

## **Consequences Associated with Parental Divorce and Their Effects on Children's Academic Performances and Achievements at a Boarding School in Punakha: A Case Study**

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### **ABSTRACT**

As home is the first context of learning, intact families in it are indispensable as they are the first persons who prepare their children with social skills that are necessary for the success of their children throughout school years and beyond. Similarly, studies also suggest the importance of parental roles and their involvement in children's learning. However, due to rising divorce rates in Bhutan, numerous school going children seem to be lacking the desired skills that could positively affect their learning and academic performances at school. Moreover, as there is little evidence of such a study being conducted in the Bhutanese context, this qualitative research investigated the impacts of parental divorce on ten school going children's academic performances and achievements at a boarding school in Punakha. Data obtained from the semi-structured interviews (n=5) and the essay writing (n=5) were analyzed using content analysis technique. After collating and triangulating data and cross-checking them with the participants' progress reports, there emerged three prominent themes: a) parental neglect, b) psychological effect, and c) social isolation and incompetence. The findings from this study would inform the Ministry of Education, local communities, schools and the teachers to organize rehabilitation programs and explore alternative ways to provide both pastoral and academic care to those children coming from divorced family backgrounds. Also, it may inform the parents of the potential risks the indirect victimization of their children may have on them if parents choose divorce at any point of their married lives.

**Keywords:** Parental divorce in Bhutan, academic performance, boarding school, children from divorced family.

### **Introduction**

Home is the first context of learning. To promote good learning from an early age, intact families are indispensable as parents are the first persons to equip their children with necessary social skills (Hill & Taylor, 2004) that are necessary for the success of children throughout school years and beyond (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2012). However, such parental roles do not end with the start of a formal schooling (OECD, 2012). In fact, studies suggest parents to keep involving in children's education throughout their schooling lives because parental involvements not only make children feel more supported, but also display positive attitude (Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth, 2005). Furthermore, it promotes children's academic achievement by increasing social capital and social control (See Hill & Taylor, 2004).

Despite numerous benefits that the intact families have on children's lives, parental dissolution appears to be still on the rise. Marital dissolution, according to Cherlin (1992), Furstenberg (1994), and White (1991), is due to increasing economic independence of women, economic hardships among men without college degree, rising expectations from marriages, and

social acceptance of divorce (as cited in Amato, 2000). Although such dissolution may solve one problem, it creates another problem causing "irreparable harm . . . to the children" (Fagan & Churchill, 2012, p. 1) often leading to ". . . decrease in parental attention, help, and supervision" (Amato & Keith, 1991, p. 27). Moreover, as parental dissolution itself is an emotional shock (Black & Stalker, 2006), its psychological and social disadvantages hamper students' potential for success in school (Evans, Kelley, & Wanner, 2001; Nisivoccaia, 1997) and so less chance of attaining a university degree (Bernardi & Radl, 2014).

As elsewhere, parental divorce in Bhutan is also a serious cause of concern. For example, the Royal Government of Bhutan (RGoB) (2005) reported the divorce rate at 1.4% in 2005. According to the surveys conducted by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and National Statistics Bureau (NSB) of Bhutan (2013) and the Labor Market Information and Research Division (2014), the divorce rates were reported at 1.85% and 1.7% respectively. Similarly, while the World Bank and RGoB (2017)'s report found 2.1% of the total sampled population divorced, NSB and RGoB (2018)'s national divorce rate stood at 2.4% (N= 14,540) of the total population in 2017. Therefore, as evidenced in these reports, it can be concluded that parental divorce rate is increasing in Bhutan.

When divorce rates were compared among the twenty districts in Bhutan, Punakha district had the highest divorce rate at 2.8% (RGoB, 2005). Furthermore, NSB (2011) also observed 30.1% of children aged between 3 to 5 years in Punakha not living with their biological fathers. This may be a reason why 92 (19.6%) students from a total of 470 students studying in a boarding school (research site) came from divorced families and most of them were under the custody of their mothers (See Parliament of Bhutan, 2009) at that time.

As a result of this trend, besides some serious implications of divorce on how a child is nurtured and socialized (Amato, 2000), many school going children are likely to receive less educational resources from fathers due to reduced contact (Fischer, 2007), thus, depriving them from establishing strong familial relationship with both parents (Landucci, 2008). In addition, disrupting lifestyle and parenting (Portnoy, n.d) and economic hardships of single-mothers (Amato & Keith, 1991) may also put children at educational risks resulting in lower academic achievement (Amato, 2001; Garriga & Valls, n.d.; Rollins & Thomas, 1979) and higher dropouts (Black & Stalker, 2006).

In brief, studies report numerous impacts of parental divorce on children. Among them, they found serious effects of it on children's academic achievement at schools. This, they attribute, to reduced contact between children and non-custodial parents, economic hardships with custodial parents (i.e., mothers), lack of parental guidance, and improper nurturing.

However, as there is little evidence of such a study being conducted in the Bhutanese context, little is known about the consequences associated with parental divorce and their effects on Bhutanese children's academic performances and achievements. This study therefore investigated the effects of parental divorce on children's academic performances and achievements at a boarding school in Punakha. To do this, the researchers sought to answer the following question:

*What are the consequences of parental divorce on children's academic performances and achievements?*

### **Literature Review**

A plethora of research provides evidences of the negative impacts of parental divorce on children's academic performances and achievements. For example, Alubokin and Akyina (2015)

conducted a study involving students, counselors and parents as participants in the Ghanaian context. Their study found children being negatively affected in academics soon after their parental divorce. In other words, they reported a decline in academic achievements of those high achievers soon after their familial divorce. Similarly, Ham (2004) examined the effects of divorce and remarriage on academic achievements of 265 students studying at Rampart High School in the US. Although differences in academic achievement between single-parent and remarried families were unclear, he found participants from intact families outperforming those participants from other family structures. In addition, he found family structures negatively affecting female students more than the males.

In another study, Potter (2010) investigated children's psychosocial wellbeing and the relationship between divorce and their academic achievement. His study found academic gap between children of divorced and non-divorced parents widening as they progressed from lower to higher grades. This study also found disparities in psychosocial wellbeing between children of divorced and non-divorced parents. In other words, it reported a decline in both academic achievement and psychosocial wellbeing among children of divorced parents when compared with children of intact families.

Bernardi and Radl (2014) examined the consequences of parental divorce for children's tertiary education attainment. Drawing data from 14 countries, they found the divorced parental children's probability of achieving a university degree 7% below those children from intact families. In other words, they found parental divorce negatively affecting children's likelihood of pursuing tertiary education and successfully graduating from a college.

This study investigated the relationship between parental divorce and children's academic performances and achievements. Its purpose was to examine the consequences associated with parental divorce and their effects on children's academic performance at a boarding school in Punakha. The findings from this study would inform the Ministry of Education, schools and the teachers to organize rehabilitation programs and explore ways to provide both pastoral and academic care to those children coming from divorced family backgrounds. It may also inform the parents of the potential risks the indirect victimization of their children may have on their lives if parents choose divorce at any point of their married lives.

## Methods

This study employed a qualitative research design. The reason for employing this design is based on Strauss and Corbin (1998)'s advice that "qualitative methods can be used to obtain the intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes, and emotions that are difficult to extract or learn about through more convenient conventional research methods" (p. 11). Considering this, it obtained in-depth details about the effects of parental divorce on academic learning, performances and achievements from divorced-parent students' perceptions at a boarding school in Punakha.

### Participants

The participants for this study were 10 students studying in grade nine and ten at a boarding school in Punakha, Bhutan. They were selected using purposive sampling method as this study intended to "develop an in-depth exploration of a central phenomenon" (Creswell, 2012, p. 206), that is, consequences associated with parental divorces and their effects on children's academic performances and achievements.

To participate in this study, the interested participants were required to fulfill two criteria. The criteria require them to have (a) come from divorced-parental backgrounds, and (b) spent at

least three years of their lives with only one of the parents (preferably mothers). However, recruitment of these participants was based on their willingness and interest to share their opinions, views and feelings on how their parents' divorce affected their academic performances and achievements.

From the total participants, the researchers recruited at least five of them for the semi-structured interviews, while the remaining five wrote an essay each on the given topic. This was to give each one of them the choice to participate in either of the two data collection techniques. Of the total participants, six were males and four were females.

### **Instruments**

Data for this study were collected through the administration of data collection tools: (a) semi-structured interview and (b) essay writing. In the semi-structured interview, the researchers asked the participants a set of questions related to their experiences of being children of divorced parents. To probe deeper into the details of the effects of parental divorce on their academic performances and achievements, the researchers asked additional questions on those responses that required clarifications.

In the second, the researchers instructed the participants to write an essay each on the given topic. This was to obtain detailed information regarding the effects of parental divorce on their academic performances and achievements as such private writings gave them the freedom to think, reflect and write during their free time.

Finally, to supplement, crosscheck and validate the findings of the above, the researchers collected the participants' progress reports of the past three years (See Appendix).

### **Data Collection Procedures**

Prior to the data collection, the researchers sought permission from the principal of the participating school to not only to fulfill the formality of the research procedures, but also to request the respective class teachers and the school counselor to assist them in identifying those students who came from divorced-family backgrounds. Then, the researchers distributed each interested student a participant information sheet and an informed consent sheet to be read, signed, and returned to the researcher prior to their participation in this study. And for those interested participants below 18 years of age, permissions were sought from their guardians or parents with whom they stayed at the time of data collection.

Both the essay writing and the semi-structured interviews were conducted on three Saturday afternoons to avoid classroom-teaching disruptions.

### **Trustworthiness**

In order to avoid potential threats to trustworthiness and credibility of this study, the researchers considered three measures that either decreased or eliminated researcher, participant, and data analysis biases (Brink, 1993; McDowell & MacLean, 1998).

In the case of researcher bias, the researchers recruited the class teachers and the counselor of the participating school to collect data from the participants. This was because they already had an established rapport with the participants through their dealings. In order for them to collect data, the principal researchers provided them "extensive and rigorous training as interviewers" (Brink, 1993, p. 36) and provided guidelines for essay writing prior to its administration. Recruitment of the class teachers and the counselor as interviewers would also reduce informant bias because, as suggested by Brink (1993), the researchers instructed them to conduct interviews with the same participants twice keeping at least a one-month gap. Finally, to decrease data analysis bias, the researchers instructed the interviewers (i.e., the counselor and the class teachers) to first analyze the data and generate themes and agree on them through inter-interviewer coding technique. Only

after this, the researchers sat with them to compare and determine the findings. Any discrepancies in the coding were resolved through discussion among the members. In brief, the researchers worked closely with the data collectors to reduce or eliminate researcher, participant and data analysis biases.

### **Data Analysis**

The qualitative data obtained from the participants' essays and semi-structured interview transcriptions were analyzed using content analysis techniques at two stages -first among the interviewers and then between the interviewers and the researchers. Content analysis, according to Hsieh and Shannon (2005), is "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (p. 1278). Following this definition, and also as suggested by Fraenkel, Wallen and Hyun (2012) and Graneheim and Lundman (2004), the researchers and the interviewers coded the descriptive information into categories.

Finally, the data analyzed by the researchers and the interviewers were merged and triangulated using Mariam's (1998) definition. According to Mariam, triangulation is "using multiple investigators, multiple sources of data, or multiple methods to confirm the merging of findings" (p.204). Thus, in order to thwart personal biases of investigators (Denzin, 1989) and strengthen trustworthiness of this study (Golafshani, 2003), the qualitative data in this study were triangulated through the coders' analyses. Further, to ascertain whether or not parental divorce impacted participants' academic performances and achievements, these analyses were cross-checked with the participants' previous three-year result sheets.

### **Findings**

After a rigorous analyzes and collation of the data from two different sources at two stages- first among the interviewers and then between the interviewers and the researchers- and triangulation, the interviewers and the researchers agreed on three recurring themes with which children's academic performances and achievements at a school were negatively affected soon after their parental divorces. These themes are a) parental neglect, b) psychological effect, and c) social isolation and incompetence. Pseudonyms are used to protect the identity of the participants.

### **Parental Neglect**

A neglected feeling a child experiences when s/he sees less contact with his/her biological parents due to distancing relationship is understood as parental neglect. Eight of the 10 participants whose parents remarried after their divorce expressed feelings of sadness, neglect, abandonment, and loneliness. These participants have experienced these emotions specifically after a child being born from their parents' new spouses. To this, two participants wrote,

*. . . after my mother's remarriage four years ago, I really felt sad, lonely and disconnected from both my biological parents . . . This was because they are in their own worlds and I am always left on my own. Because I live with my grand-parents [during vacations], they do not even ask how I am doing at school or in studies. (Yeshi, essay, 8th July, 2017)*

*I am completely abandoned by both of my parents. . . . both of them remarried . . . have a child . . . I have no one to ask for any kind of help - financial, emotional, or schooling- as whenever I call them to send me some money, for instance, they respond negatively. Both of them suggest me to ask from one another . . . they do not even listen to me . . . sometimes*

*they cut the phone calls either short or do not receive them at all. (Lethro, essay, 8th July, 2017)*

In addition, some participants also shared how emotionally discouraged they were when neither of the parents attended some important school functions such as parent-teacher meetings or annual concerts. For instance, an interviewee, through his tearful eyes, remarked,

*I feel I am nobody. There is, literally, no one who comes and meets me during the weekends. . . . not even my biological parents [although divorced]. Forget about coming to meet me during the weekends like any other parents, they [parents] do not even come to attend the parent-teacher meetings or any other occasions where the school wants their presence. Such circumstances really hurt . . . (Dawa, interview, 10th June, 2017)*

On the contrary, two of the participants expressed "relief" (Seldon) and "happiness" (Karchung) on their parents' divorce as they did not want to experience that disruptive familial life anymore. Despite their parents' marital dissolutions, they see their parents more collaborative and cooperative in their upbringings.

*It was good that they divorced after that not so happy marriage. Now, I at least do not have to listen to their quarrels or see them fight or quarrel although their separation hurt me in the beginning. Both of them are there to fulfill my financial needs. In fact, they discuss how much money they should give whenever I asked them to send me some money. (Selden, interview, 10th June, 2017)*

Similarly, Karchung wrote,

*Unlike some of my friends, I feel myself lucky to have the support of both the parents. They do their best in giving me a good schooling despite their marital dissolution. Both of them support me emotionally, financially and educationally. I thank both of them for doing this for me. (Essay, 10th June, 2017)*

In brief, although parental dissolution seemingly had no effect on two participants, other eight participants have experienced parental neglect. Thus, as the participants were deprived of both emotional and financial supports from their parents especially after their remarriage, it has resulted in a sharp decline in participants' academic performances and achievements.

### **Psychological Effects**

All ten participants unanimously agreed (in both interview-transcriptions and essays) that the parental divorces affected their psychic and then academic performances and achievements. The reasons, according to them, were due to the feelings of "devastation" (Lethro, Drakpa, & Seldon), "helplessness" (Sonam, Nima, Dawa, & Karchung), and "shock" (Samten, Yeshi, & Pema). In this regard, Lethro shared,

*After that devastating news of my parental divorce, I did not know what to do at school. I really felt depressed on hearing about their separation. As I could not hold my tears, I cried that whole night. Indeed, it was a psychological devastation. Subsequently, I could not focus on my studies due to which I lost the academic position I held for a few years. And when I lost my position, I gave up everything. Sadly, none of them came to my rescue . . . despite being informed about my deteriorating academic performance by my teachers. (Drakpa, interview, 10th June, 2017)*

In addition, Samten also wrote,

*On hearing the news of my parents' divorce, I called them [parents] if they could reconsider their decisions for the sake of three of their children. Being the eldest in the family, I could not think any more than that [altering their decisions] in that shock. . . . due*

*to this, I could not think of my studies, I started scoring low grades in academics and finally failed to secure the same position or above the one I used to get [top five]. (Essay, 8th July, 2017)*

As school-going children, some of them even expressed being helpless when they knew they were losing the union of their best persons. Thus, they saw deterioration in their academic performances.

*At that time, I was in grade seven, and I was not so bad in studies. I used to get at least over 60 percent in all the subjects. But soon after that news, I lost my focus. I could neither help myself nor could I do anything to help my parents stay in marriage for their children. In other words, I was completely devastated and helpless. And due to that helplessness, I lost my focus on studies. Then, I saw myself going down the drain as a useless person with no focused direction. (Sonam, Essay, 8th July, 2017)*

*. . . I lost my strength in academics after the divorce of my parents. Initially, I used to score good marks (above 70). Everybody, including my teachers, admired me for what I was doing. But I now lost everything- academic position, admiration and pride- due to my parents. That is why I had to repeat class 9 last year. (Pema, Interview, 10th June, 2017)*

Parental divorce has not only destabilized children's emotional, psychological and physical wellbeing, but also hampered them directly in performing well in studies at school. In other words, the state of familial well-being is found to have direct impact on children's academic performances and achievements at school.

### **Social Isolation and Incompetence**

Soon after the legal separation of their parents, five of the participants confessed to self-isolation and aloofness. These attitudinal and behavioral displays were attributed to being shy and fearful of social discrimination [as children of divorced parents]. Due to such changes, the participants agreed to not being able to adhere to social norms and practices.

*As soon as my parents got divorced, I could not go to school and attend classes. . . because I had a feeling that everyone might talk about me or call me as a child of a divorced parent. Due to such feelings, I was forced to stay alone. Many a time, I even absconded from the hostel and partied in the drayangs [entertainment centers] with an intention of dropping out of the school if caught by the school authority. (Lethro, Essay, 8th July, 2017)*

Similarly, with regard to social networks, Nima regrettably said,

*Although a cool boy initially, I became so restless and arrogant [after parents' divorce]. I responded harshly to my friends' and teachers' enquiries . . . I did not know what was wrong with me. I tried my best to be as friendly as I was before with all of them, but I failed to control my emotions every time I dealt with them. Due to this nature, I felt myself being ignored and ostracized by everyone in the school . . . (Interview, 10th June, 2017)*

Due to deteriorating social relationships, the participants were found vulnerable to engaging in antisocial behaviors. In this regard, four participants confessed to doing drugs, drinking alcohol and partying in the entertainment centers late nights.

*My association with some friends who come from the same [divorced parents] background encouraged me to do drugs in order to face the crowd. I knew I was going down a wrong path, but every time I thought about it, I started doing it more as I needed more confidence to face my mates and teachers. (Selden, interview, 10th June, 2017)*

*. . . due to socially unacceptable behaviors and actions, I was called by the school discipline committee several times [for doing drugs] and truanting classes . . . they even referred me to the school counselor for necessary guidance counseling, but I could not help myself*

*whenever I thought of my family situations at home and my condition at school. (Yeshey, essay, 8th July, 2017)*

All in all, from these data, it could be understood that parental dissolutions not only hampered the acquisition of social skills and social associations, but also risked children doing drugs, drinking alcohol, dropping out of school, or adopting socially harmful behaviors and practices. Such engagements have disengaged the participants from studies, thus resulting in poor academic performances and achievements.

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

Collation and triangulation of the data resulted in three consequences associated with parental divorce and their effects on children's academic performances and achievements at a boarding school in Punakha. Of these consequences, being neglected by parents after divorce was one consequence which deprived children from receiving adequate parental care and love during their prime age. As reported by Amato and Keith (1991) and Landucci (2008), the parental divorce in this study has not only distanced children from their biological parents, but also has resulted in deprivation of both emotional and financial supports during their schooling. As reported in other studies, such deprivation was also found to have seriously affected children's academic performances and achievements in the Bhutanese context. This means Bhutanese children of divorced families are likely to experience low educational outcomes due to lack of parental care and guidance, financial support and emotional encouragement after their parents' remarriages. Moreover, as most of these children live with their mothers as required by the Marriage (Amendment) Act of Bhutan (Parliament of Bhutan, 2009), the family under the guardianship of single mothers is likely to experience hardships (See Amato & Keith, 1991; Amato et al., 2008). Such single-parent familial hardships may have affected the participants resulting in children's poor academic performances and achievements. Corresponding to this finding, Steele, Sigle-Rushton, and Kravdal (2009) also observed a direct relationship between parental marital breakdown and lower levels of children's education. The finding of this study also corroborates well with the findings of Albertini and Dronkers (2009), and Babalis, Tsoli, Nikolopoulos, and Maniatis (2014) in which they found the children of divorced parents becoming academically poorer than those coming from intact families in the Italian and the Greek contexts respectively. Grätz (2015) also reported a similar finding, but his study saw children of low-educated parents being negatively affected in attending the upper track in secondary school and on academic grades in German and mathematics after parental separation than those with highly-educated parents. The result of it would also probably see Bhutanese children either simply dropout of school (See Black & Stalker, 2006; Evans, Kelley, & Wanner, 2001) or fail to attain higher education (See Bernardi & Radl, 2014; Furstenberg & Teitler, 1994).

Children of the divorced parents also complained about how psychologically and emotionally they were affected by their parents' divorce. Due to the feelings of devastation, helplessness and shock, the participants expressed how deeply they were silently tortured both emotionally and psychologically when they no longer saw their parents together under the same roof. Consequently, the participants then have lost their purpose and so did they involve in socially unacceptable activities out of frustration and loss of focus, thus, negatively affecting their academic performances and achievements as reported in Nisivoccaia's (1997) study. Although these participants never mentioned about being disruptive in classrooms or school in either interviews or essays, they might display disruptive behaviors due to familial structure transition as was mentioned by Cavanagh and Huston (2006). It may be this reason why the participants implied



parents as sole motivators and supporters in terms of their academic successes. Thus, as parental divorce affects all children's lives irrespective of their differences (Amato, 2000; Black & Stalker, 2006), parents need to compromise their differences to avoid divorce and so victimization of their children. In other words, destabilizing effects of parental divorce on children's emotional, psychological and physical wellbeing are found to have serious consequences on their academic performances and achievements.

Supporting the findings of Bernardi and Radl (2014), the participants of this study also shared that they were not able to grow socially due to self-isolation and aloofness resulting in social incompetence after experiencing their parental divorce. They attributed such social skills deprivation to shyness and fear of social discrimination and name calling, for instance. Due to such fears, the participants have failed to build their social capital and control (See Hill & Taylor, 2004) resulting in their engagement in socially unacceptable behaviors such as drinking, smoking, or doing drugs. As a consequence of such unhealthy social engagements, not only have their performances in academics deteriorated, but also have they lost their previously held academic positions like first, second, or third. Such a diversion may be the reason why Jeynes (2002) noticed academic achievements of divorced adolescents trailing those coming from intact families despite parental involvement. Besides a similar finding, Ham's (2004) study also revealed poorer classroom attendance of adolescents coming from divorced families than those of intact families. Therefore, the finding of this study is consistent with the findings of these studies.

Employing a qualitative research design, this study investigated the consequences associated with parental divorce and their effects on children's academic performances and achievements at a boarding school in Punakha. The triangulation of the findings revealed three prominent themes - parental neglect, psychological effect, and social isolation and incompetence. When these thematic consequences were cross-checked with the previous three-year-progress reports of all ten participants, the researchers concluded that parental divorce had indeed negatively affected all ten of them since the year their parents legally got divorced (See Appendix). Therefore, to avoid such consequential effects on children, parents need to avoid divorce and instead equip their children with social skills (Hill & Taylor, 2004) that are necessary for their success in schools and beyond (OECD, 2012). Moreover, both parents also need to sincerely get involved in their learning (Hill & Taylor, 2004; Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth, 2005) through homeschooling and sharing of responsibility with the teachers and schools.

### **Limitations and Recommendation**

This study has three limitations. First, as this study involved only 10 participants, the findings of this study can in no way be representative of all Bhutanese school-children coming from divorced parents. Therefore, in order to make it representative, the researchers recommend a large-scale mixed-methods or quantitative study as a follow-up to this study in the Bhutanese context. Second, as reported in foreign contexts (e.g., Grätz, 2015), the future researchers are suggested to explore whether or not the severity of effects of parental divorce on children's academic performances and achievements also depend on divorcing parents' educational and economic levels. Finally, the future researchers are suggested to explore the academic achievement differences between children of divorced and intact parents as this issue was not considered in this study.

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### Appendix

#### Summary of the Progress Reports of the Participants of Past Three Years

Sl no.	Name	Gender	Grade and Averaged Marks			
			VII	VIII	IX	X
1	Yeshi	F	75%	70%	64.5%	
2	Lethro	M	65%	62.1%	60%	
3	Dawa	M		63%	61.5%	60%
4	Selden	F	70%	68.3%	66.7%	
5	Karchung	M		59%	57.1%	56%
6	Sonam	F	66.3%	62%	59.7%	
7	Nima	F		68.9%	65%	62.3%
8	Samten	M	60.8%	67%	65%	
9	Pema	M		73.5%	63.6%	59%
10	Drakpa	M		59%	55.7%	50%

*Source: Participants' personal files*