

Economic Impacts and Future Pathways: COVID-19 in Atlantic Canada

Marlene Chapman, Laurie Brinklow, and Alyssa Gillespie
Institute of Island Studies, University of Prince Edward Island

February 15, 2021

Introduction

Atlantic Canada is made up of four provinces, Nova Scotia (NS), New Brunswick (NB), Prince Edward Island (PEI), and Newfoundland and Labrador (NL), with a total population of 2.44 million. The most populous of the Atlantic Provinces is Nova Scotia at almost 1 million, and the smallest is PEI at just under 160,000 (Statistics Canada, 2021c). Population and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth in the region have been steady over the past decade, with the exception of Newfoundland and Labrador which has experienced contractions (Statistics Canada, 2021a). These decreases are primarily due to NL's reliance on an offshore oil and gas sector that has been impacted by global economics and a hydroelectric megaproject that was mismanaged, leaving the province with billions of dollars in cost overruns and the highest debt-to-GDP ratio in the country (Abdelrahman, 2020; LeBlanc, 2020). Prince Edward Island, on the other hand, has experienced growth well above the national average in both population and GDP, particularly over the last five years.

In terms of socioeconomic status, Atlantic Canada has long been characterized as a 'have-not' part of the country, yet the region is one of the richest in terms of history, culture, and identity. To quote a recent article in the *Financial Post* published after the major airlines suspended flights to the region – an 'untethering', if you will:

Life among the castaways in New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island isn't gloomy. Rather, and dare they say it, the area generally hailed as the very Cradle of Confederation and habitually derided since as a bunch of aging hard-luck cases reliant on federal transfer payments isn't looking at the flight cuts, let alone a lethal virus, as the end of days, but as an opportunity to forge a different future. (O'Connor, 2021)

It is that attitude, shared values, and community cohesion, along with a culture of innovation borne out of necessity, that will ensure a thriving Atlantic Canada in a post-COVID-19 pandemic world.

In regard to managing the COVID-19 pandemic, the region has performed very well. The Atlantic Provinces have among the lowest case rates in the country and only 91 COVID-19-related deaths in the entire region as of February 11, 2021. PEI has the lowest case rate in the country, at 71 per 100,000, compared to a rate of 2,150 per 100,000 nationally. PEI also has no recorded COVID-19 deaths, while Newfoundland and Labrador has 4, New Brunswick 22, and Nova Scotia 65. As of this same date, there have been 21,088 COVID-19 deaths in Canada. The case rates and death counts for Atlantic Canada closely mirror those of Canada's northern territories (Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut), resulting in this group of peripheral Canadian regions having drastically different COVID-19 experiences than the rest of the country (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2021).

Border restrictions, along with tough public health measures implemented early, are believed to be the reasons for the region's success in containing the virus (Gordon, 2020). As of the writing of this report, four of the other ten Canadian provinces have no travel restrictions in place and no self-isolation requirements for domestic travelers, whereas all of the Atlantic Provinces have self-isolation measures in place and all but Nova Scotia continue to prohibit non-essential travel into their province (Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts and Recreation [NL DTCAR], 2020). The region gained nationwide notoriety for its 'Atlantic Bubble', forged after the first wave of the pandemic (Jackson, 2020). Opening on July 3, 2020, the Bubble allowed

residents of the four Atlantic Provinces to travel to the other Atlantic Provinces without having to isolate themselves upon arrival. The low case numbers and the allowances of a Bubble had many viewing Atlantic Canada as “the best place to be right now in Canada” (Petracek & April, 2020). Unfortunately, when cases began to spike in New Brunswick in October, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador pulled from the arrangement and the Bubble was officially put to rest in November 2020 (Grant, 2020; Groff, 2020; A. Walker, 2020). As of the date of this report, the Atlantic Bubble remains closed, causing mixed emotions and many anxiously awaiting its return.

Economic impacts of COVID-19 in Atlantic Canada

The four Atlantic Provinces have effectively slowed the spread of COVID-19 in the region, which has allowed for some economic recovery to take place earlier than in the rest of Canada. However, most of the region’s key trading partners, such as the Canadian provinces of Québec and Ontario, as well as the United States, have not been able to contain the spread as quickly or efficiently. Therefore, the economy of the Atlantic Provinces will remain severely impacted for the foreseeable future.

Employment

The economic contraction in Atlantic Canada was similar to that of the rest of Canada between February and April 2020. In that period, 171,000 jobs were lost in the region, a 4% change in unemployment year-over-year compared to 7.3% nationally (Statistics Canada, 2021b). By July, 61% of those jobs lost were regained, compared to a recovery of 55% of jobs nationally (Atlantic Provinces Economic Council [APEC], 2020b; Statistics Canada, 2021b). The impact on employment has varied across the region. Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick have fared better than other Canadian provinces early on due to quicker containment of COVID-19. This rapid containment allowed for an earlier reopening of their economies (APEC, 2020a; O’Connor, 2021). New Brunswick’s employment recovery slipped in the second half of the year, as they had to increase restrictions after outbreaks in the second wave of COVID-19. Urban areas recovered faster than rural areas; in fact, Atlantic cities outperformed many larger Canadian cities, such as Toronto, Montreal, and Calgary, illustrating the positive relationship between the economy and health directives that contain the spread of COVID-19. Rural areas host several of the industries that have been significantly impacted by the pandemic, such as the primary sector, manufacturing, and construction, which accounts for lagging rural recovery (APEC, 2020h).

Hardest-hit industries

Tourism, seafood, offshore oil, and parts of manufacturing and retail are all still quite far from an economic recovery. Much of this is because international markets are critical for Atlantic Canada’s prosperity. Atlantic exports were valued at 29% of the region’s GDP, supporting over 118,000 jobs. These exports were down 50% in May 2020 as compared to 12 months earlier. In comparison, over this same period, commercial services such as professional and financial services were down only 8% (APEC, 2020d).

Table 1: Atlantic Canada: Hardest-hit Industries Economic Summary (Year-over-year Change 2019–2020)

Sector	% GDP 2019	Revenue decline 2020 (CAD\$)	YOY change 2019 to 2020	Employed 2019
Tourism	2%	\$3.3 billion	- 60%	100,000
Restaurants	0.5%	\$700 million	- 60%	66,000
Retail	2.7%	\$1.6 billion	5% (June)	150,000
Construction	7%	\$3.3 billion	- 26%	85,000
Oil and mining	2.6%	\$1.3 billion	- 20%	17,300
Manufacturing	15%	\$3 billion	-8%	78,000

Tourism

The hardest-hit industry in the Atlantic region is tourism and accommodations, with a contraction of almost 60% or about CAD\$3.3 billion (APEC, 2020d). Tourism is expected to be the slowest industry to recover, and affects several other industries including restaurants, retail, arts, entertainment, and recreation. The tourism industry accounts for 4% of jobs and 2% of GDP across the region, with the highest rates in PEI at 7% and 4%, respectively (APEC, 2020d).

Table 2: Atlantic Canada Tourism Indicators (Year-over-year change 2019–2020)

Province	Accommodation sales	Campsite sales	Domestic visitors	International visitors
New Brunswick ¹	-56%	-21%	-80 to -40%	-80%
Newfoundland and Labrador ²	-57%	n/a	n/a	n/a
Nova Scotia ³	-55%	-40 to -17%	-65%	n/a
Prince Edward Island ⁴	-65%	-38%	-50%	-96%

Sources:

¹http://www2.gnb.ca/content/dam/gnb/Departments/thc-tpc/pdf/RSP/Indicators_Indicateurs/IndicateursDuTourisme2020TourismIndicators.pdf;

²https://www.gov.nl.ca/tcar/files/Tourism-Performance-YTD-Oct-2020_-1Dec2020.pdf;

³<https://tourismns.ca/research/tourism-statistics>;

⁴<https://www.princeedwardisland.ca/sites/default/files/publications/202011tourismindicatorsrptfin4.pdf>

While the Atlantic Bubble lessened the contraction of the region's tourism and accommodations industry, tourists from within Atlantic Canada typically only account for one-half of the region's visitors; and that half typically spends less than the tourists from outside of Atlantic Canada. Taking these factors into account, the overall outlook on contraction across the region is in the range of 30–60% (APEC, 2020c; McEachern, 2021). Tourism statistics and surveys of Atlantic Canadians both indicate a strong preference for outdoor activities and non-commercial accommodations (i.e., staying with family and friends), showing higher levels of comfort when it comes to “walking, biking, and visiting parks and beaches, than with visiting

indoor historic sites, art galleries or museums” (MQO Research, 2020, p. 2). Atlantic Canadians also indicated that they were “more comfortable participating in a tour with their own travel party rather than with others not in their party, and prefer to dine outdoors at restaurants” (MQO Research, 2020, p. 2).

It is important to note, however, that Atlantic Canadians’ predilections for culinary experiences, hiking/walking, beaches, coastal sightseeing, and parks were present prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The loss of other domestic and international travelers has impacted indoor attractions such as historical sites and museums most significantly. One bright spot in the tourism market was golf, which saw a 20% increase in memberships and 15% increase in rounds played. Geoffrey Irving, president of Mill River Resort in PEI, gave the following explanation: “We seem to have a lot of people who were members once upon a time, and whether it was because they were now working less or working from home, they seem to have that extra time to play” (McEachern, 2021).

Achieving this level of tourism activity within the Atlantic Bubble required encouragement and confidence from the respective provincial public health leaders and political leaders, pivoting marketing campaigns to regional markets year-round, and discounting prices (CBC News, 2020e; Vigliotti, 2020). Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador reported that average room rates were down 24% and 13% respectively (Tourism Nova Scotia, n.d.; NL DTCAR, 2020), indicating the level to which operators discounted their properties in hopes of stimulating ‘staycations’ and regional travel. That said, the amount of travel within the region did increase each month through the summer and into the fall of 2020. This progression indicates that these new restrictions and safety protocols have allowed Atlantic Canadians to feel comfortable travelling again (MQO Research, 2020; Tourism Nova Scotia, n.d.)

The two major passenger airlines that service the Atlantic region, Air Canada and WestJet, eliminated many services to the region throughout 2020 and into 2021; WestJet eliminated 80% of its seat capacity and Air Canada closed 2 stations and eliminated 14 routes (NL DTCAR, 2020; Quon, 2020a, 2020b). The Atlantic Canada Airports Association (ACAA) predicted air passenger traffic would take up to four years to recover (APEC, 2020b). This process may be aided by WestJet’s announcement in March 2021 that the airline will be “restoring service to six airports in Eastern Canada [including] flights in and out of Charlottetown, Fredericton, Moncton, Sydney and Quebec City [as well as] service between St. John’s and Toronto” by the end of June (CBC News, 2021g). This is a bright spot for Atlantic Canada as finding ways to safely reopen domestic and international travel are critical for the region’s recovery of tourism and the broader economy.

All of this encouragement from political messages, marketing campaigns, and discounts appears to have worked. On balance, Atlantic Canadians seem to have traveled within the region as much in 2020 as they have in previous tourism seasons. The heaviest losses (50% in accommodations and 60% in indoor attractions) can be accounted for by the aforementioned restriction to travel from outside of the Atlantic Bubble and outside of Canada.

Restaurants

The restaurant and bar industry in Atlantic Canada accounts for 0.5% of the region’s GDP and employed 100,000 people in 2019. Atlantic restaurant and bar sales had a sharp decline of 57% in the first months of the pandemic, but rebounded to 23% below previous year’s sales by July 2020 (APEC, 2020d). This rebound is attributed to innovations by many restaurants — such as

adding online options and changing the dining experience to make customers comfortable — and the ability of the region to ease public safety measures due to low COVID-19 case counts.

Retail

The retail industry employs about 150,000 people in Atlantic Canada, making it the second-largest employer in the region after the health care sector. Atlantic retail sales for March–May 2020 were down by 16% compared to 2019. However, by June when the region was able to ease restrictions, sales were up 5% more than those from 2019 due to the pent-up demand from the earlier period of closure. All four Atlantic provinces saw smaller contractions in retail trade than the national average over the course of the pandemic. Most retail categories saw a decline in sales with clothing stores and large-ticket items like automobiles and furniture being hardest-hit. National online sales grew 60% in 2020 and grocery stores, building materials, and gardening retailers did better than expected as consumers stocked up on food and essentials and invested in home projects and renovations (APEC, 2020c).

Construction

The construction sector contributes about 7% of Atlantic Canada’s total GDP and is the fourth-largest employer in the region. As construction was deemed an essential service during the COVID-19 pandemic, work continued albeit at a lower level as companies adjusted to new rules and health restrictions. Larger projects were delayed, with the largest impact in Newfoundland and Labrador where several energy sector projects have been delayed due to low oil prices and the COVID-19 pandemic (APEC, 2020d).

Real estate

While many economists predicted employment disruptions would negatively impact the Canadian housing market, according to a survey conducted by RE/MAX (2020), a major national real estate agency, the COVID-19 pandemic directly influenced only 6% of Canadians to sell their home. This can be explained by the findings of a national Labour Force Survey which showed that the majority of the job losses due to COVID-19 were either for part-time employment or for individuals in the younger cohort, two labour segments which are less likely to purchase real estate. In Atlantic urban centres, housing activity has been driven primarily by out-of-province buyers and ‘move-up’ buyers who have either expedited retirement plans or found themselves working from home. According to the Canadian Real Estate Association, home prices are up strongly in the Atlantic cities of Moncton (NB), Halifax (NS), and Charlottetown (PEI), but also in rural areas such as Nova Scotia’s South Shore, Cape Breton Island (NS), and northern New Brunswick (Siatchinov et al., 2020).

With the narrowing of the tourist market, demand for short-term rentals is down and average rental prices have decreased which has potential to push down prices for condominiums in cities. As a result, new housing construction has also slowed throughout the region, especially in Newfoundland and Labrador. The exception to this trend is Prince Edward Island, where the number of new projects has risen 13% from 2019, led by the construction of new apartment buildings (APEC, 2020d).

Oil and mining

The oil and mining sector in Atlantic Canada experienced an estimated 20% contraction in the spring of 2020. Low oil prices and weak global demand have put the oil sector at risk in

Newfoundland and Labrador (APEC, 2020b). There are nearly 17,300 people employed in Atlantic Canada's oil and mining sector (about 1.5% of total regional employment), the majority of which (55%) are located in Newfoundland and Labrador. Weak oil prices have led to a decline in capital spending, a slowing of planned production, and a deferral of exploration. The immediate impact and the lost future revenue for firms and governments are substantial (APEC, 2020c).

Manufacturing

Atlantic Canada's manufacturing sector provides about 7% of all employment and almost 15% of GDP in the region. Manufacturing was deemed an essential service in Atlantic Canada through the COVID-19 pandemic, but those who continued to operate were faced with reduced productivity in order to comply with health directives, and some large operations temporarily stopped or scaled back production. The impact has been felt in several sub-sectors. For example, Irving Shipbuilding laid off 60% of workers in March, an oil refinery in Newfoundland and Labrador closed, and aerospace exports are down; the latter particularly impacted PEI. Demand for live seafood collapsed with the closures of dining rooms and cancellation of cruise ship arrivals, and seafood exports contracted 24% in the second quarter of 2020. Commodities such as lumber, frozen blueberries, and fresh potatoes, however, saw year-over-year export gains (APEC, 2020e).

A number of manufacturers were able to pivot production to personal protective equipment (PPE) during this period. Early in the COVID-19 pandemic, the federal Canadian government partnered with eight organizations to supply medical-related goods, including two in Atlantic Canada. Irving Oil began producing hand sanitizer for a federal contract valued at CAD\$5 million, and Stanfield's Ltd., which had initially laid off 200 employees, was able to hire most back after agreeing to supply medical gowns and masks using locally sourced material. The National Research Council also provided some funding that enabled MacKenzie Atlantic, a metal fabrication company in Nova Scotia, to produce face shields and Top Dog Manufacturing in PEI to produce medical gowns. In Top Dog's case, they had to add more work shifts to meet demand for this new product (APEC, 2020e). A number of additional examples are presented in subsequent sections of this report.

Disproportionately impacted groups

Low-wage earners

Low-wage earners have been among the hardest-hit demographic in Atlantic Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic. Employment for wage earners under \$15/hr went down 39% year-over-year in April 2020, while employment for jobs paying more than \$15/hr declined by just 8%. Further, while employment in jobs paying over \$15/hr fully recovered by September 2020, low-wage employment (<\$15/hr) remained 18% below 2019 levels. Many low-wage earners are persons under the age of 25 and those without a post-secondary education. Many of these jobs are in tourism-related industries: accommodations, retail, and food service (APEC, 2020g). The recovery of these industries — and, therefore, these jobs — is not expected for a number of years. Interventions of continued interim support programs, retraining, and industry stimulus are recommended in the final section of this report to mitigate the economic damage to this demographic.

Youth

Young people have found themselves in a further precarious position; they have shown to be high-risk transmitters of COVID-19 with relatively minimal symptoms or likelihood of becoming ill. Despite the fact that youth have not been classified as vulnerable, their lives – and, consequently, their health – have been severely impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic (Cooke, 2021). In spite of grants and various targeted government support programs (Abraham, 2020), young people find themselves struggling to acclimate (Snell, 2020). Several universities in the Atlantic region have seen higher levels of enrollment than what was anticipated at the onset of the pandemic. Unfortunately, online education has proven challenging for many students due to the elimination of in-person labs and lack of access to their professors and peers. The lack of high-speed internet can also pose a challenge for students in rural communities (APEC, 2020g; Weeden & Kelly, 2020).

Across Atlantic Canada, there is resounding evidence that the youth and student populations are suffering from poor mental health. In Nova Scotia, there has been a spike in youth engaging with the Kids Help Phone service (Price, 2020), and Newfoundland and Labrador have reported deteriorating mental health among their youth as a result of job losses (Bird, 2020). In light of this, Children First Canada has been working to raise awareness on the impacts of the pandemic on children and youth during COVID-19. In New Brunswick, children's advocates are working to ensure schools stay open as long as possible in order to protect children's rights to education and socialization (Child and Youth Advocate, 2020; Fortnum, 2020; Lachance & Stuebing, 2020). New Brunswick is not alone; there has been a notable increase in attention drawn to protecting the rights and well-being of children and youth during the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. In PEI, there are exemptions to isolation requirements for interprovincial co-parenting as children "required to self-isolate [after each visit] would experience a detrimental impact" (PEI Justice and Public Safety, 2021). Likewise, the Nova Scotia College of Social Work delivered an open letter to the province's Premier, Minister of Community Service, and Chief Medical Officer outlining steps they believe would best protect vulnerable children and youth (Stratford, 2020).

Despite active measures, New Brunswick officials have struggled to connect with their young people. Specifically targeted content has been shared on social media platforms such as TikTok to garner the attention of New Brunswick youth and provide them with the facts of COVID-19. The content has been critiqued by young people and experts alike as being "too general" and "repetitive" (Silberman, 2021b). Even though experts warn against patronizing and fear-mongering, the province's Chief Medical Health Officer was quoted as saying, "a large number of young people who have contracted the virus ... have spread it to others by going to gatherings while infectious," and wants residents "to start thinking of the consequences of their actions" (Van Horne & Brown, 2021).

Nova Scotia faces a similar disconnect between youth and officials. In November 2020, then-Premier McNeil called out young people of the province for "living as if COVID-19 doesn't exist" (CBC News, 2020i). One 22-year-old resident spoke against this suggestion, claiming that it has created a divide between age groups and that shaming young people would only make them less willing to cooperate and get tested (CBC News, 2020i). Public health workers have also noticed that shaming young people has contributed to a reluctance among Nova Scotian youth to listen to the advice (Smith, 2021).

In contrast, in Prince Edward Island, youth have been celebrated for their cooperativeness (CBC News, 2020j; Gomersall, 2021). In PEI, students were initially critiqued by

Premier King for their reliance on the Canada Emergency Student Benefit (CESB), and some international post-secondary students found themselves stranded on the Island struggling to find jobs and afford basic necessities (Thibodeau, 2020; Zavrise, 2020). Despite the criticism, the 20–29 age demographic followed government recommendations and showed their support to vulnerable communities. After an outbreak of unknown source in December 2020, the Chief Public Health Officer requested all Charlottetown area residents in their 20s be tested for COVID-19. Within days, more than 4,000 young people turned up at testing sites – a much greater number than PEI’s health officials had prepared for (CBC News, 2020j; MacKay, 2020).

Women

Women are also experiencing the COVID-19 pandemic relatively more intensely than men. Employment losses have been consistently larger for women than men by a few percentage points. In Atlantic Canada, women hold nearly 60% of jobs in industries closely tied to tourism. Therefore, recovery of employment for women is likely to lag behind that of men. There is also evidence of working women bearing disproportionate stresses due to shifting responsibilities both at work and at home (APEC, 2020g). Women are more often employed in front-line roles, carrying the extra burden of contact with the public and the risk of becoming infected. Closures of schools, day cares, in-home cleaning services, and food service all added to the responsibilities of working mothers, particularly single parents (Drake & Daboo, 2020; Yarr, 2020c).

Additionally, women often find themselves in caregiver roles, and are experiencing ‘caregiver fatigue’ as respite services have been scaled back to prevent the spread of the virus (MacKinnon, 2021). In *Gender and COVID-19 in Prince Edward Island*, a report released by the PEI Advisory Council on the Status of Women in October 2020, Council members chronicled these experiences in the hopes they would not be repeated. As the Council’s Executive Director put it,

It felt like those old defaults, like, who takes care of emotional work, who takes care of the laundry, who takes care of the cleaning, that had become more balanced over time, all of a sudden when we were all stuck in our homes, their perception was that it came back to women. (Yarr, 2020c, para. 5)

One of the interviewees in the report drove the point home in saying, "We're not set up to be full-time caregiving and full-time working – that was the main thing ... I think it really exposed who is carrying the weight in our society, and are we taking care of them?" (Yarr, 2020c, para. 15).

Indigenous communities

Indigenous communities in Canada were already worse off than most others before the COVID-19 pandemic and were described as living in ‘third-world conditions’, lacking access to clean water and adequate housing, with high rates of chronic disease and systemic discrimination (Coletta, 2018). These issues have become even more threatening to the lives of Indigenous Canadians during the pandemic (Somos, 2021). Multiple generations – and sometimes multiple families – living in one home makes containing the virus extremely difficult, comorbidities make the health risk associated with the virus dire, and lack of access to health care resources further complicates an already precarious situation (APEC, 2020c). Indigenous youth who rely on cultural practices and group events for healing have been hard hit due to ceremonial events and sacred practices not being held, retraumatizing families who suffered from these practices being outlawed in Canada in previous generations (Yousif, 2021).

Over the past decades, many Indigenous communities have been successfully growing their own economies. However, the COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in lower revenues with especially large impacts in fishing, hospitality, gaming, and tourism for Indigenous businesses. It is estimated that these community revenues will decline by roughly 40% in 2020–2021. According to a survey commissioned by the Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nations Chiefs Secretariat (APEC, 2020c), almost half of Atlantic First Nations businesses expect a drop of 50% or more in revenues due to COVID-19, compared to 30% for all Atlantic businesses.

In addition to these specific challenges, Indigenous community governments have less access to financing for deficits because they are not allowed to use reserve land as collateral. Additionally, business and individual eligibility for federal or provincial support is often compromised because many Indigenous Canadians are tax exempt and may not file a tax return, which is typically a requirement for government support (APEC, 2020c).

Gig economy

The so-called ‘gig economy’ workers – self-employed and contract workers, artists, and those working in the creative industries – have been among the hardest-hit by the lockdowns and public health measures (e.g., physical distancing, gathering restrictions). These measures have resulted in a torrent of cancellations of projects and performances. Statistics Canada data shows that the percentage of gig workers in the labour force is steadily increasing, but that in 2016 the median net gig income was “a mere CAD\$4,303.00” (Subramaniam, 2020). With no employer to fall back on, and most living gig-to-gig, these Canadians have had to rely on federal government support such as the Canadian Emergency Response Benefit (CERB), created in the early days of the pandemic as a guaranteed-income safety net. Even so, the program initially discriminated against gig economy workers and was later adjusted due to backlash (Samfiru Tumarkin LLP Employment Lawyers, 2020). In December 2020, the federal government announced that many who received CERB payments might have to pay the money back after the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) had deemed they were ineligible. Many gig workers stated that they had applied in good faith after receiving conflicting eligibility criteria from CRA staff, and their claims have since been authenticated (Zimonjic & Cullen, 2020). Additionally, Atlantic Canadians were reminded that if they use their vehicle for delivery purposes, they would not be covered by their insurers (“Are you covered”, 2021). For the creative industries, some important relief has come through arts organizations receiving government funding to employ artists and musicians to create (mostly online) programming throughout the ongoing pandemic (Watson, 2020).

A survey conducted in June 2020 by the *Singapore Times* (MacDonald, 2020), which asked people to rate their most- and least-essential jobs, found artists to be deemed the least essential. In response, well-known New Brunswick musician J.P. Cormier (2020) posted an impassioned letter on Facebook describing how musicians have been devalued over the years, stating that the pandemic has simply exposed a pre-existing bias. Cormier disclosed that, during the pandemic, he has been asked to perform for 80% less than he would normally receive pre-pandemic. The lifeline for Cormier – and many artists in Atlantic Canada – has been to pivot to online performances, where audiences ‘pay what they can’. Because of audience generosity, J.P. Cormier has been able to survive the pandemic and maintain his faith that humanity recognizes the role that music plays in people’s happiness and well-being. He points to the irony: “the very medium that completely decimated the record companies by making music basically free [the internet], is now a major lifeline for us AND our fans and supporters”

(Cormier, 2020). As many have noted, it has been the creative industries that have gotten many people through the COVID-19 pandemic: books, Netflix, video games, and music have all been a connection, a comfort, and an inspiration during trying times.

Resilience factors and assets

Here, we view 'resilience' as a process of adapting, as opposed to an ability to 'bounce back' to a previous state. A return to a pre-pandemic state would be a return to the conditions that created the problems that we currently face and is, therefore, not desirable (Kelman, 2021). Further, the resilience factors and assets examined are considered superior to others; what is considered an asset in one context is often a liability in another, and vice versa. Such is the case for health care in peripheral places, for example. Typically, we view small communities as lacking personnel and equipment. However, in the case of the COVID-19 pandemic, small communities were more able to close borders against the virus than larger communities (Kelman, 2021).

Government supports

In regard to resilience in Atlantic Canada, it seems pertinent to first acknowledge the actions taken by the federal and provincial governments to provide financial support for individuals, businesses, and non-governmental organizations. Their quick and ongoing support has allowed the vast majority of society to continue functioning. While the bailout is massive and the end of it is unclear, so far economists feel that the spending is manageable, as Canada was in a good financial position prior to the COVID-19 pandemic (APEC, 2020b). Newfoundland and Labrador is in a more precarious position, owing to the province's high debt, but will most likely be able to lean on the federation to see them through. Inevitably, Canadians will be paying for these deficit-financed bailouts in higher tax rates or reduced spending for years to come.

Small business

A mix of loan and tax payment deferrals, wage subsidy, rent relief, and funding for safety measures point to a complex ecosystem that both stimulates and supports small business and involves all levels of government. Statistics Canada reported in December 2018 that 97.9% of business employment in the country comes from small businesses, 1.9% from medium-sized businesses, and 0.2% from large businesses (Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada, 2019).

There are myriad examples of entrepreneurship and innovation in this sector, painting a picture of a sector that not only showcases ingenuity but a sense of community and altruism. Tourism Nova Scotia has created a website titled "Industry Innovation and Inspiration" with summaries of 55 inspiring innovations across the province (Ntim, 2020). These innovative pivots range from making masks and hand sanitizer, to online and delivery options, including the inventive "online wine tasting and trivia" combination. Getting food and meals into the hands of front-line workers or those who are impacted by income loss is a common theme among pubs, restaurants, growers, and retailers, with many of their initiatives including a component of monetary or food donations to local food banks. The success story of Nova Scotia's My Home Apparel is an exemplar of such fund-raising by small enterprises. This Truro-based apparel company has raised almost CAD\$100,000 for charity with their "Stay the Blazes Home" T-shirts.

Another small-town Nova Scotian business, Ignite Labs, has received attention for its thoughtful contribution to the pandemic (Ntim, 2020). A start-up itself, Ignite supports other start-ups by making use of 3D printers for prototyping. The COVID-19 pandemic has prompted a shift in gears for Ignite, making PPE with their printers and even going so far as to create 'ear savers' to alleviate irritation that many frontline workers experience from wearing masks for long hours, day after day. According to their own Facebook page (<http://facebook.com/Igniteatlantic>), more than 600 health care workers benefited from Ignite's "game-changing" ear saver in one week. Beyond that, Ignite Labs recognized the importance of the safety of workers in other local industries and quickly started producing PPE for them. In the words of the owner of IMO Foods, Phil LeBlanc, "These shields were sold out locally and online, so having Ignite use their in-house technology to produce face shields locally on demand, virtually in minutes – not weeks on backorder – is sort of unbelievable." Another player in this community-minded business ecosystem is their local Credit Union, which provided funding to support the production of the ear savers. In the words of their CEO, "How well we cooperate with one another will impact the outcome of this pandemic significantly. It was great to see Ignite and others step up and repurpose themselves during this pandemic. It's a great example of leadership and community spirit" (Comeau, 2020).

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, LuminUltra, a New Brunswick-based company known for their water-testing technology, had carved out a niche in the global market with customers as far away as Australia. When their CEO heard the Canadian Prime Minister issue a call to action in March 2020 for companies to help the country, he quickly realized that his company's technology could be transferred from water testing to virus testing. After receiving Health Canada approval for its rapid-test kits in December, LuminUltra, now at 115 employees, has been shipping 500,000 units per week (O'Connor, 2021).

In Saint Andrews, NB, Sunbury Shores Arts and Nature Centre found a new way to keep art alive and stay connected to the community through their "Artist in the Window" initiative. During the COVID-19 pandemic, local artists began taking turns spending a few days each working on a piece of art from inside the window of the art gallery, where passersby could be reminded of and feel inspired by the creative industries. "It allows people to come by, say hello ... because a lot of other places are closed," says artist Renate Roske-Shelton (Ntim, 2020).

A number of Indigenous communities across the Atlantic region are tackling food insecurity by creating and operating their own geothermal greenhouses that can produce fresh food year-round. According to a spokesperson, on-reserve food options are limited and well-stocked grocery stores can be fifty-plus kilometers away, leaving some communities to rely on local convenience stores for sustenance. In addition to making fresh local food more accessible in these communities, this geothermal project is also providing employment for those who have lost jobs due to the COVID-19 pandemic (D. Edwards, 2020).

An example of crises being the birthplace of innovation is *NL Eats*, which started as a Facebook page for showcasing local cuisine and evolved to become a food bank that also delivers. The shift happened after a conversation around the family dinner table where the group were feeling grateful for the good food they had to eat and wondered what they could do to help other people (Walsh, 2020) – and help they have. In the words of one of the family members, "We were reliant on a food bank once upon a time when we first came here ... so we started the food bank and over the year things just snowballed into a lot more stuff" (CBC News, 2021c, para. 5). The idea started as a six-person operation out of their garage, and now serves more than 1,300 people with the horsepower of 150 volunteers.

To be sure, this characteristic of entrepreneurship combined with caring for others is indeed a part of Atlantic Canadian culture. This could not be expressed more sweetly or sincerely than by two ten-year-old entrepreneurs who were “upset that people can’t come to PEI because of the Corona virus [sic]” and created a business to “bring PEI to you” (CBC Prince Edward Island, 2020). These young boys busied themselves making and selling PEI care packages so that people wouldn’t miss out on the aspects of the Island the boys loved most: the “amazing views” and various PEI memorabilia beautifully captured on video (CBC Prince Edward Island, 2020).

A key theme of a recent case study on rural Atlantic Canada’s response to COVID-19 (Hall & Vinodrai, 2020) was the active role of various chambers of commerce and business associations in not only advocating for their membership in regard to government policy and support, but also in creating campaigns to engage customers. Examples of ‘buy local’ campaigns can be found in Cape Breton Island (NS), Saint Andrews (NB), and Charlottetown (PEI). Cape Breton relaunched their ‘shop local’ program, #CapeBretonFirst, in multiple languages, including merchandise and a partnership that gives back to a local organization that supports individuals with complex challenges due to disabilities. To make customers feel safer while shopping, Saint Andrews’ downtown blocked parking through their main street to create wider sidewalks and allow businesses to expand out into the sidewalk. They marketed the area as “safe and open for tourists” and the pilot project was enthusiastically received (Hall & Vinodrai, 2020). The Charlottetown Chamber is taking a bit of a different tack, asking Islanders to commit to making 10% of their annual spending “local” (<http://lovelocalpei.ca>). According to the Charlottetown Chamber CEO, local businesses recirculate \$45 of \$100 back into the local economy and a 10% shift would “support 460 new jobs and contribute approximately \$16 million in wages to Islanders” (CBC News, 2021a).

Maritime culture and islandness

Throughout history, islands have played an important role in understanding disease control and the COVID-19 pandemic is no different. Much of any island’s success has to do with a little-known but innately grasped concept of ‘islandness’. Because islands are part of the make-up of Atlantic Canada and play a major role in the consciousness of Atlantic Canadians, it is important to look at how islandness has helped Atlantic Canada weather the COVID-19 pandemic. Indeed, the aforementioned Atlantic Bubble formed a metaphorical island of Canada’s East coast.

In a time of global pandemic where viruses have no regard for borders, islands have an advantage: a natural geographic boundary, the water. Physical distancing comes naturally to islands. The ‘moat’ effect of being surrounded by water means access is limited to specific entry points: ports, marinas, ferry terminals, airports, and bridges – which means screening sites can be set up to try to keep the virus out. Thus, islands with strong and effective governance structures, the ability to control their borders and create “made-on-the-island solutions”, and the power to enact them, are more likely to withstand the COVID-19 pandemic than those without (Brinklow & Whitten Henry, 2020).

Islands, and the Atlantic region, are known for having relatively tight-knit social structures, small populations, and an ability to pull together in the face of adversity. This rich social capital and ‘lifeboat mentality’ enables islands to demonstrate resilience in the face of external threats. Smaller population size and strong community connections have allowed for successful contact tracing which has proven invaluable in controlling community spread of

COVID-19 thus far. However, a downside of these strong community bonds is xenophobia, a characteristic that has reared its head in the Atlantic Provinces and will be discussed in the subsequent section of this report.

Other aspects of Atlantic Canadian culture have shone through during this crisis and served the region well. As expressed in one *Financial Post* article,

East Coasters by nature aren't much for boasting. They are indeed a pretty laid-back bunch, which is part of the region's charm. But their secret – making money, innovating, being able to afford a house and never getting stuck in traffic – is bound to get out. (O'Connor, 2021)

This long-standing culture of 'ingenuity out of necessity' has allowed many businesses in the region to turn their vulnerability into opportunity, mitigating their losses by getting creative with their businesses.

The communities of Atlantic Canada also found ways to adapt their culture and strengthen their community ties through technology. Some examples of this include hosting online kitchen parties (R. MacEachern, 2020), online readings of *Anne of Green Gables* to raise money for musicians (*The Guardian*, 2020), and CBC Newfoundland's "Far From Home Series" (White, 2020). Another recent development in online culture is a growing community of 'content creators' celebrating sea shanties, something most Atlantic Canadians have grown up with (Belmonte, 2021). A Newfoundland singer-songwriter who spoke to this viral trend is Séan McCann, who studied folklore at Memorial University. McCann explains that, historically, "shanties tend to rise in popularity 'during times of duress, and pressure'" (DeMont, 2021). While the COVID-19 crisis has highlighted the role of culture for "cohesion...and mental wellbeing" (de Luca et al., 2020), no one knows the long-term implications of these shifts to online forums for the characteristically tight-knit residents of small communities (Kelman, 2021).

The Atlantic region also has a track record of high levels of participation in civic duties such as voting (Statistics Canada, 2020c) and immunization (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2020). One could suggest that this sense of duty has translated into compliance with COVID-19 health care directives. Generosity is another established aspect of the region's culture, as captured in volunteering and donations statistics (Turcotte, 2015). The pandemic has seen frequent reports of generosity through stories of volunteer "angels" in New Brunswick delivering care packages (Silberman, 2021a), countless food donations (Tourism Nova Scotia, 2020), books for newcomers (Davis, 2020), friendship programs with seniors (Winkie, 2020), and many others.

Population growth

Population growth is also helping Atlantic Canada weather the COVID-19 storm. Overall, population and GDP growth in the region have been steady over the past decade but, when viewed provincially, we find that PEI has outperformed the rest of the country – especially in the last five years – while NL has experienced contractions (Statistics Canada, 2021a).

Urban areas in the region have been growing, largely due to immigration and a slowing of outmigration, while rural areas continue to have net population declines. More people have been remaining in Atlantic Canada over the last decade because of its recently diversified economy, increased employment opportunities, lower housing prices, and access to nature. People have also been moving into the Atlantic region since the onset of COVID-19, as it is seen as a 'safe' area. In fact, net interprovincial migration to the Atlantic Provinces was over 1,200 in the second quarter of 2020, up from 600 in the same quarter in 2019 (APEC, 2020h).

Immigration in Atlantic Canada has been stimulated by government programs, and employment among this population has, for the most part, mirrored that of the rest of Canada during the COVID-19 pandemic. This suggests that the Atlantic region is not uniquely vulnerable to the impacts of the current pandemic (APEC, 2020g). Even though much of the Atlantic immigrant population is expected to eventually make its way to large cities, there are cases in the Atlantic region where the rural immigrant population is booming. In Miramichi, NB, immigration went from single digits to 300 new immigrants between 2018 and 2020. This growth is attributed to the community “embracing the idea of newcomers and welcoming them” (CBC News, 2021b). Craig Mackie, Director of the PEI Association for Newcomers to Canada, describes the importance of immigration in PEI in this excerpt: “Beyond dollars, immigration has brought us diversity in terms of people, culture, languages, and especially food. Immigration has also given us a broader global view that has connected PEI to the rest of the world” (Community Foundation of Prince Edward Island & Institute of Island Studies, 2019, p. 21). While immigration has dropped off for 2020–2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the federal government announced that it would be raising its immigration targets over the next three years to compensate for the slower flows this year (APEC, 2020h), which bodes well for the region.

Diversified economy

A diversified economy has been a strength for Atlantic Canada in light of the COVID-19 pandemic. Segments such as financial services, professional services, transportation, IT, food production, and the public sector have suffered less than other segments. If a crisis of the same nature as the COVID-19 pandemic were to have taken place in the 1980s or earlier, this region would most likely have been more severely impacted economically due to its high dependence on farming, fishing, forestry, and tourism. Since then, Atlantic Canada’s economy has diversified (Government of Prince Edward Island, 2021).

The Atlantic region has fared well in securing public service jobs by leveraging its ‘have not’ status to lobby for federal government service centres to be located in the region to provide employment. For every 1,000 people, Newfoundland and Labrador has 109 public sector workers, Nova Scotia has 99, Prince Edward Island has 95, and New Brunswick has 85 (Moore, 2021). To date, there have not been any pandemic-related cuts to the public service in the region. Innovative sectors, including the digital economy, clean technology, aerospace, and biosciences, are also doing well. The bioscience sector of PEI added 200 jobs since the COVID-19 pandemic began and seven companies are planning expansions (CBC News, 2021e). PAL Group of Companies, a New Brunswick–based conglomerate employing 1,500 Atlantic Canadians, finds that its aerospace arm is booming, and global instability and geopolitical turmoil bode well for its surveillance business (O’Connor, 2021). According to Brendan Brothers, the co-founder of St. John’s, NL, digital security company Verafin, which recently sold to Nasdaq for US\$2.75 billion, this is just the beginning for Newfoundland and Labrador’s technology sector. He says that his company’s recent sale “... creates some fuel in the ecosystem, which has already been bubbling here for quite some time,” referring to a group of tech companies doing “interesting things” in St. John’s (CBC News, 2021d).

Changes in economic opportunities and changes in perspectives and mindsets

From 'have not' to 'have'

It is no surprise that several people interviewed for the *Financial Post* article on Atlantic Canada commented that the region's cohesion — a legacy from its history, geography, and perceived socioeconomic status as a 'basketcase' — create a metaphorical island and will mitigate the 'untethering' of Atlantic Canada from the rest of the country. As one interviewee noted, "One of the biggest challenges that we face right now is the shackles of our region's past, where we have fallen into a trap of thinking that we are restrained, cut off, isolated, poor, unsuccessful and unable to achieve great things" (O'Connor, 2021). Similarly, a commentator from Newfoundland and Labrador noted,

The comparative success of Atlantic Canada in dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic has gone little remarked in the national media. I put this down to willful ignorance. How to square our 'culture of defeat' with our occasional success has always stumped the mainland. It's hard for a hack in Toronto to see political leaders in Newfoundland and Labrador defer to science and medical expertise while Ontario's leadership defers to spin studios. (Riche, 2021)

While numerous media articles suggest that the rest of Canada is oblivious to the success of the Atlantic region during the pandemic, it clearly isn't lost on everyone, as net interprovincial migration continues to rise, with a 100% increase in 2020 over 2019 (APEC, 2020g). Altogether, the region's GDP is about CAD\$130 billion, making it the fifth-largest economic player in Canada. At the premiers' table, the Atlantic premiers constitute 4 out of 10 voices, which is highly disproportionate to their population. As Dominic Cardy, New Brunswick's Minister of Education and Early Childhood Development, says, "There is never going to be another opportunity like this. This is a time for us to figure out what we want to do — and get to it." According to Cardy, the alternative is holding on to what he calls "stodgy economic development plans" and giving tax dollars to the same companies that have always received them. Further, Jake Trainor, Chief Executive of the regional air carrier PAL, notes, "We are extremely optimistic about the future of Atlantic Canada" (O'Connor, 2021).

Health

In 2020, millions of Canadians experienced increased feelings of isolation, anxiety, and depression; calls to crisis lines doubled, and the demand for mental health services remains at an all-time high (Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, 2020). Atlantic Canada has the highest rate of diagnosed depression in all of Canada (Bell, 2020). Yet, despite the mental health implications of COVID-19, Atlantic Canadians reported less of a decline in their overall life satisfaction than western Canadians during the pandemic (Statistics Canada, 2020a). This could perhaps be attributed to Atlantic Canadians being more accustomed to being out of work, spending time with family, and working around the house. More generally speaking, it seems that through the broad encouragement from public health officials and 'influencers' to be aware of one's mental health and to stay healthy in the face of isolation and uncertainty, we may be witnessing significant inroads in destigmatizing and normalizing experiences of anxiety, depression, and loneliness as evident in social media, local media coverage, and the increased engagement with support programs like phone lines.

Increased focus on wellness and prevention are also having economic impacts in the bioscience sector of PEI, which has experienced significant growth during the COVID-19 pandemic. While some product lines such as cough lozenges have taken a dive due to the apparent absence of a typical cold and flu season, sales for items like multivitamins are spiking (CBC News, 2021e).

Leisure and recreation

The shifts in how people are spending leisure and recreation time during the COVID-19 pandemic has many wondering about the potential for long-term changes in consumer preferences. There is plenty of evidence of massive increases in sales for gardening; home improvement; baking; seasonal outdoor recreation items such as kayaks, paddle boards, snowshoes, skis; and pastimes such as puzzles and crafts (MacLeod, 2020). Atlantic Canadians have also been spending more time with family, communing with nature, and exploring their own provinces. There has been an “explosion of people” on remote New Brunswick trails, and 57% of Newfoundland and Labradorians planned an overnight trip in their home province (Fowler, 2021; NL DTCAR, 2020). PEI was a proof point of changing tourism and culture with its popular offerings in small venues and a circuit of outdoor movies and live entertainment (CBC News, 2020d; de Luca et al., 2020; Friend, 2020; Stewart, 2020). A waterfront restaurant in Halifax, NS, has now had to hire back its entire staff, and patrons are booking months in advance after the overwhelming popularity of its cozy, outdoor dining huts – which will be repurposed as greenhouses in the spring to grow their own fresh herbs and vegetables for the kitchen (CBC News, 2021f). These examples point to new directions for tourism and leisure, with tastes moving towards exclusive and curated experiences. Advocates of sustainable tourism are hoping that these experiences will lead more people to

question the consumerism and capitalistic lens that has contributed to mass growth across the touristic landscape and, instead, choose a system that fosters sustainable and equitable growth – which, in turn, ‘slows down’ our ways of consuming the world around us. (Benjamin et al., 2020, p. 483)

Insider-outsider

The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the insider-outsider tensions within Atlantic Canada through the rise in confrontations and conflict with seasonal residents (Kingdon, 2020; VOCM, 2020) and rotational workers (Harding, 2020; Pineau, 2020; C. Smith, 2020). Some have taken to publicly shaming their own community members on issues like wearing masks (Van Horne et al., 2021; Larter, 2020). But, for the most part, shaming appears to be reserved for ‘outsiders’. Prior to its closing, Atlantic Canadians were not keen on expanding the Bubble beyond their Atlantic neighbours (MacKinnon, 2020) and many in the four provinces were not shy about making these insider-outsider tensions known (Battis & Jones, 2020).

This animosity was evident in PEI, where accounts of “licence-plate shaming” were widespread in the media (CBC News, 2020c; P. Edwards, 2020; The Canadian Press, 2020; Wright, 2020). These stories have had negative implications for the tourism industry and PEI’s reputation as the “gentle” and hospitable Island (A. MacEachern, 2020; Yarr, 2020a, 2020b). In PEI in June 2020, seasonal residents (many of whom had Island relatives and/or owned summer homes on PEI) were allowed to return, provided they self-isolated for 14 days upon arrival. They were monitored daily and, where appropriate, tested for COVID-19 (CBC News, 2020a). Although this move was met with some opposition, it was defended as allowing “home”

those who were really “Islanders in spirit” (CBC News, 2020b; Randall et al., 2021). Island Studies researchers have commented on social bonding capital versus social bridging capital: “island cultures tend to be very good at maintaining tight social networks but not as skilled at building bridges to include others” (Jenkins, 2020). In New Brunswick, people with Ontario plates found that locals were “rude” and “presumptuous” (K. Walker, 2020), while one visitor from Québec warned others away after an unkind confrontation (Silberman, 2020). In light of this, some visitors (or even residents who happen to have out-of-province plates) have taken to putting notes on their own cars explaining their presence in hopes of avoiding confrontation or property damage (J. Smith, 2020).

In Newfoundland and Labrador, these tensions are visible in the form of protests and a lawsuit. Residents of Newfoundland and Labrador have enjoyed unrestricted access to the Lower North Shore of Québec during the pandemic, but, conversely, North Shore residents were not able to visit their second homes in NL. This situation led to protests that blocked the Québec Ferry Terminal (CBC News, 2020f). With regard to the aforementioned lawsuit, a woman has sued the province – on the basis of discrimination – for not granting her entrance to attend her mother’s funeral (Bradbury, 2020).

Some rotational workers in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island worry that when they return home their fellow community members may view them as potentially high-risk carriers. In Nova Scotia, stories of threatening and shaming rotational workers became so widespread that the province’s Chief Medical Officer felt inclined to make a statement on the need for compassion among the public (Groff, 2021). One rotational worker reported feeling “hated” both while working in Alberta and upon returning home to PEI (Harding, 2020). That said, other rotational workers in PEI see the frequent COVID-19 tests and rounds of isolation, while inconvenient and mentally draining, as a way for them to support their community and play their role in keeping PEI safe (Mayich, 2021; C. Smith, 2020).

Housing

High vacancy rates in offices, hotels, and short-term rentals are putting downward pressure on rents and leases amid community tensions over rising housing prices and lack of affordable housing (Deschamps, 2021; MacInnis, 2020). One might hope that it is only a matter of time before more organizations put two and two together. Such was the case for the John Howard Society in Fredericton which created a plan to convert the underutilized City Motel on Regent Street into a multipurpose facility containing 20 affordable housing units, 12 peer-supported units, and a 24-bed emergency homeless shelter. At first, the project seemed assured as the initial planning advisory committee approved the project (Bird, 2021a). Unfortunately, at the following city council meeting, City Council voted against funding the project, believing it was not the City’s place to fund housing projects (Bird, 2021b). After public outcry against this decision, the Fredericton City Council rescinded the decision and passed a motion to extend a \$900,000 funding offer to the City Motel affordable housing project. However, they included some clauses that the John Howard Society was hesitant to accept, such as preventing them from pursuing any auxiliary sources of funding. With or without the City Council funding, it appears that the John Howard Society intends to go through with the project to mitigate the housing crisis (Brown, 2021).

The number of people working from home increased dramatically during the initial COVID-19 shutdown, demonstrating for many that remote work is, indeed, possible. Most companies continue to have a high share of remote work and many anticipate continuing this

practice after the pandemic (Statistics Canada, 2020b). This shift may present an opportunity for rural regions to attract urban residents from within the region, as well as attract those who have left the region earlier for employment who would now be able to work remotely from rural areas (Fürst & Eibner, 2021). As a result of these trends in employment, housing preferences are changing. Increased space has become a prominent buyer demand, with detached homes serving as the most popular home type in cities like Moncton (NB), Saint John (NB), and Charlottetown (PEI) – a trend that is expected to persist in 2021 (RE/MAX, 2020).

Future trends and pathways to develop positive economic futures

This review of the economic impacts of COVID-19 in Atlantic Canada in 2020 suggests numerous paths toward an even more resilient and sustainable future, including regionalization, tourism, local economic development, support for vulnerable groups, and the green economy.

Regionalization

Atlantic Canada has a long history of being grouped together and treated like the ‘poor cousin’ by the rest of the country. The rising ‘have-not’ tide, coupled with the success of the Atlantic Bubble, has commentators, politicians, and industry leaders once again speculating on the possibilities of a Maritime Union. This idea was bandied around even before Canadian Confederation and, while an ad-hoc union of sorts has played out on particular regional issues like fisheries and now a global pandemic, whispers of a more permanent strategic approach are in the air (O’Connor, 2021; Riche, 2021).

There are a number of strong arguments for a Maritime Union. Firstly, the combined GDP of an “Atlantic mega-province” would make it the fifth-largest economic player in Canada (O’Connor, 2021). Québec, having ‘islanded’ the region from western oil and gas by stalemating the previously proposed Energy East pipeline, now has the Prime Minister floating the notion of an ‘Atlantic Loop’, starting with further development of hydroelectric projects to fuel electricity for the region (CBC News, 2020g). This strategy would lower emissions for the nation as a whole.

Recovery in the Atlantic region will require addressing the loss of modes of travel into the region which impacts not only tourism but also business development, immigration, outmigration, and health care. Some have called for a regionally or nationally funded carrier to enter the marketplace for the long-term betterment of the region; as one proponent put it, “Before the pandemic, service and schedules were poor, and predatory pricing was deployed to drive out competition when it appeared” (Riche, 2021). A state-owned air service would not be a revenue generator but could be strategically deployed for economic development of the region as opposed to contributing to the bottom line of private firms. Historically, Atlantic Canadian travelers would be routed through large cities like Toronto or Montreal in order to reach neighbouring destinations in western Europe and the eastern United States. Providing more access to these destinations could induce intriguing changes to the potential of the Atlantic region. One of the major airline carriers for Canada recently stated that “it’s impossible to say when there will be a return to service without support for a coordinated domestic approach,” underscoring the need for a non-market intervention (Quon, 2020b). According to the CEO of NB-based PAL Airlines, which expanded its service into Moncton, NB, in the summer of 2020 when Air Canada and WestJet reduced their service, “we are likely to see a different regional market and different players in the market coming out of the pandemic [and] we are well-

positioned to fill the void that is left” (O’Connor, 2021). Ideally, the response to this challenge will be homegrown and grounded in regional strategy and leadership.

Tourism

Re-establishing tourism in Atlantic Canada will hinge on enhanced safety and easing of restrictions in a manner that bolsters public confidence (APEC, 2020d; McEachern, 2021; MQO Research, 2020). Given the experience of 2020, there is a real risk of backlash when travel into the region is eventually resumed. Strong communications and assurances from public health leaders, along with a staged reopening of borders, will be required in order to minimize any negative impact, such as the possibility of Atlantic Canadians themselves resisting travel within the region. Communications, marketing, and enforcement of public safety will also be key features in stimulating tourism demand by assuring the safety of travelers (MQO Research, 2020). Given the public health track record of the Atlantic region during the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, there is plenty of fodder for safety-oriented brand and marketing campaigns.

Atlantic Canada’s tourism sector is expected to take two to four years to recover. Many operators will not be able to survive on such reduced margins and volumes. Much of the season in this part of the world is limited to primarily July and August. However, in recent years, there has been some success in extending the season from June through October, supported mainly by ‘shoulder season’ cruise ship traffic (APEC, 2020d; McEachern, 2021; MQO Research, 2020). For many small tourism operators, such as those renting cottages and providing tours like fishing expeditions, these business ventures provide supplemental income. With such a bleak outlook for tourism, some operators in Atlantic Canada decided not to open for the season in 2020. Others already have and will continue to change their offerings, perhaps moving to more sustainable models in the long-term, through product diversification, increasing online experiences, continued promotion of the ‘staycation’ model year-round, and discounted pricing. Policymakers may begin to look at further diversifying away from tourism for economic development – especially the aspects that are particularly unsustainable, such as cruise ship tourism – and continue to reorient the economy away from the global to a more local or regional economy (Brinklow & Whitten Henry, 2020; Sindico, 2021).

On the other hand, there are rumblings of pent-up demand, the so-called ‘revenge travel’ trend (Shadel, 2020) that may have some operators scrambling to keep up. According to Captain Troy Bruce, a tuna fisher and one-half of Bruce Brothers Charters, they would normally take groups out about 100 days per season but, in 2020, they were out for only 3 days. Most of their clients rolled their 2020 bookings over to 2021 and are hopeful that, through vaccines or testing, they will be able to travel to PEI for their fishing trips in 2021. In addition, Brothers received three calls in one week from new clients for bookings in 2021, suggesting that ‘revenge travel’ may indeed hit the shores of Atlantic Canada (Galloway, 2021).

On the ground, the reality is that planning for the next tourism season requires a proverbial crystal ball. As one tourism operator in PEI expressed,

Our planning process now isn't quite as straightforward as it had been in the past. We're having to adapt constantly ... when we look at what's happened in 2019, what happened in our summer and fall in 2020, we use that to do our best guess about what's going to happen in 2021. (McEachern, 2021)

From global to local

Evidently, shifts from global to local through 'buy local' campaigns, 'staycations', and general slowing down of economies and lifestyles are having a much-needed positive impact on the environment and could become a lasting trend. Localized food supply chains would mean fewer transportation emissions, and fewer vehicles on the road and oceans, thus allowing for safer transportation routes, less pollution, and less stress leading to healthier individuals, communities, and ecosystems.

When thinking about the traditional notion of 'local versus global', the food system is compelling. The Atlantic Canadian restaurant scene, rather dismal only a decade ago, is now arguably "one of the most exciting on the continent" (Riche, 2021). Most, if not all, of these internationally renowned successes such as The Merchant Tavern in NL, and the Inn at Bay Fortune in PEI, focus primarily on local, high-quality ingredients. This focus has been a great stimulus for smaller sustainable farmers and fish harvesters. In addition, the Atlantic region boasts a vast array of locally made, high-quality, value-added food products such as wine, beer, chips, cheeses, and much more. In the past, consumer taste has been the usual argument for continuing to truck food in from places like California and Mexico. With the availability of local fresh produce and specialty items, the reasons for choosing food that has been mass-produced, harvested early, and shipped thousands of miles (resulting in less flavour) are becoming few and far between (Riche, 2021).

Another important angle on 'global to local' for this region to consider is summed up well in this quote from Pat Whalen, Chief Executive of LuminUltra Technologies Ltd.: "People are going to realize that it is possible to build an international company from Atlantic Canada" (O'Connor, 2021). Increasing numbers of small- and medium-sized businesses in the region such as LuminUltra, Verafin, and Honibe are growing leaps and bounds. The growth in these companies and industries is attracting diaspora, new immigrants, and weary city dwellers to interesting career options in a part of the world where they can find relatively affordable homes and ready access to nature and breathtaking views (O'Connor, 2021). In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, businesses around the globe will be reassessing their supply chains and they will find that Atlantic Canadian businesses are safe and reliable, even in the face of a global crisis (APEC, 2020b; 2020f). Together, these trends set the stage for further growth in these emerging industries as locally based global suppliers.

Support for vulnerable groups

After seeing the federal government of Canada turning on what was essentially a guaranteed-income program in a matter of days and weeks, Atlantic Canadians have strengthened their position in advocating for a long-term approach in the region. PEI has been lobbying the federal government to partner on such a program in their province since 2019. Seeing the difference that it could make has also fueled the discussion in Newfoundland and Labrador. According to the NL Eats food bank manager, "What's needed is more secure and adequate income for low-income households. I think as Atlantic Canadians ... we need our governments to step up with something like a basic income." Social service groups in St. John's, NL, reported a drastic decrease in their numbers of clients once CERB came into effect and, since the benefit stopped in September, numbers are back up. There is also a new segment of clients: people who have yet to return to their full-time jobs (Ericsson, 2020; Walsh, 2021).

Further advancement of the Truth and Reconciliation recommendations is integral to the COVID-19 pandemic recovery. The recommendation most relevant to the Atlantic region is the

just allocation of economic benefits of natural resource industries, in particular, fisheries, oceans, and mining (Council of Construction Associations British Columbia, 2020). To move forward and rebuild in the face of great economic losses from the COVID-19 pandemic, Indigenous communities will need support for investments in broadband, shifting their businesses to e-commerce, and retraining for community members who have lost work as a result of the ongoing pandemic (APEC, 2020c).

Strategies for employing displaced low-wage earners, youth, and fossil fuel industry employees will also be key to this region's future. Stimulus and investments in automation, digitization, green energy infrastructure, and natural capital would not only build resilience in the face of climate change and possible future pandemics, they would also provide employment (APEC, 2020d, 2020e; McNally & Ekins, 2020). Investments in training and reskilling would be a focus of this strategy. Canada, and Atlantic Canada even more so, has a poor track record of adopting automation technologies, making this especially important for major industries to remain competitive globally. Given the aging demographics of the Atlantic region, the demand for health care workers and senior care will continue to rise, which provides opportunities for skilled employment in meaningful work for the local population as well as for recruits from elsewhere. For those in rural areas of Atlantic Canada, the availability of high-speed internet can be a challenge and has long been a pain point for rural Canada (Weeden & Kelly, 2020). This impacts education, businesses, and outmigration, and is a key pillar of economic development in any part of the world. All four Atlantic Provinces and the federal government, along with private-sector partners, are investing to improve internet access in rural areas, but it will take several years to reach more remote regions (Weeden & Kelly, 2020).

Lastly, the COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted challenges for women, especially mothers. Recommendations for these large and critical populations include building more resilience in child care, education, and elder care systems, and improving employment opportunities to reduce reliance on frontline work and low-wage jobs.

Green economy

In the late summer of 2020, the Federal Liberal government of Canada was poised to table a bold 'green' economic recovery plan that would transform the nation to a carbon-neutral economy – but these plans were thwarted when public polling in June 2020 showed that Canadians' priorities had changed during the COVID-19 pandemic. A year earlier, the top concerns of Canadians were health care (37%), the environment and climate change (30%), and affordability (26%) (Bricker, 2019). In June 2020, the top response was COVID-19 (31.7%), followed by jobs and the economy (21.8%). Only 8.7% chose environment/climate change as the issue that should receive the greatest attention (Nanos Research, 2020). This does not change the reality that continued reliance on exploiting natural resources is not sustainable and that future health, wealth, and growth are to be found in a sustainable and green economy (McNally & Ekins, 2020), but it does mean that public support has waned, at least for now, and the Federal government responded by adjusting their short-term goals to reflect these new public priorities.

Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, Atlantic Canada was on its way to developing its green economy. Perhaps it too sprung from being a 'have-not' region in need of employment opportunities with an historical dependence on imported energy. With the exception of Newfoundland and Labrador, the region has not benefited greatly from the fossil fuel industry. It has, however, been blessed with winds and tides and a culture of ingenuity. A report entitled *Clean Growth in Nova Scotia* shows that Nova Scotia has been successfully decoupling GHG

emissions from its GDP since 2005 and has set some of the most ambitious climate targets in the country. Further, the Environment and Clean Technologies sector in NS grew by 31% between 2012 and 2018 – compared to 19% nationally – and jobs in the sector grew by 27% compared to 17% nationally (Canadian Institute for Climate Choices, 2020). New Brunswick surpassed its emissions reduction target of 30% in 2020, achieving 34% reduction (Environment and Local Government, n.d.). In October 2020, in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, PEI released its report *A Path Towards Net Zero* (Government of Prince Edward Island, 2020), a framework for achieving net zero emissions by 2040 and becoming the country's first province to do so. The government of Newfoundland and Labrador, on the other hand, currently in the final hours of a provincial election at the time of writing, has been more focused on getting its major industry projects back on track. While they are doing that, a range of non-governmental organizations and institutions are developing strategies and programs for a post-oil future and moving the discussion towards net-zero (Fürst & Eibner, 2021).

For the most part, it appears that Atlantic Canadian leaders and their constituents seem to understand what experts have been arguing for years: that green economy goals are not in competition with but rather complement their strategies for addressing both climate change and other regional challenges of economic development, employment, equity, and healthy environments. The buy-in and support of the federal government is key to helping the Atlantic region move capital-intensive projects forward, and the Speech from the Throne in September 2020, with its promise of an “Atlantic Loop” of renewable energy, suggests that support is still there despite COVID-19 (CBC News, 2020g). In the words of New Brunswick’s Minister of Education and Early Childhood Development, “Going green is the way forward ... and not in a wild-eyed, ban-all-fossil-fuels way, but as a goal to achieve through increments and innovation” (O’Connor, 2021).

Concluding remarks

Atlantic Canada is resilient, boasts numerous assets, and is well positioned for an exciting, sustainability-focused future. With its shared values, community cohesion, and culture of innovation, the region is likely to thrive in a post-COVID-19-pandemic world. Critics question the political will to create truly sustainable communities, especially in the face of high unemployment; however, much of the region has made both commitments and strides in doing so and has kept momentum on these strategies through the COVID-19 pandemic.

Newfoundland and Labrador is an exception; they are in a tougher economic situation than the other Atlantic Provinces and dependent on the oil and gas industry. One could still argue that Newfoundland and Labrador is well-resourced to forge its path forward, drawing on a depth of character and lessons from the economic and political blunders of the past. Being an attractive place to live with a variety of budding industries and an entrepreneurial spirit will play a role in strengthening Atlantic Canada’s economy.

Even though the Atlantic Canadian tourism industry, which was becoming increasingly unsustainable with ever-growing numbers of cruise ship visits, has yet to become a target of restructuring discourse in the region, with the right kind of policy direction, adaptation in this sector could take on a number of exciting advancements that are more sustainable for the environment and for workers. One gets the feeling that there is an economic life beyond tourism for this region. Like other regions reflecting on the impacts of a global pandemic on their society, Atlantic Canadians have a sense that they are being given a huge opportunity to ‘build

back better'. Quickening the pace of development of the green and digital economies is a strong theme around the world which rings true for Atlantic Canada and will be critical in maintaining the region's long-standing role as an international supplier and trading partner.

With the growing realization that together they can accomplish great things, a new cultural confidence is emerging in the region as well: a confidence that will be needed to face the challenges ahead and embrace the opportunities. It is hoped that this maturing into a 'new self' will bring with it a softening of fear of outsiders and a strengthening of Atlantic Canada's established reputation as a warm, welcoming, and laid-back place to be.

Additional Resources

- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council – COVID-19 in Atlantic Canada
<https://www.apec-econ.ca/covid/>
- Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation – *Rural Insights Series: COVID-19*
<http://crrf.ca/covid19/>
- CBC News
<https://www.cbc.ca/news>
- *The Chronicle Herald*
<https://www.thechronicleherald.ca/>
- *The Financial Post*
<https://financialpost.com/>
- Institute of Island Studies – *COVID-19 Island Insights Series*
<http://islandstudies.com/island-insights-series/>
- Statistics Canada
<https://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/start>
- Heather Hall | University of Waterloo, Department of Environment, Enterprise and Development
<https://uwaterloo.ca/school-environment-enterprise-development/people-profiles/heather-m-hall>

Acknowledgements

This report was funded by Community Development Lens (CoDeL) in Scotland, as part of a project entitled “COVID-19 Economic Impacts & Recovery in the Northern Periphery and Arctic,” funded by the Northern Periphery and Arctic Programme.

<http://codel.scot/covid-19-economic-impacts-recovery-in-the-northern-periphery-arctic>

To learn more about the Institute of Island Studies, visit islandstudies.com or [contact us](#).

References

- Abdelrahman, O. (2020, October 1). *2020 Newfoundland and Labrador Budget: Pandemic further hammers province's finances*. TD Economics. <https://economics.td.com/newfoundland-labrador-budget>
- Abraham, J. (2020, December 7). *Some N.S. post-secondary students getting \$750 COVID-19 grant*. CTV News. <https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/some-n-s-post-secondary-students-getting-750-covid-19-grant-1.522043>
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. (2020a). *Labour market - July 2020. COVID-19 in Canada: Economic Impacts*. <https://www.apec-econ.ca/covid/economicimpacts/labourjuly/>
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. (2020b). *COVID-19: Key issues for Atlantic Canada's economy*. <https://www.apec-econ.ca/publications/view/?do-load=1&publication.id=400>
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. (2020c). *The economic cost of COVID-19: Supporting the recovery of Indigenous firms and communities*. <https://www.apec-econ.ca/publications/view/?do-load=1&publication.id=402&site.page.id=2000>
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. (2020d). *COVID-19: Key economic issues for Atlantic Canada - hardest hit industries*. <https://www.apec-econ.ca/publications/view/?do-load=1&publication.id=403&site.page.id=2000>
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. (2020e). *Bouncing back: How to spur innovation in Nova Scotia post-COVID-19*. <https://www.apec-econ.ca/publications/view/?do-load=1&publication.id=405&site.page.id=2000>
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. (2020f). *COVID-19: Global value chains key to Atlantic Economic recovery*. <https://www.apec-econ.ca/publications/view/?do-load=1&publication.id=404&site.page.id=2000>
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. (2020g). *Demographic & diversity impacts of COVID-19 in Atlantic Canada*. <https://www.apec-econ.ca/publications/view/?do-load=1&publication.id=406>
- Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. (2020h). *Geographic impacts of COVID-19 in Atlantic Canada*. <https://www.apec-econ.ca/publications/view/?do-load=1&publication.id=407>
- Are you covered in the gig economy? (2021, February 3). Editorial. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/opinion/local-perspectives/editorial-are-you-covered-548517/>
- Battis, T., & Jones, A. (2020, July 12). *'Plate-shaming' is happening in Atlantic Canada as locals fear those from outside the 'bubble'*. CTV News. <https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/plate-shaming-is-happening-in-atlantic-canada-as-locals-fear-those-from-outside-the-bubble-1.5021203>
- Bell, M. (2020, December 7). *OPINION: 14 Days of isolation, but no test*. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/opinion/local-perspectives/letter-why-didnt-pei-want-to-know-if-i-had-the-virus-528414/>
- Belmonte, L. (2021, January 21). *Sea shanties are the big new TikTok Trend & a famous Canadian is getting in on it (Video)*. Narcity. <https://www.narcity.com/tiktok-sea-shanty-trend-is-huge-a-famous-canadian-is-getting-in-on-it>
- Benjamin, S., Dillette, A., & Alderman, D. H. (2020). "We can't return to normal": Committing to tourism equity in the post-pandemic age. *Tourism Geographies*, 22(3), 476–483. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1759130>

- Bird, L. (2021, March 23). *Fredericton council rejects funding City Motel housing project*. CBC News (New Brunswick). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/fredericton-housing-project-vote-1.5960076>
- Bird, L. (2021, January 21). *Fredericton motel housing project wins committee approval*. CBC News (New Brunswick). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/fredericton-housing-affordable-1.5881663>
- Bird, L. (2020, August 29). *From job losses to mental health, COVID-19 has hit N.L. youth particularly hard: Report*. CBC News (Newfoundland and Labrador). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/choices-for-youth-covid-19-report-nl-1.5702270>
- Bradbury, T. (2020, August 11). Newfoundland and Labrador's COVID-19 travel ban arbitrary, unlawful and 'over the top,' lawyers argue. *Cape Breton Post*. <https://www.capebretonpost.com/news/canada/newfoundland-and-labradors-covid-19-travel-ban-arbitrary-unlawful-and-over-the-top-lawyers-argue-484084/>
- Bricker, D. (2019, October 3). Health care continues to be top issue for Canadians (37%); climate change climbs to second (30%, +4), ahead of affordability (26%, -2). *Ipsos*. <https://www.ipsos.com/en-ca/news-polls/Health-Care-Continues-to-Be-Top-Issue-for-Canadians>
- Brinklow, L., & Whitten Henry, M. J. (2020). *Island Responses to COVID- 19* [CRRF Rural Insights Series: COVID-19, no. 1.12]. Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation. <http://crrf.ca/ri-islands/>
- Brown, S. (2021, March 27). *City Motel project to go ahead despite uncertainty over Fredericton city council funding*. Global News. <https://globalnews.ca/news/7723744/city-motel-affordable-housing-fredericton-funding>
- Canadian Institute for Climate Choices. (2020, September 19). *Clean growth in Nova Scotia*. <https://climatechoices.ca/publications/clean-growth-in-nova-scotia/>
- CBC News. (2020a, May 28). *Seasonal residents could arrive on P.E.I. starting June 15*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-seasonal-residents-arrive-testing-1.5588308>
- CBC News. (2020b, June 10). *Some seasonal residents say P.E.I.'s application process is stressful, frustrating*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-seasonal-residents-frustrated-application-1.5607067>
- CBC News. (2020c, June 17). *Pastor says she was 'plate shamed' for having N.S. licence plates*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-pastors-salvation-army-plate-shaming-nova-scotia-1.5616488>
- CBC News. (2020d, July 1). *Festival of Small Halls reborn as drive-in theatre concerts*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-drive-in-festival-film-1.5634051>
- CBC News. (2020e, July 3). *Thousands expected on P.E.I. this weekend as Atlantic bubble opens*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-atlantic-bubble-opens-1.5636175>
- CBC News. (2020f, July 16). *Protesters at Quebec ferry terminal demand full access to N.L.* CBC News (Newfoundland and Labrador). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/blanc-sablon-protest-1.5651823>
- CBC News. (2020g, September 24). *Ottawa pitches Atlantic Loop as grand plan for clean energy, with few details*. CBC News (Newfoundland and Labrador).

- <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/atlantic-loop-throne-speech-offshore-oil-1.5736740>
- CBC News. (2020h, September 25). *Mental health forum to explore how COVID-19 is affecting youth in Atlantic Canada* [Video]. CBC News. <https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/1779326019868>
- CBC News. (2020i, November 27). *Stop shaming young people for recent COVID-19 outbreak, says TikTok star*. CBC News (Nova Scotia). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/stop-shaming-young-people-covid-outbreak-tiktok-star-1.5817959>
- CBC News. (2020j, December 10). *20-somethings without symptoms asked to stop seeking COVID-19 tests, for now*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-covid-test-symptoms-20s-twenty-year-olds-1.5836023>
- CBC News. (2021a, January 20). *Business group encourages Islanders to continue supporting local*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-love-local-chamber-1.5880643>
- CBC News. (2021b, January 20). *Miramichi finds success in attracting newcomers*. CBC News (New Brunswick). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/miramichi-success-attracting-newcomers-1.5880152>
- CBC News. (2021c, January 21). *NL Eats – the Snowmageddon-inspired food bank that delivers – needs a new home*. CBC News (Newfoundland and Labrador). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/nl-eats-searching-for-new-home-1.5886316>
- CBC News. (2021d, January 21). *Verafin's success is just the start of future growth for N.L.'s tech sector, co-founder says*. CBC News (Newfoundland and Labrador). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/beyond-2020-brothers-verafin-1.5880334>
- CBC News. (2021e, January 22). *Despite Honibe layoffs, biosciences sector on P.E.I. has 'not slowed down'*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-honibe-layoffs-biosciences-1.5884064>
- CBC News. (2021f, January 22). *Halifax restaurants offer outdoor dining to keep patrons safe* [Video]. CBC News (Nova Scotia). <https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/1846477891780>
- CBC News. (2021g, March 24). *WestJet to restore service to airports in Atlantic Canada, Quebec City*. CBC News (Calgary). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/westjet-service-eastern-cities-covid-restore-1.5961645>
- CBC Prince Edward Island. (2020, August 13). *Two Island kids want to bring P.E.I. to you* [Video]. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=216027383173449>
- Centre for Addiction and Mental Health. (2020). *Mental Health in Canada: Covid-19 and Beyond* [CAMH Policy Advice]. <https://www.camh.ca/-/media/files/pdfs--public-policy-submissions/covid-and-mh-policy-paper-pdf.pdf>
- Child and Youth Advocate. (2020). *State of the Child Report 2020*. Office of the Child and Youth Advocate. <https://www.cyanb.ca/images/PDFs/2020-State-of-the-Child-Report.pdf>
- Coletta, A. (2018, October 18). 'Third World conditions': Many of Canada's indigenous people can't drink the water at home. *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/third-world-conditions-many-of-canadas-indigenous-people-cant-drink-the-water-at-home/2018/10/14/c4f429b4-bc53-11e8-8243-f3ae9c99658a_story.html

- Comeau, T. (2020, April 16). *Ignite Labs helping N.S. frontline and health-care workers during COVID-19 pandemic*. Saltwire. <https://www.thechronicleherald.ca/business/local-business/ignite-labs-helping-ns-frontline-and-health-care-workers-during-covid-19-pandemic-438378/>
- Community Foundation of Prince Edward Island & Institute of Island Studies. (2019). *2019 Prince Edward Island Vital Signs*. <http://islandstudies.com/research/vital-signs-signes-vitaux/>
- Cooke, A. (2021, January 7). *Young Nova Scotians with health conditions wonder where they stand with vaccinations*. CBC News (Nova Scotia). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/covid-19-vaccines-high-risk-young-people-ns-1.5864167>
- Cormier, J.P. (2020, July 3). *To my fellow touring musicians: Here's the deal guys and gals. The music industry as we knew it is dead* [Status update]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=4035027469872882&id=398648710177461
- Council of Construction Associations British Columbia. (2020). *Task force unveils national COVID-19 recovery plan*. <https://cocabc.ca/task-force-unveils-national-covid-19-recovery-plan>
- Davis, T. (2020, December 18). *Summerside bookstore giving newcomers free books about Canada*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-books-free-newcomers-canada-dec-2020-1.5846097>
- de Luca, C., Tondelli, S., & Åberg, H. E. (2020). The Covid-19 pandemic effects in rural areas. *TeMA - Journal of Land Use, Mobility and Environment, Special Issue*, 119–132. <https://doi.org/10.6092/1970-9870/6844>
- DeMont, J. (2020, January 13). *How the world has discovered sea shanties*. *The Chronicle Herald*. <https://www.thechronicleherald.ca/news/local/john-demont-how-the-world-has-discovered-sea-shanties-540675/>
- Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts and Recreation. (2020). *Year-To-Date (YTD) Tourism Highlights October 2020*. Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. https://www.gov.nl.ca/tcar/files/Tourism-Performance-YTD-Oct-2020_-1Dec2020.pdf
- Deschamps, T. (2021, January 28). *CMHC: Rental vacancies, prices edged up as COVID-19 spread across Canada*. *BNN Bloomberg*. <https://www.bnnbloomberg.ca/cmhc-rental-vacancies-prices-edged-up-as-covid-19-spread-across-canada-1.1555590>
- Drake, E., & Daboo, S. (Hosts). (2020, October 19). *Episode 1: Gender and COVID19* [Audio podcast episode]. In *Dialogue with Drake and Daboo*. <https://dialogue.squarespace.com/episodes/gender-and-covid19>
- Edwards, D. (2020, December 30). *Atlantic First Nations building geothermal greenhouses to address food insecurity*. CTV News. <https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/atlantic-first-nations-building-geothermal-greenhouses-to-address-food-insecurity-1.5248665>
- Edwards, P. (2020, June 28). "Plate shaming" leads to Kijiji ad offering P.E.I. license plates to rent for \$50. *Toronto Star*. <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2020/06/28/plate-shaming-leads-to-kijiji-ad-offering-pei-license-plates-to-rent-for-50.html>
- Environment and Local Government. (n.d.). *Climate change: We're taking action on climate change*. Government of New Brunswick. Retrieved January 20, 2021 from https://www2.gnb.ca/content/gnb/en/departments/elg/environment/content/climate_change.html

- Ericsson, S. (2020, October 21). *Atlantic Canadians struggling to cope with rising food prices, access issues since COVID-19*. Saltwire. <https://www.saltwire.com/news/provincial/atlantic-canadians-struggling-to-cope-with-rising-food-prices-access-issues-since-covid-19-511918/>
- Fortnum, T. (2020, November 21). *New Brunswick Child and Youth Advocate asks province to keep kids in mind amid COVID-19 pandemic*. Global News. <https://globalnews.ca/news/7476164/nb-child-and-youth-advocate-coronavirus/>
- Fowler, S. (2021, January 18). *Herds of hikers are making the trek to N.B.'s most remote destinations in record numbers*. CBC News (New Brunswick). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/herds-of-hikers-are-making-the-trek-to-nb-s-most-remote-destinations-1.5873548>
- Friend, D. (2020, May 20). 'Summer cruisin': Car culture gets a new lease as cultural events turn to 'pod' life. *Toronto Star*. <https://www.thestar.com/life/2020/05/20/summer-cruisin-car-culture-gets-a-new-lease-as-cultural-events-turn-to-pod-life.html>
- Fürst, B., & Eibner, M. (2021). *Newfoundland and Labrador* [COVID-19 Island Insight Series, no. 15]. University of Strathclyde Centre for Environmental Law and Governance, Island Institute of Island Studies, and Island Innovation. <http://islandstudies.com/files/2021/04/COVID19-Island-Insights-Series-15.-Newfoundland-and-Labrador.-March-2021.pdf>
- Galloway, M. (Host). (2021, February 4). *Canada's road ahead: Souris, P.E.I., and businesses missing tourism* [Radio broadcast transcript]. In *The Current*, CBC Radio. <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/thecurrent/the-current-for-feb-4-2021-1.5899725/february-4-2021-episode-transcript-1.5901945>
- Gomersall, J. (2021, January 20). OPINION: COVID-19 and gratitude. *Journal Pioneer*. <https://www.journalpioneer.com/opinion/local-perspectives/letters-covid-19-and-gratitude-543088/>
- Gordon, Julie. (2020, October 25). *Atlantic Canada's economy bounces back faster after region closes its doors: official*. Global News. <https://globalnews.ca/news/7421116/atlantic-canada-post-coronavirus-lockdown/>
- Government of Prince Edward Island. (2020). *A Path Towards Net Zero (2040): Proposed Framework – A discussion document for Islanders*. Department of Transportation and Infrastructure. <https://www.princeedwardisland.ca/en/publication/path-towards-net-zero-2040-proposed-framework>
- Government of Prince Edward Island. (2021). *Industries in PEI*. PEI Economy. <https://www.princeedwardisland.ca/en/topic/industries-pei>
- Grant, T. (2020, November 23). *As COVID-19 cases rise, N.L. and P.E.I. exit Atlantic bubble for at least 2 weeks*. CBC News. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/atlantic-bubble-burst-1.5812454>
- Groff, M. (2021, January 6). 'Disturbing stories' of intimidation 'unacceptable,' says Strang. *Halifax Today*. <https://www.halifaxtoday.ca/coronavirus-covid-19-local-news/disturbing-stories-of-intimidation-unacceptable-says-strang-3237276>
- Groff, M. (2020, November 26). *New Brunswick bursts what was left of Atlantic bubble*. *Halifax Today*. <https://www.halifaxtoday.ca/coronavirus-covid-19-local-news/new-brunswick-bursts-what-was-left-of-atlantic-bubble-3130967>
- The Guardian. (2020, April 13). #Annedemic: The East Pointers and friends read Anne of Green Gables. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/lifestyles/local-lifestyles/annedemic-the-east-pointers-and-friends-read-anne-of-green-gables-436852/>

- Hall, H. M., & Vinodrai, T. (2020). *COVID-19 Impacts on Rural Economic Development in Atlantic Canada* [Draft summary report]. University of Waterloo.
- Harding, D. (2020, November 19). OPINION: Thoughts from a rotational worker. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/opinion/local-perspectives/guest-opinion-thoughts-from-a-rotational-worker-521836/>
- Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada. (2019). *Key small business statistics - November 2019*. Government of Canada. https://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/061.nsf/eng/h_03114.html
- Jackson, P. (2020, October 11). Atlantic 'bubble' proves to be fortress against rising COVID-19. *The Battleford News-Optimist*. <https://www.newsoptimist.ca/news/atlantic-bubble-proves-to-be-fortress-against-rising-covid-19-1.24219088>
- Jenkins, A. (2020, June 5). *P.E.I. lockdown brings out unkind behaviours*. Saltwire. <https://www.journalpioneer.com/news/local/pei-lockdown-brings-out-unkind-behaviours-458763/>
- Kelman, I. (2021). Pandemic and post-pandemic islandness: Building and wrecking resilience. In J. E. Randall (Ed.), *The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. Islands Economic Cooperation Forum: Annual report on global islands 2020* (pp. 105–126). Foreign Affairs Office of Hainan Province, P.R. China, & Island Studies Press. <https://projects.upei.ca/unescochair/files/2021/04/Annual-Report-on-Global-Islands-2020-Chapter-4-Pandemic-and-postpandemic-islandness-Ilan-Kelman.pdf>
- Kingdon, T. (2020, September 13). *P.E.I. seasonal residents look for answers after N.S. resort turns them away*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-seasonal-residents-white-point-resort-1.5722376>
- Lachance, L., & Stuebing, D. (2020, November 19). Pandemic leaves children in more vulnerable position. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/opinion/local-perspectives/lisa-lachance-dennis-stuebing-pandemic-leaves-children-in-more-vulnerable-position-522123/>
- Larter, E. (2020, November 25). OPINION: Bring in Fines. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/opinion/local-perspectives/letter-bring-in-fines-for-those-who-dont-wear-masks-524177/>
- LeBlanc, R. (2020). *Muskrat Falls – A misguided project*. Industry, Energy and Technology: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. <https://www.gov.nl.ca/iet/muskrat-falls-a-misguided-project/>
- MacDonald, K. (2020, June 16). Newspaper survey naming artists as 'the top non-essential job' prompts passionate backlash. *Classic FM*. <https://www.classicfm.com/music-news/times-newspaper-survey-artists-non-essential-jobs/>
- MacEachern, A. (2020, July 16). Tourists to P.E.I. during COVID-19 find a familiar mix of hospitality and hostility. *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/tourists-to-p-e-i-during-covid-19-find-a-familiar-mix-of-hospitality-and-hostility-142360>
- MacEachern, R. (2020, June 16). *Ultimate NS Online Kitchen Party NOW*. Saltwire. <https://www.saltwire.com/lifestyles/regional-lifestyles/ultimate-ns-online-kitchen-party-now-462878/>
- MacInnis, J. (2020, November 20). *Affordable housing in Nova Scotia getting harder to come by*. CTV News. <https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/affordable-housing-in-nova-scotia-getting-harder-to-come-by-1.5198976>

- MacKay, C. (2020, December 20). *Call for capital region 20-somethings to get tested leads to confusion, lineups*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-20-29-year-olds-in-charlottetown-should-get-tested-1.5830706>
- MacKinnon, B.-J. (2021, January 16). *Long-term care home proposes larger role for family members during COVID staff shortages*. CBC News (New Brunswick). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/fredericton-york-care-centre-designated-caregivers-covid-staff-shortage-1.5874833>
- MacKinnon, B.-J. (2020, August 13). *Majority of Atlantic Canadians oppose opening up bubble in next month, survey suggests*. CBC News (New Brunswick). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/atlantic-bubble-open-canada-travel-survey-narrative-research-1.5685365>
- MacLeod, N. (2020, January 5). *COVID-19 ushers in 'extremely busy' winter for outdoor retailers*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-winter-outdoor-gear-demand-soars-2021-1.5861213>
- Mayich, J. (2021, January 22). *OPINION: Keeping all Islanders safe*. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/opinion/local-perspectives/opinion-keeping-all-islanders-safe-164906/>
- McEachern, T. (2021, January 4). *Accommodations sector in Atlantic Canada looks for vaccine light at end of pandemic tunnel*. Saltwire. <https://www.thechronicleherald.ca/business/regional-business/accommodations-sector-in-atlantic-canada-looks-for-vaccine-light-at-end-of-pandemic-tunnel-537016/>
- McNally, J., & Ekins, P. (2020, October 14). *An economic recovery should invest in Canadian wealth and well-being*. International Institute for Sustainable Development. <https://www.iisd.org/sustainable-recovery/an-economic-recovery-should-invest-in-canadian-wealth-and-well-being/>
- Moore, M. (2021, January 23). *Public sector cuts? There are other problems, says N.L. labour president*. CBC News (Newfoundland and Labrador). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/election-notebook-day-8-and-9-1.5885247>
- MQO Research. (2020). *Atlantic Canada Tourism Survey: COVID-19 Wave 1: June/July 2020. Summary & Highlights: Atlantic Canadians and NL Residents*. Tourism Industry Association of PEI. https://www.gov.nl.ca/tcar/files/TIAPEI_ACTS_Wave1_Summary_July-2020-1.pdf
- Nanos Research. (2020, June 16). *Coronavirus retains spot as top unprompted national issue of concern (Nanos Weekly Tracking, ending June 12, 2020)*. <https://www.nanos.co/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Political-Package-2020-06-12-FR-with-tabs.pdf>
- Ntim, N. (2020). *Local economic development innovative response stories: Nova Scotia & Prince Edward Island* [Unpublished case study research prepared for the Rural Canada & COVID-19 Research Project]. Masters of Economic Development and Innovation Program, University of Waterloo.
- O'Connor, J. (2021, February 5). *Atlantic Canada is the next land of opportunity (even if the rest of Canada doesn't know it yet)*. *Financial Post*. <https://financialpost.com/news/economy/atlantic-canada-is-the-next-land-of-opportunity-even-if-the-rest-of-canada-doesnt-know-it-yet>
- Patil, A. (2020, July 15). *'Go home!': Nova Scotian plate-shamed for having Ghostbusters novelty plate*. CBC News (Nova Scotia). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/nova-scotian-plate-shamed-ghostbusters-benjamin-hebb-1.5651470>

- Petracek, H., & April, A. (2020, November 20). *Don't burst the bubble: Maritimers hope Atlantic bubble holds for holidays*. CTV News. <https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/don-t-burst-the-bubble-maritimers-hope-atlantic-bubble-holds-for-holidays-1.5197391>
- Pineau, S. (2020, November 30). OPINION: Health Officials are Sympathetic. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/opinion/local-perspectives/letter-in-response-to-the-rotational-worker-525679/>
- Price, M. (2020, March 30). *Kids Help Phone sees dramatic spike in demand during COVID-19 pandemic*. CTV News. <https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/kids-help-phone-sees-dramatic-spike-in-demand-during-covid-19-pandemic-1.4874112>
- Prince Edward Island Justice and Public Safety. (2021). *Co-parenting and COVID-19*. Government of Prince Edward Island. <https://www.princeedwardisland.ca/en/information/justice-and-public-safety/co-parenting-and-covid-19>
- Public Health Agency of Canada. (2021). *Coronavirus disease (COVID-19): Outbreak update*. Government of Canada. Retrieved January 10, 2021, from <https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/diseases/2019-novel-coronavirus-infection.html>
- Public Health Agency of Canada. (2020). *Vaccine coverage in Canadian Children: Results from the 2017 Childhood National Immunization Coverage Survey (cNICS)*. Government of Canada. https://www.canada.ca/en/public-health/services/publications/healthy-living/2017-vaccine-uptake-canadian-children-survey.html#_Participation_and_response
- Quon, A. (2020a, June 30). *Air Canada indefinitely suspends 14 routes in Atlantic Canada, closes 2 stations*. Global News. <https://globalnews.ca/news/7124842/air-canada-atlantic-canada-routes/>
- Quon, A. (2020b, October 14). *WestJet cutting over 100 flights in Atlantic Canada as pandemic makes service 'unviable'*. Global News. <https://globalnews.ca/news/7396048/westjet-atlantic-canada-service-cuts-layoffs>
- Randall, J., Brinklow, L., & Chapman, M. (2021). *Prince Edward Island [COVID-19 Island Insight Series, no. 16]*. University of Strathclyde Centre for Environmental Law and Governance, Institute of Island Studies, and Island Innovation. <http://islandstudies.com/files/2021/04/COVID19-Island-Insights-Series-16.-Prince-Edward-Island.-March-2021.pdf>
- RE/MAX. (2020, December 1). *Canadian Housing Market Outlook (2021)*. RE/MAX Blog. <https://blog.remax.ca/canadian-housing-market-outlook/>
- Riche, E. (2021, January 16). *The Atlantic bubble was not only a good idea, but a blueprint for dramatic change*. CBC News (Newfoundland and Labrador). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/edward-riche-atlantic-bloc-1.5874814>
- Samfiru Tumarkin LLP Employment Lawyers. (2020, April 7). *Canada Emergency Response Benefit (CERB): Gap for gig economy workers* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6EodRjW9u4Y>
- Shadel, J. D. (2020, July 29). 'Revenge travel' is the phenomenon that could bring back tourism with a bang. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/travel/2020/07/29/revenge-travel-is-phenomenon-that-could-bring-back-tourism-with-bang/>
- Siatchinov, A., Champlain, A., & Verma, R. (2020, July). *Price trends and outlook in key Canadian housing markets*. Statistics Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/45-28-0001/2020001/article/00053-eng.htm>

- Silberman, A. (2021a, January 24). *Edmundston volunteer 'angels' help neighbours under lockdown*. CBC News (New Brunswick). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/volunteer-angels-help-neighbours-lockdown-1.5885909>
- Silberman, A. (2021b, January 28). *From TikTok to Instagram, COVID-19 messaging for young people is no easy task*. CBC News (New Brunswick). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/covid-19-messaging-for-young-people-1.5887866>
- Silberman, A. (2020, July 8). *Self-isolating Quebecer warns visitors to avoid New Brunswick after confrontation on beach*. CBC News (New Brunswick). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/quebec-woman-warns-visitors-avoid-nb-1.5640785>
- Sindico, F. (2021). Building back better: COVID-19 and island economies. In J. E. Randall (Ed.), *The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. Islands Economic Cooperation Forum: Annual report on global islands 2020* (pp. 63–80). Foreign Affairs Office of Hainan Province, P.R. China, & Island Studies Press. <https://projects.upei.ca/unescochair/files/2021/04/Annual-Report-on-Global-Islands-2020-Chapter-2-Building-back-better-Francesco-Sindico.pdf>
- Smith, C. (2020, October 30). *Coronavirus: Nova Scotia rotational worker calls for similar testing options as New Brunswick*. Global News. <https://globalnews.ca/news/7433282/nova-scotia-testing-options-new-brunswick-coronavirus/>
- Smith, E. (2021, January 28). *Blaming, shaming could lead to more COVID spread, doctors warn*. CBC News (Nova Scotia). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/covid-19-public-health-doctors-opinion-letter-stigma-virus-blaming-shaming-1.5892043>
- Smith, J. (2020, July 24). *'Don't hate the plates:' Ontario family travelling through Nova Scotia creates signs to avoid COVID-19 backlash*. Saltwire. <https://www.saltwire.com/news/canada/dont-hate-the-plates-ontario-family-travelling-through-nova-scotia-creates-signs-to-avoid-covid-19-backlash-476879/>
- Snell, M. (2020, November 23). *OPINION: Student struggles*. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/opinion/local-perspectives/letter-students-are-struggling-with-online-learning-523456/>
- Somos, C. (2021, January 25). *A year later, Indigenous communities are fighting twin crises: COVID-19 and inequality*. CTV News. <https://www.ctvnews.ca/health/coronavirus/a-year-later-indigenous-communities-are-fighting-twin-crises-covid-19-and-inequality-1.5280843>
- Statistics Canada. (2020a, October 20). *COVID-19 in Canada: A Six-month Update on Social and Economic Impacts*. Government of Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-631-x/11-631-x2020003-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2020b, November 23). *Business conditions in Canada, third quarter of 2020*. Government of Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-627-m/11-627-m2020082-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2020c, December). *Chart 2 - Voter turnout by province, 2011, 2015 and 2019 federal elections*. Government of Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/200226/cg-b002-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2021a). *Gross domestic product (GDP) at basic prices, by sector and industry, provincial and territorial (x 1,000,000)*. Government of Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=3610048701>
- Statistics Canada. (2021b). *Table 14-10-0287-03 Labour force characteristics by province, monthly, seasonally adjusted*. Government of Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=1410028703>

- Statistics Canada. (2021c). *Table 17-10-0009-01 Population estimates, quarterly*. Government of Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=1710000901&cubeTimeFrame.startMonth=10&cubeTimeFrame.startYear=2011&cubeTimeFrame.endMonth=10&cubeTimeFrame.endYear=2020&referencePeriods=20111001%2C20201001>
- Stratford, A. (2020, March 27). *Open letter: Protecting vulnerable children and youth during COVID-19 pandemic*. Nova Scotia College of Social Workers. <https://nscsw.org/protecting-vulnerable-children-youth-covid19/>
- Stewart, D. (2020, June 30). *P.E.I. musicians, storytellers, comedians coming together for Island Drive-in Festival*. Saltwire. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/lifestyles/local-lifestyles/pei-musicians-storytellers-comedians-coming-together-for-island-drive-in-festival-468114/>
- Subramaniam, V. (2020, March 19). *'I can only survive for a month': Gig economy workers hit first – and hardest – by COVID-19 crisis*. Saltwire. <https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/business/perspectives-on-business/i-can-only-survive-for-a-month-gig-economy-workers-hit-first-and-hardest-by-covid-19-crisis-426587/>
- Thibodeau, W. (2020, May 4). *Students, opposition parties 'shocked' by P.E.I. premier's comments on COVID-19 aid*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-student-union-opposition-emergency-benefits-1.5554678>
- Tourism Nova Scotia. (2020). *Industry Innovation and Inspiration*. COVID-19 Updates and Resources. <https://tourismns.ca/covid-19-updates-and-resources/industry-innovation-and-inspiration>
- Tourism Nova Scotia. (n.d.). *Year to Date 2020 Key Tourism Performance Indicators*. Retrieved January 20, 2021, from <https://tourismns.ca/key-tourism-performance-indicators>
- Turcotte, M. (2015). *Volunteering and charitable giving in Canada*. Statistics Canada. Government of Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-652-x/89-652-x2015001-eng.htm>
- Van Horne, R., & Brown, L. (2021, January 6). *'Things will likely get worse': N.B. reports single-day high of 31 new COVID-19 cases*. CTV News. <https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/things-will-likely-get-worse-n-b-reports-single-day-high-of-31-new-covid-19-cases-1.5255934>
- Van Horne, R., Lyall, L., & April, A. (2021, January 11). *'Travel is the source of COVID-19': Cardy tells people thinking of planning a trip*. CTV News. <https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/travel-is-the-source-of-covid-19-cardy-tells-people-thinking-of-planning-a-trip-1.5261795>
- Vigliotti, M. (2020, June 24). *Atlantic premiers announce creation of regional travel bubble*. iPolitics. <https://ipolitics.ca/2020/06/24/atlantic-premiers-announce-creation-of-regional-travel-bubble/>
- VOCM. (2020, May 23). *Government standing by decision to not allow seasonal residents in province*. Local News. <https://vocm.com/2020/05/23/seasonal-residents-government/>
- Walker, A. (2020, December 2). *OPINION: Suspension of the Bubble offers life lesson to students*. *The Journal-Pioneer*. <https://www.journalpioneer.com/opinion/local-perspectives/andy-walker-suspension-of-the-bubble-offers-life-lesson-to-students-526669/>
- Walker, K. (2020, July 14). *People with Ontario licence plates getting rude welcome from presumptuous Maritimers*. iheartradio. <https://www.iheartradio.ca/purecountry/nova-scotia/ctv-news-atlantic/people-with-ontario-licence-plates-getting-rude-welcome-from-presumptuous-Maritimers-1.12979396>
- Walsh, A. (2021, January 18). *Want to lower food insecurity rates? Experts say systemic change is needed*. CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador.

- <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/food-insecurity-poverty-systemic-change-1.5873048>
- Walsh, A. (2020, April 12). *Food bank in the bubble: How this family launched a service from their home*. CBC News (Newfoundland and Labrador).
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/nleats-food-bank-1.5529064>
- Watson, H. G. (2020, March 20). *Here's where Canadian artists and freelancers can find help during COVID-19 shutdowns*. CBC News (Arts). <https://www.cbc.ca/arts/here-s-where-canadian-artists-and-freelancers-can-find-help-during-covid-19-shutdowns-1.5503360>
- Weeden, A., & Kelly, W. (2020, June 18). *Addressing the digital divide: COVID-19 and the importance of connecting rural Canada* [CRRF Rural Insights Series: COVID-19, no. 1.5]. Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation. <http://crrf.ca/ri-digital-divide/>
- White, J. (2020, December 23). *St. John's Woman Recounts 'absolute chaos' south of the border amid COVID-19*. CBC News (Newfoundland and Labrador).
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/nl-far-from-home-maryland-robyn-dalton-1.5814703>
- Winkie, L. (2020, June 5). New "call a senior" programs are sparking unexpected friendships during quarantine. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2020/5/29/21273545/coronavirus-covid-19-seniors-old-people-isolation-loneliness>
- Wright, T. (2020a, June 27). "Gentle Island" P.E.I. Seeing Some Not-So-Gentle Anti-Outsider Sentiment as COVID-19 Travel Restrictions Ease. *National Post*.
<https://nationalpost.com/news/p-e-i-sees-rise-in-anti-outsider-sentiment-as-covid-19-travel-restrictions-ease-2>
- Wright, T. (2020b, June 27). *P.E.I. sees rise in 'plate shaming' as COVID-19 travel restrictions ease*. City News. <https://toronto.citynews.ca/2020/06/27/p-e-i-sees-rise-in-plate-shaming-as-covid-19-travel-restrictions-ease/>
- Yarr, K. (2020a, June 11). *P.E.I. could lose 85% of its tourism business because of COVID-19*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-matthew-mackay-tourism-loss-1.5607574>
- Yarr, K. (2020b, July 2). *Some tourists cancel P.E.I. holidays as negative stories circulate in media*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-tourism-negative-news-mackay-1.5634915>
- Yarr, K. (2020c, October 2). *'It was hell': Women's views of pandemic preserved in report cite isolation, economic hit*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island).
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-women-pandemic-report-1.5747815>
- Yousif, N. (2021, February 1). *Anxiety, depression, insomnia: Pandemic retraumatizing marginalized youth*. Toronto.com. <https://www.toronto.com/news-story/10321762-anxiety-depression-insomnia-pandemic-retraumatizing-marginalized-youth/>
- Zavarise, I. (2020, May 6). *Far from home, some international students facing financial difficulties*. CBC News (Prince Edward Island). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/prince-edward-island/pei-international-students-funding-covid-19-2020-1.5556095>
- Zimonjic, P., & Cullen, C. (2020, December 9). *Canadians told to pay back CERB say eligibility requirements were unclear*. CBC News (Politics).
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canadians-told-to-pay-back-cerb-cra-1.5834950>