Participation in extracurricular activities and high school completion among off-reserve First Nations people

by Paula Arriagada

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- . not available for any reference period
- .. not available for a specific reference period
- ... not applicable
- 0 true zero or a value rounded to zero
- 0* value rounded to 0 (zero) where there is a meaningful distinction between true zero and the value that was rounded
- p preliminary
- r revised
- x suppressed to meet the confidentiality requirements of the Statistics Act
- E use with caution
- F too unreliable to be published
- * significantly different from reference category (p < 0.05)
Participation in extracurricular activities and high school completion among off-reserve First Nations people

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Overview of the study

This study reports on predictors of high school completion by age 18 among First Nations males and females aged 18 to 24 living off reserve, with a particular focus on extracurricular activities (participation in sports, arts and clubs). The results are based on data from the 2012 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS).

- In 2012, 59% of First Nations people aged 18 to 24 living off reserve had completed high school by age 18. The remaining respondents completed high school at a later age (12%) or left school before finishing (29%).
- In their last year of school, 46% of off-reserve First Nations youth participated in sport activities on a weekly basis, 25% participated in arts, and 19% participated in groups or clubs.
- First Nations males were more likely than females to participate in weekly sports activities (54% versus 40%) and less likely to participate in groups or clubs (14% versus 24%). About one-quarter of First Nations males and females reported weekly participation in arts.
- Among First Nations males, participation in sport and art activities was positively correlated with high school completion by age 18—even after accounting for other factors such as academic, family, school and peer characteristics.
- Among First Nations females, participation in groups or club activities was positively correlated with high school completion by age 18—even after accounting for other factors such as academic, family, school and peer characteristics.

Introduction

Every year, many students leave high school without earning a diploma. Generally speaking, these persons face greater challenges in today’s economy since completing high school is often considered the minimal educational requirement needed to access the labour market. Workers who do not have a high school diploma have greater difficulty in obtaining well-paying jobs and are more vulnerable to economic downturns. Furthermore, the long-term benefits of a high school diploma, such as higher earnings and additional years of employment, are well-known.

The importance and benefits of finishing high school are also evident for the Aboriginal population. In 2012, for example, off-reserve First Nations high school completers were more likely to be employed (72%) than those who did not finish high school (47%). However, the reality is that although the educational attainment of Aboriginal people continues to increase, many First Nations people, Métis and Inuit still do not complete high school. In 2011, 29% of Aboriginal people aged 25 to 64 had neither a high school diploma nor a postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree compared with 12% in the same age group for the non-Aboriginal population.

Additionally, data from the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) show that the Aboriginal population is young and growing. In 2011, 28% of Aboriginal people were younger than age 15 compared with 17% of the
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Non-Aboriginal population. Because of these numbers, it is important to understand the factors that affect the educational experiences of these young people.

Existing research has shown that a number of factors, such as grades, skipping classes, parental education and parental involvement in school are associated with completing high school among the Aboriginal population. These results are consistent with literature based on the overall population.

This paper focuses on one particular factor of high school completion: students' participation in extracurricular sports and non-sports activities. Participating in extracurricular activities can have many benefits for children and youth, including positive academic achievement, improved psychological functioning and self-esteem, and good peer relationships. Students who participate in extracurricular activities tend to be more comfortable in school, create stronger social ties to the school, and are more likely to remain enrolled in school.

Involvement in extracurricular activities may be particularly critical for students who are at risk for school failure or for students who have less access to resources. More generally, participation in extracurricular school activities can be seen as an additional strategy for schools to help students form attachments and prevent dropping out.

This study concentrates on predictors of high school completion for off-reserve First Nations students, with a particular focus on their participation in extracurricular activities during their last year of school. While the correlation between extracurricular participation and academic success has been well-established, less is known about this link for Aboriginal students.

Specifically, this paper answers the question about how these activities are related to completing high school by age 18 when other factors are included. The other factors taken into account in the article include academic achievement; school engagement; family characteristics such as parental education, parental involvement, and family history of residential school attendance; educational aspirations and behaviours of peers; and school environment.

Data for this study come from the 2012 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS), a national survey of First Nations people living off reserve, Métis, and Inuit aged 6 and over. The outcome of interest is high school completion by age 18 among First Nations youth aged 18 to 24. This age was chosen as a measure of timely completion since, with the exception of Quebec, the typical student graduates from high school by this age. In this study, the average age at which off-reserve First Nations people graduated from high school was 17.8 years.

All explanatory variables for the analyses are measured for the last year of school. Results will be presented separately for males and females due to large differences in their educational trajectories as well as important variations in many of the explanatory measures.

High school completion by age 18 and extracurricular activity participation of First Nations youth

In 2012, 6 in 10 (59%) off-reserve First Nations people aged 18 to 24 had completed high school by age 18. The remaining respondents either completed high school at a later age (12%) or left school before finishing (29%).

Existing research has found that males are more likely than females to drop out. Nevertheless, the results of this study show no differences in timely completion between males and females in the case of off-reserve First Nations students.

For the purposes of this particular study, extracurricular activity participation is separated into three different categories: sports; arts, drama or music; and clubs or groups. These activities include those organized by the school, those outside school, or both (see Data sources, methods and definitions). More specifically, this study focuses on the frequency of participation in each of these activities, comparing those who reported weekly participation (once per week or more) to those who reported less-than-weekly participation (never or less than once per week).

In terms of participation in extracurricular activities, under one-half (46%) of off-reserve First Nations youth aged 18 to 24 participated in sport activities once per week or more in their last year of school, while one-quarter participated in art, drama or music activities at least weekly. One-fifth (19%) took part in groups or clubs (Chart 1).
Changes in debt and assets of Canadian families, 1999 to 2012

Participation in extracurricular activities and high school completion among off-reserve First Nations people

Off-reserve First Nations males aged 18 to 24 had significantly higher participation rates in sport activities than females (54% compared with 40%). In contrast, males had significantly lower levels of participation in clubs and groups (14% compared with 24%). This is consistent with existing literature, which suggests that participation in extracurricular activities often varies by gender. The rates of participation in art, drama and music activities were similar between males and females (24% and 26%).

Factors associated with high school completion by age 18

Extracurricular activities

Participation in extracurricular activities in the last year of school was positively correlated with completing high school by age 18 (Chart 2). For instance, 70% of off-reserve First Nations females who participated in sport activities at least once per week had completed high school by age 18, compared with 52% of those who reported less-than-weekly participation.

The majority (86%) of First Nations females who participated in clubs or groups at least weekly completed high school by age 18, compared with one-half of those who participated less often. Participation in art, dance or music extracurricular activities on a weekly basis was not significantly associated with timely high school completion among females.

Among First Nations males aged 18 to 24 who were living off reserve, weekly participation in all three types of extracurricular activities was significantly associated with higher likelihood of high school completion.
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In the multivariate model, variables for student, family, peer and school environment characteristics are included to account for other factors (other than extracurricular activities) that may influence the probability of completing high school by age 18. These variables and their effects are described in detail below.

Academic achievement and school engagement

One of the most commonly studied predictors of high school completion is academic achievement, including overall grades. In addition, research on the Aboriginal population has found that females and males who completed high school were especially likely to report mainly As and Bs.

The results from this analysis show that overall grades in last year of school are significantly associated with completing high school by age 18. Among off-reserve First Nations females who reported having As and Bs, the probability of completing high school was 71% compared with 40% for those who reported Cs or lower grades. Similar results hold for First Nations males—the probability of completing high school was 69% for those with As and Bs compared with 51% for those who reported Cs or lower grades (Table 1).

An important indicator shown to be related to dropping out among both non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal populations is school absenteeism. Behaviours such as skipping classes or arriving late to school often indicate a student who is not engaged in school. However, after controlling for all factors, the lower probability associated with absenteeism is not significant—likely because absenteeism also tends to be related to factors such as academic achievement.

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This association between extracurricular activities and timely high school completion, while consistent with previous research findings, could be mirroring the characteristics and environments of those who participate. For example, students who are more likely to participate in extracurricular activities may have higher grades and may be less likely to skip classes, two factors that are strongly correlated with high school completion (see Table A.1 for a complete list of all bivariate relationships between explanatory variables and high school completion by age 18).

In order to test whether the conclusions pertaining to participation in extracurricular activities are the same when additional factors that influence high school completion are taken into account simultaneously, a multivariate analysis was conducted, and results are presented as predicted probabilities. A probability of 1 should be interpreted as a 100% chance of completing high school by age 18, while a probability of 0 indicates a 0% chance.

Results from these models support the notion that participation in extracurricular activities, and especially in certain types of activities, is associated with a higher likelihood of timely high school completion. More specifically, off-reserve First Nations females who participated in club or group extracurricular activities at least once per week had a higher predicted probability, at 77%, of completing high school by age 18 versus 58% for those who participated less than weekly even after controlling for academic achievement and school engagement, family and peer characteristics, and school environment (Table 1).

However, in terms of participation in sport activities for females, there was no significant difference in the probability of completing high school by age 18, unlike the effect seen at the bivariate level. This suggests that the positive relationship between participation in sport activities and high school completion among off-reserve First Nations females was the result of other factors related to student achievement, the family and peers.

The results for males reveal a slightly different picture. In this case, even after controlling for other variables, the results indicate that participation in extracurricular sports as well as arts, drama or music remain significant predictors of high school completion.

Thus, off-reserve First Nations males aged 18 to 24 who participated in sports at least once per week had a higher probability of completing high school by age 18 than those who did not participate or participated less than once per week (68% versus 55%). At the same time, males who participated in extracurricular arts, drama or music activities at least weekly had a higher probability of completing high school by age 18 (74% versus 58%). Participation in club or group activities was not associated with a higher probability of high school completion for First Nations males, once all other factors were considered.
Another student activity that has been linked to academic performance, including dropping out, is working at a job while in school. The results of this study show that for off-reserve First Nations females aged 18 to 24, working was positively associated with completing high school by age 18.

Specifically, the probability of completing high school was 71% for females who worked one to three times per week and 73% for those who worked four or more times per week, compared with 47% for females who did not work while in school. Among males, however, working while in school did not have a significant effect on high school completion by age 18.

### Family characteristics

Many of the individual student factors that may affect school outcomes are often shaped by the environments in which students spend their time. Family and family relationships are important factors that can influence students and how well they do in school, including whether they graduate from high school.

Living arrangements, for example, have been found to be an influential factor for high school completion for the Canadian population. In the case of First Nations people, living with at least one family member on a full-time basis has been found to be associated with completing high school.

Specifically, the probability of completing high school by age 18 was 69% for females who lived with at least one family member on a full-time basis during their last year of school, compared with 38% for those who did not live with a family member full time. Unlike the effect...
observed for females, this variable was no longer significant for First Nations males once other variables were considered (Table 1).

Students with siblings who have dropped out are also more likely to leave school without a diploma. While the negative effect of having a sibling drop out of high school was not significant in the case of First Nations females, the probability of completing high school by age 18 was significantly lower in the case of First Nations males who were in the same situation (45% versus 70% for those who did not have siblings who left school before finishing).

The level of education of parents has been shown to be highly correlated to that of their children. Parental education can influence a child’s development, motivation and educational aspirations, often resulting in higher rates of high school completion and postsecondary school attendance. For both off-reserve First Nations females and males, the results show that having a mother with at least a high school diploma matters. Off-reserve First Nations females whose mothers had a high school diploma or more had a 69% probability of completing high school compared with 51% for those whose mothers had less than a high school education (68% versus 44%).

Another important factor is parental involvement and its association with high school completion. Parental involvement is important since it conveys to children and youth that parents are interested in their development and well-being, and this involvement can be particularly important in economically disadvantaged homes. Existing research has shown that high school completers are consistently more likely than those who did not finish to report greater family involvement at school. In this study, however, the results did not indicate a significant association between parental involvement and high school completion by age 18 once all other variables were taken into account.

An additional potential familial factor for First Nations students that may impact long-term educational achievement is whether there is a history of residential school attendance in the family. Residential schools, which were often run by churches in partnership with the federal government, existed in Canada from 1830 until the 1990s. During this time, it is estimated that around 150,000 First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children were removed from their families and often taken far from their communities to attend these schools. The residential school system may not only have impacted those who were forced to attend, but may also have had an effect on many generations of First Nations people and their children.

Existing research has found this factor to be statistically related to how well Aboriginal children do in school. For example, among off-reserve First Nations children, having parents who attended residential schools was associated with lower success in school.

The results of this analysis show that a family history of residential school attendance lowers the probability of completing high school by age 18 for First Nations females. The probability of completing high school was 57% for females who have a family member that ever attended a residential school, compared with 76% for those without such a history. Similar results hold for off-reserve First Nations males—the probability of completing high school by age 18 was 69% for those with no residential school family history compared with 54% for those with a history of family attendance.

Peer and school characteristics

In addition to family, friends may also exert a powerful influence on students. For example, having friends who skip classes, have a reputation for trouble or who have dropped out has been shown to increase the likelihood that an individual will not graduate from high school. Conversely, having friends with high educational aspirations is associated with completing high school.

Off-reserve First Nations males whose friends had low educational aspirations and engaged in high-risk behaviours had a lower probability of completing high school by age 18 than the reference category (46% versus 80%). Among females, however, peer characteristics did not have a significant effect once other variables were considered.

Finally, research has shown that the school environment also matters for students. Specifically, a perceived positive school environment has been shown to be associated with completing high school. This finding holds for females. The probability of completing high school by age 18 was 79% for off-reserve First Nations females who reported a high positive school environment compared with 48% for those reported a low positive school environment. However, the association between a positive school environment and timely high school completion was not significant in the case of First Nations males.
Conclusion

Over the last few decades, the educational attainment of Aboriginal students has improved; however, a number of them still do not complete high school. Because not having a high school diploma often has consequences on a number of social and economic outcomes, examining the factors associated with high school completion is important for individuals and society in general.

Research has shown that many factors can affect high school completion such as overall grades, school absenteeism, parental education and peer relationships. For some, however, other factors can also affect whether they complete high school. This study focused on extracurricular activity participation among off-reserve First Nations people aged 18 to 24, specifically whether involvement in sports, arts and clubs both in and out of school has an effect on timely high school completion.

For young First Nations females living off reserve, weekly participation in club activities increased the likelihood of finishing high school by age 18. For males, the participation in sports and art activities increased the probability of doing so by age 18.

These results remain significant even with the multivariate analyses used to control for other variables that are often associated with high school completion—namely academic factors such as grades and school engagement variables; family characteristics such as the influence of parents and siblings, and residential school family history; and peer and school characteristics such as peer aspirations and school environment. These findings suggest that participation in extracurricular activities may encourage school attachment and prevent students from leaving without a diploma. However, it is also possible that other unobserved factors such as students’ motivation and aspirations may be related to participation in extracurricular activities, which may, in turn, help explain the positive relationship between these activities and high school completion.

Paula Arriagada is a research analyst in the Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division at Statistics Canada.

Data sources, methods and definitions

Data sources

The 2012 Aboriginal Peoples Survey is a national survey of First Nations people living off reserve, Métis and Inuit aged 6 and over. The 2012 APS represents the fourth cycle of the survey and focused on the topics of education, employment and health. It also collected information on language, income, housing and mobility.

The survey was carried out by Statistics Canada with funding provided by three federal departments: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Health Canada and Employment and Social Development Canada. For information on survey design, target population, survey concepts and response rates, consult the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2012: Concepts and Methods Guide.

Methodology

All estimates in this report are based on survey weights that account for sample design, non-response and known population totals. A bootstrapping technique was applied in the calculation of all estimates of variance.

The predicted probabilities in this paper are calculated on the basis of a logistic regression model, using the covariates at their mean values.

Definitions

Readers should note that the following definitions have been formulated based on wording in the 2012 Aboriginal Peoples Survey questionnaire.

Extracurricular Activities:

1) Sports: In your last year of school, did you participate in a sport or physical activity or play organized sports (including taking lessons)?

2) Arts: In your last year of school, did you participate in an art, drama or music group or club (including taking lessons)?

3) Clubs: In your last year of school, did you participate in a school group or club (such as student council, yearbook or science club) or groups or clubs outside of school?

These extracurricular activities took place outside of school hours, and could have been organized by the school, outside of school or both (Chart A.1).

Overall grades: In your last year of school, what was your overall grade average? For this study, the responses consisting of mainly As and mainly Bs were combined.
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Data sources, methods and definitions (continued)

Chart A.1
Location of extracurricular activity for off-reserve First Nations people aged 18 to 24 who participated in extracurricular activities at least weekly, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extracurricular activities</th>
<th>In school only</th>
<th>Outside school only</th>
<th>Both in school and outside school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clubs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E use with caution

Note: “Both in school and outside school” category for sports and arts and “outside school only” category for arts and clubs are significantly different from the reference category (in school only) at p < 0.05.


School absenteeism: In your last year of school, how often did you skip classes without a parent’s permission? How often did you arrive late for school? Responses of “often” were combined to create a school absenteeism variable.

Working at a job: In your last year of school, how often did you work at a job?

Living full-time with at least one family member: During your last year of school, did you live with a parent, guardian, or other family member? Coded as “all of the time” versus “some or none of the time.”

Siblings who dropped out: Have any of your brothers or sisters ever dropped out of high school?

Mother’s education: What is the highest level of education that your mother or female guardian has ever completed? Coded as high school diploma or higher (including high school, trades, college and university) versus less than high school.

Parental involvement: In your last year of school, did your parents, guardians or any other family members speak to, correspond with or visit your teacher? Attend a school event in which you participated? Participate in other school activities? Coded as “yes” if respondent answered yes to at least one question.

Residential school family history: Were you ever a student at a residential school or a federal industrial school? Were any of the following members of your family (grandparents, parents, spouse/partner, siblings, other relatives) ever at a residential school or a federal industrial school? Coded as “yes” if any member ever attended a residential school.

Peer educational aspirations: The scale ranges from 1 to 4 and includes the following questions. Now thinking about your closest friends in your last year of school, how many of these friends thought completing high school was very important? Planned to further their education or training? Thought it was okay to work hard in school? Dropped out of high school?

Peer risk behaviours: The scale ranges from 1 to 4 and includes the following questions. Now thinking about your closest friends in your last year of school, how many of these friends skipped classes once a week or more? Had a reputation for causing trouble? Smoked cigarettes? Used drugs? Drank alcohol?

These two scales were coded as “low” and “high” (using the 50th percentile as the cut-off) and were combined to create one derived variable to measure peer characteristics.
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Data sources, methods and definitions (concluded)

**School environment:** How do you feel about the following statements about your last year of school? Overall, I felt safe at school. Overall, I was happy at school. Most students in the school enjoyed being there. The school offered parents many opportunities to be involved in school activities.

The derived scale was coded as “low” (below the 25th percentile), “medium” (from the 25th to the 75th percentile) and “high” (above the 75th percentile).

**Limitations**

The data used in this study pertained only to the last year of school, therefore the cumulative effect of many of these factors cannot be assessed. Since the 2012 APS is cross-sectional, no causality can be inferred.

Variables related to participation in Aboriginal cultural activities were not included in the model because the number of respondents with a valid answer is smaller than for the answers provided to other survey questions. In addition, a smaller proportion of respondents mentioned that they had participated to Aboriginal cultural activities on a weekly basis.

Lastly, the APS did not include data on family income during the last year of school. As a result, the model did not control for this important factor, which has been shown to be associated with participation in extracurricular activities.

This study also looked at the frequency of extracurricular activity participation, but did not differentiate whether the activity took place in the school or outside of the school.

**Notes**

2. See Frenette (2014).
3. See Bougie et al. (2013).
4. This corresponds to the standard term “no certificate, diploma or degree.” See Statistics Canada (2013a).
6. See Bougie et al. (2013).
7. See Bowlby and McMullen (2002); Bushnik et al. (2004); Gilbert et al. (1993); and Rumberger (2011).
8. See Broh (2002); Chambers and Schreiber (2004); Darling (2005); Feldman and Małajsko (2007); Fredericks and Eccles (2006); Smith et al. (2010); and Turcotte and Zhao (2004).
9. See Davalos et al. (1999); Barber et al. (2005); Mahoney et al. (1997); Quiroz et al. (1996); and Hoffman (2006).
10. See Gilman et al. (2004) and Darling et al. (2005).
12. For the purposes of this report, First Nations people includes both Status and Non-Status Indians. In addition, it was possible to report both single and multiple responses to the Aboriginal identity question on the APS. The data presented here represent a combination of the single and multiple identity for First Nations people.
13. See Bonneau et al. (2006).
14. In Quebec, the typical student graduates from high school one year younger than in other provinces due to the structure of the educational system. See McMullen and Gilmore (2010).
15. Although the emphasis in this study is timely high school completion, it is also noteworthy that many Aboriginal students may complete high school later through an equivalency program. See Bougie et al. (2013).
16. For instance, research has found that female dropouts differ significantly from male dropouts regarding a number of characteristics such as grades, school engagement (including participation in extracurricular activities) and family situations. See Bowlby and McMullen (2002); Bushnik et al. (2004); Bougie et al. (2013); and Raymond (2008).
17. It is not possible to calculate a comparable statistic for the non-Aboriginal population using the APS. However, it is possible to calculate the proportion that completed high school for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations aged 18 to 24 on the basis of data from the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS). Data from the NHS show that 72% of the Aboriginal population living off reserve had at least a high school diploma or equivalent in 2011 compared with 89% of the non-Aboriginal population.
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19. Note that these extracurricular activity variables are not mutually exclusive as individuals may have participated in more than one extracurricular activity. However, a large majority of respondents participated weekly in only one activity (61%), with a further 31% taking part in two activities. Only 8% of respondents participated in three extracurricular activities.

22. See Bougie et al. (2013).
23. See Bougie et al. (2013); Bushnik et al. (2004); and Rumberger (2011).
25. Living with family full time refers to living with a parent, guardian or other family member all of the time during the last year of school. See Bougie et al. (2013) and Bushnik et al. (2004).
26. See Bougie et al. (2013) and Rumberger (2011).
27. See Bougie et al. (2013); Bushnik et al. (2004); Rumberger (2011); and Turcotte (2011).
28. At least a high school diploma refers to ‘high school diploma or more’ and includes high school, trades, college and university.
29. Please note that the education level of the father was originally included in the model but it was not significant. Therefore, it was excluded from the final model.
31. See Bougie et al. (2013).
32. See Aboriginal Healing Foundation (2002).
34. See Aboriginal Healing Foundation (2002).
35. See Bougie (2009).
36. See Bougie et al. (2013) and Rumberger (2011).
37. See Bougie et al. (2013).

References


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### Appendix

**Table A.1**

Proportion of off-reserve First Nations people aged 18 to 24 who completed high school by age 18, 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td><strong>High school completion</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percentage</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>58.5</td>
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<td><strong>Extracurricular activities</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation in sport activities</td>
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<td>Less-than-weekly participation (ref.)</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>47.6</td>
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<td>Weekly participation</td>
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<td>67.9*</td>
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<td>Participation in art activities</td>
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<td>Less-than-weekly participation (ref.)</td>
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<td>54.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weekly participation</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>72.4*</td>
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<td><strong>Academic achievement and school engagement</strong></td>
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<td>Overall grade average</td>
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<td>70.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C or below (ref.)</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School absenteeism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not skip classes or arrive late often (ref.)</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>62.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often skipped classes or arrived late</td>
<td>34.4*</td>
<td>38.8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked at a job</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not work (ref.)</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One to three times a week</td>
<td>74.2*</td>
<td>66.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four or more times a week</td>
<td>67.2*</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family characteristics</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lived with at least one family member full time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No (ref.)</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>65.8*</td>
<td>62.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings who dropped out</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No (ref.)</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>71.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>44.9*</td>
<td>32.9*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s education</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Less than high school (ref.)</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school diploma or more</td>
<td>67.6*</td>
<td>66.7*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>17.1*</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental involvement in school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>No (ref.)</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>64.4*</td>
<td>64.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential school family history</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No (ref.)</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>69.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>49.1*</td>
<td>50.2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>64.0</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Peer and school characteristics</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Peer aspirations and risk behaviours</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High aspirations/low risk (ref.)</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>79.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirations/low risk</td>
<td>35.4*</td>
<td>40.8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirations/high risk</td>
<td>38.1*</td>
<td>36.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High aspirations/high risk</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>69.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive school environment</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Low (ref.)</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>48.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>59.5*</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>81.7*</td>
<td>70.6*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* significantly different from reference category (ref.) at p < 0.05

1. In last year of school.

**Source:** Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2012.