

**Analytical reflection on tenement studies in the city of São Paulo**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The tenements, since the 19th century and until currently, 2020, are an alternative housing for the most vulnerable population who cannot afford to pay for better housing. In this article we will review the literature with bibliometric analysis of what has been published that is most significant with a focus on the city of São Paulo. The research was carried out in the main academic document bases available for public access and free of charge, Google Scholar, Scielo and Directory of Open Access Journals and includes doctoral thesis, master's dissertations, undergraduate monographs, graduate conclusion works, scientific articles and publications. When analyzing the production in the tenements, we divided it into three main categories: the tenement as a complaint; the tenement as a potential; and the tenement as a reality. Of the forty-nine in the scientific literature, 57% fall into the complaint category, 30% into the potentiality category and 12% into the reality category. This subject has been studied by different lines in courses from the most varied areas of knowledge, passing through architecture with more than 51% of scientific literature, and passing through engineering, geography, sociology and even philosophy, showing its interdisciplinary nature. From the analysis and the observed gaps, we present possible directions for future research.

**KEYWORDS:** Tenements; vulnerability; popular housing

#### **1 INTRODUCTION**

In the year 2000, concerned with the future of the world's populations, one hundred and ninety-one countries in the world met at the United Nations Millennium Summit and in their Millennium Declaration they made a commitment to achieve eight goals by 2015. At that deadline, the seventeen new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were approved by the United Nations Assembly, with the aim of deepening the sustainable development agenda and a global agreement on climate change. The objectives are interdependent and broad, with goals to be achieved by 2030, with 169 targets. Among these objectives, the eleventh deals with how human settlements should be safe, inclusive, sustainable and resilient. In a clear way, in its first sub item it ensures that by 2030 all citizens of the world have to have access to safe, affordable and adequate housing with access to basic services and that the slums are urbanized (IPEA-agenda 2030, 2020).

Specifically in São Paulo, Brazil's largest capital - which concentrates more than 12 million inhabitants, approximately 6% of the Brazilian population and about 11% of the national GDP (Gross Domestic Product) (IBGE, 2020) - there is also a series of problems to be solved: about 15% of the city's resident families live in slums, irregular occupations and tenements, which is equivalent to more than 1.6 million families (PMSP-SEHAB, CEM, 2010).

While *favelas* and invasions or occupations are an irregular way of occupying land owned by others, which may be public or private, for the purpose of housing in urban areas, usually without an urban pattern, with a lack of essential public services. (IBGE, 2020), tenements are a multifamily collective housing, consisting of one or more buildings built on an urban plot; subdivided into several rented, sub-rented or assigned rooms for any purpose; various functions performed in the same room; access and common use of unbuilt spaces and sanitary facilities; circulation and infrastructure, generally precarious and overcrowding of people (SÃO PAULO -MUNICÍPIO, 1993).

About 5% of the population live in tenement houses, approximately 596 thousand people (SEADE, CDHU, 2002), which are precarious settlements characterized as collective rental housing, and very high rent values per built m<sup>2</sup> (KOHARA, 2016). The highest concentrations of tenements occur in the central regions of the city. There are 1,091 registered in the sub-

prefectures of Sé and Mooca (LÓPEZ, FRANÇA E COSTA, 2010), but there are tenements in all the sub-prefectures of the capital.

Usually the target audience for this category of housing is families in conditions of social vulnerability with underemployment and low income, which make them “invisible” to society (ANDALRAFT BARRELA, 2018; KOHARA e PICCINI, 1999; KOHARA, 2009, 2012; KOWARICK, 2013, 2016; LABHAB FAUUSP, 2004; LUCHESI, 2015; SANTOS MARTINS *et al* 2011; SIMÕES JR., 1991; VERAS 1994, 2016). Which we will delve into in this article of literature review about tenements in the city of São Paulo.

## **2 OBJECTIVES**

Due to the importance of the subject of tenements, it is necessary to present what appears in some of the main bases of scientific journals, and the most relevant that has been published over the years in academic literature in doctoral thesis, master's dissertations, undergraduate monographs, graduate studies, scientific articles and most significant publications in which the tenement subject was developed in Brazil and worldwide, with an emphasis on Brazil and the city of São Paulo.

## **3 METHODOLOGY**

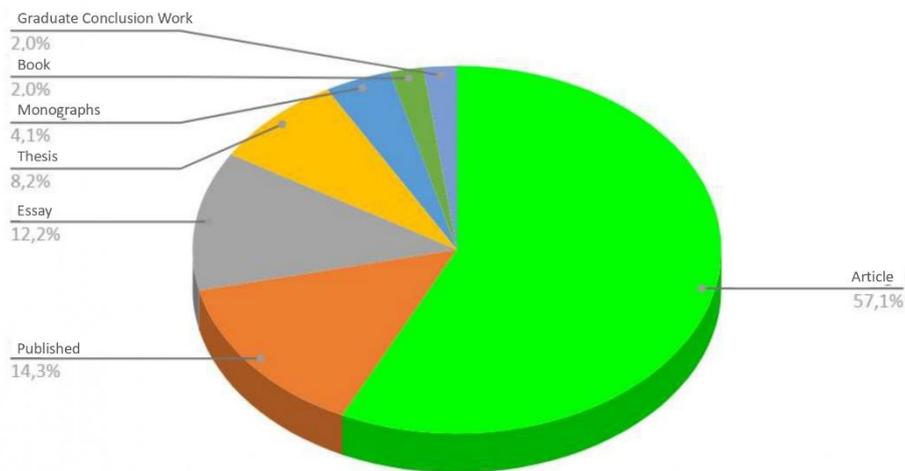
With the bibliographic review, bibliometric analysis was performed. Bibliometrics is a method of quantitative analysis for scientific research. The statistical data resulting from bibliometric studies point to the scientific knowledge of publications in certain areas. These data can represent current research trends and show new themes for new research (SU e LEE, 2010).

The method of analysis applied was carried out in some of the main international scientific journals, such as Google Scholar, Scielo and Directory of Open Access Journals through a systematic bibliographic review in the months of March and April 2020. These databases were used are open and free with public information. And the following keywords were used in the surveys: tenement, pension, precarious housing and vulnerability.

The time frame of the research was since the beginning of publications in digital format, the first being published in 1987, but the studies addressed by the authors since the historic appearance of tenements in the late 19th century.

Forty-nine were selected, forty-four on Google Scholar, four on the Scielo platform and one on the Directory of Open Access Journals, classified as follows: twenty-eight are scientific articles, seven publications from entities such as the São Paulo state government, from the capital city hall, from institutes like Seade; six dissertations, four thesis, two monographs, a postgraduate work and a book, as shown in graph 1.

**Graph 1 - Classification by type of academic literature found**

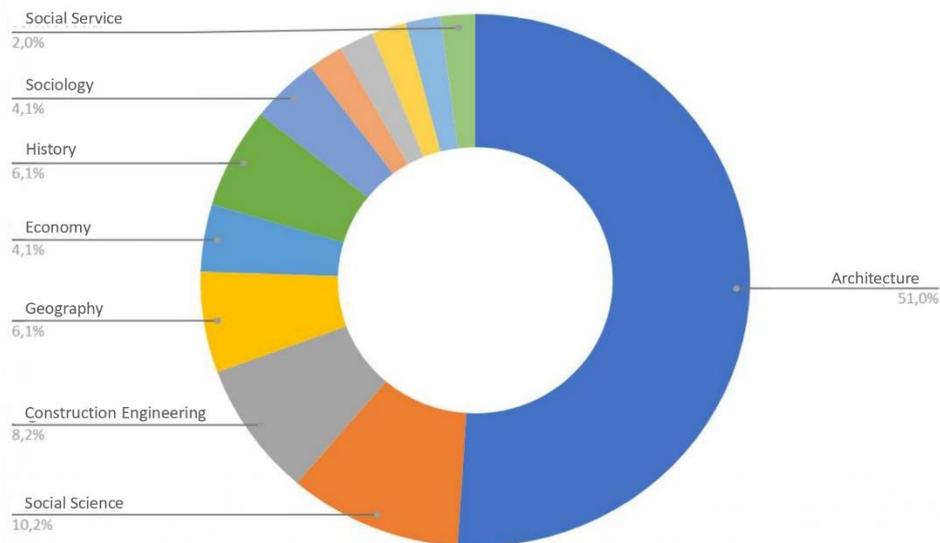


Source: Authors, 2020

Forty-four, equivalent to 90%, has the São Paulo capital as its territorial focus, which may be in all or some specific region or neighborhood, and five equivalent to 10% are from other Brazilian cities. Literatures are mostly produced through thesis, monographs, dissertations and university magazines, which we conclude that 76% are from the capital of São Paulo itself, where the University of São Paulo stands out with sixteen in scientific literature, equivalent to 48% of the academic production (removing publications and articles that were not made directly by universities, we have a total of thirty-three).

Dividing the scientific literature by academic course, architecture stands out with twenty-five, equivalent to 51% of the total; social sciences with five and 10% of the total; construction engineering with four and 8% of the total each; geography and history with 3 and 6% of the total each; economics, history and sociology with two and 4% of the total and finally ecology, urban engineering, philosophy, politics and social planning and social work with one and 2% each, according to graph 2.

**Graph 2 - Classification by academic course found**



Source: Authors, 2020

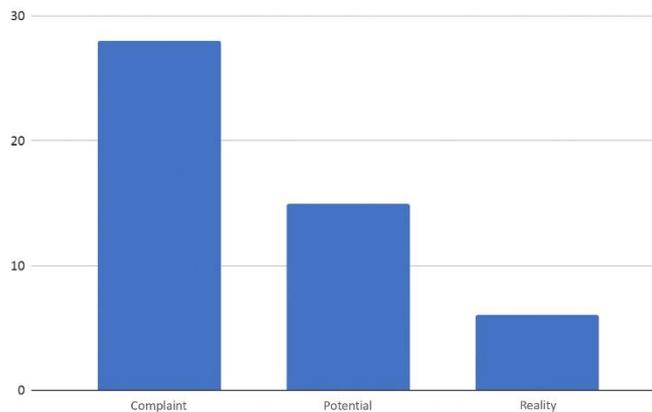
#### 4 RESULTS

Forty-nine types of literature were identified, such as doctoral thesis, master's dissertations, undergraduate monographs, post-graduation works, scientific articles and relevant publications on the topic of tenements. Where we set up some tables with the following indicators: author(s) with the date of publication below the names; title; chronological period, which the study deepens; territorial focus of the study, demonstrate the locations, neighborhoods, regions and cities studied.

We classify the scientific literature on the theme of tenements into three main analytical categories: 1. tenement as a *complaint*, or works that focus on the description of precariousness, the absence or insufficiency of public policies; 2. tenement as a *potential*, as it is the physical, social and economic structure that has been guaranteeing the presence of the poorest in central areas, deserving to be stimulated and valued; 3. the tenement as a *reality*, a specific way of life that produces a certain qualifying relationship: what is the city, what is the tenement, way of life, social structure, daily life, specific relationships between the public and private spheres.

Following this classification in the scientific literature of the tenements, we reached the following results: 1 *complaint* with twenty-eight, equivalent to 57.1% of the total studied; 2 *potential* with fifteen, equivalent to 30.6% of the total and finally; 3 *reality* with six, equivalent to 12.2% of the total, as shown in graph 3.

**Graph 3 - Classification of academic literature on the tenement theme**



Source: Authors, 2020

And now, entering the detail by category, in table 1 there are twenty-eight of the scientific literature classified as a *complaint*.

**Table 1 - Analytical category of complaint**

Author (s)	Title	Chronological period	Territorial focus of the study
Urpi Montoya Uriarte (2019)	Inhabiting Big houses in the historic center of Salvador Bahia, Brazil: old tenements and new experiences and rights	2016/2017	Bahia- Salvador- historic center
Marcos Virgílio da Silva and Débora Sanches (2018)	Housing Precariousness in Downtown São Paulo	2018	São Paulo City
Ricardo Andalaft, Walter Barrella (2018)	Precarious subnormal housing: diagnosis of human habitat in tenements in the city of Santos / SP, Brazil	2015	City of Santos
Caio Santo Amore, Paula Freire Santoro (2016)	Survey of situations of precarious housing in Urban Operation Consortium Neighborhoods of Tamanduateí	2016	City of São Paulo - neighborhoods surrounding the Tamanduateí River
Caio Santo Amore ,Maria R. S.B.Horigoshi, Daniela P. Rodrigues ,Paula F. Santoro, Daniela Julião,Nathália C. M. Batista, Mariana C. Souto (2016)	Yes, it is a pension! Notes on the diversity of precarious housing in the central area	2016	City of São Paulo - neighborhoods surrounding the Tamanduateí River
Lauro Lodo Prado (2015)	Housing vulnerability: an analysis of housing in tenements in São Paulo-SP	2015	São Paulo City

Bianca Melzi de Domenicis Lucchesi (2015)	Urban transformations and housing at the end of the 19th century: prohibition and permanence of tenements in the city of São Paulo	19th and 20th centuries	São Paulo City
Angelica dos Santos Simone (2014)	The tenements in the landscape of Brás and Belenzinho, São Paulo: a case study	2012-2013	City of São Paulo – Districts of Belém and Brás
Bianca Melzi de Domenicis Lucchesi (2014)	The tenements and sanitary urbanism of the city of São Paulo at the end of the 19th century	19th century	São Paulo City
Lúcio Kowarick (2013)	Tenements: humiliation and subordination	History of the 19th century and in 2012	São Paulo City
Luiz Kohara (2012)	Tenements: the housing market for the exploitation of poverty	2012	São Paulo City
Valéria G. Costa, Antônio C.M. L. and Moreira, Suzana Pasternak, Maria de L. Zuquim, Simone Cotic, Clarissa Souza, Letícia de A. V. Boas (2011)	Visiting tenement houses in São Paulo a didactic experience	2008	City of São Paulo - District Pari
Camila Moreno de Camargo (2011)	Popular collective housing in the central area of Campinas: trends and characterization	19th century until 2010	State of São Paulo - City of Campinas
Rafaela Cristina Martins (2011)	The Defense of Housing and the Offensive to the Tenements: a Sensitive Aspect.	19th century and 1st half of the 20th century	São Paulo City
Beatriz Kara José (2010)	The popularization of downtown São Paulo: a study of changes that have occurred in the last 20 years	1990-2010	São Paulo City
Luiz Tokuzi Kohara (2009)	Relationship between housing conditions and school performance: study with children living in tenements	2007 e 2008	City of São Paulo - District Glicério
Fátima A. B. de O. Micheletti, Joice M. P. A. Fernandes, Luzana M. Bernardes, Rosa M. F. Pinto Tânia M. H. de M. Barreira (2009)	Manifestations of Poverty in Tenements in the Central Region of Santos	2008	Santos City - Central Region
Ligy Hrycylo Bianchini; Maria Cristina Schicchi (2009)	Tenements in downtown São Paulo: an invitation to stay	1985 a 2005	São Paulo City
Alessandra Vieira Luiz Kohara (2008)	The problem of tenements in São Paulo	2008	São Paulo City
PMSP - SEHAB, LABHAB FAUUSP - FUPAM (2004)	Survey and general characterization of curved properties	2004	City of São Paulo - Districts Glicério and Bras

Suzana Pasternak (2003)	A look at housing in São Paulo	1990-2002	Metropolitan region of Sao Paulo
Maria Ruth Amaral de Sampaio; Paulo Cesar Xavier Pereira (2003)	Housing in São Paulo	1975-2000	São Paulo City
Silvia Maria Schor (2000)	A reflection on the tenements of São Paulo	1999	São Paulo City
Luiz Kohara e Andrea Piccini (1999)	Income obtained in the rental and sublease of tenements: case studies in the central area of São Paulo. Sao Paulo:	1999	São Paulo City
Maura Veras (1994)	Tenements in Brás: old and new forms of popular housing in industrial São Paulo	1820 a 1929	City of São Paulo - District Brás
Patrícia Maria Machado Colela (1991)	What hasn't changed in popular housing: from tenements to housing in Brasilia	séc XIX - 1988	Federal District- Brasilia
José Geraldo Simões Junior (1991)	Tenements in São Paulo: The Problem and its Alternatives	1991	São Paulo City
Maura Pardini Bicudo Veras (1987)	The impasses of the housing crisis in São Paulo or the nomads on the threshold of the 21st century	1980-1985	São Paulo City

Source: Authors, 2020

This set of texts that treats the tenement as a *complaint* of precariousness and permanent exploitation, reveals the perversities of the plundering relationships, the precariousness of housing, over-densification and the consequences on the residents' mental and physical health. Simões Jr. (1991) and Veras (1994) describe the tenements of the present as the persistence of the poorest living in the city since the 19th century. Luchesi (2015) and Sampaio and Pereira (2003) make a similar movement to denounce a gift which reproduces the public and social inefficiency of dealing with the tenement problem. Simões Jr. (1991) places expectations on the mobilization of the blind, but shows that the medium-term objectives of the organized population include leaving the tenements and accessing the property.

Kowarick (2013) emphasizes the feelings of humiliation and subordination among tenants, and the acceptance of their inferior condition in society. Prado (2015) shows how the lack of financial conditions to seek other places to live, the blind are highly vulnerable, subject to the risks of unhealthiness, violence and uncertainty. Camargo (2011) demonstrates how the tenement owners in Campinas in the country side of São Paulo, who live in the tenements, are pressured by the construction companies to dispose of worn out and devalued properties and to move to the outskirts of the city.

Other studies with a reporting bias are based on contemporary diagnosis. Kohara and Piccini (1999) point to the high profitability of tenements for owners and intermediaries; Labhab FAUUSP (2004) shows the exorbitant amounts charged for water and light due to collective charges that increase the consumption in the buildings and end up fitting it into higher and more

expensive consumption ranges. Kohara (2012) and Grace Costa et. al (2011) argue that the countless expressions of precarious housing, the compromise of income and social segregation make tenements a factor in the reproduction of poverty and the expansion of social inequality, even with the struggles of the last decades.

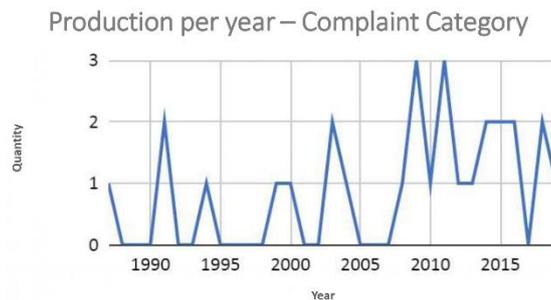
Kohara (2009) shows how insecurity, lack of study conditions and frequent changes of housing harm the school performance of children living in tenements. Andalaft and Barrella (2018) survey and qualify tenement health indicators in Santos, showing unsatisfactory conditions of thermal, acoustic and humidity comfort. Also in the case of Santos, Micheletti et. al (2009) show the high prevalence of mental health disorders in tenement dwellers. Santo Amore et. al (2016) shows how structuring informality, such as the lack of a rental contract with the tenement owner and the lack of access to the state's social and housing programs, are additional factors in the difficulty of keeping the family in good conditions even in the midst of social vulnerability. Uriarte (2019) shows two recent trends in the slums of the old center of Salvador: drug dealing and organized occupations, these being in houses and buildings by poor people, mostly black people, linked to the *Sem Teto* movements.

Another aspect of complaint in the literature brings the State's omission in facing the problem. Vieira and Kohara (2008) interpret this omission in the lack of commitment to social issues of the majority of public managers, from a hygienist view of the ruling class, from the fact that relations in tenements are established among private individuals, of little visibility in the urban landscape and also of little social pressure from residents. Colela (1991) and Martins (2011) point out how the hygienist view of the ruling class shaped public housing policies in the first half of the twentieth century, especially in relation to those who were curbed, calling them addiction, delinquency and promiscuity. Kara José (2010) and Domenecis (2014) show how, starting in the mid-1990s, part of the center's shrunken population and poor workers organized themselves by asking the government to use idle buildings in the center of São Paulo for housing.

Labhab FAUUSP (2004) shows the lack of structure of the Housing Secretariat to inspect tenement houses and issue declarations of collective housing that would allow tariff reduction. Simone (2014) raises the case of "workshops - tenements" that are places of housing and work for Bolivian immigrants who are not inspected by the government. Veras (1987) warns at the end of the twentieth century, how the tenements, slums and occupations are a lack of response to the right to housing constant in the federal constitution of the state against the most needy population. Amore and Santoro (2016) show how the permanence of curved properties in the Tamanduateí river basin in the city of São Paulo, with the birth and death of new tenements, demands the need for integrated urban actions by the government. Schor (2000), Bianchini and Schicchi (2009) and Silva and Sanches (2018) interpret how government production of social housing in the central region of São Paulo has been inconsistent and subject to fluctuations in the political-electoral landscape at both municipal and government levels. Pasternak (2003) points out the lack of integration between city halls, the state government and the federal government in the metropolitan region of São Paulo, hampering the effectiveness of housing policies for low-income populations.

We also verified the number of publications within the complaint category per year, as shown in Graph 4.

**Graph 4 - Publications per year in the complaint category**



Source: Authors, 2020

We used the range from 1987 to 2019, with a greater number of publications between 2008 and 2019, with 68% within the category.

Table 2 shows the fifteen in the scientific literature classified as *potential*.

**Table 2 - Analytical category: Potential**

Author (s)	Title	Chronological period	Territorial focus of the study
Luciana de Assis Dias (2019)	Childhood and tenement, the important role of public space	2018	City of São Paulo - District Glicério
Débora Sanches (2017)	ArquiCriança: study based on children living in tenements and pensions in São Paulo	2015	City of São Paulo - Bairro do Glicério
Felipe Villela de Miranda (2016)	From tenement to occupation: contributions of homeless people in the central region of São Paulo to insurgent urban planning	2010-2015	São Paulo City
Juan Guillermo Gil García (2013)	Notes on constructive and social typologies of tenements in downtown São Paulo, Brazil	2013	São Paulo City
Suellen Ferreira da Costa (2012)	Minha Maloca - Housing project in downtown São Paulo for tenement dwellers	2012	City of São Paulo - Downtown
Governo do Estado de SP - CDHU (2012)	General report of the tenement program - CDHU	2012	Cities of São Paulo and Santos
Alonso Antonio López Silva (2011)	Restoration of tenements in the central area of the city of São Paulo	2005- 2010	São Paulo City
Simone Gatti (2011)	The Nova Luz project and the tenement program in downtown São Paulo	2010	City of São Paulo - Bairro Luz
Thais Cristina Silva de Souza (2011)	Tenements in São Paulo: programs / surveys / reports	2008 -2010	City of São Paulo - Downtown

Livia de Souza Lima (2011)	Urban growth and sub-housing conditions: Study of the effectiveness of the Tenement Program in the city of São Paulo	2005-2010	São Paulo City
Alonso Lopez, Elisabete França, Keila Prado Costa (2010)	Tenements - the São Paulo experience	2010	São Paulo City
Lia Affonso Ferreira Barros; James Patrick Maher Junior (2010)	Simulation in a well-protected area with social housing	2009	City of São Paulo - District Brás
Andrea Piccini (2004)	Tenements in the city: concept and prejudice in the restructuring of the urban center of São Paulo	1986 a 1995	São Paulo City
Vanessa Massara (1999)	Intervention in tenements in the city of São Paulo - 1990s	década de 1990	City of São Paulo - Downtown
Francisco de Assis Comaru, Alex Kenya Abiko (1998)	Housing intervention in tenements in the city of São Paulo: the Celso Garcia collective effort	1998	City of São Paulo - District Brás

Source: Authors, 2020

This set of texts deals with the tenements as *potential*. Without ignoring the precariousness and exploitation aspects, these studies highlight that the tenement modality was the element that ensured the permanence of low-income residents in the city center, and that the spaces can be remodeled to better accommodate this population. It is a literature with many proposals, with guidelines and projects that seek to make it possible for this permanence to be perpetuated, in better conditions of habitability, and that show that results in this area are possible if there is the engagement of public authorities.

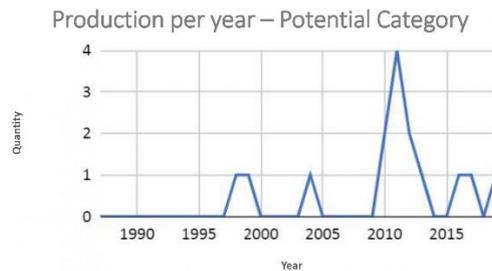
Miranda (2016) shows how forms of housing in occupations in downtown São Paulo can be used as project inputs. Massara (1999) and Piccini (2004) analyze the projects applied in the center of São Paulo with the shortened population. Comaru and Abiko (1998) show how the pilot project Celso Garcia in the neighborhood of Brás in São Paulo, of the joint effort to replace the tenements, was successful even in the midst of difficulties in exchanging municipal management. López, France and Costa (2010). Lopez Silva (2011), Lima (2011) and SP Gov - CDHU (2012) systematize the experience of intervention in tenements carried out between 2005 and 2010, highlighting the advances in terms of understanding the problem by the State and the incremental gains achieved.

Souza (2011) assumes the Moura law and the city hall program (2005-2010) as advances, survey 30 tenements included in the city hall program, and identifies changes in suitability in 11 of them. Gatti, (2011), defends the possibilities for the population to remain in the tenements, but points out that in the Nova Luz perimeter only 4 of 53 tenements have undergone an adaptation process. Sanches (2017) develops intervention guidelines based on children's needs, in the space to study and play. Dias (2019) demonstrates the applicability of a shared social housing project adapted to the needs of the community through the needs of tenement dwellers. Barros and Maher Junior (2010) designed a building adapted for tenement dwellers in

the Brás neighborhood, in an area surrounding a well-preserved site without distorting the site. Costa (2012) and Gil Garcia (2013) carry out intervention proposals to replace tenements in the Bela Vista neighborhood in São Paulo in a sustainable and holistic manner.

We also verified the number of publications within the *potential* category per year, as shown in Graph 5.

**Graph 5 - Publications per year in the potentiality category**



Source: Authors, 2020

We used the range from 1987 to 2019, with a greater number of publications between 2009 and 2013, with 60% within the category.

Table 3 shows the six classified as *reality*.

**Table 3 - Reality analytical category**

Author (s)	Title	Chronological period	Territorial focus of the study
Thais Cristina Silva de Souza (2018)	Parities: the tenements of São Paulo (Brazil) and the islands of Porto (Portugal)	2018	Brazil - City of São Paulo and Portugal - City of Porto
Tereza Herling (2016)	Planning instruments for the elaboration of the São Paulo Municipal Housing Plan: prioritizing investment in precarious settlements	2000-2009	São Paulo City
Octavie Paris (2013)	(In)visibility of the poor in the city through the prism of São Paulo tenements in Brazil	2012	City of São Paulo - District Bela Vista
Maria Ruth Amaral de Sampaio (2007)	The São Paulo tenement between the Social Science and Politics	2007	São Paulo City
Neide Maria de Almeida Pinto (2003)	Between proximity and distance: sociability between families living in tenements in the city of São Paulo	2002	São Paulo City
Silvia Maria Schor, Marisa do Espírito Santo Borin (1997)	Adapted and designed tenements in the city of São Paulo	1994	São Paulo City

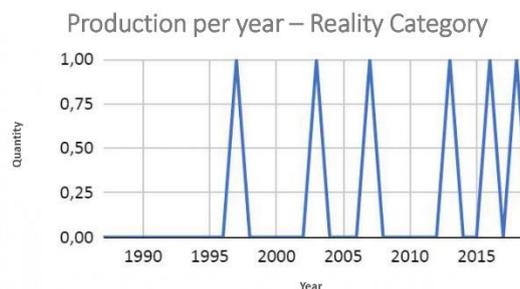
Source: Authors, 2020

This set which we define as *reality*, which is more concerned with understanding the mechanics of the tenement's functioning than with the binomial denunciation-restorative intervention. Schor and Borin (1997) seek to identify if there are significant differences in functioning between “conceived” (those born with rental units) and “adapted” tenements (those that were originally single-family homes), and conclude that they are very similar spaces in what it concerns the average number of units, density, rent value and management methods. Paris (2012) problematizes the invisibility of tenements, both in the city landscape and in the residents as social subjects, immersed in a web of ambiguous and not very transparent property, rental and management relations, demonstrating how these residents fit into the city.

Pinto (2002) realizes that the physical proximity between neighbors and the sharing of spaces does not create intimacy; on the contrary, it creates mistrust and the need to keep away from gossip, showing the intrinsic relationships among the tenement population. Herling (2016) shows the planning of the municipal housing secretariat in the city of São Paulo to identify social housing with a focus on precarious settlements such as tenements. Souza (2018) makes a comparative effort of tenements and intervention policies in São Paulo and Porto.

We also verified the number of publications within the *reality* category per year, as shown in Graph 6.

**Graph 6 - Publications per year in the reality category**



Source: Authors, 2020

We used the range from 1987 to 2019, with a greater number of publications between 2007 and 2018, with 67% within the category.

## 5 CONCLUSION

In this article, through the review of academic literature with bibliometric analysis on the theme of tenement houses, we discussed how this subject has been addressed in studies over the years, with the vast majority, reported in this article, more than 57% focusing on denouncing precariousness and the absence of public power in this vulnerable population. 30% focused on the potential of the tenements as places of residence in the center for the low-income population and 12% showing the reality of these people without making a single *complaint* or showing their *potential*. We also point out that 57% of the scientific literature analyzed were articles in scientific publications, 76% were from universities in the city of São Paulo, and almost half of the total was produced by USP.

In the seven publications of public bodies such as the CDHU of the government of the State of São Paulo, the COHAB of the municipality of São Paulo and others of SEADE and IPEA, we have 43% fall into the *complaint* category, 43% in the *potential* category and 14% in the *reality* category, showing that the percentage compared to the whole analyzed is divided between *complaint* and *potential*.

After the approval and regulation of the Moura Law (law 10.928 / 1991) in the municipality of São Paulo, which recognized the existence of tenements and guides minimum quality conditions for buildings and their habitability, (SOUZA 2011), which is still a reference today for tenements in the country, there was an intense scientific production with forty-six, equivalent to 94% of what was covered in this article after this law.

Despite the category denouncing having scientific productions since 1987, most publications are concentrated in the period from 2008 to 2019, and the potential with greater quantity between 2009 until 2013 and the reality within the period between 2007 and 2018. This greater scientific production within the tenement theme was a response to a change in public policies in the municipality and the state of São Paulo, aiming to apply the Moura law of 1991.<sup>1</sup>

This tenement theme has been studied by different lines in courses in the most varied areas of knowledge, including architecture with more than 51% of scientific literature, and engineering, geography, sociology and even philosophy, showing its interdisciplinary nature. And applying this categorization of literature in three major parts only in the area of architecture, we have percentages very close to the general context, where 52% are *complaint*, 40% *potential* and 8% *reality*.

Decent housing as a right for all people is included in the 1988 Federal Constitution and is part of the UN SDGs with a goal by 2030, seeking to guarantee the following points: security of tenure, availability of services, economy, habitability, accessibility and appropriate location (IPEA -agenda2030, 2020), and in many cases these basic premises are disregarded for the blind. The deepening of studies on tenements, the only possible place of housing for many, being estimated in the city of São Paulo alone at around 596 thousand people (SEADE, CDHU, 2002), if necessary.

Although the tenement theme is so necessary, we observe a gap in the literature referring to these molds, which we suggest that it can be carried out by deepening other singularities not addressed here in certain intervals of time. A very important point that we did not find in depth in previous studies, a study on the role of intermediaries, who are the ones who guarantee the functioning of the tenements through: management of used rooms, vacant

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<sup>1</sup> In 2004, in the municipality of São Paulo, a tenement intervention program started with the original building remaining, providing that the property could remain in private hands. Performing the notification of tenants and explorers of the tenements and the requirement of adaptation to the Moura Law, demanding the permanence of the population, and at the same time offering the possibility of loans. In addition, in 2005 the program was redesigned in conjunction with a state intervention program in tenement houses, the Tenement Action Program (PAC, Portuguese acronym), a program partially financed with IDB resources. PAC had two main areas of activity: the acquisition of curved properties in central regions, its demolition and the construction of new housing units; and the issuance of letters of credit so that tenants can find a more adequate housing solution (LOPEZ SILVA, 2011; PAC, 2012), this program being left aside with the end of IDB financing to the state government in 2011.

and common areas, conflicts of residents, the withdrawal rent and transfer to the owner, payment of energy and water bills; this fundamental axis in the tenements is our object of research in the academic master's degree from Uninove, Universidade Nove de Julho, in the smart and sustainable cities program, aiming to contribute to the discussion of tenements in the city of São Paulo.

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