ASSESSMENT OF URBAN-TERRITORIAL INTEGRATION IN COLOMBIA[1]

EVALUACIÓN DE LA INTEGRACIÓN URBANO-TERRITORIAL EN COLOMBIA

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El énfasis en lo urbano dado por la Nueva Agenda Urbana (NAU) se complementa con una apuesta por una integración entre las ciudades y su entorno que busca fomentar un desarrollo territorial equitativo y equilibrado, sin embargo, se ofrecen en ella pocos detalles sobre cómo puede llevarse a cabo dicha integración. Esta es una cuestión de especial relevancia en el contexto latinoamericano, donde la desigualdad territorial constituye un elemento central en cualquier discusión sobre el desarrollo. A partir de una revisión de las implicaciones teóricas de la equidad y el equilibrio planteados en la NAU y de su contraste con los distintos planteamientos teóricos y propuestas conceptuales sobre desarrollo territorial, se expone aquí un análisis del caso colombiano. En este estudio se emplean indicadores a escala municipal que muestran cómo la relación entre las grandes ciudades y su entorno no son tan unívocas como propone la NAU, y que la prosperidad urbana puede en muchas ocasiones generar desequilibrios territoriales que deben ser atendidos específicamente.

Palabras clave: política de desarrollo, urbanización, desequilibrio regional, migración rural, Colombia.

The urban emphasis given by the New Urban Agenda (NUA) is complemented by a commitmet to integrate cities and their hinterland, which seeks to promote an equitable and balanced regional development. However, in the former, there are few details on how such integration can be achieved. This is a matter of special relevance in Latin America, where regional inequality is a key element in any discussion on development. An analysis of the Colombian case is presented here, starting from a review of the theoretical implications on equity and balance stated in NUA, and their comparison with different theoretical approaches and conceptual proposals on regional development. In this study, municipal level indicators are used to show how the relationship between large cities and their hinterland is not as linear as the NUA suggests, and that urban prosperity can often generate regional imbalances that require specific consideration.

Keywords: development policy, urbanization, regional imbalances, rural migration, Colombia.

I. INTRODUCTION

For the first time in human history, more than half the world's population is living in urban areas (UN-DESA, 2018). The concentration of population within a tiny portion of the surface area (2-3%), who have the largest part of the wealth, consumption of resources, production of waste and environmental impact, leads to, by itself, an increase of inequality among regions. The center stage that the urban habitat has taken over the rural can also be seen by comparing the agendas that the general framework for public policy on housing and habitat have defined. The Habitat Agenda, approved in the II Habitat Conference in Istanbul (1996), without omitting the undeniable importance of urbanization, tried to maintain a balance between the urban and the rural. Twenty years later, the New Urban Agenda (NUA), approved in Habitat III in Quito (2016), is defined starting from the urban, as "a roadmap for the creation of cities that are places of prosperity, cultural centers, or of social wellbeing, while protecting the environment" (ECLAC, 2017, p. 10). Complementarily, the NUA faces the diversity of human settlements, proposing an "integration" of cities and regions that would allow generating beneficial synergies for society as a whole, and not just for the inhabitants of cities; an approach based on the premise that urban prosperity leads to the prosperity of the region, which would need to be empirically confirmed.

For decades now, the research agenda has been focused on ever more specific and local approaches, abandoning pretensions of systemic or structural analysis (Vázquez, 2010), a trend that has also permeated into urban research in the Latin American setting (Cuenya, 2001), and in particular, the Colombian one (Torres, 2009), with a clear bias towards large metropolitan areas (Duhau, 2013). From these approaches, analysis methods of urban problems have been developed that are not applicable to the study of another type of region, be these small cities or rural areas (Jiménez & Piaggio, 2020). In Colombia, the Cities System Mission (National Planning Department [DNP, in Spanish], 2014) shows said urban bias, while defining, in parallel, an analysis methodology that is difficult to apply beyond large urban centers. Alongside this, the Rural Mission (DNP, 2015), theoretically speaking, complements the diagnosis, but without a clear regional approach. In any way, the relative comprehensiveness of both analyses, does not go deep into the intertwined nature of both realities, and draws a polarized panorama that does not facilitate analysis of the complexity of urban-rural relations.

This work tries to evaluate whether, in the Colombian context, the association between urban and regional prosperity that the NUA supposed, is being fulfilled. Firstly, the text analyzes the statements of the NUA regarding urban-regional integration, as well as other theoretical

visions on regional development, to then revise the state-of-the-art in the Latin American and Colombian context. Finally, a methodology based on specifically designed indicators is presented to try to overcome the epistemological separation between the urban and the rural, as well as the results produced in the Colombian case, that allow empirically comparing the assumptions of the NUA.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Outlines of the new urban agenda

The Habitat Agenda approved in Habitat II was outlined starting from an adversative: although a growingly urbanized world is accepted, it could not leave the non-urban world aside. Its discourse was based on that sustainability was only possible through the diversity of urban and rural settlements, and the links between them, that generated a mutual interdependence (UN, 1996; art. 10, 106 and 163) setting, as a goal, guaranteeing that all human settlements could offer the same development opportunities to their inhabitants (art. 101).

In the New Urban Agenda (NUA), the focus moves to urban settlements. The starting point is the idea that cities are the drivers of development and that, by solving their internal imbalances and improving their connection with the region, development can be fostered that also benefits the rest of the region. For this, the goal is set out to connect regions with urban hubs, fostering polycentrism and regional balance through integrated plans, in order to reduce inequalities between regions, and improve equality and spatial integration (UN-Habitat, 2017, art. 136).

In the regional dimension, a "balanced, sustainable and integrated" development is proposed, that promotes regional equality and integration. Leaving aside the concept of sustainability, which due to its transversality must permeate all other dimensions, the concepts of balance, equality and integration need to be clarified. In addition, the discussion about balance and equality requires a prior reflection about the latter, and the differences that appear for its application to people and to regions.

The notion of "equality" lies on a democratic ideal of western philosophy. Generalizing, the concept refers to the equal rights and obligations any person has regarding the community or society they are part of. To operationalize the concept, the notion of equality offers a more flexible vision adapted to the unequal circumstances of each context (Rosanvallon, 2015). The Habitat Agenda upholds that a balanced settlement is one that offers "the same access opportunities" (art. 27). The NUA speaks in similar, but not identical terms, of "guaranteeing equal rights and

opportunities, socioeconomic and cultural diversity, and the integration in the urban space" (art. 14a), where it is possible to see the coexistence of an equality and a positive difference (diversity).

The term "integration" is key in the NUA, but also polysemic and often ambiguous. In its article 14a, it refers to the "socioeconomic and cultural diversity" and "integration in the urban space", while in article 33, to the "socioeconomic and cultural integration". In both contexts, the concept can be interpreted as the participation of individuals, of communities, in a social or physical space, while the notion of diversity would introduce a descriptive nuance about the nature of said participation.

Ultimately, the "integration" between cities and regions is seen associated to several concepts -balance, sustainability, polycentrism, equality, system-, but in itself it remains undefined. In fact, the NUA does not explicitly specify the nature of integration that it appeals for, but it does mention the role of the cities as "centers and drivers of a balanced, sustainable urban and regional development, integrated at all levels" (art. 13e). This idea, where cities are not just becoming the dominant form of habitat, but also the drivers of human development as a whole, had already been presented years earlier under the concept of "urban prosperity" (UNHABITAT, 2012), and is being consolidated in different documents and a line of work within UN-Habitat, the Initiative for Urban Prosperity. Thus, positive changes in human societies currently emerge, according to UN-Habitat, from the cities, and benefitting from these changes requires in some way, being connected to them, so that the integration would imply a connection that allows the participation of the peripheral regions in the advantages emerging from the cities.

The proposal for the implementation of NUA in Latin America (ECLAC, 2017), allows observing a more operational development of these principles. It is confirmed that this is an action plan focused on cities, where the rest of the region only appears where required for the adaptation of urban policies. This Action Plan combines a generic vision on management, governance or financing issues, with a specifically urban vision in other more fundamental chapters. Mentions to non-urban regions are scarce. As a result, the goal of "integrated and balanced regional development" becomes operational by leveraging the potential of urban-rural ties with a better connection with rural zones from urban contexts.

The Action Plan, prepared by ECLAC, UN-Habitat, and the Chilean Minurvi, with the collaboration of hundreds of entities and professionals from across the continent, confirms that the "regional" dimension of the NUA is more an approach from which to set out urban policies, than a specific chapter to attend the needs of non-urban regions. The ambiguity associated to the permanent use of the terms "integration" and "regional" helps to obscure the fact that the NUA does not suggest a comprehensive strategy for regional policies, but that these are subject to the urban development strategy.

Regional development and balance

The globalization process promised to reduce regional inequalities, diminishing the relative importance of distance, but paradoxically, it has generated a growing differentiation regarding the performance of regions, with large cities turned into nodes that connect local and regional economies with the global exchange network. This situation has been described in terms of "archipelago economy" (Veltz,1996), alluding to large metropolis that have become islands, as similar to each other as they are dissimilar with their immediate surroundings, which questions the direct relationship between the development of a metropolis and that of its immediate surroundings.

Classic spatial economy has explained the different economic performance of regions from the notion of agglomeration and its associated advantages, without being able to explain the origin of the agglomeration itself. The neoclassical vision of development theorizes a progressive balancing of the levels of development without needing any type of intervention, aside from the opening up of local and regional economies for their insertion in global markets. ECLAC's theory of dependence, tried to explain the failure of policies based on these premises due to the asymmetry of relationships between central and peripheral countries, that tended to generate growing inequalities. Other theories, like the accumulative circular causation, the unbalanced growth or the growth nodes, shared similar conclusions: overcoming the inertia that digs deeper into the inequality between countries and regions would require some type of intervention (Moncayo, 2001, p. 1).

The Endogenous Growth Theory, formulated in the 1980s, restated some assumptions of the orthodox neoclassical theory: facing the decreasing performance, the perfect competition and the comparative advantage assumed by orthodox theory, it stated the possibility of growing performance thanks to innovation developed by local agents, and waived the premise of perfect competition. Models built on these theoretical bases have come to confirm the dependency theses: a tendency towards the growing inequality between regions, only reversible with a significant reduction of transportation costs.

The OECD attributes the economic success of a region to a virtuous combination of interconnected factors beyond the effect of agglomeration (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2009), while the World Bank proposes facilitating the mobility of resources,

specifically internal migrations; promoting urbanization that generates externalities of agglomeration; and developing infrastructure that improves physical and virtual connectivity (World Bank, 2009). Both approaches maintain specialization as a goal, the World Bank being more explicit in the necessary complement of the integration in the markets. ECLAC suggests that the development differences between Latin American regions would be derived from the structural differences of productive systems, which the efforts for regional development should be focused towards, as such it proposes: transformation policies of productive structures to favor diversification; policies of regional retention, capture and redistribution of incomes; and strengthening of the social organization (ECLAC, 2015).

These proposals move in opposite ways insofar as they advocate specialization and diversification. ECLAC clearly bases these on the endogenous growth theories, advocating for growing performance that use friction of the distance to strengthen local structures, while the World Bank defends as a premise, the integration in global markets, and from these, a strategy of success within them. In all likelihood, regional development strategies should be as diverse as the regions are, but upon defining general strategies, approaches that are more appropriate for some regions may be being privileged over others. In this sense, it is worth asking whether the urban emphasis of the NUA and its regional integration approach, very similar to the integration in the markets that the World Bank proposes, really fosters balance and equality.

Latin America, secular inequality

Regional imbalance and inequality are distinctive attributes of Latin America from the colonial period. The colonial logics of centralized control over an economy, focused on exports and subject to the economy of the European Metropolis, extended far beyond the independence processes. The substitution policies of imports, construction initiatives of economic sovereignty, did not modify the centralizing rationale, and continued privileging economic concentration. Finally, the new neoliberal approach, that has predominated in the region since the 1990s, has stopped most of the attempts to reduce inequalities within each country (Llungo, 2018: 14), opening up a new cycle of polarization (Moncayo, 2001, p. 10).

In the most recent scenario, the high concentration of production (ECLAC, 2015, p. 32) and the high internal productivity gaps have stood out, being four times higher in Latin American countries compared to OECD countries (ECLAC, 2015, p. 9). Recent behavior of this regional disparity is also heterogeneous: the high levels of wealth and growth have mainly taken place in large metropolitan areas and important mining regions. Less developed regions, but with

a greater economic dynamism, are located around large capitals, and in certain very specific regions of separated areas like the Amazonia, while the less developed regions with less dynamism are much more diverse, they would even seem to share "a condition of isolation that stops them from taking advantage of external factors that favor growth" (ECLAC, 2015, p. 12), also including metropolitan and mining areas with predominance of mature economic sectors.

The inequality or disparity among regions has been stated as a structural problem that affects economic efficiency (ECLAC, 2018). Several countries have acknowledged this problem and defined strategies and policies that differ however, in the starting arguments, focused on competitiveness and economic efficiency, on equality, democratic inclusion or social justice. However, the lack of continuity and the permanent change in approaches collide with the need for long-term outlines (Llungo, 2018).

Regional inequality and imbalances in Colombia

For the case presented here, it has been stated that an "important part of the inequality among Colombians is expressed by inequality among regions" (Bonilla, 2008, p. 25). Barón (2002) defines in this framework, five economic regions in the country: the "elite", that groups regions that house the four main cities of the country; the coffee-growing region, diversified urban economies, alas not very large, combined with relatively modern farming production; the central region, that maintains farming as the main economic base; the Caribbean region, that has weaker economic indicators; and a peripheral region, that lags behind economically and socially speaking. Regarding the evolution of this inequality, it is possible to talk about a phase of regional convergence until 1960, followed by a growth polarization that continues until today (Bonet & Meisel, 2001; Galvis Aponte, Galvis Larios & Hahn de Castro, 2017), while the economic policies of the country did not consider this regional diversity (Galvis & Meisel, 2010), but only the displacement of the population towards more prosperous regions, that partly offset these growing inequalities (Peiró, Prieto & Tortosa, 2020).

The study of urban reality has been focused on the main cities, the regional capitals. An analysis made using the methodology of the Urban Prosperity Index, states that Colombia has "a relatively functional city structure" (UN-Habitat, 2015, pg. 24-25), highlighting the convergence of the values of prosperity and the reduction of inequalities, but exclusively within the universe of the system of cities, without considering the rest of the country's municipalities. From the rural perspective, it has been suggested that Colombia has "a development model that leads to the failure of the rural world" on fostering the extension of "the gaps between the urban and the rural" (United Nations

Development Programme [UNDP], 2011, p. 16). The lack of opportunities in the rural setting pushes people towards illegal activities, driving them towards the agricultural frontier, or displacing them towards cities. If cities are being thought of as drivers of a balanced regional development, this portion of the problem cannot be ignored.

III. METHODOLOGY

The analysis of regional inequality in Colombia has generally taken place from macroeconomic indicators at a departmental scale. However, this scale of analysis does not allow observing the relationship between cities and their immediate surroundings. Although there already are economic indicators at a municipal scale, there is no historical timeline that allows analyzing convergence or divergence among municipalities. As an alternative, here it is proposed to use a series of socio-demographic indicators, built from the only two variables of the censuses of 1993, 2005 and 2018: the total population, and the percentage of the population with Unsatisfied Basic Needs (UBN).

In Colombia, it has been stated that internal migratory flows have traditionally been associated to economic opportunities (Galvis, 2002). The data from the 2005 census allowed confirming that large metropolitan areas and intermediate cities continued being the main recipients of those movements, while small municipalities were net emitters (Cuervo, Barbieri & Rangel, 2012), although new migratory flows have also been observed, associated to the appearance of new development hubs -mining, agroindustry or transborder trade- (Cuervo, Barbieri & Rangel, 2018). In this sense, migration from the poorest to the richest regions seem to be offsetting, in per capita terms, the growing economic gap between regions (Peiró et al., 2020). All this indicates that the demography can be considered as a suitable approximation to the prosperity of the regions.

For its part, the Unsatisfied Basic Needs (UBN) index is a direct measurement method of widespread poverty in Latin America, based on the determination of the percentage of families that lack any of their main needs -economic income, access to housing, education and healthcare services-, starting from census variables, that allows a high level of spatial desegregation (Feres & Mancero, 2001). Although the UBN method has been used in Colombia since 1978, from 2012 the multidimensional poverty index (MPI), based on the methodology of Alkire and Foster (2007) has become more important. This confirms a loss of validity of the UBN method, product of the social changes that have taken place in the country, and a greater flexibility of the MPI to characterize poverty (Angulo, Díaz & Pardo, 2011). Although

the suitability of one indicator or the other is still under discussion to evaluate different social issues (Rodríguez, Moreno & Maldonado, 2016; Chaparro, 2017), the continuity of the UBN timeline throughout the censuses being analyzed is the conclusive argument to use it in this study.

To analyze the set of slightly over 1,100 municipalities, two urban and four rural categories have been used, which were defined using a cluster analysis from previous work. The following six reference indicators were used: population density; rural (disperse) population percentage; UBN; healthcare payment affiliation; aging index; and homicide index (Jiménez & Piaggio, 2020).

IV. RESULTS

The 1993-2018 period represents a moderate phase of population growth, 33% in 25 years, and a significant improvement of living conditions, with an 18% decrease of the population with UBN, and a 51% increase in the population living without UBN. In the second inter-census period, 2005-2018, a slowdown of the demographic growth was produced, while the improvement in the UBN indicator sped up. Table 1 shows how the behaviors of each one of the town categories has differed.

A clear rural-urban gap can be seen in both the demographic growth and UBN data. The population growth is concentrated in urban municipalities, despite slowing down in large cities during the 2005-2018 period. Meanwhile, the rural municipalities have much lower growth rates, even negative ones, between 1993 and 2005, before slightly recovering in the second period. Finally, the gap in the UBN indicator continues to grow between urban and rural municipalities, except for the aging rural ones, where the reduction of the vulnerable population seems to go hand-in-hand with the reduction in population.

The urban-rural gap is shown again in the evolution of the population with UBN, although inverted, as in the rural municipalities, this population falls much more intensely than in urban ones, and especially in large cities. The rural municipalities with lower demographic growth, even those falling, are those which reduce the vulnerable population the most, while the cities with higher growth, are the ones that see a lesser reduction in population with UBN. This dynamic seems to indicate a net vulnerable population flow from the countryside to the cities.

Finally, the population growth without UBN is generally positive (+51.80%), especially in intermediate cities and in municipalities on the metropolitan periphery, which could be seen as a good indicator of "prosperity", under the terms

	Colombia	Large cities	Mid-sized cities and metropolitan peripheries	Rural municipalities	Vulnerable rural municipalities	Aging rural municipalities	Rural municipalities with high violence indices
Area	1.139.818	2.947	121.848	192.016	562.816	39.028	221.161
Towns	1.118	7	176	354	257	210	114
Population							
2018	48.258.494	14.735.529	18.377.480	6.139.093	5.011.183	1.467.325	2.534.382
2005	42.077.064	13.388.229	15.058.232	5.500.650	4.462.553	1.471.786	2.201.594
1993	36.207.108	10.992.379	12.158.976	5.337.361	3.969.302	1.686.563	2.087.487
Relative growth: population							
1993-2018	33,28%	34,05%	51,14%	15,02%	26,25%	-13,00%	21,41%
2005-2018	14,69%	10,06%	22,04%	11,61%	12,29%	-0,30%	15,12%
1993-2005	16,21%	21,80%	23,84%	3,06%	12,43%	-12,73%	5,47%
% Population with Unsatisfied Basic Needs (UBN)							
1993-2018	14,13%	4,51%	10,06%	19,90%	46,49%	14,76%	27,32%
2005-2018	28,49%	11,31%	22,45%	40,79%	72,31%	42,23%	45,40%
1993-2005	37,34%	18,74%	30,30%	51,40%	76,99%	52,14%	56,34%
Relative growth: population with UBN							
1993-2018	-18,51%	-12,69%	-15,09%	-28,51%	-18,31%	-39,29%	-23,17%
2005-2018	-12,28%	-6,35%	-10,17%	-18,59%	-20,11%	-27,51%	-13,95%
1993-2005	-4,24%	-4,96%	-2,49%	-9,36%	4,30%	-15,29%	-8,46%
Relative growth: population without UBN							
1993-2018	51,80%	46,74%	66,23%	43,53%	44,55%	26,29%	44,57%
2005-2018	26,97%	16,41%	32,21%	30,19%	32,40%	27,20%	29,06%
1993-2005	20,45%	26,76%	26,34%	12,42%	8,12%	2,55%	13,92%
	Positive	Intermediate	Negative	Regarding the mean of the period			

Table 1. Evolution of the multidimensionally defined classes (1993-2005).Source: Preparation by the Authors.

of the New Urban Agenda. However, each one of the inter-census periods shows significant differences: between 1993 and 2005, an urban-rural gap is clearly seen, while between 2005 and 2018, this is blurred on facing the mediocre behavior of large cities and a relative improvement of many of the rural municipalities.

The cartographic representation of the results (Figure 1) shows the spatial relationships that are established among the different categories. In Figure 1.A, the divergent behavior among the rural areas of the country is seen. In the center, they lose population in absolute terms, while in the periphery, the growth is relatively intense. Figures 1.B and 1.C complement and qualify this: the loss of population of central rural areas is accompanied by an intense drop

in vulnerable population, but also a minimal increase of population without UBN. In the periphery, the opposite is seen: demographic growths with larger populations without UBN, and vice versa, which seems to indicate relatively intense migrations of vulnerable population in the marginal areas of the country.

To finish, Figure 2 is proposed as a summary where the six categories of municipalities have been defined from a cluster analysis on four variables -evolution of the total population, with UBN and without UBN, and UBN percentage in 2018-, which have been identified as expellers, stable or appealers -depending on their demographic evolution-, and as prosperous or vulnerable
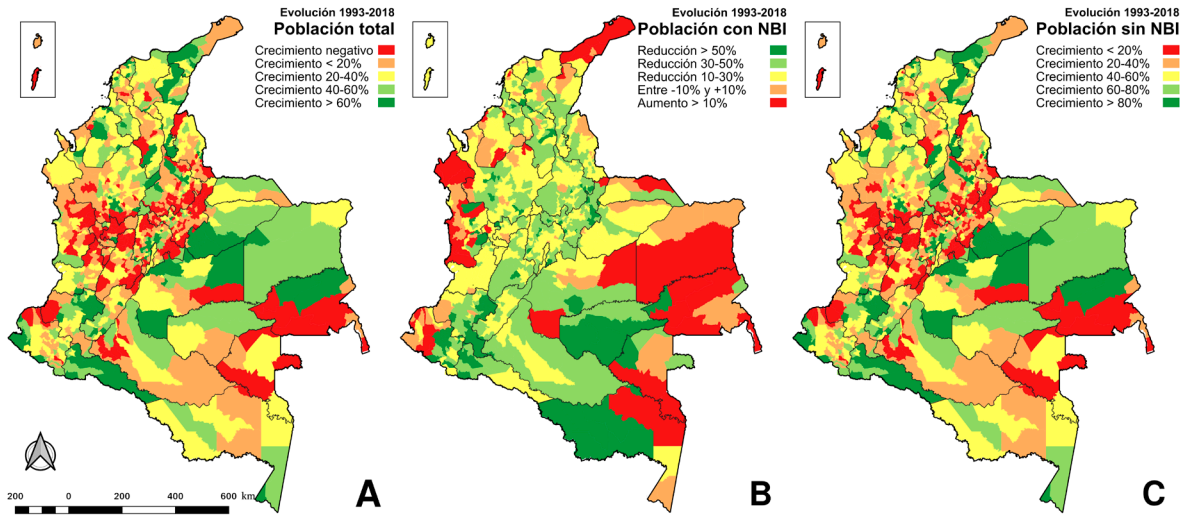
Figure 1. IPopulation indicators 1993-2018. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

-depending on the population percentage with UBN-. The result shows the contrast in prosperity of the center and the vulnerability of the periphery, but also between the dynamism of urban centers and given development lines facing the stagnation of most of the rural space.

V. DISCUSSION

The period analyzed, 1993-2018, covers the stage when Colombia applied a clearly neoliberal approach in its regional development policies, that we can identify in the records of the World Bank (2009). During this time, a divergence is seen among regions on at least two scales: between the center and periphery, and between urban and rural areas. The global improvement in the indicators hides a growing inequality, already outlined at a department scale (Galvis et al., 2017), and confirmed here at a municipal scale, unveiling intra-department divergence phenomena, where urban prosperity should operate as a driver of regional development.

The behavior of Colombian cities reflects common trends within Latin American urbanization: a marked trend towards concentration; a migration of the vulnerable rural population towards the cities; and a more recent phenomenon of relative stagnation of large cities compared to more dynamic and complex metropolitan areas (Jordán, Riffo & Prado, 2017).

Rural areas show a more heterogeneous behavior: those better connected to the more prosperous cities, all of them in the Andean area, have a relative improvement of the poverty
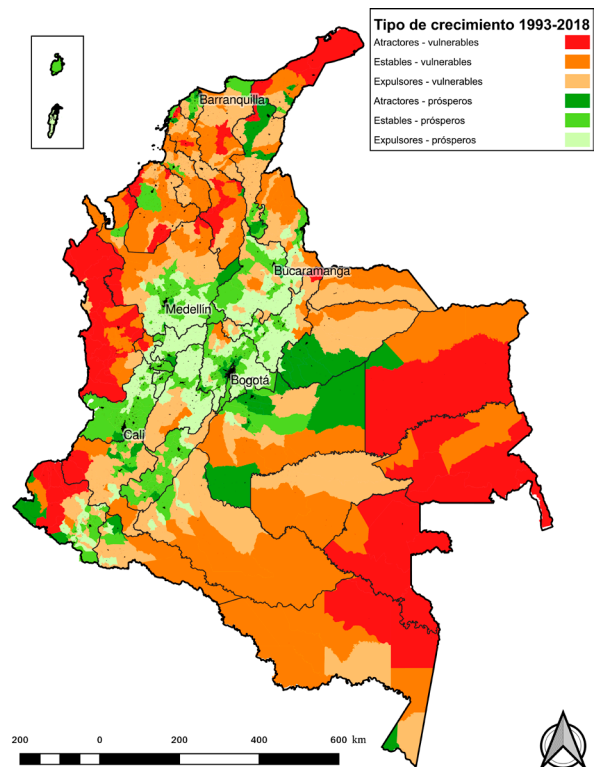

Figure 2. Typology of Municipalities. Source: Preparation by the Authors.

indicators, but with a cost of a marked demographic decline and an intense aging of the population. Although this depopulation phenomenon was seen as a problem at the end of the 19th Century in Europe, and for decades in different Latin American countries, the most remarkable aspect of the Colombian case is that it is the regions closest and most integrated to the large urban hubs that suffer from this destructive phenomenon most. On the contrary, the regions that are farthest from the economic center of the country, show an important demographic dynamism, although quantitatively lower, led by the vulnerable population. All this implies a polarization, where the vulnerable population, which is also the youngest, abandons the intermediate spaces of the urban-rural continuum and moves either to big cities, or to the extreme opposite, to the margins of the country where there are opportunities associated to the expansion of the farming border, extraction activities, or illegal activities (PNUD, 2011; Cuervo et al., 2018).

In summary, considering the most prosperous urban areas of Colombia, an intense metropolitan expansion is seen, but also an intense decline in rural regions, which seems to contradict the assumptions of the New Urban Agenda, since urban prosperity seems to have contradictory effects on the area which it supposedly should benefit.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The Latin American context is quite conditioned by intense spatial inequalities, both on an urban and on a regional scale. If the goal of development is to improve the quality of life of all regions, in a balanced way, urban and regional policies must bear in mind the effects of divergence and even polarization that has been shown in the Colombian case, which shares many traits with most Latin American countries, like the extreme concentration of population and wealth, or the great inequalities in living conditions.

Although the New Urban Agenda (NUA) is built on a basically urban view, it does not forsake this to positively affect the rest of the region, conceptualized as a functional component of the urban. Starting from the results presented, the premise that urban development necessarily implies global benefits for the entire region, as NUA assumes, cannot be maintained. The regional balance then, must be placed at the heart of the debate on development and, because of this, it is essential to have detailed information of all municipalities, and not just of the urban centers of reference or the regional units, to understand the complex dynamics that are being produced in the interaction between the urban and the rural.

In this work, it has only been possible to present some of the results of the multidimensional analysis, which would require a greater understanding of the phenomena observed.

The information of the 2018 census is only just starting to be processed and may lead to many other comparisons. The proposed methodology allows shedding light on changes in the mid-term, with a level of detail that has been understudied until now. Beyond this general approach, it is suggested, as a way to continue with the research, to narrow the focus, in order to observe, in greater detail, concrete phenomena in specific urban, suburban, or rural settings.

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