

## Money, meaning, and territory: family business groups and agro-extractive systems in Latin America

Maria-Dorothea Wolf<sup>a,\*</sup>, David L. Kornbluth Cambor<sup>b</sup>, Manuel Bayón Jiménez<sup>c</sup>,  
Michael Lukas<sup>b</sup>, Michael Janoschka<sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Institute of Regional Science, Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT), IfR- KIT, Reinhard-Baumeister-Platz 1, 76131, Karlsruhe, Germany

<sup>b</sup> Department of Geography, University of Chile (UCHILE), Chile

<sup>c</sup> El Colegio de México, A.C. (COLMEX), Mexico

<sup>d</sup> Institute of Regional Science, Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT), Germany

### ARTICLE INFO

#### Keywords:

Family business groups  
Agro-extractivism  
Spatial ordering  
Latin America

### ABSTRACT

Family business groups play a significant role in Latin America's agro-extractive systems. While research on agro-extractivism has focused primarily on territorial expansion and transnational agribusiness, less attention has been paid to the actors that coordinate relations across multiple sites and stages of value chains. Drawing on critical socio-spatial perspectives, this article examines family business groups as organisational actors that connect fragmented agro-extractive relations. It approaches these coordinating activities as family-mediated forms of spatial ordering through which extraction, processing, circulation, and value realisation become connected across territories and organisational settings. A comparative analysis of the Maggi group (Brazil), the Angelini group (Chile) and the González Hank group (Mexico) reconstructs contrasting forms of family-mediated spatial ordering associated with different organisational positions in agro-extractive systems. The comparison demonstrates that family business groups connect fragmented agro-extractive relations through distinct forms of territorial concentration, organisational mediation, and market centrality. The findings suggest that these coordinating functions emerge from different organisational positions but share a common capacity to connect relations that are otherwise organised through separate institutions and arenas.

### 1. Connecting fragmented agro-extractive relations

The political economy of Latin America has long been shaped by extractive activities, including mining, forestry, and agriculture, which have reproduced territorial, economic and socio-environmental inequalities (Veltmeyer, 2022). Among the key actors are family business groups (FBGs), which combine concentrated family control with diversified corporate organisation across land-based, industrial, and logistical sectors. Their significance extends beyond ownership of individual firms. Through their activities across agro-extractive value chains, FBGs connect extraction, processing, circulation, and market coordination covering multiple territories and scales (Carney et al., 2022). Their family-based organisation facilitates the long-term coordination of activities across firms, sectors and generations, while linking corporate strategy to elite networks and public forms of authority (Beckert and Stamm, 2025; Lukas and Brück, 2018; Suddaby et al., 2023).

In Latin America, approximately 40% of the largest firms remain

family-controlled (Vazquez et al., 2020). Many of the region's most influential families accumulated wealth through land-based and extractive sectors (Barbero, 2024). More recently, these groups have expanded into logistics, finance, industrial processing, and infrastructure, while new groups have emerged at strategic points along agro-extractive value chains (Schneider, 2013). Contemporary agro-extractive accumulation therefore depends not only on territorial control over land and natural resources but also on downstream processing, market access, and financial intermediation. These arrangements remain contested, as conflicts over land, socio-environmental harm, market concentration, and regulatory authority generate competing claims over legitimate development and spatial order (Soto-Hernández, 2026). Existing research on agro-extractivism and global agri-food chains has generated important insights into territorial expansion, value-chain integration, and transnational agribusiness networks (Ezquerro-Cañete and Veltmeyer, 2023; Kay, 2021; McKay et al., 2021; McMichael, 2006). Research on FBGs, by contrast, has focused

\* Corresponding author.

E-mail address: [d.wolf@kit.edu](mailto:d.wolf@kit.edu) (M.-D. Wolf).

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2026.101995>

Received 15 January 2026; Received in revised form 7 June 2026; Accepted 19 June 2026

Available online 25 June 2026

2214-790X/© 2026 The Authors. Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an open access article under the CC BY license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

more strongly on ownership structures, governance, and organisational resilience (Rautiainen et al., 2023), while paying comparatively less attention to their role in organising relations in agro-extractive systems. Consequently, despite their centrality within Latin American political economies, the role of FBGs as actors that connect and coordinate relations across dispersed sites and processes in agro-extractive systems remains insufficiently specified (Giacalone, 2023; Leiva, 2019; Vergara-Camus and Kay, 2018). To address this, the article asks: how do FBGs connect and coordinate fragmented agro-extractive relations, and how do these coordinating functions emerge from different organisational positions within agro-extractive systems?

To address this question, we analyse three contrasting cases of FBGs in Latin America: the Maggi group in Brazil, the Angelini group in Chile, and the González Hank group in Mexico. Each case occupies a different organisational position within agro-extractive systems and illustrates distinct ways in which family-based control connects dispersed activities, actors, and institutions. The Maggi case focuses on a FBG associated with agribusiness expansion in Brazil's soy frontiers, where territorial transformation, infrastructure development, political office-holding, and the public visibility of the family have become closely intertwined. The Angelini case examines a FBG whose activities span multiple sectors and territories in Chile, where ownership structures, strategic shareholdings, and institutional partnerships provide the basis for connecting otherwise distinct organisational and territorial settings. The González Hank case illustrates a FBG occupying a strategic position in Mexico's maize economy, where concentrated market structures and long-standing state-business ties shape the coordination of fragmented production systems through processing and market organisation. Together, these cases provide contrasting organisational positions through which the role of FBGs in coordinating fragmented agro-extractive relations can be examined. The comparison allows us to analyse how fragmented agro-extractive relations become connected and coordinated through different organisational arrangements associated with these positions.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. The next section develops the conceptual and theoretical foundations by discussing FBGs, agro-extractivism, and the socio-spatial perspective guiding the analysis. The following section outlines the comparative research design. The empirical sections examine the three cases as FBGs occupying contrasting organisational positions within agro-extractive systems. The final section develops a comparative synthesis of the findings and discusses their implication for understanding the role of FBGs in agro-extractive systems.

## 2. Family business groups and agro-extractive systems

In Latin America, ownership and control of capital remain strongly concentrated in the hands of families (Vazquez et al., 2020). Contrary to narratives of managerial capitalism,<sup>1</sup> family influence remains central to the organisation of contemporary corporations (Beckert and Stamm, 2025). FBGs are important actors in extractive, industrial, and financial accumulation, coordinating ownership, investment, and strategy among multiple firms and sectors (Rautiainen et al., 2023). Combining family authority with professional management, these groups often operate as diversified conglomerates capable of adapting to changing political and economic environments (Beckert and Stamm, 2025). Their durability depends not only on ownership concentration, but also on their capacity to coordinate assets, institutions, and elite networks over

<sup>1</sup> This reflects the influence of 20<sup>th</sup> narratives of managerial capitalism, which posited a growing separation between ownership and control, and tended to frame family firms as residual or transitional forms (Beckert and Stamm, 2025). FBGs challenge this view, as family control is often reconfigured, including through complex ownership arrangements that obscure ultimate ownership (Suddaby et al., 2023).

generations. In this way, FBGs reproduce forms of economic and political influence that extend beyond individual corporations and contribute to broader structures of social hierarchy and elite continuity (Barbero, 2024; Garmendia-Lazcano et al., 2022; Müller and Sandoval-Arzaga, 2021).

The prominence of FBGs in Latin America is closely connected to the concentration of land, resources, and commercial activities. Early family firms emerged from colonial institutions through which landowners and merchants gained control over land, labour, and local commerce (Müller and Sandoval-Arzaga, 2021). These patterns of concentration shaped enduring forms of territorial inequality and wealth accumulation, establishing land as a central asset within regional political economies. From 19th century haciendas and plantations to contemporary agribusiness systems, control over land has remained closely linked to the economic and political power of landowning elites (Oyhantçabal, 2024). At the same time, these forms of accumulation have increasingly become intertwined with industrial processing, commercial integration, and logistical organisation, particularly during periods of export-led growth, neoliberal restructuring, and global market integration (Barbero, 2024; Fairbairn, 2020).

These transformations have also reshaped how land-based accumulation is organised and analysed. Since the early 21st century, Latin American scholarship has increasingly conceptualised dominant forms of capitalist agriculture as extractivist, highlighting their economic, social, and ecological similarities with the mining and hydrocarbon sectors (Ezquerro-Cañete and Veltmeyer, 2023). Drawing on agrarian political economy and global agri-food chain approaches, this literature conceptualises agricultural production as embedded in transnational value chains through which value is organised, captured, and realised in fragmented production systems (McKay et al., 2021; McMichael, 2021). From this perspective, agro-extractive systems extend beyond the site of direct resource extraction alone. They also depend on downstream infrastructures, processing systems, and logistical networks through which agricultural commodities are circulated, transformed, and valorised throughout value chains (Ezquerro-Cañete and Veltmeyer, 2023; Fairbairn, 2020; McMichael, 2021). Agro-extractive systems are thus composed of interconnected relations linking extraction, circulation, processing, and value realisation spanning territorial and transnational scales (McKay et al., 2021; McMichael, 2021). This is particularly relevant for FBGs, whose activities frequently extend across multiple stages of agro-extractive value chains (Carney et al., 2022). While some FBGs are more directly linked to territorially concentrated extraction and infrastructural expansion, others occupy coordinating positions within downstream segments of agro-extractive value chains. Existing accounts of agro-extractivism have generated important insights into value-chain organisation, territorial expansion, and extractive infrastructures. However, they leave comparatively under-specified how these fragmented arrangements become connected under contested conditions (Soto-Hernández, 2026).

To address this gap, the article draws on critical understandings of space as socially produced through relations of accumulation, circulation, territorial organisation, and representation (Harvey, 2001; Lefebvre, 1997; Santos, 2002). From this perspective, agro-extractive systems are not simply collections of sites or activities, but socio-spatial arrangements through which extraction, processing, logistics, circulation, and value realisation become connected over different territories and organisational settings. Rather than treating these relations as separate domains, critical approaches direct attention to the ways in which they are articulated in broader spatial arrangements. For Lefebvre (1997), such arrangements are actively produced through social practices and relations, while Santos (2002) emphasises how dispersed sites, activities, and functions get connected in territorial settings. This perspective is particularly relevant for examining actors that operate across multiple stages, such as agro-extractive systems. Insights from Cultural Political Economy further highlight that socio-spatial arrangements are not only materially organised but also

involve processes of public visibility, interpretation, and association with particular meanings under unequal conditions (Sum and Jessop, 2013). Taken together, these perspectives suggest that analysing the role of actors in agro-extractive systems requires attention to how material objects, institutional relations, and symbolic representations are connected across space. Applying these understandings to FBGs turns the focus to the ways in which families participate in organising and maintaining connections over territories, firms, and organisational settings. The article approaches these activities as family-mediated forms of spatial ordering, referring to the ways in which family actors participate in producing and organising the socio-spatial arrangements that bring together extraction, processing, circulation, and value realisation in agro-extractive systems.

### 3. Multi-case study design

This article employs a comparative, case-based research design (Burawoy, 1998; Flyvbjerg, 2006) to examine how FBGs coordinate fragmented agro-extractive relations. The cases were selected to capture contrasting organisational positions in different agro-extractive systems rather than to represent agro-extractivism. They range from territorially concentrated agribusiness expansion to diversified ownership structures and downstream market coordination. This variation makes it possible to examine whether similar coordinating functions emerge from these different positions. The comparison therefore focuses on cases that differ in terms of historical trajectories, sectoral context, and organisational position, enabling conceptual refinement through situated trajectories (Hart, 2018; Robinson, 2022).

This approach addresses a central challenge of researching FBGs: the absence of large-scale databases in which business groups, rather than individual firms, constitute the unit of analysis (Garmendia-Lazcano et al., 2022). The analysis therefore combines fragmented and relationally connected sources to reconstruct organisational, territorial, political, and symbolic linkages in the three cases. As ownership data are often incomplete, systematic manual tracing and cross-referencing of heterogeneous materials across multiple scales and source types was required (Masulis et al., 2011). The empirical material combines corporate and financial records, including company data accessed via WorkSpace, with national government databases containing spatial and property-related data. Further sources include ownership data from stock-exchange and regulatory filings, company annual reports, genealogical reconstructions of families, publicly available rich lists, media reports, contextual sources and interpretive material on corporate strategies, symbolic practices, political linkages and place-based meaning-making. Maps and spatial material were used analytically rather than illustratively. These supported the reconstruction of territorial concentration, infrastructural integration, symbolic inscriptions, conflict patterns and relevant value chain nodes. Particular attention was given to tracing fragmented ownership structures, infrastructural connections, family and political networks. This involved genealogical reconstruction of family structures, biographical tracing of publicly visible family members, mapping of infrastructure and territorial assets, and cross-referencing of corporate disclosures with spatial and governmental databases.

Guided by the socio-spatial perspective developed above, the analysis traces how fragmented agro-extractive relations become connected across different organisational and territorial settings. In doing so, it reconstructs contrasting forms of family-mediated spatial ordering associated with different organisational positions in agro-extractive systems. Rather than treating individual sources as self-contained evidence, the analysis compares relational patterns across ownership structures, infrastructural arrangements, political connections, symbolic practices, and spatial material. Interpretation emerged through systematic cross-referencing of heterogeneous sources to identify recurring organisational patterns through which FBGs coordinate agro-extractive relations. The identified forms of family-mediated spatial ordering do

not represent directly observable empirical entities, but rather analytical reconstructions derived from comparative tracing of heterogeneous materials.

To reconstruct them systematically, the analysis distinguishes between material, institutional, and symbolic dimensions while also attending to conflict dynamics that emerge across them. These dimensions are treated as interconnected aspects of how agro-extractive relations are organised and coordinated. Firstly, the material dimension focuses on infrastructural and territorial arrangements through which agro-extractive activities are organised. This includes land concentration, logistics systems, processing infrastructures, transport corridors, energy provision, and other material arrangements connecting production, circulation, and value realisation. Secondly, the institutional dimension concerns the ownership structures, governance arrangements, political connections, and organisational relationships through which activities are coordinated across firms, sectors, and territories. Attention is paid to how family influence is organised and exercised across these settings. Thirdly, the symbolic dimension focuses on forms of public visibility, representation, and recognition associated with families and business groups. This includes philanthropic activities, commemorative place naming, branding, public narratives, and development discourses through which family influence becomes publicly articulated. Conflict dynamics are examined across these dimensions, focusing on disputes surrounding territorial expansion, infrastructural projects, market concentration, or environmental impact. Rather than treating conflict as a separate analytical dimension, attention is directed towards how contestation emerges through material, institutional, and symbolic interactions and becomes associated with the organisation of agro-extractive relations in different settings. Together, these dimensions provide a basis for analysing contrasting forms of family-mediated spatial ordering and the ways in which FBGs coordinate relations across agro-extractive systems.

## 4. Empirical analysis: contrasting organisational positions

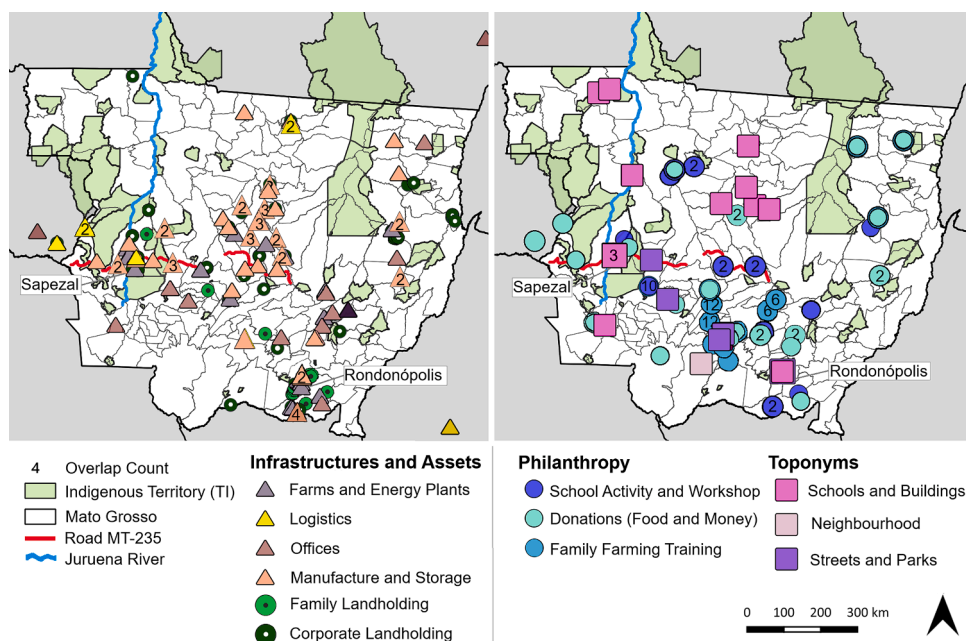
### 4.1. The Maggi group

The Maggi case examines one of Brazil's influential agribusiness families, which controls AMAGGI, a major private soy producer and trader within the country's export-oriented agribusiness economy. The Maggi family has been particularly associated with agribusiness operations in the state of Mato Grosso, a strong public presence in places shaped by agribusiness activities, and national agribusiness politics. The case examines a setting in which family-based agribusiness expansion has developed in close relation to territorial transformation and political influence.

#### 4.1.1. Material organisation

The urban centre of the municipality of Sapezal developed alongside the opening of the MT-235 highway and agribusiness operations as part of a broader colonisation strategy led by the Maggi family during the late 1980s (Souza Junior, 2025). Early development relied partly on family-owned infrastructure, including electricity provision through small hydropower plants, and family members occupying central roles in municipal governance (Baggenstoss and Donadone, 2025; Municipality of Sapezal, 2020). Today, the group controls approximately 258,000 hectares of farmland and simultaneously operates logistics hubs, processing sites, energy plants, ports, and one of the country's largest truck fleet linked to soy expansion (Amaggi, 2025a). These infrastructures connect production regions in the interior to Atlantic export corridors via road and river systems (Abel, 2022; Amaggi, 2025a).

The left panel of Fig. 1 maps the spatial overlap between agribusiness infrastructure and landholdings of the Maggi FBG. The spatial reconstruction is based on company reports, corporate registry data (EmpresaDois, n.d.), and rural land and environmental cadastre records



**Fig. 1.** Maps of Mato Grosso (Brazil) showing the spatial distribution of infrastructures and assets (left) and philanthropic activities and family-linked toponyms (right) of the Maggi family. Indigenous territories, the MT-235 highway, and the Juruena River provide territorial context for the mapped features. Source: Authors.

(Registro Rural, n.d.). Tracing ownership in these sources revealed that a considerable share of land associated with the group is registered directly to family members rather than to corporate entities. This suggests that territorial expansion has been organised through a combination of corporate and family-held assets. Although the group operates throughout Brazil, Fig. 1 focuses on Mato Grosso as it concentrates many of the territorial and infrastructural assets through which the family's agribusiness expansion became organised. The reconstruction reveals two densely packed areas: one in the south around Rondonópolis, where the family established its agribusiness base in the 1980s, and another around Sapezal, where landholdings, farms, logistical and storage centres cluster spatially. Together, the reconstruction suggests that land-ownership, agricultural production, and logistical infrastructure became concentrated in the same territorial settings, embedding family ownership directly in the material organisation of soy production in Mato Grosso.

#### 4.1.2. Institutional organisation

The reconstruction of ownership in corporate filings, family entities, and genealogical records shows control over all subsidiaries of the group remains within the Maggi family (Amaggi, 2025a, 2025b). The group is wholly owned by the family, and the AMAGGI Board of Directors and Foundation are led by family members. Family influence is further reinforced through a strong political presence. Family members held positions at the municipal, state, and federal levels, mostly prominent through Blairo Maggi's tenure as Governor of Mato Grosso and later as Minister of Agriculture (Baggenstoss and Donadone, 2025). Through these roles, the family became closely associated with national agribusiness interests, including the congressional rural caucus (Pompeia, 2021). While family ownership and political office-holding make the Maggi family highly visible within its core territorial base, this visibility becomes less pronounced in the context of territorial expansion. Corporate registry data (EmpresaDois, n.d.) shows joint ventures with firms such as Louis Dreyfus Company, Bunge, Cargill, and Zen-Noh, all located in Matopiba, the political agricultural frontier in Brazil's northeast, where the FBG historically lacked territorial presence. In contrast to the family-centred ownership structures associated with Mato Grosso, expansion into this frontier relied more strongly on shared arrangements with international commodity traders, in which the Maggi

name disappears almost entirely. The reconstruction therefore suggests that concentrated ownership and direct political engagement make the family a highly visible institutional actor, while expansion into new frontier regions is organised through partnerships in which the family influence remains present but less visible.

#### 4.1.3. Symbolic representation

Symbolic practices are closely tied to agribusiness infrastructures and landholdings. Displayed alongside these, philanthropic activities and family-linked toponyms cluster around places shaped by soy expansion in Mato Grosso. The right panel of Fig. 1 maps philanthropic activities documented between 2020 and 2024 in foundation reports (FALM, 2020). Many activities focused on family farming and donation programmes. In most cases, the AMAGGI Foundation acted as the primary initiator, sometimes in partnerships with local organisations municipal departments, and schools. The map also reconstructs family-linked toponyms identified through systematic searches in public mapping systems (Google Maps, n.d.; OSM, n.d.). In Mato Grosso, streets, schools, districts, parks and other public places are named after family members. Several refer to living family members, and in Sapezal some appear alongside municipal narratives of local development (Municipality of Sapezal, 2020), linking the family symbolically to local histories of agribusiness expansion. Together, this suggests that symbolic practices are concentrated in the same territorial setting as the group's infrastructures and landholdings. Philanthropic activities and family-linked toponyms embed family visibility in the frontier territories associated with soy expansion.

#### 4.1.4. Conflict dynamics

Literature on the Maggi case documents recurring conflicts surrounding territorial expansion, transport corridors, hydropower projects, labour conditions, environmental governance, and indigenous territories (Dos Santos, 2022; Souza Junior, 2025). Existing studies further document compensation measures, environmental agreements, and negotiated engagements related to disputes involving, for example, the MT-235 road and the Juruena River (Dos Santos, 2022). Fig. 1 therefore displays agribusiness infrastructures, landholdings, philanthropic activities, and indigenous territories based on government geo-data, as well as the MT-235 corridor and the Juruena River, both of

which feature prominently in documented territorial disputes. The reconstruction shows that these elements overlap spatially, particularly around Sapezal. Considered alongside the documented disputes, the overlaps suggests that territorial contestation is concentrated around the same infrastructures, territories, and forms of presence through which the family's influence is organised. Economic expansion, public visibility, and territorial conflict become part of the same socio-spatial setting, underpinning the group's influence in Brazil's agro-extractive frontier.

Taken together, the Maggi case shows how family authority, territorial expansion, political office-holding, and public visibility become closely intertwined in the same frontier territories. The family appears publicly as a collective actor that connects economic activity, political influence, and public visibility in the same socio-spatial settings. The case illustrates how family influence can become concentrated in the same socio-spatial setting through overlapping economic, political, and symbolical relations.

#### 4.2. The Angelini group

The Angelini family controls one of Chile's most influential FBGs, whose ownership structures extend across multiple sectors and territories. Through firms such as Arauco and Copec, the group maintains interests in forestry, energy, mining, and fisheries, while also holding stakes in organisations linked to research, innovation, and urban development. The case examines a setting in which family influence is exercised through ownership structures, inter-organisational connections and institutional partnerships that connect distinct activities and territorial settings.

##### 4.2.1. Material organisation

The material organisation extends over the full length of Chile through geographically differentiated extraction, industrial, and logistics infrastructures. Central to the Angelini case is the forestry complex in south-central Chile operated through Arauco. Arauco controls approximately one million hectares of plantation forests and numerous industrial facilities concentrated mainly around Concepción and Valdivia (Arauco, 2023; Infor, n.d.). The material base further extends beyond Chile with an additional 0.6 million hectares of plantations in Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina, and a substantial share of revenues being generated through international operations (Arauco, 2024; Maurelia-Burgos, 2025).

Fig. 2 reconstructs the spatial distribution of fisheries, mining, forestry, logistics, and urban assets through annual reports as well as forestry data from the National Forestry Institute (Arauco, 2024; Copec, 2026a; Infor, n.d.). The map also overlays the natural regions used in Chilean geography education (Mineduc, 2014), which broadly differentiate the country according to climatic and geographical conditions, ranging from arid mining regions in the north to temperate forest regions in the south. This provides a spatial reference for understanding the regional differentiation of the group's activities in Chile. In the north, mining and industrial fishing activities cluster around cities such as Iquique and Antofagasta, while forestry operations concentrate in the south-central regions. Santiago emerges as the principal logistical and corporate centre, with logistics infrastructures extending longitudinally in northern and southern production regions. The reconstruction suggests a materially differentiated spatial organisation in which geographically separated regions perform distinct productive, industrial, and logistical functions. The material organisation of the group therefore relies on connecting regionally specialised infrastructures and activities over multiple territories rather than concentrating extraction and processing in a single territorial core.

##### 4.2.2. Institutional organisation

Despite the dispersion of subsidiaries among sectors and territories, data from Workspace (LSEG, n.d.) shows that strategic control remains

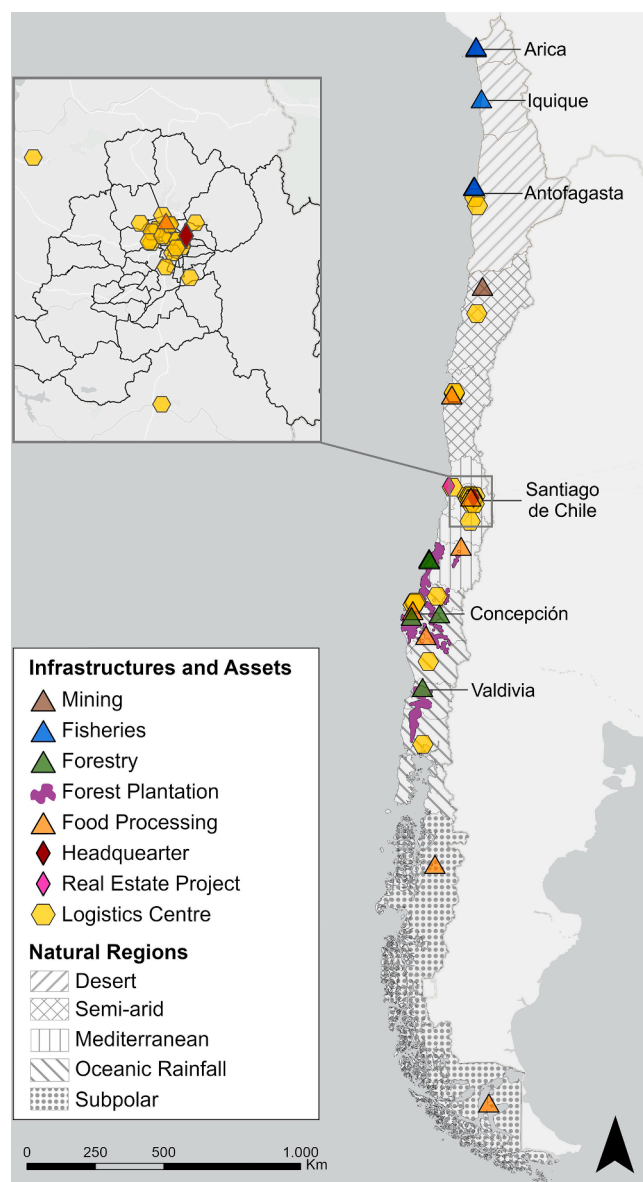


Fig. 2. Map of Chile showing infrastructural assets associated with the Angelini family across Chile's natural regions. The map illustrates the geographical distributions of infrastructures across differentiated territorial settings. Source: Authors.

concentrated in the Angelini family. The reconstruction further reveals reciprocal minority shareholdings between the Angelini and Matte family (CMF, n.d.; Cofré, 2023; LSEG, n.d.). As another influential Chilean FBG operating in similar sectors, the connection to the Matte group suggests that relationships among major FBGs become embedded in ownership structures in overlapping economic and territorial domains. Corporate reports and media coverage show further that the Angelini FBG acquired a 40% ownership stake in the architectural "do tank" Elemental (Copec, 2026a; MCH, 2009). Elemental participated in urban development initiatives in cities such as Arica and Constitución, where the Angelini FBG also maintains industrial infrastructure (Arauco, 2010; Copec, 2026b). Following the 2010 earthquake, Arauco entered a reconstruction alliance with public authorities and Elemental participated in developing the reconstruction plan for Constitución (Arauco, 2010; Lukas and Brück, 2018). The overlap between these initiatives and the group's industrial presence suggest that ties with public and professional actors are concentrated in territorial settings where the Angelini FBG already maintains significant operations. Together, the

reconstruction suggests that institutional coordination is organised primarily through ownership structures connecting the group to business families and intermediary organisations. Rather than relying on direct political participation, links to public authorities are established through specific projects and partnerships that connect corporate activities to territorial development initiatives involving public authorities.

#### 4.2.3. Symbolic representation

The symbolic dimension becomes visible through projects linked to the Angelini FBG and its organisational partnerships, particularly through the collaboration and stakes in Elemental. For instance, Elemental received the Avonni Innovation Awards 2009, which Elemental's founder Alejandro Aravena accepted alongside Roberto Angelini (MCH, 2009). Further, literature shows that social housing projects in Constitución and Yungay became closely associated with Aravena's internationally recognised architectural work, including the Pritzker Architecture Prize 2016 (Arauco, 2026; Lukas and Brück, 2018). Across media reports, Elemental and Aravena are at the centre of public recognition, while references to the Angelini FBG remain comparatively limited despite their ownership ties and involvement in many of the initiatives. The reconstruction therefore suggests that symbolic visibility is mediated through projects, with the family itself often receding into the background except in selected public appearances. Another example is the 'UC Anacleto Angelini Innovation Centre', which received international design recognition and occupies a highly visible location at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile in Santiago (Arauco, 2026). Unlike the other projects, the institution is named after the group's founder, Anacleto Angelini, whose name is commemorated through the centre, linking the group to discourses of innovation and knowledge production without placing the contemporary family at the centre of public visibility. Together, the reconstruction suggests that symbolic visibility is concentrated around innovation, architecture, and knowledge production, rather than the group's core industrial activities. Public recognition is attached primarily to these initiatives and their protagonists, while the family itself remains in the background.

#### 4.2.4. Conflict dynamics

Literature documents recurring socio-environmental conflicts surrounding plantation forestry, industrial infrastructures, water systems, and Mapuche territorial claims in south-central Chile (Maurelia-Burgos, 2025; Torres et al., 2022). Existing studies highlight conflicts linked to forestry expansion and cellulose production around Valdivia and the Arauco-Constitución corridor, including the major controversy following wastewater discharges from the Celulosa Arauco plant near Valdivia in 2004 (LADB Staff, 2005). In response, Arauco mobilised communication and mediation strategies involving public authorities and local communities (Leiva, 2019). A prominent role was played by the consulting firm Tironi Asociados, led by the renowned sociologist Eugenio Tironi, which connected involved parties through structured forms of public engagement (Leiva, 2019; Tironi, 2018). Subsequent studies suggest that similar mediation practices became adopted in Chilean extractive regions facing socio-environmental conflicts (Lukas, 2022). Considered the whole case, the Tironi example illustrates how the group relied on intermediary actors to engage with conflict, placing mediation and institutional negotiation between corporate operations and affected communities. In doing so, not only the firm but also the family itself receded from public engagement with conflict.

Taken together, the Angelini case shows that family influence is exercised through ownership structures that connect institutional partnerships, territorial development, and dispersed infrastructures. Across the different dimensions, influence operates primarily through intermediary organisations, partners, and projects rather than through political intervention or strong forms of family visibility. The case illustrates how family influence can remain effective while being mediated through ownership networks that connect corporate activities

with wider territorial, institutional, and public processes.

### 4.3. The González Hank group

The González Hank case examines a FBG that occupies a prominent position in Mexico's maize economy through its activities in food processing and its longstanding connection to political elites. The family controls Gruma, one of the world's largest producers of maize flour and tortillas and maintains interests in the financial sector through Banorte. Operating in a context of fragmented agricultural production and highly concentrated downstream market, the case examines how market organisation and state-business relations shape connections throughout dispersed production systems.

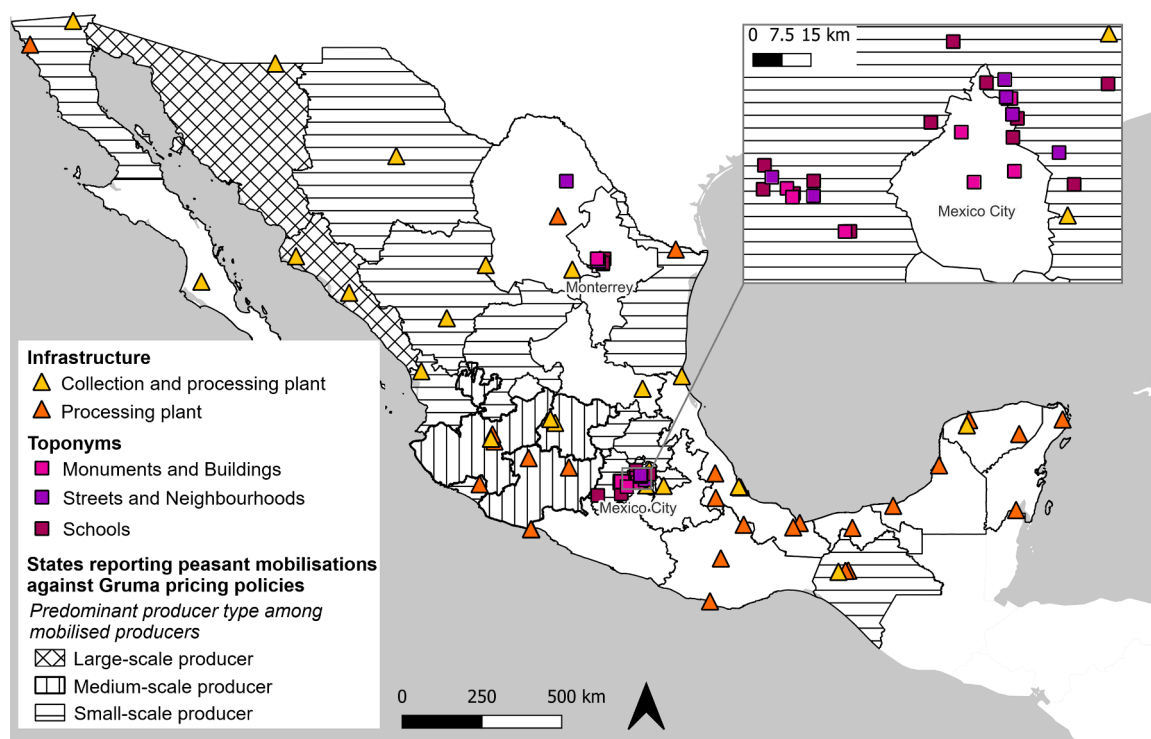
#### 4.3.1. Material organisation

Gruma operates more than 70 maize processing plants worldwide and maintains a presence in over 110 countries (Gruma, n.d.). In Mexico, Gruma controls more than 70% of the maize flour market within a duopolistic industry structure (Sánchez, 2017). Existing literature describes Mexican maize production as heterogeneous, ranging from subsistence-oriented smallholders to large-scale commercial farms operating under different land tenure arrangements (Cerutti, 2017; Ibarrola-Rivas et al., 2020). This diversity reflects in the long-term legacy of agrarian reforms and land redistribution processes that produced a fragmented agricultural landscape characterised by multiple forms of production (Ibarrola-Rivas et al., 2020).

Fig. 3 reconstructs the spatial distribution of Gruma's processing and collection plants in Mexico based on data from Workspace and records from the National Statistical Register of Economic Units (INEGI, n.d.; LSEG, n.d.). The reconstruction shows facilities distributed over the national territory with a relatively limited clustering. In northern Mexico, most plants combine collection and processing, whereas procurement in the south and central regions is more dispersed and processing plants occur more frequently as standalone facilities. Logistical infrastructure was not mapped, as it is largely accessed through external arrangements (Trejo and Alquicira, 2008). Considered alongside Gruma's dominant position in the maize flour market, the spatial pattern suggests that a nationwide presence can be maintained through a distributed network of collection and processing facilities without requiring comparable concentrations of landownership or proprietary logistics infrastructures. The reconstruction therefore points to a material organisation centred on control over key processing capacities, allowing the group to participate in agricultural production over regions without directly controlling land or production itself.

#### 4.3.2. Institutional organisation

Data from Workspace (LSEG, n.d.) shows that strategic control remains concentrated within the González Hank family through significant stakes in both Gruma and Banorte. Family control is reinforced through board positions and executive management roles. The institutional position of the FBG becomes visible through its dominant role in the duopolistic Mexican maize flour sector (Sánchez, 2017). Positioned between producers and consumer markets, the group occupies a strategic bottleneck in the value chain and maintains significant bargaining power with both suppliers and buyers (Sánchez, 2017). Literature further documents the importance of state-business ties in the consolidation of this position: Gruma's expansion was supported through access to subsidies, permits, and credit, while political ties facilitated favourable regulatory conditions (Ríos, 2020). One prominent example was the proximity between the Gruma founder Roberto González Barrera and the administration of Carlos Salinas, during which the reforms to food subsidy programmes and maize market regulation coincided with the group's growing dominance in the sector (Cerutti, 2017; Ríos, 2020). Together, the reconstruction suggests that the group's institutional position is rooted in the co-evolution of industrial maize processing and state-business relations. The emergence of Gruma as a dominant actor in



**Fig. 3.** Map of Mexico showing infrastructures of the González Hank family, family-linked toponyms, and Mexican states reporting peasant mobilisations against Gruma in 2025. The map contextualises the group's position in the territorial organisation of Mexico's maize processing sector. Source: Authors.

the sector coincided with political connections and regulatory changes that facilitated market expansion, indicating that the contemporary position of the group cannot be understood independently of historically accumulated forms of economic and political advantage.

#### 4.3.3. Symbolic representation

Fig. 3 maps schools, monuments, and public places carrying the names of the two family members. The reconstruction shows a pronounced concentration of these commemorative references around Mexico City, relating to Carlos Hank González, and a smaller cluster around Monterrey, referring to Roberto González Barrera. The references to Hank González primarily commemorate his political career, which predated the formation of the contemporary FBG and can even be read as something separate from it: Before the FBG, the family already had a public presence that was linked to a specific individual. References to González Barrera differ in character. Reconstruction through media accounts, corporate narratives, and literature shows that he is frequently portrayed as a central figure in the transformation of maize processing in Mexico (Cerutti, 2017; Gómez, 2024; Gruma, n.d.; Ríos, 2020). His entrepreneurial trajectory is closely interwoven with narratives of technological innovation, economic modernisation, and the development of Mexican maize industry. Together, this suggests that symbolic visibility is accumulated through historically layered legacies rather than through the contemporary FBG or the family as a collective actor. While public prominence existed before the rise of the FBG, the group's symbolic contribution lies in linking its entrepreneurial history to national narratives of economic modernisation.

#### 4.3.4. Conflict dynamics

In the González Hank case, tensions frequently surround Gruma's dominant position within the maize value chain, particularly in relation to pricing, market concentration, and bargaining asymmetries between processors and producers (Cerutti, 2017; Gauster and Alonso-Fradejas, 2007). A major escalation occurred during the 2007 tortilla crisis, when rising tortilla prices triggered accusations of market manipulation

and maize hoarding against Gruma (Cerutti, 2017). Similar tensions still exist. Fig. 3 shows Mexican states in which media reports documented producer mobilisations against Gruma's pricing policies in 2025 (Caribe Peninsular, 2025; Silva, 2025). The reconstruction shows that protests were distributed over multiple states and involved small-, medium, and large-scale producers. Rather than being confined to a particular agricultural region, the conflicts extend across dispersed production areas connected through the same maize processing and collection system. This pattern suggests that contestation is shaped less by territorial proximity than by the producers' shared dependence on a concentrated downstream market. Conflicts therefore emerge within a value chain structured by the group's strategic position in processing and distribution.

Overall, the González Hank case shows how family influence is exercised through a strategic position in market organisation, historically embedded state-business relations, and longer-standing forms of public recognition. Public visibility was not generated solely through the development of the FBG itself but drew on family prominence that predated it. The case illustrates how family influence extends beyond ownership and production by shaping the conditions through which relations between producers, markets and the state are organised.

## 5. Comparative synthesis

Comparing the cases shows that the three FBGs connect and coordinate fragmented agro-extractive relations by linking activities and arenas that are often organised separately, including landownership, processing, infrastructure, political institutions, public visibility, and conflict. In all cases, family influence extends beyond ownership of individual firms or participation in particular stages of value chains. Coordination therefore depends not only on infrastructures, markets, or value chains themselves but also on FBGs as organisational actors capable of connecting dispersed relations. At the same time, the cases show that these connections are organised in different ways depending on organisational position, sectoral context, and historical trajectories.

**Table 1**  
Comparative overview of family-mediated coordination in agro-extractive systems. Source: Authors.

	Maggi	Angelini	González Hank
Mode of connection	Concentration of territorial, economic, political, and symbolic functions	Mediation through ownership networks and intermediaries across sectors and territories	Centrality in market organisation through state-business relations and a strategic bottleneck position
Family positioning	Publicly visible, politically active, and directly associated with territorial expansion	Present primarily through corporate ownership rather than public engagement	Building on inherited public prominence and longstanding family legacies
Spatial logic	Co-location of land, infrastructure, political authority, and family visibility in frontier territories	Coordination across geographically dispersed regions, sectors, and organisational settings	Functional centralisation within a spatially dispersed system

**Table 1** compares the cases along three central aspects that distinguish these coordinating roles: the mode of connection, the positioning of the family, and the resulting spatial logic.

The comparison in **Table 1** shows that similar coordinating functions emerge through different combinations of family involvement and spatial organisation. Coordination therefore depends not on a single organisational form but takes shape through different arrangements linking economic, political, and symbolic relations across agro-extractive systems. These differences make the role of the family central to the comparison. What distinguishes the cases is not the presence of economic, political, or symbolic relations individually but the way these are articulated through the families. The comparison suggests that the cases differ not only in how relations are coordinated but also in how families embed themselves in these processes. In the Maggi case, the same family is simultaneously associated with landownership, infrastructural expansion, political offices, street names, and territorial conflict in Brazil's soy frontier. In the Angelini case, the family appears publicly only in selected instances, while largely operating through corporate ownership with intermediaries and through joint projects. In the González Hank case, the contemporary FBG builds on historically accumulated prominence and the parallel involvement of the group and the maize market, allowing the family to remain comparatively less visible in the present.

These patterns suggest that families matter because they provide continuity over firms and generations, while connecting relations over territories, institutions, and different public arenas. In doing so, they link economic accumulation, political authority, public recognition, and conflict engagement in ways that exceed the scope of individual firms or projects. Taken together, the findings suggest that the significance of FBGs in agro-extractive systems lies not only in ownership of firms or assets but their capacity to coordinate fragmented relations across multiple organisational and territorial settings. The comparison therefore suggests understanding these patterns as family-mediated forms of spatial ordering through which fragmented agro-extractive relations are organised and coordinated. Rather than reflecting a single organisational model, the cases indicate that concentration, mediation, and centrality highlight different ways in which families participate in organising agro-extractive relations. Across the cases, family influence becomes embedded in distinct combinations of territorial arrangements, organisational structures, and systems of market coordination.

These findings contribute to three related discussions. Research on agro-extractivism has generated valuable insights on territorial expansion, value-chain integration, and transnational commodity networks (Ezquerro-Cañete and Veltmeyer, 2023; McKay et al., 2021; McMichael, 2021). The comparison complements this by showing that agro-extractive systems depend also on actors capable of coordinating relations among these fragmented arrangements. The findings identify FBGs as one such organisational actor. Rather than viewing agro-extractive systems primarily through extraction sites, value chains, or territorial expansion alone, the findings draw attention to the actors that organise connections among these relations. Likewise, while research on FBGs has focused primarily on ownership concentration, governance, succession, and organisational resilience (Masulis et al., 2011; Müller and Sandoval-Arzaga, 2021; Rautiainen et al., 2023; Suddaby et al., 2023), the cases suggest that family influence also

derives from the capacity to connect economic, political, and symbolic relations often organised through different institutions.

More broadly, the comparison highlights the analytical value of a socio-spatial perspective for examining how agro-extractive systems are organised and coordinated. Rather than treating material arrangements, ownership structures, political linkages, symbolic visibility, and conflict as separate spheres, the analysis shows how they are articulated through the activities of FBGs. In the three cases, these articulations take different forms, yet all involve families in organising and maintaining connections among relations that are often analysed separately. The findings therefore suggest that such activities may be understood as family-mediated forms of spatial ordering. From this perspective, families appear not simply as owners but as actors participating in the production and organisation of socio-spatial arrangements through which agro-extractive relations are coordinated in different settings. Family-mediated spatial ordering is therefore offered as a heuristic for examining how families participate in producing and organising the socio-spatial arrangements through which extraction, processing, circulation, and value realisation become connected in agro-extractive systems.

## 6. Conclusion

The article examined how FBGs connect and coordinate fragmented agro-extractive relations. Comparing three contrasting cases showed that similar coordinating functions emerge from different organisational positions in agro-extractive systems. Across the cases, FBGs link relations that are often organised separately, including infrastructures, institutional arrangements, symbolic visibility, and conflict dynamics. The findings suggest that the significance of FBGs lies not simply in their ownership of firms, land, or infrastructure but in their capacity to articulate material, institutional, and symbolic relations across agro-extractive systems. This contributes to research on agro-extractivism by drawing attention to the actors that coordinate fragmented relations, and to research on FBGs by showing that family influence extends beyond ownership and governance. The comparison demonstrates the value of a socio-spatial perspective for understanding how agro-extractive systems are organised. By identifying concentration, mediation, and centrality, as distinct forms through which families organise agro-extractive relations, the article proposes family-mediated spatial ordering as a heuristic for examining how socio-spatial arrangements connect extraction, processing, circulation, and value realisation.

## Funding

This work was supported by the VW Foundation through the project "Wealth & Space: Contested geographies of wealth (re-)production in Latin America" [grant number 9C582].

## CRediT authorship contribution statement

**Maria-Dorothea Wolf:** Writing – review & editing, Writing – original draft, Visualization, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Data curation, Conceptualization. **David L. Kornbluth Cambior:** Investigation, Formal analysis, Data curation. **Manuel Bayón Jiménez:**

Investigation, Data curation. **Michael Lukas**: Writing – review & editing, Supervision, Funding acquisition. **Michael Janoschka**: Writing – review & editing, Supervision, Project administration, Funding acquisition.

## Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

## References

- Abel, M., 2022. Merchants of the north: infrastructure and indebtedness along Brazil's Amazon estuary. *Econ. Anthropol.* 9, 349–360. <https://doi.org/10.1002/sea2.12245>.
- Amaggi, 2025a. Institutional Presentation 2025 [WWW Document]. URL [ri.amaggi.com.br](https://ri.amaggi.com.br).
- Amaggi, 2025b. Amaggi Relações com investidores [WWW Document]. Official website IR Amaggi. URL <https://ri.amaggi.com.br/> (accessed 2.13.26).
- Arauco, 2010. Sustainability report.
- Arauco, 2023. Plan Maestro de Ordenación Forestal 2023 [WWW Document]. URL <https://arauco.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/Resumen-publico-PMOF-05-2023-004-VF.pdf> (accessed 2.4.26).
- Arauco, 2024. Lo bueno de ser renovable [WWW Document]. URL [https://arauco.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/RI\\_ARAUCO\\_24\\_1104\\_baja3\\_compressed-esp.pdf](https://arauco.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/RI_ARAUCO_24_1104_baja3_compressed-esp.pdf) (accessed 1.13.26).
- Arauco, 2026. Arquitecto Alejandro Aravena obtiene prestigioso Premio Pritzker [WWW Document]. URL <https://arauco.com/uk/arquitecto-alejandro-aravena-obtiene-prestigious-premio-pritzker> (accessed 11.4.25).
- Baggenstoss, S., Donadone, J.C., 2025. Da fazenda ao green bonds: um estudo de caso na elite do agronegócio brasileiro. *T&P: Rev. Ciênc.* <https://doi.org/10.14244/tp.v34i00.1079>. Pol. e025004.
- Barbero, M.L., 2024. Latin American business groups. *A Business History of Latin America*. Routledge, pp. 216–232. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003407287-13>.
- Beckert, J., Stamm, I., 2025. Capital and the Family. *Br. J. Sociol.* 70015. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.70015>.
- Burawoy, M., 1998. The extended case method. *Sociol. Theory* 16, 4–33. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0735-2751.00040>.
- Caribe Peninsular, 2025. La Guerra Del Maíz 2025: El conflicto De Interés Que Fractura El Plan México. *Caribe Peninsular*.
- Carney, M., Estrin, S., Liang, Z., Shapiro, D., 2022. Are Latin American business groups different?. In: *An Exploratory International Political Economy Perspective*, 30 MBR, pp. 546–572. <https://doi.org/10.1108/MBR-07-2021-0089>.
- Cerutti, M., 2017. Maíz, agroindustria y desarrollo empresarial desde el noreste (1946–2012): gruma: de pequeña empresa familiar al mercado global. In: *Grijalva Díaz, A. I., Gracida Romo, J.J. (Eds.), Empresarios, Empresas y Actividad Agrícola En El Norte De México: Siglo XX. El Colegio de Sonora, Hermosillo*.
- CMF, n.d. Comisión para el mercado financiero [WWW Document]. URL [https://www.cmfchile.cl/institucional/estadisticas/registro\\_grupos\\_empresariales.php](https://www.cmfchile.cl/institucional/estadisticas/registro_grupos_empresariales.php).
- Cofré, V., 2023. Tres Generaciones De Los Tres Grandes Grupos Económicos Chilenos. *La Tercera*.
- Copec, 2026a. Memoria Integrada 2025 [WWW Document]. URL <https://www.empresascopec.cl/wp-content/uploads/2026/04/Memoria-Integrada-Empresas-Copec-2025.pdf> (accessed 12.12.25).
- Copec, 2026b. Directorio [WWW Document]. URL <https://investor.empresascopec.cl/go/biennio-corporativo/directorio-y-comite-de-directores/> (accessed 1.2.26).
- Dos Santos, T.A.R., 2022. As pequenas centrais hidrelétricas (PCHs) e os povos indígenas. In: *Alarcon, D.F. (Ed.), Setor Elétrico e Terras indígenas: Danos socioambientais Da Infraestrutura De Produção*. Mórula Editorial, pp. 264–286.
- EmpresaDois, n.d. Plataforma EmpresaDois [WWW Document]. Corp. Regist. Search Platf. (CNPJ Rec.). URL <https://empresadois.com.br/> (accessed 8.8.25).
- Ezquerro-Cañete, A., Veltmeyer, H., 2023. Agroextractivismo: La nueva Cara Del Imperialismo En El Sector Agrícola De América Latina. *Novapolis*, pp. 93–113.
- Fairbairn, M., 2020. Field of Gold - Financing the Global Land Rush. *Cornell series on Land: Perspectives in Territory, Development, and Environment*. Cornell University Press.
- FALM, 2020. Relatórios de Atividades 2020-2024 [WWW Document]. URL <https://fundacaoamaggi.org.br/transparencia/#relatorios> (accessed 9.10.25).
- Flyvbjerg, B., 2006. Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qual. Inq.* 12, 219–245. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363>.
- Garmendia-Lazcano, A., Iturrioz-Landart, C., Aragon-Amonarriz, C., 2022. Identifying territory-linked family business groups: a methodological proposal. *JFBM* 12, 120–135. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JFBM-06-2020-0059>.
- Gauster, S., Alonso-Fradejas, A., 2007. Gruma - Maseca: La Emperadora Translatina De La Tortilla De Harina En Centroamérica. *Mesa Global Guatemala. Alianza Social Continental, Guatemala. ActionAid; IDRC-CRDI*.
- Giacalone, R., 2023. Agrarian extractivism: addressing actors and their agency at the national level. *Lat. Am. Policy* 14, 231–251. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lamp.12295>.
- Gómez, A., 2024. El pan nuestro: una historia de la tortilla de maíz. *Centro De Estudios Históricos, 1st ed. El Colegio de México*.
- GoogleMaps, n.d. Google Maps [WWW Document]. URL <https://www.google.com/maps> (accessed 8.20.25).
- Gruma, n.d. Presencia Global [WWW Document]. Off. Website Gruma. URL <https://www.gruma.com/es/somos-gruma/presencia-global.aspx?sec=1051> (accessed 10.10.25).
- Hart, G., 2018. Relational comparison revisited: marxist postcolonial geographies in practice. *Prog. Hum. Geogr.* 42, 371–394. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132516681388>.
- Harvey, D., 2001. *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*, 0 ed. Routledge, New York. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203821695>.
- Ibarrola-Rivas, M.J., Castillo, G., González, J., 2020. Diversity of social, economic and production implications of maize systems in Mexico. *Investigaciones Geográficas*. <https://doi.org/10.14350/ig.60009>.
- INEGI, n.d. Directorio Estadístico Nacional de Unidades Económicas [WWW Document]. Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía. URL <https://www.inegi.org.mx/a/pp/mapa/denue/default.aspx>.
- Infor, n.d. Instituto Forestal [WWW Document]. URL <https://www.infor.cl/> (accessed 8.9.25).
- Junior, S., de, E.G., 2025. Quem Controla as Pequenas Centrais Hidrelétricas Na Amazônia? In: *Araujo, N. (Ed.), Projetos De Infraestrutura Na Amazônia: Perspectivas e Desafios*, pp. 11–47.
- Contemporary Dynamics of Agrarian Change Kay, C., 2021. In: *Veltmeyer, H., Bowles, P. (Eds.), The Essential Guide to Critical Development Studies*. Routledge, pp. 267–274. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003037187>.
- Lefebvre, H., 1997. *The Production of Space*, Reprinted. ed.
- Leiva, F.I., 2019. Economic elites and new strategies for extractivism in Chile. *ERLACS* 0, 131. <https://doi.org/10.32992/erlacs.10511>.
- LSEG, n.d. LSEG Workspace [WWW Document]. Database. URL <https://www.lseg.com/en/data-analytics/products/workspace> (accessed 8.10.24).
- Lukas, M., Brück, A., 2018. Urban policy mobilities und Globale Produktionsnetzwerke. *Suburbab* 6 69–90.
- Lukas, M., 2022. Worlding the atacama desert: peripheral urbanization and transnational resource extraction urbanism in Antofagasta. In: *Reis, N., Lukas, M. (Eds.), Beyond the Megacity*. University of Toronto Press, Chile, pp. 285–311. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781487539719-014>.
- Masulis, R.W., Pham, P.K., Zein, J., 2011. Family Business groups around the world: financing advantages, control motivations and organizational choices. *Rev. Financ. Stud.* 24, 3556–3600. <https://doi.org/10.1093/rfs/hhr052>.
- Maurelia-Burgos, F., 2025. Análisis semiótico del programa Bosque Abierto Forestal Arauco. *Epsir* 11, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.31637/epsir-2026-2227>.
- MCH, 2009. Minería Chilena [WWW Document]. Roberto Angelini explica Las Razones Del Fuerte Vínculo Entre Copec y Elemental. URL <https://www.mch.cl/roberto-angelini-explica-las-razones-del-fuerte-vinculo-entre-copec-y-elemental/> (accessed 2.2.24).
- McKay, B., Alonso-Fradejas, A., Ezquerro-Cañete, A., 2021. *Agrarian Extractivism in Latin America*, Routledge critical Development Studies. Routledge, London.
- McMichael, P., 2021. Food Regimes and Agrarian Questions, Agrarian Change and Peasant Studies Series. *Practical Action Publishing Ltd, Rugby*. <https://doi.org/10.3362/9781780448787>.
- McMichael, P., 2006. Global development and the corporate food regime. In: *Burtell, F.H., McMichael, P. (Eds.), Research in Rural Sociology and Development*. Emerald MCB UP, Bingley, pp. 265–299. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1057-1922\(05\)11010-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1057-1922(05)11010-5).
- Mineduc, 2014. Currículum Nacional: mapa zonas naturales de Chile [WWW Document]. URL <https://www.curriculumnacional.cl/recursos/mapa-zonas-naturales-chile> (accessed 2.3.26).
- Müller, C.G., Sandoval-Arzaga, F., 2021. Family Business Heterogeneity in Latin America: A Historical Perspective, *Palgrave Studies in Family Business Heterogeneity*. Springer International Publishing, Cham. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-78931-2>.
- Municipality of Sapezal, 2020. História de Sapezal [WWW Document]. Official Website Municipality Sapezal. URL <https://www.sapezal.mt.leg.br/institucional/historia> (accessed 2.12.26).
- OSM, n.d. OpenStreetMap [WWW Document]. URL <https://www.openstreetmap.org/#map=6/51.33/10.45> (accessed 8.9.25).
- Oyhançabal, G., 2024. Agrarian capitalism and land ownership: the case of Uruguay. In: *Burchardt, H.-J., Lungo-Rodríguez, I. (Eds.), Wealth, Development, and Social Inequalities in Latin America: Transdisciplinary Insights*. Routledge. Taylor & Francis Group, New York, pp. 65–78.
- Pompeia, C., 2021. *Formação Política do Agro-negócio, Primeira edição. Elefante Editora: O Joio e o Trigo, São Paulo, Brasil ed.*
- Rautiainen, M., Parada, M.J., Pihkala, T., Akhter, N., Discua Cruz, A., 2023. In: *Mukherjee, K. (Ed.), The Palgrave Handbook of Managing Family Business Groups*. Springer International Publishing, Cham. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-13206-3>.
- Registro Rural, 2026. Registro Rural - A maior base de dados de imóveis rurais do Brasil [WWW Document]. Rural Land and Environmental Registry Search Platform (SNCR/CAR Records). URL <https://www.registorural.com.br/> (accessed 10.2.24).
- Ríos, R., del, C., 2020. The Globalization of Mexican Tortillas: GRUMA and the Mass Production of Corn Flour (No. Case Study #17), *Global History of Capitalism Project*. University of Oxford, Oxford.
- Robinson, J., 2022. Introduction: generating concepts of 'the urban' through comparative practice. *Urban Stud.* 59, 1521–1535. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980221092561>.
- Sánchez, G.V., 2017. El mercado de harina de maíz en México. *Una Interpret. Microecon.* *Econ. Inf.* 405, 4–29. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ein.2017.07.001>.

- Santos, M., 2002. *A Natureza Do espaço: Técnica e tempo, Razão e emoção*, 4. edição. ed. Coleção Milton Santos. EDUSP, São Paulo, SP.
- Schneider, B.R., 2013. *Hierarchical Capitalism in Latin America: Business, Labor, and the Challenges of Equitable Development*, Cambridge studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge university press, Cambridge.
- Silva, M., 2025. Bloquean Maseca en Silao: Campesinos exigen Mesa De Trabajo Por Precio Del Maíz.
- Soto-Hernández, D., 2026. Putting in place to extract: infrastructures of extractivism and the case of lithium extraction in Chile. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 25, 101778. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2025.101778>.
- Staff, L.A.D.B., 2005. Chile Sues Over Dead Swans and Contaminated Sanctuaries, Latin America Data Base. NotiSur. The University of New Mexico.
- Suddaby, R., Jaskiewicz, P., Israelsen, T., Chittoor, R., 2023. Traditional authority in social context: explaining the relation between types of family and types of family-controlled business groups. In: Carney, M., Dieleman, M. (Eds.), *De Gruyter Handbook of Business Families*. De Gruyter, Berlin Boston, pp. 487–518.
- Sum, N.-L., Jessop, B., 2013. *Towards a Cultural Political Economy: Putting Culture in its Place in Political Economy*. Elgar.
- Tironi, E., 2018. *Controversias: Fundamentos, Desarrollos, Críticas*. Ediciones Abierta.
- Torres, R., Azócar, G., Gallardo, R., Mendoza, J., 2022. Water extractivism and decolonial struggles in mapuche territory, Chile. *Water Altern.* 15, 150–174.
- Trejo, A.R., Alquicira, A.M., 2008. Grupos Económicos En La industria De Alimentos: las Estrategias de Gruma. *Argum. (Méx.)* 21, 87–112.
- Vazquez, P., Carrera, A., Cornejo, M., 2020. Corporate governance in the largest family firms in Latin America. *CSSM* 27, 137–163. <https://doi.org/10.1108/CSSM-11-2018-0194>.
- Veltmeyer, H., 2022. Extractivism and beyond Latin American debates. *Extr. Ind. Soc.* 11, 101132. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2022.101132>.
- Vergara-Camus, L., Kay, C., 2018. New agrarian democracies: the pink tide's lost opportunity. *Rethink. Democr.: Social Regist.* 54, 224–243.