

THE TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENTS OF URBAN EXPANSION IN LONDRINA-PR

OS DESDOBRAMENTOS TERRITORIAIS DA EXPANSÃO URBANA EM LONDRINA-PR

LOS DESARROLLOS TERRITORIALES DE LA EXPANSIÓN URBANA EN LONDRINA-PR



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ABSTRACT: The fragmented capitalist city is shaped by multiple social agents; in the Brazilian urban context, landowners and real estate developers stand out for fostering speculation, producing artificial land scarcity, and driving urban sprawl to extract land rent. This article presents a qualitative analysis of the recent urban expansion of Londrina and its relationship with the city's "edges," focusing on rural-urban transition areas. The research seeks to understand this expansion through the approval of new subdivisions, emphasizing the main elements of this process and its consolidation over decades, with particular attention to the 2010s. Currently, urban expansion takes place through the development of middle- and upper-income subdivisions at the urban periphery, often lacking infrastructure, while already serviced areas remain vacant awaiting valorization. The methodological procedures included a literature review on the expansion of Londrina since its origins, fieldwork, and consultations with municipal agencies to obtain up-to-date data.

KEYWORDS: Urban planning. Urban-rural relationship. Urban infrastructures.

RESUMO: A cidade capitalista fragmentada é moldada por diversos agentes sociais; no espaço urbano brasileiro, destacam-se proprietários fundiários e promotores imobiliários, que fomentam a especulação, produzem escassez mercantil de terra e impulsoram o espraiamento urbano visando à extração de renda. Este artigo realiza uma análise qualitativa da expansão urbana recente de Londrina e sua relação com as "bordas" da cidade, com foco nas áreas de transição rural-urbano. A pesquisa busca compreender essa expansão a partir da aprovação de novos loteamentos, enfatizando seus principais elementos e sua consolidação ao longo de décadas, especialmente na década de 2010. Atualmente, observa-se a abertura de loteamentos de classe média e alta nas bordas do perímetro urbano, áreas ainda sem infraestrutura, enquanto espaços já infraestruturados permanecem vazios aguardando valorização. Os procedimentos metodológicos incluíram levantamento bibliográfico sobre a expansão de Londrina desde sua gênese, trabalhos de campo e consultas a órgãos municipais para obtenção de dados recentes.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Planejamento Urbano. Relação urbano-rural. Infraestruturas urbanas.

RESUMEN: La ciudad capitalista fragmentada está configurada por diversos agentes sociales; en el contexto urbano brasileño destacan los propietarios de tierras y los promotores inmobiliarios, quienes fomentan la especulación, generan escasez mercantil de suelo y estimulan la expansión urbana con el fin de extraer renta. Este artículo realiza un análisis cualitativo de la expansión urbana reciente de Londrina y su relación con los bordes de la ciudad, con atención a las zonas de transición rural-urbana. La investigación busca comprender este proceso a partir de la aprobación de nuevos loteamientos, destacando sus elementos principales y su consolidación a lo largo de décadas, especialmente en la década de 2010. Actualmente, la expansión se manifiesta en urbanizaciones de clase media y alta en la periferia, frecuentemente sin infraestructura, mientras áreas ya equipadas permanecen vacantes en espera de valorización. La metodología incluyó revisión bibliográfica, trabajo de campo y consultas a organismos municipales para obtener datos recientes.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Planificación urbana. Relación urbano-rural. Infraestructuras urbanas.



Introduction

The capitalist urban space, according to Corrêa (2004), is fragmented and articulated in accordance with the interests of capital; the interests of certain social agents prevail over those of others, generating class conflict to which society is subjected. This class conflict, as argued by Souza (2010), should not be neutralized by urban planning; rather, it should stimulate public debate toward a form of planning that seeks social justice and improved quality of life.

In the Brazilian urban space, these social agents—especially landowners and real estate developers—act by promoting real estate speculation, the commodified production of land scarcity, and, consequently, the spatial sprawl of urban areas. For Santos (1993, p. 96, our translation), “[...] cities are large because there is speculation and vice versa; there is speculation because there are vacant lots and vice versa; because there are vacant lots, cities are large.” As a result, problems related to access to housing and basic infrastructure are intensified, leading to the peripheralization of poorer populations and extreme social inequality.

In this context, the objective of this article is to analyze the recent urban expansion of the city of Londrina and how this expansion relates to the city’s “edges,” with a focus on transitional areas between rural and urban spaces. The study seeks to understand Londrina’s urban expansion by examining the main elements of this process and its materialization over successive decades, in order to elucidate the transformations that have occurred, particularly since 2010.

An introductory characterization of the study area is required. The municipality of Londrina is located in the northern region of the state of Paraná, with an estimated population of 563,943 inhabitants (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics [IBGE], 2020) and a total territorial area of 1,715.897 km², of which the rural portion accounts for 90% (Londrina Institute of Research and Urban Planning [IPPUL], 2018). Since the municipality’s creation in 1934, the city has surpassed the limits of the urban plan previously designed by the Companhia de Terras Norte do Paraná (Companhia de Terras Norte do Paraná [CMNP], 1975 *apud* Nascimento, 2014).

In Londrina, as is characteristic of the occupation of northern Paraná, there was a strong rural exodus, with the 1980s considered the peak of impoverishment and displacement of rural populations. Coffee cultivation maintained its hegemony until the mid-1970s; subsequently, cotton and ramie cultivation emerged, employing a significant labor force. After the 1990s, these crops were almost entirely replaced by the soybean–wheat binomial, which had already appeared as the predominant cultivation on some properties since the early 1980s



(IPPUL, 2018). In 1970, the urban population represented 71.69% of the total; by 1980, this percentage had increased to 88.48%. In the 2010 census, the urban population accounted for 97.40% of the inhabitants. According to IBGE, in 2010 Londrina's urban population totaled 493,520 residents, while the rural population comprised 13,181 (IBGE, 2010).

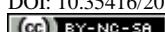
Beyond population figures, there are factors embedded in the city's forms and functions that express its recent sociospatial formation. Currently, Londrina is undergoing an ongoing process of urban expansion, marked by the development of both middle- and upper-class subdivisions at the edges of the urban perimeter. The Londrina Institute of Research and Urban Planning reports that vacant urban land within the perimeter accounts for 46.8% of the city (IPPUL, 2018). Nevertheless, the approval of subdivisions in areas still lacking infrastructure continues, while areas where infrastructure is already in place remain vacant—mostly awaiting real estate appreciation.

To achieve the objectives of this analysis, the methodological procedures included: a review and consultation of the theoretical literature addressing Londrina's urban expansion since its genesis; fieldwork; an interview with a representative of the construction companies' union in Londrina; and consultations with municipal agencies to collect data on recent urban expansion. Technical reports produced by the Londrina Institute of Research and Urban Planning (IPPUL) and data provided by the Municipal Department of Finance regarding subdivision approvals were consulted. Fieldwork was conducted in several new subdivisions, with a focus on those approved after 2010, and the interview was carried out as part of the master's dissertation² that resulted in this article. The article is structured into two sections, in addition to the introduction and final considerations: the first addresses the early stages of Londrina's urban expansion process; the second discusses this process and its territorial developments from the 2010s onward.

Urban Expansion in Londrina: Genesis and Developments

Since the municipality's creation in 1934, Londrina has exceeded the boundaries of the urban plan previously designed by the Companhia de Terras Norte do Paraná (CMNP, 1975 *apud* Nascimento, 2014). This growth was primarily driven by strong agricultural production—

² Master's thesis entitled *Transformações socioespaciais em Londrina: As estratégias dos agentes produtores do espaço na incorporação das terras rurais em urbanas*.



especially the coffee economy—which attracted capital and required an urban segment capable of supplying industrial goods and infrastructure, giving rise to an urbanization process that served as the city's economic base until the 1970s.

From the mid-1960s onward, rural districts underwent a process of capitalist modernization, increasing grain production and incorporating machinery and industrial inputs. According to Bragueto and Cunha (2002), the industrialization of agriculture took the form of conservative modernization, producing a social division of labor in the agricultural sector that is linked to a territorial division of labor. The authors argue that this process “[...] led to the specialization of certain spaces in the cultivation of products aligned with the interests of this industrialization policy, while small producers engaged in food production were displaced to areas distant from consumer markets” (Bragueto; Cunha, 2002, p. 33, our translation).

This spatial specialization led the municipality of Londrina to register agricultural activities accounting for 3.45% of GDP in 2003; by 2015, this share had declined to 1.54%. According to the 2006 Agricultural Census, nearly 50% of the municipality's cultivated areas were occupied by temporary crops and large-scale farming; approximately 30% by planted and natural pastures; and 15% by native forests and woodlands (IPPUL, 2018).

The analysis conducted by IPPUL (2018) of economic activities in agricultural establishments by area shows that, in 2006, most activities consisted of temporary crops, followed by livestock and animal husbandry, and then permanent crops. It can be concluded that the strongest segment of Londrina's agrarian economy is agribusiness, particularly export-oriented crops such as soybeans and corn (IPPUL, 2018).

Agricultural modernization and the rural exodus led to population growth in the city, while infrastructure failed to keep pace, resulting in significant sociospatial segregation. This process consolidated agricultural production on an industrial material basis, intensifying urban transformations and problems such as land concentration and the proletarianization of rural workers (Bragueto, 1996).

The 1970s were marked primarily by the actions of the local government through the implementation of several housing complexes for lower-income populations, a practice that continued into the 1980s. This period reflects demographic and territorial growth in the city's urban expansion, driven by migratory processes imposed by successive agrarian transformations. It was also characterized by the formation of a significant number of substandard settlements—defined by IBGE (2020) as illegal land occupation and construction on land owned by others, whether public or private, for housing purposes in urban areas—and,

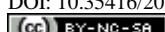


more broadly, by an irregular urban pattern, a lack of essential public services, and locations subject to restrictions on occupation (IBGE, 2020). In Londrina, according to Costa and Antonello (2021), in 2010 there were 2,987 families living in precarious settlements, 1,722 families in irregular occupations, and 3,506 families in irregular subdivisions.

Among the measures implemented in this context was the new housing policy, whose financing was based on savings accounts and the Severance Pay Guarantee Fund (FGTS), administered by Caixa Econômica Federal and the National Housing Bank (BNH). This policy initiative resulted in the large-scale construction of housing complexes in Brazilian cities, which were locally managed by housing companies. Most of these housing developments were built on the urban periphery, far from the main city centers, where land prices were lower (Cocato, 2021). These projects generated profits for capitalists, both through the transformation of rural land—subsequently sold by the square meter—and through the mandatory provision of infrastructure such as energy networks, sanitation systems, schools, health centers, and other facilities required to accompany residential expansion. Many areas located between the city center and the new peripheral neighborhoods were indirectly valorized. As a direct consequence of the new national housing policy, the 1970s saw a sharp increase in the implementation of subdivisions in Londrina (Cocato, 2021).

Beidack and Fresca (2011) identify the creation of the Londrina Housing Company (Cohab-Londrina) in 1965 as a milestone in directing the city's expansion—particularly toward the northern zone. According to the authors, 44% of the housing complexes built in Londrina between 1970 and 2007 were located in this area (Beidack; Fresca, 2011). Distant from the existing urban fabric at the time, this zone was selected for the construction of housing complexes aimed at slum clearance and the provision of low-income housing.

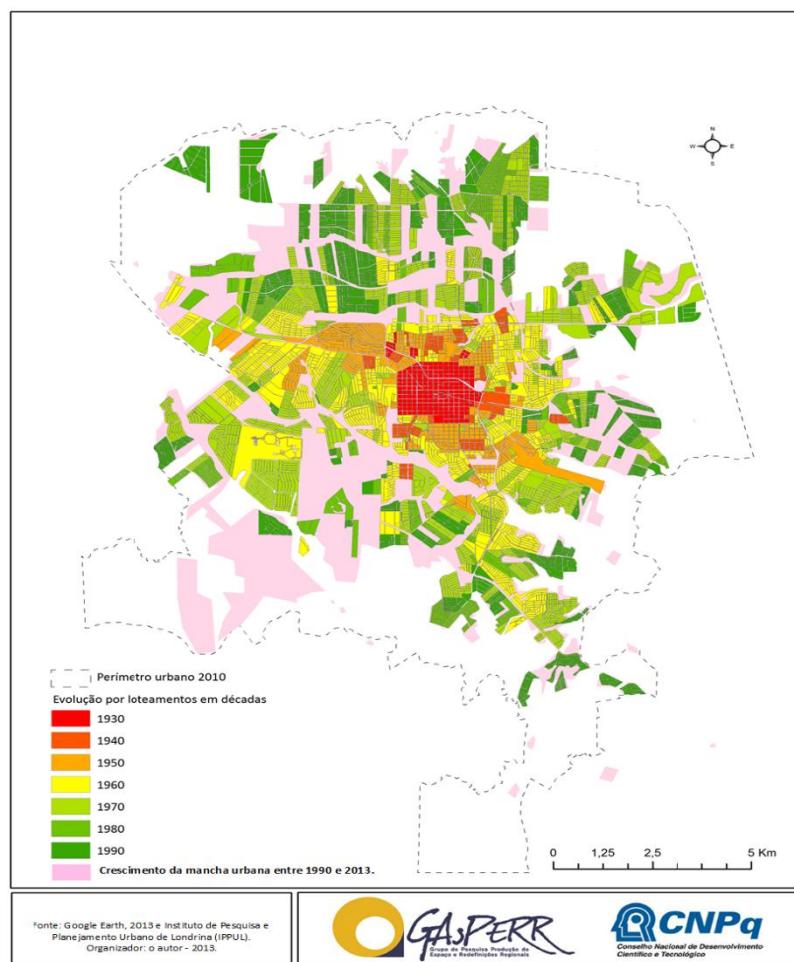
With urban expansion driven by the construction of housing complexes throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, urban voids emerged between the central, northern, and southern portions of the city, which, through the installation of infrastructure, stimulated real estate capital. In the 1990s, an intensified physical-territorial expansion occurred, driven by housing complexes, privately developed subdivisions, and an increase in the number of industrial facilities. From this period onward, real estate activity became particularly notable due to the large number of exclusive gated communities—of various types and forms—indicating new trends and, in many cases, reproducing residential self-segregation (Fresca, 2002). In the same decade, the southwestern portion of the city experienced a new area of urban expansion



following the inauguration of the Catuaí Shopping Center in 1990, increasingly bringing rural and urban areas into contact.

It is important to note that, in general, until the mid-1980s, this area—surrounding the Catuaí Shopping Center—was effectively incorporated through public sector action. From that point onward, and with greater intensity during the 1990s, there was a significant increase in private subdivisions developed in urban voids that had been underutilized or, until recently, used for agricultural purposes. Real estate developments increasingly targeted high-income populations through exclusive, high-standard gated communities and leisure estates (Fresca, 2002). The physical-territorial expansion of the city in this area has not yet been completed, and several projects are ongoing, with prospects for continuation over many years, as exemplified by the Gleba Palhano development—an area of vertical condominiums aimed at middle- and upper-class populations. The expansion process up to 2012 can be observed in the map showing the evolution of subdivisions by decade in the city of Londrina (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – Decadal evolution of subdivisions in the city of Londrina

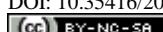


Source: Nascimento (2014).

Figure 1 shows that during the 1970s and 1980s there was a large concentration of subdivisions in the northern zone, characterizing housing complexes implemented through government programs. In the 1990s, expansion toward the urban edges became consolidated across all regions. From the 2000s onward, there was an increased tendency toward the implementation of high- and middle-income horizontal gated communities, particularly in the southwestern region of the urban perimeter. Currently, numerous gated communities exist in the city, with those located in the central-southern area standing out, including Royal Golf Residence, Royal Park Residence, Royal Forest Residence, AlphaVille, and Sun Lake.

Although housing complexes expanded significantly during the 1970s and 1980s, the consolidation of other housing policies only occurred in the mid-2000s, when the city once again became the target of housing initiatives. In 2009, construction began under the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (PMCMV), with particular emphasis on the Vista Bela housing complex—one of the largest in Brazil at the time—located in the northern zone. This development was delivered entirely lacking collective urban services such as schools, hospitals, health centers, commercial facilities, green areas, and leisure spaces (Pagani, 2013).

Once again, the city was marked by a large housing project isolated from the urban environment and disconnected from the existing urban fabric (Pagani, 2013). The PMCMV operates in partnership with private companies, allocating most of the subsidies to these firms, which are responsible for the subdivision, construction, and sale of housing units. In order to secure profits, companies select the cheapest land, concentrating housing production in these areas. For this reason, peripheral zones become particularly attractive for such developments, making this a public policy that fosters real estate speculation. Land at the edge of the urban perimeter is attractive due to its low price; many real estate developers purchase rural land near this boundary and hold it in anticipation of a profitable project that will yield significant financial returns through future land appreciation. For the construction of such developments, it was necessary to amend the Urban Perimeter Law, governed by the Master Plan, which allowed the expansion of the urban area and, consequently, the conversion of rural land into urban land (Wiltemburg, 2014). In this context, the following subsection aims to characterize and discuss urban expansion from the 2010s onward and its territorial implications.



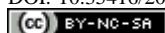
Urban Expansion from the 2010s Onward: Current Directions and the Case of the Eastern Zone

According to Rosolém (2012), Londrina's Urban Perimeter Law has undergone several amendments. Records of mapped urban perimeters date from 1982, 1998, and 2012, with the expansions implemented in 1998 and 2012 established through specific municipal legislation, namely Municipal Law No. 7,484/1998 and Municipal Law No. 11,661/2012. It is essential to emphasize that perimeter expansion is not always justified by the concrete expansion of subdivisions; rather, it may occur in anticipation of future real estate valorization, as well as to incorporate existing rural subdivisions into the urban zone.

From the 2010s onward, the trend toward the development of high- and middle-income horizontal gated communities in the southwestern region of the urban perimeter continued. However, the study by Amorim (2011) introduces a new perspective on Londrina's expansion, identifying a new growth vector concentrated in the eastern zone. Beginning in the 2010s, the local government—seeking to stimulate renewed valorization and expansion of the urban fabric—initiated the construction of the Municipal Theater within the Marco Zero Complex, alongside roadway improvements along the main traffic corridors of the Eastern Zone and other investments and upgrades, including the construction of the Federal University of Technology–Paraná (UTFPR). According to Amorim (2011), these two public investments came to function as “anchors” of local real estate valorization, shaping expectations of rising land prices even before their completion, as in the case of both the theater and the UTFPR campus.

In its original design, the Marco Zero Complex was conceived as a business, cultural, and commercial hub, intended to include the Municipal Theater; the Boulevard Shopping Mall, with more than 300 stores, 12 movie theaters, and seven anchor stores; a hypermarket; a convention center with capacity for three thousand people; and seven commercial and residential towers, in addition to other private developments.

It is important to note that the initial intentions to valorize the area were primarily private, largely mediated by local developers involved in managing the project. However, by constructing the Municipal Theater at the site, the public sector enabled and effectively initiated the process of valorization (Amorim, 2011). At the time of publication of this article, construction of the Boulevard Shopping Mall had already been completed and the mall was in operation, along with several surrounding retail establishments and commercial towers. Only the Municipal Theater remains unfinished, due to delays in the transfer of public funds to the



construction company responsible for the project. As Amorim (2011, p. 230, our translation) states:

The case of the Eastern Zone is particularly fruitful in demonstrating this diachrony, as different socioeconomic segments coexist within the same fragmented and segregating space. This diachrony tends to intensify rapidly in the coming years, given the processes that are only just beginning in the area. The example of the Marco Zero Complex is especially illustrative, as it is located in an area surrounded by low-income neighborhoods, such as Fraternidade and Interlagos, which are adjacent to the site.

As the author highlights, this fragmented space encompasses an area that brings together housing complexes, irregular settlements (slums), and high-standard gated communities. In the eastern zone, evidence of diversity in both average land prices and types of occupation can be observed in the contrast between the Aeroporto and Brasília neighborhoods—where, in 2009, average plot prices ranged from R\$ 418,000 to R\$ 869,000—and the neighboring HU and Interlagos areas, where average prices were considerably lower, around R\$ 93,000 (Amorim, 2011). This characteristic is central to analyzing this new expansion vector in the municipality, which differs from the recent occupation of the southwestern region, predominantly marked by high-income populations. Figure 2 illustrates the main real estate developments in the eastern zone up to 2012.

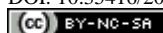
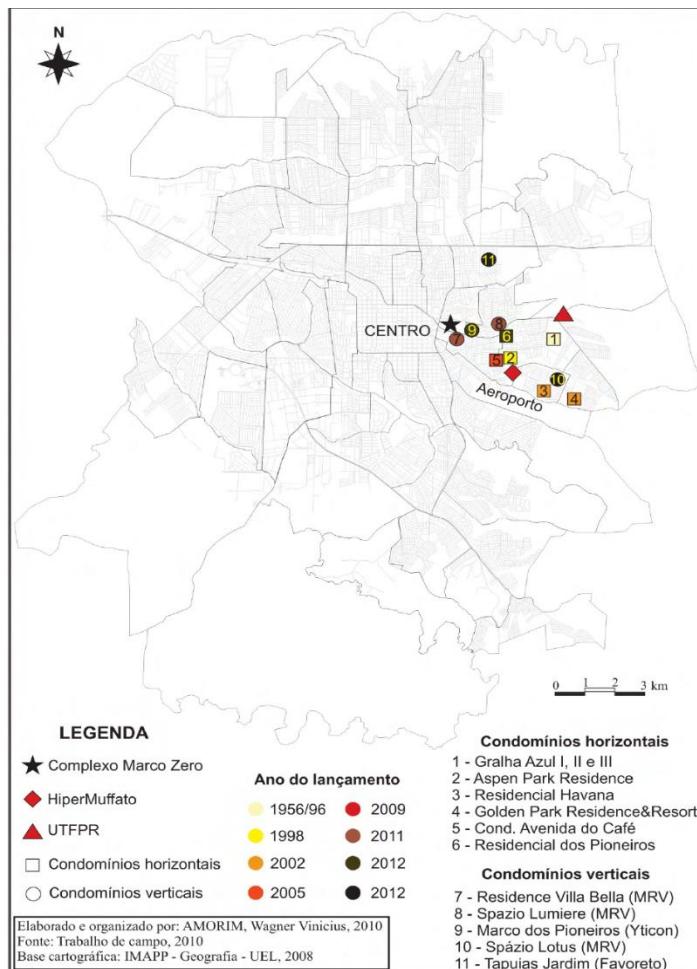


Figure 2 – Map of the main real estate developments in the eastern zone up to 2012

Source: Amorim (2011).

From the 2010s through 2023, the eastern zone has emerged as a major axis of expansion for private real estate developments in Londrina. The drivers of this expansion were investigated through an interview with the president of the Londrina Civil Construction Union and a brief analysis of a previous study on land prices in the city (Arôxa, 2016). It is evident that new expansion areas are shaped by conditions most favorable to maximizing profits for real estate developers. In Londrina, land prices have fluctuated in line with shifts in real estate market strategies. Arôxa (2016) presented a table showing changes in the price per square meter by neighborhood in Londrina between 2000 and 2015. Analyzing the urban–rural transition area in the southwestern region of the city, the author found that the Euro Royal condominium recorded the highest appreciation during the period, reaching R\$ 909.7/m², followed by Royal Golf (R\$ 502.8/m²), Tucanos (R\$ 497.9/m²), Alphaville I and II (R\$ 423.4/m²), and Royal Tennis (R\$ 407.3/m²). The author identifies a cycle of appreciation in condominium prices per

square meter beginning in 2006, intensifying in 2010 (Arôxa, 2016). The methodology employed involved collecting prices of undeveloped plots (land) advertised in the newspaper *Folha de Londrina* between 2000 and 2015.

All these neighborhoods are located in the southwestern region of Londrina, where intense land valorization occurred following the installation of the Catuaí Shopping Center in the 1990s. However, there is a clear need for more recent research on this valorization process, as significant changes have taken place since 2016, particularly after the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. According to the president of the Londrina Civil Construction Union (SINDUSCON), the city's expansion trend continues to be oriented toward the southwestern region; the highest land prices are concentrated in the southwest, while the eastern zone presents intermediate price levels. After the COVID-19 pandemic, demand for land increased sharply, and property values in Londrina rose significantly. The SINDUSCON president emphasizes that a greater expansion in the southwestern region did not occur due to a judicial restriction related to the buffer zone³ of the Mata dos Godoy conservation area⁴; as a result, the eastern zone emerged as the most important expansion vector (oral communication, 2024)⁵. This statement is particularly revealing, as it makes explicit the objective of construction companies to continue expanding toward the southwest and indicates that one of their strategies is to exert pressure on the municipal government to amend existing legislation.

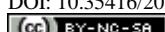
Thus, the new expansion areas—especially the eastern zone—although currently undergoing valorization, are not yet the most expensive areas within the urban perimeter. Nevertheless, they are experiencing strong growth precisely because of the diversity of housing typologies, encompassing high- and middle-income segments, as well as land prices that are more affordable for developers. It is also important to highlight the infrastructure investments carried out by the municipal government—such as the Marco Zero Complex, which includes the Boulevard Shopping Mall and the Municipal Theater (still unfinished)—along with several commercial establishments that have contributed to this expansion.

According to research conducted using records from the Subdivision Directorate of the Municipality of Londrina (Municipality of Londrina, 2026), a total of 50 private subdivisions were approved in the city between 2010 and 2021: 22 in the northern zone, 7 in

³ According to Federal Law No. 9,985/2000 - National System of Conservation Units (SNUC), buffer zones must be created to protect conservation units from negative impacts caused by activities in their surroundings. According to Article 49, it is prohibited to transform the buffer zone (ZA) into an urban zone.

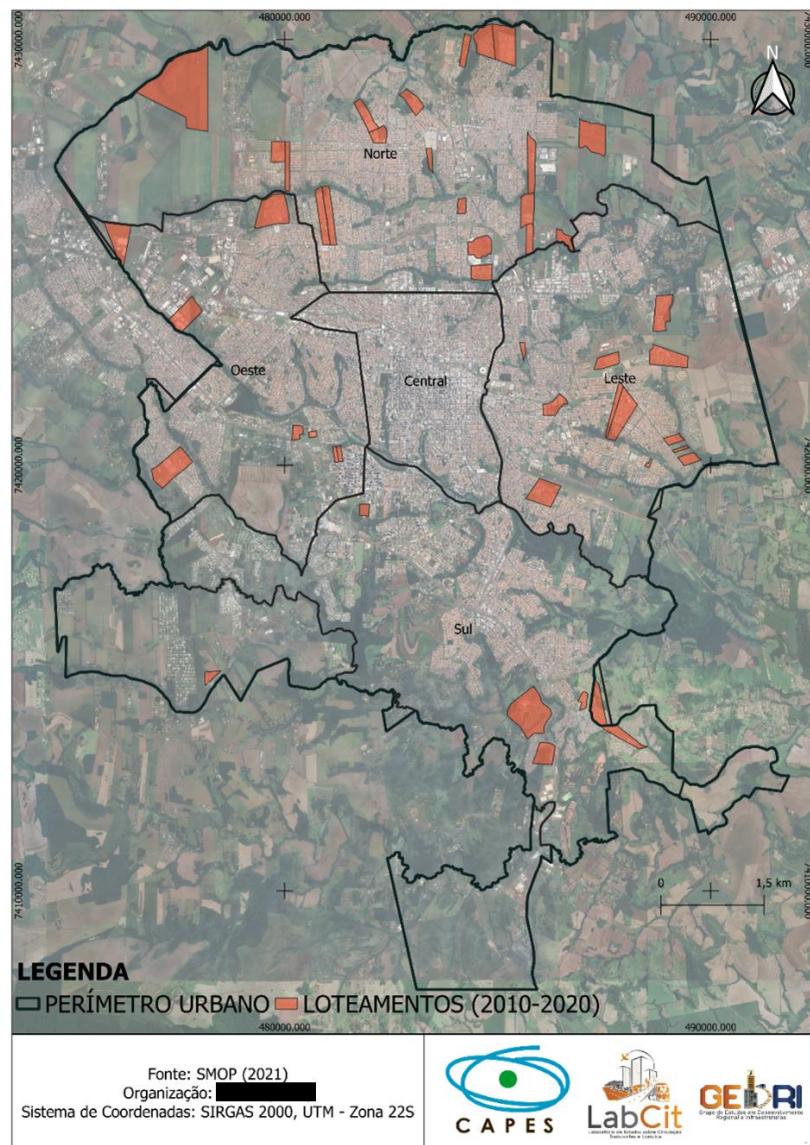
⁴Permanent Preservation Area located southwest of the urban perimeter of Londrina.

⁵Information provided by the President of SINDUSCON on February 16, 2024.



the southern zone (including the southwest), 9 in the western zone, and 12 in the eastern zone (Figure 3).

Figure 3 – Private subdivisions approved in Londrina between 2010 and 2021



Source: Author's own elaboration, adapted from the Municipality of Londrina (2022).

According to data from the Subdivision Directorate (Municipality of Londrina, 2026), during the same period (2010–2021), 12 private subdivisions were approved in the eastern zone, including three gated horizontal condominiums. It is possible to observe the construction and recent paving of several roads intended to provide infrastructure to new high-standard housing developments.

A striking characteristic of the eastern zone is the close proximity between high-standard neighborhoods and low-income housing complexes. An illustrative example is the

Ernani Moura Lima vertical housing complex (Figure 4). Located at the eastern edge of the city, this complex initially lacked basic infrastructure, and its surrounding roads were unpaved at the time of its implementation. It was only with the expansion of middle- and high-income housing developments that the area began to receive greater public and private investments—such as the completion of the Arco Leste roadway in 2021, which connects the eastern region to the rural zone.

Figure 4 – Ernani Moura Lima Housing Complex



Source: Author's own photograph.

A few kilometers from the Ernani Moura Lima complex—near UTFPR and along Avenida dos Pioneiros—several new developments by MRV and Paysage have emerged, two construction companies that currently play a prominent role in Londrina's real estate market. Figure 5 shows the Acquaville vertical condominium, developed by MRV Engenharia; Figure 6 presents signage advertising land sales in the Paysage Indaiá horizontal condominium, developed by Paysage. Figure 6 also includes the land sales office and perimeter walls of the Parque Tauá horizontal condominium.

Figure 5 – Acquaville vertical development



Source: Author's own photograph.

Figure 6 – Indaiá and Tauá horizontal developments in the eastern zone

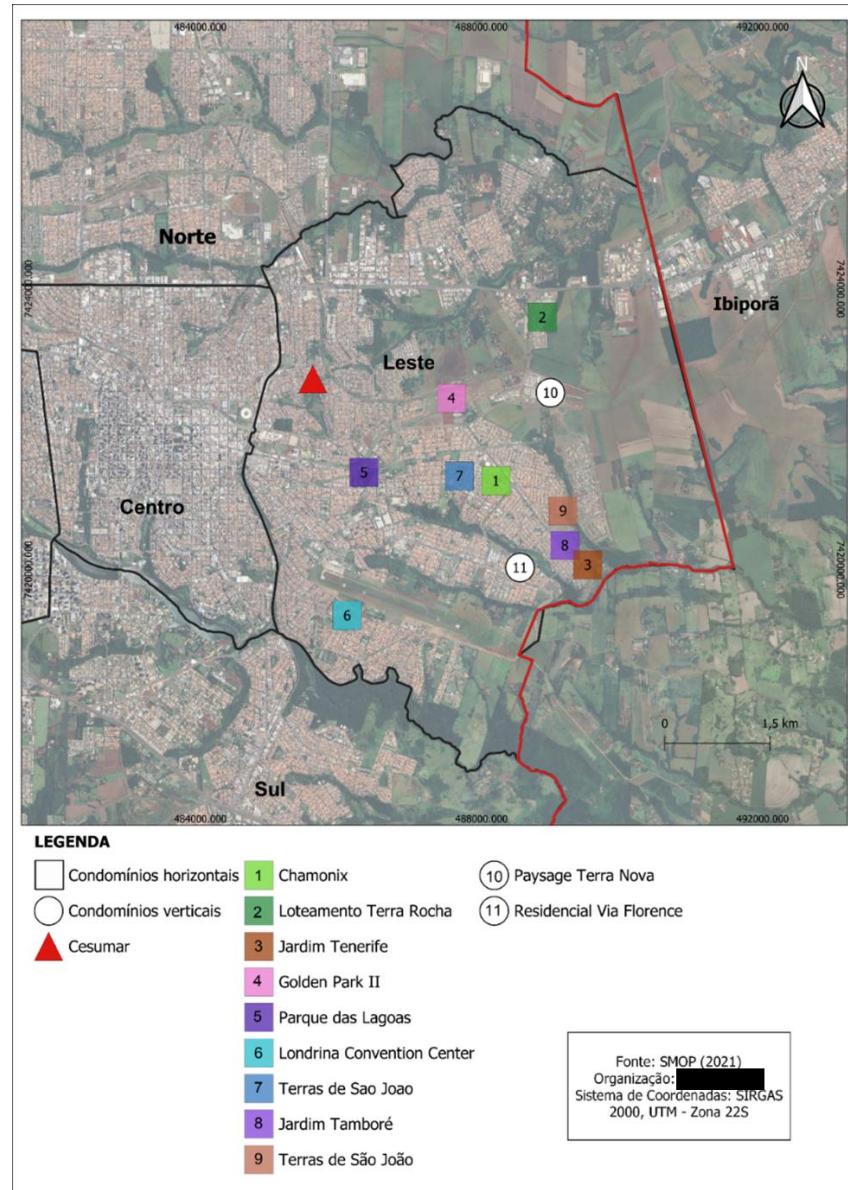


Source: Author's own photograph.

According to information available on the Paysage construction company's website⁶, Parque Tauá (Figure 6) was launched in 2013. The development includes bike lanes, public squares, commercial areas, and both open and gated residential lots. The condominium comprises 146 plots ranging from 306 m² to 613 m², with a total area of 78,041.75 m². Located at the eastern edge of the city, this condominium clearly reflects recurring characteristics of Londrina's urban expansion: it is distant from consolidated infrastructure and isolated at the boundary between urban and rural spaces.

In an effort to produce a more up-to-date mapping of subdivisions in the eastern zone, Figure 7 illustrates the subdivisions approved in this area from 2010 onward.

⁶ Available at: <https://paysage.com.br/empreendimento/parque-taua/>. Accessed in Jan. 2026.

Figure 7 – Subdivisions approved in the eastern zone, 2010–2021

Source: Author's own elaboration, adapted from SMOP (2021).

Within the period analyzed, nine horizontal condominiums and two vertical developments were identified, in addition to the Cesumar development. Compared to the map presented in Figure 1, there is a clear increase in the number of horizontal condominiums. The diversity that characterizes developments in the eastern zone persists, with the coexistence of projects aimed at low-income populations as well as middle- and high-income groups. Nevertheless, the predominance of horizontal condominiums indicates growth in developments targeting middle- and upper-income segments, driven by the sharp rise in land values in more highly valued areas—particularly the southwestern region, where horizontal condominiums have been significantly overvalued over the past decade.

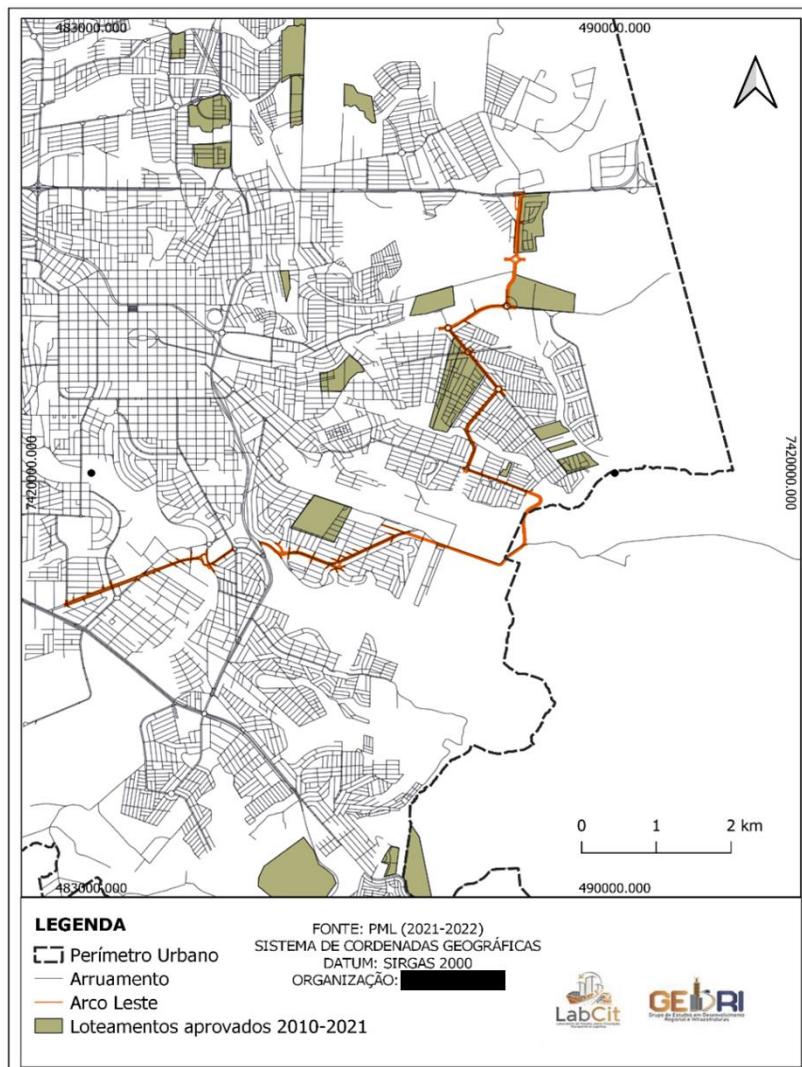
With the expansion of the eastern zone, the analysis reaches an expansion vector that brings the rural–urban interface into focus. Recent expansion has been driven, among other factors, by the construction of access roads that increasingly connect urban and rural spaces in the eastern zone, alongside the expansion of subdivisions. One of the most recent changes was the construction of the Arco Leste roadway (Figure 8), which links Salgado Filho Avenue and Robert Koch Avenue in the eastern zone to Limoeiro Road, located in the rural area.

Figure 8 – Arco Leste roadway in Londrina



Source: Oliveira (2021).

This roadway enables a development axis in the eastern zone by improving mobility and, consequently, fostering urban expansion and densification in the area. While it facilitates mobility for residents of both urban and rural zones, it also creates opportunities for predatory expansion that benefits real estate agents through the valorization of urban voids and real estate speculation. As shown in Figure 9, the Arco Leste functions primarily as an access route for new subdivisions established from 2010 onward.

Figure 9 – Arco Leste (2021)

Source: Prepared by the author.

The opening of new roadways—such as the Eastern Arc—enhances land and real estate values. The mechanism of real estate speculation results in urban sprawl, the expansion of the urban perimeter, and the construction of housing complexes or high-end condominiums in expansion areas. In the municipality of Londrina, these phenomena recur and create a predatory scenario of speculation and urban voids.

Another area that stands out as an axis of subdivision expansion is the northern zone, which, since 2010, has recorded a total of 22 subdivisions approved by the municipal government. Notably, this area includes the construction of popular housing developments under the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program, such as the Vista Bela Housing Complex, delivered in 2009, and the Flores do Campo complex. The latter is characterized as an irregular occupation that began on September 30, 2016, when approximately 400 families settled in the area, which was initially intended to serve the federal housing policies of the Minha Casa Minha

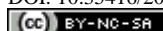
Vida Program. However, due to budgetary constraints, the project was never completed (Vieira, 2018). More recently, the area entered a repossession process initiated by Caixa Econômica Federal.

Final Considerations

In contemporary urbanization, Brazilian cities are increasingly sprawling, shaped by land price dynamics—a condition that renders the city progressively more fragmented. Large corporations—including land developers and real estate companies—seek areas distant from existing infrastructure, where land prices are lower, for the construction of housing complexes. Simultaneously, middle- and upper-income groups also seek residential spaces away from the city center, occupying vertical and horizontal condominiums. In Londrina, urban expansion axes are projected precisely along these two logics: housing complexes for lower-income populations and condominiums for middle- and upper-income groups.

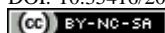
Urban expansion in the eastern zone over the past ten years deserves particular attention, marked by the opening of 12 new private subdivisions. The real estate and development companies that stand out in this process include MRV Engenharia, Loteadora Lotpar, and Loteadora Assaí. Attention is also given to the role of the state in infrastructure development, exemplified by the Eastern Arc, which connects the eastern zone to Limoeiro Road in the rural area. This feature indicates that Londrina's urban expansion is exceeding the urban boundary and accelerating the transformation of rural land into urban land, generating spatial discontinuities. These discontinuities are further intensified insofar as both the Urban Property Tax (IPTU) and the Rural Property Tax (ITR) overlap in areas along the urban fringe. Consequently, municipal oversight and the implementation of urban policies become inefficient. Moreover, land uses are diverse, producing heterogeneous and distinct areas that require more detailed studies and specific attention, as they may present heightened environmental degradation and social inequality. These areas—defined by some authors as peri-urban—should be the focus of further academic research to better understand their particularities.

Another region highlighted in this article is the southwestern area, which has not experienced a significant number of new subdivisions over the past ten years due to high land prices and restrictions imposed by environmental legislation—specifically the buffer zone of the Mata dos Godoy. This region has lost the attention of developers in recent years precisely



because of these legal constraints. Nevertheless, there is strong pressure from residents and developers in negotiations with the municipal government to expand infrastructure into the area and to amend existing legislation, revealing a clear public–private alliance. Therefore, in the coming years, the main axis of expansion in Londrina—currently concentrated in the eastern zone—may once again shift to the southwestern region.

An analysis of recent expansion reveals a noteworthy pattern: the proliferation of vertical and horizontal condominiums. Horizontal developments are predominantly high-end gated communities, while vertical developments range from high-end condominiums to those built for lower-income populations with support from federal programs—such as the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program (PMCMV). This pattern indicates that all segments of real estate development and construction are directing their projects toward the city’s edges, resulting in an increasingly sprawling and dispersed urban form.



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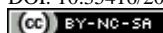
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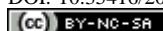
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