats and Republicans, sentiment fell 11 points and eight points respectively, in May, but fell 12 points for independents. Aside from this larger deterioration, consumer sentiment among independents is anchored closer to readings among Republicans, rather than Democrats, perhaps pointing to the direction in which independents may lean come Election Day (see Exhibit 5).

Overall, the index has a positive correlation of 0.5 with incumbent presidential wins and losses, with the index at 92, on average, when the incumbent party wins and at 80, on average, when the incumbent party loses. While the MCSI continues to point to a Republican win we emphasize that it is but one of many possible leading indicators of election results and we encourage investors to consider economic conditions holistically (see Exhibit 6).

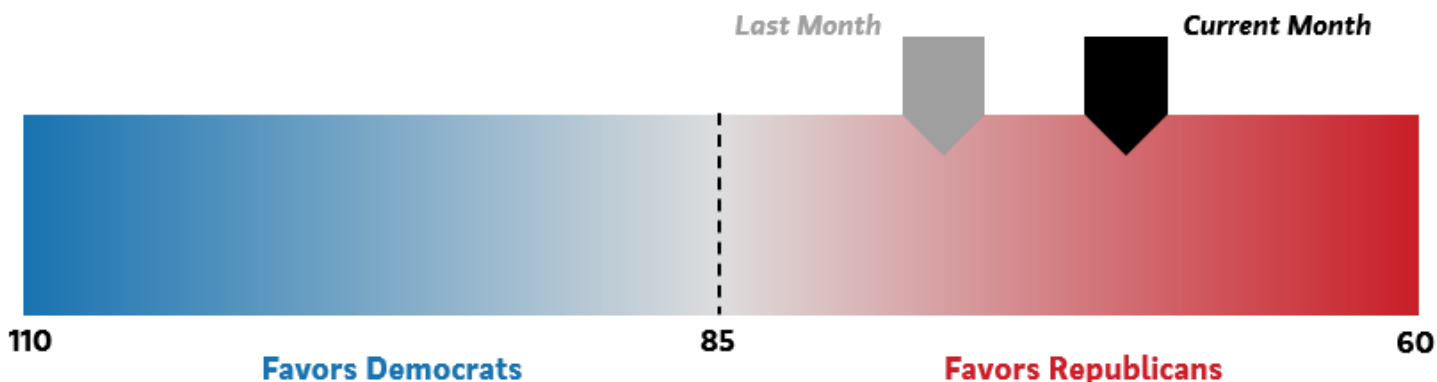
Exhibit 5: Consumer Sentiment Among Independents Remains Anchored Closer to Republicans Rather Than Democrats



Note: Latest index reading is preliminary
 Source: Bloomberg, Morgan Stanley Wealth Management Global Investment Office as of May 13, 2024

Exhibit 6: Consumer Sentiment Fell Significantly and Still Favors Republicans

University of Michigan Consumer Sentiment Index



Note: Latest index reading is preliminary
 Source: Bloomberg, Morgan Stanley Wealth Management Global Investment Office as of May 13, 2024

Market Indicators

On average, the S&P 500 rises in election years. As investors seek to position their equity portfolios ahead of the election, we find that overall, the market tends to outperform in the second half over the first half of election years relative to nonelection years as confirmation of party nominees dispels some uncertainty. When analyzing market performance by sector, patterns emerge that may serve as opportunities for investors around elections since political outcomes and policy platforms can impact an industry’s regulation and profitability. For example, if investors anticipate a Republican win, utilities, energy, financials and industrials may track the strong performance of those sectors in election years when Republicans won. Conversely, information technology and consumer discretionary performed best when a Democrat was the eventual winner (see Exhibit 7). We believe that

investment opportunities in certain sectors and industries may arise as Election Day approaches.

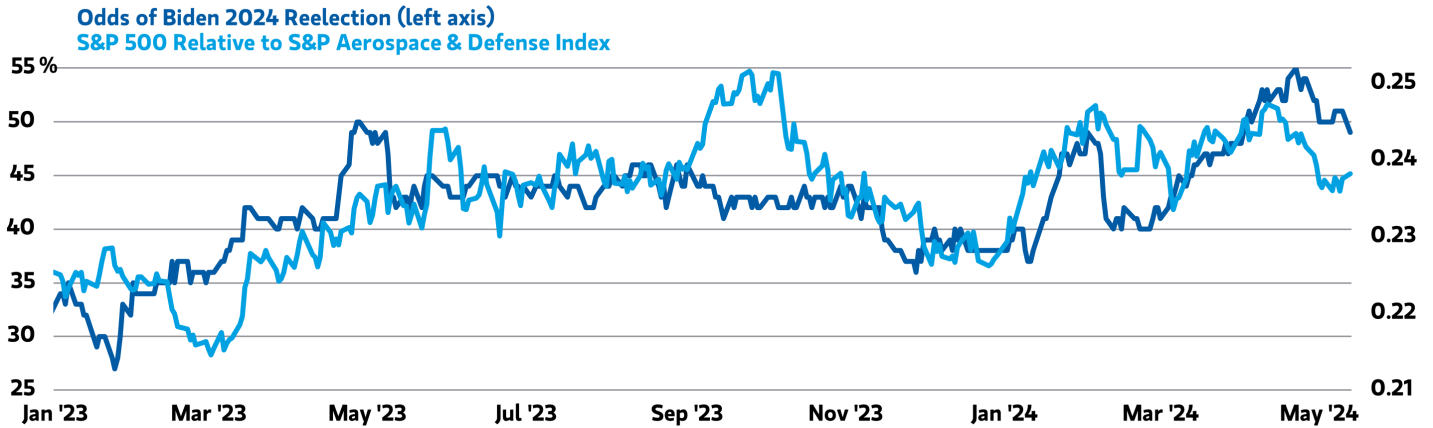
For example, although Congress has passed a \$95 billion supplemental defense bill, US election uncertainty still hangs over the industry. As such, the S&P 500 relative to the defense sector has closely tracked Biden’s reelection chances. When his chances have improved, defense has underperformed the broader market while defense has outperformed when his odds have fallen (see Exhibit 8). Although this follows the traditional assumption that Republican presidents are more supportive of defense sentiment, this view may be challenged in 2024, as Trump and many GOP members appear less receptive to Ukraine funding and favor an end to the war, which may negatively impact defense sentiment in the near term.

Exhibit 7: Sector Returns By Democrat and Republican Election-Year Wins

Republican Win Average Performance in Election Year							Democratic Win Average Performance in Election Year						
	Full Year	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	YTD		Full Year	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	YTD
S&P 500	2.8%	1.4%	0.1%	-0.1%	1.3%	9.5%	S&P 500	3.2%	-3.3%	3.7%	2.0%	0.0%	9.5%
Information Technology	-8.9%	4.4%	-3.3%	-3.8%	-6.4%	12.0%	Information Technology	11.1%	0.7%	6.5%	2.4%	-1.0%	12.0%
Health Care	10.5%	-2.3%	10.4%	-1.9%	3.7%	5.0%	Health Care	0.6%	-5.3%	2.2%	2.8%	0.3%	5.0%
Energy	21.9%	3.2%	6.7%	6.7%	3.8%	11.7%	Energy	-10.3%	-12.1%	10.6%	-5.8%	1.0%	11.7%
Consumer Discretionary	-1.4%	-0.6%	-3.5%	-1.4%	3.5%	2.4%	Consumer Discretionary	9.4%	0.5%	5.0%	4.2%	-0.7%	2.4%
Consumer Staples	7.7%	-2.5%	5.7%	-2.5%	8.5%	8.4%	Consumer Staples	4.7%	-2.6%	2.4%	5.3%	-0.4%	8.4%
Communication Services	-2.0%	5.8%	-3.4%	-4.1%	-2.8%	18.6%	Communication Services	2.0%	-8.7%	7.2%	-0.8%	4.4%	18.6%
Utilities	27.8%	8.3%	2.8%	10.3%	4.5%	12.2%	Utilities	-7.4%	-7.9%	4.5%	-3.0%	-0.9%	12.2%
Real Estate	10.9%	5.6%	-0.4%	0.9%	4.8%	-5.6%	Real Estate	-11.3%	-2.9%	3.1%	0.8%	-12.0%	-5.6%
Materials	2.4%	-4.0%	-3.4%	-0.7%	11.2%	7.1%	Materials	0.8%	-0.4%	4.1%	-1.1%	-1.7%	7.1%
Financials	17.3%	0.2%	-1.6%	9.0%	9.8%	10.5%	Financials	6.1%	-3.6%	-1.9%	3.8%	3.3%	10.5%
Industrials	12.2%	0.5%	2.5%	3.9%	5.1%	9.7%	Industrials	1.9%	-2.8%	0.7%	2.3%	1.3%	9.7%

Note: Percentages indicate sector performance for each election-year quarter or other period, ending on Dec. 31 of that election year.
 Source: Bloomberg, Morgan Stanley Wealth Management Global Investment Office as of May 13, 2024

Exhibit 8: Defense Has Closely Tracked Biden’s Reelection Odds

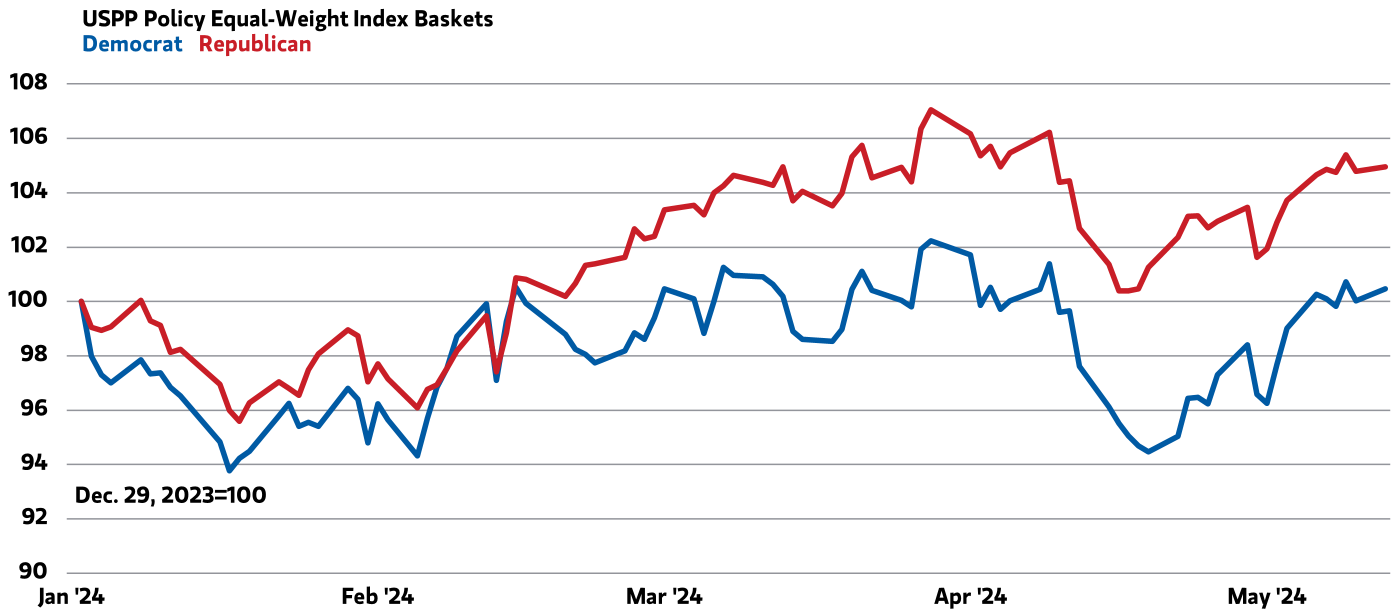


Source: Bloomberg, PredictIt.org, Morgan Stanley Wealth Management Global Investment Office as of May 13, 2024

We developed two political party equal-weight baskets, each tracking 12 sector and industry exchange-traded funds (ETFs) positioned to benefit from either a Democrat or Republican victory. For example, sectors and industries that we expect to benefit from Democratic policymaking include clean energy, including electric vehicles (EVs) and solar; managed care; infrastructure; defense; and technology, including

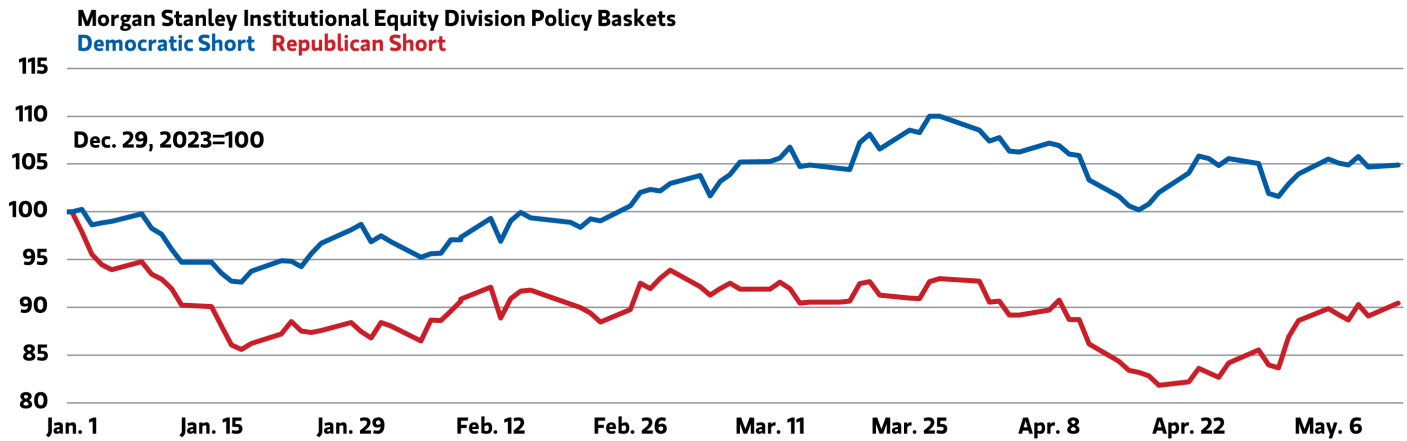
cybersecurity and semiconductors. Areas that may benefit most from a Republican win include traditional energy, master limited partnerships, utilities, materials, real estate, blockchain technology, banks, pharma and biotechnology. The Republican basket has outperformed the Democratic basket by over 4.5% this year, potentially indicating market positioning for a Republican win (see Exhibit 9).

Exhibit 9: Republican Equal-Weight Basket Has Outperformed the Democratic Basket



Source: Bloomberg, Morgan Stanley Wealth Management Global Investment Office as of May 13, 2024

Exhibit 10: Investors May Be Avoiding Stocks Vulnerable to a Trump Win



Source: Bloomberg, Morgan Stanley Institutional Equity Division, Morgan Stanley Wealth Management Global Investment Office as of May 13, 2024

Analyzing election-related market performance from a different angle, we considered two baskets of stocks from Morgan Stanley’s Institutional Equity Division: a Democratic short basket, which contains stocks that may be disadvantaged should a Democrat win the White House, and a Republican short basket containing stocks that may perform poorly from a Republican win (see Exhibit 10). The Republican short basket, which continued its year-to-date relative underperformance to more than 15%, indicates that investors could already be hedging against a Trump victory by selling stocks that would be negatively affected. In other words, the market may be bracing for changes to the status quo, mostly impacting companies with exposure to higher tariffs, less support for EVs or potential repeal of parts of the Inflation Reduction Act.

Investment Conclusion

A highly consequential and uncertain election is just months away, with implications for the future of federal debts and deficits, tax and trade policy, national security, health care and more. At this early stage, both parties have their presumptive nominees, setting up the first presidential election rematch since 1956. The trajectory of the economy and inflation, as well as social unrest due to foreign policy pose a risk to the Biden campaign, while Trump’s legal complications have kept him away from the campaign trail. In Washington, Congress has successfully passed a supplemental military aid bill amid the escalating geopolitical tensions, while the Biden administration has pursued initiatives relating to trade, sanctions and student loans.

Consumer sentiment data has deteriorated significantly, and remains below election year averages, while sentiment among independents has fallen even further, anchoring closer to Republican sentiment than Democrat. This continues to suggest a Republican win. Analyzing market returns in election years, we find that opportunities may emerge in energy, utilities, financials and industrials if investors anticipate a Republican win, and in information technology and consumer discretionary if investors expect a Democratic win. Finally, when assessing performance of the USPP Policy Equal-Weight Index Baskets and the Morgan Stanley Institutional Equity Division Policy Baskets, we see the stock market positioning for a GOP win.

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Index Definitions

For index, indicator and survey definitions referenced in this report please visit the following:

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Glossary

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Because of their narrow focus, **sector investments** tend to be more volatile than investments that diversify across many sectors and companies. **Technology stocks** may be especially volatile. Risks applicable to companies in the **energy and natural resources** sectors include commodity pricing risk, supply and demand risk, depletion risk and exploration risk. **Health care sector stocks** are subject to government regulation, as well as government approval of products and services, which can significantly impact price and availability, and which can also be significantly affected by rapid obsolescence and patent expirations.

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