



## Study review and conceptual approach: Urban extractivism (2014-2020)

Revisión de estudios y aproximación conceptual:  
Extractivismo Urbano (2014-2020)

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Review Article

Submitted: 10/10/2023

Reviewed: 26/06/2024

Accepted: 26/08/2024

Published: 08/10/2025

Thematic line: Public Policies

JEL classification: D78; H11

<https://doi.org/10.25100/cdea.v41i82.14257>

### Abstract

The article presents a review of studies conducted between 2014 and 2020 and a reference framework on urban extractivism, linking this concept to theories of classical authors in urban sociology and geography, as well as to contemporary scholars. It explores how current urban development transforms housing and public space into tradable commodities, rather than recognizing them as fundamental rights and basic needs. This process is evident in phenomena such as the subprime mortgage market, the mass construction of rental housing, gentrification, and touristification, which aim to attract wealthier residents, thereby increasing property sale or rental values, particularly in urban areas on the periphery of global capitalism, which are more susceptible to these dynamics.

The study was conducted from a qualitative and hermeneutic perspective, using documentary research as the main strategy, with a dynamic sampling method that was adjusted according to the findings. Regarding the conclusions, it is observed that extractivism and neo-extractivism have managed to consolidate an academic community and form a social movement that brings together environmentalists, academics, and indigenous groups. Concerning the conceptual approach, the need for a deeper analysis of the object of study is highlighted, to determine whether there are similar practices between the logics of extractivism and neo-extractivism in the urban space. Criticisms are made of the neoliberal city model and the socio-spatial inequalities that it (re)produces, especially in Latin American cities.

**Keywords:** Urban extractivism; Housing; Commodification; Neo-extractivism.

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## Resumen

El artículo presenta una revisión de estudios realizados entre 2014 y 2020 y un marco referencial sobre el extractivismo urbano, conectando este concepto con teorías de autores clásicos de la sociología urbana y la geografía, así como con autores contemporáneos. Se explora cómo el desarrollo urbano actual convierte la vivienda y el espacio público en bienes comerciables, en lugar de considerarlos derechos y necesidades básicas. Este proceso se observa en fenómenos como el mercado subprime de hipotecas, la construcción masiva de viviendas para alquiler, la gentrificación y la turistificación, donde se busca atraer a residentes de mayor poder adquisitivo, elevando el valor de venta o alquiler de propiedades, especialmente en áreas urbanas periféricas del capitalismo global, más vulnerables a estas dinámicas.

El estudio se realizó bajo una perspectiva cualitativa y hermenéutica, utilizando la investigación documental como estrategia principal, con un muestreo dinámico que se ajustó según los hallazgos. En cuanto a las conclusiones, se observa que el extractivismo y el neoextractivismo han logrado consolidar una comunidad académica y configurar un movimiento social que reúne a ambientalistas, académicos e indígenas. En lo que respecta a la aproximación conceptual, se plantea la necesidad de realizar un análisis más profundo del objeto de estudio, con el fin de determinar si existen prácticas similares entre las lógicas del extractivismo y del neoextractivismo en el espacio urbano. Se formulan críticas al modelo de ciudad neoliberal y a las inequidades socioespaciales que este mismo (re)produce, especialmente en las ciudades latinoamericanas.

**Palabras clave:** Extractivismo urbano; Vivienda; Mercantilización; Neoextractivismo.

## Introduction

In the context of current urban development, extractivism can be conceptualized as a process in which housing and public space are commodified, treating them as tradable commodities rather than fundamental human rights and basic needs. This phenomenon can manifest through processes such

as the subprime mortgage market and the mass construction of rental housing, as well as gentrification and touristification (including rural areas). In these instances, housing is renovated or redeveloped with the aim of attracting wealthier residents, thereby increasing the short-term sale or rental value of properties. This phenomenon is particularly evident in urban areas located on the periphery of global capitalism, which are more exposed to its predatory mechanisms (Rossi, 2022).

The text identifies connections of the urban extractivism concept in the works of classical authors in urban sociology and critical geography, including Karl Marx, David Harvey, Henry Lefevre, Manuel Castells, Saskia Sassen, Raquel Rolnik, and contemporary authors who expand upon their ideas, such as Eduardo Gudynas, Alberto Acosta, Maristella Svampa, Enrique Viale, Ana María Vásquez Duplat, and Francisco Adolfo García-Jerez.

Recent research indicates that extractive processes in urban spaces, particularly the commodification of housing (Manno, 2019; Rolnik, 2021), can lead to a variety of negative social and environmental impacts. These include the displacement of low-income residents, the erosion of social capital and cultural heritage, as well as contributing to the destruction of natural ecosystems and the fragmentation of urban space (Herrero-Beaumont, 2020). Practices traditionally associated with rural settings are now extending into urban areas. As Svampa and Viale (2024) assert, "extractivism has also reached large cities. However, it is not soybean landowners or mega-mining companies but real estate speculation that expels and causes displacements" (p. 248).

These practices aim for capital accumulation through intensive, large-scale production of housing treated as commodities. There is a notable presence of large regional investors, deregulation processes of normative laws in urban planning, and the intervention of the state or governments as mediators in the development of mega-projects. This significantly impacts the relationship between society and nature, leading to displacement, expropriation, dispossession, and deprivation. Thus, Latin America has entered a new

economic and ideological order (Svampa, 2013), as highlighted by Sassen (2014), delving into alternative forms of global capitalism that involve individuals, families, nature, and the environment, driven by global financial markets and the growing influence of multinational corporations.

While the concept of extractivism is not new in economic and socio-spatial studies, what stands out is a renewed surge and emergence of various forms of this phenomenon. In this updated configuration, circuits for extracting commodities and money-rents are integrated into the previously established circuits for raw material extraction for production (Arboleda, 2019). Historically, cities played a central role in capital accumulation within the frameworks of national or regional economies. However, contemporary urban extractivism, as indicated by Sassen (2014), is propelled by global financial markets and multinational corporations, operating on a much larger and more complex scale. Even debts-mortgages, transformed into financial products like asset-backed securities, turn housing and land rents into abstract commodities negotiable in international markets (Sassen & Ufer, 2021).

It is our duty, based on the review of research conducted in Latin America, especially in the southern region (Gago, 2015; García, 2019; Heredia Chaz, 2018; Pintos, 2017; Viale, 2017), to account for the debates and contributions to the understanding of this phenomenon from the specific characteristics of our countries and territories. We pose questions about forms of democratic governance and collective action that can counterbalance this phenomenon, considering that Latin America has historically been traversed by unbridled and unregulated extractive processes, disrupting vital and necessary cycles between nature and fulfilling a role as a producer of raw materials to meet the demands of the global system. These extractive processes require tapping into the territorial conditions and capacities to carry out practices such as mining, fracking, energy production, genetically modified crops, among others.

The construction of this review of studies and conceptual frameworks on urban extractivism is undertaken from a herme-

neutic-interpretative perspective (Bonilla & Rodriguez, 1997), aiming to understand the transformations of the territory based on contemporary practices expressed in urban extractivism. Using documentary review as the main research strategy and following Galeano (2012), a classification and registration process was carried out, selecting approximately 52 texts for their temporal and thematic relevance. Through reading, categories and analytical trends were identified, expressed in land rent, real estate, capital accumulation and reproduction, and the role of the state, allowing for the cross-referencing and grouping of information.

The article presents a review of studies conducted between 2014 and 2021 and a reference framework on urban extractivism, identifying the connections of the concept of urban extractivism with the theses of classical authors in urban sociology and critical geography, such as Karl Marx, David Harvey, Henri Lefebvre, Manuel Castells, Saskia Sassen, Pintos Patricia, Raquel Rolnik, and other contemporary authors like Eduardo Gudynas, Alberto Acosta, Maristella Svampa, Enrique Viale, Ana María Vásquez Duplat, and Francisco Adolfo García-Jerez (Castells & Caraca, 2012).

The structure of the literature review is based on the examination of results, findings, and conclusions from empirical studies that are supported by analytical categories, such as the real estate sector, land rent, capital accumulation and reproduction, and the role of the State in the Urban Extractivism process. Subsequently, the theoretical contributions of research conducted in the context of extractivism, neo-extractivism, and urban extractivism are addressed, as indicated by García (2019), Pintos (2017), Svampa and Viale (2014), and Vásquez (2017). This concept is perceived as being under construction, representing one of the main academic challenges in terms of examining its validity based on the proposed case studies.

## Methodology

The construction of the Study Review and the reference framework was carried out using a qualitative research approach. This approach sought to understand and interpret

the theoretical, discursive, and practical construction of urban extractivism in its historical-cultural context, where they weave and examine the reality they construct and experience, with their own meanings, feelings, beliefs, and values. In this sense, it is an approach that privileges the local, the cultural, and the everyday.

The perspective was hermeneutic; this methodology allows for the interpretation of the proposed problem and the identification of phenomena historically and culturally constructed by various actors (Bonilla & Rodríguez, 1997), which in turn makes it possible to contrast different epistemological currents.

The main strategy was documentary research. As Galeano (2012) points out, “the researcher does not need to participate in the object studied, that is, it does not affect the actions and interaction of the situation analyzed; therefore, in documentary research, one must be concerned with controlling the effects of the researcher” (p. 113).

The sampling system was dynamic, updating and adjusting according to the findings provided by the documentary review. The samples are not pre-established but respond to the purposes of the study (Galeano, 2004), which implies a thorough and systematic bibliographic review in databases and information repositories such as Google Scholar, Dialnet, Scielo, Science Direct, ResearchGate, Journals Open Edition, Universidad de Antioquia, social and community journals, Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Flacso Andes, and the Network of Scientific Journals of Latin America and the Caribbean, Spain, SíCiudadanía. Additionally, a search was conducted in Scopus, as this database, with its wide range of indexed journals, allows viewing abstracts, citations, licenses, among other aspects of scientific articles.

Following Galeano (2012), a systematic process of classification and documentation was carried out, selecting approximately 52 texts based on their temporal and thematic relevance, primarily consisting of journal articles and books. For the information analysis, the bibliographic card was used as an instrument, allowing for a careful and meticulous reading of the selected texts, identifying pat-

terns, contradictions, epistemological inclinations, trends, divergences, and convergences. The purpose was to interpret and understand the documentary and bibliographic information, which was processed in a categorical matrix, relating the phenomena found. Additionally, this allowed for the classification, grouping, and sequential numbering of the texts according to their title, author, central concepts, contributions, period, and search repository, for subsequent analysis.

Through the reading, analytical categories and trends were identified, allowing for the information to be crossed, grouped, and presented, such as: the real estate sector, land rent, capital accumulation and reproduction, urban planning, and the role of the State. At the end of the exercise, a matrix-type annex was prepared with the information in the following order: reference, year of publication, site, place, name, authors, keywords, summary, as well as the contents considered of vital importance for the development of the analysis on urban extractivism.

## Study Review

In the case of Latin America, cities like Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires, São Paulo, among others, are experiencing a boom in the real estate sector that corresponds to the accumulation of the contemporary capitalist system (García, 2019); notably, there is a wealth of studies and research in Ecuador, Bolivia, and Argentina on extractivism and neo-extractivism. Regarding urban extractivism, there is a clear prominence in the number of studies in Argentina, specifically in Buenos Aires, where an academic and social movement has emerged around the city model and its production practices, with a significant presence of female authors and movements.

The documentary review has led to the identification of various categories of analysis related to urban extractivism, such as land rent, the real estate sector, capital accumulation and reproduction, and the role of the state.

Regarding the real estate sector, it is crucial to understand it in relation to the financing of urban development, expressed through

housing, infrastructure, and megaprojects, often associated with events like the Olympic Games or impactful city projects that position it in international rankings and have environmental repercussions. According to Pintos (2017) and Vásquez (2017), the expansion of agricultural frontiers, hydrocarbons, and mega-mining adheres to the classic model of production and extraction, while speculation in the real estate sector aligns with urban extractivism.

This phenomenon has manifested in various regions, particularly in Latin America. In the 1980s, it was characterized by development in peripheral areas of the city, configuring spaces for high-income or middle-class populations, accompanied by communication infrastructure and shopping centers, thereby activating the real estate sector (García, 2019). By the 1990s, there was an increase in foreign investment directed toward constructing large facilities, international tourism, industrial reconfiguration, and funding major urban projects, which, in turn, were marked by exclusivity (Wertheimer, 2021). This process was acknowledged even by the financial services company specialized in real estate, Jones Lang Lasalle, which highlighted the attractiveness of Latin American cities for urban operations (García, 2019).

Since 1999, foreign companies such as Equity International have shown a particular interest in Latin American markets, seeking local partners in Mexico. They deem it pivotal in the region and have successfully executed investment projects valued at over \$1 trillion USD in Colombia, Peru, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Brazil (Real Estate Report, 2015). García (2019) argues that the urban development process in Latin American cities is not guided by a habitat conception but rather by the generation of real estate products resembling commodities, as discussed by Sassen and Ufer (2021) and Svampa (2013). The property ceases to retain its characteristic of being inhabited and transforms into a tradable asset, relatively easily produced, geared towards generating dividends for its investors. In other words, housing becomes an asset-backed by financial instruments through a lender-borrower relationship, rendering it a commodity tradable in global markets. An illustrative case is the urban space of Buenos

Aires, where, within a 10-year period, 20 million square meters of real estate were constructed. This coincided with a growth of over 50% in the population residing in the city's informal settlements, resulting in a surplus of vacant or unoccupied dwellings, thereby transforming them into exchangeable commodities with distinct characteristics (Viale, 2017).

The real estate process breeds speculation and positions specific locations through the square meter value. Alari (2014) documents an experience titled *"The neighborhood is not for sale, the Barriographies of Barcelona as a tool of neighborhood resistance against urban extractivism"*. In 1992, due to the Olympics, Barcelona was placed on the map of global cities, leading to an increase in the square meter price, placing the Peninsula area among the most expensive in the city. In 2014, processes of community mobilization emerged against tourist overcrowding and to set limits on the imperative of unsustainable growth marked by the real estate process and the interest in land rent.

Regarding land rent, urban extractivism, explored by Rolnik (2019), Pintos (2017), Svampa and Viale (2014), and Vásquez (2017), is based on the logics and mechanisms of displacement and dispossession proposed by Harvey (2013) and urbanization as a planetary phenomenon (Brenner, 2013). Business actors generate new spatialities, promote wealth and accumulation from urban land (Roitman, 2019), and the State, through regulations and deregulation, facilitates their actions and even assumes a role of responsibility in the success of urban projects.

In the documentary search, two specific cases stand out. The first case is the city of Cuenca, Ecuador, which has grown with an extractivist model, experienced changes in land use, and admitted real estate speculation as a source of capital extraction (Contreras et al., 2018) in a process that has transcended urban limits, colonizing agricultural lands. The second case is Buenos Aires, Argentina, from 1990 onwards, where land has become a mechanism for income through the financial market (Reese, 2017), supported by obtaining income from the commodification of land and urban nature (D'amico & Pibernus,



2021). These authors complement by stating that the city is produced from political dynamics, linked to capital accumulation, understood as a productive development model that has an urban discourse connecting land around housing and infrastructure megaprojects, thus strengthening the real estate market. Sassen (2014) and Brenner (2013) argue that it is necessary to account for the commodification and hegemonic power of markets in the process of urban transformation, in the context of rethinking neoliberal projects whose sole purpose is the accumulation and reproduction of capital.

During the accumulation and reproduction of capital, Rolnik (2019), Svampa and Viale (2014) argue that the central purpose of urban extractivism is related to the appropriation of capital surpluses through urban space. This involves the participation of the global financial sector, construction companies, and a State that politically facilitates the scheme, aiming to attract investments, acting as a passive deregulator regarding the planning and real estate land control, exerting minimal control over the principles of urban planning (García, 2019). History has revealed that the capitalist system demands limitless growth. In the context of extractivism, this has been achieved through natural resources and now, in cities, through urban land, urban expansion, and construction on rural land. Although Harvey (2013) had already termed this phenomenon as “accumulation by dispossession”, it is necessary to emphasize that in recent years, this process has accelerated further due to population growth, the emergence of the middle class, and the insatiable quest of capitalism to continue its accumulation process.

This drive has led to the establishment of the foundations of a territorial production model through private urbanizations, large commercial and recreational complexes, and a focus on vertical construction, transforming cities into major business centers (Arboleda, 2016; Svampa & Viale, 2014; Vásquez, 2017). Simultaneously, processes of touristification and transformation of urban space are consolidated, altering initial socio-spatial forms and co-producing a new trans-territorial reality. A touristified space is created, with dy-

namics and consequences evident in terms of land use and the content of social interactions contributing to this new spatiality. This is observable in cases such as Medellín, El Poblado, characterized by the influx of real estate rentier capital, the displacement of the resident population, and the creation of a market niche for sex and drugs (Mejía, 2022).

In the entire process described thus far, the role of the State has been prominent, serving as a facilitator and regulator, engaging in the operation to garner increased revenues through taxes. Housing policies empower new markets through the public budget, ensuring, in some way, the return of capital, both for global financial corporations and for local markets through leasing, and even for informal markets that assert territorial control and connect with financial markets (Rolnik et al., 2022).

In this context, in urban extractivism, state action is grounded in the discourse of the governance model within the framework of the new public management, as stated by Alari (2024), corroborated by Granero (2017) and Machado (2015). Through urban policies and planning instruments, social relations are altered, local citizen participation is disregarded, dynamics of expropriation and exploitation of territories occur, and, in many cases, public policies are implemented to legitimize the actions of both public and private actors, relying on discourses of progress and development.

David Harvey, cited by Brown (2016), argues that neoliberalism, as a program for the restitution of class power, emphasizes territorial planning as the primary tool for classification, homogenization, and control in structuring urban spaces as scenarios for the expansion of capital accumulation. From the perspective of this English geographer, each mode of production generates a new space, and, to that extent, the consolidation of capitalism on a global scale implies a process of urban restructuring on a planetary scale (Brenner, 2013), where the shift from rural to urban and the emergence of large metropolises become the general rule and the indisputable symbol of “development”.

## Results

### *Urban Extractivism, a Concept under Construction*

Among the main authors addressing the concept of extractivism are Alberto Acosta (2012), Eduardo Gudynas (2015; 2009), who define it as an exploitative activity of natural resources through an intensive mode of production, on a large scale and in high volumes, without any procedure to minimize its environmental impact or, when it exists, it is limited. According to Acosta (2012), extractivism is a mode of accumulation that began to take shape massively 500 years ago. On the other hand, Svampa (2019) approaches it from a territorial perspective, stating that extractivism relies on an occupation model that places economies in competition, displacing them for water, energy, and other resources, promoting dynamics of exclusion and the emergence of new discourses regarding territorial dynamics.

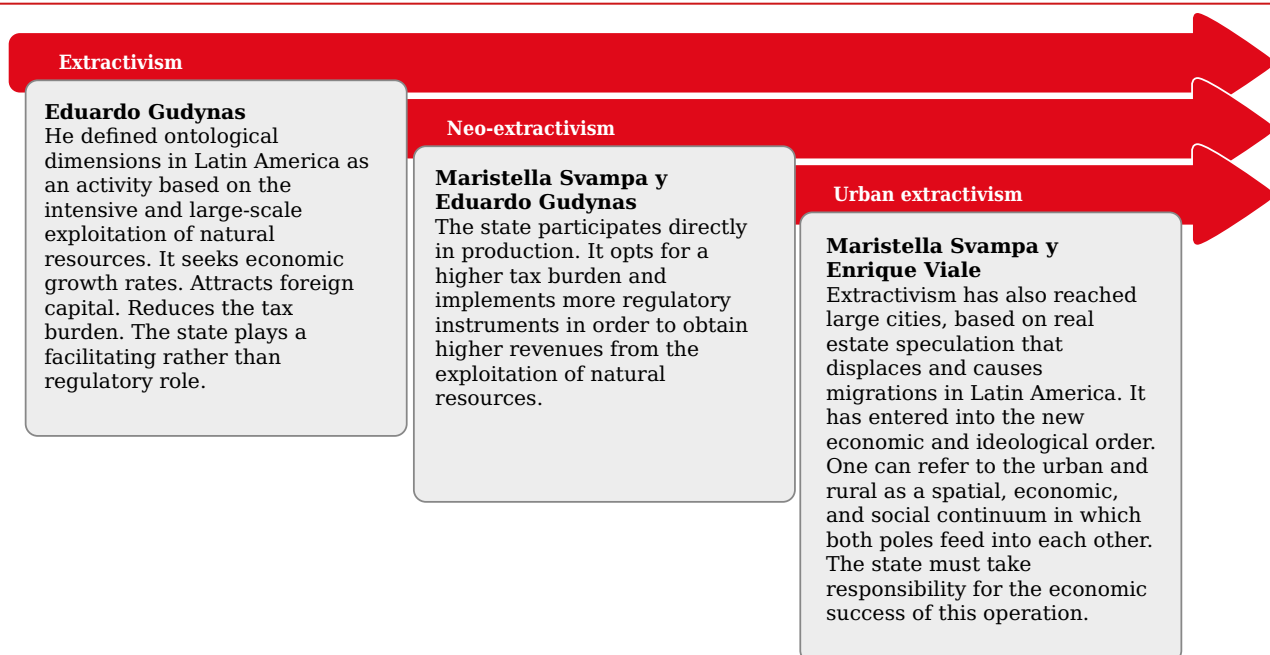
Portillo (2014) and Gudynas (2015; 2009) propose two models that can be explained in two moments, one more traditional and another more contemporary, both present in the Latin American region. The first corresponds to classical extractivism, which seeks economic growth rates, attracts foreign capital,

reduces tax burdens, modifies policies in the service of transnational capital, and where the role of the State is that of a facilitator. The second corresponds to neo-extractivism, in which the State participates in production, aims for a higher fiscal burden seeking to obtain greater income from resource exploitation, and its role is regulatory.

Svampa (2019) argues that the second moment, neo-extractivism, has readings of a multidimensional nature expressed in the dizzying expansion of the commodities frontier, opening up new political, social, and ecological disputes, as well as unforeseen social resistances from the dominant developmentalist imagination; new gaps in collective action that questioned the developmentalist illusion, and a multiscale character based on a socio-political-territorial model, plausible to be analyzed at the national, regional, or local scale. See **Figure 1** for a visual representation of the theoretical framework of urban extractivism.

The notion of neo-extractivism has significantly revitalized the developmental perspective, supported by the discourse of opportunities and the active role of the State (Svampa, 2019). On this occasion, the idea of development is grounded in capital

**Figure 1. Theoretical Framework of Urban Extractivism**



accumulation through intense pressure on natural resources and territory, as indicated by Gudynas (2009), transitioning from a “mode of production” to a “mode of appropriation”, supported, as Harvey (2005) argues, by mechanisms of displacement, expropriation, dispossession, and despoliation in pursuit of accumulation.

It is added that there are environmental and social consequences and negative impacts emerging from the production of a re-privatization of Latin American economies, supported by practices of dispossession and land expropriation, as well as natural resource exploitation.

Within this framework, it is crucial to link neo-extractivism with the global economic crisis and the current accumulation model based on the principles of neoliberal and financial capital, which experienced a strong surge in the 1990s. This model, which, by 2008, within the global system, underwent one of its major crises, not only economic but systemic and multidimensional, affecting the guarantee of human rights and increasing the precariousness of labor conditions and access to income. The crisis originated initially in the United States but rapidly spread to Europe and later to Latin America.

Up to this point, the transition from the concept of extractivism to neo-extractivism has been revealed, succinctly and systematically expressing its practices, discourses, intentions, and modes of operation primarily in rural areas. García (2019) suggests not dividing the territory into urban and rural but assuming it as a territorial, social, and economic continuum—a perspective complemented by the emerging need to extend the theoretical and empirical reflection on extractivism beyond the non-urban. However, urban neo-extractivism emerges as a process in Latin America following the neoliberal phase, in which progressive governments intensify resource extraction not only in rural areas but also in cities. This model is manifested through the exploitation of urban commons, such as land, public spaces, and services, with the aim of generating revenue and attracting investments. Thus, urban neo-extractivism is characterized by the commodification and privatization of urban re-

sources, often resulting in displacement and social conflicts.

Svampa and Viale (2014), along with the contribution of Gago (2015, p. 244), propose analyzing extractivism beyond the reference to the re-primarization of Latin American economies as exporters of raw materials, seeking to establish an interpretive framework in the territories of urban peripheries in this new moment of accumulation.

The Center for Studies and Action for Equality (CEAPI) has labeled this phenomenon as urban extractivism, a comprehensive synthesis between the dynamics of traditional extractive activity and persistent issues in large cities.

When examining the logics and consequences of mega-mining, the expansion of monoculture soybean cultivation, and the exploitation of unconventional hydrocarbons, notably similar features were identified concerning the effects and characteristics of real estate speculation and the disposition of urban land for capital expansion in urban environments (Heredia Chaz, 2018).

The CEAPI argues that urban extractivism is a new idea and, therefore, is under construction, emphasizing its promotion of social dialogue and collective action in urban and rural contexts or in the continuum previously referenced. Thus, the concept of urban extractivism provides a new explanatory framework for understanding territorial inequalities, the configuration of social classes, and issues that often manifest as social gaps, opening the possibility to analyze specific phenomena from the perspective of the economic-financial model that supports and generates them (Heredia Chaz, 2018).

In addition, the CEAPI (Center for Studies and Action for Equality [CEAPI] & Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, 2017) defines:

The phenomenon known as urban extractivism grows and legitimizes itself as a city model through real estate income, the construction of high-end properties, and the indiscriminate expansion over green reserves and popular neighborhoods. This urban model replicates itself on various scales with common elements, gestating through private investments and enjoying state



support to achieve the concentration of urban land. Public spaces are sacrificed in the pursuit of city growth and income generation for real estate corporations. Housing becomes a simple exchange commodity, where houses are built without considering housing needs, deepening the housing crisis for middle and lower classes, resulting in the inevitable displacement of those who cannot adapt (p. 25).

Sassen (2014) describes that urban extractivism displaces the local population and promotes the destruction of natural ecosystems with the purpose of accumulating capital by commodifying urban lands. This contributes to the increase in inequality, social exclusion, and environmental degradation. Viale (2017) argues that urban extractivism underlies an exclusionary system that, among its objectives, seeks to expel the poor from cities or, alternatively, divide the territory, leading to the privatization of benefits and consolidating a way of life for middle, upper-middle, and upper classes. Additionally, it supports the idea of the illusion of unlimited growth, even considering that public spaces and squares are not profitable and, therefore, become objects of business.

On the other hand, Vásquez (2017) posits that land has become an aspect of interest for private actors, legitimized through legal and illegal mechanisms of governments. These mechanisms rely on planning instruments formulated without consulting the citizenry, limiting what Lefebvre (1983; 2013) theorized regarding the possibility for all citizens to use, think, and imagine the city. Even the triad perceived-conceived-lived, in terms of spatial, symbolic, identity, and representational practices, loses its strength when treated as an abstract model.

The practice of urban extractivism conceptualizes territory as a space for rent, commodified and privatized within the framework of public management, increasing surplus value, and attracting foreign investment, especially that based on the neoliberal model (Harvey, 1977; 1998). In this context, transnational financial capital plays a prominent role. According to Harvey, the market becomes a “self-regulator of different income groups to occupy different locations; we can consider the geographical models of urban residential structure as a tangible geographical

expression of a structural condition of the capitalist economy” (p. 285).

On the other hand, Osorio argues that we speak of the reproduction of capital when these cycles are repeated and reproduced constantly (2014, p. 82). In different case studies in Latin America, this manifests through the real estate market and the increase in land prices, a thesis supported by Coraggio (1991) and Pintos (2011). They propose that neoliberal urbanism advocates for privatization and deregulation of space through processes that implement “public-private partnerships,” with an interest more oriented towards private accumulation than socio-environmental well-being. In this sense, by freeing up the land market, politicians in charge of local governments manage to materialize their ambitions through the development of mega-projects, providing them with symbolic recognition and stimulating the mobilization of capital through the financial system. Thus, a framework is created in which political interests converge with the accumulation of the private sector globally, in a transscalar sense.

## Conclusions

In relation to the review of studies on urban extractivism, there is an observed presence of numerous works focused on extractivism and neo-extractivism, leading to the formation of an academic community and the shaping of a social movement involving environmentalists, academics, and indigenous people (Davis, 2004). This process has enabled the construction of opposition to certain practices associated with the production, extraction, and exploitation of natural resources. However, as of now, urban extractivism in Latin America has not undergone a similar process. This phenomenon may be attributed to the novelty of the concept, emphasizing the specific dynamics of Buenos Aires, Argentina, and the feminist movements associated with this context. This situation calls for the mobilization of academic and social capabilities to progress towards the recognition of the right to the city, highlighting the absence of a political, cultural, and emotional subject, as well as the perception of urban problems by the popular sectors as local, contingent, and individual situations, thereby deactivating social mobilization and class consciousness.

In contemporary urban research, there has been a growing recognition of the relationship between extractivism and the commodification of housing, treated as a tradable commodity establishing a relationship between the financial corporation and the owner, supported by an asset that can be traded in global financial markets. However, it is crucial to note that urban extractivism manifests itself in major cities and capitals, where an urban environment with institutional investment has been experienced or projected.

Regarding the conceptual approach to urban extractivism, the process of identifying categories that currently form the basis for understanding and developing the concept in empirical studies stands out. These categories include the real estate sector, land rent, capital accumulation and reproduction, and the role of the state. However, the conceptualization thus far leaves open several lines of research that pose three questions. Firstly, a call is made for a deeper analysis of the object, illustrating whether there are similar practices between the logic of extractivism and neo-extractivism in urban space. Secondly, following García's (2019) proposal and drawing on Svampa's (2019) and Svampa and Viale's (2014), there is a suggestion to interpret the behavior of extractivist activity in urban areas with the same dynamics as a commodity. And thirdly, it is argued that extractivism is a critical proposal against the neoliberal city. In summary, it represents an incipient and provocative idea for understanding urban realities through the exploration of concrete phenomena in relation to other emerging categories of analysis in territories with specific realities and practices.

## Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

## Source of Financing

This article is the result of doctoral research. Urban Extractivism: Municipalities of Sabaneta and Bello, Antioquia between the periods 2000–2020, are with the author's own resources.

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#### **How to cite this paper?**

Moreno Soto, G. L. (2025). Study review and conceptual approach: Urban extractivism (2014-2020). *Cuadernos de Administración*, 41(82), e30314257. <https://doi.org/10.25100/cdea.v41i82.14257>

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<https://doi.org/10.25100/cdea.v41i82.14257>