

Looking Abroad for Solutions Within: Exploring the Effects of the Pandemic-Induced Urban Exodus Beyond Canada

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**Note.* Cover and margin graphics are self-created for this paper.



Introduction

Early on in the COVID-19 pandemic, many regions across Canada experienced an urban exodus that saw individuals relocating to semi-rural and rural areas (Newbold et al., 2022). A similar trend has also been reported internationally, with countries such as Australia and Britain noting a temporary increase in rural relocations (Denham, 2021; Gallent et al., 2023). Relatedly, the present literature review and jurisdictional scan seeks to expand the work of Moore (2023), by examining and comparing the effects of the pandemic urban exodus in various international contexts with that of the Canadian context. In doing so, this paper will further fulfill objectives within the “Impacts of Pandemic Migration to Rural Ontario” research initiative. To achieve these aims, selection methods will be developed and executed to support the location of relevant academic and grey literature. Documents selected from this process will then be assessed for their suitability using the CRAAP method, before being analyzed for themes and compared with the findings of the previous investigation from the Canadian context. Lastly, inferences will be drawn on potential solutions for rural Ontario based upon the literature and analyses, before then concluding with a summary of findings.

Method of Literature Selection

The process for the initial selection of appropriate grey and academic literature was conducted in a series of phases. It began by formulating a set of preliminary methods based upon the previous literature review and jurisdictional scan (Moore, 2023) to guide the process. This included identifying search engines and databases for use, compiling a list of relevant search terms, and establishing a list of conditions which potential literature must meet. A preliminary search was then conducted through Google and Google Scholar to test the efficiency of the terms in yielding relevant results. Through this process, it was found that several terms returned higher instances of relevant results, and are as follows: “urban to rural”, “impacts”, “internal migration”, “rural renaissance”, “counter-urbanisation”, “rural revival”, and “urban exodus”. In response, these terms were added to the search term list if they were not present already, and were highlighted for prioritized use in the main search to be conducted.

The preliminary search was also utilized to understand the countries focused upon in the literature, in order to determine an appropriate scope for this paper. From what could be located, ten (10) countries have been commonly examined,



including: Australia, China, France, Italy, India, Japan, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom (UK), and the United States (US). Moving forward, literature with mentions of the Australian, Spain, UK, and US contexts will be pursued, since these countries had similar COVID-19 policy stringencies to Canada, according to research by Hale et al. (2021) and visualizations of this research by Mathieu et al. (2020).

With the scope and methods defined, the search for academic and grey literature was then conducted over three sources: the OMNI database provided by the University of Guelph, Google Scholar, and Google. Multiple searches were executed utilizing a variety of search term combinations, with the terms most frequently used being those identified from the preliminary search. From this, twenty-two (22) documents were located, consisting of journal articles, online news and magazine articles, and an opinion essay (see Appendix 1 for the complete list). The following section will scrutinize these documents to ensure they are academically reliable for the literature review.

Suitability of the Literature

Documents identified in the previous section will now be examined and refined using the CRAAP method developed by Blakeslee (2004). The first evaluation criteria of this method inquires about the “currency” of documents and whether its date of publication is appropriate (Blakeslee, 2004). As part of the conditions for the selection criteria, all selected articles have been published as of 2020 or later. This timeframe is considered appropriate, as the COVID-19 pandemic only began at the conclusion of 2019 (World Health Organization, 2020). From the group, the breakdown of documents by publication year can be found in Table 1. The distribution of publications across the outlined timeframe will allow insights from throughout the pandemic to be gathered, which can aid in developing a fuller understanding of the urban exodus phenomenon. As such, all documents are deemed to have valid currency.

The next criteria evaluates the “relevance” of documents to the subject matter of the research being conducted (Blakeslee, 2004). For literature to be relevant to the present paper, they must mention challenges and/or opportunities of migrating to rural areas during the pandemic. While this was a condition for selection, it was not thoroughly investigated for each document in the interest of time. Upon a secondary review, Colomb & Gallent (2022), Gallent (2020), Gallent et al. (2023), and Malatzky et al. (2020) demonstrate a clear focus on these elements throughout their respective articles,



Table 1
Currency of Initial Document Selection

Year of Publication	No. of Documents	Approximate % of Group
2020	8	36%
2021	3	14%
2022	5	23%
2023	6	27%

thus making them highly relevant. Other documents including Ahasan & Korte (2023), Denham (2021), Halfacree (2023), Norman (2023), Peachey (2021), Pitkänen et al. (2020), and Zožal et al. (2022) do address the aforementioned criteria, though the document is not solely focused upon exploring the general opportunities and challenges of the urban exodus in Australia, Spain, the U.K., or the U.S. For example, Pitkänen et al. (2020) narrows the scope of their article to explore the effects related to secondary homes, while Halfacree (2023) explores the effects of the urban exodus as part of a broader discussion on perceptions of diminishing rural character in Britain. These differences have the potential to offer unique perspectives and/or in-depth examinations on certain effects, and as such are also considered relevant to this paper.

The remaining eleven (11) documents contain minimal to no relevance. This is largely due to the lack of discussion within these works around the opportunities and challenges of the urban exodus. Several documents such as Florida (2020), Gupta et al. (2022), Matthews (2020), and Rabe (2023) also retain an urban focus, which does not reflect the investigation into rural effects that this paper seeks to achieve. In consideration of these factors, the following academic and grey literature will be excluded from further analyses: Florida (2020), Gupta et al. (2022), Helmore (2020), Matthews (2020), Menton (2020), Nelson & Frost (2023), Pollard (2021), Rabe (2023), Rankin-Gee (2020), Richardson (2022), and Ward-Glenton (2022).

Another criteria known as "authority" examines the transparency and creditability of the source(s) of the information (Blakeslee, 2004). The journal articles of Colomb & Gallent (2022), Gallent et al. (2023), and Zožal et al. (2022) are found to be the strongest in this aspect, as the credentials and qualifications of the authors are clearly identified and relevant to the topics discussed. Further, details regarding the



journals are easily accessible, and contact information is provided, making it possible to obtain clarification on the research if needed. Similar indications of authority are present in articles by Denham (2021), Halfacree (2023), and Malatzky et al. (2020). The authority of these documents are less prominent though, as either the author contact information or details about their credentials are absent. Gallent (2020) and Pitkänen et al. (2020) indicate through their status as published articles and their authors academic associations that they also possess some authority. Notably though, this could not be fully ascertained due to the omission of several details such as publisher and contact information.

The documents with the least conclusive authority are online new articles by Ahasan & Korte (2023), Norman (2023), and Peachy (2021). Ahasan & Korte (2023) and Peachy (2021) provide no detailed information about their authors, nor is an explicit method of contact provided. This makes it difficult to determine if the authors are qualified to write about the topic, or if they have any affiliations that may have influenced their writing. Norman's (2023) article makes available some author information and a method of contact, though her background as a political reporter suggests that her qualifications may be ill-suited for writing about an internal migration phenomena. With this in mind, Ahasan & Korte (2023) and Peachy (2021) will be omitted from further consideration. The remaining articles are deemed to have sufficient authority to proceed, though future use of Norman (2023) will need to be done so with caution in light of the uncertainties that remain around its authority.

Within the CRAAP method, "accuracy" requests individuals to scrutinize the reliability of information by assessing it for biases, supporting evidence, and review status (Blakeslee, 2004). Those with strong accuracy include Colomb & Gallent (2022), Denham (2021), Gallent et al. (2023), Halfacree (2023), Malatzky et al. (2020), and Zoğal et al. (2022), as they are derived from academic peer-reviewed journals. The arguments these articles present are well supported by evidence, and are generally conveyed in a manner that avoids favouring a particular perspective. Gallent (2020) and Pitkänen et al. (2020) also contain indicators of accuracy, albeit to a lesser degree than the previous journal articles. Thoroughly-sourced context is provided for arguments made, and the platforms on which they have been published suggests that their content has been reviewed to some capacity. It should be noted that both articles are framed in a manner that expresses opinions, which leaves the potential for biases to be introduced to the content and change how information is viewed. As such, while these articles are



considered to have adequate accuracy, discretion will need to be employed regarding the potential for bias, especially with regard to second homes within the UK.

Unlike previous documents, Norman (2023) displays questionable accuracy throughout her news article. Aside from personal experiences shared by two young families, the information provided appears to stem from only one source: the Commonwealth Bank and Regional Australia Institute (RAI) (Norman, 2023). Attribution is not always immediately provided after presenting information, making it challenging to determine if this is the case. Despite these shortcomings, the document does adopt a largely unbiased tone when conveying information, and the host website requires that articles be reviewed before publication (ABC News, n.d.). Therefore, Norman (2023) is found to have insufficient accuracy, with the exception of its featured personal experiences. Future use will be limited to these experiences, and will be considered anecdotal evidence when examined alongside other literature.

The last criteria investigates the “purpose” of literature and the potential influences this has on its validity (Blakeslee, 2004). In the case of most journal articles (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Denham, 2021; Gallent et al., 2023; Halfacree, 2023; Malatzky et al., 2020; Zožal et al., 2022), the literature appears to have been developed for furthering the body of knowledge about counter-urbanization trends during the pandemic. This is largely understood from the abstracts of each article, which identifies what the author(s) seek to achieve with their research and how it relates to the body of knowledge. Further, several of these articles include conflict of interest and/or funding statements (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Gallent et al., 2023; Malatzky et al., 2020; Zožal et al., 2022) that clarify to the reader any potential financial or personal interests that may have impacted the research. Thus, their purposes is deemed appropriate for further use. Comparatively, it appears the purpose of Pitkänen et al.'s (2020) journal article is to share academics' opinions about the use of second homes during the pandemic (Pitkänen et al., 2020). This purpose, while clear, reiterates the concern from the accuracy criteria that there is potential for the information provided to be impacted by these views. In light of this, it is acknowledged that Pitkänen et al. (2020) is still usable for the review, though it should be done so from the perspective of an opinion piece.

Gallent's (2020) magazine article makes it clear from its subheadings and content that its purpose is to draw attention to the need to address second



homes in the UK. A statement noting that the views expressed are personal further solidifies this deduction (Gallent, 2020), and highlights that the arguments presented are opinion-based. This does not invalidate the literature, but does underscore the need to view the material from an advocative perspective moving forward. Unlike the other literature selected, the news article from Norman (2023) was crafted to report on the urban exodus phenomenon in Australia. While Norman (2023) attempts to remain impartial through her writing tone, the usage of quotes such as, "I think there's a lot of people who want to escape the rat race and have a more relaxed life," (para. 24) indicates that the article seeks to appeal to public romanticism in this trend. Given this and previous issues identified, Norman (2023) is considered unsuited for further use in this paper.

After reviewing the initial twenty-two documents using the CRAAP method, the following eight (8) documents have been identified as appropriate for analysis: Colomb & Gallent (2022), Denham (2021), Gallent (2020), Gallent et al. (2023), Halfacree (2023), Malatzky et al. (2020), Pitkänen et al. (2020) and Zožal et al. (2022). Subject to the restrictions noted above, they will now be reviewed and contrasted for common themes.

Recurrent Themes

To identify commonalities amongst the articles, all literature was coded using the NVivo qualitative analysis software. Prior to the analyses, the parent codes "challenges" and "opportunities" were established to facilitate the categorization of themes. Later on, an additional parent code titled "insights" was formed to reflect questions and critical thinking that were neither a challenge nor an opportunity, but could be beneficial during discussion of the literature. The results of the coding reveal that all articles mention opportunities and challenges associated with the urban exodus, though challenges tend to be the greater focus.

Challenges

One of the most frequent challenges identified is lacking housing affordability and availability in rural areas. Referenced by the majority of the literature, it is generally noted the rise of dwelling conversions to second homes, short term rentals (STR), and holiday lets as a means of escaping the pandemic, either temporarily or more permanently, has greatly contributed to this issue (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Gallent, 2020; Gallent et al., 2023; Halfacree, 2023; Malatzky et al., 2020; Pitkänen et al., 2020; Zožal et al., 2022). Gallent et al. (2023) and Zožal et al. (2022) further add that housing



pressures are likely magnified in areas known for their scenic amenities, as the demand for units is higher. Relatedly, multiple articles also highlight that local residents have been displaced from their communities because of newcomers from the urban exodus (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Denham, 2021; Gallent, 2020; Gallent et al., 2023; Halfacree, 2023; Malatzky et al., 2020; Zoğal et al. 2022), leading to what Denham (2021, p. 516) and Halfacree (2023, p. 5) term as, "...rural gentrification...". In some cases, this has led to the opinion that long-term social inequalities will be exacerbated through spatial and financial differences (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Gallent, 2020; Pitkänen et al., 2020).

Another issue regularly addressed is actual and perceived impacts on local resources. This is often referred to in the medical content, as there were fears early on in the pandemic that rural medical facilities would not have the capacity to treat both local and newcomer populations (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Gallent, 2020; Malatzky et al., 2020; Pitkänen et al., 2020; Zoğal et al. 2022). In Australia and Europe, there were also perceived concerns that infrastructure, goods, and services would be overburdened by the sudden increase in demand facilitated by the newcomers (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Gallent, 2020; Gallent et al., 2023; Malatzky et al., 2020). The remaining referrals to this issue focus upon predicted long-term resource repercussions. For example, Denham (2021) and Gallent et al. (2023) suggest that the urban exodus could influence perpetual land resource demands in Australia and the UK to address the need for housing. Gallent et al. (2023) further anticipates that an increase in second homes due to the urban exodus will either contribute to local school closures or prevent them from occurring, depending on whether families choose to stay. From this, it is clear that discussions regarding resources are primarily focused on immediate impacts.

Arising from the previous challenges is the theme of rural-urban tensions. According to Colomb & Gallent (2022), Halfacree (2023), and Malatzky et al. (2020), the pandemic served as an aggravator for pre-existing tensions between the two populations in Australia, the UK, and the US. This is partly attributed to initial concerns over COVID-19 being spread by urbanites to rural communities (Gallent, 2020; Halfacree, 2023; Malatzky et al., 2020; Pitkänen et al., 2020). It is further noted that residents perceive urbanities as having a lack of regard for the lives and cultures of rural communities (Gallent et al., 2023; Halfacree, 2023; Malatzky et al., 2020), which has contributed to the revival of a rural revanchist movement in the UK (Halfacree, 2023). These instigators for increased rural-urban tensions are commonly associated with the influx of leisure dwelling



usage, such as second homes, STRs, and holiday lets (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Gallent, 2020; Halfacree, 2023; Pitkänen et al., 2020; Zoğal et al. 2022). Halfacree (2023) suggests that this is because leisure home users are seen as outsiders and tourists rather than community members, though this sentiment may be limited to the UK.

Opportunities

In terms of opportunities, two (2) themes frequently appeared in the literature selected. Remote work was briefly mentioned in a large number of the articles as a potential method of retaining skill workers and younger families within rural areas (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Denham, 2021; Gallent et al., 2023; Halfacree, 2023; Zoğal et al. 2022). This possibility has fuelled further speculation by Colomb & Gallent (2022) that local schools and other community services could be sustained or even thrive in the long-term due to remote work. As noted by Gallent et al. (2023) and Halfacree (2023) though, broadband access needs to be sufficient in order for these potential benefits to be realized.

Relatedly, opportunities for the urban exodus to facilitate the revival of rural economies and populations are also discussed. Unlike other themes, the immediate effects of pandemic migration patterns are only sparsely examined. For example, Gallent (2020) and Halfacree (2023) mention in passing the sudden increases in UK rural tourism during the height of the pandemic. Similarly, only Gallent et al. (2023) briefly addresses how pandemic lockdowns in the UK have encouraged young families to relocate to familial connections in rural communities. In the long term, scholars more frequently speculate that economies could be sustained from the influx of new seasonal and permanent residents, provided that the trend does not reverse (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Denham, 2021; Gallent et al., 2023; Zoğal et al. 2022). Gallent et al. (2023) further highlights that the pandemic has taught local UK agricultural businesses how they can diversify their incomes by noting:

[...] the surge in domestic tourism [...] presents [an opportunity] to the farming sector and particularly to marginal farm businesses that are looking to stabilise and diversify their incomes. The conversion of farm buildings to holiday letting may act as a counter-balance to the uncertainties of post-Brexit trade and subsidy arrangements [...] (p. 15).

Conversations are also held regarding the long-term effects of the repopulation potential resulting from the urban exodus. These are intertwined



with the previous theme of remote work, as it is thought that if young families can be retained through more flexible work options, their presence will benefit local functions for years to come (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Gallent et al., 2023). It is further speculated that second homes will play a key role in repopulation opportunities, as families consider making rural second homes their primary dwellings based on experiences during the pandemic (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Gallent et al., 2023; Zožal et al. 2022). Apart from these broad considerations, no further insight on the theme is provided.

Discussion

Comparison of Contexts

The themes found within the selected literature are relatively similar to those found by Moore (2023) in the Canadian context. For example, both identify housing availability and affordability as a distinct challenge facilitated by the urban exodus, resulting in the displacement of local residents. This generally indicates that rural communities within comparable countries experienced similar struggles in accommodating the phenomenon. Other commonalities include the themes of: optimism for the revival of rural economies and populations, the influences and opportunities of remote work, concern for impacts on resources, and heightened rural-urban tensions. From this, it is inferred that the effects of the urban exodus may be related to political and/or societal contexts, as these aspects are comparable between the countries examined.

Though many themes between the contexts may appear identical, the detail and extent of insight provided by each tend to differ greatly. With the theme of housing, literature from Canada is vague as to why the housing crisis was further impacted by the urban exodus, with it being suggested that remote work could be a contributing factor (Moore, 2023). In contrast, much of the literature examined in this paper clearly connects the rise of leisure dwellings (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Gallent, 2020; Gallent et al., 2023; Halfacree, 2023; Malatzky et al., 2020; Pitkänen et al., 2020; Zožal et al., 2022), and the potential for remote work (Denham, 2021; Gallent et al., 2023; Malatzky et al., 2020) as contributing factors to housing affordability and availability. Notably though, this connection may be overstated, as many of the articles authored by Dr. Gallent focus on leisure homes in the UK. Regardless, these associations in the international context indicate that the rural housing crisis will likely be a persisting affair, as broadband coverage improves and rural locations become more accessible.



Another difference within themes is how Canadian and international literature express optimism for the revival of rural economies and populations. Moore (2023) notes that the opportunity for revitalization is often noted in Canadian literature, but does not explore how this could be achieved. Though not discussed in great detail, literature from primarily the UK does speculate on how revitalization has occurred, and the potential future implications it has based upon external research (Colomb & Gallent, 2022; Denham, 2021; Gallent, 2020; Gallent et al., 2023; Halfacree, 2023; Zoğal et al. 2022). Of particular note is the insight on agricultural business owners (Gallent et al., 2023), as it is a clear instance of how an opportunity can be made actionable. The downside however, is that this is the only actionable item offered within the literature examined, doing so only briefly without exploring the barriers to implementation. In this sense, the Canadian and international literature share a lack of action-based insight to capitalize upon identified economic and population retention opportunities.

Lastly, while both sets of documents share concerns on short-term impacts to healthcare, infrastructure, and community resources, they hold contrasting perceptions of long-term resource impacts. Canadian literature surmises that although the influx of individuals from the pandemic exodus could increase municipal tax bases, this will likely be overshadowed by the continued pressure on municipal services (Moore, 2023). Within the Australian and UK contexts, only a few scholars made explicit predictions that the phenomenon could influence the location and adequacy of housing, in addition to the feasibility of continuing services such as schools (Denham, 2021; Gallent et al., 2023). It is clear in both contexts that there is a lack of investigation into the general planning implications of a sudden influx of individuals within rural communities. This omission cannot be understated, as the form rural communities adopt in response to the pandemic exodus can influence the prevalence of challenges identified in this paper. Therefore, there is a need in the literature both domestically and internationally for research on the urban exodus from a planning lens.

The differences in insight noted above stem from the fact that there is insufficient academic literature investigating the effects of the pandemic urban exodus in Canada (Moore, 2023). The previous review relied heavily on grey literature, which is unable to achieve the same depth of understanding as the academic literature utilized in this paper, due to differences in their purpose. While methods of addressing challenges and opportunities in the Canadian context can be gauged from



what has been learned in the international literature, it is important to note:

[...] different places have experienced pandemic mobility in contrasting ways. They have different capacities to absorb it, and their varying amenity qualities - alongside their accessibility, digital and conventional - will inevitably drive different outcomes and necessitate a variety of responses" (Gallent et al., 2023, p. 2).

As such, greater research and understanding needs to be developed on the urban exodus within Canada before potential solutions can be applied. Doing so will help to increase the effectiveness of approaches adopted and contribute to the greater body of scholarly knowledge. Pursuant to this, some insight on a potential solution pathway is provided below for when adequate research is reached in the Canadian context.

Potential Solutions

Of the articles reviewed, few provide clear solutions for addressing the common challenges of the urban exodus. Malatzky et al. (2020) briefly states that, "[...] place-sensitive policies, strategies and supports for rural communities [...]" (p. 4) are needed to better protect their interests from outside forces. This provides little detail as to how specific issues can be addressed, though it does provide a starting point. Gallent et al. (2023) suggests in the context of managing leisure homes that the interventions employed may include, "[...] land-use policy, planning and other means [...]" (p. 20), though it will be highly situation dependant. Earlier on in Gallent et al.'s (2023) article, it is noted that Powys, UK, examined the use of taxation and planning policies as methods of discouraging the conversion of primary and rental dwellings to leisure dwellings. Depending on the focus of the future solutions being sought, it appears from these examples and earlier analyses that a place-based approach should be developed. Further, it should be viewed from a planning perspective that seeks to achieve its goal(s) through action-oriented objectives developed for the short, mid, and long term.

Conclusion

The present paper sought to comprehend and compare the effects of the pandemic urban exodus in select international contexts with the Canadian context, in order to achieve objectives outlined within the "Impacts of Pandemic Migration to Rural Ontario" research initiative. This was achieved by identifying eight (8) journal articles through selection and validation processes, depicting the urban exodus

in Australia, Spain, the UK, and the US. An analysis of these articles revealed several challenges and opportunities in rural communities that are comparable to findings from the Canadian context, including: a lack of housing availability and affordability, perceived impacts on resources, increased rural-urban tensions, the potential of remote work, and the potential for economic and population revivals. Further investigation revealed that the contexts share common research gaps in regards to exploring planning implications and actionable insights. Most notable is the difference in depth between the pools of literature, highlighting the need for further academic research in the Canadian context before the potential solutions identified can be used and expanded upon.

Though this paper is presently not of much use in addressing the effects of the urban exodus, it can help to further direct the path that future research should adopt. The frequency of which housing, particularly leisure homes, is referenced in the literature supports the findings of Moore et al., (2023) that the matter requires immediate attention. Further, the commonalities in literature gaps emphasize the need for this research to be geared towards practical application in the planning profession to maximize its usefulness. By adopting this direction, it is anticipated that immediate and meaningful impacts to the greater body of knowledge can be attained.



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Appendix

Initial Selection of Literature

Author(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	DOI
Journal Articles				
Arpit Gupta, Vrinda Mittal, Jonas Peeters, & Stijn Van Nieuwerburgh	2022	Flattening the curve: Pandemic-Induced revaluation of urban real estate	Journal of Financial Economics	https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfineco.2021.10.008
Christina Malatzky, Judy Gillespie, Danielle L. Couch, Catherine Cosgrave	2020	Why place matters: A rurally-orientated analysis of COVID-19's differential impacts	Social Sciences & Humanities Open	https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2020.100063
Claire Colomb, Nick Gallent	2022	Post-COVID-19 mobilities and the housing crisis in European urban and rural destinations. Policy challenges and research agenda	Planning Practice & Research	https://doi.org/10.1080/02697459.2022.2119512
Kati Pitkänen, Olga Hannonen, Stefania Toso, Nick Gallent, Iqbal Hamiduddin, Greg Halseth, C. Michael Hall, Dieter K. Müller, Andrey Treivish, Tafianna Nefedova	2020	Second homes during corona - safe or unsafe haven and for whom? Reflections from researchers around the world	Finnish Journal of Tourism Research	https://doi.org/10.33351/mt.97559
Keith Halfacree	2023	Towards a revanchist British rural in post-COVID times? A challenge to those seeking a good countryside	The Geographic Journal	https://doi.org/10.1111/geoj.12549
Nick Gallent, Phoebe Stirling, Iqbal Hamiduddin	2023	Pandemic mobility, second homes and housing market change in a rural amenity area during COVID-19 – The Brecon Beacons National Park, Wales	Progress in Planning	https://doi.org/10.1016/j.progress.2022.100731
Peter B. Nelson, Wright Frost	2023	Migration Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Case Study of New England Showing Movements down the Urban Hierarchy and Ensuing Impacts on Real Estate Markets	The Professional Geographer	https://doi.org/10.1080/00330124.2022.2114092



Author(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	DOI
Todd Denham	2021	The limits of telecommuting: Policy challenges of counterurbanisation as a pandemic response	Geographical Research	https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-5871.12493
Volkan Zogal, Antoni Domènech and Gözde Emekli	2022	Stay at (which) home: second homes during and after the COVID-19 pandemic	Journal of Tourism Futures	https://doi.org/10.1108/JTF-06-2020-0090
Online News & Magazine Articles				
Edward Helmore	2020	So long, New York: pandemic and protests spark new exodus to suburbs	The Guardian	https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jun/12/new-york-exodus-suburbs-remote-working-pandemic-protests
Emma Pollard	2021	Net migration to Australia's regions highest on record, Queensland among the most popular migration destinations	ABC News	https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-05-05/qld-coronavirus-internal-migration-melbourne-lockdown-regional/100114442
Erik Richardson	2022	Does the 'Future of Work' Open a New Growth Horizon for Small Towns?	The Daily Yonder	https://dailyyonder.com/does-the-future-of-work-open-a-new-growth-horizon-for-small-towns-rural-remote-work/2022/04/19/
Hannah Ward-Glenton	2022	Demand for rural homes in Britain drops as pandemic effect fades, report says	CNBC	https://www.cnn.com/2022/12/22/demand-for-rural-homes-in-britain-drops-as-pandemic-effect-fades-report-says.html
Jessica Menton	2020	Get me out of here! Americans flee crowded cities amid COVID-19, consider permanent moves	USA Today	https://www.usatoday.com/story/money/2020/05/01/coronavirus-americans-flee-cities-suburbs/3045025001/
Jane Norman	2023	Young families fuel rural renaissance as inland migration boosts regional towns, data shows	ABC News	https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-03-01/rural-towns-population-boom-fuelled-by-inland-migration/10203



Author(s)	Date	Title	Publisher	DOI
Kevin Peachey	2021	How Covid has changed where we want to live	BBC	https://www.bbc.com/news/business-56359865
Nazmul Ahasan and Gregory Korte	2023	Pandemic Population Boom in Rural Hotspots Sparks Resentment	BNN Bloomberg	https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2023-09-11/pandemic-population-boom-in-rural-hotspots-sparks-resentment
Nick Gallent	2020	COVID-19 and the flight to second homes	Town and County Planning	https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10097441/1/Second%20Homes.pdf
Rosa Rankin-Gee	2020	The Millennial Urban Exodus: Why Are We Leaving Major Cities For Rural Life?	British Vogue	https://www.vogue.co.uk/arts-and-lifestyle/article/urban-exodus
Tom Rabe	2023	'Brain drain' as NSW loses 100,000 people to other Australian states	The Sydney Morning Herald	https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/brain-drain-as-nsw-loses-100-000-people-to-other-australian-states-20230317-p5ct3p.html
Tony Matthews	2020	Regional Australia's time has come – planning for growth is now vital	The Conversation	https://theconversation.com/regional-australias-time-has-come-planning-for-growth-is-now-vital-149170
Opinion Essay				
Richard Florida	2020	The Forces That Will Reshape American Cities	Bloomberg	https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2020-07-02/how-coronavirus-will-reshape-u-s-cities