

# Decade by decade: housing policies and the production of urban space in Londrina-PR

## Década a década: as políticas habitacionais e a produção do espaço urbano de Londrina-PR

Isabelle Teixeira Bertini \*, Ideni Terezinha Antonello \*\*

\* Departamento de Geografia, Universidade Estadual de Londrina, [isabelle.bertini@uel.br](mailto:isabelle.bertini@uel.br)

\*\* Departamento de Geografia, Universidade Estadual de Londrina, [antonello@uel.br](mailto:antonello@uel.br)

<http://dx.doi.org/10.5380/raega.v60i0.96184>

### Abstract

Thinking about urban space from a historical and social construction, and consequently, a territory of interest of the most varied actors, this article aims to understand how, and if, the construction of housing via public housing policies interferes with the production and growth of the city of Londrina-PR and contribute to the accentuation of socio-spatial inequalities. Using a qualitative approach, based on the dialectic paradigm and the Regressive-Progressive Method developed by Henri Lefebvre (1978), a study was carried out through documentary analysis that correlates the construction of housing complexes of social interest with the expansion of the urban perimeter between the years 1960 and 2022. The article is divided into three items: the first, will present aspects relating to the formation and growth of Londrina-PR; the second will carry out a regression to the past, analyzing the spatialization of housing complexes over decades, correlating with the expansion of the urban perimeter; and finally, the last item, we intend to develop an analysis that articulates all the information collected with this regression into the past. It is concluded that housing policies directly influenced the growth of the city's territorial area with the standard of peripheral construction, acting directly on real estate appreciation and speculation, to the detriment of the population's quality of life.

### Keywords:

Right to the city, Housing Deficit, Public policy, Home, Segregation.

### Resumo

Pensando o espaço urbano a partir de uma construção histórica e social, e conseqüentemente, território de interesse dos mais variados atores, o presente artigo tem como objetivo compreender como, e se, a construção de moradias via políticas públicas habitacionais interfere na produção e crescimento da cidade de Londrina-PR e se contribuem para a acentuação das desigualdades socioespaciais. Utilizando uma abordagem qualitativa, com base no paradigma da dialética e no Método Regressivo-Progressivo desenvolvido por Henri Lefebvre (1978), foi realizada um estudo por meio da análise documental que correlaciona a construção dos conjuntos habitacionais de interesse social com a expansão do perímetro urbano entre os anos de 1960 e 2022. O artigo está dividido em três itens: o primeiro, irá apresentar aspectos referente a formação e crescimento de Londrina-PR; o segundo, irá realizar a regressão ao passado, analisando por décadas a espacialização dos conjuntos habitacionais correlacionando com a expansão do perímetro urbano; e por fim, o último item, pretende-se desenvolver uma análise que articule todas as informações coletadas com esta regressão

ao passado. Conclui-se que as políticas habitacionais influenciaram diretamente no crescimento da área territorial a cidade com o padrão da construção periférica, atuando diretamente na valorização e especulação imobiliária, em detrimento da qualidade de vida da população.

**Palavras-chave:**

Direito a cidade, Déficit Habitacional, Políticas Públicas, Moradia, Segregação.

---

## I. INTRODUCTION

When realizing that the production of space occurs from a social and historical construction, where the subjectivity present in society as a whole must be kept in mind (LEFEBVRE, 2006), it is understood that human beings, according to their interests – determined by the principles of the dominant economic system – capitalism, will be able to define the direction of the construction of these spaces, which will have direct effects on the lived space and daily life, that is, on the population's quality of life.

Considering this aspect, it is important to highlight how quickly Brazil became a predominantly urban country. As a direct consequence of the accelerated and disordered action of agents producing urban space (CAPEL, 1974; CORREA, 1989), Brazilian cities face a series of challenges that accentuate inequalities and promote territorial segregation. These challenges are mostly felt by the population with lower income and consequently, less access, which manifest themselves on several fronts, such as housing (MARICATO, 2003; RODRIGUES, 2007; VILLAÇA, 2011).

Although housing is considered a basic right in official documents, such as the 1988 Federal Constitution and the Declaration of Human Rights, to which Brazil is a signatory, reality demonstrates an opposite path, as it can be said that housing is a recurring problem in all Brazilian cities. The data collected and made available by Fundação João Pinheiro (2024) about Brazil in the year 2022, indicate a housing deficit of 6,215,313 households, of which 74.5% are concentrated in the population with a monthly family income of up to 3 minimum wages, noting that, despite being indispensable, housing is not a commodity easily accessible to the entire population.

In this sense, Rolnik (2009) highlights that if a large part of the Brazilian population is unable to purchase their housing on their own from the private market due to the unequal distribution of income and wealth, the public authorities must ensure through public policies that this right – guaranteed by law – be implemented for everyone. We may understand, then, that it is the State's duty to deal with demands that the private system has no interest in investing in.

Therefore, over the years, housing programs were developed nationwide and focused on eradicating the housing deficit. As a result, from the 1930s onwards, these programs emerged, among the main ones being the

---

National Housing Bank (BNH) and the Minha Casa, Minha Vida Program (PMCMV)). There is no denying that progress has been achieved.

However, the actions were not enough to eradicate the housing deficit and also contributed directly to the maintenance and accentuation of differences between social classes due to the pattern of construction of housing units in peripheral areas and without the basic urban equipment, contributing to real estate speculation, which has as a direct consequence the increase in land prices, making people increasingly dependent on housing policies to obtain their homes (BONDUKI, 1994; AZEVEDO; ANDRADE, 2011; CARDOSO et al., 2017).

Housing policies are considered to act directly on the production of urban space, modifying the territorial ordering of cities in accordance with the interests of dominant capitalist agents and with the consent of the State, bringing direct consequences to the daily life of the population. Therefore, generating profit proves to be more important than people's well-being (BERTINI; ANTONELLO, 2023).

In this context, the study carried out by Molina, Czischke and Rolnik (2019, p. 278/279) points out that “[...] the persistent sociospatial segregation of the urban poor, representing large numbers of people in Latin America's deeply unequal societies, has been a central, common trend”, which demonstrates the need to think of ways to break with this cycle, present not only in Brazil, but in several Latin American countries.

Thus, this article aims to understand, from a regression to the past, how public housing policies interfere in the production and growth of the city of Londrina-PR, between the years 1967 and 2022, and how - and if - the location of developments based on the increase in the city's territorial area directly contributed to the accentuation of socio-spatial inequalities and territorial segregation. This analysis was essential to identify that current actions are the result of historical production and have been perpetuated over the years. Based on this observation, they have the ambition to contribute in changes to this reality, in search of places where the population, regardless of purchasing power, can live in an inclusive and fair city.

## II. MATERIALS AND METHODOLOGY

To achieve the purpose of this research, the guiding paradigm was dialectics, following a qualitative approach. The method used was the Regressive-Progressive method developed by Henri Lefebvre (1978), in which it is expected that from a regression to the past “the production of space through the apprehension of the movement of reality, seeking to capture and associate elements of the past and the present to assess future possibilities is unveiled”. When talking about this method, Scheffer and Kauchukje (2018, p. 64) state that the

author does not consider the real to be part of the present, that is, “[...] it is necessary to carry out regression to clarify the milestones of change in historical times, as well as what has not changed”.

The methodological path used was documentary analysis, based on the use of secondary theoretical and documentary sources, such as laws in the three governmental spheres (federal, state and municipal), such as the City Statute and Municipal Master Plan of Londrina and its specific laws, reports from the Londrina Housing Company (COHAB-LD) and the Londrina Urban Research and Planning Institute (IPPUL), books, among other documents.

The article is divided into three items. The first focuses on presenting how the formation of the city of Londrina-PR happened, the accelerated population growth, which brought several problems to territorial planning and consequent territorial segregation.

The second, a historical review was carried out by decade, covering the period from 1960 to 2022, on housing production of social interest in the city of Londrina-PR. Data were collected from COHAB-Londrina and made available by Londrina City Hall regarding: a) the number of housing units; b) regions where the housing complexes were built; c) sources of resources. Based on this survey, it was possible to identify which were the most densely populated regions and correlate the location of the complexes with the urban perimeter of each period. For a better visualization of the collected data, maps were created using the Qgis software (SHERMAN, 2002) using the following layers made available by IPPUL: a) evolution of the urban perimeter of Londrina-PR (1970-2012); b) housing complexes (1960-2022); c) streets (2022); d) subdivisions (2022); e) aerial photo of the city of Londrina (1974).

The third item was responsible for articulating the baggage accumulated in this historical rescue, intertwining the relationship between housing policies and the production of urban space in the city of Londrina-PR. From the regression to the past (LEFEBVRE, 1978), it was possible to identify how the existing relationship between housing policies and the production of Londrina's urban social space was consolidated. This analysis was essential to identify that current actions are the result of historical production and have been perpetuated over the years. With this, it is hoped to raise awareness and contribute to modifying this unequal production of space that has been perpetuating over the years.

### **III. HOUSING POLICIES IN LONDRINA-PR**

The city of Londrina-PR, in which this research focuses, is located in the southern region of Brazil, in the north of the state of Paraná (Figure 1), located between the following geographic coordinates: 23° 18' 44" South

latitude and 51° 09' 46" longitude west of Greenwich with 604 meters altitude. Currently, the municipality's territorial area is 1,653 km<sup>2</sup> and according to 2022 Demographic Census data, the population is 555,965 inhabitants with a demographic density of 336.42 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>, with a degree of urbanization of 97.4%. (IBGE, 2022).

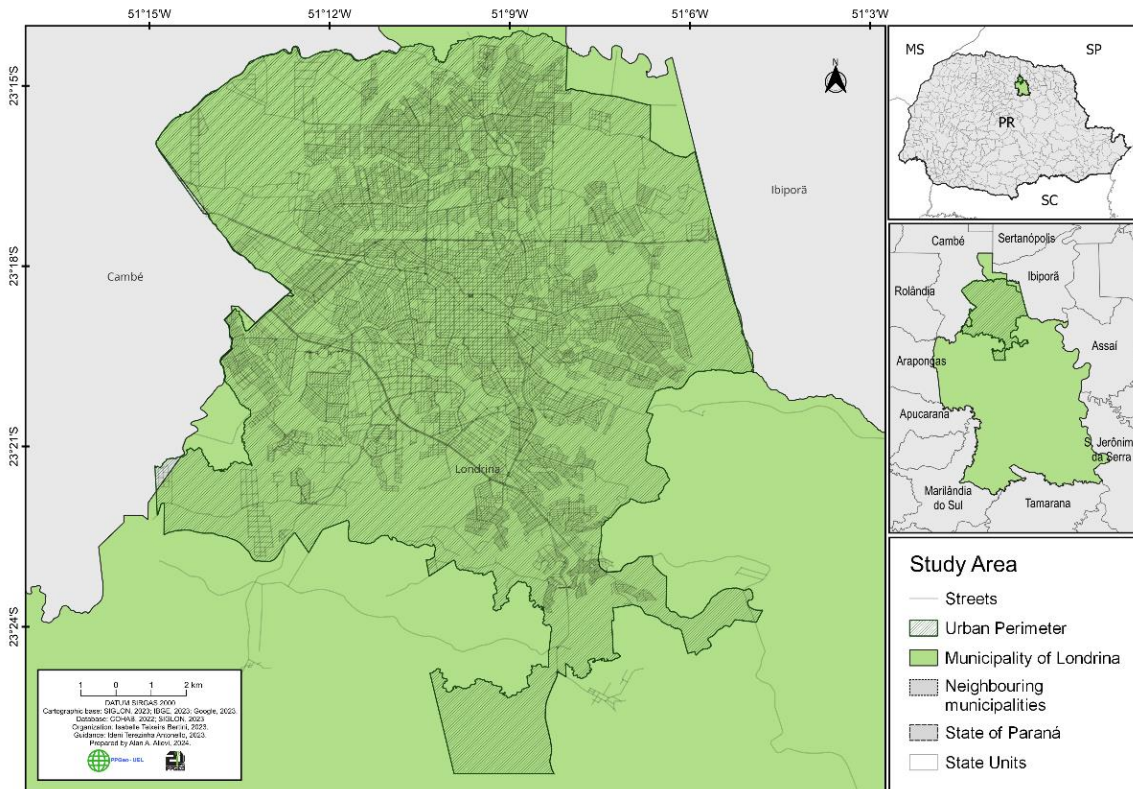


Figure 1 - Location of the study area: Londrina-PR. Source: SIGLON, 2022; IBGE, 2022; GOOGLE, 2022. Org. BERTINI, I. T. Prepared: ALVES, A. A.

Founded on August 21, 1929, Londrina-PR became a municipality on December 10, 1934, and since its formation, the city can be compared to a large land enterprise, in which the production of space was marked by interests of the most varied agents, which had direct consequences for the city's planning, as, from the beginning, evidence of inequality and socio-spatial segregation caused by differentiation in land values was found, where central areas, close to urban facilities, they were more expensive (ARIAS NETO, 2008).

The municipality presents the same logic found nationally: accelerated population and territorial growth. This rapid growth is linked to the process of rural exodus, with a large part of the migrant population not having the financial conditions to afford a good quality of life, therefore: “Londrina, as an attractive hub for migratory currents, saw the housing problem emerging from an early age” (IPPUL, 1996).

In this sense, Fresca et al. (2008) point out that the first irregular occupations in Londrina emerged in the 1950s, being intensified in the following decades, demonstrating the difficulty for a large part of the population, especially those with lower purchasing power, to acquire housing in places that were inserted in the formal market: “Over time, the development of the city accelerated the urbanization process, reducing the conditions and quality of life in almost the same proportion as the act of living. The space and price became increasingly smaller and more expensive, respectively” (IPPUL, 1996).

#### **IV. THE CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSING SETS AND CHANGES IN THE URBAN PERIMETER**

It can be considered that the first actions in relation to popular housing in the city of Londrina-PR took place between 1965 and 1969. At that first moment, COHAPAR was responsible for the construction of three housing complexes, 2 of which were in the eastern region: Novo Aeroporto and Coffee; and one in the southern region: Três Marcos, with a total of 295 units (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018).

It was from the 1970s onwards that COHAB-LD was able to register with the National Housing Bank (BNH) and became part of the Housing Financial System (SFH), thus enabling the structuring of the municipality's housing policy to families earning up to three minimum wages (GAVETTI, 1998). During this period, 27 housing complexes were built with 8,397 units, all financed by the BNH (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018).

The first housing complexes under the control of COHAB-LD were built in 1970, namely Vitória Régia and Conjunto das Flores. It is interesting to note that initially, the housing complexes were located in central areas of the city and had a small number of houses, not exceeding 150 units (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018). A reality that will change from 1977 onwards, when a new format emerges: housing complexes with more houses and far from already urbanized areas.

Most of these complexes were built in the North region in areas outside the urban perimeter of the period, such as the Engenheiro Milton Gavetti Housing Complex with 740 housing units. As well as the Parigot de Souza I and II sets, with 1,170 units, Engenheiro Aquiles Stenghel and Vivi Xavier with 1000 units each (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018). There are also cases of housing complexes that were built in areas of the then urban perimeter, but in peripheral areas, such as São Lourenço, located in the southern region. This reality can be evidenced in Figure 2. It is important to mention that at this time there were no specific laws regarding the urban perimeter, that is, the perimeter was defined based on the urban area (real urbanized areas). Therefore, there was no control over the limits of the production of urban space (BERTINI; ANTONELLO, 2023).

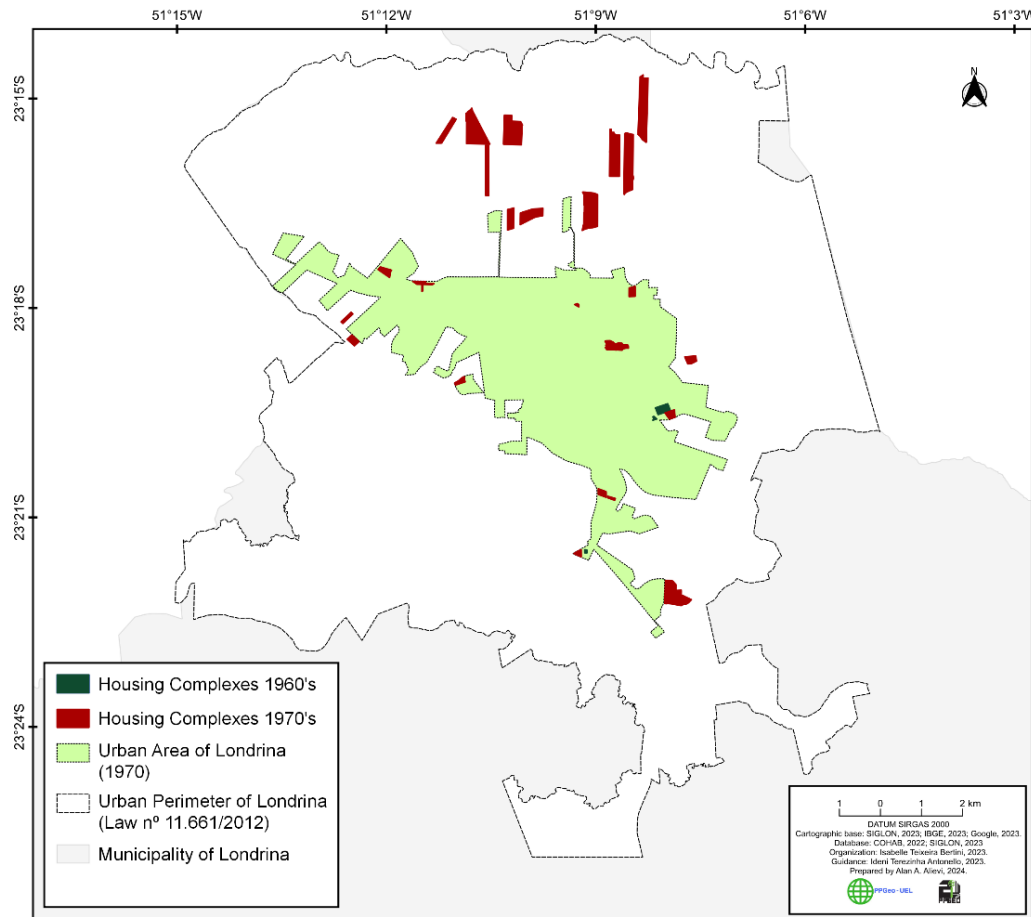


Figure 2 - Urban perimeter of 1970 and the spatialization of Housing Complexes built in the 1960s and 1970s. Source: IPPUL, 2022. Org. BERTINI, I. T. Elaboration: ALVES, A. A.

Using the 1974 aerial photo of the city of Londrina (Figure 3), prior to the construction of housing complexes in the northern region that began in 1977 - outside the then urban perimeter, it is evident how the location was not occupied (with the exception of the Ruy Carnascialli I, which was built next to Ouro Verde and Milton Gavetti, built next to Paraíso). It is interesting to note that the construction of housing complexes directly influenced the city's expansion and production in this area. It can be seen that a dynamic is beginning that will definitively alter the city's territorial ordering (BERTINI; ANTONELLO, 2023) and that will cause intense territorial segregation and real estate speculation, favoring the interests of capitalist agents.



Figure 3 - Aerial photo of Londrina from 1974 with emphasis on the northern region and spatialization of housing complexes. Source: SIGLON; IPPUL, 2023. Org. and Preparation: BERTINI, I. T.

The 1980s saw the largest number of developments: 67 housing complexes and 16,742 houses were built. The BNH was responsible for providing resources for 32 housing complexes (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018). It is at this moment that Cohab-LD becomes an agent of the Financing Program for Construction, Acquisition or Improvement of Social Interest Housing (FICAM), which operated in Londrina between 1982 and 1990, and had the purpose of building housing units in land owned or acquired by beneficiaries; the improvement of the beneficiaries' own properties and the acquisition of properties with loans and financing from the BNH (LONDRINA, 2018). In the 1980s, 14 housing complexes were built as a result of this program. In addition to BNH and FICAM, 6 complexes were built with resources from CAAPSMML for municipal employees, 14 from FGTS and 1 from the Habitar Brasil Program (HBB) (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018).

When correlating the production of housing of social interest with the urban perimeter of the period also delimited from the urban area, it is evident that there is continuity in what was found at the end of the 1970s, that is, 20 housing complexes were built in distant urbanized areas, mainly in the northern region (Figure 4). The others, which were within the urban perimeter, were built in peripheral regions. It can be seen that a standard for the location of housing complexes has been established, directly contributing to the expansion of the city.



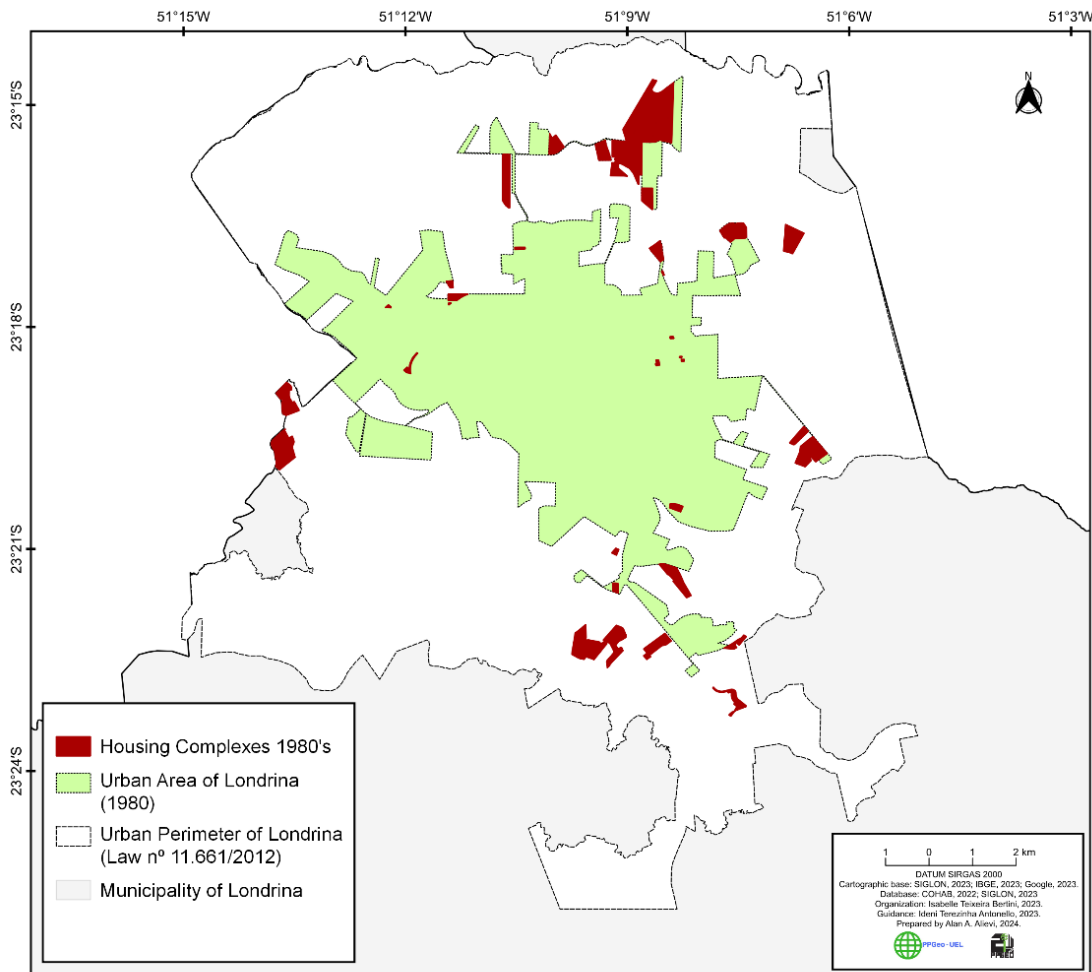


Figure 4 - Urban perimeter and the spatialization of Housing Complexes in the 1980s. Source: IPPUL, 2022. Org. BERTINI, I. T. Prepared: ALVES, A. A.

It is interesting to mention that the land where União da Vitória was built in the southern region of the city, in 1985, was acquired, in 1977, by Cohab-LD, in an area on the edge of the then urban perimeter, to relocate families in situations of environmental and social vulnerability. According to data from IPPUL (1996), 10 years after the construction of the neighborhood, the following reality existed: not all streets had paving; and only in 1995 did the implementation of the sewage network and the construction of a health center begin; the municipal school was unable to meet the existing demand. Added to this is the distance from other urban facilities. This example is not an exception but the reality of a large part of the city's housing complexes, in the sense that the housing complexes are delivered with a lack of technical and social urban infrastructure.

The 1990s were marked by several changes, as in 1986 the BNH was closed and with that housing policies began to be carried out directly by states and municipalities, reducing the actions and autonomy of COHAB; In this new context, Caixa Econômica Federal began to centralize actions as the operating and financial agent for

housing policies, replacing BNH. These changes, combined with the lack of a new housing policy at a national level, there is a decrease in the production of affordable housing (LONDRINA, 2018). As a result, 36 housing complexes were built in this decade with a total of 6,247 units, many of which were built with resources acquired in the 1980s from BNH and FICAM (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018). In addition, there were investments from the Immediate Action Program for Housing (PAIH) and the Popular Housing Program (PROHAP) with resources from the FGTS, COHAPAR and COHAB-LD's own resources.

The great concentration of production in this decade lasted until 1992, which then gradually reduced. Due to this low housing production and increase in prices, the population with low purchasing power had more difficulties accessing housing. As a result, 31 new regular occupations emerged during this period (COHAB, 2011; ANTONELLO; VEIGA; BERTINI, 2023).

It was in December 1989 that the city's first urban perimeter law was enacted: Law No. 4,391. Figure 5 shows that from this moment on there is a decrease in housing complexes that are built outside the urban perimeter, as there is a large inclusion of areas in the city. It is interesting to note that the more the perimeter increases, the location of the housing complexes follows its limits. The same pattern as previously observed is observed, where all housing complexes built in areas belonging to the urban perimeter, regardless of the region, are located in peripheral areas.

---

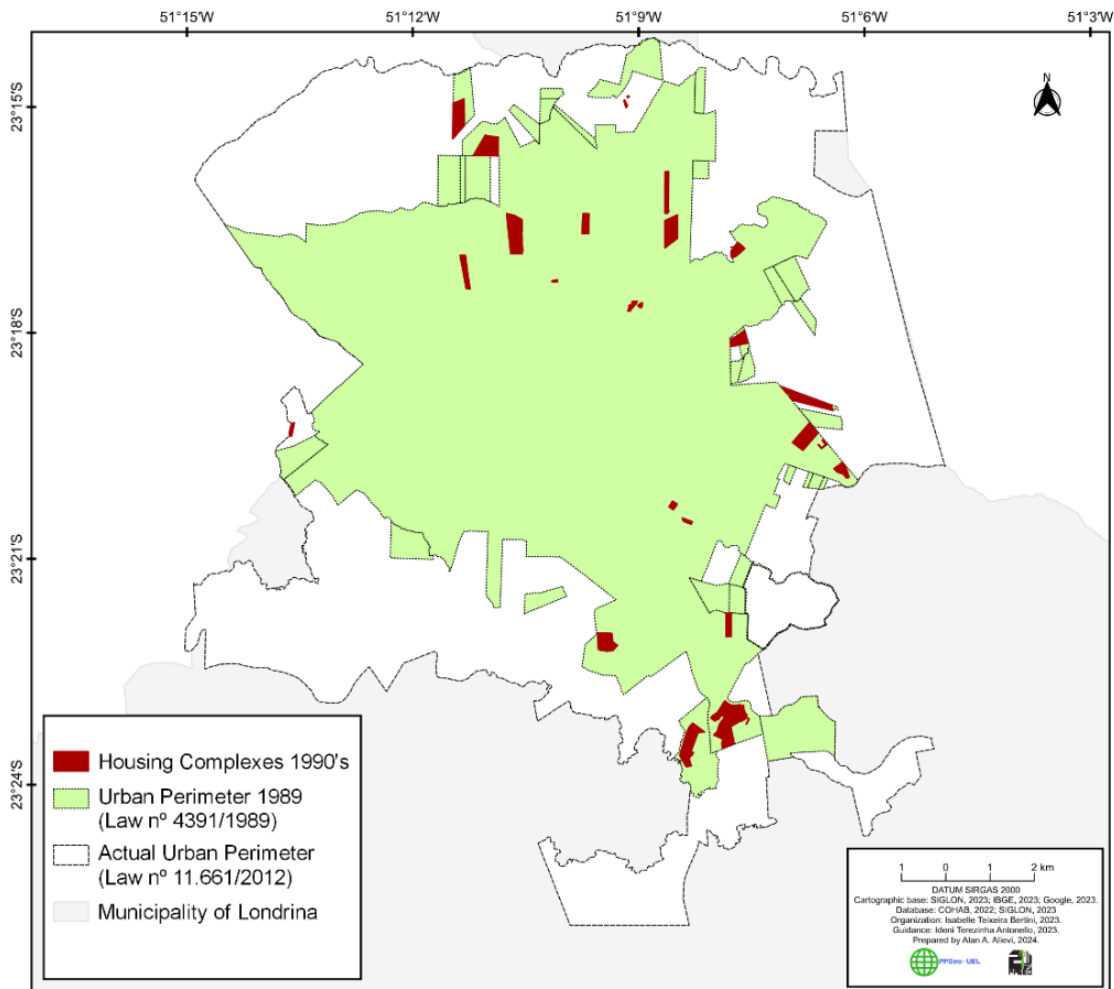


Figure 5 - Urban Perimeter of 1989 and Spatialization of Housing Complexes in the 1990s. Source: IPPUL, 2023. Org.: BERTINI, I. T. Prepared: ALVES, A. A.

With the promulgation of the first law on urban perimeters, approval by City Hall of new areas for subdivision and subdivision purposes becomes mandatory (BERTINI; ANTONELLO, 2023). In this context, modifications and a consequent increase in the perimeter were made exclusively for the construction of the Jardim São Jorge housing complex based on Law No. 7,805, of August 25, 1999. Even today, after twenty-four years of its construction, Jardim São Jorge remains isolated, with the exception of the area on the right, belonging to the Novo Horizonte I and II Housing Complex. On the left, there is the irregular occupation Nossa Senhora da Aparecida, known as Aparecidinha, present at the site since 2014. The other surrounding areas continue to carry out rural activities.

It is evident that the population residing in this location experiences residential segregation, which expresses the denial of the inclusive city, as highlighted by Antonello and Veiga (2021, p. 38), residential segregation, as well as decent housing “[...] the denial of other rights is added [...]”. This demonstrates the need for

organized society and institutions to act to change this situation of social injustice that shapes cities of exclusion.”

Following the same rhythm, the 2000s were marked by low production of social housing. 30 housing complexes were built with a total of 4,908 units (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018). Among the main sources of resources during this period is the Residential Leasing Program (PAR), which was supposed to build housing units preferably in empty urban areas within the urban perimeter and already equipped with infrastructure, however, in reality this was not what happened ( LONDRINA, 2018; In addition to the PAR, the period received resources from the Habitar Brasil Program (HBB), the Social Interest Housing Subsidy Program (PSH), as well as COHAB's own resources and marks the beginning of the actions of the Minha Casa, Minha Vida Program (PMCMV ) in the city (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018).

The PAR ended its activities in Londrina-PR at the moment the municipality signed the Term of Adhesion with the CEF to participate in the PMCMV, which began to operate with resources coming from the General Budget of the Union (OGU) and the Residential Lease Fund (FAR) (COHAB, 2022). Within the scope of the PMCMV, the first housing complex built was Residencial Elisabeth (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018).

In July 1998, the second Urban Perimeter Law was enacted (Law No. 7,842 of July 20) and its consequent expansion. Therefore, although most of the housing complexes are in peripheral areas, they were all built within the urban perimeter, as can be seen in Figure 6.

---

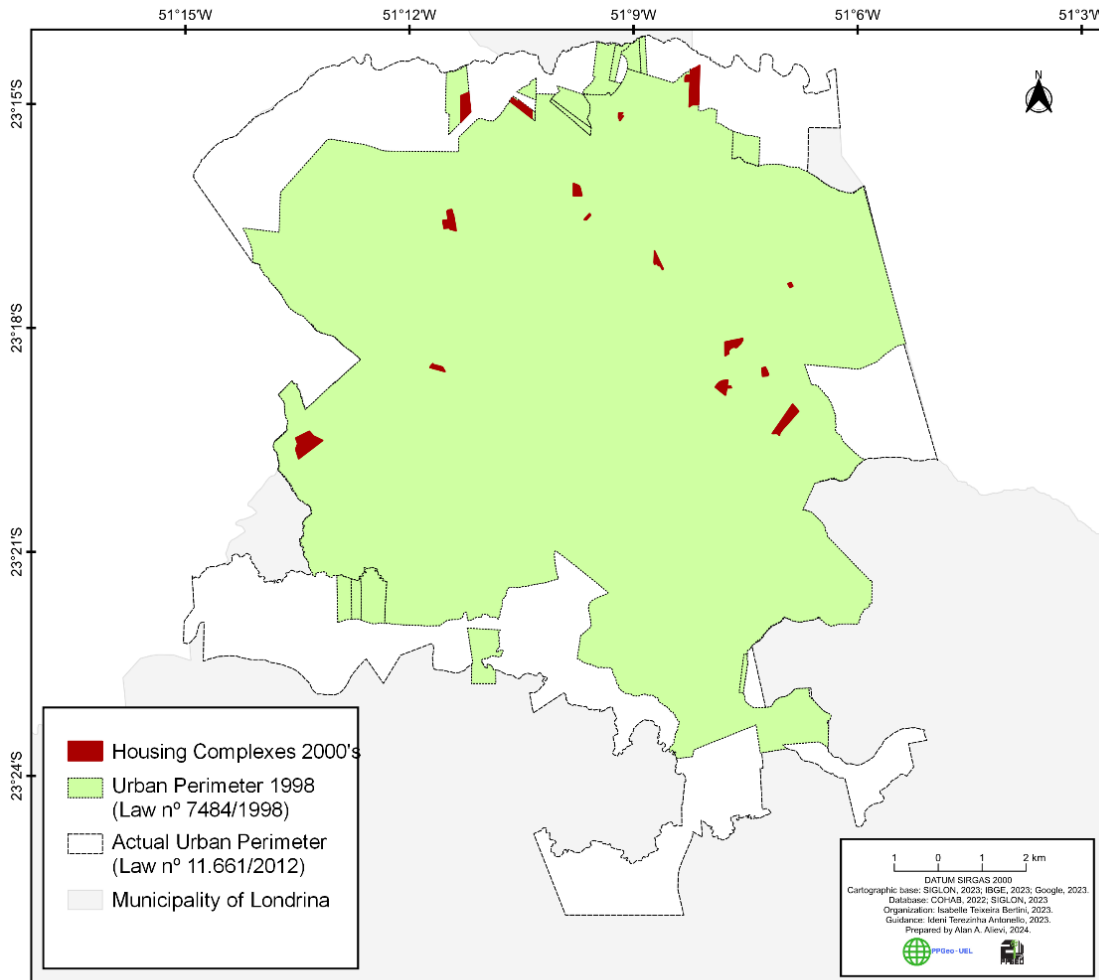


Figure 6 - Urban Perimeter of 1998 and Spatialization of Housing Complexes in the 2000s. Source: IPPUL, 2023. Org.: BERTINI, I. T. Prepared: ALVES, A. A.

Furthermore, there was an increase in the urban perimeter exclusively for Residencial Novo Horizonte as of Law No. 8, 279, of November 28, 2000. As previously mentioned, Residencial Novo Horizonte is located next to Jardim São Jorge, therefore, in area with a predominance of agricultural activities. The area shown is the last street of both housing complexes. It can be seen that the plantation area is quite extensive, which demonstrates how the location remains distant and isolated.

With the advent of a new national housing policy, the 2010s represent the period of greatest expression of the PMCMV in the city of Londrina-PR. 35 housing complexes and a total of 5,698 units were built. Of this total, 26 projects had PMCMV as a source of funding in its different phases. The others received resources from PAC, FNHIS 2008 and 2009 and OGU (COHAB, 2022; LONDRINA, 2018). In addition, there was a project with resources from the Casa Fácil Paraná Program, with resources from COHAPAR and PCVA.

The National Fund for Social Housing (FNHIS), under the management of Cohab-LD, was responsible for providing resources for the Urbanization, Regularization and Integration of Precarious Settlements Program. FNHIS 2008 built 117 housing units in the Jamile Dequech, Jardim Nova Esperança and Jardim Felicidade housing complexes and recovered valley funds that were occupied by irregular occupations. FNHIS 2009 did not complete the works to recover valley funds, but was responsible for the construction of 293 housing units in the Residencial Horizonte II housing complex, 1 recycling shed and 2 community centers (LONDRINA, 2018; ANTONELLO; VEIGA; BERTINI, 2023).

With resources from the General Budget of the Union, the Subnormal Settlement Urbanization Program, in 2010 and 2012, resettled 292 families in existing housing complexes that were in irregular occupations in valley bottoms, which were revitalized (LONDRINA, 2018; ANTONELLO ; VEIGA; BERTINI, 2023) Among the housing complexes built under the PMCMV, Residencial Vista Bela (I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX and X) built in the northern region of the city deserves to be highlighted, as it is considered the largest project of social housing already carried out in Londrina, with 2,712 housing units and follows the striking pattern in most of the city's housing complexes: construction in peripheral areas and far from urban and social facilities (ANTONELLO; VEIGA; BERTINI, 2023).

It was possible to verify that the basic infrastructures began to be built just three years after the project was delivered: the health center (2015), the state school (2017) and the municipal school (2021). However, it is visible that there are still large urban voids nearby, demonstrating that the surrounding areas, which, even after 10 years, continue to be part of the market logic and favor real estate speculation.

On July 12, 2012, Law No. 11,661 was enacted, which covers the urban perimeter of Londrina and is in force to this day. In this decade there were no housing complexes built in areas outside the urban perimeter. It is important to mention that, in the same way as in previous decades, the PMCMV repeated the pattern of the peripheral location of housing complexes, directly contributing to the change in the city's territorial ordering, as can be seen in Figure 8. Corroborating the statement, Falchetti (2020, p. 140) highlights that the PMCMV presents several problems in the structure of housing production, in the author's words: "The problems range from failure to complete projects to lack of urban infrastructure, the homogenization of space, and the reproduction of socio-spatial segregation. In other words, market-mediated politics have resulted in the commodification of housing and land".

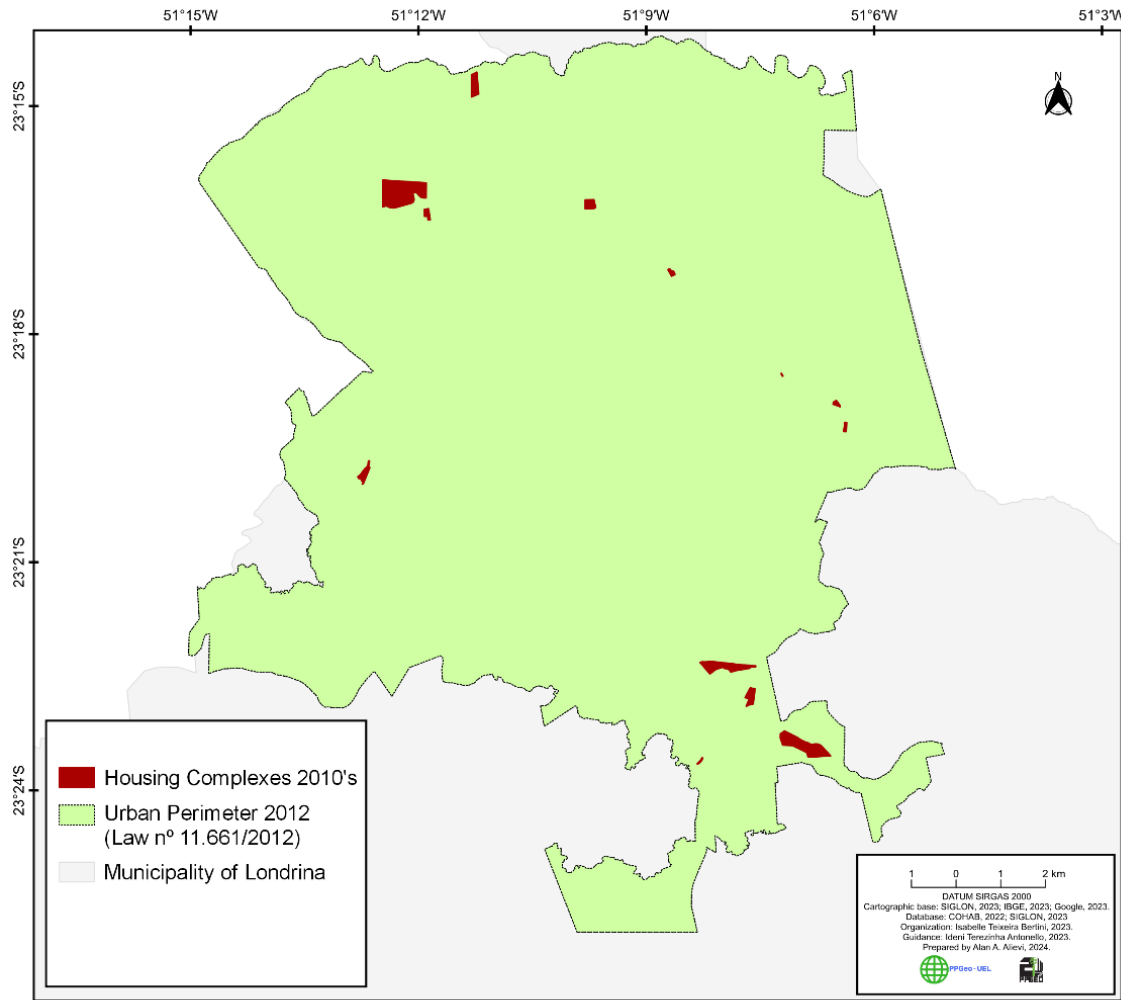


Figure 7 - Urban Perimeter of 2012 and Spatialization of Housing Complexes in the 2010s. Source: IPPUL, 2023. Org.: BERTINI, I. T. Prepared: ALVES, A. A.

Following a pattern, this decade also saw an increase in the urban perimeter in the South region with the justification for the construction of two large PMCMV housing complexes, with the forecast for the construction of 4,900 homes, which transformed rural areas into ZR-3 from the approval of two laws: Law No. 12,096 and Law No. 12, 092, both of June 26, 2014. However, to date the construction of housing complexes has not occurred, and regardless of this, the perimeter was expanded, setting in motion the real estate speculation.

At this time, the PMCMV was modified and became the Casa Verde e Amarela Program (PCVA). Following this change, the most recent intervention within the scope of social housing in Londrina occurred through the aforementioned Program in partnership with the Casa Fácil Paraná Program and financed by COHAPAR. In this context, in December 2022, Residencial Bem Viver was delivered in the northern region of Londrina with 866

houses and its target audience was families belonging to Group 1 PCVA, with incomes of up to R2,400.00. The discounts were up to R\$36,945.00, in addition to subsidies of R\$15,000.00 from COHAPAR (COHAPAR, 2022).

It was possible to verify that a large part of the housing units are already occupied and the new residents are making the necessary adjustments, such as building walls and gates. Furthermore, it is interesting to mention that the Residencial has an outdoor gym and a square. However, the location chosen for the project is on the city limits, directly contributing to the production of urban space in Londrina.

It can be seen, therefore, that no matter how much the name of the housing policy changes, the same pattern already observed in the others remains. This pattern is an expression “[...] dynamically imposed by the market logic, it is understood that segregation is the materialization in the urban space of the economic, political, social and cultural exclusion of the population with low purchasing power, in the sense that it is present in the daily lives of people living in the city” (MARQUES DA COSTA; ANTONELLO, 2021, p.4).

## **V. THE PRESENT MOMENT BASED ON THE PAST**

Based on the historical process of social production in Londrina's urban space, it is possible to demonstrate some of the visible patterns captured in the research and discussed in this article. At the beginning of the 1970s, housing complexes were inserted close to already urbanized areas and inserted into the city (BERTINI; ANTONELLO, 2023). With the beginning of the construction of large housing complexes in the North region in 1977, a change was noticed: housing complexes started to be built on the limits of city areas.

It is interesting to mention that today the northern region has been transformed: it has approximately 126,305 inhabitants and represents the largest population concentration in the city “[...] comprising the neighborhoods Vivi Xavier, Cinco Conjuntos, Heimtal, Cidade Industrial I, Pacaembu, Alpes, Coliseu, Ouro Verde, Parigot de Souza and Perobinha, representing 26.07% of the total population of Londrina” (LONDRINA, 2021), that is, a large part of this population lives in the housing complexes mentioned above.

It should be noted that the North region is still a focus of interest for the construction of new housing complexes, as, on November 7, 2022, a Public Hearing was held by the Londrina City Council with the aim of debating Bill No. 05/2021 to include new lots in the urban perimeter for the construction of social housing. Just one month after the public hearing, on December 21, 2022, Law No. 13,539 was passed, including 15 lots in the urban perimeter, transforming them into a Special Zone of Social Interest (ZEIS).

Based on the current Urban Perimeter Law (11,661/2012) - disregarding the buffer zone, 20% of the total urban perimeter corresponds to non-built areas. It is worth highlighting the percentage presented “[...] refer to



the urban perimeter as a whole, which includes the external areas, the so-called usable area. If the proportion of voids were calculated only in relation to the area defined as useful, this percentage would be much higher” (LONDRINA, 2022, p. 29). It appears that there is no need to expand the perimeter, as there are several areas that are not occupied at the extreme end of the North region. It is worth mentioning that most of these areas were approved in the 1990s, 2000s and 2010s and remain unused.

When spatializing all the housing complexes built in the analyzed period, correlating with the evolution of the urban perimeter (Figure 8), it is clear that a large part of them are located in peripheral areas, bypassing the urban area of the city. Furthermore, it is also interesting to highlight that even those housing complexes implemented in the 1970s are still considered distant from the central area (BERTINI; ANTONELLO, 2023). The presence of housing complexes in these locations contributed to the production of urban space in Londrina and also to the perpetuation of a public housing policy with segregation characteristics, contributing to the formation of large urban voids and the consequent value of urban land.

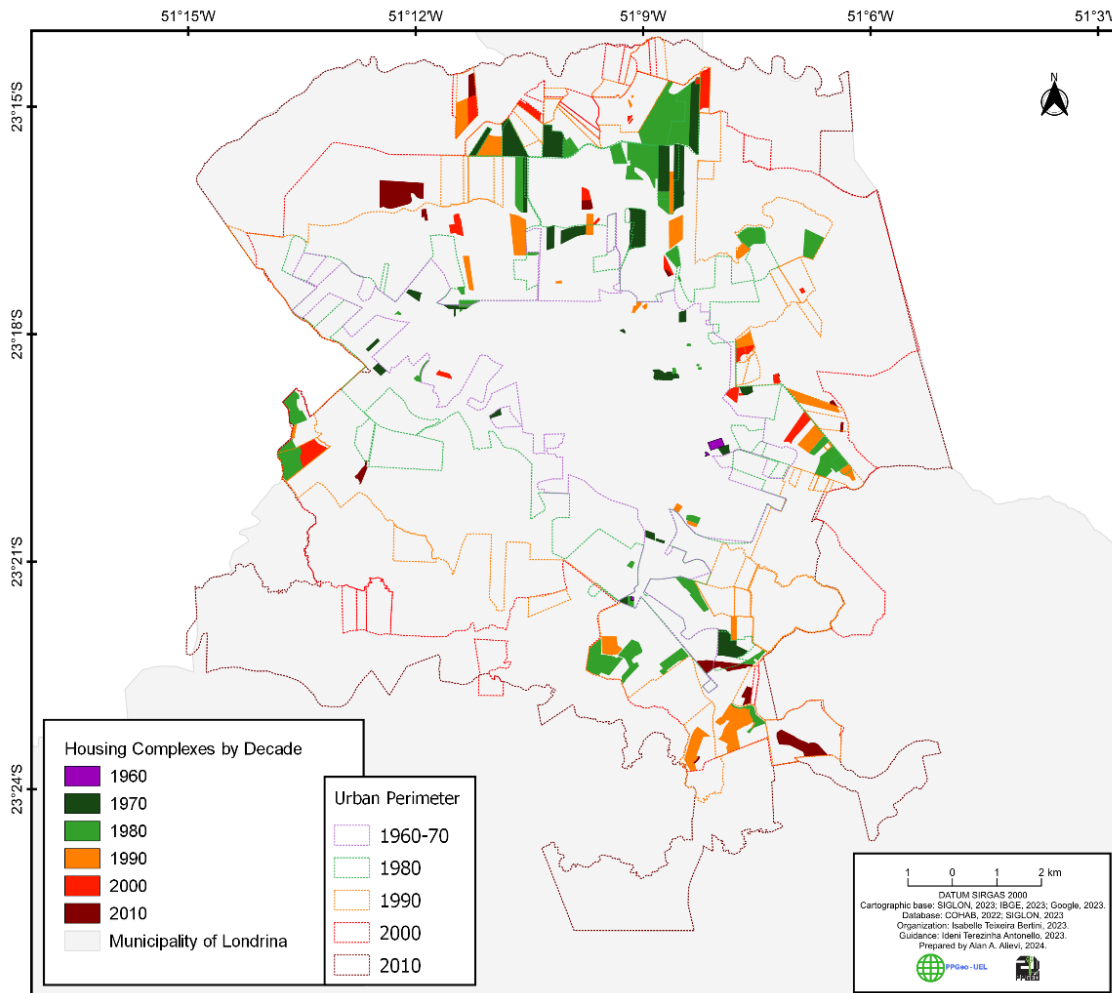


Figure 8 - Location of housing complexes in Londrina-PR by decades (1960-2020). Source: IPPUL, 2023. Org.: BERTINI, I. T. Prepared: ALVES, A. A.

It is important to highlight that despite the construction of approximately 40 thousand homes, the eradication of the housing deficit did not happen (BERTINI; ANTONELLO, 2023), because, even without official data, according to estimates presented by Cohab (2024) with information from the year 2022, the city has 58,799 records of families with housing needs.

Taking these aspects into consideration and a large part of the population's lack of resources, it is extremely important that the production of housing via public policies continues to occur, however, it is necessary to break this already established dynamic, in which an inclusive territorial order is left in the background.

## VI. CONCLUSION

It is concluded that the regression to the past was extremely important for understanding the entire dynamics of housing policies in the city, showing that the structures of agents producing urban space in the city of Londrina-PR are well defined and articulated over the years analyzed. Over 55 years, the city has built more than 150 housing complexes with various financing sources (BNH, FICAM, FGTS, HBB, PMCMV, PCVA, PAR, COHAPAR, among others) with housing units built in all regions of the city, except in the central areas, which since formation, were destined for the population with greater purchasing power.

When carrying out the historical analysis, combining the location of these enterprises with the urban perimeter of each period, it becomes clear that at the end of the 1970s there was a breakthrough and the beginning of a pattern that came to be perpetuated in subsequent years, directly contributing to production of the city, as a large part of the housing complexes were built far from the central region and the urban area, forming a territorial arrangement with large urban voids (BERTINI; ANTONELLO, 2023; ANTONELLO; VEIGA; BERTINI, 2023). In some cases, the perimeter was increased exclusively for this purpose, as is the case of Jardim São Jorge and Residencial Novo Horizonte, which to this day are isolated in relation to other neighborhoods in the region. The question remains: does the physical structure of a house, in an area far from the city, solve social vulnerability? More than 20% of the city of Londrina-PR is empty, operating only for real estate speculation (LONDRINA, 2018).

This reality proves the fact that public housing policies are closely linked to the city's social production, focusing on the process of capitalist accumulation, placing income from land as the main purpose from the moment several urban voids emerge aimed at speculation and to the detriment of this problem that is so recur-

---

rent in Brazilian cities. A vicious cycle is perceived with previously defined interests, as, despite all the interventions carried out, Londrina's housing deficit has not been eradicated, demonstrating that the standard already defined over the years is insufficient to solve this problem.

## VII. REFERÊNCIAS

ANTONELLO, I. T.; VEIGA, L. A. A política pública habitacional brasileira: cidades excludentes, negação do direito de cidadania In: HENRIQUES, M. R. (org.). Desafios e tendências do estado de direito na democracia no século XXI. Coimbra: JUS XXI & DEE Internaciell PublishingLda, v.6, 2021, p. 37-52. Available at: <[https://just2021.pt/obratematica/?utm\\_campaign=just\\_\\_newsletter\\_publicacoes\\_ptf&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=RD+Station](https://just2021.pt/obratematica/?utm_campaign=just__newsletter_publicacoes_ptf&utm_medium=email&utm_source=RD+Station)>. Accessed in: 9 jun. 2022.

ANTONELLO, I. T.; VEIGA, L. A.; BERTINI, I. T. Ordenamento do território urbano atrelado a política habitacional segregacionista em Londrina/Pr. GEO UERJ, Rio de Janeiro, n.50, 2023, p. 1-27.

ARIAS NETO, J. M. O Eldorado: representações da política em Londrina (1930-1975). 2ed. Londrina: Eduel, 2008.

BERTINI, I. T.; ANTONELLO, I. T. A expansão do perímetro urbano de Londrina-PR aliado a construção periférica dos conjuntos habitacionais: em busca de um desenvolvimento sustentável. Revista Gerenciamento de Cidades, v. 11, n.84, 2023, p. 157-170.

BONDUKI, N. Origens da habitação social no Brasil – Volume 1. 1ed. São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 2014.

CAPEL, H. Agentes y estratégias em la produccion del espacio urbano espanol. Revista de Geografia, Barcelona, v.8. n.1-2, 1974, p.19-58.

COHAB. Empreendimentos lançados. Available at: <<https://cohabld.londrina.pr.gov.br/index.php/empreendimentos-lancados>> . Accessed in 15 aug. 2022.

COHAB. Plano Diretor AEU-IS – Diagnósticos e Proposições. 2024. Available at: <<https://repositorio.londrina.pr.gov.br/index.php/ippul/documentos-finais-leis-especificas/58627-caderno-compilado-aeu-is/file>>. Accessed in: 26 may. 2024.

COHAPAR. Plano de Habitação de Interesse Social do Paraná – Pesquisa de necessidades habitacionais do Paraná. 2019.

COHAPAR. Programa Casa Fácil Paraná. Available at: <<https://www.cohapar.pr.gov.br/Pagina/Programa-Casa-Facil-Parana>>. Accessed at: 4 fev. 2023.

COHAPAR. Bem Viver Londrina. Available at: <<https://www.cohapar.pr.gov.br/Londrina/Bem-Viver>>. Accessed in: 4 fev. 2023.

CORRÊA, R. L. O espaço urbano. Série Princípios. São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1989.

CORREA, R. L. Sobre agentes sociais, escala e produção do espaço: um texto para discussão. In: CARLOS, A. F. A.; SOUZA, M. L.; SPOSITO, M. E. B. (org). A produção do espaço urbano: agentes e processos, escalas e desafios. 1ed. São Paulo: Contexto, 2017. p.41-49.

FALCHETTI, C. Social Policy and the Dynamics of Neoliberalism The My House, My Life Program and the Commodified Mediation of Housing. Latin American Perspectives, v. 47, n.2, 2020, p. 131–146.

FRESCA, T. M.; POSTALI, V. B.; ARCHELA, R. S.; BARROS, M. V. F.; BARROS, O. N. F.; THÉRY, H.; MELLO, N. A.; GRATÃO, L. H. B. Ocupações irregulares. 2008. Available at: <<https://www.uel.br/revistas/atlasambiental/EXPANSAO/OCUPACOES.htm>>. Accessed at: 12 jun. 2024.

FUNDAÇÃO JOÃO PINHEIRO, Ministério das Cidades. Déficit Habitacional no Brasil. Available at: <<https://fjp.mg.gov.br/deficit-habitacional-no-brasil/>>. Accessed in: 4 mar. 2023.

GAVETTI, N. A dignidade política administrativa: por que tem que ser assim? Londrina, Cotação, 1998.

IBGE. Cidades – Londrina. Available at: <<https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/pr/londrina/panorama>>. Accessed in: 26 jul. 2022.

LEFEBVRE, H. A produção do espaço. Tradução de Doralice Barros Pereira e Sérgio Martins. Paris: Anthropos, 2006, p. 476.

LINARDI, M. C. N. Pioneirismo e Modernidade: a urbanização de Londrina-PR. 1995. Tese (Doutorado em Geografia Humana). Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 1995.

LONDRINA. Plano Local de Habitação de Interesse Social de Londrina. Available at: <<http://www1.londrina.pr.gov.br/dados/images/stories/Storage/cohab/cmhl/PLHIS/PLHIS-PLANO-LOCAL-DE-HABITACAO-DE-INTERESSE-SOCIAL.pdf>>. Accessed at: 22 jul. 2022.

LONDRINA. Plano Diretor Municipal de Londrina Revisão 2018-2028: Relatório Etapa 2 – Avaliação Temática Integrada. Available at: <[http://www1.londrina.pr.gov.br/dados/images/stories/Storage/ippul/RELATORIOS/CADERNO\\_5\\_SISTEMA\\_D\\_E\\_SUSTENTACAO\\_ADAPTADO.pdf](http://www1.londrina.pr.gov.br/dados/images/stories/Storage/ippul/RELATORIOS/CADERNO_5_SISTEMA_D_E_SUSTENTACAO_ADAPTADO.pdf)>. Accessed at: 24 ago. 2023.

LONDRINA. Perfil de Londrina 2021. Londrina: Prefeitura de Londrina, n. 46, 2021.

MARQUES DA COSTA, E.; ANTONELLO, I. T. Urban Planning and Residential Segregation in Brazil-The Failure of the -Special Zone of Social Interest- Instrument in Londrina City (PR). Sustainability, v.13, 2021, p.13285 - 13304.

MARICATO, E. Política urbana e de habitação social: um assunto pouco importante para o governo FHC. Available at: <[http://200.144.245.89/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/maricato\\_politicaurbanafhc.pdf](http://200.144.245.89/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/maricato_politicaurbanafhc.pdf)>. Accessed at: 24 jul. 2022.

MARICATO, E. A nova Política Nacional de Habitação. Available at: <[http://www.labhab.fau.usp.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/maricato\\_novapoliticaHab.pdf](http://www.labhab.fau.usp.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/maricato_novapoliticaHab.pdf)>. Accessed at: 25 jun. 2022.

MARICATO, E. MetrÓpole, legislação e desigualdade. 2003. Available at: <<https://www.scielo.br/j/ea/a/LJf4kyjgFBw9PyLxBxNrbf/?format=pdf&lang=pt>>. Accessed at:

MARICATO, E. Habitação e Cidade. 7ª Ed. São Paulo: Editora Atual, 2015.

MARTINS, V. Habitação, Infra-Estrutura e Serviços Públicos: Conjuntos Habitacionais e suas temporalidades. Available at: . Accessed at: 24 jul. 2022.

MOLINA, I.; CZISCHKE, D.; ROLNIK, R. Housing policy issues in contemporary South America: an introduction. International Journal of Housing Policy. v.19. n.3. 2019, p. 277-287.

RODRIGUES, A. M. Moradia nas cidades brasileiras. 9ed. São Paulo: Contexto, 2001.

RODRIGUES, A. M. Desigualdades Socioespaciais – a luta pelo direito a cidade. Cidades, São Paulo, v.4, n.6, 2007.

Available at: <<http://revista.fct.unesp.br/index.php/revistacidades/article/viewFile/571/602>>. Accessed at: 15 feb. 2022.

ROLNIK, R. Exclusão Territorial e Violência O Caso do Estado de São Paulo. Available at: <<https://raquelrolnik.files.wordpress.com/2009/08/exclusaoterritorialeviolencia.pdf>>. Accessed at: 20 may. 2022.

SCHEFFER, M. S; KACHAUKJE, S. O método regressivo-progressivo de Lefebvre para investigar a produção de habitação social sobre o espaço em Ponta Grossa - PR. Available at: <<https://revistas2.uepg.br/index.php/emancipação/article/view/11028/209209210035>>. Accessed at: 25 apr. 2021.

SHERMAN, G. (2002). QGIS - A Free and Open Source Geographic Information System (2.2 (Valmiera); GNU - Free Software Foundation, Inc. <<http://www.qgis.org/en/site/>>. 2024.

ZANON, E. R. Considerações teóricas à produção desigual do espaço urbano em Londrina-PR. Available at: <<https://anais.anpur.org.br/index.php/anaisenanpur/article/view/74/72>>. Accessed in: 20 sep. 2022.

VILLAÇA, F. São Paulo: segregação urbana e desigualdade. Revista Estudos Avançados, São Paulo, vol. 25, n. 71. 2011.

---

