

LOOKING UNDER THE HOOD: CREATING AND VALIDATING A MEASUREMENT OF
WHITE CULTURAL VALUES IN THE U.S.

by

APOORVA SARMAL

(Under the Direction of ALLISON L. SKINNER)

ABSTRACT

Cultural forces and individual cognition share a recursive relationship: they shape each other. Although basic and applied research has examined racism and prejudice in the U.S. in recent decades, how White culture, norms, and values pervade our thinking and shape our attitudes remains understudied. This project investigates what constitutes White cultural values in the U.S., which I argue uphold whiteness as the norm in the U.S. Using mixed methods in this dissertation, I create and validate a scale to assess the psychological construct of White cultural values. The first study ($n = 12$) in this dissertation used qualitative methods, relying on standpoint theory, to gather data from one-on-one in-depth interviews conducted with People of Color about their critical perspectives of whiteness in the U.S. Study 2 ($n = 200$) employed a different qualitative method of open-ended responses to gather perspectives from a wider demographic of U.S. residents' (which included White U.S. residents) on cultural values and

norms. These two studies served as the basis for the generation of data-driven scale items and led to the creation of a large set of items that capture White cultural values. This large inventory of items was ultimately tested in Study 3 ($n = 414$ participants) to conduct exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis of the novel scale. Together, these three studies led to the generation of and factor assessment of the White cultural values scale. A future direction of this work could utilize this validated scale to further our understanding of how endorsement of these racialized values might uphold structural disparities in various domains. Utilizing this novel measurement tool in different domains and contexts (e.g., education) could uncover the psychological processes that play a role in social environments being systemically unjust.

INDEX WORDS: measurement, scale validation, racism, whiteness

LOOKING UNDER THE HOOD: CREATING AND VALIDATING A MEASUREMENT OF
WHITE CULTURAL VALUES IN THE U.S.

by

APOORVA SARMAL

B.A., University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, 2017

B.S., University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, 2017

M.A., Indiana University Bloomington, 2019

M.S., University of Georgia, 2022

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2025

© 2025

Apoorva Sarmal

All Rights Reserved

LOOKING UNDER THE HOOD: CREATING AND VALIDATING A MEASUREMENT OF
WHITE CULTURAL VALUES IN THE U.S.

by

APOORVA SARMAL

Major Professor:	Allison L. Skinner
Committee:	Richard B. Slatcher
	Melissa M. Robertson

Electronic Version Approved:

Ron Walcott
Vice Provost for Graduate Education and Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2025

DEDICATION

this dissertation is dedicated to all those who came before me and helped pave the way for me.

maa and paa, who traversed insurmountable challenges and social pressures, moved around our home country so I could receive an education and change the world for the better. thank you for always pushing me to do better and to question the status quo.

my brother, for showing me resilience and helping me imagine a better tomorrow—for his optimism and inquisitiveness.

my life partner, who himself embodies strength, challenges the unjust social order, and is my biggest advocate.

my advisor, allison, for permitting and encouraging me to ask the questions that felt the most pressing, for showing me how to navigate the streams of science, and for instilling in me a deep responsibility to question the dominant currents.

most important of all: to the leaders, trailblazers, scholars, activists, and visionaries who imagine an equitable, just future for all, but especially those who have been purposely left behind and whose voices continue to be silenced and removed from the “mainstream” narrative. I want to dedicate this dissertation to you, in an act of defiance of the current social and political climate (2025), for I dared to imagine a social reality where I could rely on your wisdom and theorizing and challenge whiteness, white cultural norms, cultural hegemony, and help imagine a future where people can exist in multitudes, tyranny isn’t the law of the land, genocide and censorship isn’t normal, capitalism isn’t king, racial and gender equity aren’t radical. it is my sincere hope that my work can contribute to positive change toward an equitable and just world for all.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge several people who have helped me refine my conceptual thoughts or statistical approaches throughout this dissertation. First, I would like to thank my committee members—Drs. Allison Skinner, Rich Slatcher, and Melissa Robertson—for guiding me and for providing me with critical feedback that helped polish my ideas and this dissertation as a result. Many members of the Georgia Attitudes, Biases, and Behavior Acquisition (GABBA) Lab were instrumental in helping me with different steps throughout the research process, whether it be testing the surveys for errors or double-checking tables for accuracy. I'd like to therefore acknowledge the hard efforts of *Vina Linh Diem Doan*, *Ali Mohammad*, *Mercedes Alvarez*, and *Anahat Kaur*. Beyond the GABBA lab, I'd like to thank colleagues who provided guidance and insight as I handled complex statistical analyses or navigated conceptualizing different theoretical concepts. I appreciate your support, thoughts, and feedback through these steps—*Dr. Flora Oswald*, *Dr. Kalsea Koss*, *Minh Duc Pham*, *Trevor Lies*, *Dr. Abriana Gresham*, and *Dr. Fahima Mohideen*. A heartfelt thanks to this community of scientists, whose enthusiasm to offer their insights throughout the scientific process has undoubtedly enriched this dissertation.

I would also like to thank two groups at this stage for their feedback at various points throughout this dissertation process. Specifically, I'd like to thank the *Cultural Psychology Research Group* at the University of Kansas, since this group helped me refine my ideas when I presented versions of this topic to them. Second, I'd like to thank the *Abolition Psychology Collective* for their insights and feedback as I sought critical feedback and perspectives on the

large inventory of items generated after Study 2. It was thanks to this group that I could think through the various categories, language, and verbiage of each item. This was a daunting task, and having the input of this group, given their expertise, was invaluable in refining the items further.

I would also like to acknowledge the various societies and organizations that supported this work financially, so I could collect data and complete this project in time. As we know, research does not occur in a vacuum, and research funds established by visionaries help create a positive legacy in research and inquiry by awarding funds to researchers. I submitted versions of the ideas tested in this dissertation to many such grants/outlets, and I would like to use this section to highlight some of the incredible stories of the people whose endowed funds helped support my scientific inquiries (and many other scientists like me). Thank you to the *Center for Research and Education in Diversity* (RED) at the University of Georgia (UGA) for funding to conduct a portion of this research. I would like to express gratitude to the *Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues* for funding this project through their *Grants-in-Aid*. Thank you also to the *Society for Personality and Social Psychology's Heritage Dissertation Award*, which helped fund the research conducted in this dissertation. Specifically, I highlighted the connection between research conducted by Drs. *James Jones* and *Shinobu Kitayama*, whose work helped pave the way for me to ask my research questions. You can read more about [Dr. James Jones](#) and [Dr. Shinobu Kitayama](#) by clicking the links. I would also like to thank the *UGA Grady School of Journalism and Mass Communication's Charlayne Hunter-Gault Giving Voice to the Voiceless grant* for funding a portion of this work. It is important that I recognize *Charlayne Hunter-Gault*, given her incredible legacy. She helped desegregate the University of Georgia by being the first Black woman to attend the university in the early 1960s. She went on

to have an incredible career in journalism and mass communication and was the chief correspondent in Africa for National Public Radio for a number of years. She is also a prolific civil rights activist: you are welcome to check out her book, “[My People: Five Decades of Writing About Black Lives](#),” and more information about her life story can be found on this [Georgia Encyclopedia page](#). Next, I would like to thank *Psi Chi—International Honor Society in Psychology* for awarding me the *Mamie Phipps Clark Grant*. It is simply impossible to capture *Dr. Clark’s* major contributions to psychology and U.S. society in this short note of gratitude. She was the first Black woman to receive a PhD in the field of psychology. She (along with her husband) conducted pivotal research on Black kids’ internalization of racial biases due to segregation. This research was eventually cited in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), and *Dr. Clark* fiercely testified against her former PhD advisor (a staunch segregationist) and helped end racial segregation in U.S. schools. More information about her trailblazing legacy can be found [here](#).

Last but not least, I would like to thank the IRB staff and all the participants who took the time, care, and effort to complete the qualitative interviews, open-ended study, and quantitative study. If it weren’t for the participants who put in time and effort to complete research, research would simply not be possible. In sum, I’d like to thank all colleagues, friends, funders, participants, IRB office staff, and most importantly, the fierce civil rights activists and scholars of color who helped pave the way, directly or indirectly, to conduct this research. It is my hope that I have made some small contributions to the literature and continued your legacy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	6
How Different Types of Norms Construct Our Everyday Realities	6
Whiteness	9
Theoretical Framework of White supremacy culture	16
Review of Relevant Scales and Measurement in Psychology	18
Current Project	20
3 METHOD FOR STUDY 1	22
Overview	22
Recruitment	22
Participants	26
Interview Procedure	27
Data Analysis	27
Reflexive Thematic Analysis Steps	28
Positionality and Author Reflexivity	29

4	RESULTS FOR STUDY 1	30
	Theme 1: Benefiting those who practice whiteness.....	30
	Theme 2: Hurting those on the perimeter of whiteness	32
	Theme 3: Maintaining the status quo.....	35
	Theme 4: Controlling Knowledge	38
5	DISCUSSION FOR STUDY 1	41
6	METHOD FOR STUDY 2	45
	Overview.....	45
	Recruitment	45
	Participants	46
	Procedure	47
	Data Analysis	50
7	RESULTS FOR STUDY 2	53
	Individualism	55
	Capitalism	56
	Traditional Family Structure	58
	Culture of Overwork	61
	Quick/Easy Solution	62
	Glorifying the Past	64
	Social Contract	65
	Contradictions	66
	Social Hierarchy	68
	Ethnocentrism	69

Binary	70
Power Maintenance	71
Body Image	73
Apathy	74
Urban vs. Rural	75
Overconsumption	76
Nationalism	76
Item reduction	77
8 DISCUSSION FOR STUDY 2.....	79
9 METHOD FOR STUDY 3	83
Overview	83
Recruitment.....	83
Participants.....	84
Procedure	85
Measures	85
Data Analytic Plan	86
10 RESULTS FOR STUDY 3	87
Preparing for the Exploratory Factor Analysis	87
Factor Structure and Item Reduction	88
Confirmatory Factor Analysis	91
11 GENERAL DISCUSSION	92
Findings	94
Comparison to Prior Conceptualization	99

Implications	101
Limitations	103
Conclusion	107
REFERENCES	108
APPENDICES	
A Full text of invitation text to participate in qualitative study 1	155
B Accompanying pamphlet with each social media post	156
C Opening statement and full list of interview questions asked in Study 1	157
D Complete List of Items presented to Participants in Study 2	159
E Full list of items of the white cultural values scale tested in Study 3	163
F Removed Items based on MSA < 0.50	172
G List of removed items (n = 47)	175
H List of removed items (n = 54)	180
I List of removed items (n = 9)	190

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Participant Demographics for Study 1	139
Table 2: Participant Racial Demographics for Study 2	140
Table 3: Trimmed Items from Study 2	141
Table 4: Participant Racial Demographics for Study 3	147
Table 5: Factor analysis results using Exploratory Factor Analysis for the White Cultural Values Scale using 27 items.....	149
Table 6: Confirmatory Factor Analysis for the White Cultural Values Scale (27 items).....	150
Table 7: Final white cultural values scale items, factor loadings, and descriptives	151

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: Initial Thematic Map Development Study 1	133
Figure 2: Finalized Thematic Map.....	134
Figure 3: Frequency of Values based on the Qualitative Open-Ended Responses of Study 2.	135
Figure 4: Visual Scree Plot indicating a seven-factor solution with 137 items during exploratory factor analysis.	136
Figure 5: Visual Scree Plot indicating a three-factor solution with 36 items during exploratory factor analysis	137
Figure 6: Visual Scree Plot indicating a three-factor solution with 27 items during exploratory factor analysis	138

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The United States of America (hereafter U.S.) has a long legacy of different forms of legal discrimination, including residential segregation, employment discrimination, and beyond (Kendi, 2017). Civil rights advocates and lawyers have worked to reverse several forms of legal discrimination, which has led to many forms being outlawed in the present-day U.S. However, the effects of legal discrimination persist and sometimes evolve into new, more covert forms (Lucas, 2024). Much of our daily lives in the U.S. are influenced by laws, practices, and norms, driving our behavior. Norms and cultural values in the U.S. have the potential to exist outside of the purview of laws and are often based on White ideals and White cultural values. This dissertation aims to critically examine and shed light on what constitutes these subtle White cultural values.

White culture in the U.S. encompasses every aspect of life. Using the psychological framework of the five basic domains of life (spirituality, work, community, health, and family), let us examine how the concepts of *de jure* and *de facto* interact with some of the domains (VanderWeele, 2017). In legal terms, when a practice is written or codified into law, it becomes recognized by right or *de jure*, Latin for “of/in law” (Metych, 2025). Practices that are enforced outside of any legal mandate are considered *de facto* (Latin for “in fact/reality”) in legal frameworks (Metych, 2025). When making sense of the pervasive nature of cultural values, or what I refer to as White cultural values in the context of the U.S., it becomes important to consider both legal frameworks to understand how subtle, unspoken cultural values persist long

after laws have changed. In the paragraphs that follow, I will utilize select key examples to illustrate how concepts of *de jure* and *de facto* diverge to produce worse, differential outcomes for people from marginalized backgrounds in the U.S. in various domains.

In the context of spirituality or religion, the U.S. has, in name, had protections for religious expression codified in the U.S. Constitution. Further protections were added for Indigenous U.S. residents in 1978, and more broadly, an act in 1993 added *de jure* protections against government interference in overall religious expression and freedom (92 Stat. 469 - Joint Resolution American Indians Religious Freedom, 1978; 107 Stat. 1488 Religious Freedom Restoration Act, 1993). While multiple *de jure* legal protections now exist, many day-to-day amenities (e.g., prayer rooms) on a material level are based on Christianity, the dominant religion in the U.S. Religious holidays across different cultures rely on calendars such as the Umm Al-Qura, Ethiopic calendar, and others which follow different conventions (e.g., lunar calendar) for determining religious holidays—a procedure that is not recognized in the U.S. *de facto* (Abdel-Magied, 2024). As a result, many Muslim workers in the U.S. (and other Western nations) struggle to get time off work during religious holidays such as the holy month of Ramadan (Nawaz et al., 2022). In this way, what happens on the ground, *de facto*, differs from the legal protections *de jure* that are supposed to provide safeguards for true religious freedom and expression.

Let us now examine another context to differentiate between *de jure* and *de facto* practice in the U.S. When examining the domain of family in the U.S., anti-miscegenation laws were outlawed in 1967 (*Loving v. Virginia*, 388 U.S. 1., 1967). In other words, prior to 1967, broadly speaking, it was illegal to marry someone from a different racial background (although this

varied by state), and this act was punishable by law and codified *de jure*. People of Color¹, often Black Americans, were severely punished for engaging in interracial relationships (Thompson, 2009). Though it is no longer illegal to be in an interracial relationship or marriage, White terror in various parts of the country (Anderson, 2017) such as extreme violence towards people who engaged in an interracial relationship, along with other social and psychological factors, led to a relatively low rate of interracial partnerships in the U.S. In practice, or *de facto*, White U.S. residents benefit from what scholars have coined “romantic racism,” wherein meta-perceptions of romantic desirability across racial groups sustain the power and privilege that White residents hold, by actively devaluing People of Color (Auelua-Toomey & Roberts, 2024). I argue that subtle White cultural values, such as traditionalism, might be playing a role in determining the combinations of relationships, what is valued, and the people who should intermarry.

The final example I want to discuss is that of the workplace context in the U.S. Discrimination in the workplace was legally allowed prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 (Civil Rights Act of 1964, 1964). Following the passage of this act, the outright discrimination was no longer *de jure*, but instead, more nefarious, *de facto*, functionally discriminatory practices persisted. One well-studied example of workplace discrimination is how Black Americans and Asian Americans fare better if they hide their race on résumés (Kang et al., 2016). In terms of hiring, evidence demonstrates that “White-sounding” names such as Emily received 50% more callbacks relative to “Black-sounding” names such as Lakisha (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). More recent work shows that false perceptions of Black

¹ Throughout this dissertation, I capitalize the term People of Color to be consistent with the capitalization norms used for other groups (e.g., “White people”). When I use the term People of Color, I am referring to people from racially marginalized backgrounds in the U.S., such as but not limited to, Indigenous people, Black people, Latino people, Asian people, and Arab people. As a scholar who studies race, I fully recognize that the experiences that these groups have is not the same across the board, yet I also recognize that people who are essentially not categorized as “White” often face racialized violence, oppression, and discrimination that transcends present-day racial boundaries (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Pham et al., 2023).

inferiority were related to lower hiring rates of people whose names were associated with Black Americans, especially when put under time pressure (Abel & Burger, 2023). A recent large analysis of over 83,000 fictitious applications showed a similar pattern: when hiring committees associated a name with Black Americans, the likelihood for that individual to be contacted went down statistically (Kline et al., 2022).

Though three examples of *de jure* and *de facto* practices were introduced here, many such examples exist, across domains and social contexts in the U.S., which prioritize White cultural norms and values, and they have been repeatedly highlighted in literature and media by scholars and writers of color (Coates, 2024; Wilkerson, 2020). Illustrated in the three examples above are ways that potentially nefarious practices perpetuate themselves even after legal enforcement is no longer a driving factor. It is important to determine the factors that lead to the transition of a *de jure* practice into a *de facto* practice. One potential mechanism is the incorporation of certain practices into the broader culture, where it can begin to exert its effects more covertly. I argue that many of the forms of oppression that have been outlawed continue their oppressive tendencies in a quiet realm of norms and cultural values that support and are driven by whiteness.

This dissertation aims to critically examine and shed light on what constitutes these subtle White cultural values. The goal of this dissertation is to uncover these values since “whiteness is everywhere in U.S. culture, but it is very hard to see” (Lipsitz, 2006b, p. 1), as it is usually characterized by an absence of otherness (Helms, 2017). Whiteness is difficult to see because it goes unnamed, it potentially threatens the status quo, and because White people have characterized themselves as the default over centuries in the U.S. Importantly, this dissertation seeks to understand how these norms function in U.S. society with the ultimate goal of designing

and validating an informed scale that could be used in various settings such as, but not limited to, education and healthcare. The goal of this dissertation is to set out, name, and render visible these seemingly hard-to-see White cultural values to potentially help establish the force they may exert on U.S. society. By elucidating White cultural values, I will establish a novel measurement tool that has the potential to capture the extent to which individuals endorse White cultural values or potentially internalize them.

First, I will outline relevant literature to demonstrate why the creation of a scale is necessary, given the gaps that exist. In the following section, I present relevant literature on the different types of norms, elaborating on how these norms come together to uphold the current power structure in U.S. society. Next, I present a comprehensive review of the concept of whiteness and literature from whiteness studies to demonstrate how this construct shapes attitudes, behaviors, and even health. I present an overview of the past measurement tools that exist in the literature to illustrate how they do not capture the novel construct that this dissertation aims to create and validate. Then I will present three studies with the end goal of creating a scale that assesses the endorsement of White cultural values. Lastly, I will discuss the implications of the measurement tool that has been developed in this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

How Different Types of Norms Construct Our Everyday Realities

Psychological conceptualizations about what *is* (descriptive norms), what *should* be (prescriptive norms), and how people should behave (injunctive norms) are powerful in shaping our everyday realities (Roberts, 2022). Norms and normative behavior deeply impact how we perceive and navigate our social worlds (Heyes, 2024; Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). On an implicit level, people make associations between concepts of common (e.g., “majority” or “typical”) and moral (e.g., “right” or “good”; Eriksson et al., 2015). Indeed, descriptive and injunctive concepts are conflated by participants, and participants rely on how common a behavior is to form their own concepts of morality for that behavior (Eriksson et al., 2015). In children, normative thinking can impact cognition and behavior. Children rated atypical imaginary groups more negatively when members of these groups deviated from norms (Roberts et al., 2017). Norms about groups emerge as young as six years old: Young girls have been shown to not pursue activities they associate with brilliance, which they believe to only be reserved for boys, due to their social context (Bian et al., 2017), which is incredibly patriarchal. In this way, unequal systems continually reproduce themselves as they become the “common” exemplars that are cognitively available.

As members of a given societal structure, people tend to find ways to justify the systems they inhabit. This justification and production of explanations for various forms of social inequality that surround people can inadvertently exacerbate inequalities (Jost, 2019; Jost &

Banaji, 1994). Further, a culturally-learned tendency has been supported by empirical evidence: people believe that everyone gets what they deserve (Lerner, 1977, 1980). In other words, good things come to those who act with good intentions. Prior work has shown that belief in a just world is positively associated with conservatism, authoritarianism, and life satisfaction, and negatively correlated with depressive symptoms (Lipkusa et al., 1996). Yet, believing in this worldview might not lead to the same outcomes for all members in a given context, especially those who are from marginalized backgrounds. Among Black individuals, those who believed more in this ideology, that people get what they deserve, were found to be at a higher risk for a number of negative health outcomes, such as more chronic illnesses and higher (systolic) blood pressure (Hagiwara et al., 2015). One potential explanation for this seemingly contradictory finding is that in order for Black individuals to believe in a just world, they must also hold the psychological truth that facing racial discrimination is somehow deserved, which is categorically false. For White residents, on the other hand, belief in a just world has been shown to lead White participants to severely underestimate present-day Black-White economic inequalities (Kraus et al., 2017). Together, these findings show that believing in the same concept has differential outcomes for people who face differing social realities in a given context.

Norms and normative behavior shape our behaviors and our perception of realities. Norms are often developed and dictated by the group with the most power, often as a way to reinforce their power (Anderson, 2017). This means that in the social context of the U.S., social norms are often set by White Americans (Skinner-Dorkenoo et al., 2021, 2023). White Americans set the norms due to a long history of colonialism, White supremacy, and racialized oppression in the U.S. (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Gillborn, 2005; Jayakumar & Adamian, 2017; Kendi, 2017; Wilson, 2018). Thus, when conceptualizing what constitutes norms in the U.S., it

is primarily a description (what is), prescription (what should be), and injunctive (how one should behave) norms associated with White U.S. residents.

White supremacy consists of several different building blocks, chiefly sexism and racism, with research showing that endorsement of one hierarchy (e.g., racism) is related to endorsement of the other (e.g., sexism) as well (Sidanius, 1993). Thus, norm violation, adherence, and perception vary based on an individual's position within a social hierarchy. In the cultural context of the U.S., due to longstanding contemporary and historical racist tropes and stereotypes (Melson-Silimon et al., 2024), Black people are perceived negatively and evaluated harshly relative to White people (Kendi, 2017; Roberts & Rizzo, 2020; Wilkerson, 2020). Further, Black people who possess more stereotypical traits such as darker skin tones or names (Kenthirarajah et al., 2023), and speech patterns associated with Black people (Kurinec & Weaver, 2021), get more visual attention, and even longer sentencing in the legal system (Dixon & Maddox, 2005). These patterns, along with negative stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes, likely play a role in a number of racial disparities we see in policing, convictions, and incarceration of Black residents (Alexander, 2012).

Perceptions about norm violation and adherence also intersect with social identities other than race. Norms dictate how women are perceived in the U.S. as well, such that they are seen as more communal and submissive (Eagly & Wood, 2012). Given the patriarchal setup of U.S. society, traits such as communality and submissiveness are deemed undesirable in the U.S. cultural context. People who hold negative notions about these groups—Black Americans and women—tend to punish them when they deviate from norms (e.g., communality) that are associated with their perceived identity (Durkee et al., 2019; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Phelan & Rudman, 2010). Beyond outside perception, these norms have real consequences for the

behaviors and attitudes of members of marginalized groups. Black men and women with negative stereotypical beliefs about their group's skills often hide their leadership aptitude (Phelan & Rudman, 2010). Similarly, women with negative stereotypical beliefs about their group's ability to be brilliant in male-dominated fields such as STEM indicate lower interest and participation in those fields (Bian et al., 2018). Following this same trend broadly (even beyond members of marginalized groups), men who endorse gender egalitarian beliefs also face backlash from men and women, with both groups questioning the sexuality of the egalitarian men in the U.S. (Rudman et al., 2013). Thus, the findings summarized here provide some converging evidence that dominant norms impact all members of a societal context and require buy-in from all members, negatively affecting members who deviate from the dominant norms.

Descriptive, prescriptive, and injunctive norms combine with social hierarchies to produce negative outcomes for people from marginalized backgrounds in U.S. society (Roberts, 2022) while also impacting perceptions of dominant group members who act counter to the norm (Rudman et al., 2013). As evidenced by the research in this section, regardless of whether people in a social structure are explicitly aware of norms, the reproduction of norms becomes commonplace, making it hard to challenge norms. I argue that White culture in the U.S. may be operating through these norms, becoming the normative and dominant set of values in the U.S. In the next subsection, I present a brief overview of the literature on what constitutes whiteness in the U.S. and how it continues to get reified through existing structures.

Whiteness

“America became white – the people who, as they claim, “settled” the country became white – because of the necessity of denying the Black presence and justifying the Black subjugation. No community can be based on such principle – or, in other words, no

community can be established on so genocidal a lie. White men – from Norway, for example, where they are Norwegians [sic] – became white: by slaughtering the cattle, poisoning the wells, torching the houses, massacring Native Americans, raping Black women.” (Baldwin, 1984, p. 2)

The quote above is an excerpt from James Baldwin’s 1984 essay “On Being White...And Other Lies” (Baldwin, 1984, p. 2). As exemplified by the quote, Baldwin writes sharply about what comprises White identity and its evolution over time. While whiteness is part and parcel of the experience in the U.S., in some ways, it remains a difficult thing to define. Whiteness is difficult to define because it has been characterized as “a kind of absence” (Garner, 2007, p. 34), which in itself is not a definable feature. In this subsection, I consider some of the historical origins of whiteness, focus on the research within this area that attempts to make whiteness concrete, and outline how whiteness impacts White norms and values.

Whiteness is an evolving phenomenon based on cultural, political, and social factors (Kendi, 2017). That is, at different periods in the history of U.S. society, different people were considered White, and this pattern has continued to change even in the present century (Painter, 2011). For example, historically, there were different, often conflicting metrics used to categorize people in terms of race. One such contradictory example is that of the “one drop” rule or hypodescent, which states a person could be considered Black if they had a single Black great-grandparent (Hollinger, 2005). The sociopolitical construction of race over centuries means that even in the 21st century, people in the U.S. increasingly categorize mixed-race or biracial people as Black (Ho et al., 2011). This tendency contrasts with how Indigenous people are classified by blood quantum, which bases group membership on an increasing proportion of genetic history (Chow, 2018). This seemingly contradictory categorization demonstrates what theorists have

previously articulated: Whiteness serves as a system of dominance, and depending on the temporal and cultural needs to sustain this dominance, the definition of Whiteness shifts (Cherry et al., 2014; Helms, 2017).

In the U.S., Whiteness shows up nearly everywhere, from what foods are considered typical and which holidays are celebrated nationally, all the way to the exemplars and stories that are told in textbooks and the media (Williams, 2020). For example, most people consider holidays associated with White people (e.g., Thanksgiving) to be national, whereas holidays associated with different religions (e.g., Islam) or racial groups (e.g., Indigenous Americans) become othered (Bazelon, 2018). This pattern of thinking then gets reified through power structures as the normative holidays elevate to the status of federal or state-level holidays, furthering the notion that holidays associated with People of Color are not legitimate (Chan, 2015; Kaplan, 2023). Similarly, many textbooks at different levels in the U.S. education system center on perspectives from White people, thereby making the link between White and normative stronger through cultural hegemony (Adams & Omar, 2024; Hong, 2009; Lucy et al., 2020; Roberts & Mortenson, 2023). Textbook sections and the U.S. education system broadly sometimes even offer apologist descriptions of horrendous past events, as evidenced in an example from a Louisiana middle school textbook, which highlights the moral dilemma that a White woman who lived on a plantation and owned enslaved Black people faced (McDaniel, 2021). This reconstructed, apologist narrative of the White woman owner's dilemma completely washes away the reality that it was way more routine for White women to own Black people and hold them hostage than commonly believed (Fling, 2020; Jones-Rogers, 2019). In this way, textbooks such as the one mentioned earlier aim to potentially obscure culpability and the quest for dominance for an otherwise morally reprehensible reality. When People of Color do get

included in mainstream narratives, their descriptions are heavily watered down, relative to when they are presented in majority-Black spaces (Salter & Adams, 2016).

What are some core features of whiteness? Though whiteness can be marked by European ancestry and melanin (lower content), it goes beyond these physical, detectable features. Historically, whiteness was stratified as a social category to form an ingroup and an outgroup based on ancestry and skin color. Those who met the criteria of European ancestry and pale/White skin tones were afforded higher power, structural advantage, and benefits through various sectors such as employment, housing, access to wealth, and other social benefits through behaviors and codified laws (Anderson, 2017; Kendi, 2017; Skinner-Dorkenoo et al., 2021, 2023). In the 1600s, as European colonialists sought to build an economic system based on chattel slavery by subjugating people of African descent, the first notions of whiteness began to emerge. These European colonialists set out to find justifications and manufacture a “scientific” rationale to continue the practice of chattel slavery by defining themselves as superior, relative to enslaved African people, due to their European ancestry (Kendi, 2017). Whiteness became solidified as White colonial settlers expanded the enslavement of Black people along with seizing land (and rendering it ownable property²) through pseudo-religious justifications of “manifest destiny” from Indigenous people (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). White settlers then used eugenicist science to peddle false beliefs that Black and Indigenous Americans were inherently inferior by cherry-picking data and only focusing on negligible differences between groups (Washington, 2008). This justification served to continue the inhumane practice of chattel slavery and genocide against Indigenous peoples (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Kendi, 2017).

² Indigenous cultures in the U.S. regularly view themselves as existing as part of the natural ecosystem. There was no concept of owning land or having property. This concept was imported to the American continent by Dutch settlers (*The Different Views of Land*, n.d.)

Whiteness persists into the present day based on the foundations of overt ideas of who is White and who is allowed to benefit from being White. Studies of whiteness have theorized that whiteness is marked by certain characteristics (e.g., wealth) that uphold power structures with White people firmly on top (Rogers & Mosley, 2006). As Civil Rights leaders and activists challenged overt racism seen in places like the Jim Crow South (Davis, 2016), more insidious forms of dominant White culture began to emerge, acting to oppress anyone who is not White (Feagin & McKinney, 2003). Examples of this insidious dominant White culture exist in both physical and psychological spaces. The formation of these “White spaces” serves to reinforce the normality and dominance of whiteness and to exclude and police those who fall out of that definition. For example, antebellum-style buildings in the U.S. South and government buildings such as the White House were largely constructed by enslaved Black people in the U.S. who were owned by White architects or other prominent historical figures (Harrison, 2021; Mann, 2020; Weyeneth, 2005). Therefore, the physical spaces we inhabit can themselves become spaces of division and segregation. Federal laws have attempted to integrate many of these spaces today (Fu, 2022; Weyeneth, 2005), yet, recent work finds that in the 21st century, Black students at a large southern university reported feeling unwelcome by antebellum-style buildings and choosing physical paths that avoided antebellum-style buildings on campus (Driskell & Trawalter, 2021), likely due to the historical and material significance of these physical structures. Beyond physical structures, another way that influence is held over People of Color is through more insidious actions, such as microaggressions (Skinner-Dorkenoo et al., 2021) or implicitly segregated physical spaces leading to the “White space” (Anderson, 2015).

Black scholars describe White spaces as physical or psychological spaces where mainly White people are present and make contributions, which may come about naturally, without any

overt maintenance of them (Anderson, 2015; Cashin, 2021). To be permitted to exist in these White spaces, People of Color may have to assimilate to socially and financially advance in the U.S., ultimately requiring high levels of switching between their own cultural identity and the dominant White identity (McCluney et al., 2021; Spencer et al., 2022) or completely assimilating to Whiteness (Hoyt & Simon, 2016; Levin et al., 2012; Zhao & Biernat, 2017). Individuals who deviate from these norms and values risk facing backlash and being denigrated. A body of research has shown that students of color, faculty of color, and People of Color face harsher, stricter sanctions for violating rules that are ultimately rooted in White ideological frameworks (Del Toro & Wang, 2022; Luksyte et al., 2013; Riddle & Sinclair, 2019). Additionally, wide racial discrepancies are seen in positions in the workforce, especially as rank gets higher (Collazo et al., 2024; Eaton et al., 2020; Fry et al., 2021; Funk & Parker, 2018; Hatfield et al., 2022), and I theorize that these higher-rank positions are housed in White spaces. In this way, White norms continue to impact people from historically marginalized groups into the present day, producing negative outcomes at various levels.

Given that whiteness seeks to designate who is in power, it is perhaps unsurprising that White people also have an outsized impact on cultural norms and values. A long history of laws and active violence against Black people, Asian people, Latino people, Indigenous people, queer people, disabled people, and other marginalized groups—whose existence might challenge the status quo—explicitly created and continue to maintain the racial order of White supremacy (Davis, 2016; Reynolds, 2022; Wilkerson, 2020). This maintenance of the current racial order is sustained by norms and values, whether explicit, subtle, or implicit, which reflect and uphold White culture (Bonam et al., 2016; Crenshaw et al., 2019). This often unnamed, White culture makes its way into the mainstream with folks enacting whiteness and maintaining cultural

dominance without physical force, but more subtle, psychological, and social forms of control (Eason et al., 2021; Fryberg & Eason, 2017; Kang et al., 2016b; Kenthirarajah et al., 2023; Salter et al., 2018). Collectively, the patterns described here reflect the consequences of a history of White colonialism.

As summarized above, whiteness hurts People of Color in the U.S., but there is also evidence to suggest that it hurts White people as well. Most concretely, notable poor health outcomes have been observed for White residents as they aim to preserve whiteness. In a rural southern community, evidence from qualitative research suggests that White residents' nostalgia for segregated 1960s society, combined with meritocratic beliefs, negatively impacted their health outcomes (Efird & Lightfoot, 2020). Further, espousing whiteness and enacting it has been shown to negatively impact the mental, physical, and social health of White Americans, with scholars urging swift divestment from whiteness (Efird et al., 2024). For instance, changes in demographics and threats to racial status are associated with poorer health outcomes for White Americans, such as higher mortality and higher deaths of despair (Siddiqi et al., 2019). Given these negative consequences of espousing and perpetuating whiteness, a novel measurement of White cultural values could be beneficial in understanding the extent to which endorsement of these beliefs exists among people in the U.S. Measuring this endorsement could help predict a variety of downstream consequences ranging from psychological to physical health outcomes.

As stated previously, quantifying the values that make up White culture is challenging, as whiteness is often rendered the default or the norm, and typically goes unnamed, which scholars argue is intentional to maintain the current system of White supremacy (Alcoff, 2015; Lipsitz, 2006a, 2006b). This dissertation, through its inquiry, aims to address what constitutes White cultural values on a psychological level, so we can measure and assess them in individuals. In

the next subsection, I elaborate on the theoretical framework of White supremacy culture, followed by prior scales and measurements that exist in psychology that are relevant, yet do not capture the unique construct that this dissertation seeks to examine through its inquiry.

Theoretical Framework of White Supremacy Culture

The main framework that inspired this line of inquiry, developing subtle White norms and cultural values, was the characteristics of White supremacy culture developed by educator and author Tema Okun, in collaboration with Kenneth Jones (Okun & Jones, 1999). The authors posit that there is a set of 15 characteristics (or tenets) comprising White supremacy culture that promote a certain racialized thinking among both People of Color and White people. These tenets are (1) perfectionism, (2) sense of urgency, (3) defensiveness, (4) quantity over quality, (5) worship of the written word, (6) only one right way, (7) paternalism, (8) either/or thinking, (9) power hoarding, (10) fear of open conflict, (11) individualism, (12) I'm the only one, (13) progress is bigger/more, (14) objectivity/neutrality, and (15) right to comfort (Okun & Jones, 1999). They highlight through these 15 characteristics how White supremacist thinking, which operates through these tenets, is rampant in organizations. Further, they offer antidotes or ways to combat these forms of thinking, to promote a sense of counterculture that challenges White supremacist cultural thought processes.

The following are brief definitions of each tenet, as the work by Okun and Jones will act as a fundamental conceptualization for the current work (Okun, 2010; Okun & Jones, 1999). The definitions will become important in Study 2 of this dissertation, where I directly compare and contrast the tenets with values derived from participants' open-ended responses. Either/or thinking is the belief that ideas fall into two distinct categories, with little to no room for anything to exist in a gray area. Only one right way emphasizes one's own cultural beliefs as

being inherently correct, and anyone not following this way is inherently lacking.

Objectivity/neutrality involves the invalidation of those deemed to be using emotion in reasoning and devaluing thought processes that do not seem to follow a rigid “scientific” framework. I’m the only one is when an individual or organization fails to see a benefit in delegating tasks out of fear that those lower in the social power structure will fail to complete anything in a “diligent” manner. Individualism is the belief that competition and individual gain are important and considered to be the natural order. Right to comfort is the belief that people who occupy positions of power should not be challenged because doing so would be deeply discomforting. Defending power structures involves being apprehensive of criticism directed toward power structures and instead focusing attention on protecting the existing hierarchy and status of those who currently occupy positions of power. Hoarding power refers to a belief that there is a limited amount of power and those who have this power currently must hold on to it tightly and not share it, as it will decrease the value of the power. Paternalistic and opaque power structures signify that only those in positions of power must know how decisions are made. Fearing open conflict symbolizes being wary of those who raise doubts about the current status quo. Worship of the written word involves treating written text as supreme and more important relative to other forms of communication. Progress is bigger/more signifies the tendency to emphasize achieving more and striving for bigger and better things. Valuing perfectionism is a tenet that places a great deal of emphasis on striving to be perfect. Valuing quantity over quality is focusing solely on measurable and tangible outcomes. Finally, sense of urgency is when deadlines are prioritized over truly democratic decision-making while also failing to take future consequences fully into account. These concepts from Okun and Jones were integrated into the first set of items generated for the novel scale of White cultural values. The first study of this dissertation

employed qualitative methodology, specifically one-on-one interviews, to further understand how People of Color conceptualize White norms, whiteness, and White superiority in the U.S. The second study of this dissertation employed another type of qualitative methodology, open-ended responses, to further elaborate on what constitutes White cultural values.

Review of Relevant Scales and Measurement in Psychology

Various measurement tools exist in psychology, informing our understanding of how people conceptualize their racial power, relative status, and position in a racialized society like the U.S. In this subsection, I will introduce the most relevant scales that can capture racial attitudes broadly, but to the author's knowledge, no scale measuring White cultural values, or even whiteness, exists in the literature. For instance, several scales exist that measure racism through either endorsement of or subscription to a set of statements. Symbolic racism aims to assess people's attitudes toward Black people's struggle to attain a better quality of life (Henry & Sears, 2002). Similarly, the modern racism scale tries to assess people's racist attitudes toward slight changes in the social condition of Black Americans (McConahay, 1986). The literature also includes measures of implicit bias, where reaction times can assess cognitive pairings of concepts and social groups, but since implicit tests are not endorsement-based, I will not review them further.

The literature also provides measurement tools to encapsulate how individuals think about racial attitudes towards either themselves or the group to which they belong. For example, the Measure of Indigenous Racism Experiences identifies how Indigenous people in the U.S. perceive racism directed at them in different settings (Paradies & Cunningham, 2008). Such scales also exist for White individuals in the U.S., with one scale measuring how White

individuals conceptualize and reckon with their privileged racial identity in the U.S. called the White Racial Affect Scale (Grzanka et al., 2020).

Some measurement tools that assess reactions to and attitudes towards concepts such as White privilege or status do exist in psychology. An example of this type of scale would be the Psychosocial Costs of White Racism, which assesses White empathic reactions towards racism, White guilt, and White fear of others (Spanierman & Heppner, 2004). Another relevant measure is the White Guilt scale, which measures the extent to which White residents experience negative affect due to racial group membership (Swim & Miller, 1999). Although the measurement tools reviewed here capture related concepts such as racial essentialism and White racial identity, they do not elaborate on the values and ways of being that make up whiteness itself. The goal of this dissertation is to elucidate these specific White cultural values. Below, I review some measurement tools that exist specifically in social psychology literature and highlight how they capture constructs that might be related but are distinct from White cultural values.

In the social psychological literature specifically, there are several tools that are used to measure attitudes towards concepts such as work ethic or political beliefs. One such scale is the Protestant work ethic, which is a personality variable measuring individuals' orientation towards life, leisure, and work ethic (Mirels & Garrett, 1971). It is important to consider the Protestant work ethic scale when discussing White culture, as many of the settler colonialists that first came to what is now the U.S. were Protestant (Noll, 2002, Chapter 2) and established the first conceptions of whiteness. Relatedly, the Right Wing Authoritarianism scale assesses people's endorsement of rigid social hierarchy (Altemeyer, 1981). Social Dominance Orientation, another personality variable, is a commonly used tool that measures people's tendency to subscribe to group-based hierarchies (Ho et al., 2015; Sidanius et al., 2016). The scales reviewed in this

paragraph tend to avoid specific mention of racial, ethnic, or other types of groups, likely to reduce social desirability bias, or potential concerns about lower endorsement to avoid seeming bigoted or overtly prejudiced. Finally, another commonly used measurement tool is the Internal or External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice, measuring individuals' internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998).

The scales reviewed in this section capture how racial attitudes or social position are measured in the U.S. psychological literature. However, they do not necessarily capture a set of tendencies or values that are associated with whiteness. In other words, they do not measure the fundamental values associated with a racialized logic that is unique to whiteness in the U.S. This literature review brings us to the following set of questions. What characteristics do subtle, White values hold in U.S. society? Now that we know more about how whiteness is constructed historically, psychologically, and culturally, how might we leverage mixed methods to create a comprehensive, novel tool that assesses its core tenets? I argue that these questions open the door to a new way of conceptualizing cultural norms and values by building our understanding of how subtle, sometimes unnoticed norms might be enforced in various social contexts, ultimately exacerbating existing inequalities.

Current Project

The mixed-methods dissertation will (1) qualitatively survey the different White cultural norms and values by understanding how People of Color (Study 1) and members of the general U.S. population (Study 2) conceptualize them, and (2) develop and quantitatively validate a measure using the best scale development practices. The first study of this dissertation leverages standpoint theory, which is a feminist theoretical framework that suggests that epistemology is best constructed from the vantage point of those who are socially marginalized. Feminist

scholars in creating this theoretical framework highlighted that people who are situated in the lower ranks of a societal structure bring a unique perspective that those at the higher ranks likely miss, due to their privileged status in society (Harding, 2004; Hekman, 1997; Hill Collins, 2000). Thus, Study 1 specifically seeks critical perspectives from People of Color, a group of people who likely have an informed perspective on how whiteness works. After gathering this rich perspective of People of Color, Study 2 solicits open-ended responses from members of the general U.S. population to ensure that a wide net is cast to capture a broad swath of White cultural values. Ultimately, these two studies were created to ensure a more rigorous, coherent, critical, and valid knowledge base to carry out the scale development in Study 3.

Specifically, I conducted three studies to carry out the creation and validation of this new measurement tool. The first study, through one-on-one interviews, qualitatively assesses how People of Color in the U.S. conceptualize White people and whiteness using semi-structured interviews. The goal of this initial study is to identify the values that are associated with White culture and generate a large set of related items for the subsequent study. The second study of this dissertation then asks the broader U.S. population what they believe constitutes mainstream values in the U.S. to further add to the robustness of the White cultural values construct. Finally, Study 3 employs exploratory factor analysis to assess the factor structure and trim the items that do not appropriately load onto different factors. Study 3 also runs a confirmatory factor analysis to ensure that the factor structure is valid.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD FOR STUDY 1

Overview

The first study of this dissertation leveraged qualitative methods to gain a deeper understanding of how People of Color in the U.S. conceptualize White cultural norms and values. As detailed in the previous chapter, People of Color were specifically selected in line with standpoint theory, as their experiences and perspectives are unique given their lower subjective and objective status in U.S. society. This qualitative methodology was used to gain a richer understanding beyond quantification and to have conversations with people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds to construct a better, potentially more valid psychological construct based on generalized lay perceptions.

Recruitment

Pre-Screen Survey

An initial call for recruitment was broadcast on social media platforms on June 19, 2024. This recruitment call explicitly invited all individuals who met the following criteria to complete the eligibility survey: (1) identify as a Person of Color living in the U.S., (2) be comfortable discussing social issues, race, and racism, and (3) be between the ages of 18 and 60. Participants were invited to complete an eligibility survey, and this invitation was posted on social media websites—Twitter and LinkedIn. The complete text inviting participants, along with the recruitment pamphlet that accompanied these posts, can be found in Appendices A and B.

The sampling methodology consisted of convenience, purposive, and snowball sampling. First, I posted these invitations to complete the pre-screen survey online, then I requested people to share this survey with their social media networks to increase visibility in hopes of ultimately attracting a broader participant base with critical perspectives to complete the pre-screen survey. After providing consent, the pre-screen survey asked participants to complete two quality check questions. The first quality check question displayed an image of a pencil and had participants choose what the image displayed from a set of options—lemon, pencil, paper, clip, stickers, and gas. The second quality check question presented participants with a jumbled-up sentence with two capital letters in it and asked them to identify and type those two specific capital letters. These two quality check questions were used to ensure only genuine, human participants were being invited to participate in the qualitative study.

Following the quality check questions, the pre-screen survey asked participants to provide basic demographic information. Namely, participants were asked to report their name, email address, age, state of residence, whether they identified as a Person of Color (“yes” or “no”), which racial/ethnic group they most closely identified with (Black or African American; East Asian; Middle Eastern and/or North African; South Asian; Southeast Asian; White or Caucasian; Multiracial, more than one race, specify; another race, with a text box). Then, participants were asked to respond to two open-ended questions. The first open-ended question asked participants the role they think race plays in U.S. society in 2-3 sentences. The second open-ended question asked participants to share an example of how their identities shaped their experiences, given that they live in a predominantly White society, in 2-3 sentences. A majority of the participants completed the eligibility survey between June 19 and June 23, 2024.

In line with recommendations made for qualitative research (Seawright & Gerring, 2008), the case selection strategy was diverse case and intensity case. Diverse case strategy was selected to allow for studying these topics across different demographics that are affected by these norms. In other words, I included a range of different backgrounds within the broad category of People of Color. Intensity case was used to ensure that the perspectives of those who could provide more insight into Whiteness and White cultural values were selected. Doing so permitted me to gain deep insight into these topics. The next step involved sorting and cleaning the pre-screen survey data.

Cleaning the Pre-Screen Data

Cleaning the pre-screen responses involved several steps since it was posted on social media platforms, which tend to generally attract high rates of robots and bad-faith respondents (e.g., Pozzar et al., 2020). The protocol for this data cleaning approach is highlighted in the [*unofficial pre-registration document*](#)³. The pre-screen survey was completed by 434 respondents. To trim this number down to 12 initial invitations to the main interview, I employed these steps as I screened the data. First, I checked whether the respondents had answered the quality check questions correctly. This step cut the initial number of respondents approximately by half, leaving 268 respondents who had accurately answered both quality check questions (removed $n = 164$). Next, I trimmed participants based on whether they answered both of my open-ended questions, as those were the basis for determining which participants would be invited for the main interview. This step removed another 28 respondents from the data, leaving 240 respondents who answered both questions.

³ Although this pre-registration was created before collection of the data (June 16, 2024), it was not officially pre-registered on Open Science Framework (OSF) until after data collection and analysis (December 18, 2024). For this reason, this study cannot be officially categorized as a pre-registered study.

Following this, I went through and removed 14 participants who did not self-identify as a Person of Color ($n = 226$). I removed these participants as a key eligibility criterion in the study was self-identifying as a Person of Color. Finally, I reviewed each response from these 226 participants to determine the most thoughtful and critical perspectives that could be captured through this study ($n = 31$). This data reduction step took the prompt of the open-ended questions into account. Pre-screen respondents were asked to respond to each of the two questions (the role they think race plays in U.S. society; share an example of how their identities shaped their experiences, given that they live in a predominantly White society) in 2-3 sentences. Individuals who did not provide a long enough answer (i.e., less than 2-3 sentences as specified in the question stem to the participants) to make a determination of whether the answer was thoughtful and critical were removed. Further, those who were invited to the focal study were also those who used first-person pronouns when answering how their identities shape their experiences. Apart from these two criteria, I relied on my intuition as it related to participant responses to determine the final 31 potential participants.

Over the course of the next several weeks, between July 10 and August 8, 2024, I invited these respondents to participate in my semi-structured one-on-one interviews ($n = 25$). I emailed selected respondents to participate in the study in waves to reach the final possible sample of 12 participants. Of the initial 12 people that I emailed on July 10, only seven responded. I sent follow-up emails to the other five, but after not hearing back, I reached out to people in waves (wave 1 $n = 12$; wave 2 $n = 1$; wave 3 $n = 4$; wave 4 $n = 2$; wave 5 $n = 1$; wave 6 $n = 1$; wave 7 $n = 1$). Financial constraints, specifically participant compensation, determined my intended sample size of 12 participants. A notion has begun to emerge in qualitative research whereby it is perceived to be more rigorous if it can make broad claims to reach a level of data saturation

(i.e., exhaust all possible facets of a concept or process). Other scholars, largely rooted in decolonial studies and critical perspectives, argue that a high number of participants does not always equate to richer data (Martin & Lynch, 2009). Indeed, numerous scholars, including those who pioneered and refined the methodology of reflexive thematic analysis, explicitly reject the notion of saturation being a reliable, definitive predictor of uncovering information about a specific topic (see Braun & Clarke, 2021b, 2022a, 2022b; Martin & Lynch, 2009 for further discussion).

Participants

Twelve participants self-identifying as People of Color and residing in the United States were interviewed for this study. The sample included 11 participants who identified as women and one who identified as a man⁴. Participants in this study were younger than the U.S. general population ($M = 38.9$; U.S. Census Bureau, 2023), with ages ranging from 22 to 41 years ($M = 29.25$, $SD = 6.12$). As mentioned in the recruitment section above, participants were recruited only if they identified as a person of color in the U.S., given the emphasis on capturing White cultural norms and values from the vantage point of people from historically marginalized backgrounds. A variety of participants from different racial and ethnic backgrounds were interviewed in this study. Accordingly, the sample included participants identifying as Black/African American ($n = 4$), East Asian ($n = 1$), Latina ($n = 1$), South Asian ($n = 3$), Southeast Asian ($n = 1$), two multiracial participants, namely Black/African American and Latina ($n = 1$), and Southeast Asian and White ($n = 1$). Most participants were from southern states in the U.S., specifically from Georgia ($n = 2$), Louisiana ($n = 1$), Virginia ($n = 2$), and Florida ($n = 2$), but participants from Nevada ($n = 1$), Connecticut ($n = 1$), Massachusetts ($n = 1$), and District

⁴ The demographics section of the pre-screen did not ask participants to report their gender identity. This is a limitation of the study and is addressed as such below.

of Columbia ($n = 2$) were also represented. The occupations of the participants in this study were graduate students ($n = 5$), post-baccalaureate researchers ($n = 2$), postdoctoral researcher ($n = 1$), medical student ($n = 1$), grocery store cashier ($n = 1$), and stay-at-home parent ($n = 1$).

Interview Procedure

Participants were notified via email when their interview was scheduled. About 24 hours prior to the scheduled interview time, a consent form was sent out to participants to sign and return to the researcher (i.e., me). In this email, online etiquette information (e.g., finding a quiet place to take the Zoom call) was also included. On the day of the interview, participants logged onto a recorded video call hosted by Zoom videoconferencing software, where I first oriented them to the semi-structured nature of the interview. Then, I asked them a set of standard questions to help guide our conversation. A sample question was: “How do you see the norms in U.S. society maintaining the power and privilege of White people?” The full set of questions can be found in Appendix C. The answers participants provided were not limited to this set of standard questions; however, as these interviews were an opportunity to gain deeper insight into participants’ perspectives on White cultural norms and values, I followed up when participants brought up related information to delve deeper into these relevant themes. The interviews lasted on average for about 33 minutes and 48 seconds ($SD = 7$ minutes and 28 seconds).

Data Analysis

To analyze the data for this project, I utilized reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2022b, 2022a). My orientation to the data was a mix of inductive and deductive approaches. That is, I reflected upon the transcriptions and developed themes using the data content directly. At the same time, I also relied heavily on existing theoretical constructs of power (Adams & Kurtiş, 2018), systemic racism (Skinner-Dorkenoo et al., 2023), and

epistemologies of ignorance (Bonam et al., 2019) to inform how I approached the data. The focus of meaning was at the latent level, such that I explored these themes and concepts at the more implicit level based on what the participants shared in the interviews. The qualitative framework I utilized was more critical in nature, in that “the analysis focused on interrogating and unpacking meaning around the topic or issue” (Braun & Clarke, 2022b). Finally, the theoretical framework I used was grounded in a relativist and constructionist approach, and my analysis examined and unpacked what participants shared with me in the interviews. In addition to this specific type of reflexive thematic analysis employed, I also used critically informed reflexivity and foregrounded my subjectivity and positionality as a researcher throughout the steps of the research process. In this way, I tried to remain critically aware and cognizant of the larger, broader sociopolitical forces and everyday realities (Adams et al., 2019) that shape my perspectives of this dataset.

Reflexive Thematic Analysis Steps

To analyze the data generated from the semi-structured interviews, I followed the process outlined by the creators of the reflexive thematic analysis process (Braun & Clarke, 2022b). First, I listened to the interview videos to familiarize myself with the data. Then, I read the transcripts along with watching the interviews to re-familiarize myself with the data. Next, I read through the transcripts again, this time keeping an eye on developing initial codes succinctly based on the ideas participants brought up throughout the interviews. The third phase involved using a combination of inductive and deductive approaches outlined by whiteness studies scholars (Cancelmo & Mueller, 2019; Harris, 1993; Lipsitz, 2006a; Mills, 2007; Rogers & Mosley, 2006) to group the previously developed codes into themes that had a shared meaning (see Figure 1). Following this step, I entered the fourth phase, where I refined and reviewed the

categories I had developed and the themes I had constructed. The fourth and fifth phases happened in tandem to finalize a set of themes generated using the data (see Figure 2 for the final thematic map). Lastly, I wrote a report based on these finalized themes. As suggested by the reflexive thematic analysis experts themselves, I did not follow a linear path when conducting this analysis and moved back and forth between various phases to inform a more comprehensive and rich analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2021a, 2022a).

Positionality and Author Reflexivity

I critically considered my social position when conducting this analysis, as this social position plays a role in my perception of and development of the finalized themes, which is generally perceived as a strength in qualitative methods (Braun et al., 2022). I was the primary data analyst for this study, and I identify as a first-generation immigrant to the U.S. from India who self-identifies as a bicultural woman of color. My perspectives are critically informed by being an immigrant and having intimate experiences with a racial caste system in the U.S., which shares a great deal of overlap with the caste system that I grew up with in India as a *Dalit* girl (Wilkerson, 2020). I also bring an outsider perspective (Ademolu, 2024) of growing up intimately with caste, patriarchy, and conceptions of coloniality in Northern India (Ambedkar, 1936). As a young girl, I routinely visited my grandparents in the highly contested region of Jammu and Kashmir, a unique site with its decades-long struggle for self-determination and “*azadi*.” My desire to understand and uproot colonial ideologies and dominant perspectives that negatively harm people from marginalized backgrounds shaped the inquiries in this dissertation. I included protections in the data collection, analysis, and reporting processes to avoid bias; however, it is to be expected that some of my subjective experience permeated the work I conducted.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS FOR STUDY 1

Using reflexive thematic analysis, I characterized themes based on what the participants described as how White cultural values are maintained: (1) benefiting those who practice whiteness, (2) hurting those on the perimeter of whiteness, (3) maintaining the status quo, and (4) controlling history and how to think (see Figure 2). These themes include participants' observations and reflections on both the systemic and interpersonal levels.

Theme 1: Benefiting those who practice whiteness

Within the theme of benefiting those who practice whiteness, participants mentioned two major types of experiences and reflections, which I categorized into: (a) capitalism and (b) structural advantage. Capitalism included ideas of producing more, prioritizing amassing wealth, paying to get ahead, and owning property. For example, several participants noted that U.S. society most values the accumulation of wealth and goods, and that they feel the pressure to fit in by subscribing to and adhering to this norm: "there's this idea of I need to have the 'luxury' items, ... I need to have the physical things of value to demonstrate I have made it" (Participant 10). Another participant remarked on how several educational institutions are founded on accessing the aforementioned wealth to climb the ranks of the ivory tower of higher education. When I asked Participant 2 to share how norms in U.S. society maintain the power and privilege of White people, they responded with the need to have financial assets as a means to survive in a system that is entrenched in White culture (here, U.S. medical schools). The participant

describes the hidden curriculum, which usually requires generational knowledge and resources to thrive in school:

Oh, my gosh! I like think about this all the time, especially in medical school these days.

Um, just like paying, like you have to pay to play with everything, like [if] you want to do well, you gotta get extra resources outside of school, which you're paying so much money for, um, there's a whole like, if you don't have parents that are in medicine like, there's like a whole hidden curriculum that you do not know about, and like you will not know about until later, like by the time they expect you to know by the time you get there it's too late. It's so weird cause they expect you to know it, but they don't tell you about it.

(Participant 2)

The second category within this theme was structural advantage. Participants mentioned how White people get unearned privilege and possess a sense of entitlement due to this privilege. They also recounted how White people are often given the benefit of the doubt. Participants mentioned how privilege is maintained by passing down wealth as a form of structural advantage that is bestowed upon people categorized as White or those who practice Whiteness. A participant shared an anecdote from their life that exemplified multiple forms of structural advantage that only exist to benefit those who are White. In the excerpt below, the participant is recounting their internal monologue when talking to a White person that this participant knows, who has way more structural advantages, relative to Black people.

“How did you get that? You know? What do you do for a living? Oh, you didn't even go to college, but yet you have,” you know, and it was a girl I worked with, when I was an engineer, and I figured it out. I said it must have come from things that were passed

down. When she got pregnant, her parents were like, you gonna get married(...)they gave her their house(...) So, she was already a step ahead, because she didn't have to pay a mortgage(...) she had that equity there, whereas for Black people I see, you know, individuals who are fifty and sixty years old, still renting a home. I'm, I'm--I am amazed that you're still renting at that age. But, then, you see, this young White girl who was just given a house. She hasn't worked hard a day in her life, but she has a home. Whereas you have this Black individual who's been working since they were probably fifteen years old. And they still can't afford a home.

(Participant 11)

Theme 2: Hurting those on the perimeter of whiteness

What came up extremely frequently was the myriad ways in which participants felt that they were being punished for not subscribing to parts of White culture and how this punishment served to maintain whiteness as the dominant culture. Under the theme of hurting those on the perimeter of whiteness were the categories of (a) punishing People of Color, and (b) devaluing community. Here, I am utilizing the term punishment as a broad category encompassing different types of derogatory actions aimed at People of Color, which could also include humiliation, shaming, and different negative assumptions. Punishing People of Color occurred in several different ways, such as but not limited to, pathologizing People of Color, underestimating their abilities, omitting People of Color from the narrative altogether, othering, and assuming People of Color are inherently lower status in society (as measured by wealth, power, and prestige). Below, a participant demonstrates how they were assumed to be of lower status financially in a public space and asked to prove that they were there for a legitimate reason.

So, I was taking a business class train (...) and so I usually sit in the I cabin [first-class cabin], but because I had a first-class ticket they allow for free drinks or free food or something. So, when I went to go request it, and I had seen several people come up, get their free whatever, the lady never asked them if they were in business class, and when I went up to ask for my ginger ale, I was asked, “Wait, are you? Are you? That’s going to be \$10. So, that’s going to be \$5.” I was like, “Well, yeah, I’m in business class, though, so it should be free.” “Well, are you in business class? Can I see your ticket?” And I’m just like, why I got—why would I lie? I mean people lie. Why would I lie? So, I don’t know. Just kind of...s—sometimes just being in spaces where people don’t think you belong. Because you don’t look like every other person that’s in that area.

(Participant 3)

The second category in this theme was devaluing community or practices associated with communal ways of being. I included several subthemes under this category as they grouped together on dimensions of individuality, such as prioritizing individualism and sacrificing cultural elements associated with one’s identity. Further concepts of ethnocentric evaluation, such as saviorism, the tendency for White people to help others but mainly to reflect their own superiority, were also included here. Additionally, resistance to different forms of cultural expression was captured in this category (see Figure 1). A participant shared how prevalent individualism is in U.S. society and how it contrasts with their values as a person of color: “I think it-- you can see it a lot in the fact, um, that U.S. society is like primarily individualistic, and there’s like no collectivism in anything and like that can be found in healthcare, and like the way that businesses function, and how people communicate with each other. Um, and so collectivism is like a huge aspect of being a person of color, and it’s sort of lost in U.S. society” (Participant

5). Participants remarked that this individualism comes at a cost and that it may be becoming inherent to their identity with repeated, continued exposure:

I think it's very much like, coming from like a collectivist culture, like always being around family, always like, having that, like value, of like sharing, and like, be like cooperative and helping one another out. But, like coming into like, you know PWI like for school, you really, like, I really notice like, 'Oh, wow! Like people just don't wanna work, like we're in a group together, they don't wanna work with me. I'm like, why not like we're--Let's help each other out.' But, I see myself slowly getting into that habit, too, 'Cause I'm not at home right now. I'm away working, and that's also like something I wanted to do for myself. I wanted to give myself that space from my family 'cause, I know I needed it, and I was like, but I didn't for a long time. So, it's like, is that like when I'm like learning inherently from like the people around me?

(Participant 7)

Another participant mentioned how they had to essentially soft launch their cultural identity at work so that they experienced lower levels of resistance to forms of cultural expression that are not associated with White culture.

(...)and they were like, are you wearing a scarf? Is that--and it's like it's not like a bedtime bonnet, okay? I know you might not know what it is, so just ask, hey, what are you wearing? Don't guess, and then sound super ignorant and I would wear a *lapa*, which is just a wrap skirt, and it had, you know, African prints and designs on it. And at first, you know, I didn't have a lot of articles of clothing, so I was just wear [sic] during Black History Month, and that was kind of my soft entrance into wearing it at work, you know, so it's like, hey, you can't say anything. [laughs] It's Black history month. And then after

that I would wear it, oh, just once a week here, just once a week, there and then, before you knew it. It was like every other day people like, oh, [removes name], I see you with this. Oh, I see you with that, and it's like right, you know. And again at first, you know, some of the Black co-workers they're like, oh, I see you, you know they knew what was up. White coworkers are like, oh, that's just an interesting dress. It's like and so they eventually they got used to it, but you know it took time, and it took me being strong enough, because they always talk about, oh, you have to teach White people about Black culture.

(Participant 11)

Theme 3: Maintaining the status quo

For a system to persist, it must be maintained through cultural hegemonic practices. A common theme in interviews with participants was how White culture is maintained through a binary categorization. Participants noted how this binary way of thinking is applied to those outside of whiteness, as well as beliefs and actions that only act to maintain the current system of White cultural dominance. Binary thinking showed up as enforcing either/or type categorizations that erased any nuance that exists in diverse thought processes and groups of people. This also came up as White people communicating that their way of doing something is inherently better or more right than other ways of being that might hold cultural significance.

A participant utilized the example of timeliness being conceptualized in a binary way in the U.S. to discuss this point. They mentioned that you are either on time or late in this context, but that this clashes with their cultural understanding of time:

I feel like whiteness is sometimes at the forefront to the point that it's normalized, and you don't realize that it's being normalized. Um, hmm! This might be a hot take, but

time, the concept of the—the structure of time sometimes can be White centered, because in the global South, um, a lot of time is fluid. So, if 9 o'clock is the time things start, sometimes 9:15, 9:30 is still an acceptable time--and you're still on time. Versus, in a more Eurocentric, um, White male centered society, everything has to be, uh, on time, in order, promptly.

(Participant 3)

Another participant shared their critical perspective of how world cultures are perceived and portrayed in U.S. society, as opposed to domestic affairs, and shared the following:

(...)when you learn about different value systems, it's considered, um, like, the Western system is better(...)I went to the World War 2 museum and I um, I think, like it was interesting to see how they spoke about the Japanese value system versus the U.S. And how the Japanese were very much like 'Oh, they did anything for the Emperor,' but it was like the way they describe, it was like blind, (...) it was very oversimplified, I (...) feel like the way they described our value system was very much like, oh, like, obviously, this is better. As if the U.S. wasn't fighting for its own imperial system.

(Participant 2)

The current status quo is also maintained by legitimizing current practices and upholding them as the gold standard, which is often a moving target in this cultural context. Many participants mentioned that constantly shifting standards were used against them in various settings. Participants also highlighted how practicing exclusivity, defending power structures, and denial of harm, among others, are routinely used to justify, maintain, and preserve the current system—a system where White ideologies and values are the default. A participant shared the following about their experiences with shifting or different standards in academia:

But, like when it comes to the level of work and sacrifice that we put in as students, I continuously see the Black and Brown students hitting it hard and literally sacrificing our wellbeing. And I see some White students, and they're just out here like vacationing and going to vineyards. And I'm just like, what the hell! (...) How are we getting the same degree?(...) if you're on the same track as me, and you're doing way less than me—and it's always the White kids that I see doing way less than me—I'm just like what is happening here? (...) how is it that we are being held to the same standard?

(Participant 10)

The current system of White people occupying positions of power also gets reinforced by People of Color needing endorsement from White people to enter any system, let alone disrupt or challenge it. Reflecting upon (then) current events prior to presidential nominee Kamala Harris having chosen her running mate, a participant stated:

So, for example, there's a joke that Biden has stepped down, sad. But, Kamala Harris is now gonna run for president, and there's the—...the number of jokes right now, about how Kamala Harris needs to choose a White vice president, or else she is not... she has no chance of getting elected, I think that is symbolic of the kind of state we're in right now. It is like, there is not— it seems... that a minority group cannot succeed unless they have a White supporter with them.

(Participant 4)

Turning the lens inward, the same participant moments after the previous quote went on to state that they have felt that they needed this White endorsement everywhere they went: “someone like me may not be able to achieve unless I have, like a White advisor, a White supervisor, or a White connection that way” (Participant 4).

Theme 4: Controlling Knowledge

The interviews unveiled how power and control are exercised over different populations through control of historical conceptualizations and knowledge presentation. Participants noted that the people, facts, and discoveries we learn about are disproportionately those of White individuals in the U.S. context. In this way, People of Color are relegated to their specific months or sections (e.g., “multicultural literature”) throughout education. Several participants made note of different elements of this theme, which I categorized as: (a) relying on White as default and (b) controlling thought. Relying on a White default according to participants was achieved in a multitude of ways. This included but was not limited to requiring assimilation into whiteness, representing White people as exemplars, constantly associating White people with leaders, valuing White perspectives, creating White spaces, and prizing those who are closer to whiteness or possess Eurocentric features. A participant described how this compliance with whiteness manifested in physical appearance and behavior:

Like I can reflect back on (...) talking to myself navigating spaces in that way, (...) making sure I’m trying my best like not to stand out, you know, keeping my hair straight. Keep my hair long. Not doing too much like change my appearance because I wanna like fit in, um, and I know from like--like I said before, like I didn’t really like speaking Spanish outside my household for that reason. Um, and it’s like no one told me to do these things at all.

(Participant 7)

While sharing more about how some of this participant’s family members also had intimate experiences with “acting” White, the participant shared: “She works in sales... then she’d have a call, and then her tone would switch, ...she would... lose, like a little bit of an

accent like it wasn't even an accent. It was just like she had to sound White" (Participant 7). The participant goes on to share why their names, one of the first things strangers notice about us, are stripped from their cultural identity because their parents wanted them to not be stereotyped from the get-go: "That's a big reason why me and my sister have our names, they're very not, um, Latin, like Latin or Hispanic at all,... but I do to some level think it is to like, follow the norm, and not be perceived as, like Latina or Hispanic, just based off my first name" (Participant 7).

For example, a participant noted how exemplars of White men being the most morally virtuous are all around, despite their flaws:

So, if you want to think about U.S. society at large, thinking that White men are more moral than the rest of us, think about, we can literally just look at our founding fathers, um, they... all of them own slaves, and then we have stories of like honest Abe, and George Washington in his cherry tree and things like that. And using those examples to— to help students think about, well not students, but help people think about how to ride a moral path, how to walk a moral line, but they were flawed individuals.

(Participant 3)

The second portion of controlling knowledge involves regulating how individuals and institutions place value on cultural wisdom that is not White or Western. A participant shared the following observations from their medical training regarding the implicit devaluing of Indigenous healing knowledge and practices and how they resist this form of ethnocentric thinking:

I think there's still a lot to be done in pharmacology, and like, in terms of like-like natural medicines, just like not just dismissing like when patients bring up something, just saying like, "Hey, like that has not been scientifically tested. So, I can't say yes or no

like um these were proven. These medications are proven to work and work in these ways. Um, let me look into...like let me make sure it's [natural medicine] not gonna harm you. Let me make sure it's not gonna interact with your medications that work." But I think automatically, being like, "Oh, my God! Herbal–herbal medicine is not quite the way to go." Because we don't know. We're still like learning, and I feel like, um, like you know, U.S. society, um, shows like, oh, the information coming from Western cultures is more valued and makes more sense.

(Participant 2)

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION FOR STUDY 1

The first study in this dissertation was a qualitative study examining People of Color's perceptions and insights about how White cultural values function and impact People of Color in everyday life. Participants shared experiences and critical perspectives related to these White values through semi-structured one-on-one interviews. Using reflexive thematic analysis, I condensed these findings into four major themes: benefiting those who practice whiteness, hurting those on the perimeter of whiteness, maintaining the status quo, and controlling knowledge. I highlighted various quotes from the interviews that illustrate these key themes (Figure 2).

Benefiting those who practice whiteness entailed providing structural advantages to others who practiced or valued whiteness. Further, benefiting those who practice whiteness also involves upholding capitalist structures through forms of thinking that value quantity over quality and advance already wealthy individuals. These wealthy individuals are disproportionately White in the context of the U.S., and whiteness studies scholars have highlighted how wealth accumulation and transfer are key components of White culture (Harris, 1993), which inevitably reproduces existing inequalities (Shapiro et al., 2013; Shapiro, 2004).

The second theme of *hurting those on the perimeter of whiteness* detailed how people of color felt punished for resisting White culture in various forms of self-expression. This theme also highlighted how communal practices and ways of being were punished in this current societal structure. White ways of being are often deemed as neutral, label-less, or the standard

(Torrez et al., 2024), especially in reports of scientific research (Roberts & Mortenson, 2023), which then go on to *other* different groups of people. Participants repeatedly noted practicing different cultures and heritages associated with People of Color and being sanctioned or punished by White society. Whether it be showing up authentically through physical dress (Hester & Hehman, 2023) or conceptually with looser notions of time, for instance, participants noted how they felt sanctioned. Many Indigenous cultures and cultures of People of Color are not tightly oriented to time (Horn, 2021; Yalmambirra, 2000), and Black employees face harsher sanctions for lateness relative to White employees in U.S. workplace settings (Luksyte et al., 2013).

The third theme of *maintaining the status quo* provided evidence from participants about binary forms of thinking (e.g., good or bad, avoiding nuance) and upholding current power structures by denying harm and practicing exclusivity. Finally, the fourth theme detailed participants' accounts of *controlling knowledge* that they shared was achieved through historical conceptualizations, requiring assimilation into whiteness, and upholding White exemplars as moral and virtuous. This theme also included subthemes of devaluing cultural wisdom through mainstream practices.

This study's strength was that it leveraged qualitative data to expand our understanding of critical perspectives on White cultural values. Qualitative methods tend to be devalued in psychological research, due to their presumed lack of generalizability (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992; Povee & Roberts, 2014), which causes direct harm to qualitative researchers who are disrupting the status quo in the field through their novel epistemologies and ontologies (Clark & Sousa, 2018). This methodology allowed for a richer understanding of nuances, as a great deal

of meaning and perspective could be captured here with over 400 minutes of interview time conducted, recorded, and analyzed.

This study also had its limitations. Importantly, I was constrained by finances and time and thus could only conduct 12 one-on-one interviews. Conducting more interviews could certainly generate more insights, but this is not recommended for achieving some sense of data saturation (Braun & Clarke, 2021b). Another limitation of this work was the participant sample. Though I used a combination of random and snowball sampling, most of the participants in this study were highly educated, mainly women ($n = 11$), having completed at least a bachelor's degree, and about half were currently pursuing some form of graduate education ($n = 6$). This pattern could be attributed to a few different things—I shared this recruitment online (Twitter and LinkedIn), and it is safe to assume that this ad was likely shared within mainly academic circles. Second, it could be that other participants were screened out during the data cleaning steps, and perhaps their answers did not reflect enough critical analysis to be invited to the focal study. This is not to say that those individuals do not have critical perspectives to offer to this study. It could also be argued that some form of researcher bias led to responses from highly educated individuals being selected for the main study. However, it is important to note that a form of data cleaning that screened respondents carefully was necessary, and ultimately, those who did not offer sufficiently detailed responses to the screening questions were not invited. Another complicating factor of posting the screening online was that many responses were AI-generated or entirely completed by robots, as indicated by the presence of improbable data (e.g., selecting two mutually exclusive categories, and nonsensical answers to the quality check questions).

In the following study, I plan on testing the inventory of items developed from this study while also adding to the existing items for the construct developed by previous scholars (Okun, 2010; Okun & Jones, 1999). These items were often developed using direct quotes from participant interviews. The full list of items can be found in Appendix D. In Study 2, I present the list of items that have been generated in this study and test content validity directly. Further, the general U.S. population will be invited to respond to six open-ended questions so a broader landscape of what constitutes White cultural values can be captured.

CHAPTER 6

METHODS FOR STUDY 2

Overview

The goal of this study was to delve deeper into the values that constitute White culture in the U.S. Although Study 1 allowed for a deep exploration of White cultural values from the vantage point of People of Color in the U.S. through one-on-one interviews, Study 1 had a relatively small sample size ($n = 12$) that was highly educated. A smaller sample size could limit the ability to capture a wider landscape of the values that constitute White culture and could miss the perspective of cultural “insiders” (i.e., White Americans). Therefore, the aim of Study 2 was to elaborate on these values using a larger sample of the general U.S. population. All study procedures were approved by the institutional review board prior to data collection. This study was pre-registered on Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/2xb4s>) prior to data collection or analysis. The pre-registration specifies that only the participants who complete two of the four quality checks correctly will be retained for analysis.

Recruitment

Participants were recruited through the online recruitment platform, Prolific, and compensated \$4.00 to complete the study (averaging around \$9.37 per hour across all participants). Data were collected on December 19, 2024, and December 20, 2024. I invited 200 participants to complete this qualitative study and informed them that the anticipated duration of the study was around 20 minutes. However, on average, it took participants longer than scheduled, and the mean was about 25 minutes and 38 seconds to complete the study.

Participants

A sample of 200 participants residing in the United States was recruited for the study. The sample consisted of 118 White residents (60.2%), 49 Black residents (25%), 9 Southeast Asian (4.59%), 3 East Asian residents (1.53%), 2 Native American residents (1.02%), 2 South Asian residents (1.02%), and 12 Multiracial respondents (6.12%; full breakdown in Table 2 below), and 1 Other (0.51%). In the sample, 181 participants (92.35%) identified as not Hispanic or Latin(x), and 15 participants (7.65%) identified as Hispanic or Latin(x). Participants were relatively similar in age to the U.S. general population ($M = 38.9$; U.S. Census Bureau, 2023), with ages ranging from 18 to 76 years old ($M = 37.82$; $SD = 13.5$). The gender of the sample was fairly evenly split, with 52.55% of the sample identifying as women ($n = 103$), 46.43% as men ($n = 91$), and 1.02% as non-binary/third gender ($n = 2$). Around 166 participants (84.69%) identified as heterosexual, 19 as bisexual (9.69%), 6 as other (3.06%; participants wrote in pansexual, demisexual, and queer here), and 5 as gay or lesbian (2.55%). Participant income was also generally representative of the general U.S. annual household income, although the sample median was a bit lower at about \$60,000-\$69,999 per year ($SD = \$49,000$) relative to the U.S. population's median annual household income (\$80,610; Guzman & Kollar, 2024). Over 94.39% of the sample was born in the U.S. ($n = 185$), and the remaining 5.61% of participants were not born in the U.S. ($n = 11$). The political orientation of the sample was also fairly evenly split, with 69 participants self-identifying as Democrat (35.2%), 65 identifying as Republican (33.16%), 61 as Independent (31.12%), and 1 as Other (0.51%). In terms of individual position on social issues, the sample leaned slightly liberal ($M = 3.76$; $SD = 2.07$) as higher values indicated stronger conservatism (on a 1-7 Likert scale with 1 being strongly liberal and 7 being strongly conservative). On economic issues, the sample was in the middle ($M =$

4.03; $SD = 1.99$), as higher values here also indicated stronger conservatism (on a 1-7 Likert scale with 1 being strongly liberal and 7 being strongly conservative).

Procedure

Participants were invited to participate in a study titled “Experiences and Perceptions of Cultural Values.” Based on the institutional review board, the full scope of the study was not disclosed to participants, and they were informed that the study was interested in learning about people’s evaluations of different types of social issues. Once a participant accessed the study, they were brought to the survey platform, Qualtrics, where they first provided informed consent electronically. Participants then completed four total quality check questions, two at the beginning of the survey and two at the end of the survey. The first quality check question displayed an image of a pencil and asked participants to make a selection from a range of five choices (lemon, pencil, paper clip, stickers, gas). Next, they were asked to identify two capitalized letters from a sentence that had jumbled characters in it. The purpose of these quality check questions was to limit bad-faith respondents and robots from completing the study, in order to make it a valid study.

Following the two quality check questions, participants were brought to the focal open-ended questions of the study. Participants were requested to provide their thoughts, reactions, and feelings to six questions, which were all presented in randomized order to each participant. They were asked to write at least 2-3 sentences per question, and there was a character length set in Qualtrics requiring at least 50 characters to proceed. If, for some reason, a participant preferred not to answer one of the questions, they were also informed that they could just write “I do not want to answer this question, and I would like to skip it” to proceed with the survey. To

reduce the usage of generative software for the open-ended responses, the copy and paste feature was disabled in Qualtrics using JavaScript code.

One of the six open-ended questions focused on spirituality read as follows: “People vary in terms of how they think about, and approach matters related to spirituality and religion. Please describe the spiritual and/or religious values of mainstream American culture/society.” The rest of the open-ended questions were identical to the spirituality question, but the topic of spirituality was replaced by “work,” “family,” “community,” and “health.” The sixth question asked participants: “Please describe the things and values you feel are devalued in mainstream American culture/society.” In these questions, the domains of spirituality, work, family, community, and health were used to capture a wide range of day-to-day topics that could be impacted by culture, as proposed by some theorists (VanderWeele, 2017). Asking about these specific domains allowed me to capture how a subset of everyday U.S. residents think about and conceptualize mainstream cultural values.

Participants were asked about mainstream American cultural and societal values (rather than White cultural values directly) to avoid eliciting racial threat among White participants. Research shows that discussing race-related topics can lead to more defensiveness among White participants, as they have a harder time reckoning with their privileged social position in U.S. society (Hastie & Rimmington, 2014; Knowles et al., 2014; Marshburn & Knowles, 2018; Starkey, 2017; Taylor Phillips & Lowery, 2015). Often, White U.S. residents tend to think that they do not have a unique culture despite having cultural power in the U.S. (Hitchcock, 2012). U.S. residents associate the category of American with White people in the U.S. (Devos & Banaji, 2005) and updated empirical evidence shows that associating the nationality “American” with the racial identity “White” continues to be the case with a very large sample (over 666,000

respondents) and over time (2007 to 2023) on both implicit and explicit attitude measures (Morehouse et al., 2025). Given this robust evidence, the decision to ask participants about broader, mainstream American culture and society instead of White cultural values was made.

After completing the open-ended responses, participants were asked to reflect back on which racial group they were thinking of when responding to the open-ended questions. The question was worded as “Which group’s culture were you thinking most about when answering the previous set of questions? Select one choice below.” Participants had the option to select from a range of groups presented in randomized order: “Asian Americans,” “White Americans,” “Arab Americans,” “Latino Americans,” “Black Americans,” “Native Americans,” or Other. If they chose “Other,” they were asked to elaborate in a text box.

Following the open-ended responses, participants advanced to the second phase of the study. In this part of the study, they were presented with all the scale items that were generated from Study 1 and asked to select as many items as they thought were representative of mainstream American culture/society. Participants had to select at least one item per page, but each page had a “none of the above” choice in case they did not think any of the values were representative of mainstream American culture/society. A total of 66 items were presented to participants, organized by subcategory, but displayed in a random order within the subcategory. The subcategories were individualism ($n = 9$ items), capitalism ($n = 8$ items), social hierarchy ($n = 10$ items), culture of overwork ($n = 6$ items), power maintenance ($n = 12$ items), quick/easy solution ($n = 3$ items), ethnocentrism ($n = 11$ items), and binary/objectivity ($n = 7$ items). See Appendix D for the complete list of items.

After rating the scale items, participants completed the remaining two (of four) quality checks, which were identical to Study 1. One of the questions asked participants to choose

which month comes after December but before February, where the question itself had jumbled letters. Similarly, a second question required some basic arithmetic, asking them to subtract 11 from 38 and choose the right answer, but the question stem itself was presented in a jumbled way (e.g., “I gvae aawy”). Then they completed the demographics section. First, participants were asked to indicate where they stood on social and economic issues on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from strongly liberal (1) to strongly conservative (7). They were then asked about their political party affiliation (Republican, Democrat, Independent, or other). Next, they reported their age, gender, state of residence, annual household income, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, whether or not they were born in the U.S., and skin tone. Finally, they answered three questions about the survey, namely what they thought the purpose of the study was, whether they had any thoughts about the survey, and if there was a reason the researchers shouldn’t use their data. Upon completing these demographics, they were brought to the debriefing form and granted monetary compensation on Prolific.

Data Analysis

A total of 1,173 responses were collected from all participants on the six open-ended questions. In this study, the data were analyzed similarly to study 1. First, I read through all the answers provided by each participant in all six domains (spirituality, work, family, community, health, and devalued). Next, I generated unique codes based on the content of each participant’s response. For the sake of continuity and coherence, I completed one domain first before proceeding to the next one. For example, while coding, I first generated unique codes for the spirituality domain and read through all 196 responses in this domain. As I finished coding each domain, I kept a running list of all codes and their working definitions so that subsequent

responses were coded meaningfully and consistently across domains (e.g., a code generated in spirituality matched the content upon which a code was applied in the work domain).

To code the responses, I read through each of the 1,173 responses. A mix of inductive and deductive approaches, similar to Study 1, was used in analyzing the data in this study (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2022a, 2022b). To illustrate the process of coding the open-ended responses, in this section, I will provide some examples along with the rationale that was used to code the responses. Oftentimes, participants wrote two or more sentences to answer the focal open-ended questions. Participants used a combination of syntactic structures to express their thoughts. For instance, some participants described mainstream values as they saw them, without invoking the first-person pronoun. An example of such a response is: “Mainstream America believes in Christianity or Judaism. They want to be free to worship.” This specific example was coded for two values—individualism and binary/objectivity. As evidenced here, this participant describes the spiritual values of mainstream culture/society without ever contradicting themselves or invoking first-person sentence structure. However, this pattern of responding wasn’t always the case. In other words, participants sometimes invoked the opposite of the cultural value and/or used first-person pronouns to express what they thought mainstream cultural/societal values were. For instance, when describing what is devalued in mainstream society, a participant wrote: “I think one of the biggest value that is devalued in American culture is respect to authorities. Another thing that is devalued heavily is the value of honor in one's actions.” This response was also coded for two values, namely, power maintenance and social contract. Here, and in other cases, I relied on inductive approaches to infer what the participant was implying in relation to mainstream cultural values. Ultimately, I coded the response mentioned here as power maintenance because the participant is suggesting that “respect to authorities” should be valued.

This feeling is also backed up by material realities such as increased policing and military activity that are on the rise and generally valued in the U.S. (e.g., Alexander, 2012). Even when the participant invoked the first-person pronoun or couched their answer as their personal belief, it was coded as a cultural value because the prompts throughout the survey instructed participants to think about mainstream American culture/society, and therefore, coding it differently would be assuming that participants were not paying attention to the prompts. Additionally, for analyses, the responses were organized by the overarching values. In this way, common themes or sentiments were able to be captured across a large set of responses, therefore increasing confidence in what comprised the American cultural/societal value based on this specific sample and data.

Once I finished coding all 1,173 responses, I created a tally of all the codes generated across all six domains (spirituality, work, family, community, health, and devalued). I then adjusted the definitions of each of these codes if needed and created a visualization graph for all the codes that were analyzed. Here, I also combined certain codes that were semantically and conceptually aligned to reduce the number of codes and streamline the novel codes that were generated in this study. Finally, to carry out the factor analysis in the next study of this dissertation, Study 3, I generated new items for each of the codes. A complete list of the proposed items on which factor analysis would be carried out appears in Appendix E.

CHAPTER 7

RESULTS FOR STUDY 2

Based on the qualitative analysis, a total of 17 values were identified. Table 1 lists all 17 values along with the number of occurrences for each value. Most values had instances across the six questions, while others were relegated to only one of the open-ended questions. Many values co-occurred with others based on the depth of participant response. For instance, while many participant responses were coded with one value, some of the participant responses contained up to six coded values. In order of most frequent to least, the values represented were (1) Individualism, (2) Capitalism, (3) Traditional Family Structure, (4) Culture of Overwork, (5) Quick/Easy Solution, (6) Glorifying the Past, (7) Social Contract, (8) Contradictions, (9) Social Hierarchy, (10) Ethnocentrism, (11) Binary, (12) Power Maintenance, (13) Body Image, (14) Apathy, (15) Urban vs. Rural, (16) Overconsumption, and (17) Nationalism.

While developing these values, given the overlapping nature of the themes in the participant responses, it was sometimes challenging to create well-demarcated values. In other words, the nature of the participant responses made it so that there was some level of conceptual overlap present. Each value contained unique information and did not fully overlap with any other value. Each of these values might seem similar to each other, and like most qualitative analysis, some of the coding is up to interpretation as it was performed by me, thereby incorporating my social and cultural lens in order to make meaning of the participant responses, similar to Study 1. Values that had substantial overlap with another broader value have been combined. These subvalues are outlined below under each value. To illustrate the nuanced point

of overlap in content or meaning between values, here is a participant response outlining several different values all within a few sentences: “In American culture, work often comes before personal tim[e], environmental issues can be secondary to economic interest, community efforts are overshadowed by individualism. and secondary mental health doesnt get us much focus as a physical healthcare” [sic]. Given this layered and nuanced response, this specific participant’s response was coded for four values: Culture of Overwork, Capitalism, Quick/Easy Solution, and Individualism. Though this specific example uses the climate or environment, not all responses that were coded as Quick/Easy Solution were limited to issues related to the environment; see the subsection below.

The sections that follow list each of the 17 values in order of frequency from most frequent to least frequent (see Table 1 for breakdown). Each value is defined based on how it was referenced by participants within the open-ended responses. The sections also contain direct examples from the responses provided by the participants. From these responses, a list of items was generated for the exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis of the White cultural values scale which can be found in Appendix E. Recall that after responding to the open-ended questions, participants were asked which group of people in the U.S. they were thinking of when describing mainstream American culture/society. Results indicated that a majority of participants were indeed thinking of White Americans (64.29%; $n = 126$), whereas 17.35% of the participants were thinking of Black Americans ($n = 34$), 12.78% of the participants were thinking of “Other” ($n = 25$), 2.05% of the participants said Native Americans ($n = 4$), 1.53% of the participants were thinking of Asian Americans ($n = 3$), 1.02% of the participants were thinking of Arab Americans ($n = 2$) and Latino Americans ($n = 2$) respectively. Of the people who chose other (25), 16 participants said “everyone” or “all Americans” (64%), 4 participants said they

were thinking of a group without thinking of race at all (16%), 1 participant said they were thinking of “East Coast people” (0.04%), 1 participant said they were thinking of “LGBT folks” (0.04%), 1 participant said they were thinking of “Black and White people” (0.04%), 1 other participant was thinking of “Latino and White people” (0.04%), and 1 (0.04%) did not respond.

Individualism

The value of individualism was the most represented across all of the questions with 331 occurrences. Individualism showed up in all different domains in the open-ended responses. In terms of spirituality, individualism denoted a feeling that residents in the U.S. have the ability to choose whatever religion they practice. Individualism also showed up as a desire among participants to not have various beliefs or religious systems forced upon them. In other words, participants stated several times that mainstream culture valued independence and self-determination of religion, and participants did not want people to force their belief systems onto their fellow people. In terms of community, the common sentiment across participants’ responses was a feeling that community does not play a strong role in mainstream society. A remarkable finding when coding the open-ended responses was that isolationism appeared when participants were asked to reflect on mainstream values. For example, participants mentioned how most U.S. residents stay at home and do not engage even with their neighbors, let alone with their community members in a meaningful way. A majority of participants seemed to associate negative valence with individualism, stating that it is leading to negative outcomes for their fellow Americans. Some participants, however, had a more positive view that individualism was a beneficial quality or stated that mainstream culture was beginning to devalue the concept of individualism in the U.S. in recent years, and participants implied that more individualism would be beneficial for various reasons (e.g., privacy).

To illustrate how individualism appeared in the data, here are a few examples. A participant noted the following when answering a question about community values: “American culture/society generally favors individualism and personal freedom over community.” Another participant noted how they perceive others to value individualism as well: “People value [...] people that can take care of themselves.” Another participant, while commenting on increasing isolationism in society, wrote: “I think much of America has become less focused around community. People isolate themselves more and more and their community ends up being their social media circle.”

Capitalism

Capitalism is a value that came up 180 times in the free response answers and was represented across all six questions. Capitalism as a value of White culture is defined as a system of free trade, innovation, and endless growth of capital and property, all of which likely come at a negative cost to individuals in society (Azevedo et al., 2019). Within spirituality, capitalism was brought up when referencing the monetization of the church and beliefs. One participant compared free market capitalism to a religious value or ideal within the U.S., given how strictly we adhere to this system. Capitalism was well represented in the work domain. Many participants mentioned a focus on making money as a main motivation for working, instead of a focus on the quality of work produced. This sentiment of growing wealth also appeared in statements emphasizing corporations and wealthy individuals holding disproportionate amounts of influence over people’s lives. Capitalism came up in reference to family when participants mentioned needing money because having a family is expensive, needing capital to be successful, and owning things as a function of a functional family unit. Additionally, some participants stated family values were eroding due to an unhealthy focus on

making money rather than spending quality time with family. Similar to sentiments mentioned in the family domain, many participants felt that capitalism was present in the community through a focus on increasing property values, accumulating wealth, and abandoning the community for financial or professional advancement. Lastly, with regards to health, capitalism came up when participants discussed how expensive healthcare and staying healthy have become. More in-depth responses commented on the privatization of insurance and the profit-driven healthcare system while having unfettered access to unhealthy, often cheap, food.

To exemplify how capitalism appeared in the data, here are a few examples. When reflecting on work values in mainstream society, a participant wrote: “Our work values are absolutely abysmal. Thanks to corporate greed and lack of work and life balance, things are progressively just getting worse and worse.” Here, the participant is directly commenting on how the capitalist societal structure is leading to worse outcomes for individuals, as corporations are responsible for an unhealthy work-life balance. When discussing the health values of mainstream society, a participant said: “No one cares about health if the government or health insurance companies are not making money off of sick citizens. America doesn’t care that our life spans are shortening in this country.” Another participant noted the following about capitalist culture in the U.S.: “family values seem to be make as much money as much as possible and step on whoever you need to so that you can get ahead which is so wrong.” Finally, when describing what the community values are, participants discussed how capitalism is a driving force of community, especially when it comes to the material value of property: “The community values of an American culture/society focus primarily on individual progress/capitalism.” Another participant stated: “I feel like we are not concerned about the community [sic] unless it affects property value.”

Traditional Family Structure

Traditional family structure was the third most frequently occurring value. It appeared a total of 161 times across the health, family, and devalued domains. This specific value consisted of participants describing a patriarchal society, concepts of inheritance, puritanism, homophobia, and transphobia. First, I will describe the idea of a traditional family structure as noted by participants. Next, I will elaborate on the definitions of patriarchal society, inheritance, and puritanism based on participant responses.

Participants described a traditional family structure as consisting of two parents, one of whom is a woman (mother) and the other is a man (dad), living in a home together with ideally two children. Participants described that this arrangement of a family was ideal either for themselves or was perceived as ideal by others in mainstream society. Some participants mentioned that single mothers were really devalued by mainstream society, further reinforcing the notion that a two-parent household with a man and a woman was ideal for mainstream society. For example, a participant wrote the following: “Some things that I feel are devalued in mainstream America are definitely single moms.” Several participants noted that childless people in U.S. society are devalued by others. A participant also commented on the traditional family structure as a value and the expectation of differing gender roles for mothers and fathers. They go on to discuss how this value is disappearing from today’s society and that they felt negatively about this change, further illustrating how central this participant saw traditional family structure is to U.S. society: “The family structure, the mother teaching her children about how to be honorable and virtuous, strong and hardworking. The father busting his back to provide for them all. This traditional family structure is falling, and rising up are families with absent dads, teen moms, or alcoholic parents.”

Patriarchy, which was added as a subcategory to the traditional family structure value, was mentioned by participants 53 times overall. In other words, this number (53) is subsumed in the 149 occurrences for the total of traditional family structure above. Within the code of patriarchy, participants discussed how men are the breadwinners and women are caretakers in the home. For example, a participant wrote: “Traditionally, this value has meant men are the breadwinner and women are the stay at home care taker [sic].” Therefore, a feature of patriarchy derived from many participant responses was that women must stay at home and not go into the workforce, as working outside the home would be devalued by mainstream U.S. society. In the health domain, patriarchy meant that women and children had their health decisions made for them by those in positions of power, even if that violated concepts of individual autonomy. A participant wrote the following: “Americans tend to focus on the health of the women and children even if it means overstepping their boundaries.” Patriarchy also contained ideas of safety and security for both self and neighborhood. Participants thought an important feature of American mainstream culture was the ability to feel safe while using coded language about what constituted safety. A participant noted the following: “I would say the most important community value of mainstream America is safety. Everyone wants a community where they can feel safe and trust their fellow community members.” Another participant wrote: “The current family values of Americans are that children should be sheltered and protected from the horrors of our country.”

Inheritance was also housed under traditional family values since it was mentioned less, about 20 times, but was represented across all domains. Similar to patriarchy, these 20 occurrences of inheritance are also subsumed in the 149 occurrences of traditional family structure. Inheritance as a value was included within the concept of the Traditional Family

structure, as participants largely discussed inheritance in terms of how families pass on wealth and property. Derived from the participant responses, inheritance included ideas of passing down wealth and property to children, passing on specific genes to children, and inculcating ideas to one's children. Participants discussed ideas of inheritance involving working and making sacrifices in order to pass something on to one's children in terms of houses, property, and opportunity through education. Also, biological inheritance was brought up in terms of the importance of having a shared genetic history with their children. For example, a participant said the following about genetic inheritance: "I think America holds strong family values. Most Americans find it important to know and understand their genetic history." Also, another participant mentions the importance of biological relation to children: "American families comprises a mother, a father and one or more children. This family was formed by the biological process of procreation." Many participants felt that an important aspect of mainstream culture was gaining practices and beliefs directly from the previous generation. As an illustration of this form of inheritance of traditions, a participant wrote: "Family is usually centered around a religion. They are usually loyal and supportive to one another. They also have family traditions that are passed down."

Homophobia as a value emerged as participants discussed family narrowly, as marriage being strictly between a biological male and a biological female. Transphobia was coded when participants discussed children being confused about their genders due to the degradation of family and community values within the U.S. Several participants mentioned how people who are transgender are unfit to be parents, therefore reinforcing the traditional family structure. For instance, a participant wrote: "The value of families is devalued in the mainstream American society. With the introduction and legalization of the LGBTQ+, the family was under attack

during the democrats administration. Transgenders should not be allowed to raise children. What good values or morals can these people teach children?” Several such responses focused on participants’ disapproval of transgender folks and their right to exist. For instance, a participant wrote: “The mainstream culture does not have very good values when it pertains to how they value their health. One example of this is that people believe that young people should be able to take sex altering hormones [sic] and change their gender before their brains fully develop. There are also so many people who have no idea how to maintain a healthy diet and lifestyle.”

Culture of Overwork

The culture of overwork value was represented across family, community, work, health, and devalued domains. It did not come up in the spirituality domain. Culture of overwork was coded for a total of 142 times across the five domains. Culture of overwork is defined as a tendency to put work above everything else and to prioritize all work-related matters, even if it means sacrificing quality time with family or loved ones. For example, a participant wrote the following about the negative effects of the culture of overwork in mainstream U.S. society: “The culture holds a strong focus on productivity and success which sometimes reduce the time spent with family, friends and loved ones.” Another participant stated that work and one’s profession have become a core part of people’s identity: “Americans view their occupations as a significant part of who they are as a person. What we do for work is often one of the first questions asked when getting to know someone. We sometimes prioritize work over our other values.”

Participants saw the culture of overwork as something inescapable in today’s society and culture. Further, participants also discussed an ever-growing need to contribute in the workplace setting in order to afford necessities in life. A participant said the following about the culture of overwork: “The work values of American culture is the hustle and bustle, and the grind. You

need to work hard to make it in America. No days off. No rest. Just work work work.” Under a capitalist system, participants described that they felt that their sense of self was defined by their ability to work as much as possible without caring for their own well-being because they could be replaced, which would mean a loss of income and potentially workplace benefits.

Demonstrating this looming fear, a participant wrote the following: “Work never ends. We are never ‘off the clock’ anymore. The same tools that make us more productive at work also make us always available. We are expected to stay present, no matter the time or day. If we don't, somebody else will.” Drawing comparisons between different countries and a throughline between capitalism and the culture of overwork, a participant remarked: “American culture heavily emphasizes work culture, almost to a fault. Workers are expected to work hard and not take vacations; in my opinion, this still lies in American values of ‘hard work’ but mitigates the health of the actual workers. Neglecting to embrace workers’ rights like countries in Europe due to fear of ‘socialism’ or ‘communism’ thus occurs as well.”

Quick/Easy Solution

The value of quick/easy solution was represented across work, family, community, health, and devalued domains. Quick/easy solution was mentioned 96 unique times during the open-ended question responses. Quick/easy solution can be defined as the tendency to gravitate toward the easy, quick fix while disregarding the more long-term fixes that might take a greater initial investment of time, dedication, resources, or other means. For example, a participant wrote: “I think people are valuing quick fixes to complicated problems. They have ideals and want to get them.” Quick/easy solution was prominent in the health domain, with participants recognizing a tendency to prefer pharmaceuticals that are quick fixes to disease instead of the more meaningful lifestyle changes that would lead to lasting change but are more labor-

intensive. For instance, a participant wrote the following about taking quick pharmaceuticals and general health values of mainstream society: “Health values are non existent. People are focused on doing whatever they want and getting a med to treat without making life changes.” Another participant wrote succinctly: “people want health and longevity. whether or not they are willing to do anything about it is a different matter. for example, rather than control body weight with diet and exercise, many people would gladly use a drug to control weight.”

Within work, quick/easy solution was discussed with regard to younger people jumping jobs and not staying with one job for a whole career like the older generation. The value of quick/easy solutions was echoed by many participants and is exemplified by a participant discussing general attitudes of American culture in terms of work: “[...] they want things to be handed to them on a platter and want things fast.” In terms of generally devalued mainstream cultural values, a participant wrote: “Long term stability seems overlooked over short term goals.”

In terms of community, a participant cited the Florida hurricane of 2024 to elaborate on quick/easy solution. Specifically, if people are driven to aid the community immediately following a major disaster, the disaster is quickly forgotten about, and people seem to move on to something else: “I think that community values have gotten worse over time. People tend to want to help out their community less and blame others for it. With the recent hurricanes in Florida the community members seemed to forget about helping each other quickly after.” Another participant commented on how our attention spans and desire for convenience are also becoming more quick-fix in nature: “American communities value convenience and it has become an essential part of our society. This can be seen in the proliferation of food and grocery delivery apps.”

Glorifying the past

Glorifying the past was referenced a total of 94 times in the open-ended responses spanning across all of the domains. Glorifying the past was coded when participants made claims about things being better in the past and that current norms/practices are less desirable. Glorifying the past is defined as a nostalgic memory of the past, and painting things as being better in the past, with current norms/practices being less desirable. A substantial portion of the participants referenced the past in a positive light or a nostalgic fashion. Across all domains, discussions centered on American mainstream values having changed for the worse, and there being a more honorable past practice that is no longer present. Inherent in this discussion is an erasure of negative aspects of the past. Denying inequality, which was represented four times, was lumped into the “glorifying the past” value due to the construct-level overlap between the two. Given that the participant data had a specific pattern of describing traditional and past societal structure when prompted to describe mainstream cultural values without explicitly naming a value of preferring the past, glorifying the past was created to encapsulate this data.

A participant summarized how the past was a much better time relative to the present day: “...Everyone is now taught they can do or be anything they want. Because of the fact that fantasy is entirely untrue, the whole concept of self-worth is devalued. Patriotism has been devalued. It is now considered racist to have pride in the USA, its achievements and its history...” Another participant, when referencing the differences between the past and present conditions with regard to work, wrote: “Wow. This is loaded. The work values if [of] mainstream American society today, I feel is almost non existent. The okder [older] people who have been working ready to retire, their values are awesome. Kiss [kids] today don't wNt [want] to work have everything thrown at them and have no idea whT [what] it is like to struggle. Now,

when everyone that supports them is gone...what are they supposed to do? They barely teach real life stuff [stuff] in schools anymore!” [sic]. When reflecting on religious values in mainstream society, a participant wrote about how Christian values are no longer the guiding principle: “The spiritual and religious values are on a downward slide from Christianity. Though at one time it was the backbone of American Society, changes in the political and social platforms have caused many to push aside Christianity as a restrictive and bigoted life style.”

When describing community values of mainstream society, a participant described how immigrants have changed present-day society and how things in the past were better: “community values have nearly disappeared as the core of national values are rejected or diluted by the values brought in by large masses of immigrants. In many communities people no longer know or have any type of relationship with any of the people living within half a mile of them. If you go back a mere fifty years, neighbor was a word that meant something as people tended to know and associate with those who lived within close proximity to each other.”

Social Contract

Social contract is a value that came up 77 times across five of the six open-ended domains (excluding health). Social contract can be defined as the value of valuing privacy, politeness, and avoiding conflict or controversy. Social contract is also a sort of implicit agreement in society on how to behave and what is appropriate to be functional as a population. The social contract can be conceptualized as a set of general rules and principles that we as a society must follow and adhere to in order to live in harmony with each other. Social contract as a value came up in spirituality when participants mentioned limits on when and where it was acceptable to talk about one’s own spirituality and religious practices. A participant commented on keeping matters private: “Religious values are a deeply personal matter in American society.

Discussions of such values are often discouraged in places such as the workplace, as they can cause disagreement or general negativity. However, this topic should not be viewed as taboo, instead we should all accept each other's values, and understand that doing so does not negate our own."

In the work domain, participants mentioned that being more private is helpful and important in mainstream society, and that others should set boundaries in their lives. For example, a participant wrote: "I think these days people just try to stay out of each other business in day-to-day dealings so as to avoid conflict." Another participant noted that preserving the current order of things is valued in mainstream society: "The work values of mainstream American culture/society is that you work and don't push for change." In the family domain, participants mentioned how there were several norms that families follow in mainstream society. For instance, a participant remarked: "Most Americans place a lot of importance on family and the quality time you spend with your family. It is considered important to raise your children with morals and values [...] older generations have had more focus on discipline and hard work." In describing community, people mentioned that staying at an arm's length from neighbors was a part of the social contract. In addition, making sure that you really chose who was in your life was important. For example, a participant wrote: "Wholesome with a touch of privacy, willing to greet neighbors and strangers but weary of many people that look out of place." Another participant wrote that: "[...] respect and curtsy are devalued in mainstream society. I feel that people are only out for themselves and they don't think about or care how they treat others."

Contradictions

Contradictions as a value was represented 75 times in the data across all of the domains. Contradictions were comprised of differing standards for White people, moving the goalpost

based on the social context, and saying one thing but doing another. This was exemplified by a participant saying that religious people in mainstream society are practicing in a contradictory way itself where they are acting in one way and suggesting another. For instance, a participant when describing mainstream religious values of American society noted: “[...] a majority are Christian’s who like to pretend to love their religion while breaking their faiths commandments on a daily basis” [sic]. Another participant wrote that people in mainstream American society often contradict religious values as well: “mainstream American cultures wants a God that they can control. Rather than obey the real God and His values, people generally invent a god that will accommodate whatever it is that they feel like doing.”

Contradictions were also salient in health, where participants discussed a focus on thinness regardless of underlying health. Something that was discussed across multiple domains was a distrust of education and medical professionals, while simultaneously emphasizing the importance of receiving an education and listening to the experts. This sentiment is discussed by a participant: “I think people value looking skinny but judge the people that work hard for it if they aren’t doing it the ‘right way.’ People think you should be able to eat whatever you want and magically stay thin I guess. And everyone hates the healthcare system apparently but don't want to try and do anything to improve it.” In terms of describing elements of mainstream society that are devalued, a participant noted how the pursuit of knowledge is devalued: “Education and intelligence are not as valued in the American society. People are shamed for seeking knowledge and ignorance seems to be winning.” Another participant echoed a similar sentiment wherein American cultural values allowed for contradictory thoughts to co-exist, specifically about education: “[...] there are even those who devalue the importance of an

equitable education for all children regardless of who they are, where they come from or what their parents do.”

Social Hierarchy

Social hierarchy was referenced 74 unique times across all domains. Social hierarchy was coded when participants referenced some groups of people in the U.S. as being higher in status than others. This code is defined by a tendency to put different social groups or individuals on a hierarchy that represents differential amounts of status, power, or privilege. A participant noted that eradicating hierarchy in U.S. society is not valued: “I feel that values like compassion and social equity are values often devalued in mainstream American culture. Additional [sic], issues like racial and economic inequality still don't receive the level of action or urgency they deserve.” Another participant noted that even spiritual values of mainstream culture and society aimed to put down certain marginalized groups, such as women and queer people: “Spiritual values are that of patriarchal society that pushes strong women down and queer people down. meanwhile they forgive rapists and pedophiles because ‘god forgives all’.” Further, a participant noted this: “If there's someone on the fringes of society who makes it obvious they don't fit whatever the prized mold is, those people will be harassed, bullied, discounted from opportunities, and possibly even become targets of suspicion.”

In the work domain, participants indicated that people from historically marginalized social backgrounds were being hired, and this trend of reducing the effects of existing social hierarchy on workplace culture was negatively affecting work quality. Therefore, they are upholding a version of social hierarchy that penalizes people from historically marginalized social backgrounds. The participant wrote: “The work values of American culture seem to be declining. We are hiring people based on gender or skin color and it is causing a lack of values in

the workplace.” Another participant criticized the social hierarchy that is organized based on gender in mainstream society and noted: “The patriarchy is a plague on any culture, and it is running strong in the United States. Women are upholding it as much as men, but the extreme that men go to protect their own fragile egos and keep women under their thumbs is damaging to us all.” Finally, when asked about what is devalued in mainstream society, a participant wrote: “I think diversity and inclusion are devalued in American society. I also think standing up against abuses of power are generally devalued due to apathy or fear of retribution.”

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism was represented 69 times across all domains. Based on the data, ethnocentrism is defined as a belief that things are done the correct way in the U.S. and incorrectly outside of the U.S. Further, ethnocentrism also encapsulated a negative sentiment toward those perceived as outsiders residing in the U.S. (i.e., immigrants from marginalized contexts) or practices associated with individuals who are not categorized as White in the U.S. (e.g., People of Color). For example, a participant noted the following about the default religion in the U.S. and how other religious values are perceived: “Oh, you have to be Christian. There isn't any other right answer. Judaism might get a slight pass, but not much. Anything else is considered terrorism.” This participant is communicating an idea shared by many participants that Christianity exists at the top of a hierarchy and all other religions are lesser. Within religion, participants mentioned that an element of mainstream society involved prescribing the dominant values to everyone; a participant wrote: “A lot of american’s [sic] are big on god, and try to force it on everyone else.”

When considering the health values of mainstream society, participants noted that practices around healthcare privatization were superior to other countries, even though it hurt

ordinary citizens of the U.S, for the sole purpose that it is happening in the U.S. instead of outside. One participant wrote: “American’s believe that healthcare should be privatized. And that we should not have streamlined care like other countries.” Practices or traditions associated with people from different racial or ethnic backgrounds are devalued: “Sometimes foods, religions, and communities that are viewed as ‘other’ are devalued in American culture. We often ostracize or speak negatively about those that don’t look like or act like us.” Another participant noted that ethnocentrism was at play in developing or sustaining a community by writing the following: “people often relate closely with those around them, but are close minded to other communities. Many are unwilling to hear the ideas from outside their community.” Along similar lines, a participant discusses how many in the U.S. define community based on how similar others look to themselves: “Since the last election many people only consider their community to be people of the same color, culture, race and belief system.”

Finally, another participant mentioned how various elements associated with White culture become the norm for everyone in mainstream society: “I believe the ‘mainstream’ American culture have traditional Christian values. Despite this not being a Christian nation, it seems that many things lead to that being the default. An example is Christmas being the ‘obvious’ winter holiday [...]”

Binary

Binary was represented 64 times across all six domains. Binary as a value captures several different features. Namely, thinking that there is only one right way to do things and everything else is wrong, and little to no room for grey areas or ambiguity. For example, a participant discussed how there seem to be two ways to approach the world: “I think kindness and gratitude have decreased. It's now the ‘it’s my way or no way’ world, and people seem out

for themselves. People need to be more compassionate toward others.” Another participant wrote the following about how grey areas are devalued in mainstream society, suggesting that a binary form of thinking is the norm: “[...] not thinking or expecting anyone to live in absolutes, there is no 100% good or evil, there is a whole lot of grey going on.” In other words, this participant elaborated on a general cultural tendency to devalue nuance, and people usually think in absolutes. Many participants displayed a binary thinking in their responses, which were also coded within the binary value. To exemplify this, a participant utilized binary thinking as a cultural value to sort various groups into two possible categories (even though many more categories exist): “Mainstream americans seem to be divided into those who seem unconcerned about their health and those who seem obsessed. On the one hand we have the obesity epidemic and hedonistic living. On the other hand we have the carnivore/keto/vegan types of groups.” Finally, when elaborating on community values, a participant discussed the binary that exists with categorizing people: “[...] in reality I feel as if we are more often then not defined by are opposition to anotger group (democracts v republicans, northerners v southerners, pepsi v coke) [sic].”

Power Maintenance

Power maintenance was referenced 62 unique times across all domains. Power maintenance is defined as a belief that it is good to uphold current power structures and the people who occupy positions of power. Further, participants described ways in which it is good to uphold these power structures, and those who do not uphold these structures are irresponsible. One prominent theme that showed up in the open-ended responses was the myriad ways that people will punish others in order to maintain the status quo, ultimately, in service of the broader cultural value of power maintenance. For instance, a participant described this sentiment (that

power structures should be protected) in the devalued domain: “I think one of the biggest value that is devalued in American culture is respect to authorities.” Another participant also commented on the perceived importance of protecting authority figures: “Another thing that seems to be devalued is respect for authority in American culture. People now don’t seem to have a problem disrespecting police or teachers or really any authority figure, where that used to be a very important thing every child learned.” In another response, a participant commented on how those in current power structures are not given ample respect and that this pattern is bad: “There seems to a growing resentment for the police force, the military, and the government in general. People seem to be moving on from traditional norms.”

In the work context, participants described the cultural value of power maintenance and how various occupations (e.g., White collar jobs) become associated with higher power and status. Ultimately, this differential respect and authority given to different occupations leads to the maintenance of current power structures. A participant wrote: “Burnout and a lack of appreciation for occupations that don’t fit into this high-achievement narrative, such caregiving or other service-oriented professions, might result from this [‘a cultural emphasis on long hours and professional progress as indicators of success’], too.” Participants described the pressure put on individuals to impossibly rise above a system on their own means as they referenced highlighting the punishment for acting in ways counter to the norms. For instance, a participant wrote: “A lot of people believe you should, ‘pull yourself up by the bootstraps.’ constantly and trash anyone who doesn’t follow this.” Finally, a different participant described how mental health is deprioritized in mainstream society. Discriminating against individuals who have mental health issues directly upholds the current power structures, as it explicitly excludes people who have mental health conditions. This tendency is a way through which power

structures are reinforced: “I think that mental health is still devalued in American society. [...] a lot of people don't respect people with mental health issues still and make fun of it. People are still discriminated and often not hired for jobs for those mental health issues.”

Body image

Body image was mentioned 38 times in the health and devalued domains. Body image is defined as a cultural value that one should be thin, value thinness, or just generally have high levels of obsession with outward appearance, which tends to vary based on gender (e.g., muscular for men). Several participants seemed to uphold this cultural value by criticizing those who deviate from this cultural value. One participant noted: “Mainstream American culture has no health values. The amount of people who qualify as obese are unbelievable. People lie to themselves.” There seemed to also be some frustration aimed at body positivity movements that have gained momentum in recent years. A participant wrote: “The health values of mainstream society are changing, but currently aren't good. Right now, there's a feeling of "Healthy at Any Size" which is a huge joke----obesity causes huge issues for health. There's lots of demand for quick food, with no care for the nutritional value. However, things seem to be changing, more people are getting behind the ideals of MAHA and want to improve their family's diet and health outcomes.” Connections between capitalism and body image were also drawn by one participant, illustrating that White cultural values are not mutually exclusive: “It seems the emphasis is placed on living longer. It is also about being thin and youthful looking. It is also a major profit driven sector.” As captured succinctly by a participant, a lot of emphasis is placed on one's appearance rather than their actual health in mainstream society: “I feel like the health values of mainstream American culture have a lot to do with the appearance of health rather than actual health. If a person is lean with muscle mass then they're deemed healthy. Whereas a

person who may eat well but has little muscle mass, or more body fat, will be deemed as unhealthy.”

Ageism was defined as either devaluing the aging body with a constant drive to appear young and thin, as well as discussions of the older generation not being appreciated as they should be. To illustrate ageism, a participant described how people are devalued if they are older or do not fit the version of a person that is deemed desirable in the context of the U.S. They wrote: “Americans try to claim that they promote that all body types matter, but overall people still discriminate against people who are overweight and old. People will always be kinder and hire people who are thin and fit more than someone who is obese or over 40.” Ableism was mentioned once in the devalued domain when discussing how disability is something that is devalued within mainstream American culture. A participant wrote about how people who are disabled in society are devalued: “Most of American society believes poor health is a personal failing. They believe that if you're a good person you'll have good health and if you become disabled it's because you're obviously doing something wrong and being lazy and worthless.”

Apathy

Apathy was mentioned 33 times with spirituality, work, community, health, and devalued domains. Based on the dataset, apathy is defined as the lack of empathy or caring for outside groups, their beliefs, or truly anything outside of the individual. This mainly showed up in two ways within the dataset. First, participants described how there is a lack of caring for others within American mainstream culture with regard to differing beliefs or practices. Second, participants themselves showed apathy toward answering the prompt or even considering another’s point of view. For instance, a participant, when asked about the religious values of mainstream society, wrote: “Again, different for everyone. I don't care about your religion, but

do what you want.” When describing work values, a participant wrote about how apathy can exist between company and individual in a capitalistic society: “Work is what we need to survive. Our companies don't give two sh*ts about us, nor should we give anything towards them. It's just a way to survive.” When prompted to answer about community values, another participant responded apathetically: “Not interested. Community is only what you make of it. I don't care about my community, nor should anyone who doesn't want to. It's not about them.” A different participant mentioned more about why people might not want to share their time with fellow community members: “Most modern Americans do not know their neighbors and don't care for the less fortunate in their community. We don't look out for our neighbors or spend time communally.”

Urban vs. Rural

Urban vs. rural was represented 12 times in the community and devalued domains. Based on the data, this value is defined as a negative perception of larger cities, which are typically associated with marginalized communities due to longstanding history and migration patterns. Larger cities, which are psychologically paired with populations that are predominantly People of Color, come to be devalued, negatively stereotyped, and conceptualized as worse places to live relative to rural, smaller towns. The participants generally had positive valence toward small rural towns and their beliefs and practices. Further, participants generally felt that larger cities degraded central mainstream values with major reductions in community. For example, a participant stated the following about the divide between urban and rural areas: “I don't have much to say about the community values except that there aren't much of them in urban areas. Life is often too fast paced to go relax at the neighbors' for an evening. Suburban occasionally has somewhat close-knit communities.” Another participant also echoed this

perception of larger cities as being community-less: “I think in smaller communities people value being there for one another and supporting each other and taking care of one another, however I don't necessarily see that sort of behavior in larger cities.” Another data point that highlights this contentious view of different population densities in the U.S. is: “I think in larger cities people have lost a sense of identity and community. They rely too much on government to solve their problems. When people were in small towns and relied on the church or others during hardships they were quicker to bounce back. People don't care about being a burden on the government, but they do care about being a burden on those in their community. I believe human beings were made to operate in tribes. We need that sense of community back.”

Overconsumption

Overconsumption was mentioned 11 times in the family, health, and devalued domains. Overconsumption is defined as constantly wanting or needing more capital, goods, and services. Participants generally recognized pressure in the U.S. to constantly strive for more, accumulate things, and value quantity over quality. When describing prominent family values, a participant listed off a series of things a family should have, some of which were items to be owned: “Having a good job. Having a house. Having kids. Owning a nice car. A big television.”. When describing the food that is available to residents in the U.S., a participant wrote: “[...] We make healthy food more expensive and harder to get than the always available, more than abundant supply of processed junk food and fast food [...].” Another participant mentioned a similar pattern, of there being too much availability and consumption of bad quality foods: “[...] there is an over abundance of fast food and processed food.”

Nationalism

Nationalism showed up seven times in the open-ended responses. Nationalism was discussed in the community and devalued domains. Based on the responses, nationalism was defined as pride for the U.S. and all things related to the past, present, and future of the U.S. A participant wrote the following about mainstream cultural values: “Mainstream American culture values [...] national pride.” A participant shared how nationalism isn’t valued enough in mainstream society: “[...] I also believe that we don’t value patriotism as much as we used to.” Another participant wrote about the mainstream cultural value of nationalism getting weaker over the years, and how they believe this course should be turned around: “Patriotism has been devalued. It is now considered racist to have pride in the USA, its achievements and its history. Everything to do with U.S. history is shown in a negative light with no consideration given to the reality that history is “then” and this is “now” and things have changed. [...] It now means absolutely nothing to participate in wars either directly or by proxy that result in the loss of hundreds of thousands of people every year.” Finally, extremely coded language showed up in this value, with accusations of “certain communities” not being nationalistic or patriotic enough: “Some communities respect the American society more than others do. Some communities are so disrespectful towards their country homeland.”

Item Reduction

The present study (Study 2) also aimed to reduce the number of items that were generated from Study 1. Since the first study had generated 66 items for the White cultural values scale, the present study aimed to reduce the existing 66 items so that new items could be added to the third and final study of this dissertation. After participants completed the open-ended responses, they selected the items they perceived to be representative of mainstream American

culture/society. A threshold of 50% was used to determine which items would be eliminated. In other words, if at least 50% of the participants selected an item, it was retained for the scale. Overall, 17 items from the original 66 were retained based on this threshold. See Table 3 for the complete list of the 66 items, along with the percentage of participants who chose that item to be representative of mainstream culture/society.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION FOR STUDY 2

The second study of this dissertation aimed to dive deeper into White cultural values by using a more generalizable sample relative to the first study (which relied solely on participants of color). This study examined White cultural values from a broader population, which included people from different demographic backgrounds, therefore allowing for a wider perspective to be captured. This qualitative study used open-ended responses, which also allowed for a large amount of meaning to be captured from the dataset. Ultimately, it helped generate more items for the scale validation (Study 3), resulting in 177 items (see Appendix E).

To analyze this rich dataset comprising 1,173 responses, I utilized analytical steps similar to Study 1. Although the goal of this study was to code each response for a unique value, this process was more complex in practice. Specifically, many of the participants' open-ended responses were coded with several different values simultaneously. However, the nature of the coding has the potential to vary based on a person's lens and subjective appraisal of the content of the open-ended responses (Subramaniam, 2014, Chapter 7). Given the multi-dimensional and layered nature of the inquiry of the present study, as the main researcher, I used my subjective appraisal to code the participant responses. Oftentimes, if a participant's response was taken at face value, vital meaning would not have been captured. White cultural values function in U.S. society (and potentially overseas) without being named as such because White people in the U.S. are deemed raceless (Bell, 2021a), therefore making values associated with their group race-neutral cognitions (Bell, 2021b, Chapter 1). As several structural racism researchers have

theorized, a racist system can function seamlessly even without racist people (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). In other words, people who may not be interpersonally explicitly racist or mean any ill to people from historically marginalized backgrounds have the potential to uphold systems and logic that are racialized as White. Based on face value, the norms and cultural values identified in this study do not appear to have anything explicitly to do with race or mention whiteness outright, but will still have the negative effects that disproportionately target People of Color. In this way, it could be the case that White cultural values become the most salient norms that we adhere to in this cultural context. Due to this salience and subtle enforcement, it is then possible that a specific group, or the dominant group (i.e., White U.S. residents), is no longer necessary in terms of propagating the White cultural values. Therefore, as the White cultural values come to represent how things are, they have the potential to uphold current inequities and cultural systems through everyday seemingly raceless cognitions.

Overall, this study helped to identify several different values that constitute White cultural values in the U.S. Specifically, the findings indicate some conceptual overlap with prior theorizing of dominant values in the U.S. For instance, some tenets of the White supremacy culture theoretical construct, such as individualism, overlap a great deal with the present study's findings (Okun, 2010; Okun & Jones, 1999). Since the work by Okun & Jones is the only preceding conceptualization of specific tenets of White culture (they use the term White supremacy culture), I will directly compare their tenets with the values of the current study. In order to draw conclusions about conceptual overlap, I will rely on the definitions laid out by Okun & Jones (1999) and the definitions created in the current study based on participant responses.

There are some key strengths to this study. This study generated a lot of different values (17 values), which helped to generate a large inventory of items (177 items) for the final study. In terms of participant sample, the study leveraged the perspective of White U.S. residents whose psychological conceptualization of mainstream society had not previously been captured in Study 1. In terms of methodology, the study utilized qualitative open-ended responses, which allowed for depth of meaning to be captured (Braun & Clarke, 2022b). Qualitative data often has more varied meaning patterns embedded in it, and by collecting answers to open-ended questions, I was able to capture the nuance participants were trying to communicate. If one response was not able to provide context, I could look to the other responses the same participant had provided to make sense of their data. Third, by asking about general mainstream American society and culture, I was able to lower some psychological defense or threat responses that might have been elicited. Evidence suggests that White U.S. residents consider themselves to not have a racial identity at all (Dottolo & Stewart, 2013), and asking participants to think specifically about White U.S. residents might have backfired (Marshburn & Knowles, 2018). However, this could also be considered a limitation in that I did not explicitly ask participants to share the cultural values associated with White U.S. residents. Still, I have evidence that participants were mainly thinking about White U.S. residents (64.29%) when answering questions that were explicitly asking them about mainstream American culture/society, even though the sample was fairly diverse (~60% White U.S. residents).

There are also some limitations to this study. Given the increase in generative language software that is readily accessible to people with an internet connection, this study also saw some responses that appeared to be generated by such software (Zhang et al., 2024). Even though this study had disabled the copy-paste feature using JavaScript and had multiple quality checks in

place to ensure good-faith respondents, several people seemed to rely on generative language software to complete the study. Unfortunately, given the rise of this technology and the lack of ethical discussion surrounding it, it is unclear how researchers should proceed with participants' usage of such technology in survey-based research. These days, with new software updates, it seems that one can have generative language enabled within their keyboard if they are using a smartphone, making it exceptionally difficult to deter generative language-based responses.

CHAPTER 9

METHOD FOR STUDY 3

Overview

The goal of this study was to validate the items that were created using the findings from the reflexive thematic analysis of Study 1 and the qualitative open-ended responses of Study 2. Importantly, this study aimed to validate the proposed White cultural values scale items through exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis. All study procedures were approved by the institutional review board before data collection began. This study was pre-registered on Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/vzp6e>) prior to data collection and analysis.

Recruitment

Participants were recruited via Prolific and compensated \$4.00 for their time. This amount averaged to around \$9.56 per hour. A pilot sample of participants ($n = 10$) was recruited on February 16, 2025, to ensure the survey was functioning appropriately, and the remaining participants ($n = 390$) were recruited the following day on February 17, 2025⁵. The pre-registered sample size for this study was 400 participants; however, due to Prolific's platform settings, the final sample size ended up being 414 participants⁶. The study was scheduled to take

⁵ After the data collection and analysis were complete, an error was identified. Two people who had completed Study 2 also completed Study 3. Since it was only 0.48% of the total participants that were repeated, the determination was made to not re-run analyses.

⁶ This study was advertised on Prolific, a popular participant recruitment platform in the U.S., for a total of 400 participants. However, to ensure that participants were diligently completing the study (e.g., not completing other tasks), the researcher manually approved each response. In doing so, participant responses that were either “timed out” or “returned” submissions, were also included in the final number of participants, which led to this discrepancy. For more information from Prolific, follow [this link](#).

20-25 minutes of participant time, and the median completion time was 25 minutes and 6 seconds.

Participants

A sample of 414 participants residing in the United States was recruited for the study. The sample consisted of 68.12% White people ($n = 282$), 20.05% Black people ($n = 83$), 1.69% Southeast Asian participants ($n = 7$), 1.45% multiracial participants ($n = 6$), 0.97% Native people ($n = 4$), 0.72% South Asian people ($n = 3$); for full breakdown see Table 4. Of the total 414 participants, 382 (92.27%) identified as not Hispanic or Latin(x), 31 participants (7.49%) identified as Hispanic or Latin(x), and 1 did not report their ethnicity. Participants in this sample were slightly older than the general U.S. population ($M = 38.9$; U.S. Census Bureau, 2023), with the age of the sample ranging from 18 to 78 years old ($M = 41.91$; $SD = 13.51$). The gender of the sample leaned slightly more towards women, with 225 participants identifying as women (54.35%), 188 participants identifying as men (45.41%), and 1 participant identifying as non-binary or third gender (0.24%). In terms of sexual orientation, 351 participants (84.78%) self-identified as heterosexual, 42 participants (10.14%) self-identified as bisexual, 18 participants (4.35%) identified as gay or lesbian, 2 participants (0.48%) identified as “other”, and 1 participant (0.24%) did not report their sexual orientation. Participant income was slightly higher than Study 2 at a median range of \$70,000-79,999 per year ($SD = \$48,000$), which is quite comparable to the general U.S. population’s median annual household income (\$80,610; Guzman & Kollar, 2024). The sample was fairly educated: 140 participants (35.62%) had completed a 4-year degree, 84 participants (21.37%) had completed some college work but not a degree, 78 participants (19.85%) had a master’s degree, 49 participants (12.47%) had an associate’s degree, 43 participants (10.94%) were high school graduates, 10 participants (2.54%)

held doctoral degrees, 6 participants (1.53%) had a professional degree (JD, MD), 3 participants (0.76%) had less than a high school degree, and 1 participant (0.25%) did not report their educational level. Over 95.89% of the sample was born in the U.S. ($n = 397$), and the remaining 4.11% of participants were not born in the U.S. ($n = 16$). The political orientation of the sample leaned slightly more Republican, with 155 participants self-identifying as Republican (37.45%), 142 identifying as Democrat (34.30%), 109 as Independent (26.33%), and 8 as Other (1.93%). With respect to individual position on social issues, the sample leaned towards the middle ($M = 3.78$; $SD = 2.04$) as higher values indicated stronger conservatism (on a 1-7 Likert scale with 1 being strongly liberal and 7 being strongly conservative). On economic issues, the sample was in the middle ($M = 4.12$; $SD = 1.97$) as higher values here also indicated stronger conservatism (on a 1-7 Likert scale with 1 being strongly liberal and 7 being strongly conservative). In the dataset, participants from most states were represented except for five states: Delaware, the District of Columbia, Hawai'i, Idaho, and North Dakota.

Procedure

The study was advertised on Prolific as assessing perceptions of cultural values. In terms of quality checks and demographics, the procedure was identical to that of Study 2.

Measures

White Cultural Values Scale

Study 1 led to the generation of 66 items detailing White cultural values. These items were often created using direct quotes from participants, variations of the pillars created by some of the first theorists of this cultural construct (Okun, 2010; Okun & Jones, 1999), and inductive interpretations of themes from across the qualitative interviews. In Study 2, the initial 66 items were reduced to 17 items that participants deemed content valid. In addition to these 17 content-

valid items, Study 2 helped generate several more items. A total of 177 items were tested in Study 3. Participants were presented with these items ($n = 177$) one item at a time with a Likert scale, and they were asked to indicate their endorsement on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). The full list of items tested in this study can be found in Appendix E.

Data Analytic Plan

During the scale validation process, an exploratory factor analysis with half of the sample was conducted to identify the number of factors present within the scale items (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Following the exploratory factor analysis, scale items were reduced by excluding items that fell below a value of $|0.30|$ on any sub-factor. Since an exploratory loading greater than $|0.40|$ on R-squared factor analysis was run first, I preserved all items that are above the $|0.40|$ value for the items to be loaded to the appropriate sub-factor (Morin et al., 2020; Robertson & Zhang, 2024). The model with the most optimal factors and best fit (based on RMSEA (lower than 0.05) and CFI (higher than 0.90) was preserved (Gomez & Stavropoulos, 2021; Krüger-Gottschalk et al., 2022). Next, with the remaining half of the sample ($n = 200$), a confirmatory factor analysis was run.

CHAPTER 10

RESULTS FOR STUDY 3

Preparing for the Exploratory Factor Analysis

All analyses were run in RStudio version 2024.12.0. Prior to conducting the exploratory factor analysis, in line with recommendations and guidelines from scale development scholars (Boateng et al., 2018), item variance, missing values, and descriptive statistics were assessed for each scale item. The goal was to ensure that the distribution of responses was fairly normal across all items, and the analysis revealed that this was the case. Next, I assessed whether there was a large number of missing responses for any given items, and analysis indicated that most items had at least 1 missing value (0.5% of the total participants), while about half had 2 missing values (1.0%). Given this relatively low number of missing values, I proceeded to the next step.

To prepare for the exploratory factor analysis, as a next step, biserial correlations between the 177 items were run. Prior work has generally used a threshold of 0.90 correlation value to remove items as this high correlation value indicates a great deal of similarity between the items (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Given that I had a high number of items, I decided to set an even more conservative threshold of 0.80 to cut items. Examining the correlations revealed that only two of the 177 items were correlated with each other at a value of 0.84. These two items were both under the value of Glorifying the Past: (1) “We need to get back to traditional values” and (2) “Life would be better if we brought back traditions from the past.” I retained item (2) “Life would be better if we brought back traditions from the past” since it had a better Flesch-Kincaid readability score.

Following the intercorrelations, I ran the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test on the remaining 176 items. The overall KMO measure of sampling adequacy (MSA) was 0.7, which corresponds to “middling” based on Kaiser’s ratings (Kaiser, 1974, p. 35), adequate for running factor analysis. Based on recommendations and best practices, at this stage, I removed individual scale items that had an MSA value of ≤ 0.50 (Watkins, 2018). This step resulted in the removal of 39 items, which had MSA values ranging from 0.15 to 49.9 (full list in Appendix F). Therefore, I was left with a total of 137 items at this stage. Next, I ran Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity and the results indicated that the test was statistically significant ($\chi^2 (9316) = 24108.74, p < .001$). Given this outcome of a statistically significant result, it is reasonable to assume that the data were appropriate for factoring.

Factor Structure and Item Reduction

Visual analysis of the scree plot (see Figure 4) suggested that a seven-factor solution would be the best fit (Costello & Osborne, 2005). Given the outcome of the scree plot, I ran a forced seven-factor solution EFA, which indicated goodness of fit ($\chi^2 (8378) = 10209.06, p < .001$). The seven-factor model accounted for 44% of the total variance. To reduce the number of items, I began by excluding items that cross-loaded equal to or more than 0.40 on a given factor. Next, I removed items that had factor loadings lower than 0.40, along with items that loaded on another factor at a value of more than half the value of that item’s highest factor loading (Hinkin, 1998; Morin et al., 2020). This step resulted in a reduction of another 47 items (see Appendix G for a list of items removed at both of these steps). After completing all of these steps, there were a total of 90 remaining items. I then prepared to run another round of EFA on this reduced set of 90 items (Boateng et al., 2018; Oswald et al., 2024; Robertson & Zhang, 2024), I conducted a KMO test, which yielded a value of 0.92, a classification of “marvelous” (Kaiser, 1974). No

items were removed based on the MSA values since all items were above 0.5 (Watkins, 2018). The Bartlett's Test of Sphericity indicated that the test was statistically significant ($\chi^2 (4005) = 13433.83, p < .001$), which means that the data were appropriate for factoring.

The scree plot indicated that a five-factor structure would be optimal. I used the exploratory factor analysis function in R and the PROMAX oblique rotation, given the assumption of correlated (non-independent) factors (Grice, 2001). This model also generated R-squared values, so I removed items that had R-squared values lower than 0.40 (Hinkin, 1998; Watkins, 2018). I repeated the steps that I had previously performed, such as removing items that cross-loaded at 0.40 or higher, along with items that loaded more than half of one factor (Morin et al., 2020). This resulted in a total of 54 items being removed, due to either a cross-loading value of 0.40 or more, an R-squared of 0.40 or less, or a cross-loading being more than half the value of the highest factor loaded value (see Appendix H for the list of items removed at this step).

At this stage, I was left with a total of 36 items, a KMO score of 0.9 ("marvelous"), a significant Bartlett's test of Sphericity ($\chi^2 (630) = 3126.27, p < .001$), and a scree plot indicated that a four-factor structure would best fit the data. Given the recommendation by prior authors and the presence of some cross-loadings and low R-squared values, I proceeded to conduct EFA one more time to further refine the scale (Hinkin, 1998; Morin et al., 2020). This step indicated that another nine items should be cut based on the parameters I had been using up until this point. Specifically in this model, three items had cross-loadings $> |0.40|$ or a factor loading $< |0.40|$, whereas six items had R-squared values $< |0.40|$, and these parameters often overlapped (see Appendix I for a list of these nine items, factor loadings, and R-squared values). Given this poor performance of several items, I elected to remove the nine items and was left with a final

27-item White cultural values scale. The KMO value was 0.87, a classification of “meritorious,” indicating that the sample was adequate for factoring and the MSA for all items was above 0.50. Bartlett’s test of Sphericity ($\chi^2 (351) = 2013.34, p < .001$) was significant, and a scree plot indicated that a three-factor structure would best fit the data. At this stage, all items had R-squared values $> .40$, one item had a factor loading $< .40$, and only one item cross-loaded at a value of more than half on more than one factor (this item’s factor loading on factor 1 was -0.47 and on factor 3 was 0.31). Although I should ideally elect to remove these two items, removing them leads to a worse model fit statistic. Given the balance of model fit and feasibility in terms of the number of items, I chose to preserve this three-factor model. For this reason, I included these items for the next analysis. In terms of the classification of items, I put the item that had the highest factor loading on that factor. This three-factor model explained 44.1% of the variance (see Table 5 for different model fit indices). The three factors were correlated well with factor 1 and factor 2 being correlated at 0.51, factor 1 and factor 3 being correlated at 0.36, and factor 2 and factor 3 being correlated at 0.53.

All items ($n = 27$), factors, and factor loadings can be found in Table 7. The three factors explained 44.1%, 19.2%, and 31.8% of the variance, respectively. Based on the original classification of the items and the three-factor structure, I labeled them (1) reinforcing capitalism, (2) reinforcing the status quo, and (3) reinforcing sociocultural rigidity and traditionalism. Each factor generally showed good reliability: reinforcing capitalism ($\alpha = 0.78$; $\omega_h = 0.72$; $\omega_t = 0.83$), reinforcing the status quo ($\alpha = 0.87$; $\omega_h = 0.77$; $\omega_t = 0.89$), and reinforcing sociocultural rigidity and traditionalism ($\alpha = 0.80$; $\omega_h = 0.60$; $\omega_t = 0.84$). Overall, the scale’s reliability was also good ($\alpha = 0.91$; $\omega_h = 0.61$; $\omega_t = 0.92$).

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

The exploratory factor analysis above suggested that the White cultural values scale was best represented by three factors (reinforcing capitalism, reinforcing the status quo, reinforcing sociocultural rigidity and traditionalism). For the confirmatory factor analysis, I used the remaining 208 participants, of which four had to be omitted due to missing values (final $n = 204$). I used a maximum likelihood extraction method and PROMAX rotation in RStudio. The KMO value indicated that the classification was 0.87, which is “meritorious” (Kaiser, 1974). Bartlett’s test of Sphericity was statistically significant, $\chi^2(351) = 1820.08, p < .001$.

I first began by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis with a one-factor model where all the items ($n = 27$) were loaded onto a single White cultural values factor. This model generally fit the data poorly, $\chi^2(299) = 736.89, p < .001$, RMSEA = 0.085, CFI = 0.69, TLI = 0.66, SRMR = 0.09. Given this poor model fit, I proceeded to constrain the model to the three factors that had been identified in the exploratory factor analysis and had theoretical meaning. The three-factor model fit the data better, but there was still room for improvement, $\chi^2(321) = 599.51, p < .001$, RMSEA = 0.065, CFI = 0.82, TLI = 0.81, SRMR = 0.07 (see Table 6).

CHAPTER 11

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The primary goal of this dissertation was to elucidate what constitutes subtle White cultural values and norms in the context of the U.S. Given the dominant status, privilege, and power White U.S. residents hold in U.S. society (Skinner-Dorkenoo et al., 2021), this dissertation sought to examine the cultural values that they perpetuate through this position of relative power. This dissertation leveraged the perspectives of several different group members (e.g., People of Color, White people) in the U.S. to define, construct, and validate a scale that aims to measure the endorsement of subtle White cultural values and norms in the U.S. Across three mixed methods studies ($n_{\text{total}} = 626$ participants), this dissertation created and validated a novel scale that can be leveraged to assess White cultural values. The first qualitative study utilized critical methodology and the perspectives of people from marginalized backgrounds to assess and understand how White cultural norms likely function in U.S. society. Specifically, this study used one-on-one semi-structured interviews with People of Color in the U.S. ($n = 12$) to understand how they face and understand White cultural norms and values. Employing this method deviates from Whitestream (i.e., constructing psychological science based on White power and privilege) logic and science to rigorously develop the construct of White cultural values by asking those who likely have the most insight about these issues (Adams et al., 2019; Harding, 2004; Hekman, 1997; Salter et al., 2018; Salter & Adams, 2013; Teo, 2022). The second qualitative study employed an open-ended qualitative design to further develop the construct of White cultural values by asking a larger sample ($n = 200$) about different domains

and mainstream American culture and society. This approach helped to understand the psychological concepts and ideas that underlie cultural values and norms using a nationally representative sample to attain data saturation (Braun & Clarke, 2021b). Finally, the third quantitative study ($n = 414$) employed structural equation modeling to validate the factor structure of the White cultural values scale. Together, this dissertation contributes to the fields of social and cultural psychology by contributing a novel measurement tool to assess White cultural values in the U.S.

Although the field of social psychology has various measurement tools to test racial biases and attitudes such as levels of internal or external motivation to respond without prejudice (Plant & Devine, 1998), social dominance orientation (Ho et al., 2015; Sidanius et al., 2016), symbolic racism (Henry & Sears, 2002), and modern racism (McConahay, 1986), critical inquiry into more subtle cultural values, norms, and beliefs remains understudied. There have been several attempts over the past few decades to understand how cultural or societal level socialization may impact various psychological processes such as implicit associations (Greenwald & Lai, 2020; Payne et al., 2019), social attitude contagion (Skinner et al., 2017; Skinner & Perry, 2020), and how mental representations of different concepts (e.g., welfare recipients) are shaped by socialization (Brown-Iannuzzi et al., 2017). However, attempts to catalog and measure subtle cultural values are less common. This dissertation aimed to first document how people from different social backgrounds (e.g., education level, racial background) conceptualize White culture in U.S. society.

Whiteness has mainly been the subject of critical inquiry by educational psychology scholars as they attempt to survey and understand how race interacts with various educational contexts in the U.S. (Bell, 2021b). Scholars have identified the 21st century as the first time

where we have a “White” presidency given that President Trump had never held any sort of meaningful political office before winning the presidency and that he explicitly ran on a platform of whiteness to appeal to White (especially the working class) voters’ sensibilities about their (weakening) power (Coates, 2017a, 2017b, pp. 341–355). Yet, whiteness, as described in the introduction of this dissertation, continues to remain a challenging thing or phenomenon to describe (Mazzei, 2008; Remedios, 2022; Schooley et al., 2019). Whiteness is challenging to define because it often departs from a zero-point epistemology (“view from nowhere”), which assumes that knowledge production and dissemination largely depart from the standard White male human, and this racialized logic becomes a part and parcel of all sectors in U.S. society, especially the sciences (Adams & Omar, 2024; Mignolo, 2009; Readsura Decolonial Editorial Collective, 2022; Reddy & Amer, 2023). By attempting to name and measure the covert (potentially by design) psychological construct of whiteness, this dissertation advances our knowledge and understanding of what constitutes whiteness by measuring White cultural norms.

Findings

The first qualitative study involved one-on-one semi-structured interviews with People of Color in the U.S. Participants were asked a set of questions to guide the discussion with the researcher, and the researcher followed up with questions based on the participant’s response. This methodology was extremely beneficial as it helped uncover how People of Color in the U.S. psychologically conceptualize White cultural values as they navigate a White society. Several key themes emerged, such as binary forms of thinking, defaults based on whiteness, and devaluing of practices associated with People of Color. Participants shared how they navigated these cultural values, expectations, and norms as they worked and lived in U.S. society. Many such themes emerged across the data, and participants shared how White cultural values, such as

benefiting others who assimilated to whiteness, were prevalent in society. Ultimately, this first study helped to generate data-driven scale items that were either directly based on or derived from participant responses ($n = 66$ items).

The second qualitative study utilized open-ended responses and asked participants about a range of different domains, such as spirituality, health, work, and others, to solicit their thoughts about the dominant cultural values pertaining to each domain (VanderWeele, 2017). Collecting data about the specific domains allowed for a greater breadth of information to be captured in this study. The data were also collected from 200 respondents who were fairly representative of the general U.S. population on factors such as race, gender, and socioeconomic status, which helped uncover many more themes that had not been included in the prior study. This study helped to generate numerous distinct, conceptual values associated with mainstream society, along with over 170 scale items for the scale validation to be carried out in the subsequent study. Overall, a majority of the tenets of White supremacy (Okun & Jones, 1999) are captured by the values created in the current study, but several more values beyond the original theorizing emerged based on this dataset. Namely, individualism and either/or thinking from Okun and Jones' theoretical framework are captured by individualism and binary, respectively, in the current list of values. Sense of urgency in Okun and Jones (1999) can be subsumed by the culture of overwork value in the current study. Right to comfort and fear of open conflict fit in the power maintenance and social contract values, as both of these protect individuals in power. Quantity over quality, progress is more/bigger, could be conceptually mapped into the capitalism or overconsumption values in the present study. One right way and worship of the written word share similarities with ethnocentrism in the current study. Lastly, elements of denial or defensiveness can be captured by the glorifying the past value in this study.

However, several values generated in this study are not represented in Okun and Jones' (1999) theoretical framework. These values are social contract, nationalism, urban vs. rural, and apathy. One limitation of this is that the tenets developed by Okun and Jones (1999) were developed with the workplace in mind, whereas the current study set out to capture how White cultural norms pervade every aspect of life in the U.S.

The final study in this dissertation surveyed 414 respondents who were also fairly representative of the general U.S. population on factors such as race, gender, and socioeconomic status. I asked participants to indicate their agreement with the 177 items using a Likert scale. Then, I carried out exploratory factor analysis to identify the factor structure of the scale. After several rounds of exploratory factor analysis, a three-factor solution emerged, which captured themes that had been represented throughout the different studies. These three factors are: (1) reinforcing capitalism, (2) reinforcing the status quo, and (3) reinforcing sociocultural rigidity and traditionalism. These higher-order factors capture most of the values that emerged in Study 2. Although the scale factors do not uniquely represent all 17 values that came to be through qualitative analyses, the three higher-order factors capture most of these values. For example, reinforcing capitalism (higher-order factor) can subsume values such as individualism, capitalism, culture of overwork, quick/easy solution, and apathy (lower-order factor). Reinforcing the status quo subsumes values of social hierarchy, ethnocentrism, power maintenance, and nationalism. Finally, reinforcing sociocultural rigidity and traditionalism subsumes values of binary, traditional family structure, social contract, contradictions, and body image. The final 27-item scale has been validated using best practices recommended by different scholars in psychometrics (Boateng et al., 2018; Morin et al., 2020).

Within this third study, I began with 177 items and eliminated 150 after several rounds of exploratory factor analysis. In this subsection, I discuss the conceptual nature of the factors at each stage as well as the values that ended up being cut along the way. Throughout the different rounds of empirically driven factor analyses, there is a great deal of conceptual consistency among the factors. In the first round of exploratory factor analysis, a seven-factor solution emerged. Broadly, these seven factors can be conceptually described as reinforcing the status quo, reinforcing capitalism, reinforcing tradition and gender roles, White nostalgia, nationalism/ethnocentrism, apathy, and reinforcing White beauty standards. Two of the factors—reinforcing the status quo and reinforcing capitalism—in this round of exploratory factor analysis are quite similar in content to the final three-factor model that was retained at the end. The other five factors within this seven-factor model (reinforcing tradition and gender roles, White nostalgia, nationalism/ethnocentrism, apathy, and reinforcing White beauty standards) are more dispersed within the third factor of the final scale (reinforcing sociocultural rigidity and traditionalism). The second round of exploratory factor analysis (after item reduction based on factor loadings) yielded a five-factor model. Within this five-factor model, broadly, a similar pattern to the seven-factor model is observed, with factor 1 and factor 2 (reinforcing capitalism and reinforcing the status quo) sharing a lot of conceptual overlap with the final three-factor model. The three other factors within this five-factor model—traditionalism and nostalgia, nationalism/ethnocentrism, and preserving the White town and White body—can be conceptualized as integration across the broader ideas. In other words, two factors (White nostalgia and reinforcing White beauty standards from the seven-factor model) semantically collapsed to form this new factor of preserving the White town and White body in the four-factor model. However, apathy as a factor from the seven-factor was largely lost

conceptually in the five-factor model. Following this round of exploratory factor analysis and appropriate item reduction based on standard parameters, a four-factor solution emerged. These factors can be conceptually labeled as: reinforcing capitalism, reinforcing the status quo, reinforcing sociocultural rigidity, and reinforcing traditionalism. Between the four-factor and the final five-factor model, the factor of traditionalism is retained, but nationalism and reinforcing the White town and White body have collapsed into a new factor I refer to as reinforcing sociocultural rigidity. The final three-factor model collapsed across the two prior factors (reinforcing traditionalism and reinforcing sociocultural rigidity) to create a factor that captured both of these ideas in reinforcing sociocultural rigidity and traditionalism.

During the creation process and analytical steps of the scale development, many items were created and subsequently removed. In this paragraph, I summarize the retention of items across studies 1-3 and, more importantly, discuss the actual and conceptual overlap between the items that were cut and the ones that were retained for the final 27-item scale assessing White cultural values. Of the 66 items created from the one-on-one interviews, 17 items were validated in Study 2 and made it to the eventual survey-based Study 3. Two items (“Success is largely defined by a person’s or organization’s ability to expand and grow” and “People should solve problems alone so they can be recognized for doing so”) from Study 1 made it all the way to Study 3’s final scale after the exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis. The conceptual idea of the items associated with binary/objectivity from Study 1 is entirely cut from Study 3’s final scale. This cut could partially be attributed to social desirability because many of these items from Study 1 (broadly but also specifically within the category of binary/objectivity) are less desirable given recent societal narratives and rhetoric of recognizing nuance and variation in other people’s behavior. Thus, it could be the case that people did not feel comfortable or

values-aligned in endorsing them (e.g., “people are inherently good or bad”). The rest of the items, more or less, share conceptual overlap from Study 1 to Study 3. To illustrate the conceptual overlap, let’s examine item 7 (“In order to keep up in society, it is better to solve things as fast as possible”) of the final 27-item scale. This specific item is conceptually represented in four items generated in Study 1: (1) “Everybody has the same 24 hours in a day, but time is what you make of it,” (2) “It is important to produce quick or highly visible results, even it means sacrificing potential allies or interests of different people,” (3) “It is better to identify a quick solution to a problem even if it comes at the expense of quality,” (4) “A solution to a problem tastes sweeter if it comes quickly.” However, given the content validation task of Study 2, only one item of these four (“Everybody has the same 24 hours in a day, but time is what you make of it”) was endorsed by 50% of the participants.

Comparison to Prior Conceptualization

To the knowledge of the author, very limited work on White cultural values exists in the literature. The most directly relevant framework is that offered by educators Tema Okun and Kenneth Jones as they describe White Supremacy culture, largely in the context of organizations and the workplace (1999). In their conceptualization of this omnipresent culture of White supremacy, they highlight how different types of thinking, such as perfectionism (i.e., valuing those who work relentlessly to be perfect), become embedded in organizations through people’s everyday thoughts and actions. In their work, they highlight 15 such tenets that comprise White supremacy culture. In this dissertation, many different values were uncovered across the three studies. Ultimately, a three-factor solution—reinforcing capitalism, reinforcing the status quo, and reinforcing sociocultural rigidity and traditionalism—was retained. In this subsection of the discussion, I elaborate on the conceptual similarities and differences between these two works.

When directly comparing the 15 tenets from Okun and Jones (1999) with each validated item, it becomes clear that there is a great deal of conceptual overlap between the two works. Specifically, 12 out of Okun and Jones' 15 tenets were conceptually represented in the final 27-item scale when directly comparing the scale items with their definitions (1999). This lack of a complete conceptual overlap may suggest that meaning is contained within the White cultural values scale items that are not represented in the original 15 tenets from Okun & Jones (1999). This lack of total overlap could partially be attributed to the different contexts that the two works focus on—Okun and Jones (1999) use White Supremacy Culture to mainly articulate how things operate in the workplace context, whereas the White cultural values scale developed in this dissertation focuses on a variety of domains of life (e.g., family).

Within the factor of reinforcing capitalism, the tenets of (1) individualism, (2) progress is bigger, more, (3) quantity over quality, (4) one right way, (5) power hoarding, (6) fear of open conflict, (7) sense of urgency, and (8) either/or thinking were all represented. Since I am using the definitions of the tenets to confer conceptual overlap, not every tenet constitutes a perfect overlap with the scale items. For instance, the item "Cities are better than small towns because they expose you to diverse ways of being" (reverse-scored item) was determined to fit with either/or thinking mainly for the purpose that the demarcation between cities and small towns is seen as an absolute without room for a grey area. While considering the definitions of the tenets, none truly fit the urban vs. rural value that was clearly emerging based on participant responses within Study 2. An example of the conceptual overlap across the two works (White Supremacy Culture by Okun and Jones and the White cultural values in this dissertation) can be illustrated through an item in the reinforcing capitalism factor: "In order to keep up in society, it is better to solve things as fast as possible." This particular item conceptually overlaps with the tenet of

sense of urgency from Okun and Jones (1999), as both emphasize swiftness, without potentially recognizing the longer-term costs/effects of doing so.

When looking at the Reinforcing the Status Quo factor, there was an overlap in tenets represented with (1) progress is bigger/more, (2) fear of open conflict, (3) either/or thinking, and (4) individualism (which also show up in the previous factor of reinforcing capitalism).

However, in this factor (reinforcing the status quo), the new set of tenets that were additionally represented were I'm the only one, paternalism, and objectivity. To illustrate the conceptual overlap between an item in this factor and the White Supremacy Culture framework (Okun & Jones, 1999), let us look at the item: "Cultural attire should be minimized in the workplace as it can be distracting." This item shares conceptual overlap with the tenet Only One Right Way, which emphasizes and reinforces a culturally learned tendency wherein people are taught to accept a singular right way and adopt it quickly.

When comparing with the factor of reinforcing sociocultural rigidity and traditionalism, there is overlap with the tenets of (1) sense of urgency, (2) only one right way, (3) either/or thinking, (4) paternalism, (5) objectivity, and (6) right to comfort. An example of the conceptual overlap between the two frameworks can be observed through the item: "Unfortunately, some people are oversensitive making a big deal out of nothing." This item shares conceptual overlap with the tenet of objectivity (Okun & Jones, 1999). This tenet states that objectivity is real and can be achieved by ridding oneself of emotions that are inherently destructive and harmful to decision-making. The scale item is getting at people's tendency to invalidate critiques by writing someone off as oversensitive. Inherent to this item is the racialized logic that emotions or subjectivity are causing problems.

One difficulty that was encountered while assessing conceptual overlap was the similarities within the original 15 tenets (Okun & Jones, 1999). When examining two tenets in Okun and Jones' (1999) framework, it becomes apparent that fear of open conflict and right to comfort share considerable overlap. This overlap can be attributed to how they conceptualize fear of open conflict (described as "equating the raising of difficult issues with being impolite, rude, or out of line") and right to comfort (described as "scapegoating those who cause discomfort"). These two tenets (fear of open conflict, right to comfort) both largely deal with the punishment of those who challenge the current power structure. This also shows up between individualism (described as "people in organization believe they are responsible for solving problems alone") and I'm the only one (which is described as "the belief that if something is going to get done right, I have to do it") which both contain the theme of having to act alone in a system in order for it to work properly. Having this conceptual overlap, although it may seem like a redundancy, highlights the interconnected nature of white supremacist culture with organizations. The interconnected pattern of White culture was also seen while coding responses during study 1 and study 2, given the multidimensional nature of participant responses, as illustrated previously, and could be coded with many of the values simultaneously.

Implications

The purpose of this White cultural values scale is to capture raceless, basic everyday cognitions in the U.S. that have the potential to perpetuate inequalities or adverse outcomes in different contexts. As mentioned previously in this section, the U.S. has evolved into more color-blind ways of thinking, which serve to maintain the status quo (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Although White people have historically held the most power, privilege, and status in the U.S., demographic shifts might threaten this racial order. However, a more covert racial order

can exist even with White U.S. residents as a numerical minority (Craig & Richeson, 2018) as whiteness becomes codified and the default in the residents, systems, and institutions of this cultural context (Torkelson & Hartmann, 2021; Zembylas, 2025). Thus, this dissertation aimed to unveil these specific cultural values that are uniquely associated with whiteness and can be endorsed by anyone, regardless of their social position in society. White cultural values can be endorsed by people, and subscription to the values is possible, given that people are embedded in this social structure where these ways of being (White cultural values) are prized and considered good.

The measurement tool of White cultural values can be used in a number of different settings. Specifically, given that explicit prejudice endorsement has been steadily declining, a tool such as the White cultural values scale can be used to assess endorsement of these seemingly harmless, yet highly hierarchical, embedded beliefs, in different contexts. As an example, I believe that assessing the endorsement of White cultural values in sites of graduate training can be beneficial. Research indicates that medical students' and graduate students' health takes a toll as they progress through their highly codified sites of training (Allen et al., 2020; Alves et al., 2022). But, unlearning the ways of White society can ultimately be beneficial to these populations (advanced graduate students) as they go on to affect the trajectories of other individuals (e.g., patients, students), scientific pursuits, and policy outcomes. It is likely the case that subscription to and endorsement of White cultural values predict a range of differential outcomes and beliefs, such as race essentialism, colorblind attitudes, harsher penalties for people who defy social norms, etc.

The next steps in this work include testing convergent validity, discriminant validity, predictive validity, and support for other important outcomes. It is extremely important to

examine whether the White cultural values scale developed here overlaps with existing theoretical constructs, while also meaningfully deviating from them, to predict unique psychological concepts. Once these forms of validity have been established, it would be beneficial to test the scale in several different populations, beyond convenience samples, to see whether there is meaningful variance based on population type. For instance, does endorsement of White cultural values vary between community college students, graduate students at Predominantly White Institutions, graduate students at Historically Black Colleges and Universities, graduate students at Tribal Colleges and Universities, medical students at various institutions, physicians, and other populations? Beyond educational contexts, this White cultural values scale could be tested among individuals within other hierarchical structures, such as government workers, healthcare professionals, and educators. All of these areas have unique connections to colonial ideology and White supremacy; therefore, it is likely the case that ways of thinking associated with whiteness permeate into the present day in these contexts by people endorsing White cultural values.

Limitations

Like any scientific work, the studies in this dissertation have limitations. With respect to empirical analysis, the first study utilized reflexive thematic analysis, which is a qualitative analysis that incorporates the researcher's perspective. This reflexive thematic analysis has been criticized by some scholars as being potentially a source of bias, although many other scholars note the strength that is incorporated into the subjective analytic tool of reflexive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2023; Probst & Berenson, 2014). The second study's analytic approach was also similar to that of Study 1, and similar criticisms of researcher subjectivity are therefore applicable to the analysis of Study 2. Most importantly, with respect to Study 2's

analysis, as a researcher, I had to sometimes read between the lines and interpret what a participant wrote about as a cultural value to generate broader, meaningful patterns in the dataset. While this type of extraction is common in qualitative work, the analysis could be made more robust, for instance, by adding some more researchers to a small team and generating measures of interrater reliability to assess if there is true convergence across coders. Yet, some scholars suggest that paying attention to the politics of counting—recognizing that numbers and counting are inherently political (i.e., they are used in ways to continue to underserve communities that need it the most from a policy standpoint) and depart from an epistemological standpoint that is not inherently apolitical (Martin & Lynch, 2009; Torrez et al., 2024).

Finally, in Study 3, although I followed best practices at each step (Costello & Osborne, 2005) because I had begun with such a large number of items, I ran into some issues. For instance, I had to begin by forcing a seven-factor structure on the 177 items (the seven were determined using statistical procedures) because the structural equation model could not meaningfully compute a structural equation model due to the large number of cells housed within this model. I used a data-driven approach to cull items as recommended by scholars using EFA and let the data guide me to determine the number of factors and the number of items that should ultimately be retained (Knekta et al., 2019). Ultimately, the 27-item model with three factors was the most optimal, but as mentioned earlier, it continued to house some items that should have ideally been cut based on the parameters I outlined (e.g., cross-loading of $|0.40|$ or greater). However, doing so led to a substantially worse model fit. The worse fit could be due to a number of things. Given the large number of variables I tested, perhaps a bigger sample size would have helped with refining the models. Finally, in terms of statistical procedure, the structural equation models I tested had a mediocre fit. Although attempts to improve model fit

were made, likely due to the sample size, construct, or other issues, model fit could not be improved drastically (e.g., having a CFI > 0.90).

In terms of other factors, such as generalizability, although I argue theoretically that these items likely represent a sort of whitestream psychological construct, the data were exclusively collected in the context of the United States. Without any empirical investigation into different cultural contexts or even examining White residents of other nations with their own complex political and psychological processes, it is most likely impossible to generalize the White cultural values scale produced here to different cultural contexts (Roberts & Mortenson, 2023). Further, the scale was developed using largely educated people, and the readability of the items was at a 10th to 12th grade level. This reading level and the sample that was used to develop the scale indicate that administering the scale to a population that is not educated likely would not be the best idea. Like any other scale created in the field, the White cultural values scale generated here represents a specific snapshot of a cultural moment in time. That is, this scale likely will not be able to capture this construct over time, and only further research can shed light on whether or not this scale continues to capture this construct over time.

In terms of capturing the theoretical construct of White cultural values, several proposed dimensions were cut during the scale validation process. Now, this could be due to that factor not being a core component of White cultural values in the U.S., or it could simply be the case that how the items were constructed did not adequately capture that psychological construct. When conducting EFA, many decisions must be made along the way. Although the current work relied on established parameters, cut-offs, and the empirical standard for item reduction (e.g., Boateng et al., 2018), there are other approaches that scholars may take during item reduction and exploratory factor analysis. Utilizing a different theoretical approach and using more

conceptual cut-offs for item removal, in turn, could have led to a different factor structure. The current work takes an empirical approach and uses best practices in psychometrics. The three sub-factors that emerged—reinforcing capitalism, reinforcing the status quo, and reinforcing social rigidity and traditionalism—are most likely not the only three factors of a complex, multi-faceted, and multi-dimensional psychological construct like White cultural values. Future work should consider expanding on and uncovering different dimensions that constitute this theoretical construct. I also suggest carrying out longitudinal studies with this scale to assess how endorsement of these cultural values might shift over time or vary within an individual or a structure (e.g., schools) based on changes within a given sociopolitical context.

Conclusion

This dissertation aimed to capture subtle cultural values associated with whiteness in the U.S., a first inquiry of this nature according to the knowledge of the researcher. Using deductive reasoning and qualitative methods, this work generated a large number of components and items that likely constitute the construct of White cultural values. Further, I validated and whittled down the 177 items to 27 items using exploratory factor analysis and structural equation modeling. The three dimensions—reinforcing capitalism, reinforcing the status quo, and reinforcing social rigidity and traditionalism—represent a substantial portion of the concepts that were present in the qualitative data. This dissertation makes theoretical contributions to the areas of critical psychology, cultural psychology, and social psychology by naming the subtle ways of thinking and being that are associated with whiteness, which have historically gone unnamed in these fields in the U.S. (Salter & Adams, 2013; Zembylas, 2025).

References

- 92 Stat. 469 - Joint Resolution American Indians Religious Freedom, Pub. L. No. S.J. Res.102, 92 Stat. 469 AE 2.111: 469 (1978).
- 107 Stat. 1488 Religious Freedom Restoration Act, Pub. L. No. Public Law 103-141, H.R.1308 1488 (1993). <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/STATUTE-107/STATUTE-107-Pg1488/summary>
- Abdel-Magied, Y. (2024, April 5). How do we know when Ramadan starts and ends? It's up to the moon. *National Geographic*.
<https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/ramadan-sighting-of-the-moon>
- Abel, M., & Burger, R. (2023). Unpacking Name-Based Race Discrimination. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4490163>
- Adams, G., Estrada-Villalta, S., Sullivan, D., & Markus, H. R. (2019). The Psychology of Neoliberalism and the Neoliberalism of Psychology. *Journal of Social Issues*, 75(1), 189–216. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12305>
- Adams, G., & Kurtiş, T. (2018). Context in Person, Person in Context: A Cultural Psychology Approach to Social–Personality Psychology. In K. Deaux & M. Snyder (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Personality and Social Psychology* (pp. 160–188). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190224837.013.8>
- Adams, G., & Omar, S. M. (2024). Confronting racism-evasive ignorance in the standard pedagogy of hegemonic social psychology. *Journal of Social Issues*, josi.12618. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12618>

- Ademolu, E. (2024). Birds of a feather (don't always) flock together: Critical reflexivity of 'Outsiderness' as an 'Insider' doing qualitative research with one's 'Own People.' *Qualitative Research*, 24(2), 344–366. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941221149596>
- Alcoff, L. (2015). *The future of whiteness*. Polity.
- Alexander, M. (2012). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness* (Revised paperback edition). New Press.
- Allen, H. K., Barrall, A. L., Vincent, K. B., & Arria, A. M. (2020). Stress and burnout among graduate students: moderation by sleep duration and quality. *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 28(1), 21–28. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12529-020-09867-8>
- Altemeyer, B. (1981). *Right-Wing Authoritarianism*. University of Manitoba Press.
- Alves, S. A., Sinval, J., Neto, L. L., Marôco, J., Ferreira, A. G., & Oliveira, P. (2022). Burnout and dropout intention in medical students: the protective role of academic engagement. *BMC Medical Education*, 22(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12909-021-03094-9>
- Ambedkar, B. R. (with Roy, A.). (1936). *Annihilation of caste: The annotated critical edition* (S. Anand, Ed.; Reprinted). Navayana Publ.
- Anderson, C. (2017). *White rage: The unspoken truth of our racial divide* (Paperback edition). Bloomsbury, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.
- Anderson, E. (2015). "The White Space." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1(1), 10–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649214561306>
- Auelua-Toomey, S. L., & Roberts, S. O. (2024). Romantic racism: How racial preferences (and beliefs about racial preferences) reinforce hierarchy in U.S. interracial relationships. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 30(3), 532–552. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000592>

- Azevedo, F., Jost, J. T., Rothmund, T., & Sterling, J. (2019). Neoliberal Ideology and the Justification of Inequality in Capitalist Societies: Why Social and Economic Dimensions of Ideology Are Intertwined. *Journal of Social Issues*, 75(1), 49–88.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12310>
- Baldwin, J. (1984). *On Being White ... And Other Lies*. <https://sacred.omeka.net/items/show/238>
- Bazon, E. (2018, June 13). White People Are Noticing Something New: Their Own Whiteness. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/13/magazine/white-people-are-noticing-something-new-their-own-whiteness.html>
- Bell, M. (2021a). Invisible no more: White racialization and the localness of racial identity. *Sociology Compass*, 15(9), e12917. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12917>
- Bell, M. (2021b). *Whiteness Interrupted: White Teachers and Racial Identity in Predominantly Black Schools*. Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781478021933>
- Bertrand, M., & Mullainathan, S. (2004). Are Emily and Greg More Employable Than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination. *American Economic Review*, 94(4), 991–1013. <https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828042002561>
- Bian, L., Leslie, S.-J., & Cimpian, A. (2017). Gender stereotypes about intellectual ability emerge early and influence children's interests. *Science*, 355(6323), 389–391.
<https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aah6524>
- Bian, L., Leslie, S.-J., Murphy, M. C., & Cimpian, A. (2018). Messages about brilliance undermine women's interest in educational and professional opportunities. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 76, 404–420. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.11.006>
- Boateng, G. O., Neilands, T. B., Frongillo, E. A., Melgar-Quinonez, H. R., & Young, S. L. (2018). Best Practices for Developing and Validating Scales for Health, Social, and

- Behavioral Research: A Primer. *Frontiers in Public Health*, 6, 149.
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2018.00149>
- Bonam, C. M., Nair Das, V., Coleman, B. R., & Salter, P. (2019). Ignoring History, Denying Racism: Mounting Evidence for the Marley Hypothesis and Epistemologies of Ignorance. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 10(2), 257–265.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617751583>
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2014). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America* (4. ed). Rowman & Littlefield.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021a). One size fits all? What counts as quality practice in (reflexive) thematic analysis? *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 18(3), 328–352.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2020.1769238>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021b). To saturate or not to saturate? Questioning data saturation as a useful concept for thematic analysis and sample-size rationales. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 13(2), 201–216.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1704846>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022a). Conceptual and design thinking for thematic analysis. *Qualitative Psychology*, 9(1), 3–26. <https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000196>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022b). *Thematic analysis: A practical guide*. SAGE.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2023). Toward good practice in thematic analysis: Avoiding common problems and be(com)ing a *knowing* researcher. *International Journal of Transgender Health*, 24(1), 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.1080/26895269.2022.2129597>

- Braun, V., Clarke, V., Hayfield, N., Davey, L., & Jenkinson, E. (2022). Doing Reflexive Thematic Analysis. In S. Bager-Charleson & A. McBeath (Eds.), *Supporting Research in Counselling and Psychotherapy* (pp. 19–38). Springer International Publishing.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-13942-0_2
- Brown-Iannuzzi, J. L., Dotsch, R., Cooley, E., & Payne, B. K. (2017). The Relationship Between Mental Representations of Welfare Recipients and Attitudes Toward Welfare. *Psychological Science*, 28(1), 92–103. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797616674999>
- Cancelmo, C., & Mueller, J. C. (2019). Whiteness. In C. Cancelmo & J. C. Mueller, *Sociology*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199756384-0231>
- Cashin, S. (2021). *White Space, Black Hood: Opportunity Hoarding and Segregation in the Age of Inequality*. Beacon Press.
- Chan, M. (2015, December 12). *White House Says It Won't Declare Muslim National Holiday*. TIME. <https://time.com/4146780/eid-al-fitr-muslim-holiday-white-house/>
- Cherry, S. M., Lucas, A., Case, K. A., & Hoston, W. T. (2014). *Who is White? Assessing Students' Perceptions of Whiteness through Active-Learning Effectiveness and the Construction of Racial Doubt. 14*.
- Chow, K. (2018, February 9). *So what exactly is "Blood quantum"?*
<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2018/02/09/583987261/so-what-exactly-is-blood-quantum>
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, 78 Stat. 241 Pub. L. No. 88-352 (1964).
<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-78/pdf/STATUTE-78-Pg241.pdf>

- Clark, A. M., & Sousa, B. J. (2018). The Mental Health of People Doing Qualitative Research: Getting Serious About Risks and Remedies. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 17(1), 1609406918787244. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406918787244>
- Coates, T.-N. (2017a). *We were eight years in power: An American tragedy* (First edition). One World.
- Coates, T.-N. (2017b, October). The First White President. *The Atlantic*.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2017/10/the-first-white-president-tanehisi-coates/537909/>
- Coates, T.-N. (2024). *The Message* (First edition). One World.
- Collazo, A., Yu, X., Jan, Q., Xie, C. Z., & Campbell, K. M. (2024). Trends Among Women in Academic Medicine Faculty Ranks. *Journal of Women's Health*, 33(6), 723–728.
<https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.2023.0886>
- Costello, A. B., & Osborne, J. W. (2005). Best Practices in Exploratory Factor Analysis: Four Recommendations for Getting the Most From Your Analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research, and Evaluation*, 10(7). <https://doi.org/10.7275/jyj1-4868>
- Craig, M. A., & Richeson, J. A. (2016). Stigma-Based Solidarity: Understanding the Psychological Foundations of Conflict and Coalition Among Members of Different Stigmatized Groups. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 25(1), 21–27.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721415611252>
- Craig, M. A., & Richeson, J. A. (2018). Majority No More? The Influence of Neighborhood Racial Diversity and Salient National Population Changes on Whites' Perceptions of Racial Discrimination. *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 4(5), 141. <https://doi.org/10.7758/rsf.2018.4.5.07>

- Davis, A. Y. (with West, C.). (2016). *Freedom is a constant struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the foundations of a movement* (F. Barat, Ed.). Haymarket Books.
- Devos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(3), 447–466. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.3.447>
- Dixon, T. L., & Maddox, K. B. (2005). Skin Tone, Crime News, and Social Reality Judgments: Priming the Stereotype of the Dark and Dangerous Black Criminal1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35(8), 1555–1570. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2005.tb02184.x>
- Dottolo, A. L., & Stewart, A. J. (2013). “I Never Think about My Race”: Psychological Features of White Racial Identities. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 10(1), 102–117. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2011.586449>
- Driskell, S., & Trawalter, S. (2021). Race, Architecture, and Belonging: Divergent Perceptions of Antebellum Architecture. *Collabra: Psychology*, 7(1), 21192. <https://doi.org/10.1525/collabra.21192>
- Dunbar-Ortiz, R. (2014). *An indigenous peoples’ history of the United States*. Beacon Press.
- Durkee, M. I., Gazley, E. R., Hope, E. C., & Keels, M. (2019). Cultural invalidations: Deconstructing the “acting White” phenomenon among Black and Latinx college students. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 25(4), 451–460. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000288>
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109(3), 573–598. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.109.3.573>

- Eagly, A. H., & Wood, W. (2012). Social Role Theory. In P. Van Lange, A. Kruglanski, & E. Higgins, *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology* (pp. 458–476). SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446249222.n49>
- Eason, A. E., Pope, T., Becenti, K. M., & Fryberg, S. A. (2021). Sanitizing history: National identification, negative stereotypes, and support for eliminating Columbus Day and adopting Indigenous Peoples Day. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 27(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000345>
- Eaton, A. A., Saunders, J. F., Jacobson, R. K., & West, K. (2020). How Gender and Race Stereotypes Impact the Advancement of Scholars in STEM: Professors' Biased Evaluations of Physics and Biology Post-Doctoral Candidates. *Sex Roles*, 82(3–4), 127–141. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01052-w>
- Efird, C. R., & Lightfoot, A. F. (2020). Missing Mayberry: How whiteness shapes perceptions of health among white Americans in a rural Southern community. *Social Science & Medicine*, 253, 112967. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2020.112967>
- Efird, C. R., Wilkins, C. L., & Versey, H. S. (2024). Whiteness hurts society: How whiteness shapes mental, physical, and social health outcomes. *Journal of Social Issues*, 80(1), 53–79. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12598>
- Eriksson, K., Strimling, P., & Coultas, J. C. (2015). Bidirectional associations between descriptive and injunctive norms. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 129, 59–69. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2014.09.011>
- Feagin, J. R., & McKinney, K. D. (2003). *The many costs of racism*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Fling, S. (2020, September 1). *The First Ladies and Slavery*. The White House Historical Association. <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-first-ladies-and-slavery>

- Fry, R., Kennedy, B., & Funk, C. (2021). STEM Jobs See Uneven Progress in Increasing Gender, Racial and Ethnic Diversity. *Pew Research Center*.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/science/2021/04/01/stem-jobs-see-uneven-progress-in-increasing-gender-racial-and-ethnic-diversity/>
- Fryberg, S. A., & Eason, A. E. (2017). Making the Invisible Visible: Acts of Commission and Omission. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 26(6), 554–559.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417720959>
- Fu, A. S. (2022). Can Buildings be Racist? A Critical Sociology of Architecture and the Built Environment. *Sociological Inquiry*, 92(2), 442–465. <https://doi.org/10.1111/soin.12478>
- Funk, C., & Parker, K. (2018). 4. Blacks in STEM jobs are especially concerned about diversity and discrimination in the workplace. <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2018/01/09/blacks-in-stem-jobs-are-especially-concerned-about-diversity-and-discrimination-in-the-workplace/>
- Garner, S. (2007). *Whiteness: An introduction*. Routledge.
- Gillborn, D. (2005). Education policy as an act of white supremacy: Whiteness, critical race theory and education reform. *Journal of Education Policy*, 20(4), 485–505.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930500132346>
- Gomez, R., & Stavropoulos, V. (2021). Confirmatory Factor Analysis and Exploratory Structural Equation Modeling of the Structure of Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder Symptoms in Adults. *Assessment*, 28(6), 1570–1582.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1073191120905892>
- Greenwald, A. G., & Lai, C. K. (2020). Implicit Social Cognition. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 71(1), 419–445. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010419-050837>

- Grice, J. W. (2001). Computing and evaluating factor scores. *Psychological Methods*, 6(4), 430–450. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1082-989X.6.4.430>
- Grzanka, P. R., Frantell, K. A., & Fassinger, R. E. (2020). The White Racial Affect Scale (WRAS): A Measure of White Guilt, Shame, and Negation. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 48(1), 47–77. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000019878808>
- Guzman, G., & Kollar, M. (2024). *Income in the United States: 2023*. U.S. Government Publishing Office. <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2024/demo/p60-282.html>
- Hagiwara, N., Alderson, C. J., & McCauley, J. M. (2015). “We get what we deserve”: The belief in a just world and its health consequences for Blacks. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 38(6), 912–921. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10865-015-9652-3>
- Harding, S. G. (Ed.). (2004). *The feminist standpoint theory reader: Intellectual and political controversies*. Routledge.
- Harris, C. I. (1993). Whiteness as Property. *Harvard Law Review*, 106(8), 1707. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1341787>
- Harrison, R. K. (2021). *Black hands, white house: Slave labor and the making of America*. Fortress Press.
- Hastie, B., & Rimmington, D. (2014). ‘200 years of white affirmative action’: White privilege discourse in discussions of racial inequality. *Discourse & Society*, 25(2), 186–204. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926513516050>
- Hatfield, N., Brown, N., & Topaz, C. M. (2022). Do introductory courses disproportionately drive minoritized students out of STEM pathways? *PNAS Nexus*, 1(4), pgac167. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pnasnexus/pgac167>

- Hekman, S. (1997). Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 22(2), 341–365. <https://doi.org/10.1086/495159>
- Helms, J. E. (2017). The Challenge of Making Whiteness Visible: Reactions to Four Whiteness Articles. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 45(5), 717–726.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000017718943>
- Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2002). The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale. *Political Psychology*, 23(2), 253–283. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00281>
- Henwood, K. L., & Pidgeon, N. F. (1992). Qualitative research and psychological theorizing. *British Journal of Psychology*, 83(1), 97–111. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8295.1992.tb02426.x>
- Hester, N., & Hehman, E. (2023). Dress is a Fundamental Component of Person Perception. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 27(4), 414–433.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/10888683231157961>
- Heyes, C. (2024). Rethinking Norm Psychology. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 19(1), 12–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916221112075>
- Hill Collins, P. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (Rev. 10th anniversary ed). Routledge.
- Hinkin, T. R. (1998). A Brief Tutorial on the Development of Measures for Use in Survey Questionnaires. *Organizational Research Methods*, 1(1), 104–121.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/109442819800100106>
- Hitchcock, J. (2012, September 4). Let's Recognize White American Culture. *Center for the Study of White American Culture, Inc.* <https://cswac.org/lets-recognize-white-american-culture/>

- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Kteily, N., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Pratto, F., Henkel, K. E., Foels, R., & Stewart, A. L. (2015). The nature of social dominance orientation: Theorizing and measuring preferences for intergroup inequality using the new SDO₇ scale. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(6), 1003–1028.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000033>
- Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Levin, D. T., & Banaji, M. R. (2011). Evidence for hypodescent and racial hierarchy in the categorization and perception of biracial individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 100(3), 492–506. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021562>
- Hollinger, D. A. (2005). The one drop rule & the one hate rule. *Daedalus*, 134(1), 18–28.
<https://doi.org/10.1162/0011526053124424>
- Hong, W.-P. (2009). Reading School Textbooks as a Cultural and Political Text. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, 25(1), 86–99.
- Horn, K. (Director). (2021, June). Telling our Twisted Histories: Indian Time (4) [Broadcast]. In *CBC*. <https://www.cbc.ca/listen/cbc-podcasts/906-telling-our-twisted-histories/episode/15850661-indian-time>
- Hoyt, C. L., & Simon, S. (2016). The role of social dominance orientation and patriotism in the evaluation of racial minority and female leaders. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 46(9), 518–528. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12380>
- Jayakumar, U. M., & Adamian, A. S. (2017). The Fifth Frame of Colorblind Ideology: Maintaining the Comforts of Colorblindness in the Context of White Fragility. *Sociological Perspectives*, 60(5), 912–936. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0731121417721910>
- Jones-Rogers, S. E. (2019). *They were her property: White women as slave owners in the American South*. Yale University Press.

- Jost, J. T. (2019). A quarter century of system justification theory: Questions, answers, criticisms, and societal applications. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 58(2), 263–314. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12297>
- Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33(1), 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1994.tb01008.x>
- Kaiser, H. F. (1974). An Index of Factorial Simplicity. *Psychometrika*, 39(1), 31–36. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02291575>
- Kang, S. K., DeCelles, K. A., Tilcsik, A., & Jun, S. (2016a). Whitened Résumés: Race and Self-Presentation in the Labor Market. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 61(3), 469–502. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839216639577>
- Kang, S. K., DeCelles, K. A., Tilcsik, A., & Jun, S. (2016b). Whitened Résumés: Race and Self-Presentation in the Labor Market. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 61(3), 469–502. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839216639577>
- Kaplan, J. (2023, October 8). *Jewish high holidays lack recognition In society*. FSView. <https://www.fsunews.com/story/opinion/2023/10/08/jewish-high-holidays-lack-recognition-in-society/71024916007/>
- Kendi, I. X. (2017). *Stamped from the beginning: The definitive history of racist ideas in America* (First trade paperback edition). Bold Type Books.
- Kenthirarajah, D. (Toni), Camp, N. P., Walton, G. M., Kay, A. C., & Cohen, G. L. (2023). Does “Jamal” receive a harsher sentence than “James”? First-name bias in the criminal sentencing of Black men. *Law and Human Behavior*, 47(1), 169–181. <https://doi.org/10.1037/lhb0000498>

- Kline, P., Rose, E. K., & Walters, C. R. (2022). Systemic Discrimination Among Large U.S. Employers. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 137(4), 1963–2036.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjac024>
- Knekta, E., Runyon, C., & Eddy, S. (2019). One Size Doesn't Fit All: Using Factor Analysis to Gather Validity Evidence When Using Surveys in Your Research. *CBE—Life Sciences Education*, 18(1), rm1. <https://doi.org/10.1187/cbe.18-04-0064>
- Knowles, E. D., Lowery, B. S., Chow, R. M., & Unzueta, M. M. (2014). Deny, Distance, or Dismantle? How White Americans Manage a Privileged Identity. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 9(6), 594–609. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691614554658>
- Kraus, M. W., Rucker, J. M., & Richeson, J. A. (2017). Americans misperceive racial economic equality. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(39), 10324–10331.
<https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1707719114>
- Krüger-Gottschalk, A., Ehring, T., Knaevelsrud, C., Dyer, A., Schäfer, I., Schellong, J., Rau, H., & Köhler, K. (2022). Confirmatory factor analysis of the Clinician-Administered PTSD Scale (CAPS-5) based on DSM-5 vs. ICD-11 criteria. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, 13(1), 2010995. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20008198.2021.2010995>
- Kurinec, C. A., & Weaver, C. A. (2021). “Sounding Black”: Speech Stereotypicality Activates Racial Stereotypes and Expectations About Appearance. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12, 785283. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.785283>
- Lapinski, M. K., & Rimal, R. N. (2005). An Explication of Social Norms. *Communication Theory*, 15(2), 127–147. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2005.tb00329.x>
- Lerner, M. J. (1977). The justice motive: Some hypotheses as to its origins and forms¹. *Journal of Personality*, 45(1), 1–52. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.1977.tb00591.x>

- Lerner, M. J. (1980). The Belief in a Just World. In M. J. Lerner, *The Belief in a Just World* (pp. 9–30). Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4899-0448-5_2
- Levin, S., Matthews, M., Guimond, S., Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., Kteily, N., Pitpitan, E. V., & Dover, T. (2012). Assimilation, multiculturalism, and colorblindness: Mediated and moderated relationships between social dominance orientation and prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48(1), 207–212.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2011.06.019>
- Lipkusa, I. M., Dalbert, C., & Siegler, I. C. (1996). The Importance of Distinguishing the Belief in a Just World for Self Versus for Others: Implications for Psychological Well-Being. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22(7), 666–677.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167296227002>
- Lipsitz, G. (2006a). How Whiteness Works: Inheritance, Wealth, and Health. In *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics, Revised and Expanded Edition* (pp. 105–117). Temple University Press.
- Lipsitz, G. (2006b). The Possessive Investment in Whiteness. In *The possessive investment in whiteness: How white people profit from identity politics* (Rev. and expanded ed, pp. 1–23). Temple University Press.
- Loving v. Virginia, 388 U.S. 1. (1967). <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep388001/>
- Lucas, D. E. (2024, February 26). *Caste Discrimination Comes to the U.S.* New Jersey State Bar Foundation. <https://njsbf.org/2024/02/26/caste-discrimination-comes-to-the-u-s/>
- Lucy, L., Demszky, D., Bromley, P., & Jurafsky, D. (2020). Content Analysis of Textbooks via Natural Language Processing: Findings on Gender, Race, and Ethnicity in Texas U.S.

- History Textbooks. *AERA Open*, 6(3), 233285842094031.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2332858420940312>
- Luksyte, A., Waite, E., Avery, D. R., & Roy, R. (2013). Held to a different standard: Racial differences in the impact of lateness on advancement opportunity. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 86(2), 142–165.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/joop.12010>
- Mann, L. (2020, January 3). *Building the White House*. WHHA (En-US).
<https://www.whitehousehistory.org/building-the-white-house>
- Marshburn, C. K., & Knowles, E. D. (2018). White out of mind: Identity suppression as a coping strategy among Whites anticipating racially charged interactions. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 21(6), 874–892. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430216681178>
- Martin, A., & Lynch, M. (2009). Counting Things and People: The Practices and Politics of Counting. *Social Problems*, 56(2), 243–266. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2009.56.2.243>
- Mazzei, L. A. (2008). Silence speaks: Whiteness revealed in the absence of voice. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 24(5), 1125–1136. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2007.02.009>
- McCluney, C. L., Durkee, M. I., Smith, R. E., Robotham, K. J., & Lee, S. S.-L. (2021). To be, or not to be...Black: The effects of racial codeswitching on perceived professionalism in the workplace. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 97, 104199.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2021.104199>
- McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 91–125). Academic Press.

- McDaniel, M. (2021, June 15). *Louisiana history text book under fire for not giving the full story on Civil War*. Wwltv.Com. <https://www.wwltv.com/article/news/education/louisiana-history-text-book-under-fire-for-not-giving-the-full-story-on-civil-war/289-59bb9585-4c78-4109-97f2-b37a0c5da64c>
- Melson-Silimon, A., Spivey, B. N., & Skinner-Dorkenoo, A. L. (2024). The construction of racial stereotypes and how they serve as racial propaganda. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 18(1), e12874. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12874>
- Metych, M. (2025, March 9). *De facto | Meaning, De Jure, & Facts | Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/de-facto>
- Mignolo, W. D. (2009). Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial Freedom. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 26(7–8), 159–181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276409349275>
- Mills, C. W. (2007). White Ignorance. In S. Sullivan & N. Tuana (Eds.), *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance* (pp. 11–38). State Univ of New York Pr.
- Mirels, H. L., & Garrett, J. B. (1971). The Protestant Ethic as a personality variable. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 36(1), 40–44. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0030477>
- Morehouse, K. N., Charlesworth, T. E. S., Devos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2025). Who is American? A comprehensive analysis of the American = White/Foreign = Asian stereotype (2007–2023). *Scientific Reports*, 15(1), 3368. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-83794-6>
- Morin, A. J. S., Myers, N. D., & Lee, S. (2020). Modern Factor Analytic Techniques: Bifactor Models, Exploratory Structural Equation Modeling (ESEM), and Bifactor-ESEM. In G. Tenenbaum & R. C. Eklund (Eds.), *Handbook of Sport Psychology* (1st ed., pp. 1044–1073). Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119568124.ch51>

- Nawaz, A., Chavez, R., Norris, C., & Quran, L. (2022, April 14). *Schools struggle to accommodate the religious needs of Muslim students during Ramadan*.
<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/schools-struggle-to-accommodate-the-religious-needs-of-muslim-students-during-ramadan>
- Noll, M. A. (2002). *The Work We Have to Do: A History of Protestants in America*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195154979.001.0001>
- Okun, T. (Ed.). (2010). *The emperor has no clothes: Teaching about race and racism to people who don't want to know*. Information Age Pub.
- Okun, T., & Jones, K. (1999). *White Supremacy Culture Characteristics*.
<https://www.whitesupremacyculture.info/characteristics.html>
- Oswald, F., Pham, M. D., & Chaney, K. E. (2024). Development and validation of the Abolitionist Ideology Scale with abolitionist-identifying and nationally representative samples. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, asap.12430.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/asap.12430>
- Painter, N. I. (2011). *The History of White People* (1st ed). W. W. Norton & Company, Incorporated.
- Paradies, Y. C., & Cunningham, J. (2008). Development and validation of the Measure of Indigenous Racism Experiences (MIRE). *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 7(1), 9. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1475-9276-7-9>
- Payne, B. K., Vuletich, H. A., & Brown-Iannuzzi, J. L. (2019). Historical roots of implicit bias in slavery. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(24), 11693–11698.
<https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1818816116>

- Pham, M. D., Chaney, K. E., & Sanchez, D. T. (2023). "I am (oppressed), therefore I see": Multiple stigmatized identities predict belief in generalized prejudice and intraminority coalition. *Self and Identity*, 22(6), 1000–1026.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2023.2216941>
- Phelan, J. E., & Rudman, L. A. (2010). Reactions to ethnic deviance: The role of backlash in racial stereotype maintenance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 99(2), 265–281. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018304>
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75(3), 811–832.
- Povee, K., & Roberts, L. D. (2014). Qualitative research in psychology: Attitudes of psychology students and academic staff. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 66(1), 28–37.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/ajpy.12031>
- Pozzar, R., Hammer, M. J., Underhill-Blazey, M., Wright, A. A., Tulskey, J. A., Hong, F., Gundersen, D. A., & Berry, D. L. (2020). Threats of Bots and Other Bad Actors to Data Quality Following Research Participant Recruitment Through Social Media: Cross-Sectional Questionnaire. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 22(10), e23021.
<https://doi.org/10.2196/23021>
- Probst, B., & Berenson, L. (2014). The double arrow: How qualitative social work researchers use reflexivity. *Qualitative Social Work*, 13(6), 813–827.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325013506248>
- Readsura Decolonial Editorial Collective. (2022). Psychology as a site for decolonial analysis. *Journal of Social Issues*, 78(2), 255–277. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12524>

- Reddy, G., & Amer, A. (2023). Precarious engagements and the politics of knowledge production: Listening to calls for reorienting hegemonic social psychology. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 62(S1), 71–94. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12609>
- Remedios, J. D. (2022). Psychology must grapple with Whiteness. *Nature Reviews Psychology*, 1(3), 125–126. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44159-022-00024-4>
- Roberts, S. O. (2022). Descriptive-to-prescriptive (D2P) reasoning: An early emerging bias to maintain the status quo. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 33(2), 289–322. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2021.1963591>
- Roberts, S. O., Gelman, S. A., & Ho, A. K. (2017). So It Is, So It Shall Be: Group Regularities License Children’s Prescriptive Judgments. *Cognitive Science*, 41(S3), 576–600. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cogs.12443>
- Roberts, S. O., & Mortenson, E. (2023). Challenging the White = Neutral Framework in Psychology. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 18(3), 597–606. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916221077117>
- Roberts, S. O., & Rizzo, M. T. (2020). The psychology of American racism. *American Psychologist*, 76(3), 475–487. <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000642>
- Robertson, M. M., & Zhang, F. (2024). Attachment in Mentoring Relationships. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 39(3), 593–618. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10869-023-09914-7>
- Rogers, R., & Mosley, M. (2006). Racial literacy in a second-grade classroom: Critical race theory, whiteness studies, and literacy research. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 41(4), 462–495. <https://doi.org/10.1598/RRQ.41.4.3>

- Rudman, L. A., Mescher, K., & Moss-Racusin, C. A. (2013). Reactions to gender egalitarian men: Perceived feminization due to stigma-by-association. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 16(5), 572–599. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430212461160>
- Salter, P., & Adams, G. (2013). Toward a Critical Race Psychology. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 7(11), 781–793. <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12068>
- Salter, P., & Adams, G. (2016). On the Intentionality of Cultural Products: Representations of Black History As Psychological Affordances. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2016.01166>
- Salter, P., Adams, G., & Perez, M. J. (2018). Racism in the Structure of Everyday Worlds: A Cultural-Psychological Perspective. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(3), 150–155. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417724239>
- Schooley, R. C., Lee, D. L., & Spanierman, L. B. (2019). Measuring Whiteness: A Systematic Review of Instruments and Call to Action. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 47(4), 530–565. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000019883261>
- Seawright, J., & Gerring, J. (2008). Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), 294–308. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912907313077>
- Shapiro, T. M. (2004). *The hidden cost of being African American: How wealth perpetuates inequality*. Oxford University Press.
- Shapiro, T., Meschede, T., & Osoro, S. (2013). The Roots of the Widening Racial Wealth Gap: Explaining the Black-White Economic Divide. *Institute on Assets and Social Policy*, 48(202), 1–8. <https://doi.org/9924086405101921>

- Sidanius, J. (1993). The Interface Between Racism and Sexism. *The Journal of Psychology*, 127(3), 311–322. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223980.1993.9915565>
- Sidanius, J., Cotterill, S., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Kteily, N., & Carvacho, H. (2016). Social Dominance Theory: Explorations in the Psychology of Oppression. In C. G. Sibley & F. K. Barlow (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of the Psychology of Prejudice* (1st ed., pp. 149–187). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316161579.008>
- Siddiqi, A., Sod-Erdene, O., Hamilton, D., Cottom, T. M., & Darity, W. (2019). Growing sense of social status threat and concomitant deaths of despair among whites. *SSM - Population Health*, 9, 100449. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2019.100449>
- Skinner, A. L., Meltzoff, A. N., & Olson, K. R. (2017). “Catching” Social Bias: Exposure to Biased Nonverbal Signals Creates Social Biases in Preschool Children. *Psychological Science*, 28(2), 216–224. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797616678930>
- Skinner, A. L., & Perry, S. (2020). Are Attitudes Contagious? Exposure to Biased Nonverbal Signals Can Create Novel Social Attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 46(4), 514–524. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167219862616>
- Skinner-Dorkenoo, A. L., George, M., Wages, J. E., Sánchez, S., & Perry, S. P. (2023). A systemic approach to the psychology of racial bias within individuals and society. *Nature Reviews Psychology*, 2(7), 392–406. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44159-023-00190-z>
- Skinner-Dorkenoo, A. L., Sarmal, A., André, C. J., & Rogbeer, K. G. (2021). How Microaggressions Reinforce and Perpetuate Systemic Racism in the United States. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 16(5), 903–925. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17456916211002543>

- Spanierman, L. B., & Heppner, M. J. (2004). Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW): Construction and Initial Validation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51(2), 249–262. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.51.2.249>
- Spencer, B. M., Artis, S., Shavers, M., LeSure, S., & Joshi, A. (2022). To Code-Switch or Not to Code-Switch: The Psychosocial Ramifications of Being Resilient Black Women Engineering and Computing Doctoral Students. *Sociological Focus*, 55(2), 130–150. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00380237.2022.2054482>
- Starkey, B. S. (2017, March 1). Why do so many white people deny the existence of white privilege? *Andscape*. <https://andscape.com/features/why-do-so-many-white-people-deny-the-existence-of-white-privilege/>
- Subramaniam, B. (with Project Muse). (2014). *Ghost stories for Darwin: The science of variation and the politics of diversity*. University of Illinois Press.
- Swim, J. K., & Miller, D. L. (1999). White Guilt: Its Antecedents and Consequences for Attitudes Toward Affirmative Action. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 25(4), 500–514. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167299025004008>
- Taylor Phillips, L., & Lowery, B. S. (2015). The hard-knock life? Whites claim hardships in response to racial inequity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 61, 12–18. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2015.06.008>
- Teo, T. (2022). What Is a White Epistemology in Psychological Science? A Critical Race-Theoretical Analysis. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13, 861584. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.861584>

- The Different Views of Land*. (n.d.). [National Museum of the American Indian].
<https://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/manhattan/different-views-land/different-views-land.cshtml>
- Thompson, D. (2009). Racial Ideas and Gendered Intimacies: The Regulation of Interracial Relationships in North America. *Social & Legal Studies*, 18(3), 353–371.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0964663909339087>
- Torkelson, J., & Hartmann, D. (2021). The heart of whiteness: On the study of whiteness and White Americans. *Sociology Compass*, 15(11), e12932.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/soc4.12932>
- Torrez, B., Dupree, C. H., & Kraus, M. W. (2024). Objectivity interrogation of racial scholarship in psychology and management. *Scientific Reports*, 14(1), 12509.
<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-024-63236-z>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2023, June 23). *America is getting older*. Census.gov.
<https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2023/population-estimates-characteristics.html>
- VanderWeele, T. J. (2017). On the promotion of human flourishing. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(31), 8148–8156. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1702996114>
- Washington, H. A. (2008). *Medical apartheid: The dark history of medical experimentation on Black Americans from colonial times to the present*. Anchor books.
- Watkins, M. W. (2018). Exploratory Factor Analysis: A Guide to Best Practice. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 44(3), 219–246. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798418771807>

- Weyeneth, R. R. (2005). The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past. *The Public Historian*, 27(4), 11–44.
<https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2005.27.4.11>
- Wilkerson, I. (2020). *Caste: The origins of our discontents* (First edition). Random House.
- Williams, M. T. (2020, June 13). *What Is Whiteness?*
<https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/culturally-speaking/202006/what-is-whiteness>
- Wilson, E. (2018). *The Legal Foundations of White Supremacy*. 11.
- Yalmambirra. (2000). Black time ... white time: My time ... your time. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 7(3), 133–137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2000.9686476>
- Zembylas, M. (2025). Affective methodologies for a critical study of whiteness: Considerations for white scholars. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 80, 102346.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cedpsych.2025.102346>
- Zhang, S., Xu, J., & Alvero, A. (2024). *Generative AI Meets Open-Ended Survey Responses: Participant Use of AI and Homogenization*. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/4esdp>
- Zhao, X., & Biernat, M. (2017). “Welcome to the U.S.” but “change your name”? Adopting Anglo names and discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 70, 59–68.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2016.12.008>

Figure 1. Initial Thematic Map Development based on Participant Themes and Codes in Study 1.

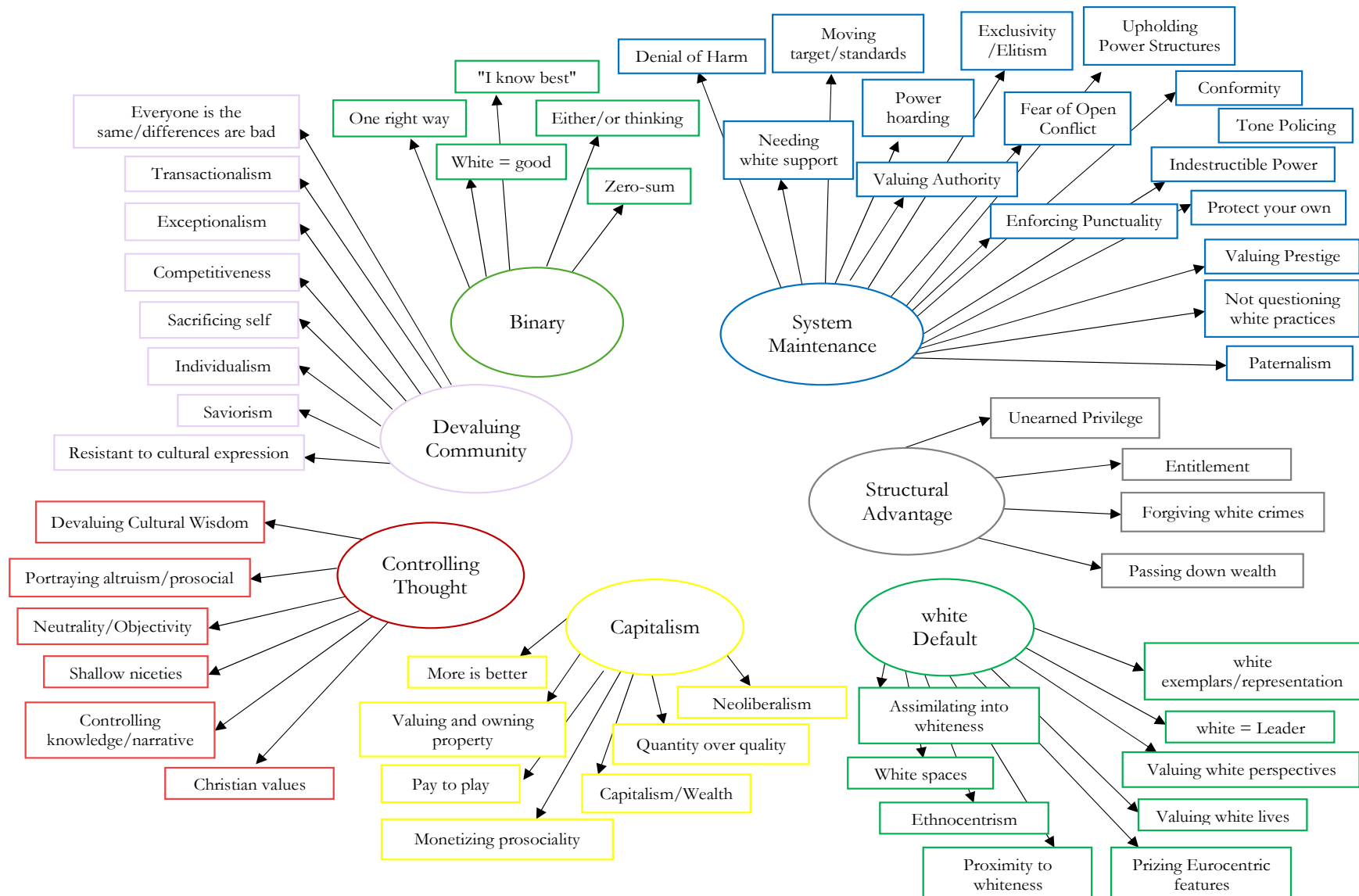


Figure 2. Finalized Thematic Map based on Participant Themes and Codes in Study 1.

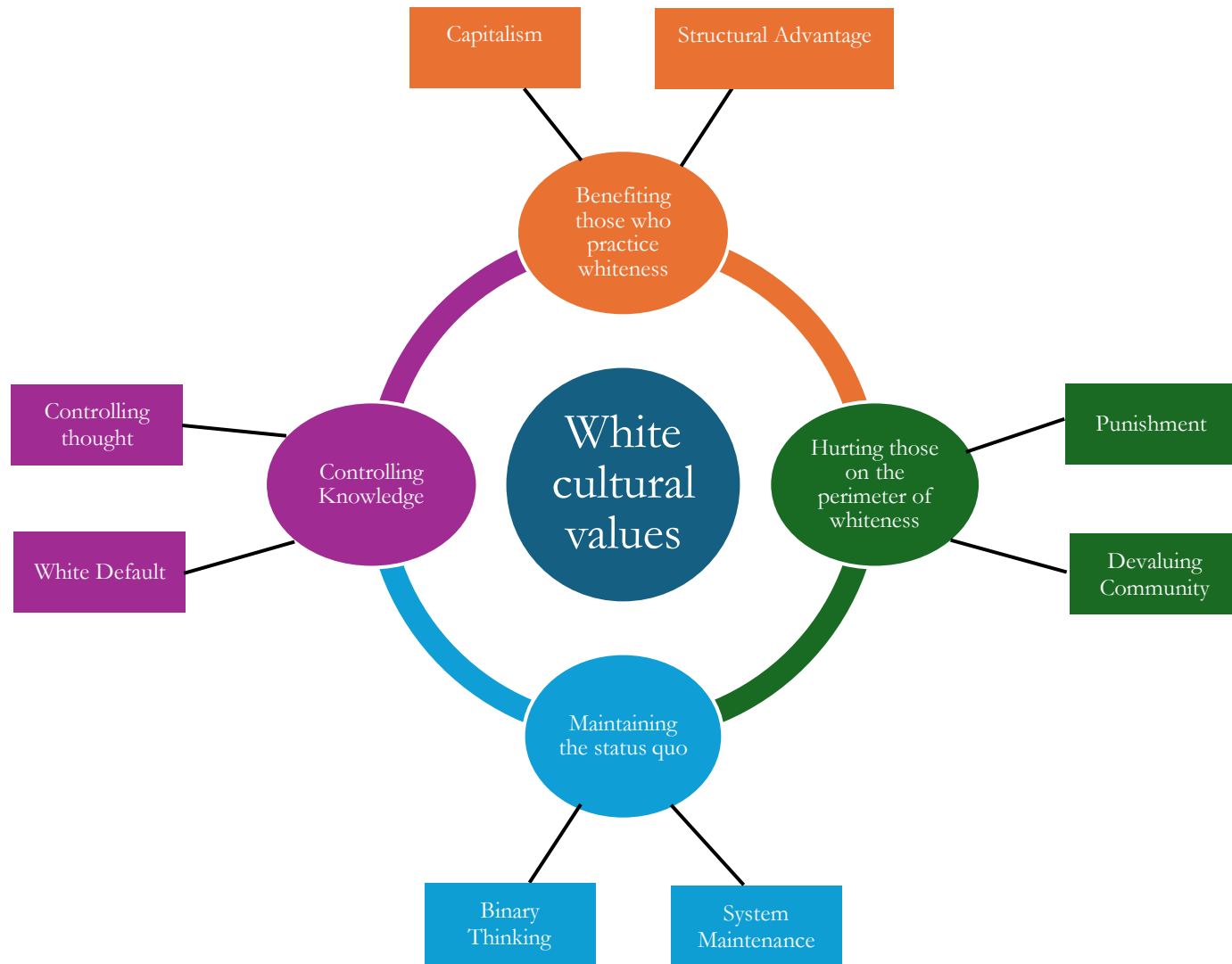


Figure 3. Frequency of Values based on the Qualitative Open-Ended Responses of Study 2.

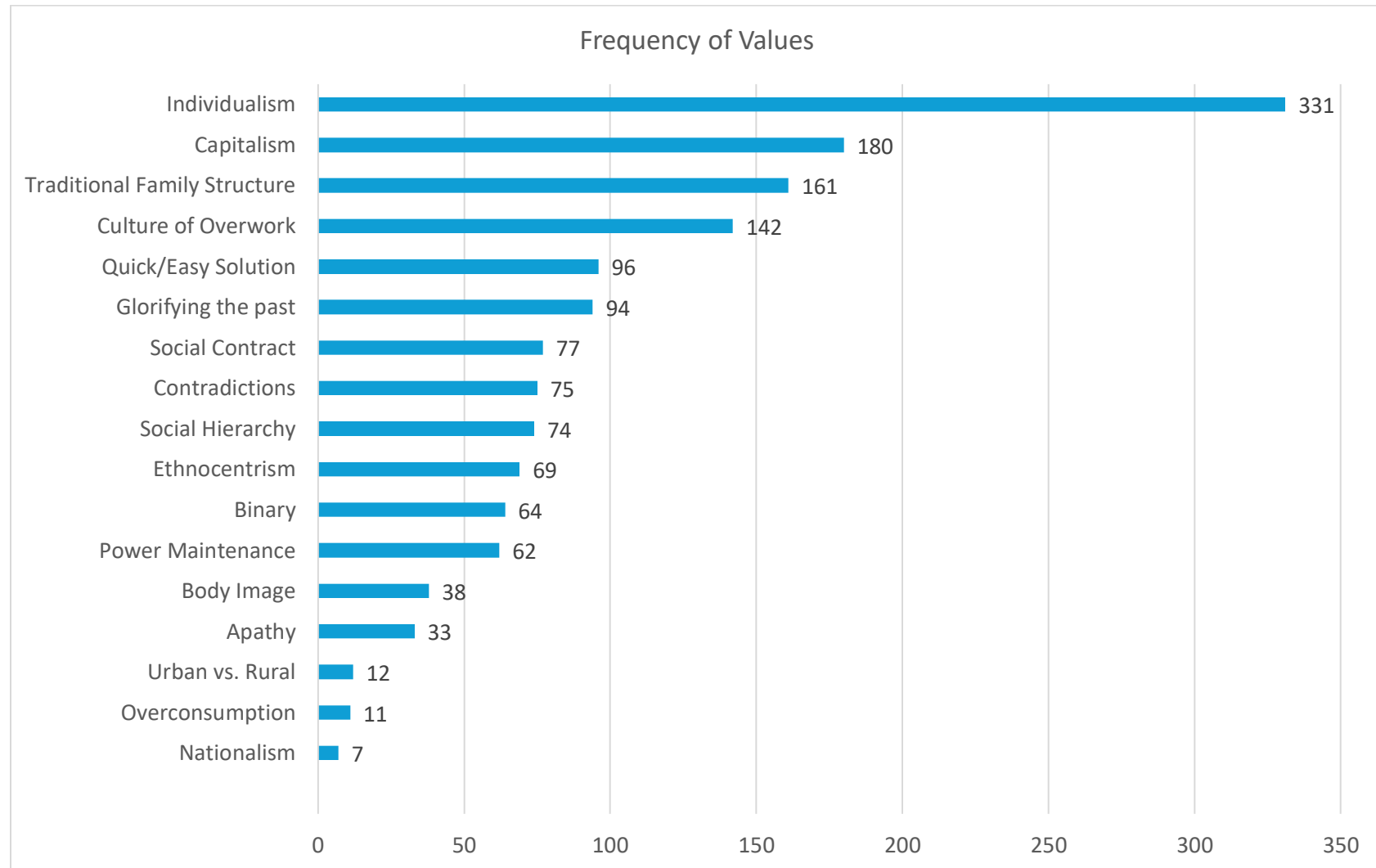


Figure 4. Visual Scree Plot indicating a seven-factor solution with 137 items during exploratory factor analysis.

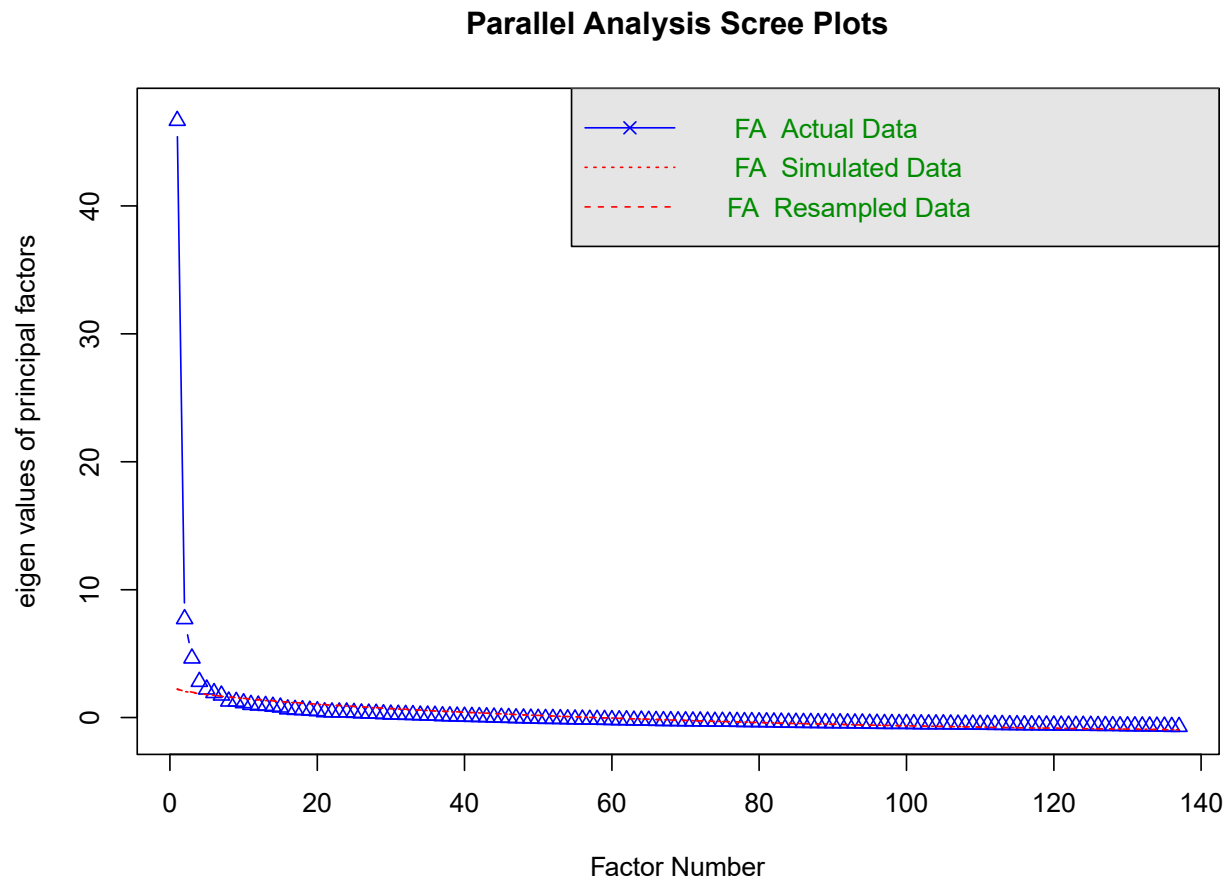


Figure 5. Visual Scree Plot indicating a three-factor solution with 36 items during exploratory factor analysis.

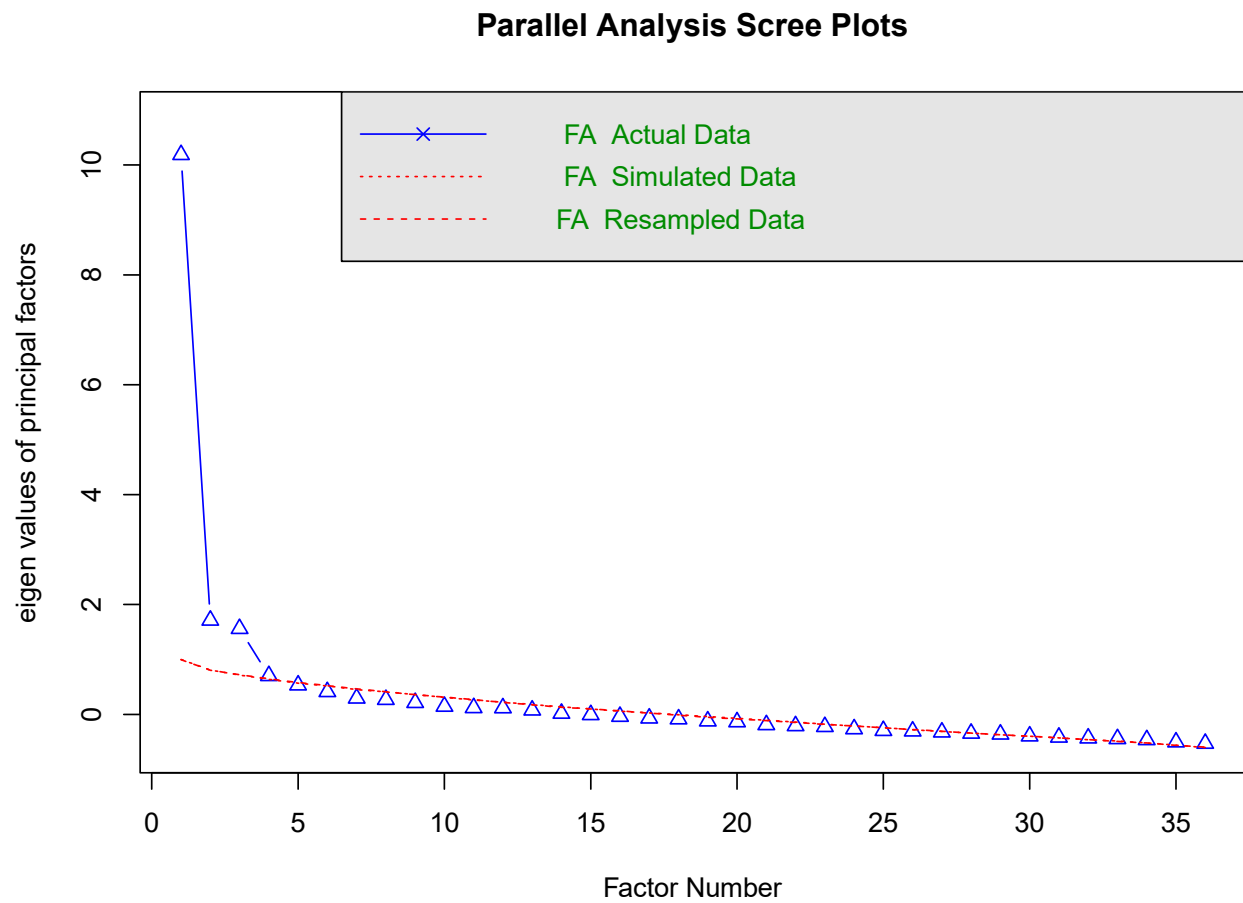


Figure 6. Visual Scree Plot indicating a three-factor solution with 27 items during exploratory factor analysis.

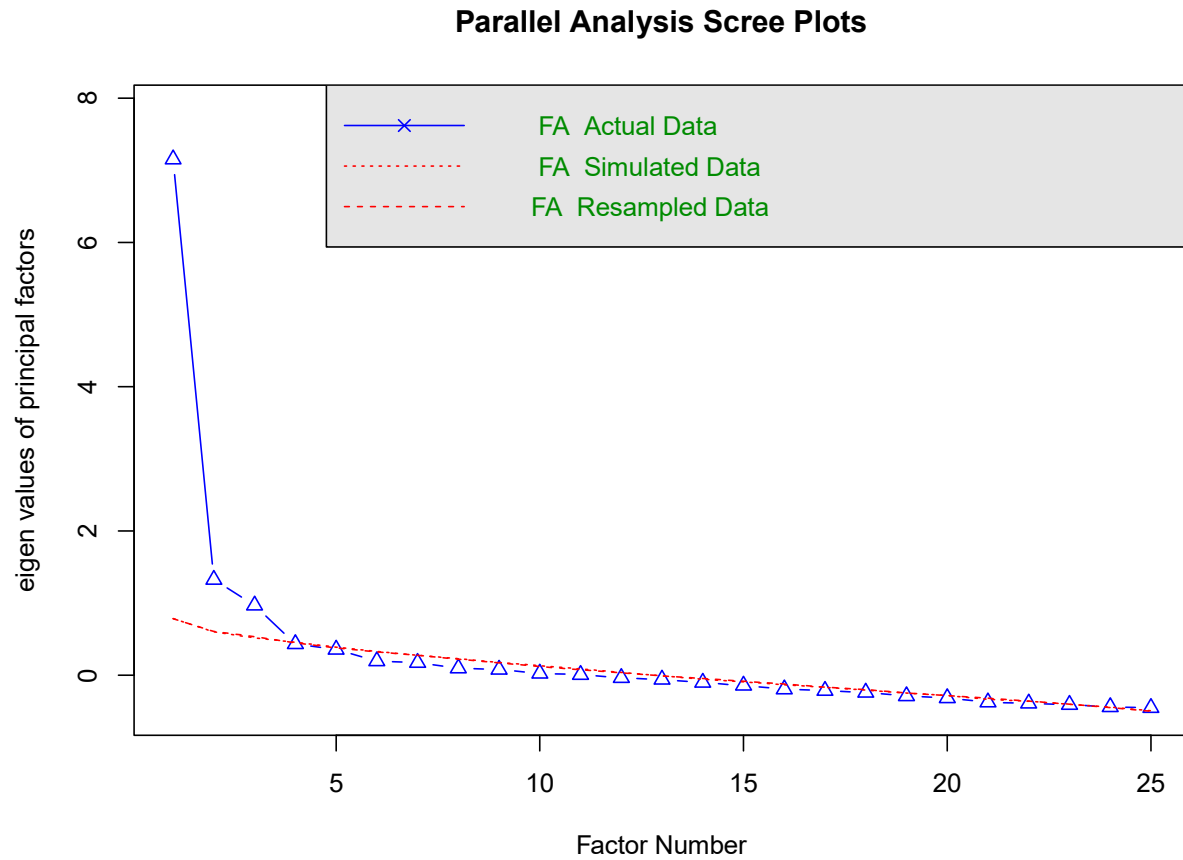


Table 1. Participant demographics for Study 1.

<i>Number</i>	<i>ID</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Racial/Ethnic Background</i>	<i>State of Residence</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
<i>Participant 1</i>	071624-1330	M	25	Black/African American	Georgia	Grocery Store Cashier
<i>Participant 2</i>	071824-1700	F	34	Black/African American	Louisiana	Medical Student
<i>Participant 3</i>	072124-1500	F	32	Black/African American	Virginia	Graduate Student
<i>Participant 4</i>	072324-1000	F	28	South Asian	District of Columbia	Graduate Student
<i>Participant 5</i>	072324-1300	F	22	Southeast Asian and White (Multiracial)	Florida	Post-baccalaureate Researcher
<i>Participant 6</i>	072324-1530	F	26	South Asian	Massachusetts	Graduate Student
<i>Participant 7</i>	072424-1600	F	22	Latina	Connecticut	Post-baccalaureate Researcher
<i>Participant 8</i>	072524-1230	F	30	Southeast Asian	Nevada	Graduate Student
<i>Participant 9</i>	072924-1630	F	34	East Asian	California	Postdoctoral Researcher
<i>Participant 10</i>	080324-1000	F	35	Black/African American and Latina (Multiracial)	Georgia	Graduate Student
<i>Participant 11</i>	080924-1030	F	41	Black/African American	Virginia	Stay-at-home parent
<i>Participant 12</i>	081324-1730	F	22	South Asian	District of Columbia	Researcher

Table 2. Participant Racial Demographics in Study 2.

Racial Group(s) selected by Participant	Count	Percentages
Black or African American	49	25.00%
Black or African American and White or Caucasian	1	0.51%
Black or African American and Native American or Pacific Islander and White or Caucasian	2	1.02%
East Asian	3	1.53%
East Asian and White or Caucasian	2	1.02%
Middle Eastern and/or North African	0	0.00%
Native American or Pacific Islander	2	1.02%
Native American or Pacific Islander and White or Caucasian	1	0.51%
South Asian	2	1.02%
Southeast Asian	9	4.59%
White or Caucasian	118	60.20%
Southeast Asian and White or Caucasian	2	1.02%
Multiracial (more than one race)	3	1.53%
White or Caucasian and Multiracial	1	0.51%
Another race	1	0.51%
	196	100.00%

Table 3. Trimmed Items from Study 2. All items that were tested in Study 2 and rated by participants ($n = 66$ items). The percentages refer to the percentage of participants that rated each item as being a part of mainstream American culture/society. Items that were not retained appear after a thick border under the “Binary and Objectivity” value and are in shaded cells (gray). These items were cut because they did not meet the threshold of 50%.

Value	Items	Percentages
Individualism	Every person is independently responsible for their own life outcomes.	65.82
	It is difficult to ensure everyone’s perspective is heard and considered.	54.08
	People should solve problems alone so they can be recognized and credited for doing so.	61.22
	Everybody has the same 24 hours in a day, but time is what you make of it.	59.18
Capitalism	Success is defined by how much wealth one has.	58.16
	Success is mainly defined by a person’s, individual’s, or organization’s ability to expand and grow.	60.20
	People should focus on learning about things that can make them more money.	57.14
Social hierarchy	In our competitive world, it is natural for some people to suffer more than others.	53.57

	People should follow similar standards on acceptable appearance and behavior in public.	52.04
	It is helpful for everyone to follow social rules to maintain order in society.	61.73
Culture of Overwork	If people work hard enough, they can achieve their dreams.	66.84
	Making sacrifices and working tirelessly always yields good results.	53.57
Quick/easy solution	Generally, people should always seize opportunities rather than worry about their potential implications.	59.18
Ethnocentrism	Written documentation is more legitimate than verbal communication.	62.24
	Representation and diversity are challenging to prioritize in every space.	51.53
	A written agreement carries as much weight as a verbal agreement.	73.98
Power Maintenance	If we just put aside our differences, we can peacefully achieve equality.	50.00
Binary and Objectivity	<i>No items</i>	—
Individualism	While making a decision, it is most important to consider its impact on oneself rather than on others.	47.96
	It is unnecessary to concern oneself with things that do not directly affect you.	41.84
	Unless required, it is important for every person to live in separate and isolated spaces.	21.49

Capitalism	Adults should live independently and be self-sufficient.	44.39
	If you want something done right, it is best to do it yourself.	26.02
	At the end of the day, the value of your life will be measured by how much property you owned.	33.13
	Things only carry value when they can be owned by individuals.	34.69
	Measurable things (for example, the number of relationships) are more valuable than immeasurable things (for example, quality of relationships).	36.73
	It is important to value tangible possessions.	43.88
	One's wealth is directly related to one's happiness in life.	47.45
Social Hierarchy	Success is defined by the number of people one oversees or manages.	27.55
	It is important to only recognize and praise individuals whose contribution is better than everyone else's.	34.18
	Regardless of one's background, everyone begins life at the same starting line.	29.08
	Equal distribution of power can threaten stability and cause chaos.	37.24
	It is important to provide emotional comfort to those in higher-status positions in times of distress.	22.45

	Individuals with higher status are usually morally superior to others.	25.51
	People in powerful positions are capable of and responsible for making decisions in the best interest of others below them.	41.84
Work Culture	It is important to be passionate and thankful for your job.	46.94
	It is important to produce quick or highly visible results, even if it means sacrificing potential allies or interests of different people.	45.92
	Putting your body on the line for the job is a noble pursuit.	43.37
	People who are poor do not work hard enough.	40.82
Power Maintenance	It is best to avoid offending those in power.	33.67
	People should be able to discreetly move past their discomfort when faced with a tough situation.	45.41
	It is in the best interest of society to reduce social programs that help the poor.	22.96
	Openly expressing criticism and creating conflict is impolite and rude.	37.76
	Sharing power more broadly among people reduces its value.	34.69
	It is important to avoid criticizing systems of power and governance so that they remain protected.	24.49

	Causing discomfort to people in power is bad.	25
	People in powerful positions are morally complicated—they are neither good nor bad.	34.18
	Power is limited, with only so much to go around.	32.14
	Social programs which allow poor people to attain social mobility and education are counterproductive for society.	27.55
	Power is finite, and redistribution means someone losing power.	32.65
Quick/Easy Solution	It is better to identify a quick solution to a problem even if it comes at the expense of quality.	41.84
	A solution to a problem tastes sweeter if it comes quickly.	30.10
Ethnocentrism	There are more important things than learning about others' cultural practices.	42.35
	When it comes to the validity of knowledge, modern science is more valid than oral histories/storytelling.	40.31
	There is little need for social change because most things work fine the way they were designed.	32.65
	Adding diverse representation to media causes harm to the original version.	25.51

Binary/Objectivity	It is best to keep things in their original state rather than to modify them with newer or different versions.	31.12
	It is important to label people so that you can more easily identify who is similar and who is different.	44.39
	Western civilization is based in logic and rationality.	32.14
	Because society is always changing, it is important to preserve tradition.	45.41
	Complex situations can be distilled to their essence of being good or bad, right or wrong, but it is rarely a mixture of both.	37.24
	There is often one right way to do things and once people are introduced to the right way, they will see the light and adopt it.	38.78
	Individuals who break the law are, more times than not, also immoral.	45.41
	People who break the law tend to be immoral.	41.84
	People are either inherently good or bad.	38.76
	Emotions should not play a role in decision-making or group process.	37.76
	When making decisions, acting in a neutral and objective manner is best.	47.96

Table 4. Participant Racial Demographics in Study 3.

Racial Group(s) selected by Participant	Count	Percentages
Black or African American	83	20.05%
Black or African American and White or Caucasian	2	0.48%
Black or African American and Native American or Pacific Islander	4	0.97%
Black or African American and Native American or Pacific Islander and White or Caucasian and Multiracial	1	0.24%
Black or African American and Multiracial	1	0.24%
East Asian	8	1.93%
East Asian and White or Caucasian	2	1.02%
Middle Eastern and/or North African	1	0.24%
Middle Eastern and/or North African and White or Caucasian	1	0.24%
Native American or Pacific Islander	1	0.24%
Native American or Pacific Islander and White or Caucasian	4	0.97%
South Asian	3	0.72%
Southeast Asian	7	1.69%
South Asian and Southeast Asian	1	0.24%
White or Caucasian	282	68.12%
Southeast Asian and White or Caucasian	2	1.02%
Multiracial (more than one race)	6	1.45%
White or Caucasian and Multiracial	1	0.24%
Another race	6	1.45%
No selection	2	0.48%

	414	100.00%
--	-----	---------

Table 5. Factor analysis results using Exploratory Factor Analysis for the White Cultural Values Scale using 27 items.

Model	Chi-Square	df	CFI	RMSEA
One-Factor Model	679.286	324	0.953	0.073
Two-Factor Model	404.895	298	0.986	0.042
Three-Factor Model	208.806	273	1.000	0.000
Four-Factor Model	161.961	249	1.000	0.000
Five-Factor Model	125.646	226	1.000	0.000

Table 6. Confirmatory Factor Analysis for the White Cultural Values Scale (27 items).

Model	χ^2	df	<i>p</i>	CFI	TLI	RMSEA [90% CI]	SRMR
One Factor Model	736.89	299	0.000	0.69	0.66	0.085 [0.07, 0.09]	0.09
Three-Factor Model	599.51	321	0.000	0.82	0.81	0.065 [0.06, 0.07]	0.07

Table 7. Final White cultural values scale items, factor loadings, and descriptives. Bold indicates factor loading. (R) indicates reverse scoring.

	Factor Loadings	Mean	SD	R-squared	Communalities
Factor 1. Reinforcing Capitalism (8 items)					
People need to make sure they are taking care of themselves over others.	0.419	3.52	1.05	0.701	0.299
Success is largely defined by a person's or organization's ability to expand and grow.	0.67	3.6	1.17	0.539	0.461
A true entrepreneur can make a profit from anything.	0.45	3.44	1.19	0.587	0.413
The most successful people don't just earn money, they make it grow.	0.73	3.73	1.15	0.455	0.545
One should always strive to climb the professional ladder.	0.62	3.17	1.21	0.414	0.586
Passing down wealth to the next generation is the ultimate gift.	0.61	3.47	1.23	0.501	0.499

In order to keep up in society, it is better to solve things as fast as possible.	0.51	3.09	1.12	0.624	0.376
Cities are better than small towns because they expose you to diverse ways of being (R).	-0.471	2.88	1.20	0.771	0.229
Factor 2. Reinforcing the Status Quo (10 items)					
People should solve problems alone so they can be recognized for doing so.	0.633	2.42	1.18	0.506	0.494
It's important to make public services private so we can maximize profits.	0.587	2.13	1.17	0.469	0.531
Some jobs are simply more deserving of respect than others.	0.468	2.97	1.43	0.52	0.48
Questioning social norms is unhelpful.	0.628	2.13	1.18	0.45	0.55
People should stay in the country where they were born.	0.767	2.12	1.22	0.463	0.537
Women should fulfill their responsibilities by staying at home to take care of their family.	0.749	2.09	1.25	0.446	0.554
Disabled people tend to be less capable.	0.667	2.21	1.30	0.468	0.532

Sometimes, it is better to look the other way with people who are struggling.	0.756	2.21	1.29	0.46	0.54
Caring will only cause pain and suffering.	0.647	2.14	1.23	0.563	0.437
Cultural attire should be minimized in the workplace as it can be distracting.	0.651	2.52	1.26	0.469	0.531
Factor 3. Reinforcing sociocultural rigidity and traditionalism (9 items)					
It is important to focus on work responsibilities.	0.462	4.00	0.89	0.672	0.328
In today's society, looking unhealthy is normalized too much.	0.503	3.14	1.19	0.596	0.404
It is very important to avoid being overweight or obese.	0.57	3.97	1.15	0.62	0.38
Sex work should be illegal.	0.354	2.90	1.54	0.744	0.256
Unfortunately, some people are oversensitive making a big deal out of nothing.	0.466	3.40	1.31	0.605	0.395
Relationships were better before modern technology ruined them.	0.422	3.42	1.29	0.479	0.521
Quality of life was better in the past than it is today.	0.494	3.29	1.35	0.51	0.49

We should respect the fundamental elements that our country was built on.	0.697	3.68	1.18	0.45	0.55
All citizens should be motivated to contribute to this country.	0.612	3.89	0.98	0.474	0.526

Appendix A. Full text of invitation to participate in qualitative study 1 posted on social media platforms.

1. Twitter

Hi 🍌 I am looking for participants for my dissertation. Are you a person of color living in the U.S. & comfortable discussing social issues, race, & racism?

Complete this short survey to determine eligibility!

https://ugeorgia.ca1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_6Jaq0bgKWLE2UD4. RTs appreciated!

If you meet the criteria listed above, you may be eligible to participate in our online study “Experiences and Perceptions of Cultural Values.” If selected, you’ll be compensated with a \$20 e-gift card for ~30 minutes of your time.

2. LinkedIn

Hello everyone! I am looking for participants for a study in my doctoral dissertation.

Are you a person of color living in the U.S. and comfortable discussing social issues, race, and racism? If you meet the criteria listed below, you may be eligible to participate in our online study “Experiences and Perceptions of Cultural Values.” If you’re selected for the study, you will be compensated with a \$20 e-gift card.

Complete this short survey to determine eligibility!

https://ugeorgia.ca1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_6Jaq0bgKWLE2UD4

The proposed study has been approved by the University of Georgia’s Institutional Review Board. Please share the flyer and study information with folks in your network!

Thank you,

Apoorva Sarmal

Appendix B. Accompanying pamphlet with each social media post.

Are you a person of color living in the United States?

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED

Apoorva Sarmal is a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at the University of Georgia working with Dr. Allison Skinner. Apoorva is conducting research on your experiences as a person of color in the United States.

Eligibility Criteria:

- ✓ Identify as a person of color living in the U.S.
- ✓ Be comfortable discussing social issues, race, and racism
- ✓ Between the ages of 18 and 60

What you'll do:
Participate in a 20-30 minute Zoom interview

What you'll get:
A \$20 e-gift card

Complete pre-screen here:



Have questions? Email Apoorva Sarmal
at apoorva.sarmal@uga.edu



Appendix C. Opening statement and full list of interview questions asked in Study 1.

Opening statement: We are interested in learning about your experiences as a Person of Color in a predominantly White society. We are particularly interested in your observations about dominant cultural narratives and perspectives in the United States. We hope to get your thoughts and to understand your experiences so that we can inform meaningful descriptions of White cultural norms and values. As a volunteer in this study, today I will be asking you to give us your honest experiences as a person of color in a predominantly White society. You can stop anytime or skip any questions you don't want to answer.

Domain	Questions	Probing Questions
Rapport-building questions	1. Tell us a little bit about yourself and your racial, ethnic, or cultural background. 2. Tell us about what you currently do, your hobbies or passions?	Varied based on each participant.
Virtuous and value judgments associated with White people	3. In what ways do you see the message communicated in U.S. society that White people are the most valued and important? 4. What are some examples you see the message communicated in U.S. society that White people are the most moral and virtuous?	
Power and privilege	5. How do you see the norms in U.S. society maintaining the power and privilege of White people?	

	6. Tell me how you see the message communicated that in U.S. society that White people have or deserve the most power and authority?	
Personal experiences	7. From your perspective, what things are valued most in White U.S. society? 8. Do you experience these expectations professionally, in your daily life, etc.?	
Concluding thoughts	9. What else would you like to tell us about what it is like to be a person of color in a predominantly White U.S. society?	
End of interview	Thank you for your time and participation in the study. Your honest responses are going to help us provide information to measure and assess how White U.S. society is organized.	

Appendix D. Complete List of Items presented to Participants in Study 2 ($n = 66$ items).

1. Every person is independently responsible for their own life outcomes.
2. While making a decision, it is most important to consider its impact on oneself rather than on others.
3. It is unnecessary to concern oneself with things that do not directly affect you.
4. Unless required, it is important for every person to live in separate and isolated spaces.
5. Adults should live independently and be self-sufficient.
6. It is difficult to ensure everyone's perspective is heard and considered.
7. If you want something done right, it is best to do it yourself.
8. People should solve problems alone so they can be recognized and credited for doing so.
9. Everybody has the same 24 hours in a day, but time is what you make of it.
10. At the end of the day, the value of your life will be measured by how much property you owned.
11. Things only carry value when they can be owned by individuals.
12. Success is defined by how much wealth one has.
13. Success is mainly defined by a person's, individual's, or organization's ability to expand and grow.
14. Measurable things (for example, the number of relationships) are more valuable than immeasurable things (for example, quality of relationships).
15. It is important to value tangible possessions.
16. People should focus on learning about things that can make them more money.
17. One's wealth is directly related to one's happiness in life.
18. Success is defined by the number of people one oversees or manages.

19. It is important to only recognize and praise individuals whose contribution is better than everyone else's.
20. In our competitive world, it is natural for some people to suffer more than others.
21. Regardless of one's background, everyone begins life at the same starting line.
22. Equal distribution of power can threaten stability and cause chaos.
23. It is important to provide emotional comfort to those in higher-status positions in times of distress.
24. People should follow similar standards on acceptable appearance and behavior in public.
25. Individuals with higher status are usually morally superior to others.
26. It is helpful for everyone to follow social rules to maintain order in society.
27. People in powerful positions are capable of and responsible for making decisions in the best interest of others below them.
28. It is important to be passionate and thankful for your job.
29. It is important to produce quick or highly visible results, even if it means sacrificing potential allies or interests of different people.
30. If people work hard enough, they can achieve their dreams.
31. Making sacrifices and working tirelessly always yields good results.
32. Putting your body on the line for the job is a noble pursuit.
33. People who are poor do not work hard enough.
34. It is best to avoid offending those in power.
35. People should be able to discreetly move past their discomfort when faced with a tough situation.
36. It is in the best interest of society to reduce social programs that help the poor.

37. Openly expressing criticism and creating conflict is impolite and rude.
38. Sharing power more broadly among people reduces its value.
39. It is important to avoid criticizing systems of power and governance so that they remain protected.
40. Causing discomfort to people in power is bad.
41. If we just put aside our differences, we can peacefully achieve equality.
42. People in powerful positions are morally complicated—they are neither good nor bad.
43. Power is limited, with only so much to go around.
44. Social programs which allow poor people to attain social mobility and education are counterproductive for society.
45. Power is finite, and redistribution means someone losing power.
46. Generally, people should always seize opportunities rather than worry about their potential implications.
47. It is better to identify a quick solution to a problem even if it comes at the expense of quality.
48. A solution to a problem tastes sweeter if it comes quickly.
49. There are more important things than learning about others' cultural practices.
50. Written documentation is more legitimate than verbal communication.
51. A written agreement carries as much weight as a verbal agreement.
52. When it comes to the validity of knowledge, modern science is more valid than oral histories/storytelling.
53. There is little need for social change because most things work fine the way they were designed.

54. Adding diverse representation to media causes harm to the original version.
55. It is best to keep things in their original state rather than to modify them with newer or different versions.
56. Representation and diversity are challenging to prioritize in every space.
57. It is important to label people so that you can more easily identify who is similar and who is different.
58. Western civilization is based in logic and rationality.
59. Because society is always changing, it is important to preserve tradition.
60. Complex situations can be distilled to their essence of being good or bad, right or wrong, but it is rarely a mixture of both.
61. There is often one right way to do things and once people are introduced to the right way, they will see the light and adopt it.
62. Individuals who break the law are, more times than not, also immoral.
63. People who break the law tend to be immoral.
64. People are either inherently good or bad.
65. Emotions should not play a role in decision-making or group process.
66. When making decisions, acting in a neutral and objective manner is best.

Appendix E. Full list of items of the White cultural values scale tested in Study 3 ($n = 177$ items).

1. Everyone is responsible for their own life outcomes.
2. It is just too challenging to ensure everyone's perspective is considered.
3. People should solve problems alone so they can be recognized for doing so.
4. The world is better when people are independent.
5. People need to make sure they are taking care of themselves over others.
6. The needs of the community are more important than the needs of the self. (R)
7. Some people are simply unwilling to take responsibility for their own lives.
8. At the end of the day, it is better to not depend on others.
9. People are entitled to their privacy.
10. It is important to be able to rely on others for support. (R)
11. Everyone has a right to their own opinion.
12. Caring too much for others comes at a cost to yourself.
13. People should be able to choose their own path in life.
14. Success is defined by how much wealth one has.
15. Success is largely defined by a person's or organization's ability to expand and grow.
16. People should focus on learning about things that can make them more money.
17. Financial growth is the most important marker of success.
18. Competition leads to new ideas.
19. Ultimately, the marker of success is the value of your assets at the end of your life.
20. If someone dies penniless, their life was a failure.
21. People from good families tend to be wealthy.

22. A true entrepreneur can make a profit from anything.
23. Our jobs give us a sense of direction in our lives.
24. The most successful people don't just earn money, they make it grow.
25. We shouldn't give handouts to people who can't afford things.
26. It's important to make public services private so we can maximize profits.
27. No matter what, high profits should be valued.
28. In our competitive world, it is natural for some people to suffer more than others.
29. People should follow similar standards on how to behave in public.
30. It is helpful for everyone to follow social rules to maintain order in society.
31. Due to its brilliance, the West is inherently more advanced than other countries in the world.
32. Some religions are simply better than others.
33. Gender roles are important in maintaining order in society.
34. If people work hard enough, they can achieve their dreams.
35. Working tirelessly generally yields good results.
36. It is important to focus on work responsibilities.
37. Your contribution to society is defined by what you do for work.
38. It is alright to sacrifice one's health sometimes if it leads to better results at work.
39. One should always strive to climb the professional ladder.
40. Everybody has the same 24 hours in a day, but time is what you make of it.
41. Pain is weakness leaving your body.
42. Respecting people in power helps maintain order in society.
43. The only way to improve a system is to continually challenge it. (R)

44. Some jobs are simply more deserving of respect than others.
45. Once things are established a certain way, it's important to keep them that way.
46. Questioning social norms is unhelpful.
47. It's impossible for everyone to be treated equally, so we should stop trying.
48. Individuals with less power in society should be encouraged to fight against those with more power. (R)
49. Powerful people shouldn't have to face the consequences of their actions.
50. People should seize opportunities rather than worry about their potential implications.
51. When solving problems, shortcuts should be avoided. (R)
52. Short-term gratification is as important than long-term fulfillment.
53. In order to keep up in society, it is better to solve things as fast as possible.
54. Taking medicine is as effective as lifestyle changes to improve health.
55. It is important to leverage technology to yield quick results.
56. Doing something quickly usually means the quality will go down. (R)
57. A written agreement carries as much weight as a verbal agreement.
58. It is hard to achieve equal representation in every space so we shouldn't try.
59. When it comes to health, we should stick to western medicine instead of traditional medicine.
60. You should always try to see things from other's perspective, even if they believe in different things. (R)
61. As a society, it is important to have a unified set of beliefs.
62. Even though the U.S. is a melting pot, nothing can truly replace American cultural values.

63. The U.S. is much better at taking care of its citizens than the rest of the world.
64. It is important to be accepting of different religious practices. (R)
65. We should be wary of those who are different from us.
66. People moving to USA should learn English.
67. Christian Mission trips improve the lives of people in poor countries.
68. Foreigners should get rid of their accents so everyone can understand them better.
69. Laws in the U.S. should largely be based on Christian values.
70. People should stay in the country where they were born.
71. Crimes should have consequences regardless of why they are committed.
72. Sometimes, it is okay to bend the rules, as long as it is for a good cause. (R)
73. In most situations, there is a right and wrong way to do things.
74. Maintaining facts over feelings is important when making decisions.
75. Questioning long-held beliefs is being disloyal to yourself.
76. Most things are either inherently good or inherently bad.
77. You are either a member of one group or another, but rarely both.
78. It is important to maintain one's physical appearance.
79. Looking healthy should be a priority for people in our society.
80. It is fairly common for physical appearance to be indicative of physical health.
81. More often than not, the size of a person's waist is an indicator of the quality of their health.
82. In today's society, looking unhealthy is normalized too much.
83. If you take care of your health, your physical appearance will show it.
84. The most beautiful people in the world have blonde hair and blue eyes.

85. Straight hair, due to its neat look, is better in professional settings.
86. It is very important to avoid being overweight or obese.
87. Gaining weight leads to doing poorly in life.
88. Women with straight hair are more beautiful.
89. Although scientists are knowledgeable, it is important to question everything they say.
90. It's acceptable to act contrary to your values in some circumstances.
91. Often, it is necessary for there to be differences between what is practiced and what is preached.
92. Generally, protests bring more chaos to society than good.
93. It's acceptable to behave one way around others, and another way in private.
94. When it comes to protecting people, women and children should be prioritized.
95. Even if there is family feud, family members should get appear to get along in public.
96. Rules should bend for those in power.
97. It is important to practice modesty in society.
98. Generally, women tend to be better homemakers than men.
99. Ideally, a child should be raised with a stay-at-home mother.
100. Women should fulfill their responsibilities by staying at home to take care of their family.
101. Because women and men have different strengths, it makes sense that there are differences in how they are treated.
102. Women naturally have a maternal instinct, which makes them better caregivers than men.
103. Men are naturally more dominant than women, which helps them be better leaders.

104. Moving too far from traditional gender roles can be harmful for society.
105. It is better for children to grow up with their mother and a father than with other relatives.
106. Starting a family should be on everyone's mind.
107. Only men should work to provide for their family.
108. Both partners in a couple should work to provide for their household. (R)
109. Sex work should be illegal.
110. Passing down wealth to the next generation is the ultimate gift.
111. It's important to have enough money to meet both your wants and your needs
112. It is important to value more mindful forms of consumption. (R)
113. Success is being able to afford a big house and a luxury car.
114. People should work hard enough to be able to provide their families with more than they need.
115. It is good for people to have more than they need.
116. There is no such thing as "too much" when it comes to the finer things in life
117. People should only buy what they need. (R)
118. A lot of the problems we have today would be solved if people acted more like they did in the past
119. We need to get back to traditional values.
120. Relationships were better before modern technology ruined them.
121. Quality of life was better in the past than it is today.
122. Everyone was happier back in the "good old days."
123. Compared to the past, modern society tends to be less happy and fulfilled.

- 124. We should live more like our forefathers did.
- 125. We should explore ways to improve society by trying new things. (R)
- 126. The overall morality of our society is on a decline due to the changing demographics.
- 127. People have become more selfish over time.
- 128. Life would be better if we brought back traditions from the past.
- 129. People should always try to help others, even if it means going out of their own way to do so. (R)
- 130. People are generally deserving of trust. (R)
- 131. It's important to value honesty in people.
- 132. Discussing personal matters or opinions should be avoided in the workplace.
- 133. Small talk adds value to the workplace.
- 134. We listen to others and speak kindly to avoid conflict.
- 135. People should agree to respect each other's property.
- 136. Being nice, regardless of one's true feelings, is a decent thing to do.
- 137. Delivery of a message is as important as the message itself.
- 138. Cultural attire should be minimized in the workplace as it can be distracting.
- 139. We should have a sense of pride for our nation.
- 140. Everyone should honor the country.
- 141. We should respect the leader of our nation.
- 142. We should all take pride in our nation's history.
- 143. We should respect the fundamental elements that our country was built on.
- 144. All citizens should be motivated to contribute to this country.
- 145. We should be proud of our nation's military for protecting our national interests.

146. In small towns, it is much easier to build genuine human connections.
147. Cities rob you of your traditions, while smaller towns nurture these aspects.
148. Cities are better than small towns because they expose you to diverse ways of being (R).
149. Small towns, due to the shared features between people there, have stronger communities than cities.
150. Small towns provide a sense of security that big cities cannot always match.
151. It is easier to nurture a strong sense of community in smaller towns.
152. It is impossible to have peace of mind in a big city.
153. People in cities should rely less on the government to solve their problems.
154. There is no difference between biological sex (female) and gender (woman).
155. Transgender people are generally good parents. (R)
156. Transgender people disrupt society by challenging gender identities.
157. It is more natural for a heterosexual couple to raise children than for a gay or lesbian couple to raise children.
158. People should be allowed to change their gender if they want to. (R)
159. Honestly, a lot of the people in charge now should be replaced with younger people.
160. Children may become confused if they are raised by same sex parents.
161. Families with both a mother and father tend to have children with good values.
162. Marriages should be between a man and a woman.
163. People with disabilities are simply unable to lead full lives.
164. Making places accessible costs more money than it's worth.
165. Disabled people tend to be less capable.

- 166. Making transgender identity normal will confuse children.
- 167. Some people just can't be helped, so there's no use in trying
- 168. Unfortunately, some people are oversensitive making a big deal out of nothing.
- 169. It is better to not give money to the homeless because it won't change their situation.
- 170. Sometimes, it is better to look the other way with people who are struggling.
- 171. If we help those in need, they will be less likely to help themselves in the future.
- 172. There will always be people in need, so it's useless to try to help.
- 173. Life is all about survival of the fittest.
- 174. In life, there will always be winners and losers, no matter what you do.
- 175. Everyone has problems, so people shouldn't be expected to care about others' concerns.
- 176. It is impossible to worry about everyone.
- 177. Caring will only cause pain and suffering.

Appendix F. Removed Items based on MSA < 0.50.

Ind_6R	0.45	The needs of the community are more important than the needs of the self.
Ind_7	0.37	Some people are simply unwilling to take responsibility for their own lives.
Ind_9	0.38	People are entitled to their privacy.
Ind_10R	0.18	It is important to be able to rely on others for support.
Ind_11	0.28	Everyone has a right to their own opinion.
Ind_13	0.35	People should be able to choose their own path in life.
Cap_5	0.44	Competition leads to new ideas.
WorkCult_7	0.44	Everybody has the same 24 hours in a day, but time is what you make of it.
PowerM_2R	0.38	The only way to improve a system is to continually challenge it.
PowerM_7R	0.36	Individuals with less power in society should be encouraged to fight against those with more power.
ShortTerm_2R	0.38	When solving problems, shortcuts should be avoided.
ShortTerm_3	0.41	Short-term gratification is as important than long-term fulfillment.
ShortTerm_5	0.34	Taking medicine is as effective as lifestyle changes to improve health.
ShortTerm_7R	0.41	Doing something quickly usually means the quality will go down.

Ethnocent_1	0.15	A written agreement carries as much weight as a verbal agreement.
Ethnocent_3	0.49	When it comes to health, we should stick to western medicine instead of traditional medicine.
Ethnocent_4R	0.37	You should always try to see things from other's perspective, even if they believe in different things.
Ethnocent_8R	0.32	It is important to be accepting of different religious practices.
Binary_1	0.49	Crimes should have consequences regardless of why they are committed.
Binary_2R	0.33	Sometimes, it is okay to bend the rules, as long as it is for a good cause.
Binary_4	0.41	Maintaining facts over feelings is important when making decisions.
Contradict_5	0.23	It's acceptable to behave one way around others, and another way in private.
TradFam_12R	0.23	Both partners in a couple should work to provide for their household.
Overconsump_1	0.44	It's important to have enough money to meet both your wants and your needs.
Overconsump_2R	0.25	It is important to value more mindful forms of consumption.
Overconsump_7R	0.44	People should only buy what they need.

GlorifyPast_8R	0.38	We should explore ways to improve society by trying new things.
GlorifyPast_10	0.34	People have become more selfish over time.
SocCont_1R	0.26	People should always try to help others, even if it means going out of their own way to do so.
SocCont_2R	0.26	People are generally deserving of trust.
SocCont_3	0.26	It's important to value honesty in people.
SocCont_4	0.22	Discussing personal matters or opinions should be avoided in the workplace.
SocCont_5	0.33	Small talk adds value to the workplace.
SocCont_6	0.39	We listen to others and speak kindly to avoid conflict.
SocCont_7	0.36	People should agree to respect each other's property.
SocCont_8	0.32	Being nice, regardless of one's true feelings, is a decent thing to do.
SocCont_9	0.35	Delivery of a message is as important as the message itself.
Isms_6	0.21	Honestly, a lot of the people in charge now should be replaced with younger people.
Apathy_10	0.4	It is impossible to worry about everyone.

Appendix G. List of removed items ($n = 47$) due to cross-loading values > 0.40 and due to factor loading values < 0.40 and cross-loading values greater than half of the initial item's factor.

Removed Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
Success is defined by how much wealth one has.	0.59	0.46		-0.4			
Ultimately, the marker of success is the value of your assets at the end of your life.	0.59	0.41					
People from good families tend to be wealthy.	0.48	0.36					
We shouldn't give handouts to people who can't afford things.	0.4					0.41	
Some religions are simply better than others.	0.47		0.42				
Success is being able to afford a big house and a luxury car.	0.52	0.41					
There will always be people in need, so it's useless to try to help.	0.63					0.43	
Your contribution to society is defined by what you do for work.	0.41	0.55					

It's impossible for everyone to be treated equally, so we should stop trying.	0.47					0.43	
It is hard to achieve equal representation in every space so we shouldn't try.	0.42					0.45	
Even though the U.S. is a melting pot, nothing can truly replace American cultural values.				0.3	0.43		
The U.S. is much better at taking care of its citizens than the rest of the world.	0.41				0.39		
Most things are either inherently good or inherently bad.		0.38		0.42			
It is important to maintain one's physical appearance.		0.46					0.36
Gaining weight leads to doing poorly in life.		0.37			0.39		
It is better to not give money to the homeless because it won't change their situation.	0.3					0.46	
Everyone has problems, so people shouldn't be expected to care about others' concerns.	0.63					0.33	

If we help those in need, they will be less likely to help themselves in the future.	0.54					0.32	
Financial growth is the most important marker of success.	0.36	0.63					
Our jobs give us a sense of direction in our lives.							
Life would be better if we brought back traditions from the past.				0.52	0.33		
It is just too challenging to ensure everyone's perspective is considered.	0.31					0.35	
People should follow similar standards on how to behave in public.							0.39
Due to its brilliance, the West is inherently more advanced than other countries in the world.	0.31						
Working tirelessly generally yields good results.		0.3			0.37		
Pain is weakness leaving your body.		0.37					
Respecting people in power helps maintain order in society.					0.31		

People should seize opportunities rather than worry about their potential implications.		0.35					
As a society, it is important to have a unified set of beliefs.			0.36				
People moving to USA should learn English.					0.34		
Laws in the U.S. should largely be based on Christian values.			0.46		0.34		
In most situations, there is a right and wrong way to do things.		0.33					
You are either a member of one group or another, but rarely both.	0.35	0.37					
Looking healthy should be a priority for people in our society.		0.38					0.32
It is fairly common for physical appearance to be indicative of physical health.							0.37
More often than not, the size of a person's waist is an indicator of the quality of their health.	0.39						
It's acceptable to act contrary to your values in some circumstances.	0.34		-0.3				

Generally, protests bring more chaos to society than good.			0.32				
Even if there is family feud, family members should get appear to get along in public.	0.34				0.35		
It is important to practice modesty in society.			0.35				
Generally, women tend to be better homemakers than men.				0.37			
Ideally, a child should be raised with a stay-at-home mother.	0.49		0.32				
There is no such thing as "too much" when it comes to the finer things in life.	0.32	0.47					
The overall morality of our society is on a decline due to the changing demographics.			0.39	0.38			
It is impossible to have peace of mind in a big city.	0.39						
People in cities should rely less on the government to solve their problems.			0.34				
In life, there will always be winners and losers, no matter what you do.		0.3					

Appendix H. List of removed items ($n = 54$) due to cross-loading values > 0.40 and due to factor loading values < 0.40 and cross-loading values greater than half of the initial item's factor in the five-factor model.

Removed Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	R-squared
Everyone is responsible for their own life outcomes. (Ind_1)	0.547	.		.	0.302	0.492
The world is better when people are independent. (Ind_4)	0.335	0.306			.	0.758
At the end of the day, it is better to not depend on others. (Ind_8)	0.41		0.332	.	.	0.668
Caring too much for others comes at a cost to yourself. (Ind_12)	.	.	.	-0.382	.	0.692
People should focus on learning about things that can make them more money. (Cap_3)	0.74					0.399
If someone dies penniless, their life was a failure. (Cap_7)		0.942	.		.	0.264

No matter what, high profits should be valued. (Cap_14)	0.472	0.425		.	.	0.363
If people work hard enough, they can achieve their dreams. (WorkCult_1)	.	.	.	0.32	.	0.519
It is alright to sacrifice one's health sometimes if it leads to better results at work. (WorkCult_5)		0.886	.			0.349
Once things are established a certain way, it's important to keep them that way. (PowerM_4)		0.589		.		0.35
Powerful people shouldn't have to face the consequences of their actions. (PowerM_8)		0.984	.	.		0.239

We should be wary of those who are different from us. (Ethnocent_9)		0.636	.			0.376
Christian Mission trips improve the lives of people in poor countries. (Ethnocent_11)	.		.	0.669	-0.336	0.458
Foreigners should get rid of their accents so everyone can understand them better. (Ethnocent_12)	.	0.929		.		0.338
Questioning long-held beliefs is being disloyal to yourself. (Binary_5)		0.728		.		0.357
If you take care of your health, your physical appearance will show it. (BodyImage_6)	0.655	-0.434			.	0.593
The most beautiful people in the world have blonde hair and blue eyes. (BodyImage_7)		0.905	.	.		0.283

Straight hair, due to its neat look, is better in professional settings. (BodyImage_8)	.	0.747				0.304
Women with straight hair are more beautiful. (BodyImage_11)		0.927				0.298
Although scientists are knowledgeable, it is important to question everything they say. (Contradict_1)			.		0.356	0.685
When it comes to protecting people, women and children should be prioritized. (Contradict_6)	0.377	-0.309		.	.	0.698
Rules should bend for those in power. (Contradict_8)	.	0.996	.			0.279
Women naturally have a maternal instinct, which makes them better	.	.		.	0.332	0.435

caregivers than men. (TradFam_6)						
Men are naturally more dominant than women, which helps them be better leaders. (TradFam_7)		0.389	.	.	0.323	0.338
Moving too far from traditional gender roles can be harmful for society. (TradFam_8)			0.748		.	0.158
It is better for children to grow up with their mother and a father than with other relatives. (TradFam_9)	.	.	0.396	.		0.55
Starting a family should be on everyone's mind. (TradFam_10)		0.67		.		0.359
Only men should work to provide for their family. (TradFam_11)		0.798	.		.	0.373

There is no difference between biological sex (female) and gender (woman). (Isms_1)			.	.	.	0.778
Transgender people are generally good parents. (R) (Isms_2R)		.	1.014		.	0.389
Transgender people disrupt society by challenging gender identities. (Isms_3)		.	0.681		.	0.29
It is more natural for a heterosexual couple to raise children than for a gay or lesbian couple to raise children. (Isms_4)			0.787			0.222
People should be allowed to change their gender if they want to. (R) (Isms_5R)		.	0.944	.		0.305
Children may become confused if they are			0.821			0.162

raised by same sex parents. (Isms_7)						
Families with both a mother and father tend to have children with good values. (Isms_8)	.	.		.	.	0.425
Marriages should be between a man and a woman. (Isms_9)	.	.	0.775	.		0.14
People with disabilities are simply unable to lead full lives. (Isms_10)	.	0.667	.	-0.347	.	0.303
Making places accessible costs more money than it's worth. (Isms_11)		0.742				0.285
Making transgender identity normal will confuse children. (Isms_13)			0.783		.	0.227
It is important to leverage technology to	0.609	0.31	-0.351			0.501

yield quick results. (ShortTerm_6)						
A lot of the problems we have today would be solved if people acted more like they did in the past (GlorifyPast_1)	.	0.369	.		0.367	0.326
Everyone was happier back in the "good old days." (GlorifyPast_5)		.	.		0.374	0.344
Compared to the past, modern society tends to be less happy and fulfilled. (GlorifyPast_6)		.	0.308	.	0.562	0.599
We should live more like our forefathers did. (GlorifyPast_7)	.	0.316	.	.	0.344	0.314
In small towns, it is much easier to build genuine human connections. (UrbanRural_1)	.		.	.	0.741	0.375

Small towns provide a sense of security that big cities cannot always match. (UrbanRural_5)			.		0.954	0.314
We should have a sense of pride for our nation. (Nation_1)				0.737	.	0.33
Everyone should honor the country. (Nation_2)		.		0.756		0.254
We should respect the leader of our nation. (Nation_3)			.	0.59		0.313
We should all take pride in our nation's history. (Nation_4)		.		0.698		0.32
We should be proud of our nation's military for protecting our national interests. (Nation_7)				0.753		0.369
It is helpful for everyone to follow social rules to maintain order in society. (SocHier_3)	0.325	.	.	.		0.651

Gender roles are important in maintaining order in society. (SocHier_6)	.	.	0.46	.		0.25
Some people just can't be helped, so there's no use in trying (Apathy_1)	.	0.319	0.447	.	.	0.612

Appendix I. List of removed items ($n = 9$) due to cross-loading values > 0.40 and due to factor loading values < 0.40 and cross-loading values greater than half of the initial item's factor in the four-factor model.

Removed Items	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	R-squared
Often, it is necessary for there to be differences between what is practiced and what is preached. (Contradict_3)	.	0.453	-0.302	.	0.552
Because women and men have different strengths, it makes sense that there are differences in how they are treated. (TradFam_5)		0.568	0.31		0.388
Life is all about survival of the fittest. (Apathy_7)	0.499	.	.	.	0.392
People should work hard enough to be able to provide their families with more than they need. (Overconsump_4)	0.767	.	.		0.377
It is good for people to have more than they need. (Overconsump_5)	0.387	.	.	.	0.758
Cities rob you of your traditions, while smaller towns nurture these aspects. (UrbanRural_2)		.		0.704	0.379

Small towns, due to the shared features between people there, have stronger communities than cities. (UrbanRural_4)				0.742	0.39
It is easier to nurture a strong sense of community in smaller towns. (UrbanRural_6)	.	.		0.832	0.379
In our competitive world, it is natural for some people to suffer more than others. (SocHier_1)		0.309		.	0.729