

**The Prevalence of Literature on the Pandemic-Influenced Urban Exodus to Rural Ontario
and Canada: A Literature Review**

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Introduction

Among the changes that the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic brought to rural Canadian communities, one of those noted is the increase in urban to rural migration (Gutzke, 2022; Weeden et al., 2022). This is particularly notable, as the phenomenon departs from the historical rural periphery outmigration and the urban fringe immigration patterns observed by scholars such as Bryant and Joseph (2001) and Bollman and Clemenson (2008).

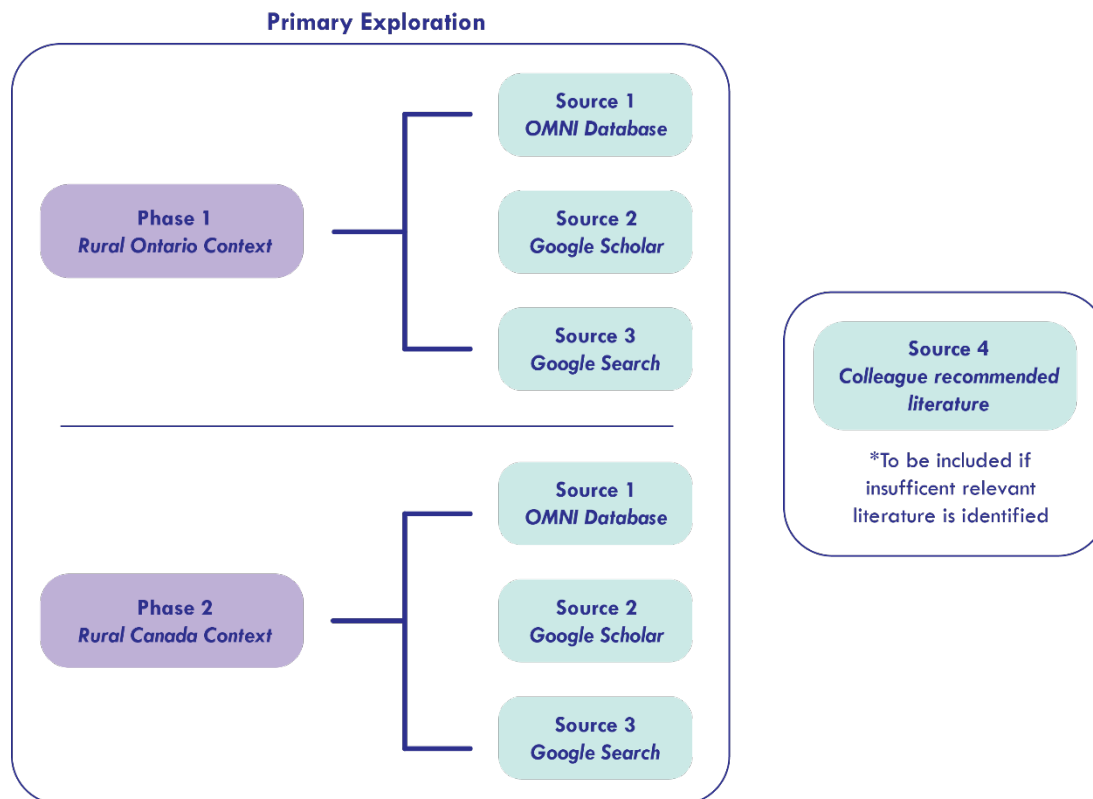
As part of the “Impacts of Pandemic Migration to Rural Ontario” research initiative, this literature review is being conducted to understand the opportunities and challenges related to the urban exodus to rural Ontario and Canada, as identified by academic and grey literature. To accomplish this, relevant literature will first be gathered based upon a predetermined set of selection criteria. The currency, relevance, authority, accuracy, and purpose (CRAAP) method will be used to scrutinize the literature selected, before then identifying common themes. Lastly, the findings of this will be analyzed, summarized, and discussed to reflect on current practices within the literature and potential opportunities for further research.

Selection of Literature

To identify appropriate literature for examination, a structured, multi-sourced search method was developed. This method had two main phases: a search centered on the rural Ontario context, and a search centered on rural Canadian contexts. Within each phase, three primary sources were adopted: the OMNI Database made available by the University of Guelph, Google Scholar, and Google. The latter two sources were conducted through an incognito internet browser to restrict the influence of cookies and previous browsing history on the subsequent search results.¹ Permission from the advising project coordinator was granted to also accept recommendations made by a work colleague with candidate RPP membership. This source was separate from Phases 1 and 2, and was only to be utilized if there was a deficit in relevant literature. A visualization of this process is provided in Figure 1.

For each source, multiple searches were executed using different combinations of predetermined search words and terms. This includes, but is not limited to: “pandemic”, “migration”, “COVID-19”, “urban exodus”, “urban-to-rural”, and “COVID-induced migration”.

¹ This method was developed and executed before Google announced they would be removing Canadian news content from their search engines and other products (Tasker, 2023).

Figure 1*Multi-Sourced Search Method*

The term “rural boom” was later included, as it was found to be a common phrase within grey literature identified early in the process. It should also be noted that some terms were exclusive to a phase, such as “rural Ontario”, in an attempt to locate context-specific literature.

To further facilitate the collection of relevant literature, a set of selection criteria was developed. This selection criteria is as follows:

- The literature must relate to the urban-to-rural migration spurred by COVID-19;
- It must be published no earlier than December 2019, when the first reported cases of COVID-19 appeared (World Health Organization, 2020);
- Preference will be given to academic literature; and
- It must have mentions of Ontario contexts (Phase 1 criteria); or
- It must have mentions of rural Canadian contexts (Phase 2 criteria).

Using this method, twenty-three (23) pieces of literature were selected. This amount will be refined through the validation process to enable an adequate review of valid literature within

the provided timeframe of four months. Note that one piece of literature was selected in both Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the selection process, due to its relevance to both the Ontario and Canadian contexts. A summary of the initial literature selected can be found in the Appendix.

Validation of Literature

The selected literature will now be scrutinized and refined using the CRAAP method. For simplicity, literature from Phases 1 and 2 will be reviewed collectively unless stated otherwise.

The criteria “currency” within the CRAAP method examines the recency of literature and the effects this may have on the information provided (Kurpiel, 2023). Of the twenty-three pieces selected, approximately 83% (19 entries) of the literature were published between 2021 and 2022. The remaining literature were published in 2020 (2 entries) or more recently in 2023 (2 entries). Despite being released earlier, the literature published in 2020 are still valuable, as they can provide insight on the initial opportunities and challenges of the urban exodus that were observed early in the pandemic. The remaining literature is considered recent, and has the opportunity to represent how the phenomenon and perceptions of it have evolved over time. As such, all of the selected literature is valid in terms of currency.

“Relevance” refers to the relatability of literature to the topic of interest (Kurpiel, 2023). This criteria was integrated into the standards of the search process to improve the appropriateness of the literature selected. One aspect to be further examined is whether the selected literature identifies any challenges and/or opportunities related to the urban exodus, and the extent to which it does this. Amongst the documents selected, seven (7) are identified as being strongly relevant to the research topic. This is because they have a central focus on the urban exodus and identify multiple opportunities and/or challenges of this phenomenon. Of these documents, only Weeden et al. (2022) is considered academic literature. The remainder consists of a mixture of grey literature publications (Hessey, 2021; Milton et al., 2022; Preville, 2023; Rural Ontario Institute, 2021; Vance 2021; Weeden, 2020).

An additional seven (7) documents are deemed sufficiently relevant, consisting of two (2) academic documents (Gutzke, 2022; Pitkänen et al., 2020) and five (5) pieces of grey literature (Bagnall, 2022; Gordon, 2021; Lorinc, 2021; Lundy 2021; Schlesinger, 2021). While these documents contain less opportunities and challenges than the previous set of literature, the content remains centered on presenting these matters. In comparison, the remaining nine (9) pieces of literature include few opportunities and/or challenges relating to the urban exodus.

Often, the effects of the rural migration are not focused upon and any information provided does not further the conversation on the matter. Therefore, the following literature will be excluded from the literature review:

- Bresge’s (2022) *Rural population growth concentrated near urban centres, StatCan says*;
- Davis’s (2022) *Interprovincial Migration Peaked During the Pandemic. That’s a Challenge for Local Real Estate*;
- Lundy’s (2023) *Canada’s cities see immigration-driven population surge after pandemic lull*;
- Martin’s (2021) *‘Golden opportunity’: Small towns primed for comeback during pandemic*;
- McQuillan & Laszlo’s (2022) “Population Growth and Population Aging in Alberta Municipalities”;
- Mendelsohn’s (2022) *A post-pandemic policy agenda for rural and smaller Canadian communities*;
- Morel’s (2022) *Analyzing the house price boom in the suburbs of Canada’s major cities during the pandemic*;
- Newbold et al. ‘s (2022) “Exploring Human Mobilities in the COVID-19 Era in Urban and Rural Canada,” from *COVID-19 and a World of AD Hoc Geographies*; and
- Passmore’s (2021) *COVID-19’s Impact On Farmland Values In Southwestern Ontario*.

The criteria “authority” examines the creditability of the literature’s author(s) and publishing source (Kurpiel, 2023). Amongst the fourteen (14) remaining pieces of literature, Gutzke (2022), Lorinc (2021), Weeden (2020), and Weeden et al. (2022) are found to have evident valid authority. This is because the documents are transparent with their authorship and publication organization details, which enabled verification that the author(s) are qualified to write on the topic at hand (Kurpiel, 2023). Lorinc (2021), Weeden (2020), and Weeden et al. (2022) also include a method of contact, demonstrating a willingness to provide further clarification on the information presented and its origin if needed.

Several other documents are identified as being likely to have valid authority. This includes a journal article by Pitkänen et al. (2020) and several pieces of grey literature from Bagnall (2022), Hessey (2021), Lorinc (2021), Lundy (2021), and Vance (2021). The authority of these documents cannot be fully ascertained because several key details are unavailable, making it difficult to develop an informed analysis. For example, Pitkänen et al. (2020) identifies all authors involved and the universities they are affiliated with, however it does not specify the credentials of each individual. By excluding this information, it becomes difficult to determine the appropriateness of the authors' qualifications. In spite this, the information present in these documents are adequate to suggest that the sources of the information are partially trustworthy. As such, they will be included in the literature review, though one has to remain cognizant of the uncertainties around the literature's authority.

The literature with the most questionable authority include: Gordon (2021), Milton et al. (2022), Rural Ontario Institute (2021), and Preville (2023). All four of these documents lack adequate source information, which degrades the creditability of the information they provide. After further investigation, the full source for the Rural Ontario Institute (2021) was located, which provides authorship and publication details that affirm the author's qualifications (Anania & Florio, 2021). Given this discovery, Anania & Florio (2021) is deemed to have suitable authority, and reference to it will refer to both the document itself and the Rural Ontario Institute (2021). Further examination into Gordon (2021), Milton et al. (2022), and Preville (2023) revealed no additional information on the authority of the literature, likely because they are online-based media articles. While this restricts the credibility of the information provided, the articles may still retain value as citizen reflections of the pandemic-influenced urban exodus. Therefore, Gordon (2021), Milton et al. (2022), and Preville (2023) can be utilized, provided they are examined from a societal opinion-based perspective.

"Accuracy" with the CRAAP method builds upon the authority criteria and further evaluates the reliability of literature by examining elements such as references, tone, and review history (Kurpiel, 2023). An evaluation of the literature reveals that the journal articles Pitkänen et al. (2020) and Weeden et al. (2022) have the strongest accuracy due to the presence of clearly supported findings, peer-review, and objective language. Additional documents with adequate accuracy include: Anania & Florio (2021), Bagnall (2022), Gutzke (2022), Lorinc (2021), Lundy (2021), and Weeden (2020). The sources for these articles are not as robust nor is the language as

academic. This is to be expected though, as they are meant to appeal to a more general audience. Additionally, while it is not explicitly stated that the articles were reviewed, the platform which they are published through (e.g. university library database, online news outlet) heavily suggests that a form of review did occur. As such, it is advised that these pieces of literature, if utilized, are done so from a generalized information perspective.

Due to a variety of factors, the accuracy of Gordon (2021), Hessey (2021), Milton et al. (2022), Preville (2023), Schlesinger (2021), and Vance (2021) cannot be sufficiently verified. The evidence provided to support the claims in these documents is minimal, frequently utilizing only one or two sources to do so. In the case of Milton et al. (2022), an inherent bias towards Toronto residency is apparent, as evidenced by language such as, “..in a nutshell, they hated [rural living]—and they’re moving back” (Milton et al., 2022) and “...Vancouver had its limitations. I missed Toronto's diversity and vibrancy” (Milton et al., 2022). For opinion-based articles such as Preville (2023) and Vance (2021), it is implied that no formal information verification was conducted before their publication. Taking this into consideration, these documents may not be suitable and will require further examination in the following section.

As the final criteria, “purpose” investigates the intent of the literature and how transparently this information is provided (Kurpiel, 2023). Literature such as Anania & Florio (2021), Gutzke (2022), Pitkänen et al. (2020), and Weeden et al. (2022) make it explicitly clear within the text that their purpose is to contribute to ongoing professional discussions and to provide a basis for which future research can build from. Vance (2021) provides similar clarity by stating in their title that the document is an opinion piece, which highlights that the document will have to be employed with caution due to potential biases. For the remaining documents, some analysis of the text is required to grasp their purpose. An example of this is Weeden (2020), whose tone and content indicates that the article is meant for educational purposes. Others, such as Bagnall (2022), Lorinc (2021), and Lundy (2021) appear to have been developed for reporting purposes, as the tone of the text is largely impartial and the focus remains on communicating information intercut with citizen experiences.

The remaining literature indicates that the content was developed to attract views, sometimes by appealing to certain biases. City-based publications Milton et al. (2022) and Schlesinger (2021) use boldly worded titles and suggestively framed text to emphasize that individuals are migrating back to urban centres, despite having minimal evidence to support this

claim. The narrative-like content of Hessesy (2021) and Preville (2023) focus on delivering the experiences of individuals to its audience, which has the potential to offer a grounded view of the opportunities and challenges of the urban exodus. Lastly, Gordon (2021) uses emotion-evoking language to dramatize the information being portrayed, indicating that the article was developed for entertainment over information. Based upon this and the analysis of the previous criteria, Gordon (2021), Milton et al. (2022), and Schlesinger (2021) will be excluded from the literature review. The remaining eleven (11) pieces of literature are suitable for use, though vigilance will need to be employed on literature with divergent relevance, authority, and purpose.

Common Themes

With the validation complete, the eleven (11) documents were then assessed for reoccurring themes using the qualitative analysis software *NVivo*. To code the literature, the parent categories “challenges” and “opportunities” were established, with subsequent child codes added as various themes emerged from the documents. Once the documents were coded, the child codes were organized into general categories under the parent codes. This resulted in the identification of six (6) main themes, which will be discussed below.

The most prominent theme identified across the literature is the challenge of housing affordability and availability. Documents such as Anania & Florio (2021), Gutzke (2022), and Lundy (2021) express concerns that individuals who fled the housing crisis in urban areas have unintentionally spread it to rural communities. Anania & Florio (2021), Hessesy (2021), Pitkanen et al. (2020), Preville (2023), Weeden (2020), and Weeden et al. (2022) further highlight that as a result, existing rural residents have been displaced and forced to relocate to more remote areas. The re-telling of a resident’s experience from Hessesy (2021) exemplifies this observation:

In May, Ellingwood and her 10-year-old daughter were forced to leave the house they had been renting for a decade when the owner decided to sell. For months, they looked for a new place to live and came up empty. [...] Finally, through some local connections, [Ellingwood] found a new rental in a town 30 minutes away. She says she’s grateful to have it, but the commute means her cost of living has greatly increased. (paras. 41-43).

In a related manner, it is also frequently noted that local businesses have been experiencing difficulty in acquiring employees because of this lack of nearby affordable housing (Anania & Florio, 2021; Bagnall, 2022; Gutzke, 2022; Hessesy, 2021; Preville, 2023).

Community members have conveyed to Anania & Florio (2021), Bagnall (2022), Gutzke (2022), and Hessey (2021) that many businesses in response have reportedly, "...[limited] their operations" (Rural Ontario Institute, 2021, p. 2) due to the lack of workers.

Another theme to emerge is ongoing challenges around overwhelmed resources. Many of the resources noted were those immediately affecting community members, such as: schools (Anania & Florio, 2021; Lundy, 2021), health care (Anania & Florio, 2021; Preville, 2023; Weeden et al., 2022), broadband access (Gutzke, 2022; Weeden, 2020) and municipal staff capacity (Gutzke, 2022; Vance, 2021). Interestingly, a similar amount of attention is given to concern over the predicted future impacts of the urban exodus on existing municipal infrastructure and services (Anania & Florio, 2021; Lundy, 2021; Preville, 2023; Vance, 2021; Weeden, 2020). While related matters such as increased taxes (Hessey, 2021; Preville, 2023) and inter-governmental tensions (Gutzke, 2022; Pitkanen et al., 2020) were also mentioned, their presence were limited to only a few documents.

The opportunity of population revitalization is found to be an additional recurrent theme. This is expressed through speculations that the influx of new residents, especially younger generations, will help to invigorate local communities in the immediate and long-term (Anania & Florio, 2021; Bagnall, 2022; Gutzke, 2022; Hessey, 2021; Lorinc, 2021; Preville, 2023; Vance, 2021). Anania & Florio (2021) and Preville (2023) go on to mention that this growth will likely increase the tax base for municipalities to draw from. Other literature further note the intellectual capital that is being brought in with the urban exodus, and the potential this has to improve rural communities (Anania & Florio, 2021; Hessey, 2021; Vance, 2021).

Akin to this, there is also a strong theme of local economy revitalization. Of the seven (7) documents that refer to this opportunity, only Anania & Florio (2021) elaborate in detail as to how this is occurring. Other documents including Hessey (2021), Lorinc (2021), and Preville (2023) surmise through general observations that the arrival of new residents, businesses, and services will result in the revitalization of local rural economies. The remainder briefly suggest that local economies will be strengthened through the mass arrival of new residents from the urban exodus (Lundy, 2021; Pitkanen et al., 2020; Vance, 2021).

The fifth theme identified in the literature is social tensions arising from the pandemic migration. Some of this tension is identified by Pitkanen et al. (2020) and Weeden et al. (2022) as stemming from public health concerns during the height of the pandemic. More specifically,

they note that existing rural residents were concerned that urban migrants were bringing the COVID-19 virus with them into the community (Pitkanen et al., 2020; Weeden et al., 2022). The greater discussion however, lies in the general conflict between urban and rural ideals. Gutzke (2022), Hessey (2021), Pitkanen et al. (2020), Preville (2023), and Weeden (2020) all note to different extents that some rural residents are uncomfortable with the community changes the urban exodus has caused. In particular, the perceived loss of the area's traditional physical and social rural character have reportedly made residents adverse to newcomers (Gutzke, 2022; Hessey, 2021; Pitkanen et al., 2020; Preville, 2023).

Lastly, much of the literature presents the rise of remote work as an ongoing opportunity for rural communities. Documents such as Anania & Florio (2021), Bagnall (2022), and Gutzke (2022) acknowledge that while remote work has been part of the driving force behind the urban exodus, it also can become a mechanism by which these new residents are retained. Similarly, Hessey (2021), Lorinc (2021), Lundy (2021), Preville (2023), and Weeden (2020) imply that rural communities with adequate broadband can utilize remote work as a method of attracting new residents, even after the pandemic has passed. Apart from this, few other speculations are made regarding remote work and its potential effects on rural areas.

Analysis

The present examination has revealed several key observations on the current body of knowledge regarding the opportunities and challenges of the urban exodus to rural Ontario and Canada. The most pronounced of these is the lack of academic literature exploring the topic. Amongst the few that were located, including Gutzke (2022), Pitkanen et al. (2020), and Weeden et al. (2022), only Gutzke (2022) explores the general, "...impact of people leaving cities..." (Gutzke, 2022, p. 1) for rural areas. Comparatively, Pitkanen et al. (2020) and Weeden et al. (2022) focus instead on specific situations and impacts that have resulted from the phenomenon. Based upon these findings, there is a foreseeable need for further research to be conducted in relation to the opportunities and challenges of the urban exodus.

As previously noted, housing affordability and availability has emerged as a prominent challenge in the literature. Its frequency does not necessarily implicate its importance though, as much of the sample utilized for this review consists of media articles, which may be covering the topic due to its present popularity (Bagnall, 2022; Hessey, 2021; Lorinc, 2021; Lundy, 2021; Preville, 2023; Vance, 2021; Weeden, 2020). That is not to say that the issue of housing is any

less important. Rather, it is merely to note that there may be other pertinent challenges present that are being minimized by the popularity of one particular issue. Further research needs to be completed to fully understand the scale and effects of the urban exodus on the housing crisis and other challenges identified in this review.

The themes of rural displacement, overwhelmed resources, and a lack of workers suggests many rural communities were unprepared for a sudden influx of residents. While the impacts of this are discussed to various degrees (Anania & Florio, 2021; Gutzke, 2022; Lundy, 2021; Preville, 2023; Vance, 2021; Weeden, 2020, Weeden et al., 2022) one noticeable omission is the implications this has for land use and population planning. Vance (2021) conveys some concern over potential increases in poorly conducted land-use planning, but otherwise the topic remains unmentioned. There is a possibility that discussions on this matter exist, but have not been made available through the avenues utilized for this examination. That being said, there is an indication from the municipal workshop summary provided by Anania & Florio (2021) that Ontario municipalities do not have a defined focus on this matter. Further, there is a risk that this phenomenon could cause municipalities to plan for larger populations than what will be retained in the long-term. As such, there is a need to investigate how municipalities are approaching this pandemic-induced growth, and what is required to support the responsible planning and development of rural communities in Canada.

The final observation concerns the themes of local economy and population revitalization. As noted previously, the literature depicts optimistic attitudes towards the potential of rural populations and economies being revitalized due to the urban exodus (Anania & Florio, 2021; Bagnall, 2022; Gutzke, 2022; Hessey, 2021; Lorinc, 2021; Lundy, 2021; Pitkanen et al., 2020; Preville, 2023; Vance, 2021). Missing from this conversation however, is the lack of in-depth exploration into how this influx of residents will translate to measurable actions that will create sustainable rural economies and populations. This is likely because much of the literature is focused upon reporting the phenomenon, rather than seeking to understand and address the implications of it (Bagnall, 2022; Hessey, 2021; Lorinc, 2021; Lundy, 2021; Preville, 2023; Vance, 2021). The importance of this gap cannot be understated though, as a population increase alone will likely not result in the achievement of these communities' goals. Therefore, it may be beneficial to examine how rural communities can utilize the pandemic-driven urban exodus to bring these perceived opportunities to fruition.

Summary and Discussion

This literature review examined academic and grey literature to understand the perceived opportunities and challenges stemming from the pandemic-driven urban exodus to rural Ontario and Canada. To do this, a multi-phase search method was developed and executed, resulting in the initial identification of twenty-three (23) pieces of literature. This selection was then refined through the validation process, after which the remaining literature was coded to identify common themes. Lastly, the literature and identified codes were analyzed to grasp the present state of the conversation around the pandemic urban exodus in Ontario and Canada.

From this exploration, it is apparent that much of the conversation has yet to expand into the academic realm. This explains why there are several knowledge gaps regarding matters such as municipal responses, planning implications, the scope of effects, and so on. Given the varied contexts across Canada, there are many opportunities to investigate these topics and provide insight into how rural communities can manage sudden migration patterns. Based on the work conducted herein, it is suggested that further research first be conducted into the extent and implications of the challenges being faced by rural communities as a result of the urban exodus. It is also recommended that research be undertaken, either in tandem with the first pathway or as a separate investigation, into how the identified opportunities of the urban exodus can be utilized to strengthen communities. By examining these matters further, it is anticipated that a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon and its implications will be achieved.

To further fulfill the objectives of the “Impacts of Pandemic Migration to Rural Ontario” research initiative, an additional literature review should be conducted into the opportunities and challenges faced by rural communities in the global context. This will enable a comparison of impacts faced, which may lead to the identification of mechanisms and actions that can be adapted to local contexts. Should this be the case, both literature reviews can jointly contribute to efforts to help rural communities manage the outcomes of this phenomenon.

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Appendix

Initial Selection of Literature

PHASE 1				
Literature Type	Author(s)	Title	Date	Publisher
Magazine Article	Anthony Milton, Mathew Silver, and Alex Cyr	THE HOMECOMING CLUB: TORONTO'S URBAN EXODUS BEGAN MERE MONTHS INTO THE PANDEMIC	2022	Toronto Life
Journal Article	S. Ashleigh Weeden, Jean Hardy, Karen Foster	Urban Flight and Rural Rights in a Pandemic: Exploring Narratives of Place, Displacement, and "the Right to Be Rural" in the Context of COVID-19	2022	Annals of the American Association of Geographers
Research Paper	Amanda M. Gutzke	How Urban Outmigration from Toronto is going to Impact Rural Ontario	2022	Western University
Workshop Discussion Summary	[Not Specified]	Workshop Breakout Room Discussion Summary-- Economic Development Impacts of the Pandemic on Ontario's Rural Communities	2021	Rural Ontario Institute
Online Article	Erin Nicole Davis	Interprovincial Migration Peaked During the Pandemic. That's a Challenge for Local Real Estate	2022	Storeys
Online Article	Matt Lundy	Canada's cities see immigration-driven population surge after pandemic lull	2023	The Globe and Mail
Online Article	Matt Lundy	The populations of Toronto and Montreal declined over a portion of the pandemic	2021	Eastern Workforce Innovation Board
Online Article	Krista Hessey	Rural Revival: What's behind Canada's small town boom	2021	Global News
Opinion Piece	Philip Preville	Cottage-country populations are booming. Are rural areas ready for the wave of new residents?	2023	Cottage Life
Online Article	Max Martin	'Golden opportunity': Small towns primed for comeback during pandemic	2021	Building
Online Article	Julie Gordon	Red-hot and rural: Canadian towns grapple with big-city-like real estate boom	2021	Reuters
Online Article	Kim Passmore	COVID-19's Impact On Farmland Values In Southwestern Ontario	2021	RBC Dominion Securities Inc.
Online Article	James Bagnall	Behind the population surge east of Ottawa: the pandemic's many catalysts	2022	Ottawa Citizen

PHASE 2				
Literature Type	Author(s)	Title	Date	Publisher
Journal Article	Kevin McQuillan and Michael Laszlo	Population Growth and Population Aging in Alberta Municipalities	2022	The School of Public Policy Publications
Journal Article	S. Ashleigh Weeden, Jean Hardy, Karen Foster	Urban Flight and Rural Rights in a Pandemic: Exploring Narratives of Place, Displacement, and “the Right to Be Rural” in the Context of COVID-19	2022	Annals of the American Association of Geographers
Report	Matthew Mendelsohn	A post-pandemic policy agenda for rural and smaller Canadian communities	2022	Canada2020
Chapter in an Edited Book	K. Bruce Newbold, Caris Towle, and Kaylah Vrabic	Exploring Human Mobilities in the COVID-19 Era in Urban and Rural Canada, from COVID-19 and a World of AD Hoc Geographies	2022	Springer, Cham
Article	Louis Morel	Analyzing the house price boom in the suburbs of Canada’s major cities during the pandemic	2022	Bank of Canada
Journal Article	Kati Pitkanen, Olga Hannonen, Stefania Toso, Nick Gallent, Iqbal Hamiduddin, Greg Halseth, Michael C. Hall, Dieter K. Müller, Andrey Treivish, and Tatiana Nefedova	Second homes during corona - safe or unsafe haven and for whom? Reflections from researchers around the world	2020	Finnish Journal of Tourism Research
Online Article	Jacob Lorinc	Canada could see a ‘rural boom’ as remote work becomes permanent, study finds	2021	Toronto Star
Online Article	Adina Bresge	Rural population growth concentrated near urban centres, StatCan says	2022	Toronto Star
Opinion Piece	Carter Vance	OPINION Canada Needs a More Integrated Rural Growth Strategy	2021	Conversationally Speaking
Online Article	Joel Schlesinger	Migration to rural from urban likely to reverse as pandemic winds down	2021	Calgary Herald
Online Article	Ashleigh Weeden	The coronavirus pandemic is pushing Canadians out of cities and into the countryside	2020	The Conversation