Institutional innovation for the solution to Amazonia’s land ownership problems: the case of the internal affairs department in Mato Grosso

REYDON, Bastiaan Philip, Brazil; BUENO, Ana Karina S. and BUENO, Ana Paula S., Brazil

Keywords: Colonization; cadastre; land structure methodology

Summary
Introduction .................................................................................................................................................. 2
1. The Historical Process of Occupation in Mato Grosso and the Lack of Territorial Ordinance ...... 3
2. Land Ownership Problems Detected Via the LGAF Methodology in the State of Mato Grosso.. 14
   2.1. Lack of understanding of the land ownership base of state and federal origin .................... 14
   2.2. Mismatches on the land ownership base ............................................................................... 14
   2.3. Problems with the state land agency (INTERMAT) ............................................................ 14
   2.4. Absence of a cadaster for private real estate, possibility of appropriation and the fragility of the registration system .................................................................................. 15
   2.5. Confused, disjointed institutional arrangements and policies ............................................ 16
   2.6. Problems with the State Courts ............................................................................................. 16
3. Justice Internal Affairs Department in the state and the Problem-Solving Proposal .............. 17
4. Measures Taken by the Land Affairs and Public Registry Committee ...................................... 19
Conclusions ............................................................................................................................................... 24
Bibliography ............................................................................................................................................. 25
Introduction

The serious land ownership problem which the country is experiencing today stems from the process of occupation implemented by the Portuguese at the beginning of the 16th century. The set of legal and institutional solutions, no matter how much they attempted to address the problem, mostly only aggravated the situation. Historically, the land ownership situation in Brazil has been marked by the existence of formal regulation, but not applied across the board, making the rules of land access somewhat fragile and inchoate. The aim of the 1850 Land Law was to regulate property through: planning of territorial appropriation in Brazil; end of squatter’s possession; land registration; transformation of land into reliable collateral for loans.

However this is not what happened: land, both rural and urban, has largely unreliable legal guarantees and an absolute lack of regulation over its use. Up until now, there has been no cadaster for private property or even public land (vacant or otherwise) let alone any form of social regulation of its use. Therefore, with this situation, land is capable of being used as the owners deem appropriate, ranging from speculative use to production or even predatory activity. Even now we have no real notion of the land that belongs to the State through the various mechanisms in existence; not even the vacant lands defined in the Land Law have been itemized in detail.

In the case of Mato Grosso, the situation of insecurity of land ownership is substantially aggravated in comparison with other states through having had a largely disorderly occupation in which the public agencies in the state, granted lands in haphazard fashion. There exist, however, a wealth of articles and texts that have demonstrated how these processes occurred. The big innovation in the present article is the demonstration of a solution which arose out of a local need and which is being implemented by the most important stakeholders in the state, through the creation of the Agrarian Affairs and Public Registries Committee of the Justice Internal Affairs Department in the State of Mato Grosso.

The principal goal of the present article is to show that it is possible to resolve the main land ownership problems in the state of Mato Grosso using measures that promote synergy between land administration agencies as well as to analyze the progress achieved by the committee and its results.

The state’s land ownership problems were pondered using a combination of the Land Governance Assessment Framework (LGAF) methodology created by the World Bank, applied to the most important actors on the state’s agrarian stage, with focus group methodology applied to local stakeholders in several municipalities in the north of the state. In addition to these methodologies, the
retrieval of the historical process of territorial occupation was fundamental to an understanding of the interface of national policies with the main land ownership mechanisms of land concession or occupation.

The first item of the article will recall the historical process of occupation in the state of Mato Grosso, demonstrating how this took place without the presence of territorial ordinance. The next item will demonstrate the results of the World Bank’s LGAF methodology in respect of the problems found, explaining them one by one and relating them to the historical aspects which contributed to the current problem. The third item will show how the Agrarian Affairs and Public Registries Committee of the Justice Internal Affairs Department in the State of Mato Grosso operates, and what measures are being employed by the Committee to promote land ownership regularization, tackling the obstacles put in the way by some of the bodies that make up the committee and are fundamental in the resolution of law suits and, finally, the scope and effectiveness of the decisions taken by the committee in resolving the existing land ownership demands in the state will be analyzed.

1. The Historical Process of Occupation in Mato Grosso and the Lack of Territorial Ordinance

This item consists of a brief historical overview of the region known today as the state of Mato Grosso, which will serve as a benchmark for the evaluation of the lack of land governance in this state. The understanding of the historical, legal and institutional specifics of land access, its use and the public policies employed throughout the years are drivers for understanding the present structure of land administration in the state of Mato Grosso and the reason for the lack of land governance.

The historical process of territorial, legal and institutional occupation was divided into periods that were established on the basis of the years of historical events relevant to the process of occupation in the state, which will be explained below.

The period from 1500 to 1850 corresponds to the colonial stage and to the early days of our monarchy. Understood to be the logical outcome of the gold rush and the exploratory expeditions by the citizens from the state of São Paulo, the occupation of the territory that would become Mato Grosso is, in this period, notable for its military and extractive profile, the interest in tracts of land aims for and takes the form of military occupation, on the first frontier near the borders of Spanish America. In 1536, in Brazil, the captaincies, or hereditary fiefdoms, were created and the system of sesmarias was implemented in the country, creating the notion that the effective, productive possession of land generates the right to property, a characteristic which is defined, even today, as the principal mechanism of use and occupation of the soil. However, the combination of mining and protection of the territory did not establish a significant population in the state. Throughout the 18th century, with the exploration of gold and diamonds, the population of Mato Grosso reached 40,000, of which, according to Silva
(2011), only 768 were farmers holding property with *Sesmarias* in the entire state. By the start of the 19th century, the number of inhabitants had already dropped to a little more than 27,000, maintaining vegetative growth over the course of the century.

The Land Law of 1850 is considered to be a fundamental, legal milestone as it was the first land ownership ordinance in Brazil in explicit legal language as it was the act which attempted to rationalize land property. The law had the following objectives which were to regulate property: plan for territorial appropriation in Brazil; end squatter’s possession; make a land cadaster; make land a reliable guarantee for loans. The law, however, did not succeed in achieving its objectives, it being the case that territorial occupation was carried out through the appropriation of the lands of the Empire and by the lack of control on the part of the Portuguese Crown.

In this period, at the end of the 19th century, the population of the state of Mato Grosso had climbed to 90,000 as a result of an intensive migration, as can be seen in the following tables and graphs. Nevertheless, the heaviest population growth and therefore the most intensive occupation of space, would only take place in the 20th century, with the northern part of the state remaining as a demographic and economic void.

The following tables and graphs demonstrate the dynamics of population growth between 1872 and 1940:

**Table 1 – Population growth in the state of Mato Grosso 1872-1930**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>60417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>90827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>118025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>246612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>349857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Graph 1 - Population growth in the state of Mato Grosso (1872-1930)**
Table 2 – Migrants destined for Mato Grosso 1872-1940

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Net internal migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872-1890</td>
<td>5896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1900</td>
<td>3445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1920</td>
<td>15864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-1940</td>
<td>47002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis of the Agriculture Census in tables 3 and 4 shows that between 1920 and 1940 there is a generalized increase in the number of rural establishments, which rose from 3,484 to 10,022, with little incorporation of the area in relative terms, rising from 19.6 to 20.7 million hectares, suggesting a division of property and certainly little occupation in the north of the state.

In short, from the establishment of the first institutional milestone of land in Brazil, i.e. the Land Law of 1850, to the revisions proposed by the Vargas government, the activity of occupation in Mato Grosso can be observed through the possession of land by the large landowners.

Table 3 - Number of agricultural establishments and the area occupied by them in Mato Grosso, 1920-1940

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area categories, according to number of hectares</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Area (hectares)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Area (hectares)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10 ha</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>14,558</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>2,869</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 100 ha</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>450,928</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>1,903</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>80,692</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 to 1,000 ha</td>
<td>1,623</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>5,990,265</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>2,511</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>8,338,849</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 to 10,000 ha</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>13,145,142</td>
<td>67.1%</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>10,764,044</td>
<td>52.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 10,000 ha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,484</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19,600,893</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10,022</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20,707,406</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 - Number of agricultural establishments and the area occupied by them in Mato Grosso, 1950-1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area categories, according to number of hectares</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N. of establishments</td>
<td>Area (hectares)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10 ha</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 to 100 ha</td>
<td>1,455</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 to 1,000 ha</td>
<td>1,906</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 to 10,000 ha</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 ha and above</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area not declared by owner</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5,068</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IBGE, Census of agriculture, various years.

Institutionally, in the period from 1850 to 1945, the historical process in the state of Mato Grosso, was such that the first Land Law was 20/1892 and its regulation, decree 38/1893. Generally speaking, the state land law was structured based on the principles of the Imperial Law of 1850, though adapted to the interests of the landowners, providing the conditions for the recognition of the *sesmarias*, even without having complied with the clauses imposed in the past, and the calm and peaceful possession, of occupied, cultivated land. The deadlines for mediation and regularization of the areas were extended, in contradiction of the Land Law of 1850; they guaranteed the right of preference for the purchase of vacant lands that were under the control of the private individual, whose titles did not meet the desired requirements for legitimization or revalidation; with these measures, the state law was benefiting the interests of the larger squatters. (MORENO, 1999)

From 1892 to 1930, the state government continued legitimizing former squats, even after federal prohibition, reaffirming the validity of the titles that the private individuals had in their possession; in the course of the administrative procedure, between the issuance of the provisional and definitive titles, the areas underwent changes, growing indiscriminately on average 5,000 ha (e.g. between 1899 and 1929 a total of 910 titles were issued equating to 650,877.5 hectares of legal area and 4,294,216 hectares of excess area). (MORENO, 1999)

National, agricultural colonies were implemented in the 1940s with the aim of occupying the empty areas and strengthening control in the frontier areas for the integration of Mato Grosso into the national economy (by way of the expansion of activities such as livestock farming and latex extraction, in the rubber plantations in the North). Tensions stirred surrounding this space, which became even more

---

1It is important to stress that data prior to 1970 necessarily come from surveys conducted prior to the split into two separate states: Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul. So the data incorporated from the Census of Agriculture in 1960 (displayed in Table 3) relate to this dimension. The data for the two subsequent censuses (1950 and 1960), presented in Table 4, on the other hand, are obtained from forecasts made by the Institute’s technicians for the region which in 19977, would be transformed into the state of Mato Grosso, and are therefore closer to the later historical data series.
valuable. With the increased migration and the state interest in the region in the following decades, this picture became even more of a problem.

The period between 1945 and 1970 is marked by the importance the region gained, not only in the eyes of Vargas but also the subsequent heads of government, translating into a set of objective policies aimed at developing Mato Grosso (particularly its bit of Amazonia), which represents a certain progress for the region and also for the distribution of the lands in Mato Grosso. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to emphasize the privatist nature that was assumed, from the beginning, through the colonization initiatives and how these are affirmed not as a mechanism for guaranteeing democratic access to land, but as a tool in the service of expanding the large agricultural enterprises (as an impoverished settler becomes cheap labor for the livestock or grain industry in the Midwest region).

Evidence suggests a growing incorporation of new areas or expansion of the frontier, since it is a region perceived to be one of the “existing voids in national territory”. One obvious outcome of this policy, as can be seen in the following table, is the significant growth of the state’s population, which more than doubled between the 1940s and 1960s.

Table 5 – Population growth in the state of Mato Grosso, 1940-1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SEPLAN-MT

As for the institutional and administrative aspects of the land ownership structure in the state, with the democratic openness of the 1946 Constitution, the state government prioritized the policy of selling public/vacant lands, together with the policy of colonization. In the background, it began to promote regularization of land ownership by creating the Department of Land and Colonization (DTC), in 1946.

The state government went on to carry out a review of land ownership legislation, creating a set of liberal laws with the aim of accelerating the process of vacant land privatization and legalization of former private domains and it provided continuity to the federal government’s colonization plan, publishing the Land Code of 1949 which once again revalidated the expired deadlines for the legalization of land acquired from the state and innovated, with the authorization of colonization by private individuals, which expanded the room for maneuver in land transactions.
Between 1950 and 1964 the indiscriminate sale of vacant lands took place, transforming colonization policy into a profitable business, even corresponding to the payment for political favors, verified in 1955 by the Federal Senate.

On average, the colonizers received 200,000 hectares, although the 1948 Constitution prohibited the transfer of vacant lands of more than 100,000 hectares, without the prior authorization of the Federal Senate, for a price of between Cr$ 7.00 and Cr$ 10.00 and sold them on at prices varying between Cr$ 100.00 and Cr$ 300.00 per hectare.

The DTC was closed down several times due to fraud involving lands in the state of Mato Grosso, the agency finally closing in 1966. However the closure of the DTC favored speculation to an even greater degree as well as negotiations with cold or flying titles2.

Ferreira (1984:64) stated “These titles entered the land market and became known as “Flying Titles”, it being up to the acquirers of these titles to match them to some unoccupied “free land”, a necessary prerequisite for the regularization of the actual real estate.” (Moreno,1999 *apud* Ferreira, 1984)

Thus, after the titles were acquired, they were matched with areas without title registered with the Land Registry. The State itself used this expedient to check the status of the lands under its control. It was during this period that the so-called “bunk bed land ownership”3 emerged, having in view that the same area was sold and registered by different people, producing overlapping.

In short, the state of Mato Grosso benefited from a variety of development programs, namely PIN, PROTERRA, POLAMAZONIA, POLOCENTRO and POLONOROESTE, all of which were financed through SUDAM; “in the 1970s and 1980s a total of 268 colonization projects were implemented in the state, intermediated by businesses, 84.9% of which were agricultural projects” (LAMERA, 2008:18).

We can glean from the following tables that in 21 years both the population and also the number of establishments and their occupied area grew significantly.

**Table 6 – Population growth in the state of Mato Grosso, 1970-1991**

---

2 “Flying titles” (“títulos voadores”, in Portuguese) are titles issued with no clear or previous demarcations of boundaries, so they could be expanded or moved to new areas upon issue. On a traditional land fraud expedient, the responsible would issue titles with unclear demarcations so as to use them for claiming ownership over much larger (or altogether different) tracts of land.

3 “Bunk bed land ownership” (beliche fundiário, in Portuguese) refers to the widespread practice of issuing conflicting titles referring to the same tract of land, and transactioning on these as if they were legitimate. Thus, several titles would link to a same geographical location, preventing effective regularization by public authorities.
Table 7 represents the number of agricultural establishments in the state and the area they occupy, surveyed in 1950 and 1960, already with the forecast prior to the 1977 separation into two states, Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul. The occupied area amounts to approximately 7 million hectares, or 8.64% of the territory of the state. In subsequent years, the growth in the number and occupied area of establishments can be observed through the analysis in Table 7.

Another point that should be noted in the process of the intensification of territorial occupation in the state between 1960 and 1985, is the fact that between 1960 and 1977, the state had no land ownership administration body, considering that in 1966 the DTC was closed as a result of fraud in the concession of land. In this period, the concession of land was performed by the state’s Legislative Assembly and it was an intense period of land concession giving rise to territorial occupation and a growth in the number of rural establishments.

In 1977, the Mato Grosso Development Company (CODEMAT) was created, following the separation of the state of Mato Grosso into Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul, and it was responsible purely for private colonization.
The following year, the Mato Grosso Land Institute (INTERMAT) was created, responsible for land ownership actions in the state, except for the colonization that came under the responsibility of CODEMAT.

In 1977, CODEMAT published a new land code, Law 3922/77, which included a variety of technical and legal mechanisms for retaking control over the land access process, under the jurisdiction of the state. INTERMAT, however, created a series of internal policies that exercised control over the regularization process on a case by case basis. Through these internal expedients, INTERMAT took over the regularization process in indiscriminate fashion, increasing speculation surrounding provisional titles and execution of sale concessions, based on the 1949 land code from the time of the now extinct DTC. So the two bodies associated with land ownership administration in this period, CODEMAT and INTERMAT, were at loggerheads over the promotion of land ownership actions, causing dissension and problems, both with the process of colonization and the concession of public lands to private individuals. During this period, INTERMAT administratively and summarily took into its custody around 6.4 million hectares of the state’s vacant lands. Similarly, INCRA also took into its custody over 7 million hectares of vacant lands and granted definitive title to around 3.6 million hectares at the margins of the federal highways.

So from 1985 onwards, the state’s territorial occupation scenario has witnessed the coexistence of various factors which would contribute to stirring up confusion over land ownership, prompted by the indiscriminate concession of what were, until then, public lands: the emergence of new municipalities; the involvement of the federal government, particularly INCRA, with the implementation of agrarian reform settlement projects; the confusion created by the de-federalization of the control over vacant lands via Decree 2375/1987, which granted the state dominion over areas previously under the custody of the federal government, without them being demarcated; the creation of settlements by INTERMAT; the proclamation of the Federal Constitution of 1988 which brought together the social function of property, assumed custody over environmental protection; established agricultural and land ownership policies; created various conservation units and demarcated native lands, amongst other actions.

The 1990s begin with the 1988 Constitution to be fulfilled with regulatory measures that would be published by the Union, states and municipalities, in order to put into practice the execution of the new land ownership and environmental regulations.

In 1992, in the state of Mato Grosso, CODEMAT was extinguished and INTERMAT absorbed the jurisdiction and estate of the extinct body, and indeed received the real estate registered in the name of CODEMAT in the Land Registry, in accordance with article 7 of Supplementary Law 36 of October 11, 1995. Since then, this body has been responsible for the management of land within the scope of the
state, and is responsible for maintaining the registration of state, vacant lands and the organization of the land cadaster granted by previous agencies.

The actions taken at the federal and state government levels to improve the land ownership issue in the state ran into obstacles on account of the lack of definition between public and private land and the absence of a cadaster, which had the effect of stirring up land disputes in the state. However, even given this scenario, of a lack of definition and land ownership confusion, the development which agribusiness was witnessing in the country as a whole from the 1970s, arrived in Mato Grosso with great impetus.

The state of Mato Grosso became a protagonist in domestic agricultural production. In 2012, it produced nearly 21.8 million tons of soy, representing 57% of domestic production. In addition to soy, it is one of the largest producers of cotton and corn and possesses the largest beef herd in the country, at 28.7 million head of cattle. Therefore, the state’s efforts, in terms of productive occupation, are undeniably reflected in the reality that this state is perhaps the largest of the big agricultural producers in the country, and it is clear that the winning strategy of the productive occupation of land intends to continue expanding through the occupation of new regions in the state. On the other hand, the social and environmental demand for land has been evident since 1985, creating a climate of tension over land within the state.

Nevertheless, productive occupation coexists in the state with the socio-environmental demands exercised by the national executive, through its specific agencies and the social movements: the Landless Worker Movement (MST) which is demanding settlements, the native communities who are demanding protected reserves, the quilombo inhabitants who are demanding their traditional areas and environmentalist movements which are demanding new Conservation Units and preservation of the forests.

All of these demands are supported by specific legislation which generates in the country large areas destined for social and environmental use, which must be organized in order to provide legal security and social justice. The state’s land ownership administrative structure, however, does not enjoy a level of governance sufficiently high to permit this aim to be realized.

The following table summarizes the information obtained during the application of the World Bank’s LGAF methodology, on the recent land ownership picture in the state of Mato Grosso.

It is believed that these latest results are close to the actual occupation situation, at least the productive occupation situation, in which Mato Grosso finds itself. Although this information on land is also declared by the establishment farmers, they are not overestimated as they are in the SNCR cadasters and, moreover, they do include, for example, small properties that fall outside of the SNCI. Added to this, the establishments surveyed in the Census include various types of property such as
settlements, those that have definitive title and those that do not yet have it (i.e. still not in conformity, awaiting title).

Table 8 – Summary of the land ownership structure in the state of Mato Grosso

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Area (ha)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Reference year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous land (A)¹</td>
<td>13.667.702,68</td>
<td>15,13%</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Conservation Units (B)¹</td>
<td>1.697.533,94</td>
<td>1,88%</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Conservation Units (C)¹</td>
<td>2.636.113,91</td>
<td>2,92%</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal Conservation Units (D)¹</td>
<td>651.885,89</td>
<td>72,50%</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNCI (F)³</td>
<td>25.690.490,54</td>
<td>28,44%</td>
<td>01/2004 - 10/2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigef Certified (G)⁴</td>
<td>8.035.102,36</td>
<td>8,89%</td>
<td>2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlements (H)⁵</td>
<td>6.094.043,00</td>
<td>6,75%</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incorporated Federal Plots (I)</td>
<td>2.800.000,00</td>
<td>3,10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State plots (G)</td>
<td>2.050.000,00</td>
<td>2,27%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated total</td>
<td>63.322.872,32</td>
<td>70,10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public lands not yet incorporated</td>
<td>27.013.747,00</td>
<td>29,90%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNCR (E)²</td>
<td>91.478.970,00</td>
<td>101,26%</td>
<td>2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Establishments (H)⁵</td>
<td>48.688.711,00</td>
<td>53,90%</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mato Grosso - Total Area</strong></td>
<td><strong>90.336.619,32</strong></td>
<td>100,00%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ¹ Data from SEMA, 2012; ² Data from DATALUTA, 2013; ³ Data from INCRA, available at: http://www.incra.gov.br/estrutura-fundiaria/regularizacao-fundiaria/certificacao-de-imoveis-rurais/file/1715-relacao-de-imoveis-privados-certificados-de-01-01-2004-a-31-10-2013. Last accessed on June 15, 2014; ⁴ Data from SIGEF, available at: https://sigef.incra.gov.br/sobre/apresentacao/. Last accessed on July 4, 2014; ⁵ Data from the Census of agriculture; ⁶ Data from INCRA.

The institutional picture of land administration in Mato Grosso is organized as follows:

Picture of Land Ownership Administration in the state of Mato Grosso
In this land ownership administration structure, the central land administration body is the State Land Institute, INTERMAT and, in parallel, the Justice Internal Affairs Department which has been playing an important, innovative role in the solution of existing land ownership problems, enabling improvement in the state’s land governance, which will be the subject of a more detailed analysis in the following paragraphs.

Consequently it can be seen that, since the proclamation of the Land Law, the state has not succeeded in efficiently promoting the administration of land ownership, which would result in a process of public land transfer to the private sector in an organized and transparent fashion. The agencies created for land ownership management, namely DTC, CODEMAT and INTERMAT, indiscriminately sold and/or donated areas, without any demarcation of the areas described in the titles, land concession procedures were not transparent, and were practiced by CODEMAT and INTERMAT in different ways. The consequences of this level of disorganization are still being felt with it being impossible to achieve good land governance as a result of problems with the lack of transparency of the land-related agencies,

overlapping real estate, mismatched titles and the absence of an integrated cadaster which distinguishes public land from private land and, finally, the identification of vacant lands.

2. Land Ownership Problems Detected Via the LGAF Methodology in the State of Mato Grosso

In applying the World Bank’s LGAF methodology to evaluate and understand land governance in the state of Mato Grosso, commissioned by the Life Center Institute (ICV) and the Mato Grosso Sustainable Municipalities Program (PMS), conducted between May and December 2014, it was possible to detect various problems arising from the historical process of disorderly territorial occupation, associated with the manner in which the state was institutionally organized throughout this process.

It would be impossible to debate all the methodology’s indicators, however it was possible to note that some problems are more extensive, giving rise to others which could be resolved subsidiarily to the main ones.

The main problems are presented and divided as follows:

2.1. Lack of understanding of the land ownership base of state and federal origin

Neither the federal nor state vacant lands, that give rise to all rural real estate, have been mapped and have not been organized into cadasters for subsequent verification. In the case of Mato Grosso, the lack of administrative continuity and the use of different cartographic bases by the various state agencies established over time, means that the concession of public land has become a serious problem, having the effect that, in the quest for the origins of the real estate, the properties have been difficult to identify and localize.

2.2. Mismatches on the land ownership base

As the land ownership base was unknown and squatter’s possession was possible, many of those who obtained legitimate title, whether state or federal, took possession of land that was not always in the pre-established location, making the already confused land ownership picture even more precarious and frequently impossible to register.

2.3. Problems with the state land agency (INTERMAT)

Firstly, it can be seen that the cadaster of the historical record of concession of state public land is not available. The responsibility for consolidating the record of state lands conceded should belong to INTERMAT, however there are lingering doubts as to whether it even has the information. If it does have it, it is not making it available.
The absence of a historical cadaster for the concession of state land is one of the factors that have made it impossible to build a functional land ownership base that clearly demonstrates who the land belongs to, where they are and what are the boundaries thereof.

There is also a lack of synergy between INTERMAT and the other public land management agencies. The lack of articulation is revealed, for example, in the delay in submitting land ownership information to other institutions (such as FUNAI, INCRA and other state agencies like the Department of the Environment), generating inefficiency with regard to land ownership administration in the state.

As can be seen in item 1, the concession of state public land was carried out in a non-transparent, unorganized and unenforced manner, which constitutes a problem for INTERMAT itself which possibly has no way of organizing them for the preparation of a solid land ownership base so as to support public bodies to carry out efficient public policies and civil society with regard to security in terms of land-related rights. Added to these specifics of involvement of the Mato Grosso Land Institute are the extensive mismatch of titles across the entire territory, whether on account of deficiencies in the land ownership base or conflicting information between the records held by INTERMAT and those of other institutions.

On this topic it could be said that this engenders difficulties related to the regularization of legitimate possession. This occurs due to the sluggishness of the process and also on account of the mismatch of the titles.

By way of example, it has been found that at least 70% of the municipalities have an irregular land ownership situation in relation to the original titles, due to the question of overlapping.

2.4. Absence of a cadaster for private real estate, possibility of appropriation and the fragility of the registration system

The fact that Brazil does not have a consolidated cadaster creates serious difficulties with the achievement of good land governance. In the case of Mato Grosso, the dismemberment of matriculations with precarious descriptions was found on many occasions, as well as the transfer of property without registration in the land registry. These problems are also related to the mismatch of titles, as previously discussed, as well as difficulties related to the regularization of legitimate possession.

In the end, this facet of absence of governance is directly linked to the inefficient collection of land duties (particularly ITR), which constrains the government’s ability to collect taxes and control land speculation, not to mention that it renders inviable fiscal exemption policies based on this tax.

Instances of this problem can be found in the following examples: a) less than 50% of properties are registered; b) existence of titles with as many as 15 “stories”; c) less than 10% of all private real estate has been mapped.
2.5. Confused, disjointed institutional arrangements and policies

The evolution of the institutions took place in a rather confused manner in Brazil in general and in the state of Mato Grosso in particular, insofar as the governance of land is concerned. One of the great demonstrations of this institutional confusion relates to the lack of institutional definition in terms of the responsibility for public land management, where it is unclear where the responsibility for public land of each entity starts and where it ends, creating overlapping and disputes over responsibility.

Accordingly a chronic situation exists of a lack of knowledge of the land ownership base of state and federal origin, significantly undermining the ability of the public sector to carry out land ownership policies.

Another striking element is the lack of control over the transfer of large extents of land to investors. Present regulations do not include an effective analysis of the shared benefits of a given investment or even control over guarantees that investment in large tracts of land will be productive and efficient, nor a system to monitor it.

The absence of governance caused by this lack of interconnectivity between the various agencies also produces a lack of control over the use of and rights to the forest and common, rural land, making it more difficult to control the adverse use of forests and irregular or illegal deforestation.

Finally, the absence was detected of concession of public land to the seats of municipal government. This renders them incapable in many cases of planning and regularizing urban and rural occupation under their jurisdiction, leaving significant sections of the population on the sidelines in respect of land rights.

As an example of these problems, it is known that at least 4 different agencies issued titles without communicating the fact to each other, which confirms the earlier indication that at least 70% of municipalities have an irregular land ownership situation, with regard to the original title, due to overlapping land. Moreover the inability to regulate the use of and rights to the forest are vouched for by the fact that Mato Grosso was the state with the highest growth in rates of deforestation between 2012 and 2013 (38.3%, or an increase from 774km² to 1,070km²), according to Imazon (2014).

2.6. Problems with the State Courts

The lack of land governance also manifests itself in problems involving the judiciary. The difficulty of access to justice is a real problem due to the distances involved and the absence of substitute agencies that could cover the population affected by land ownership conflicts far from the state capital. Herein lies the problem of recognition of possession-related rights which, despite existing legally, in practice they are difficult to exercise because of the other problems already mentioned, such as the lack of understanding of the land ownership base and the lack of continuity with dismemberments in the matriculation of areas conceded by the state to private individuals in order to search for the title of origin
and the adjoining owners required for any legal action. Another problem with regard to justice is the inordinate length of time it takes to resolve lawsuits. One example of these judicial deficiencies is that less than 10% of actions in the courts referring to land ownership issues have their sentences passed in under 2 years.

Even before starting to apply the LGAF methodology in the state, these problems were already known by some agencies which decided to instigate actions which could identify, discuss and seek solutions to minimize the effects on bad land governance.

This is the case of the Justice Internal Affairs Department in the state of Mato Grosso, which in 2012 formed the Land Affairs and Public Registry Committee which, through the coming together of various stakeholders, is finding ways to resolve land ownership problems, making advances in the improvement of land ownership problems for the state and for civil society.

3. Justice Internal Affairs Department in the state and the Problem-Solving Proposal

The state’s Justice Internal Affairs Department has been in existence since 1946, when the first internal affairs judge was selected in the Courts of Justice. The chief function of this entity is to enforce the acts of Notaries and Registrars, as set out in article 236 of the Federal Constitution, and regulated by article 37 of Law 8935/94. The other functions include guidance, enforcement and enhancement of the judiciary services. The mission of the Justice Internal Affairs Department of the state of Mato Grosso is to continuously intensify and enhance the judiciary services and the means of administrative instruction and enforcement, in order to guarantee efficiency in jurisdictional provision (http://www.tjmt.jus.br/internal-affairs-department/Areas/Conteudo/Conteudo.aspx?c=23590).

The Justice Internal Affairs Department in the State of Mato Grosso, considering that land ownership issues involve demands of public interest, which need to be resolved by the judiciary or by its auxiliary services, the Notary Offices and the Land Registries, in conjunction, through the demand for solutions that prevent the development of the state with regard to land ownership problems imposed by the various stakeholders involved in the dynamics of land, via Directive 70/2011, created the Land Affairs and Public Registry Committee of the Courts of Justice with the aim of promoting, via joint efforts between the institutions responsible for land ownership regularization, a joint debate on the existing land ownership problems in state of Mato Grosso, in the search for alternatives (administrative and judicial; prescriptive and executive) to resolve (or at least minimize) problems of an agrarian nature, by promoting the land ownership regularization of both urban and rural real estate in the state, as a way to provide economic development at both the local and national levels.

Initially the Committee was composed of the Justice Internal Affairs Department in the State of Mato Grosso, National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), Ministry of Land
Development (MDA), Land Institute for the State of Mato Grosso (INTERMAT), Association of Notaries and Registrars for the State of Mato Grosso (ANOREG-MT) and the Brazilian Association of Georeferencing and Geomatics Engineering (ABRAGEO). However due to the importance of the topics involved in the debates and their multidisciplinary nature, various other stakeholders were subsequently added to this list: federal, state and municipal executive authorities, legislative authorities, representatives from the municipalities, professional bodies, rural trades unions, representative from civil society and other parties with an interest in land ownership issues.

The goal of the committee is to encourage land ownership discussions in order to understand and enable regularization in the state. Monthly meetings are held in the Justice Internal Affairs Department to discuss the problems, recommend solutions and, based on these, publish provisions that will provide guidance to government agencies, non-governmental organizations and civil society on procedures that will enable the resolution of land ownership problems.

The Committee has the following duties: I – To study the occupation of land by creating a database on this subject; II – To identify the main problems between Land Registries and Land Management in the state of Mato Grosso; III – To submit a proposal for concrete solutions for cases submitted to it; IV – To promote the qualification of professionals operating in the area covered by this directive; V – To analyze queries or processes submitted to them by the participating institutions or any other entities which, for the purposes of clarification, may enter into contact.

Directive 70/2011 was superseded by Directive 45/2013, the objectives being the same. Thus, from 2013, the committee has undertaken efforts to fulfill its duties for the benefit of improvement in land ownership management in the state through the publication of a variety of provisions.

One of the actions which is having a positive effect, speeding up the resolution of land ownership disputes and problems, was the possibility of creating land ownership committees within the municipalities.

Provision 15/2014 created committees in the municipal domain, linked to the Executive Office of the courts in each judicial district in the state, i.e. in every city where judicial courts exist, a municipal committee could also exist to analyze, discuss, address and resolve land ownership issues of both an urban and rural nature, whether or not they have generated any conflict, that exist in each of the municipalities in the state of Mato Grosso. The Justice Internal Affairs Department, through the land affairs committee, has stimulated the creation of councils for land ownership regularization and sustainable economic development in the municipalities, with the aim of assisting with land ownership problems on a timely basis, producing municipal bills to help the municipal governments to implement councils, amongst other examples which will be addressed subsequently.
These innovative measures by the Internal Affairs Department of the Courts of Justice, to create a committee for land ownership affairs to improve governance in the state, has had a beneficial effect by expediting solutions so that, within a short space of time, i.e. two years, various solutions have been published contributing to the resolution of problems.

4. Measures Taken by the Land Affairs and Public Registry Committee

Amongst the regulations published on the basis of discussions had by the Land Affairs and Public Registry Committee are: Provision 36/2013 – CGJ/MT (Provides for the standardization of georeferencing legalization procedures and recording of Definitive Titles issued by the State and/or Federal Public Authorities), Provision 37/2013 – CGJ/MT (Provides for the extinction of condominium pro diviso), Provision 15/2014 – CGJ/MT (Creates the Municipal Land Affairs Committee), Provision 63/2014 – CGJ/MT (Provides for the standardization of the georeferencing registration procedure in the matriculation of mismatched and/or overlapping titles), Provision 68/2014 – CGJ/MT (Provides for the regularization of INCRA Rural Settlement Projects and the registration of agrarian reform titles).

One of the Committee’s initiatives is the creation of the Municipal Land Affairs Committees, presided over by the Chief Judge of the Judicial District Court, and composed of various entities (both public and private) situated in the municipal area, including the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary Branches, Public Attorney’s Office, Order of Attorneys of Brazil, Land Registry and Notary Public, and also recommends the creation, through municipal law, of Municipal Land Regularization Councils to discuss matters related to land regularization in all the municipalities, even those where there are no judicial districts. The Committee has already produced a draft bill that was sent to the municipalities, suggesting the creation of these councils. The measure aims to provide an understanding of the land ownership problems in each municipality in order to facilitate the dialogue between municipality, state and federation, to resolve problems on a more timely basis. The municipal committees are being set up, speeding up the solutions to land ownership problems and expediting municipal development.

Another directive of the Committee was that the State Land Institute of Mato Grosso (INTERMAT) should share its land ownership base and other land-related information with other administrative bodies in order to speed up the processes. However, the agency was not prepared to share its land ownership information, stressing that the interested parties could obtain access through the establishment of a procedure provided for in the regulations, paying a fee for the service. Although the stipulated procedure may exist, the land ownership issue in the state is very complex for information not to be made available to the other agencies involved. The Committee’s directive is based on the fact that INTERMAT is the agency responsible for administering vacant lands in the state, that it is not managing to provide the necessary clarification within a reasonable time frame and on account of the lack of
coherence in the data supplied by the agency, bearing in mind that it is common for it to issue two letters of consent on the same subject but with different content.

The refusal by INTERMAT to make available information on the land under its control acts as an obstacle to the committee in resolving land ownership problems. To give an example of the difficulties involved, the chairman of the Committee reported that they are attempting to find a solution to the problem of mismatched titles and overlapping areas, however there is no way that the correct initiatives can be taken as it does not have knowledge of the geographical dimensions of these problems, given that INTERMAT is the holder of all the titles issued by the state and the location thereof, thus it is essential that the institute’s database be made available, at least to the members of the land affairs committee, in order to be able to take decisions to resolve the problem and not create even more instability with regard to the state’s land ownership issues. Nevertheless, the issue of the absence of synergy between INTERMAT and other agencies was one of the problems identified using the LGAF methodology, as discussed in item 2.

However the agency is bereft of the structure and organization it needs to promote good land governance, such that when asked to do so, it takes a long time to respond to requests for information, whether from other agencies or the general public.

To resolve these structural difficulties with INTERMAT and to continue to promote the georeferencing registration in the matriculation of mismatched and/or overlapping titles, promptly and with legal security, the Committee published Provision 56/2014 – CGJ/MT, which set a period of 60 days for INTERMAT to supply the Letter of Consent⁴, and at the end of this period, the applicant should present the proof of request of the letter of consent to the Land Registry, which will once again notify the agency to supply the document within 10 days, in order to expedite the georeferencing registration procedure. If the institution does not issue said letter, this will be regarded as tacit acceptance. The publication of this provision had the participation of INTERMAT representatives and other committee participants, the outcome being a consensus between everyone who resolved the problems of the land institution and its users.

With Provision 63/2014 – CGJ/MT, all land registries in the state will be able to go ahead with the georeferencing registration in the matriculation of mismatched and/or overlapping titles, provided that it does not fall upon land in the public domain. This means that the owner of rural real estate will not need to appeal to the courts when it receives the letter of consent from the Mato Grosso Land Institute establishing the mismatching and/or overlapping with private real estate. Therefore, the registry itself will summon the owners of adjoining properties and proceed to make the georeferencing registration in

---

⁴ Letter of consent is the declaration by INTERMAT with regard to the similarity of location between the property being georeferenced and the area’s original title.
the matriculation. This measure has speeded up the process that is required for the transfer, unification or dismemberment of areas, as provided for in Law 10267/2001.

Practical examples of the innovation brought about by the state’s Justice Internal Affairs Department through the Land Affairs and Public Registry Committee are increasingly frequent:

“The Land Affairs and Public Registry Committee, led by the Justice Internal Affairs Department of Mato Grosso, has developed a set of urban, environmental and social measures whose aims are to regularize settlements and the situation of their occupiers. Provision 68/2014 – CGJ (DJE 9370) shall assure the social right to an abode, development of the urban property and an ecologically balanced environment. Based on this provision, settlements can be regularized more quickly, which will facilitate access to finance and consequently the strengthening of family agriculture and the settlement of man in the fields. Over 80,000 families in the state will benefit. The provision makes it feasible to regularize the rural settlement projects of the National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) and the registration of agrarian reform titles with Land Registries in the state of Mato Grosso. Even with the release of possession or title, the entities (State, Municipal and District) can already make the request directly to the registry office, which previously was only possible with legal action. According to INCRA data, there currently exist 539 projects covering a total area of 5.937 million hectares. At the present time, 2,082 families have received definitive title of the possession of their areas while a further 80,406 families should benefit from this provision”. (Source: TJ/MT, September 19, 2014, published at http://www.portaldori.com.br/2014/09/23/tjmt-provision-facilitara-regularizacao-fundiaria/)

“The city of Comodoro (almost 400 miles from Cuiabá) is developing a land regularization program that proposes to legalize over 1,500 plots of land located in a low-income community in the urban zone. To date, Comodoro’s program has taken at least 100 families out of a situation of informality.

Rogério Victor de Oliveira, an active participant in the project and registrar of the 1st Notary Public of Titles and Documents of the Judicial District of Comodoro and also associate member of the Association of Notaries and Registrars in the State of Mato Grosso (ANOREG/MT), explains that the action was developed to eliminate the bureaucracy associated with the
The experience of the municipality of Nova Ubiratã/MT has been extracted from the record of municipal experiences reported to the Mato Grosso Sustainable Municipalities Program in November 2014. The municipality served as a pilot for various land regularization actions that have taken off in the state since the creation of the Land Affairs and Public Registry Committee of the Justice Internal Affairs Department:

“The Municipality of Nova Ubiratã has developed actions that are being replicated in other municipalities within the state. The creation of the Municipal Council for Land Regularization and Sustainable Economic Development in Nova Ubiratã (CONREDES) and the involvement of the land
registry in land ownership issues, consisting of a pilot project developed in the Municipality of Nova Ubiratã, and with the backing of the Land Affairs and Public Registry Committee of the Mato Grosso Courts of Law, is already a reality in other municipalities in the state. Currently, through the Provision of the Justice Internal Affairs Department of the State of Mato Grosso, Municipal Land Affairs Committees are being set up in every municipality in the state of Mato Grosso, providing greater speed and direction for land regularization projects and guaranteeing institutional cooperation between the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary Branches, Public Attorney’s Office, Public Defense Attorney, Land Registry, Notary Public and other entities representing civil society.

Land ownership regularization procedures are being developed in conjunction with the Municipality, observing the steps of georeferencing, registration and concession of title”.

The irregular land ownership situation in Nova Ubiratã and the progress made by the end of 2014 have been reported as follows in the Register of Municipal Experiences submitted to the Committee of the Mato Grosso Sustainable Municipalities Program:


Irregularity of land ownership is having a significant impact on the Settlement Projects (PAs) in the municipality, introduced decades ago by the Federal Government at the time of the implementation of agrarian reform in the area, there being a total of 950 plots without any form of title, out of a total of 72,800 ha, covering around 3,040 people inhabiting the settlements, who are awaiting title in order to be able to exercise their agricultural activities with excellence.

However, in executing the project of land ownership regularization in Nova Ubiratã, the complete georeferencing was performed of 3 (three) INCRA Rural Settlements (P.A Piratininga; P.A Santa Teresinha II; P.A Cedro Rosa), with the georeferencing of P.A Boa Esperança I, II and III still in-progress.

Similarly, the mapping and registration was carried out of the occupants of the urban plots of land in 5 districts of Nova Ubiratã, and administrative and legal proceedings are underway to acquire the urban area of the district by the Municipality by way of donation, appropriation and the execution of
amicable accords, with the aim of subsequently regularizing the plots in the name of their legitimate occupants.

In the land ownership regularization project, CONREDES monitors the progress of various judicial actions that involve land ownership issues and disputes (squattting rights, fulfillment of obligation to perform, appropriation, bankruptcy proceedings, etc.), with the aim of providing support to the interested party to arrive at a quick, satisfactory outcome: the regularization of the constituent occupations.

The filing of collective, adverse possession actions is also programmed through the Municipality or the Public Defense Office, thereby benefiting those occupants who do not have sufficient financial resources to bring individual actions”.

Given the examples set out above, it can be seen that institutional innovation of creating land affairs and public registry committees has succeeded in bringing an improvement with regard to the various problems identified via the LGAF methodology, such as: regularization of possession by consolidating rights, problems with State Courts with slow access to justice, area mapping through georeferencing, all of which is promoting an awareness of the land ownership base in the state, giving title to settlements and squatters that had been stagnant due to the inertia and lack of efficiency of the federal and state governments, land ownership regularization of the urban areas of the municipalities, etc. The committee is managing to supplant the refusal of INTERMAT to furnish the land ownership base, as it is promoting the georeferencing of both rural and urban areas, and providing title to those occupants who can prove the requirements for the action of adverse possession.

**Conclusions**

It can be concluded that the land ownership problems in Mato Grosso result from the disorderly manner in which territorial occupation was carried out, which was aggravated over the years by the absence of a cadaster and the lack of knowledge of what was public and private land, as a result of various factors, amongst which was the lack of structure, organization and transparency of the state’s land agency, INTERMAT. The creation of a land affairs committee at the state and municipal levels, to identify land ownership problems, propose solutions and publish policies to make these solutions viable, is an ideal mechanism for achieving good land governance. The promotion of dialogue and the exchange of information between government agencies, non-government organizations and civil society that the committee provided, has been found to be essential for the problems to be satisfactorily rated, clarified and resolved with the legal security necessary for the right of access to land.


SILVA, R. A.; SALES,J.C.; COUTINHO, O.;CRUZ, W.A. As regiões da estrutura fundiária e a reforma agrária em mato grosso, Trabalho de graduação, Cuiabá, Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso, 2009.

CONTENTS

Bastiaan Philip Reydon

Teacher at University of Campinas, Institute of Economics, Nucleus of Agricultural and Environment Economics

Rua Pitágoras, 353, Cidade Universitária
Campinas/SP
Brazil
Tel. (55 19) 99288-4242/(55 19) 3521-5716
e-mail: bastiaan@unicamp.br

Ana Karina da Silva Bueno

Phd Student at the University of São Paulo no Curso de Pós-Graduação em Ciência Ambiental pela USP.
Av. Prof. Luciano Gualberto 1289. Cidade Universitária; cep 05508-010. Butantã
São Paulo, SP.
Brazil
Tel. (55 19) 99200-1651/ (55 11) 3091-2648
e-mail: anakabueno@gmail.com

Ana Paula da Silva Bueno

Lawyer and Master Student at University of Campinas, Institute of Economics, Nucleus of Agricultural and Environment Economics
Rua Pitágoras, 353, Cidade Universitária
Campinas/SP
Brazil
Tel. (55 19) 98287-2433/(55 19) 3521-5716
e-mail: anapsbueno@gmail.com