

# Cultural Competency and Child Custody Evaluations: An Initial Step

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Cultural diversity and sensitivity are increasingly important factors to consider when choosing who should be appointed to perform a child custody evaluation and how the evaluation should be conducted. This article will discuss factors for attorneys to consider when deciding which evaluator to choose to perform a child custody evaluation and what methods and procedures might be useful for an evaluator to employ when conducting an evaluation of a culturally diversity family unit.

## I. Cultural Diversity and Child Custody

### A. *Changing American Landscape*

The current population of the United States is about 320 million people. Over the past decade, the number of first- and second-generation immigrant children in the United States increased by 28 percent to 174 million, reflecting that more than half of the population is from immigrant families.<sup>1</sup> Immigration trends are changing the ethnic and cultural mosaic of the United States.<sup>2 3</sup> There has been a substantial increase in the number of

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<sup>1</sup> CHILD TRENDS, *Immigrant Children* (2010), available at [www.childtrendsdatabank.org/?q=node/33](http://www.childtrendsdatabank.org/?q=node/33).

<sup>2</sup> Sandra R. Sabo, *Diversity at Work*, 75 *TECHNIQUES* 26 (Feb. 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Rebecca A. Weiss & Barry Rosenfeld, *Navigating Cross-Cultural Issues in Forensic Assessment: Recommendations for Practice*, 43 *PROF. PSYCHOL.: RES. & PRAC.* 234 (2012).

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inter-racial and inter-cultural marriages in the United States.<sup>4</sup> There are significant changes in the composition of the American family that include multi-cultural, multi-lingual, and multi-religious factors.<sup>5</sup> More and more non-American born parents are experiencing separation and divorce and, as a consequence, a significant minority of these parents will seek family court services<sup>6</sup> and will become involved in child custody litigation. The unique cultural, linguistic, and ethnic diversity of families engaged in child custody litigation requires that evaluators understand how to investigate the complex relationships among culture, family dynamics, parenting practices, and child rearing expectations.

### B. *Lack of Research*

In 2002, the American Psychological Association published the *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists*.<sup>7</sup> Several books and several hundred articles have been written about cultural sensitivity in psychological endeavors yet, surprisingly little attention is paid to cultural concerns in forensic assessment in general<sup>8</sup> and in child custody assessments in particular. Earlier this year, the American Academy of Forensic Psychology's workshop series offered its first full day workshop on cultural factors in forensic assessment.<sup>9</sup> Looking specifically at child custody literature, a search of the APA PsycNET database revealed virtually no studies or conceptual articles addressing the role played by cross cultural factors in child custody assessment.<sup>10</sup> None of

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<sup>4</sup> Michael Saini & Jennifer Ma, *Cultural Dynamics of Divorce and Parenting*, in PARENTING PLAN EVALUATIONS: APPLIED RESEARCH FOR THE FAMILY COURT 514, 14-15 (Kathryn F. Kuehnle & Leslie M. Drozd eds. 2012).

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

<sup>7</sup> American Psychological Association, *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists*, available at <http://www.apa.org/pi/oema/resources/policy/multicultural-guidelines.aspx>.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*

<sup>9</sup> Barry Rosenfeld, *Cultural Competence in Forensic Assessment*, Workshop presented at the American Academy of Forensic Psychology, in Memphis, Tenn. (Apr. 19, 2012).

<sup>10</sup> Search parameters included the terms "custody," "child custody," "cultural," "cross-cultural," and "diversity." Search conducted on Oct. 9, 2012.

the primary child custody texts<sup>11</sup> provide guidance on how to address cultural issues in child custody assessment.

## II. Cultural Competence and Child Custody Evaluations

No discussion of the cultural competence of a child custody evaluator can proceed without first defining “culture” and other related concepts.

### A. Defining Culture

Culture may be viewed as a multidimensional concept.<sup>12</sup> Culture has been defined as composed of a “pattern of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, symbols, and meanings.”<sup>13</sup> It has also been defined as a shared experience that influences values, beliefs, attitudes, and interactions within a social structure.<sup>14</sup> Culture has been described as a means to help members of a group adapt to a “particular ecology, and it includes knowledge that people need to have in order to function effectively in their social environment.”<sup>15</sup> This knowledge is developed through sets of rules and social expectations and standards that govern behaviors considered both acceptable and adaptable for the longevity of the group.<sup>16</sup> An understanding of how culture influences behav-

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<sup>11</sup> MARC J. ACKERMAN, CLINICIAN’S GUIDE TO CHILD CUSTODY EVALUATIONS (3d ed. 2006); JONATHAN W. GOULD, CONDUCTING SCIENTIFICALLY CRAFTED CHILD CUSTODY EVALUATIONS (2d ed. 2006); JONATHAN W. GOULD & DAVID A. MARTINDALE, THE ART AND SCIENCE OF CHILD CUSTODY EVALUATIONS (2009); JOANNA BUNKER ROHRBAUGH, A COMPREHENSIVE GUIDE TO CHILD CUSTODY EVALUATIONS: MENTAL HEALTH AND LEGAL PERSPECTIVES (2008); THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF CHILD CUSTODY DECISIONS (2d ed. Robert M. Galatzer-Levy, et al. eds. 2009); PHILIP M. STAHL, CONDUCTING CHILD CUSTODY EVALUATIONS: FROM BASIC TO COMPLEX ISSUES (2010).

<sup>12</sup> Mamta Banu Dadlani et al., *Culture at the Center: A Reformulation of Diagnostic Assessment*, 43 PROF. PSYCHOL.: RES. & PRAC. 175 (June 2012).

<sup>13</sup> STELLA TING-TOOMEY, COMMUNICATING ACROSS CULTURES 10 (1999).

<sup>14</sup> Saini & Ma, *supra* note 4, at 526.

<sup>15</sup> Harry C. Triandis, *Culture and Conflict*, 35 INT’L J. PSYCHOL. 145, 146 (Apr. 2000).

<sup>16</sup> *Id.*

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ior is based upon an examination of the rules that produce the behavior, not the behavior itself.<sup>17</sup>

Applying these various definitions of culture to the task of a child custody evaluation, we suggest that culture informs a parent's and child's world view. The parent and child may develop attribution patterns and motivations based upon their cultural experiences.<sup>18</sup> They may develop individual, parent-child, and family relational expectations that are based upon their cultural expectations. In many families, an evaluator may not be able to understand parenting behaviors, parenting expectations, and parenting philosophy without considering the culture within which they occur.

The degree to which a family system may be affected by the cultural factors of the larger group to which they belong varies. Families living close to others of similar cultural background often maintain behaviors and expectations similar to the norms of the group. Those who live more distant from others of similar cultural backgrounds may be more greatly influenced by their new social environment.<sup>19</sup>

The degree to which a person internalizes culture-specific beliefs and values may also influence family relationships and interactional patterns based on the degree to which the person shares the experiences and values of the cultural-specific group and the expectations of conformity to the group norms.<sup>20</sup> Understanding these complex inter-relationships among individual, parent-child, family, and community relationships becomes a challenging task for evaluators.

#### B. *Cultural Competence and the Child Custody Evaluator*

Cultural competence has three broad dimensions. Mental health professionals (MHP) must have a cultural knowledge of the group with whom they are working. They must have an awareness of their attitudes, beliefs, values, and expectations toward the culturally different people with whom they are con-

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<sup>17</sup> Carol Brunson Phillips, *Culture: A Process That Empowers*, in *INFANT/TODDLER CARE GIVING: A GUIDE TO CULTURALLY SENSITIVE CARE* (Peter L. Mangione ed. 1995).

<sup>18</sup> Dadlain et al., *supra* note 12.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.*

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*

ducting an assessment (self-understanding) and an awareness of the attitudes, beliefs, values, and expectations of those with whom they are working (other-understanding). They must also be aware of culturally-appropriate procedures to use when conducting an evaluation with culturally diverse populations.<sup>21</sup>

Self-understanding of cultural competence may include evaluators' perceptions of their general cultural awareness and knowledge of differences among cultures and specific multicultural practices within particular culturally distinct groups.<sup>22</sup> Other-understanding of cultural competence may include evaluators' assessment of parents' and, where appropriate, children's cultural identity, acculturation, family dynamics, and childrearing practices.<sup>23</sup>

When an evaluator agrees to conduct a child custody evaluation with a culturally diverse family unit, it is important for the evaluator to be familiar with the behavioral science research addressing childrearing practices within the culturally-relevant groups to which each parent belongs. It may also be important for the evaluator to gain an understanding of the degree to which each parent has been influenced by extended family and cultural groups with regard to childrearing practices.

Much has been written in the psychotherapy literature examining cultural competence of therapists and the importance of therapists' understanding how personal factors such as race-based attitudes, empathy, ethnic tolerance, worldview, and theoretical orientation may affect both therapeutic effectiveness and cultural competence.<sup>24</sup> Lack of cultural competence is associated with increased likelihood of misdiagnosis, bias and/or discrimination, and perceived lack of credibility of the therapist.<sup>25</sup> We found no similar discussion in the child custody literature about how evaluators' personal values, attitudes, values, and experiences may affect their forensic assessment of culturally diverse families. Additional research is needed to examine how best to

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<sup>21</sup> Pratyusha Tummala-Narra et al., *Individual and Systemic Factors in Clinicians' Self-Perceived Cultural Competence*, 43 *PROF. PSYCHOL.: RES. & PRAC.* 165 (June 2012).

<sup>22</sup> *Id.*

<sup>23</sup> Saini & Ma, *supra* note 4.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.*

<sup>25</sup> *Id.*

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train forensic examiners to conduct child custody evaluations that reflect the cultural diversity of the families undergoing assessment.

### *C. Cultural Competency and the Child Custody Evaluation*

A consensus exists in the psychological and legal literature about the methods and procedures to be employed in a competently conducted child custody evaluation.<sup>26</sup> This methodology includes multiple interviews with each parent, multiple interviews with each child, administration of psychological tests (when needed), direct observation of parent-child interaction, review of historical and current records, and interviews of collateral informants who have direct observational knowledge of each parent with one or all children.<sup>27</sup>

The challenge for the custody evaluator is to recognize the unique contributions of each parent's cultural expectations, knowledge, and child-rearing practices and compare them with the community norms and peer-reviewed behavioral science literature. This raises the question of the degree to which an evaluator weighs or should weigh the culture-specific factors with the community norms and literature. There are no data that help to establish how to weigh such factors and one might reasonably ask whether the weighing of such factors is within the competence and responsibilities of the mental health professional or within the province of the court.

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<sup>26</sup> Robert M. Galatzer-Levy, *Evaluating the Evaluation: How to Understand and Critique Custody Evaluations*, in FAMILY LAW UPDATE 139 (Ron Brown & Laura W. Morgan eds., 2003); Jonathan W. Gould & David A. Martindale, *Child Custody Evaluation*, in 11 HANDBOOK OF PSYCHOLOGY: FORENSIC PSYCHOLOGY 101 (Irving B. Weiner & Randy K. Otto eds., 2012); David A. Martindale & Jonathan W. Gould, *Ethics in Forensic Practice*, in HANDBOOK OF PSYCHOLOGY: FORENSIC PSYCHOLOGY, at 37; Dana Royce Baerger et al., *A Methodology for Reviewing the Reliability and Relevance of Child Custody Evaluations*, 18 J. AM. ACAD. MATRIM. LAW. 35 (2002); David A. Martindale & Jonathan W. Gould, *The Forensic Model: Ethics and Scientific Methodology Applied to Child Custody Evaluations*, 1 J. CHILD CUSTODY 1 (Winter 2004); Mary J. McCurley, *Protecting Children from Incompetent Forensic Evaluations and Expert Testimony*, 19 J. AM. ACAD. MATRIM. LAW. 277 (2006).

<sup>27</sup> GOULD, *supra* note 11; Gould & Martindale, *supra* note 26.

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There are data addressing childrearing practices among some culturally-diverse and racially-diverse populations.<sup>28</sup> Information exists about childrearing practices among Latino families<sup>29</sup> and Asian families<sup>30</sup> living in the United States. There is information about childrearing practices among parents living in poverty in the United States<sup>31</sup> and among African-American families.<sup>32</sup> Literature also addresses factors to consider when evaluating ethnic and minority parenting.<sup>33</sup>

No bright line exists to differentiate routine diversity from a cross-cultural setting. Most parents undergoing child custody assessment differ from their evaluators in several cultural domains (e.g., race, religion, ethnic background, cultural background), but these differences may reflect normal variations with groups. Language differences do not necessarily reflect significant cultural differences. Religious subgroups often have different norms and expectations from the domain group within which they live.<sup>34</sup>

Evaluators may incorrectly presume that language fluency suggests familiarity with the associated culture and, in the case of a child custody evaluator, familiarity with childrearing and parenting practices of that culture. The ability of a parent born outside the United States to speak fluent English does not correspond to knowledge of American culture<sup>35</sup> or childrearing practices. The danger is that evaluators will assume that the parent

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<sup>28</sup> Saini & Ma, *supra* note 4, at 515.

<sup>29</sup> Robin Harwood et al., *Parenting Among Latino Families in the U.S.*, in 4 HANDBOOK OF PARENTING: SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND APPLIED PARENTING 21 (2d ed. Marc H. Bornstein ed., 2002).

<sup>30</sup> Ruth Chao & Vivian Tseng, *Parenting of Asians*, in 4 HANDBOOK OF PARENTING: SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND APPLIED PARENTING, *supra* note 29, at 59.

<sup>31</sup> Katherine A. Magnuson & Greg J. Duncan, *Parents in Poverty*, in 4 HANDBOOK OF PARENTING: SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND APPLIED PARENTING, *supra* note 29, at 95.

<sup>32</sup> Harriette P. McAdoo, *African-American Parenting*, in 4 HANDBOOK OF PARENTING: SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND APPLIED PARENTING, *supra* note 29, at 47.

<sup>33</sup> Cynthia Garcia Coll & Lee M. Pachter, *Ethnic and Minority Parenting*, in 4 HANDBOOK OF PARENTING: SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND APPLIED PARENTING, *supra* note 29, at 1.

<sup>34</sup> Rosenfeld, *supra* note 9.

<sup>35</sup> *Id.*

has a greater knowledge of the dominant culture and, therefore, will make assumptions about childrearing and parenting practices rather than engage in investigative inquiry.

Cultural factors that may have a significant influence on a parent (or child) during a child custody evaluation include, but are not limited to, general concepts of right and wrong, fairness, and responsibility. Some cultures prohibit premarital sex, same-sex relationships, or exposing body parts of the female body. Other cultures permit children to marry, have sexual relationships, work, and behave similarly to adult behavior.<sup>36</sup>

### **III. Integrating Cultural Competence into a Child Custody Evaluation**

In this section, we discuss the various components of a child custody evaluation and suggest areas of investigation that may need to reflect the cultural knowledge and sensitivity of the evaluator. We note limitations in the use of data generated through the use of psychological tests, calling into question the trustworthiness of information obtained from such tests. Finally, we note that drawing inferences based on parent-child observations may require knowledge of culture-specific childrearing techniques and parenting practices.

#### *A. Interviews*

Interviews with parents involved in child custody matters should focus on parenting abilities, parenting beliefs, parenting values, and parenting attitudes. Specific examples of parenting behavior and information about inter-parental communication and cooperation are also needed.

Cultural differences may play a role in such commonly assessed factors as parental warmth, parental affection, parental protection, parent-child attachment, parenting styles, parental expectations for children and for the other parent, and the use of corporal punishment and culture-specific disciplinary behaviors.<sup>37</sup>

Evaluators need to investigate parenting style, with particular emphasis on parenting attitudes, values, beliefs, and behav-

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<sup>36</sup> *Id.*

<sup>37</sup> Saini & Ma, *supra* note 4, at 526.

iors reflecting culture-specific childrearing practices. For example, within poor urban communities, parenting behaviors are more likely to reflect strict and authoritarian parenting styles that help to keep children safe from their dangerous environment through increased parental control.<sup>38</sup> Asian childrearing practices are often found to be more intrusive, controlling, and strict than American childrearing practices<sup>39</sup> and considered within the Asian communities to reflect valued and responsible parenting.<sup>40</sup>

The lesson to be taken from these research findings is that with a specific cultural environment, parenting behaviors may be significantly influenced by customary practices of the group that have been found to successfully foster culturally valued behaviors in children.<sup>41</sup>

### B. Psychological Testing

There are no peer-reviewed assessment instruments developed for use in child custody evaluations that are designed to assess aspects of childrearing or parenting known to be common to all major cultures. Similarly, no instruments measure culture-specific childrearing or parenting factors. Because the available tests have not been developed for use among parents drawn from divergent cultures, interpretation of test results is tenuous at best.

The most commonly used psychological test in child custody evaluations is the MMPI-2.<sup>42</sup> The MMPI-2 has been translated in several languages<sup>43</sup> and a common myth is that there are also culture-specific normative data. This is false. With few excep-

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<sup>38</sup> McAdoo, *supra* note 32, at 50; Saini & Ma, *supra* note 4, at 527.

<sup>39</sup> Chao & Tseng, *supra* note 30, at 73.

<sup>40</sup> Saini & Ma, *supra* note 4, at 527.

<sup>41</sup> *Id.* at 526.

<sup>42</sup> See MARC J. ACKERMAN & ANDREW W. KANE, *PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERTS IN DIVORCE ACTIONS* (5th ed. 2011); James N. Bow & Francella A. Quinell, *Psychologists' Current Practices and Procedures in Child Custody Evaluations: Five Years After American Psychological Association Guidelines*, 32 *PROF. PSYCHOL.: RES. & PRAC.* 261 (June 2001).

<sup>43</sup> The reader may find a list of languages into which the MMPI-2 has been translated at Pearson, *Assessment and Information*, MINNESOTA MULTI-PHASIC PERSONALITY INVENTORY (MMPI) TRANSLATED MATERIALS, (July 27, 2013, 3:04 PM), <http://www.pearsonassessments.com/haiweb/cultures/en-us/productdetail.htm?pid=pag532>.

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tions, there are no reliability or validity data regarding the MMPI-2 performance of people for whom English is not their first language. The same is true of each of the other most widely used psychological tests in child custody assessment.

### *C. Direct Parent-Child Observations*

A third component of a competently conducted child custody evaluation is the direct observation of each parent with one or more of the children. Observations do not occur in a vacuum and parent-child communication must be understood in the context within which it occurs. Understanding each parent's parenting style and childrearing practices is critical in evaluating the meaning of parent-child interactions. Without knowledge of culture-specific parenting practices, evaluators may be unable to provide the court with a reasonable explanation for childrearing practices that are different from those of the dominant culture but representative of the culture-specific practices of a particular group.

### *D. Record Review*

Historical and current records are critical sources of information in child custody evaluations. There may be times when the records are in a foreign language and the evaluator needs to seek translation of the documents. Who translates the document may be important, both for the evaluator's understanding of the material and for its admissibility at trial.

### *E. Parent-Child Observations*

Observations of parent-child interactions are not inherently culture-biased. Mental health professionals are trained to record what is observed. Culturally competent child custody evaluators, employing their knowledge of the specific culture of the parent being observed, will focus on parent-child behaviors that are unique to the culture. The culture-specific knowledge will guide the meaning we assign to that which we observe.

### *F. Expert Opinions*

In an article addressing the development of recommendations addressing the ultimate issues before courts, we have expressed concern regarding "overreaching by mental health

professionals in offering to the court specific residential placement recommendations that purport to address the best psychological interests of a child when such recommendations have little, if any, scientifically informed foundation.”<sup>44</sup> The need for recommendations to rest on a scientifically informed foundation is critical when evaluators have noted a disparity between values held by parents based on their having been raised in a different culture or where parental actions deemed acceptable in their cultures of origin are viewed negatively in our culture.

### *G. Cultural Relativism*

When a culturally diverse family system becomes involved in a custody dispute, one of the challenges for forensic mental health practitioners conducting child custody evaluations is understanding cultural relativism. We define cultural relativism as the principle that understanding the beliefs and actions of individuals must be predicated on understanding the cultures in which they were raised or within which they live. Applying the concept of cultural relativism to child custody assessment, evaluators investigate the cultural diversity of family systems by comparing parent, child, and parent-child interactions to the childrearing and parenting practices taught within specific cultures. The presumption is that evaluators can make such judgments from an impartial perspective, rather than according to the standards of the dominant culture within which the minority culture lives.

Cultural relativism posits that different norms and expectations should influence societal response to behavior. The idea behind law is to provide a universal set of rules that apply to everyone. The notion of providing different standards of behavior for different cultures is contrary to the idea of a universal set of rules that apply to everyone.<sup>45</sup>

How does understanding cultural relativism influence child custody evaluators? Where a disparity between parental values and generally held community values is likely to play an important role in the development of a parenting plan, we believe that

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<sup>44</sup> Jonathan W. Gould & David A. Martindale, *A Second Call for Clinical Humility and Judicial Vigilance: Comments on Tippins and Wittmann*, 43 *FAM. CT. REV.* 253, 253 (2005).

<sup>45</sup> *Id.*

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it is critically important that mental health professionals acknowledge that there is no scientifically informed foundation that would support opinions regarding a link between specific parental values and children's psychological best interests.

It is at this point that readers might anticipate encountering a plea to researchers, suggesting that they fill the void. We will not issue such a plea.

### H. *Responsible Opinion Formulation*

Where parental values are likely to play an important role as courts construct parenting plans, we recommend that evaluators describe the relevant values and actions and limit any opinions to those that can be supported on the basis of research appearing in peer-reviewed journals or texts. In some areas of parenting, instructive research findings are available to guide evaluators. The research of Baumrind,<sup>46</sup> for example, sheds light on the long-term effects of certain parenting styles. The requisite characteristics of an expert opinion "relate to the procedures that were employed in formulating the opinion and the body of knowledge that forms the foundation upon which those procedures were developed."<sup>47</sup> For this reason, where no applicable body of knowledge exists, evaluators should clearly indicate to the court that there is no research information that can help guide the evaluator in offering a scientifically informed opinion. We believe in such instances an evaluator should indicate to the court that no expert opinion will be offered. We also recognize that other colleagues may believe it appropriate to offer an opinion based upon their clinical experience. Opinions based upon clinical experience need to be clearly labeled by the evaluator and the limitations of opinions based on clinical experience should be clearly articulated to the court.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Diana Baumrind, *Current Patterns of Parental Authority*, 4 DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOL. 1 (Jan. 1971); E. Mark Cummings & Jennifer S. Cummings, *Parenting and Attachment*, in 5 HANDBOOK OF PARENTING: PRACTICAL ISSUES IN PARENTING 35, 52 (Marc H. Borstein ed. 2002).

<sup>47</sup> Martindale, D. A., *Cross-examining Mental Health Professionals in Child Custody Litigation*, 29 J. Psychiatry & L., 483-511, (2001).

<sup>48</sup> See JONATHAN W. GOULD & DAVID A. MARTINDALE, *THE ART AND SCIENCE OF CHILD CUSTODY EVALUATIONS* (2009), for a discussion of the limitations of clinical judgment in child custody assessment. See also Daniel W. Shuman & Bruce D. Sales, *The Admissibility of Expert Testimony Based upon*

Those who disagree with the position to indicate to the court that a trustworthy expert opinion is not possible because of the lack of research might assert that where significant differences exist between the beliefs or behaviors of parents and the beliefs and generally accepted behaviors of the communities in which they reside or plan to reside, it is a matter of common sense that the children of these parents will be adversely affected. Where the judicial decisions to be made will rest on a foundation of common sense, advisory input from experts is extraneous at best. There is no basis for presuming that common sense applied by someone trained in one of the mental health disciplines will be superior to common sense applied by someone trained in law. In addition, when an idea is self-evident, by definition, the court does not need an expert to opine on it. Expert opinions are admissible only when the opinions expressed reflect “scientific, technical, or other specialized knowledge that will help the trier of fact to understand the evidence or to determine a fact in issue.”<sup>49</sup> That which is self-evident is not beyond the court’s keen awareness.

Where cultural issues are involved, evaluators can be of significant assistance to triers of fact by obtaining from parents well-articulated statements concerning their bases for believing that their children will be best served by being raised in accordance with the culture in which the parents were raised. It also might be appropriate for evaluators to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the parents’ bases for believing that their children will be best served by being raised in accordance with the culture in which the parents were raised, and where possible, to compare and contrast the culture-specific beliefs to the community beliefs within which the child will go to school and engage in social and community based activities.

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*Clinical Judgment and Scientific Research*, 4 PSYCHOL., PUB. POL’Y & L. 1226 (1998).

<sup>49</sup> Fed. R. Evid. 703.

