Santander

ECONOMICS

Brazil Macro Compass

Combine and Conquer: Time for Political Alliances

Luciano Sobral* lusobral@santander.com.br +5511 3553 3753

Political Agenda: Party Conventions Allowed from July 20

The presidential race in Brazil reaches an important stage next week: the period defined by the Electoral Justice for party conventions starts on July 20. Until August 5 parties can promote their conventions (although conventions are not mandatory) and are expected to make crucial decisions about launching their own candidacies or joining other parties in coalitions.

Coalitions have always been important in Brazil's recent democratic history: in a country that cover almost half of the continent, with many regions having little access to media and/or highly dependent on government transfers, coalition capillarity (quantity and influence of local power brokers) plays an important role in influencing voting. In addition, radio and television advertising quotas, another important campaign tool, are allocated by the government mostly according to the number of representatives from the parties in the various coalitions. Finally, after the Supreme Court prohibition on corporate donations in 2015, the bulk of campaign money is likely to come from public funds, whose allocation is also partially linked to party size. Therefore, the final structure of the coalitions, especially those involving relatively large parties that are not planning to launch their own presidential candidates, should be critically important for the elections' outcome.

The scenario gains in complexity when we add the factor that alliances for presidential elections are not necessarily replicated in elections at the state level (for state governors, senators, and Lower House representatives). Ultimately, each party needs to maximize its political influence after the elections, constrained by mixed regional interests, historical loyalties and rivalries, programmatic orientation, and other factors. History probably can provide some guidance (see our "Chart of the Week" on page 2), but an environment of eroding popularity of the political establishment, the absence of a clear incumbent among the candidates, and polls pointing to strong candidacies from small parties may result in unconventional arrangements.

Congress starts its winter recess on July 17, resuming its activities on August 1.

What's New: Weak Retail Sales in May, as Expected

Core retail sales fell 0.6% m/m in May, in line with our forecast (-0.5% m/m), with rising supermarket sales (+0.6% m/m, probably due to people stockpiling basic goods fearing a prolonged truckers' strike) preventing a worst outcome. However, broad sales, including vehicles and building materials, declined 4.9% m/m, with auto sales plunging 14.6% m/m. We expect a strong rebound in June data, although not fully offsetting the losses recorded in May. 2Q18 data so far points to GDP growth at 0.2% q/q, significantly below our forecast before the strike (0.8% q/q), but still compatible with our recently revised forecast for the full year of 2% growth (for more details, see *Truck Strike: A Preliminary Assessment*, May 29, 2018).

Upcoming Data: May IBC-Br

Brazil's Central Bank releases its monthly GDP proxy (IBC-Br) on Monday (July 16). We estimate that the deterioration caused by the strikes and already manifested in industry, retail, and services data should translate into a 2.3% m/m contraction in the index, in what would be the worst month for economic activity since July 2015. As we noted in "What's New" above, a strong rebound in June should keep 2Q18 GDP growth in positive territory, albeit at a slower pace than we expected previously.

IMPORTANT DISCLOSURES/CERTIFICATIONS ARE IN THE "IMPORTANT DISCLOSURES" SECTION OF THIS REPORT. U.S. investors' inquiries should be directed to Santander Investment at (212) 350-0707.

* Employed by a non-US affiliate of Santander Investment Securities Inc. and is not registered/qualified as a research analyst under FINRA rules, is not an associated person of the member firm, and therefore may not be subject to FINRA Rules 2241 and 2242 and incorporated NYSE Rule 472 restrictions

July 13, 2018

Chart of the Week: Coalitions for Presidential Elections Through Time

1

Our "Chart of the Week" maps how party alliances evolved in the last six presidential elections. At least one historical pattern should hold this year: PT and PSDB launching their own candidates. It is also worth noting that the 2014 election was unusual in that most of the parties picked a side in the first round: between 1998 and 2010, several important parties decided not to support anyone formally, leaving more leeway for mixed arrangements according to regional convenience.

Parties and Coalitions in the First Round of Presidential Elections

Party (current Lower House seats)	1994	1998	2002	2006	2010	2014
PT (61)						
MDB (51)						
PP (49)						
PSDB (49)						
DEM (43)						
PR (40)						
PSD (38)			_	_	_	
PSB (26)						
PRB (21)		_	_			
PDT (19)						
PODE (16)						
PTB (15)						
PROS (11)						
SD (11)						
PCdoB (10)						
PSC (9)						
PPS (8)						
PSL (8)						

1994	1998	2002	2006	2010	2014
	—	—			
_				_	
_					
_				_	_
_					
_	_	_		_	_
		1994 1998	1994 1998 2002	1994199820022006——— <td< td=""><td>19941998200220062010</td></td<>	19941998200220062010

.

1

Launched own candidate Joined PSDB coalition Joined PT coalition



Joined other coalition No candidate/coalition Party didn't exist

Includes alliances made by parties under previous names and before mergers. Sources: Carreirão, Yan de Souza (2014). "O sistema partidário brasileiro: um debate com a literatura recente". *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política* n. 14, 255-295; Superior Electoral Court, Lower House, and Santander.

Number of the Week

0

Brazil's Central Bank net (excluding the rollover of maturing swap contracts) intervention in the FX market has been nil since June 22, when the BRL was quoted at 3.77/USD.

Quote of the Week

There is no sense in putting a limit within the existing [spending] cap.

 Senator Romero Jucá, MDB's national president, proposing an amendment to next year's budget that may allow civil servants to get wage increases (July 12, 2018, on Twitter).



What We've Been Reading

- "Trump's Protectionist Threat to Latin America," by Laura Alfaro, Pablo Guidotti, Guillermo Perry, and Liliana Rojas-Suarez (*Project Syndicate*, July 10, 2018). Countries in Latin America should brace for the (mostly) indirect effects of the Sino-American trade war, the authors argue.
- "Will Brazil's Next President Be a Far-Right Nationalist," by Bruno Carazza (*Foreign Affairs*, July 12, 2018). The author evaluates the odds of Jair Bolsonaro in the presidential race.
- "Brazil's Simmering Democratic Demise," by Katie Hillegass (*War on the Rocks,* July 4, 2018). A bleak view of the expanding role of the military in Brazilian politics.
- "What Nobody Wants to Say About the Current Political Crisis in Brazil," by Rodrigo R. Soares (*Brazil Talk*, July 4, 2018). "The Brazilian political class has not yet fully realized what is at stake in the coming years. If they do not get their act together and respond to popular demand by offering political change through institutional means, the change will take them by surprise."

Recent Publications (Available on Our Website)

- "Lethal Weapon": How Far Can the BCB Go with Swaps? (June 15, 2018)
- Rely on Fundamentals and Carry On (June 8, 2018)
- Truck Strike: A Preliminary Assessment (May 29, 2018)
- Copom Capitulates to Changing Balance of Risks (May 16, 2018)
- Monetary Policy: The Good Governance (May 9, 2018)
- Infinite (Trade) War: Does It Matter for Brazil? (May 2, 2018)



CONTACTS / IMPORTANT DISCLOSURES

Macro Research	1			
Maciej Reluga*	Head Macro, Rates & FX Strategy – CEE	maciej.reluga@bzwbk.pl	48-22-534-1888	
Sergio Galvan*	Economist – Argentina	sgalvan@santanderrio.com.ar	54-11-4341-1728	
Maurício Molan*	Economist – Brazil	mmolan@santander.com.br	5511-3012-5724	
Juan Pablo Cabrera*	Economist – Chile	jcabrera@santander.cl	562-2320-3778	
Diana Ayala	Economist - Colombia	diana.ayala@santander.us	212-350-0979	
Tatiana Pinheiro*	Economist – Peru	tatiana.pinheiro@santander.com.br	5511-3012-5179	
Piotr Bielski*	Economist – Poland	piotr.bielski@bzwbk.pl	48-22-534-1888	
Marcela Bensión*	Economist – Uruguay	mbension@santander.com.uy	5982-1747-5537	
Fixed Income R	esearch			
Diana Ayala	Macro, Rates & FX Strategy – Latin America	diana.ayala@santander.us	212-407-0979	
Juan Arranz*	Chief Rates & FX Strategist – Argentina	jarranz@santanderrio.com.ar	5411-4341-1065	
Juan Pablo Cabrera*	Chief Rates & FX Strategist – Chile	jcabrera@santander.cl	562-2320-3778	
David Franco*	Macro, Rates & FX Strategy – Latin America	david.franco@santandergcb.com	44-207-756-6633	
Aaron Holsberg	Head of Credit Research	aholsberg@santander.us	212-407-0978	
Equity Research	า			
Christian Audi	Head LatAm Equity Research	caudi@santander.us	212-350-3991	
Andres Soto	Head, Andean	asoto@santander.us	212-407-0976	
Walter Chiarvesio*	Head, Argentina	wchiarvesio@santanderrio.com.ar	5411-4341-1564	
Nicolas Schild*	Head, Chile	nschild@santander.cl	5622-336-3361	
Valder Nogueira*	Head, Brazil	jvalder@santander.com.br	5511-3012-5747	
Pedro Balcao Reis*	Head, Mexico	pbalcao@santander.com.mx	5255-5269-2264	
Electronic Media	a			
Bloomberg		SIEQ <go></go>		
Reuters	Pages SISEMA through SISEMZ			

This report has been prepared by Santander Investment Securities Inc. ("SIS"; SIS is a subsidiary of Santander Holdings USA, Inc. which is wholly owned by Banco Santander, S.A. "Santander"), on behalf of itself and its affiliates (collectively, Grupo Santander) and is provided for information purposes only. This document must not be considered as an offer to sell or a solicitation of an offer to buy any relevant securities (i.e., securities mentioned herein or of the same issuer and/or options, warrants, or rights with respect to or interests in any such securities). Any decision by the recipient to buy or to sell should be based on publicly available information on the related security and, where appropriate, should take into account the content of the related prospectus filed with and available from the entity governing the related market and the company issuing the security. This report is issued in Spain by Santander Investment Bolsa, Sociedad de Valores, S.A. ("Santander Investment Bolsa"), and in the United Kingdom by Banco Santander, S.A., London Branch. Santander London is authorized by the Bank of Spain. This report is not being issued to private customers. SIS, Santander London and Santander Investment Bolsa are members of Grupo Santander.

ANALYST CERTIFICATION: The following analysts hereby certify that their views about the companies and their securities discussed in this report are accurately expressed, that their recommendations reflect solely and exclusively their personal opinions, and that such opinions were prepared in an independent and autonomous manner, including as regards the institution to which they are linked, and that they have not received and will not receive direct or indirect compensation in exchange for expressing specific recommendations or views in this report, since their compensation and the compensation system applying to Grupo Santander and any of its affiliates is not pegged to the pricing of any of the securities issued by the companies evaluated in the report, or to the income arising from the businesses and financial transactions carried out by Grupo Santander and any of its affiliates: Luciano Sobral*.

*Employed by a non-US affiliate of Santander Investment Securities Inc. and is not registered/qualified as a research analyst under FINRA rules, is not an associated person of the member firm, and therefore may not be subject to FINRA Rules 2241 and 2242 and incorporated NYSE Rule 472 restrictions.

The information contained herein has been compiled from sources believed to be reliable, but, although all reasonable care has been taken to ensure that the information contained herein is not untrue or misleading, we make no representation that it is accurate or complete and it should not be relied upon as such. All opinions and estimates included herein constitute our judgment as at the date of this report and are subject to change without notice.

Any U.S. recipient of this report (other than a registered broker-dealer or a bank acting in a broker-dealer capacity) that would like to effect any transaction in any security discussed herein should contact and place orders in the United States with SIS, which, without in any way limiting the foregoing, accepts responsibility (solely for purposes of and within the meaning of Rule 15a-6 under the U.S. Securities Exchange Act of 1934) for this report and its dissemination in the United States.

© 2018 by Santander Investment Securities Inc. All Rights Reserved.

