

Statistical Profiles: East York 1981-2005 and Chapleau 2001

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Introduction

Our NetLab research team has been studying personal communities since 1967, seeking to identify the sociability and support that close friends, relatives and spouses provide to each other. Most of our work has been done in the former Toronto borough of East York (see figures 1a and b for a map and photograph). Recently, we have also studied the isolated northern Ontario town of Chapleau (see figures 2a and c for a map and photograph).

This report uses census data and NetLab survey statistics to profile East York and Chapleau at approximately the time of our research and interviews. These profiles are intended to be introductions to the characteristics of two areas studied by *NetLab's* Connected Lives projects: the area of East York in metropolitan Toronto and the northern Ontario town of Chapleau. The information in this profile is drawn from Canadian censuses as well as from the data collected by the Connected Lives project. These profiles compare East York at two points in time, when they were studied by NetLab in the late 1970s and again in 2004-2005. It also compares contemporary East York with Chapleau.

The original study – an in-person closed-ended survey of 845 randomly-sampled adults was done in 1968 in East York. Donald Coates was principal investigator and Barry Wellman was co-investigator. It was based at – and funded by – the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, Toronto. This research was the first to document the differentiated and networked nature of community and how most members of personal communities lived outside of the neighbourhood. Coates, Moyer and Wellman (1969) describe the study and Wellman (1979) provides key findings about the nature of community ties.

In this report we focus on the second and third East York studies. The second East York study came approximately a decade later, with Barry Wellman as principal investigator. Unlike the earlier survey, this was a series of very lengthy interviews in 1979 with 33 people. All of the interviewees had been surveyed in the first survey study, providing us with information about how changes in their lives were associated with changes in their personal communities (see Wellman, et al., 1997). Of course, not all the interviewees continued to live in East York, but almost all lived in southern Ontario. This research was the first to demonstrate the differentiated nature of social support and to describe how personal community ties provide interpersonal social capital. Wellman (1982) discusses study procedures, while Wellman, Carrington and Hall (1988), Wellman (1985, 1992), Wellman and Wellman (1992) and Wellman and Wortley (1989, 1990) provide key findings. The study was based at the University of Toronto's Centre for Urban and Community Studies. It was primarily funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Ontario Ministry of Health, and the U.S. National Institute of Mental Health.

There was a large time-gap until the third East York study which has concentrated more on how information and communication technologies (such as the Internet) have affected personal communities and household relations. In 2004, our NetLab administered a random-sample drop-off survey to 350 residents of East York. This was followed up in 2005 with three-hour interviews with a 25% subsample of these respondents. In view of the lengthy time-gap since the second East York study, no effort was made to contact those interviewed in 1979. Moreover, as

this report documents, East York underwent major demographic and housing changes in the 25 year period: high-rise apartments supplemented single-family detached homes and the one-time heavily British-Canadian borough came to have many immigrants from elsewhere. This research has shown how information and communication technologies are embedded in people's everyday lives, and how they augment – not supplement – face-to-face and telephone contact. This study has been based at the University of Toronto's Centre for Urban and Community Studies, Department of Sociology and Knowledge Media Design Institute. It has been primarily funded by the Intel Corporation's People and Practices research unit and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. See Wellman and Hogan, et al. (2006) and Hogan, Carrasco and Wellman (2007) for project descriptions and basic results. See also Carrasco, et al. (2007), Kayahara and Wellman (2007), Kennedy and Wellman (2007) and Mok and Wellman (2008) for more focused analyses.

Our study locale of East York is urban, near the heart of metropolitan Toronto. Yet, information and communication technologies have the potential to transcend distance, incorporating rural areas into the global village. To understand how information and communication technologies differentially affect rural relationships, we accepted an invitation from Bell Canada and Nortel Networks to study Chapleau, an isolated area in northern Ontario that received high-speed broadband service in 2005. We conducted 159 drop-off surveys in the early days of the trials (December 2005-February 2006); 219 follow-up drop-off surveys in October-November 2006 when the broadband service had matured; as well as 33 lengthy in-person interviews, July-August 2006; and focus group conversations with 19 Chapleau residents in November 2007. (A preliminary description is in Behrens, Glavin and Wellman, 2007).

We begin by profiling East York, using 2001 census data that is as contemporaneous as possible with our third East York study. We then profile it for the dates closest to our second East York study (1981). We then compare the profiles of East York over the two time periods to highlight continuities and changes. We conclude with a 2001 profile of Chapleau, and finally with a comparison of East York and Chapleau in 2001.

Acknowledgements

Sarah Gram wrote much of the text of this report, under the organizing and editorial guidance of Barry Wellman. Barry Wellman wrote the report's Introduction. Julie Amoroso did prodigious copyediting and layout. The information on Internet use largely comes from other papers that our Connected Lives project has published that are acknowledged in specific areas of the text.

Throughout the years, we have been grateful for the support of our University of Toronto research bases at the Centre for Urban and Community Studies, the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry and the Department of Sociology; our granting agencies – named above; our many research collaborators; and especially the patient and helpful residents of East York and Chapleau who have moved from rotary-dial phones to broadband Internet with us since 1968

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Figure 1a: Houses and apartment buildings in East York © 2005 Wellman Associates



Figure 1b: East York in Metropolitan Toronto

East York 2001-2005: Introduction

The Connected Lives project is studying household relations, social networks, ICT (information and communication technology) use, and information seeking. The project collected quantitative data from surveys completed in 2004 from 350 randomly sampled English-speaking adults (18+) in the East York area of Toronto. The sampling frame yielded 621 valid names, and a response rate of 56% was obtained. The survey asked questions about the respondents' computers, homes, jobs, household members, personal networks, community involvement, and attitudes, as well as standard demographic information. One quarter of these surveys (87) were followed up in 2005 with in-home interviews conducted by Connected Lives doctoral students. During the interviews, the participants were questioned about their general culture and leisure activities, how they select specific activities to engage in, and the role that the Internet plays in their leisure lives. This was followed by a series of questions about how the participants gather information and make decisions about the culture and leisure activities they identified as being of interest. Participants were then asked about the role that the Internet plays in information gathering, decision making, and engaging in activities.

East York is a residential area of Toronto that has been the focus of multiple NetLab community studies. Formerly an independent township, and later a self-governing borough of Metropolitan Toronto, East York was absorbed into the amalgamated city of Toronto in 1998. Despite this, the community has always prided itself on its small town atmosphere.

East York is centrally situated in the amalgamated city of metropolitan Toronto. It is bounded on the west by an expressway, on the south by a subway line, and it has frequent bus services along its main routes. Both mobile phone and broadband Internet services are widely available. East York also has access to the cultural activities characteristic of a large urban centre, such as theatres, museums, musical performances, and a large library system.

East York is located 30-45 minutes travel from Toronto's central business district. Its population of 114,240 is ethnically and socioeconomically mixed, with both white Canadians and visible minorities residing in houses and apartment buildings.

Demographic Characteristics

Gender: The 2001 Census records East York's population as 115,185. The population is fairly evenly divided: 47.5% of the population is male, while 52.5% is female. This is consistent with the overall gender distribution of the province of Ontario as a whole.

Age: The median age of the population of East York is 37.4 years of age. The vast majority of the population is 15 or older, with only 18.4% of the population less than 15 years of age. This is down almost 3% from the 1968, when 21.9% of the population was between the ages of zero and 14. By contrast, the number of people between the ages of 25 and 44 has increased considerably. More than one-third of the population (35.4%) is between the ages of 25 and 44, in contrast to the 28% of the population who fell into this age category in 1968. As well, the number of people who are 65 and over has increased from 9.6% of the population to 13.6%, a difference of four percentage points.

Table 1 – Age Distribution in East York (2001)				
<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>	<i>Metro Toronto Number</i>	<i>% of Toronto Population</i>
0-4	7,410	6.4	288,660	6.1
5-14	13,820	12.0	627,490	13.4
15-19	5,765	5.0	303,610	6.5
20-24	6,195	5.4	306,610	6.5
25-44	40,810	35.4	1,553,685	33.2
45-54	16,045	13.9	664,705	14.2
55-64	9,510	8.3	409,110	8.7
65-74	7,765	6.7	300,950	6.4
75-84	5,760	5.0	175,210	3.7
85+	2,110	1.8	52,535	1.1

Marital Status: The adult population of East York comprises 81.6% of the total population. Almost half (48.3%) of the adults are married. This represents a 13.5% decline in the number of married persons since 1981, when 61.8% of East York's adults were married. There has been a corresponding increase in the number of single individuals in East York – more than one-third of the adults are single, up 7.6 percentage points since 1981. Notably, 62.4% of the divorced adults residing in East York are female, as is 83% of the widowed population. More than 10% of the women living East York are widowed, indicating an aging population.

Table 2 – Marital Status of the East York Adult Population (2001)					
<i>Marital Status</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Adult Population (Age 15+)</i>	<i>% of East York Males</i>	<i>% of East York Females</i>	<i>% Age 15+ in Toronto Population</i>
Single	32,075	34.1	36.7	31.8	35.7
Married	45,400	48.3	51.8	45.3	48.0
Separated	3,145	3.4	3.1	3.6	3.4
Divorced	6,915	7.4	5.9	8.6	6.5
Widowed	6,430	6.8	2.5	10.7	6.4

Family/Residence: Married couple families make up 71.6% of the families in East York. Lone-parent families comprise 18.4% of families in East York. Of these, 84.3% have a single female parent. Median family income for all families in the area is \$53,519. For married and common-law coupled families, the median is \$59,490 annually, while lone-parent families earn considerably less – at a median income of \$36,558, they earn approximately \$22,932 less than coupled families.

Table 3 – Family Characteristics in East York (2001)			
Total number of families (30,815)	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total</i>	<i>% Toronto Total</i>
Married-couple families	22,055	71.6	76.1
Common-law couple families	3,100	10.5	7.5
Lone-parent families	5,660	18.4	16.4
• Female lone-parent families	4,770	15.5	13.7
• Male lone-parent families	895	2.0	2.7
Median Family Income			
	<i>East York</i>	<i>Toronto</i>	
Median family income – all families	\$53,519	\$63,700	
• Median family income – couple families	\$59,490	\$70,079	
• Median family income – lone-parent families	\$36,558	\$36,426	

Homes: Homes in East York are almost evenly divided between those that are rented by the inhabitants and those that are owned. The average price of a home in East York in 2001 was \$263,667, significantly lower than the average price for homes in the entire city of Toronto but considerably more than the provincial average. East York had 1,760 homes constructed between 1991 and 2001.

In total, East York has 46,585 private households. Slightly more than a quarter of these households contain a couple with children; slightly less than a quarter contain a couple without children. Almost one third of households contain only one person. The median income for one person households is \$30,252, significantly lower than the median income of \$58,471 for two-or-more-person households.

Table 4 – Selected Occupied Dwelling Characteristics in East York (2001)		
<i>Dwelling Characteristics</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
Total number of dwellings	46,590	100.0
Total number of owned dwellings	22,215	48.1
Total number of rented dwellings	24,375	52.3
Average value of dwelling	\$263, 667	--

Table 5 – Selected Household Characteristics in East York (2001)			
<i>Household characteristics</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total</i>	<i>% Toronto Total</i>
Total number of private households	46,585	100.0	100.0
Households containing a couple with children	12,530	26.9	34.5
Households containing a couple without children	11,095	23.8	24.6
One-person households	14,330	30.8	22.0
Other household types	8,625	18.1	18.9
Median Household Income			
	<i>East York</i>	<i>Toronto</i>	
Median household income (all households)	\$46,963	\$59,502	
• One-person households	\$30,252	\$29,787	
• Two-or-more-persons households	\$58,471	\$69,916	

Ethnicity: The ethnic composition of East York has significantly changed in the years since 1968. Almost half of the population in 2001 (45.1%) is foreign-born, and of these, about half (49.0%) immigrated recently – between 1991 and 2001. This immigration, often from Asia, has had a profound effect on the ethnic composition of the area. Slightly more than one-third of the population of East York are visible minorities. This is a major shift from 1968, when three

quarters of the population were ‘of British origin’.¹ The survey sample for the Connected Lives project indicated that British-Canadians are still a sizeable percentage (44%) of the population.

South Asians comprise the largest non-white ethnic group, at 42% of the visible minority population. Overall, they make up 15% of the total population of East York. This is representative of a larger shift in immigration patterns to both East York and the city of Toronto as a whole. The 1968 East York profile (Gillies and Wellman, 1968), records an influx of Italian, Macedonian, and Greek immigrants, but notes: “Although this process has been consistent, it has not been of such magnitude as to alter radically the ethnic composition of East York.” This is no longer the case. This significant increase in immigration over the last two decades has dramatically altered the ethnic composition of the East York area, a change which has had significant implications in relation to both language and religious affiliation in the area.

Table 6 – Visible Minority Status Held by the Population of East York (2001)			
<i>Visible Minority Status</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>	<i>% of Toronto Population</i>
South Asian	17,075	15.0	10.2
Chinese	7,190	6.3	8.8
Filipino	4,930	4.3	2.9
Black	4,485	3.9	6.7
West Asian	1,840	1.6	1.1
Latin American	985	0.9	1.6
Korean	630	0.6	0.9
Japanese	580	0.5	0.4
Arab	415	0.4	0.9
Southeast Asian	320	0.3	1.2
Visible minority, n.i.e.²	1,410	1.2	1.4

Language: In 1968, 95% of the population of East York spoke only English. Non-English speakers comprised only 1.4% of the population. Because of the shift in ethnic composition towards Asian populations, English has not been able to maintain this position. Although a small majority (56.1%) of the population cite English as their first language, a full 42.6% of the population cite a language other than English or French as their first language. These percentages are similar to that of the overall city of Toronto.

¹ In 1968, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (the predecessor of Statistics Canada) identified those people with English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish heritage as being of ‘British origin’.

² Statistics Canada defines ‘Visible minority, n.i.e.’ as including respondents who reported a write in response classified as a visible minority, such as ‘Polynesian’, ‘Guyanese’, etc.

Religious Affiliation: Changes can also be observed in relation to religious affiliations in the area. In 1968, over 70% of the population identified as Protestant. This percentage has dropped significantly, with the 2001 census showing that only one quarter (25.3%) of the East York population is Protestant. The most substantial change, however, is the increase in the Muslim population, who comprise 12.6% of the 2001 population. By contrast, the 1968 profile did not even list Muslim as a category of religious affiliation. The same changes can also be observed, albeit to a lesser extent, with the inclusion of Buddhism, Hinduism, and other non-Western religions on the list.

Table 7 – Language(s) First Learned and Still Understood by the Population of East York (2001)			
<i>Language(s)</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>	<i>% of Toronto Population</i>
English only	63,860	55.9	57.8
French only	1,475	1.3	1.2
Both English & French	245	0.2	0.1
Other languages	48,660	42.6	40.8

Table 8 – Religious Affiliation, East York (2001)			
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>	<i>% of Toronto Population</i>
Catholic	27,010	23.6	34.0
Protestant	28,945	25.3	24.3
Christian Orthodox	13,660	12.0	3.8
Christian, n.i.e.³	2,865	2.5	3.5
Muslim	14,335	12.6	5.6
Jewish	1,060	0.9	3.5
Buddhist	1,815	1.6	2.1
Hindu	4,190	3.7	4.1
Sikh	265	0.2	1.9
Eastern religions	285	0.3	0.2
Other Religions	230	0.2	0.1
No religious affiliation	19,585	17.1	16.9

³ Statistics Canada defines 'Christian, n.i.e.' as answers of 'Christian' that are not otherwise qualified.

Socioeconomic Characteristics

Education: More than half of the East York population (58.3%) has completed some type of post-secondary education. Overall, the population 35-44 years of age tends to be the most educated. Almost two-thirds (65.4%) of the population in this age group have completed post-secondary education, with more than half of these holding a university certificate, diploma, or degree. Only 13.6% of the population between the ages of 35 and 44 did not complete high school.

In the population 20-34 years of age, 58.2% have completed post-secondary education, with 4.8% holding a trade certificate, 15.7% hold a college certificate or diploma, and 37.7% hold a university certificate, diploma, or degree. Only 11.5% of this age group did not complete high school, while 30.3% have a high school graduation certificate and/or some post-secondary school.

In the population aged 45-64, slightly more than a quarter of the population has less than a high school degree. A slightly larger percentage of the population holds a university certificate, diploma, or degree.

The majority of the East York population is working class or middle class. The unemployment rate is 7.0%, which is one percentage point higher than the unemployment rate of Ontario as a whole, and 0.5 percentage points higher than that of the city of Toronto. The largest concentrations of workers in East York are employed in business, finance, and administrative occupations, or in sales and service jobs. These sectors account for 45.2% of employment in the working population of the area. The male labour force is particularly concentrated in the sales and service occupations, as well as in the trades, or as transport and equipment operators.

Occupation/Work: Of the total of 57,130 East Yorkers in the labour force, over 27,400 (48%) are women. More than two-thirds of those employed in business, finance and administrative occupations are female. Women are also far more heavily employed in health occupations (79.1%), and make up more than three-fifths of those working in the social sciences, government service, education, and religion. In total, 58.0% of adult women in East York are employed outside the home. All of this indicates a significant change since 1968, when women comprised only 35.8% of the work force, a 62% increase (12 percentage points), and when only 41.5% of adult women were employed.

Table 9 – Highest Level of Schooling in the Population of East York (2001)		
<i>Total population aged 20-34</i>	<i>East York</i>	<i>Toronto</i>
	24,935	1,019,780
% with less than a high school graduation certificate	11.5	11.8
% with a high school graduation certificate and/or some post secondary	30.3	32.1
% with a trades certificate or diploma	4.8	6.2
% with a college certificate or diploma	15.7	17.3
% with a university certificate, diploma, or degree	37.7	32.7
<i>Total population aged 35-44</i>	21,990	832,960
% with less than a high school graduation certificate	13.6	15.8
% with a high school graduation certificate and/or some postsecondary	21.0	23.8
% with a trades certificate or diploma	7.1	8.8
% with a college certificate or diploma	18.3	19.1
% with a university certificate, diploma, or degree	40.0	32.5
<i>Total population aged 45-64</i>	25,440	1,069,570
% with less than a high school graduation certificate	26.5	26.0
% with a high school graduation certificate and/or some postsecondary	21.1	21.9
% with a trades certificate or diploma	7.9	9.6
% with a college certificate or diploma	15.8	15.3
% with a university certificate, diploma, or degree	28.6	27.2

The majority of the population of East York either drives or takes public transit to work. Because of its close association with the city of Toronto, most residents of the area work outside the traditional boundaries of the borough. A closer look at who uses what form of transportation reveals an imbalance between drivers and users of public transit. Of those people who drive to work, 65.4% are male. On the other end of the spectrum, 59.9% of those who take public transit

are women. An overwhelming majority of East Yorkers (85.1%) work at a regular location that is not their home.

Table 10 – Occupational Divisions of the Labour Force in East York (2001)						
<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>(60,045)</i>		<i>Male</i> <i>(31,210)</i>		<i>Female</i> <i>(28,835)</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Management	7,660	12.8	4,470	14.3	3,185	1.0
Business, finance, admin	13,560	22.6	4,455	4.3	9,100	1.6
Natural and applied sciences	5,375	9.0	3,970	12.7	1,410	4.9
Health occupations	2,565	4.3	535	1.7	2,030	7.0
Social science, education, government service, and religion	5,060	8.4	1,880	6.0	3,180	11.0
Art, culture, recreation, and sport	3,005	5.0	1,680	5.4	1,320	4.6
Sales and service occupations	13,550	22.6	6,600	21.1	6,950	24.1
Trades, transport, and equipment operators	5,710	9.5	5,365	17.2	345	1.2
Occupations unique to primary industry	325	0.5	250	0.8	75	0.2
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	3,235	5.4	2,000	6.4	1,235	4.3

Table 11 – Mode of Transportation to Work for the Population of East York (2001)		
<i>Mode of Transportation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of working population</i>
Car, truck, van, as driver	25,295	47.2
Car, truck, van, as passenger	2,650	10.5
Public transit	21,745	40.6
Walked or bicycled	3,420	6.4
Other methods	490	0.9

Table 12 – Places of Work for the Population of East York (2001)		
<i>Place of Work Status</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of employed labour force</i>
Worked at home	3,225	5.7
Worked outside Canada	300	0.5
No fixed workplace address	4,985	8.7
Worked at usual place	48,620	85.1

Income: The median total income for adults 15 years of age and older in East York is \$24,408. This is slightly lower than the median personal income reported by survey respondents during the Connected Lives study, which was between \$30,000 and \$40,000. The majority of this income comes from earnings for paid work, while almost 10% comes from government transfers. Another 10.4% comes from other sources.

Table 13 – Income in 2000 in the Population of East York (2001)		
	<i>East York</i>	<i>Toronto</i>
Persons 15+ years with income	87,505	3,514,750
Median total income for persons 15+	\$24,408	\$25,593
Composition of total income (100%)		
Earnings – % of income	79.5	82.0
Government transfers – % of income	9.8	7.9
Other money – % of income	10.4	10.1

Internet:⁴ Although the 2001 census did not provide information about computer use in the population, data from the Connected Lives project provides a window into computer use in East York. Computer access is good in the area, with broadband connections provided by both telephone and cable companies. Of the survey respondents (adults, aged 18+), 79.4% own a home computer, suggesting that the population is, for the most part, computer literate. Almost all

⁴ The information in this section was gathered from Kayahara and Wellman (2005) and Kennedy and Wellman (2007).

(94%) of households with a computer are also connected to the Internet. A large majority of survey respondents (86.9%) have used the Internet at some point, and three-quarters use it at home. Almost all Internet users (99.9%) have been using it for at least two years, with more than three-quarters of users having begun using the Internet before 2000. Respondents report being online a median of 10 hours per week, and sending a median of 21 emails per week.

Only 6% of survey respondents never use the Internet from their homes. Nearly 25% of the population are “light users,” spending 1 to 2 hours per week online. “Moderate” users (who are connected 3 to 7 hours per week) and “heavy” users (who are connected more than 7 hours per week, with a mean of 20.5 hours) each account for 35% of the population. It is noteworthy that approximately the same percentage of non-users as users has a computer in their home, and most of the non-users have more than one. These computers are used by the partners and children of the non-users. More than one third of the respondents (37%) have more than one computer in their home. East Yorkers are most likely to connect to the Internet from home between six and eleven in the evening: 82% of Internet users go online during this period.

There are no significant gender differences in the amount of time that is spent online. Non-users and light users are more likely to be women. Almost all women who do not use the Internet have children living at home and have less formal education than women who do use the Internet.

2. East York 1981

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Demographic Characteristics

Gender: East York had a population of 101,974 in 1981. This is down from 1976, when the interim census recorded a population of 106,443. This population had slightly more females than males: men made up 46.2% of the population, while women accounted for 53.6%.

Age: The great majority of the population of East York in 1981 was over 15 years of age or older. More than half of the population (53.3%) was between the age of 25 and 64, although there was a significant percentage of the population (10.4%) who was over the age of 70.

Table 1 – Age Distribution in East York (1981)		
<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>
0-4	5,865	5.8
5-9	5,030	4.9
10-14	5,125	5.0
15-19	6,125	6.0
20-24	9,150	9.0
25-34	19,075	18.7
35-44	12,290	12.1
45-54	11,160	10.9
55-64	11,780	11.6
64-69	4,895	4.8
70+	10,605	10.4

Marital Status: Within the adult population – defined as those residents who are 15 years of age or older – of 1981 East York, 61.8% of the population was married. Slightly more than a quarter of the population (26.5%) was single, while only 2.4% of the population was divorced. Almost 10% of the population was widowed, which was consistent with the proportion of senior residents living in the area.

Family/Residence: Husband-wife families constituted 87.2% of all families in 1981 East York. Single parent families made up the other 12.6% of families. Almost 11% of all families in East York were single-parents families headed by a mother, while only 1.8% were lone-parent families headed by a father.

Dwelling Characteristics: Slightly more than half (51.4%) of homes in East York were rented in 1981. Slightly less than half (48.7%) of homes were owned. The average value of a dwelling in East York in 1981 was \$104,051.90.

Table 2 – Marital Status of the East York Adult Population (1981)		
<i>Legal Marital Status</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Adult Population</i>
Single	22,520	26.5
Married	52,580	61.8
Divorced	2,040	2.4
Widowed	8,125	9.6

Table 3 – Selected Family Characteristics, East York (1981)		
Total number of families (27,785)	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
Husband-wife families	24,235	87.2
Single-parent families	3,540	12.7
• Male single-parent families	490	1.8
• Female single-parent families	3,025	10.9

Table 4 – Selected Occupied Dwelling Characteristics, East York (1981)		
<i>Dwelling Characteristics</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
Total number of dwellings	42,510	100.0
Total number of owned dwellings	20,685	48.7
Total number of rented dwellings	21,830	51.4
Average value of dwelling	\$104,051.90	--

Ethnicity/Language/Religious Affiliation: Half of the population of East York in 1981 identified themselves as having ethnic origins in Great Britain. Only 2.6% of the population was of French origin, while almost 40% cited ethnic origins other than English or French. A small percentage of the population identified themselves as having multiple origins.

Table 5 – Ethnic Origins in East York (1981)		
<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>
British	51,930	50.9
French	2,610	2.6
Other	40,625	39.8
Multiple Origins	5,985	5.9

The majority (72.3%) of East Yorkers spoke English as their native language in 1981. Small percentages (all under 5%) of the population spoke French, Italian, Portuguese, Chinese, or German as their first language, while 17.7% of the population had another language as their mother tongue.

Table 6 – Mother Tongue in East York (1981)		
<i>Language</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total population</i>
English	73,755	72.3
French	1,470	1.4
Italian	3,620	3.6
Portuguese	1,355	1.3
Chinese	3,490	3.4
German	1,580	1.6
Other	17,505	17.7

East York was a predominantly Christian community. Nearly half (47%) of the population was Protestant, slightly more than a quarter was Catholic, and a tenth was Eastern Orthodox. A tenth of East Yorkers listed no religious affiliation at all.

Table 7 – Religious affiliations in the population of East York (1981)		
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>
Catholic	26,895	26.4
Protestant	47,895	47.0
Eastern Orthodox	11,750	11.5
Jewish	465	0.5
No religious affiliation	10,300	10.1
Eastern non-Christian	4,965	4.9
Other	135	0.1

Socioeconomic Characteristics

Education: Almost 30% of the population had some high school education, without a graduation certificate, and for 18.3% of the population, less than ninth grade standing was the highest level of schooling obtained. A smaller percentage of the population (19.5%) had post-secondary education outside of university, but did not hold a trades certificate or diploma. A similar percentage (19.6%) of the population had some sort of university education, with 10.7% of East Yorkers holding a university degree.

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Table 8 – Highest Level of Schooling in the Population of East York (1981)		
<i>Level of schooling</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
Less than grade 9 (15+)	15,600	18.3
Grades 9-13 without secondary certificate	23,905	28.1
Grades 9-13 with secondary certificate	9,690	11.4
Trades certificate or diploma	2,590	3.0
Other non-university education	16,600	19.5
University without degree	7,585	8.9
University with degree	9,120	10.7

Occupation/Industry: The highest percentage of the population in 1981 East York (29.1%) was engaged in clerical work and related occupations. This sector accounted for almost half of all female employment in the borough. Almost 12% of the population worked in manufacturing, assembling, and repairing occupations, while 11.4% worked in the service industry. Almost 11% of the population worked in managerial, administrative, and related fields.

In the occupational breakdown of the population of East York in 1981, women were highly concentrated in certain industry areas but are absent from others. As previously noted, 47.6% of women in the labour force worked in clerical and related occupations. A significant number of women (more females than males in the industry) also worked in medicine and health (6.7%), and teaching and related occupations (3.7%). Almost a tenth (9.8%) of women worked in manufacturing, assembling, and repairing. No women were employed in the fields of construction and transportation equipment operation.

Table 9 – Occupational Divisions of the Labour Force in East York (1981)						
<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Total (57 325)</i>		<i>Male (30 560)</i>		<i>Female (26 865)</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Managerial and administrative and related occupations	6,210	10.8	3,800	12.4	2,410	9.0
Teaching and related occupations	1,597	2.8	615	2.0	982	3.7
Occupations in medicine and health	2,385	4.2	575	1.9	1,810	6.7
Technological, social, religious, artistic, and related occupations	4,245	7.4	2,915	9.5	1,330	5.0
Clerical and related occupations	16,670	29.1	3,890	9.5	12,780	47.6
Sales occupations	4,680	8.2	2,750	9.0	1,930	7.2
Service occupations	65 55	11.4	3,935	12.9	2,620	9.8
Primary occupations	350	0.6	305	1.0	45	0.2
Processing occupations	1,195	2.1	965	3.2	230	0.9
Manufacturing, assembling and repairing occupations	6,765	11.8	4,145	13.6	2,620	9.8
Construction trades occupations	2,120	3.7	2,120	6.9	--	--
Transport equipment operation occupations	1,700	3.0	1,700	5.6	--	--
Other	3,505	6.5	2,465	8.1	1,040	3.9

The largest industries in East York in 1981 were the business and personal service industry (31.8%) and the manufacturing industry (20.2%). The sales and service industry, as well as the finance, insurance and real estate industries also made up a significant proportion of East York's industry breakdown.

Table 10 – Industry Divisions in East York (1981)

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
Primary industries	280	0.5
Manufacturing industries	11,565	20.2
Construction industry	1,870	3.3
Transportation, communication, utilities	5,380	9.4
Sales & service	9,365	16.4
Finance, insurance, real estate	6,525	11.4
Community, business, personal service	18,220	31.8
Public administration and defense	4,065	7.1

Income:

The average male income in East York in 1981 was \$17,299.95. The average female income was significantly lower, at \$10,432.60 annually. The average family income was \$27,999.75 per year.

Table 11 – Income in East York (1981)

Males 15+ with income	37,500
• Average income	\$17,299.95
Females 15+ with income	40,230
• Average income	\$10,432.60
Average family income	\$27,999.75
Average household income	\$25,071.10

3. East York 1981-2001: Changes and Comparisons

East York, like many areas in Toronto, has undergone significant demographic and social changes in the twenty years between 1981 and 2001 (Hulchanski, 2007). The population has increased 19.9%, from 101,974 residents to 115,185 residents. While the age and gender breakdown of the community remain relatively similar, radical changes have taken place in other areas of life. There has been an eight percentage point increase in the number of single people in East York, as well as a five point increase in the number of divorced residents. There has also been a thirteen point decrease in the percentage of married people in the community. The percentage of married couples has also dropped eleven percentage points between 1981 and 2001.

Some of the most marked changes have occurred in the areas of ethnicity and religion. In 1968, nearly three quarters of the East York were of British origin. By 1981, this number had dropped to 50% of the population. On the other hand, the Connected Lives survey in East York indicated that 44% of the respondents identify themselves as being “of British origin”. In 1981, almost 40% of East Yorkers selected the category of “Other” in reference to their ethnic origin on the Census (the categories available were “British”, “French”, “Other”, and “Multiple Origins”). While the 1981 census does not go into more depth, an examination of the language and religious affiliation provides insight into the changing ethnic composition of the area. Italian, Portuguese, Chinese, and German are all listed in the portion of the census dedicated to recording the “mother tongue” of the respondent. In this section there is again an option labeled “Other”, which encompasses 17.7% of the 1981 East York population. By 2001, 45.1% of the population of East York was foreign-born, and one third of residents were members of a visible minority group. Residents of South Asian origin made up 15% of the East York population, while residents of Chinese origin made up 6.3% of the population.

The changes in the ethnic composition of East York have had a significant impact on the religious and linguistic breakdown of the area. In 1981, East York was a primarily Protestant community, with about half of the population identifying themselves as Protestant. A quarter of the population was Catholic, while less than an eighth were Eastern Orthodox.

By 2001, the religious composition of the community had changed significantly. Only one-quarter (24.3%) of the population had Protestantism as their religious affiliation. A slightly smaller percentage (23.6%) is Catholic, while Orthodox Christians comprise 12% of the population. Muslims also comprise 12% of the population, while Hindus and Buddhists comprise 3.7% and 1.6% respectively.

East York has also seen significant changes in the educational levels of its residents. The 1981 census states that almost 30% of the population of East York had some high school education, but without a secondary school certificate. Only 10.7% of the population held a university degree, and one fifth of the population had post-secondary education outside of university or trade school. By 2001, the number of university graduates had increased to 30.2% of the total population. The percentage of residents without a high school graduation certificate dropped to 16.3% of the total population.

The occupational divisions in East York do not appear to have changed significantly over time, although comparisons cannot be precise because the occupational categories in the census

have changed between 1981 and 2001. Yet Hulchanski's (2007) analysis places most of East York's census tracts in the cluster of middle-income inner suburbs whose income has not changed appreciably since 1970. This is not homogeneous stability, as a few tracts in northwestern East York (principally in the former town of Leaside) have joined the increasingly affluent central Toronto core, while a few in the north and southeast have joined the relatively poorer outer suburban ring.

4. Chapleau 2001

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Figure 2a: Chapleau, Ontario

City	Km	Miles
Sudbury	404	250
Toronto	776	482
Montréal	1,080	671
Detroit	1,149	712
Chicago	1,014	629
New York	1,541	951

Figure 2b: Distances to Major Cities



**Figure 2c: Houses in Chapleau. Photo by Tracy Kennedy
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Preface

This profile is intended to act as a short introduction to the community of Chapleau, Ontario. The information in this profile is drawn from the 2001 Canadian Census, as well as data from the Connected Lives North project.

The Connected Lives North project was launched in tandem with the installation of a high speed wireless network in the community. The wireless mesh network was a collaborative project between Nortel Networks and Bell Canada Enterprises which allowed the majority of the community access to a high speed broadband Internet connection.

Two waves of survey data were collected by those working with the Connected Lives North study in an attempt to resolve this question: “how did the broadband connection transform the socio-economic profile of the residents of the community?” Both waves were conducted using paper surveys completed by 159 and 219 residents respectively. These surveys were followed up by 33 in-depth interviews that asked questions relating to the Internet and personal community.

Chapleau is a small community in Northern Ontario, located at the heart of the Canadian Shield. The nearest cities are Timmins, Sudbury, and Sault Ste. Marie, each more than two hours away. There is almost no intervening homes or businesses between Chapleau and these cities, other than tourist and logging camps. This relative isolation, in combination with the town’s proximity to a very large wildlife preserve, has made Chapleau a destination for eco-tourists and wildlife enthusiasts. Tourism is one of the three mainstays of the Chapleau economy, along with forestry and rail services.

Chapleau was the site of a joint project between Bell Canada and Nortel Networks to create a “smart community” in a rural area. The telecommunications companies collaborated to install high speed Internet technology. Because of this project, Chapleau was a good location in which to conduct a portion of the Connected Lives study.

Demographic Characteristics

Gender: Chapleau had a population of 2,832 in 2001. The population is evenly divided by gender: 50.8% of the population is male, while 49.0% is female. This is consistent with the gender distribution of Ontario as a whole.

Age: The median age of the population of Chapleau is 39.5 years of age. The great majority (79.0%) of the population is 15 years of age or older. Nearly one-third of the population (31.4%) is between the ages of 25 and 44.

Table 1- Age Distribution in Chapleau (2001)

<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>	<i>% of Ontario Population</i>
0-4	185	6.5	5.9
5-14	410	14.5	13.7
15-19	225	7.9	6.7
20-24	180	6.3	6.2
25-44	890	31.4	30.8
45-54	395	13.9	14.3
55-64	200	7.1	9.3
65-74	200	7.1	7.2
75-84	110	3.9	4.4
85+	35	1.2	1.3

Marital Status:

The adult population of Chapleau comprises 78.9% of the total population. Almost half (48.0%) are legally married, while one-third (34.9%) are single. Notably, there are almost equal numbers of divorced men and women in the community. A full 40.9% of the male population is single. Almost 80% of the widowed population are women: 12.0% of all adult women are widowed, indicating an aging population, as this is twice the percentage as in the overall Ontario population.

Table 2 – Legal Marital Status of the Chapleau Adult Population (2001)					
<i>Legal Marital Status</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Adult Population</i>	<i>% of Male Population</i>	<i>% of Female Population</i>	<i>% in Ontario Population</i>
Single	780	34.9	40.9	28.6	30.4
Married	1,075	48.0	47.4	49.3	53.3
Separated	85	3.8	3.5	3.7	3.4
Divorced	125	5.6	5.2	6.0	6.5
Widowed	165	7.4	3.0	12.0	6.3

Family/Residence: Married couple families make up 65.6% of families in Chapleau. Single-parent families are much less common, accounting for only 9.6% of total families. More than four out of five these single-parent families (86.7%) are headed by a mother. The median income for all families in the area is \$56,935 per year. When further broken down by category, couple families (both married and common law) have a median income of \$61,806 per year. Single-parent families have a median income of only \$24,619 a year, almost ten thousand dollars lower than the provincial median of \$33,724 a year.

Table 3 – Selected Family Characteristics in the Population of Chapleau (2001)			
Total number of families (785)	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of total</i>	<i>% Ontario total</i>
Married couple families	515	65.6	75.4
Common law couple families	195	24.8	9.4
Single-parent families	75	9.6	15.2
• Female single-parent families	65	8.3	12.6
• Male single-parent families	10	1.3	2.7

Household Characteristics: The majority (67.0%) of homes in Chapleau are owned by their residents. The average value of a home in Chapleau is \$92,586, more than \$100,000 less than the average Ontario dwelling. Only 75 homes have been built since 1991, in comparison to the 1,030 homes built prior to that year.

Table 4 – Selected Occupied Dwelling Characteristics in Chapleau (2001)		
<i>Dwelling Characteristics</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
Total number of dwellings	1,105	100.0
Total number of owned dwellings	740	67.0
Total number of rented dwellings	360	32.6
Average value of dwelling	\$92,586	--

More than a third (36.4%) of Chapleau's 1,100 households contain a couple with children; slightly more than one-quarter (26.8%) contain a childless couple, while another quarter (27.3%) contains only a single person.

Table 5 – Selected Household Characteristics in Chapleau (2001)		
<i>Household characteristics</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total</i>
Total number of private households	1,100	100.0
Households containing a couple with children	400	36.4
Households containing a couple without children	295	26.8
One-person households	300	27.3
Other household types	105	9.5

More than a third (36.4%) of Chapleau's 1,100 households contain a couple with children; slightly more than one-quarter (26.8%) contain a childless couple, while another quarter (27.3%) contains only a single person.

Ethnicity: Almost 90% of the population of Chapleau is not a member of a visible minority group. Only 2% of the population claims visible minority status, the entire 2% composed of people of Japanese origin. However, Chapleau has a significant Aboriginal population (categorized separately from visible minorities in the census), which constitutes 11.2% of the total population.

Language: Chapleau is a bilingual community. Slightly more than half (51.9%) of residents speak only English, while 41.7% of residents speak only French. A small percentage of the population is bilingual. A small percentage speaks a language other than English or French.

Nearly three-quarters of Chapleau residents are affiliated with the Catholic Church, while a quarter are Protestant. Almost 5% of residents have no religious affiliation.

Table 6 – Language(s) First Learned and Still Understood by the Population of Chapleau (2001)			
<i>Language(s)</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>	<i>% of Ontario Population</i>
English only	1,455	51.9	70.6
French only	1,170	41.7	4.3
Both English & French	75	2.7	0.3
Other languages	105	3.7	24.8

Table 7 – Religious Affiliations in the Population of Chapleau (2001)			
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Total Population</i>	<i>% Ontario Population</i>
Catholic	1,995	71.0	34.7
Protestant	685	24.4	34.9
Christian, n.i.e.⁵	10	0.4	2.3
No religious affiliation	115	4.1	16.3

Socioeconomic Characteristics

Education: Overall, the population aged 20-34 is the best educated, with three quarters of the age group holding a high school graduation certificate or higher. The majority of those within this group hold *only* their high school graduation certificate, and 23.2% of the population aged 20-34 never graduated from high school. Within the population between 45 and 64 years of age, 11.7% of the population holds a university certificate, diploma or degree. This is the highest percentage of university degree holders in Chapleau. Overall, slightly more than one third of the population between the ages of 20 and 64 has not completed high school, while less than 10% of the same population has a university certificate, degree, or diploma.

⁵ Statistics Canada defines 'Christian, n.i.e.' as answers of 'Christian' that are not otherwise qualified.

Table 8 – Highest Level of Schooling in the Population of Chapleau (2001)		
	<i>Chapleau</i>	<i>Ontario</i>
<i>Total population aged 20-34</i>	560	2,263,910
% with less than a high school graduation certificate	23.2	13.2
% with a high school graduation certificate and/or some post secondary	38.4	33.7
% with a trades certificate or diploma	11.6	7.9
% with a college certificate or diploma	17.9	19.5
% with a university certificate, diploma, or degree	8.9	25.7
<i>Total population aged 35-44</i>	510	1,949,840
% with less than a high school graduation certificate	38.2	17.3
% with a high school graduation certificate and/or some postsecondary	27.5	25.6
% with a trades certificate or diploma	11.8	11.5
% with a college certificate or diploma	16.7	21.2
% with a university certificate, diploma, or degree	7.8	24.3
<i>Total population aged 45-64</i>	555	2,684,705
% with less than a high school graduation certificate	43.2	27.5
% with a high school graduation certificate and/or some postsecondary	16.2	22.9
% with a trades certificate or diploma	18.0	11.6
% with a college certificate or diploma	11.7	16.6
% with a university certificate, diploma, or degree	11.7	21.5

Occupation/Work: The largest concentrations of workers are employed in sales and service occupations, occupations unique to processing and manufacturing, as well as trades, transportation, and equipment operation. These sectors account for more than half off all employment in Chapleau.

Of the total labour force of 1,450 in Chapleau, 620 (or 42.8%) are women. The majority of these women are employed in sales and service occupations, as well as business, finance, and administrative occupations. There are no women employed in occupations unique to primary industry, and less than 2% are employed in trades, transportation, and equipment operation. Conversely, slightly less than 2% of men are employed in business, finance, and administrative positions. Even fewer (1.2%) are employed in health occupations, and none are employed in art, culture, recreation, and sport occupations.

The unemployment rate is 8.8%, almost three percentage points higher than that of the province. The unemployment rate is higher among women, at 10.2% of the female working population.

Table 9 – Occupational Divisions of the Labour Force in Chapleau (2001)						
<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Total (1,450)</i>		<i>Male (835)</i>		<i>Female (620)</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Management	105	7.2	60	7.2	45	7.3
Business, finance, and administrative	180	10.3	15	1.8	160	25.8
Natural and applied sciences	30	2.1	25	3.0	10	1.6
Health occupations	65	4.5	10	1.2	60	9.7
Social science, education, government service, and religion	100	6.9	20	2.4	80	12.9
Art, culture, recreation, and sport	10	0.7	0	0.0	10	1.6
Sales and service occupations	375	25.9	145	17.4	230	37.1
Trades, transport, and equipment operators	360	17.9	355	42.5	10	1.6
Occupations unique to primary industry	55	3.8	50	6.0	0	0.0
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	180	12.4	160	19.2	20	3.2

The majority (57.9%) of the population of Chapleau drive to work. Most residents work at a regular location that is not their home, usually in logging, lumber mill or railroad related activities.

Table 10 – Mode of Transportation to Work, Chapleau (2001)		
<i>Mode of Transportation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of working population</i>
Car, truck, van, as driver	840	57.9
Car, truck, van, as passenger	125	8.6
Walked or bicycled	285	19.7

Table 11 – Places of Work in the Population of Chapleau (2001)		
<i>Place of Work</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of employed labour force</i>
Worked at home	100	7.4
No fixed workplace address	140	10.5
Worked at regular location	1,110	82.2

Income: The median total income for adults 15 years of age and older in Chapleau is \$20,150. The majority of this income comes from earnings for paid work, while more than 10% comes from government transfers. Another 8.8% comes from other sources. The median income for all families in the area is \$56,935 per year. When further broken down by category, couple families (both married and common law) have a median income of \$61,806 per year. Single parent families have a median income of only \$24,619 a year, almost ten thousand dollars lower than the provincial median of \$33,724 a year. The median income for all households is \$47,941. One person households have a median income of \$25,628 per year, while two-or-more person households have a median income of \$58,385 per year.

Table 12 – Income in 2000, Chapleau (2001)		
<i>Income Characteristics</i>	<i>Chapleau</i>	<i>Ontario</i>
Persons 15+ years of age with income	2,120	8 598 560
Median total income for persons 15+ years	\$20,150	\$24,816
Composition of total income (100%)		
Earnings – % of income	79.7	78.7
Government transfers – % of income	11.4	9.8
Other money – % of income	8.8	11.5
Median Family Income		
Median family income – all families	\$56,935	\$61,024
• Median family income – couple families	\$61,806	\$66,476
• Median family income – lone-parent families	\$24,619	\$33,724
Median household income (all households)	\$47,941	\$53,626
• One-person households	\$25,628	\$25,235
• Two-or-more-persons households	\$58,385	\$64,201

Internet

After the introduction of the wireless mesh network to the community of Chapleau, 27% of those surveyed remained non-users of the Internet, while 13% were light users, 23% were medium users, and 37% were heavy users. Many residents who had previously used low-speed, dial-up Internet connections switched to wireless broadband access after it was implemented.

Despite this change, the percentage of non-users did not appreciably change. Among users, the frequency of connection did not significantly change, nor did the number of hours spent using the Internet. After the introduction of the wireless system, there was a significant increase in ownership of electronic media such as personal digital assistants (PDAs), mobile phones, and laptop computers. There was an 18% increase in desktop computers, a 50% increase in laptop computers, and a 150% increase in mobile phones. This increase in technology ownership is mostly attributable to heavy Internet users.

5. East York and Chapleau: an Urban-Rural Comparison

Demographically, East York and Chapleau are very different communities. East York has a population of 115,185, more than forty times the population of Chapleau. Moreover, East York is embedded in the metropolitan Toronto area, which has a population of 4,682,897.

The communities have similar median ages – 37.4 and 39.5 respectively. Both communities have populations where approximately 34% of adults are single, 48% are married, and 3.5% are separated. Chapleau has a slightly lower percentage of divorced residents and a slightly higher number of widowed residents. Chapleau also has a lower percentage of married couple families, by approximately five percentage points. They also have a higher percentage of common-law couples. East York, by comparison, has a significantly higher level of single parent families.

The median income for all families in East York is \$53,519 per year, while in Chapleau the median income is \$56,935. The median income for a married couple family is higher in Chapleau (\$61,806) than in East York (\$59,490). The median income for a single parent family is the opposite – it is significantly higher in East York (\$36,558) than in Chapleau (\$24,619).

East York and Chapleau share few ethnic similarities. East York is an ethnically diverse community, with a significant portion of the population claiming visible minority status. In Chapleau, only 2% of the population is a member of a visible minority group; almost entirely of Japanese origin. More than half of the population of East York has English as their first learned language, with 42.6% of the population having first learned a language other than English or French. Only 1.3% of the population is a native French speaker. By contrast, Chapleau has a similar number of native English speakers, but they also have a high percentage of native French speakers (41.7%). Only 3.7% of Chapleau have a first learned language other than English or French.

East York is religiously diverse, with almost equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, as well as large Christian Orthodox and Muslim populations. Almost one-fifth of the population cites no religious affiliation. Chapleau, by contrast, has a majority Catholic population, with 71.0% of residents affiliated with the Catholic Church. A quarter (24.4%) of the population is Protestant, while 4.1% has no religious affiliation.

In the realm of education attainment, East York and Chapleau also differ. East York has a high percentage of university educated residents: in each of the three age groupings, the highest percentage of residents held a university certificate, diploma, or degree. In Chapleau, a high percentage of the population in all age groups holds only a high school graduation certificate or less.

Occupationally, East York has a significantly higher proportion than Chapleau of residents who work in business, finance, and administrative occupations. This is likely due to the proximity of the East York to the downtown Toronto area. Chapleau, meanwhile, has a higher percentage of residents working in the trades, transportation and equipment operation, as well as processing, manufacturing and utilities. This reflects its predominantly logging, milling and railway activities. The highest percentage of women in East York are employed in business, finance and administrative occupations, while in Chapleau the highest percentage of women are employed in the sales and service occupations. In both East York and Chapleau over 80% of the population worked at a fixed location outside of their homes.

The median per capita income in East York is \$24,408 per year, 21% (\$4,258) larger than the median total income in Chapleau (\$20,150). A higher percentage of total income in Chapleau (11.4%) is accounted for by government transfers than in East York (9.8%).

Despite these differences, our research into East York and Chapleau is revealing many similarities. The residents of both communities have incorporated the Internet into their everyday lives, both for communication (especially email) and information (on the web). One difference is a matter of scale: where East Yorkers use the Internet to communicate and find information about other Torontonians, the small population of Chapleau allows for much face-to-face communication among the residents. Therefore, a higher proportion of Internet use is long-distance, for communication, information and transactions such as shopping and telehealth (Collins, Hogan and Wellman, 2007).

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