Black Negrophobia and Black Self-Empowerment: Afro-Descendant Responses to Societal Racism in São Paulo, Brazil

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ABSTRACT

Negrophobia, or the profound fear or hatred of black people and black culture, is a significant issue among black people. As part of a multipronged attempt to draw attention to negrophobia's prevalence in the greater world community, I developed the Multidimensional Negrophobia Index (MNI), which measures negrophobia along a four-dimensional structure. I used São Paulo, Brazil as a case study and collected a convenience sample with the help of Educafro, a black Non-Governmental Organization. I found that the nature and length of one's relationship with Educafro had a direct correlation with respondents' negrophobia levels in the MNI's Anti-Black dimension.

Keywords: Race, negrophobia, internalized racism, racial resentment, whitening, blanquemiento, Frantz Fanon, color gradient, black nationalism, black activism, racial stratification, economic exclusion, anti-black sentiment, white supremacy.

INTRODUCTION

The term negrophobia can be linked back to Frantz Fanon (1952), a psychologist from the French Antilles who engaged in numerous clinical studies to analyze the effects of colonialism upon blacks in colonized nations. Fanon observed that the European practice of attributing negative characteristics to black people and things had a negative effect on blacks, and that their exposure both to this and to colonialism itself caused them to internalize negative ideas about blacks and objectify themselves. Through psychoanalysis, he evaluated this thought system in whites and blacks. Thus spawned the term, negrophobia.

Negrophobia is prevalent in many areas of the world, and is usually a dominant attitude in societies in which African descendants are economically, socially, and politically marginalized. The lack of AIDS treatment and prevention programs, the absence of healthy food (Zenk 2011), the continuation of female sterilization, the encouragement of widespread abortion of black fetuses, and the persistence of police violence in black communities worldwide (Amparo-Alves 2010, Smith 1998, Vargas 2008) are all examples of negrophobia's widespread prevalence. This paper analyzes negrophobia's influence on Brazilian society, and, particularly, among African descendant residents of São Paulo.

Numerous authors have analyzed negrophobia. Most work done on this topic has been conducted within a theoretical framework. Recently, however, researchers have approached the topic using survey research as a tool. Brazilian and US researchers have been among the participants in this discussion and have taken somewhat disparate approaches to the issue. My goal in this study is to merge the Brazilian and US approaches to negrophobia in an attempt to create a more comprehensive tool for negrophobia analysis. Doing so would not only advance the scholarly discussion of this important topic, but would also help flesh out the idea of negrophobia as a thought system.

In this paper, I use São Paulo, Brazil as a case study for developing an integrated framework for understanding negrophobia. I will begin this paper by fleshing negrophobia out as a concept. I will then provide an overview of negrophobia's prevalence in Brazilian history and culture and discuss the necessity of evaluating the push back effectuated by blacks in the black movement. In the third section I will present the results I collected from the survey I administered in São Paulo, Brazil. By way of conclusion I will discuss the data's implications.

AN INTEGRATED THEORY OF NEGROPHOBIA

Defining Negrophobia

Fanon (2008) defined negrophobia as a neurosis typified by the anxious fear and contempt of black people and black culture. Symptoms of negrophobia include but are not limited to the attribution of negative characteristics to black people and black things, the fear and hatred of black men, and the objectification of black women.

Fanon further introduces to us the idea of black negrophobia, which is the hatred of black people and black culture by black people. It is the equivalent of internalized racism, which caused by the trauma of living in a culture that defines blacks as inherently evil. The symptoms of black negrophobia are mostly the same throughout the Diaspora. There are cultural intricacies, due to the vast diversity of black people, black cultures, and the nature of their colonization by white Europeans, but the basic framework is the same. When blacks are negrophobes, they reject their native or ethnic language in favor the colonizer's language or European languages, prefer European or white cultures to black cultures, prefer to surround themselves with lighter skinned people as opposed to darker skinned ones, and they also attribute negative characteristics to black people, culture, and things.

Negrophobia as a Socio-Diagnosis

Fanon considers negrophobia a socio diagnosis. He describes it as characterizing whole societies, not just individual people. He writes, "[the] black man's alienation is not an individual question. Besides phylogeny and ontogeny stands sociogeny . . . . [It] is a question of sociodiagnostics (xv)…. [T]he juxtaposition of the black and white races has resulted in a massive psycho-existential complex" (xvi). In other words, neurotic humans produce neurotic societies. The two are inseparable. (Societies, according to Fanon, are simply aggregations of beliefs.)

Fanon's statement has many implications. Summarily, it is saying that negrophobia is not just an individual problem but also a societal issue. Furthermore, he is saying that the study of negrophobia is, by nature and necessity, a cross-disciplinary area of research. Full study of the phenomenon cannot be confined to the psychological field.

Negrophobia in Brazil

Brazilian society has intrigued the world for decades. Until the 1950's it was perceived as a racial paradise—a land where all of the races got along. A 1950 study revealed, however, that discrimination similar to that of the American South was prevalent throughout the nation. Brazil's racial system misleadingly portrays a mixed population as having spawned from attitudes of racial tolerance and even the celebration of diversity. Instead, the diverse color spectrum is more a result of historical attempts to whiten a majority-black population (Pinho 2009, Santos and Hallewell 2002). The fact that its economic stratification has been established along racial lines (Vargas 2008) is all the more telling. White Brazilians earn 57-73% more than black Brazilians in the similar occupations (except for in domestic services, where blacks are overrepresented) (Reichmann 1995). Also, 90 % of Brazil's poor are black (Mikevis and Flynn 2005).

Both negrophobia and white supremacy have a very long history in Brazil. The endemic philosophy of whitening illustrates this dynamic. At its core, the philosophy assumes that people's character qualities are determined by their race, granting whites favorable qualities such as intelligence, kindness, resourcefulness, diligence, and honorability. Meanwhile it allots to blacks a milieu of negative traits, including but not limited to laziness, lack of unintelligence, lax morality, lack of civilization, meanness, hypersexualilty, and socially undesirability (Pinho 2009, Smith 2008, Amparo-Alves 2009, Sheriff 2004, Santos and Hallewell 2002, Andrews 1991, Nascimento 1977, Skidmore 1985).[1]

Just as a philosophy neither exists in a vacuum nor lacks a logical conclusion, the theory of whitening's goal is to eliminate blackness, both physically and culturally. Physical elimination has taken many forms, including "miscegenation" and genocide. The Brazilian government mandated higher levels of white European immigration and voiced the goal of racial intermarriage as a way of lightening and lessening the black presence in the nation (Veira 1995, Santos and Hallewell 2002, Mikevis and Flynn 2005). (Brazil's population early on was as high as 90% black at the time of abolition. Today it is at least 50% and is still characterized as having the highest

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[1] Nascimento (1977) and Gilliam and Gilliam (1999) observe of white men's perceptions of women of different races. A well-known mantra, prevalent both historically and in present times, says, "White ladies for marrying, black women to do the work, mulatto women to fornicate." Current day racialized sexual stereotypes attest to the continuing recognition of this distinction (Gilliam and Gilliam 1999, Harvey 2004).

population of blacks outside of continental Africa and second only to Nigeria in its black population throughout the world [Veira 1995, Santos and Hallewell 2002, Mikevis and Flynn 2005].)

The encouragement of racial intermixing has stayed alive through the years. While many people portray Brazil as embracing racial intermarriage all across the board, it is actually only African descendants who are encouraged to marry people of other races. The saying goes that blacks should "cleanse their blood" and "help the appearance" of their progeny (Sheriff 2001). Whiteness and near-whiteness are the goal; a white-looking individual is not encouraged to marry someone darker, since their progeny would then be going in the opposite direction.

Physical genocide of African descendants has been prevalent in Brazil on many fronts. Historically, slavery saw an average life span of 20 years among black men. The high numbers of blacks killed each decade sustained magnanimous shipments of more in (Conrad 1986). Forced sterilization has also been practiced in Brazilian African descended communities. Sterilization has even been a prerequisite for employment for black women (Roland 1999). Currently, widespread police killings are a main form of genocide to which Afro-descendants are falling victim in Brazil (Vargas 2008, Amparo-Alves 2010, Smith 2008).

Whitening's second goal is to reduce the prevalence and presence of African cultures in Brazilian society. "Behavioral whitening," as Patricia Pinho describes it, focuses on "transforming the behavior of the vast amount of black and mixed-race Brazilians, instead of working on the biological surface of the body…. [It also] mean[s] discarding African and indigenous cultural practices as well as establishing new habits of education, health, hygiene, and diet based on ' "soft" eugenics,' or the theory of cultural genocide" (Pinho 2009, 42). While blacks may adopt the value of behavioral whitening in order to increase his or her chances of marrying a lighter skinned individual (Sheriff 2001), the stigma of physical blackness continues to restrict the dating, marriage, and employment opportunities of those with noticeable African descent (Pinho 2009, Harvey 2004, Andrews 1991).

Many argue that black culture is valued and revered in Brazilian society because of the continuing tradition of carnival and the so-called endearment of the carnival "mulatta." However, it is noteworthy to realize that African cultures are viewed as part of the Brazilian past, after the pattern of a Hegelian dialectic. African heritage was Brazil's "childhood," out of which Brazil grew, and which Brazil has largely left behind except for token circumstances (Nascimento and Nascimento 2001, Skidmore 1985).

Battling Negrophobic Thought: The Black Movement in Brazil
Negrophobia has not been the sole response of African Brazilians to societal racism. Black resistance has been prevalent ever since blacks were first brought by force to Brazil, even though the black movement was prevented from launching until the 1990s, due to staunch historic governmental repression against pro-black groups. When Brazil opened to democracy in the 1980s, the movement seized its chance to propel racial issues into mainstream discussions (Skidmore 1985, Mikevis and Flynn 2005).

In the 1990s the movement professionalized through the formation of black NGOs such as the Institute of Black Women (Geledes), Fala Preta! (an organization which serves particularly black women), the Center for the Articulation of Marginalized Populations (CEAP), and Afrobras (a black militant organization). One branch of the NGO portion of the movement addressed the continuing racial gap in education, by providing free college preparatory courses for black and poor students. This is significant because in Brazil, college entrance exams determine who will and will not enter college. Those who want to go to college take college admissions preparatory classes to fill in the horrendous gaps left by Brazil's educational system. Since the courses are very expensive, racial and class barriers were perpetuated. As a result, only 7% of those enrolled in public universities in Brazil are African descended (Mikevis and Flynn 2005, Santos 2010a, Santos 2010b).

Organizations such as Educafro (Education and Citizenship for Afro-Descendants and the Poor), the Prevestibular for Blacks and the Poor (PVNC), and the Movement of People without a University (MSU), which tutor students in numerous subjects, including Portuguese, biology, chemistry, math, and physics, are described by Renato Emerson dos Santos (2010b) as "main agent[s] and disseminators of antiracist activism in contemporary Brazil" (212). This is because they do not stop at teaching students exam-related topics, but additionally educate them in Brazilian racial discourse: they incorporate a course called "Culture and Citizenship," in which professors educate students about racism in Brazilian society and raise participants' awareness of the struggle. In these classes, young scholars learn

to talk about the struggles they have encountered all of their lives and are given a context for discussing what has been and what should be (Santos 2010a, Santos 2010b, Nascimento 2001).

Today there are many official and unofficial actors in Brazil's black movement besides the NGOs, including rappers, scholars, researchers, professors, musicians, artists, youth groups, writers, political parties, politicians, religious groups, and others (Santos 2010a). Each of these contributes to a lively movement that is going on Brazil.

The Brazilian vs. the US Approach to Analyzing Negrophobia
Most of the work that has been done on negrophobia since Fanon has been theoretical (Skidmore 1974, Fontaine 1985, Daniels and Kitano 1970, Andrews 1991). These have focused on analyzing a constellation of ideas that make up negrophobia without actually using this term. Recently, some researchers have been analyzing the process by which people adopt their racial attitudes. Survey research has been an important part of this endeavor, and researchers in the US and Brazil have been major participants in this.

Researchers in Brazil and in the US have taken different approaches to analyzing racial attitudes with survey methods. The Brazilians have done several things. They have focused on measuring people's adherence to anti-black stereotypes (Datafolha 1995), their perceptions of racial progress in the nation (Datafolha1995, Hasenbalg and Silva 1999), ideas about who if anyone deserves to be served by quotas in public sector employment (Bailey 2009), and willingness to wed or see loved ones wed African descendants (Nascimento 1977).

US researchers have dealt with some of the same things, and yet have gone a little farther in exploring negrophobia's panorama. Researchers have discussed racial resentment, among blacks (Bowman et al 2004) and against blacks (Kinder and Sanders 1996); blacks' perceptions about their political participation in the US (Dawson 1994, Gurin and Hatchett 1989); opinions about racial progress in the US (Correspondents of the New York Times 2001, Ladd 2002); thoughts about race relations in the US (Bowman et al 2004, Correspondents of the New York Times 2001); levels of the strength of individuals' black identities (Sellers et al 1997, Bowman et al 2004); and the adherence to ideas that support the inherent inferiority of blacks (Bowman et al 2004).
These two approaches, while very similar, are usually read in isolation; thus, they rarely dialogue with one another. My goal is to combine various approaches that have been used in an attempt to create a more comprehensive tool for analyzing negrophobia. I have chosen São Paulo, Brazil as a case study, and will focus on analyzing negrophobic attitudes held by African descendant Brazilians.

The benefit to addressing negrophobia as a whole is that it will help negrophobia get the ideological attention that it needs. Fanon described negrophobia as needing to be addressed from multiple dimensions, and one step in this process is to recognize it as the thought system, or ideology, that it is.

DATA AND METHODS
The Multidimensional Negrophobia Inventory (MNI)
The Multidimensional Negrophobia Inventory (MNI) is composed of 17 likert-scale (strongly agree through strongly disagree) questions, which are organized into four indices: the Pro-White, Pro-Black, Anti-Black, and Relationship Indices. The Pro-White index incorporates questions that gauge the extent to which respondents privilege whiteness over blackness. When answered affirmatively, the respondent expresses a disdain for their black identity. The items comprising the Pro-White Index have an internal consistency of .69, as measured by Cronbach's alpha, and include:
1. Good black people have white souls (Datafolha 1995).
2. If I could change my race or color, I would (Datafolha 1995).
3. I think it is important for Afro-descendants to not act black around white people.
4. Afro-descendants should act more like whites to be successful in this society (Sellers et al 1997).

The second index, the Pro-Black Index, is composed of questions that allow the respondent to convey a sense of pride in her black heritage (Cronbach's alpha = .90):
1. I am happy that I am an Afro-descendant.
2. I am proud to be an Afro-descendant.
3. I feel good about Afro-descendants (Sellers et al 1997).

Third, the Anti-Black Index asks the respondent if she feels that black people exhibit inherently negative characteristics (Cronbach's alpha = .90). Its question reads:

1. Black people…
    a. Neglect their families.
    b. Are lazy.
    c. Give up easily.
    d. Are selfish.
    e. Are lying.
    f. Are trifling (Bowman et al 2004).

The fourth index, the Relationship Index, measures the degree to which an individual is willing to bring blacks into their inner circles and indicates the extent to which the respondent is likely to pursue the physically genocidal practice of whitening (Pinho 2009, Santos 2002, Sheriff 2001). According to Cronbach's alpha, the Relationship Index items have an internal consistency of .73.

1. I would be upset if several families who are black came to live in my neighborhood.
2. I would accept it if my son or daughter married a black person.
3. I would accept it if my brother or sister married a black person.
4. I would marry a black person (Datafolha 1995).

Besides including the four indices, respondents were asked to indicate which of five racial groups they identified with. The racial categories which are used by the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IGBE) are also the ones utilized in this study: *Branco* (White), *Amarelo* (Yellow), *Pardo* (Brown), *Preto* (Black), and *Outro* (Other). In addition to racial identification, respondents were asked to reveal their age, gender, the amount of schooling they have had, and their income level.

The Sample
The data for this study was gathered in January 2011, in São Paulo, Brazil, and was collected from 98 individuals between the ages of 18 and over 60. Five main racial groupings were represented in my sample of survey respondents: 21 self-identified as *Branco*, 2 considered themselves *Amarelo*, 29 self-classified as *Pardo*, 42 identified as *Negro*, and 4 considered themselves *Outro*. In terms of gender, sixty-four percent of respondents were women and 36% were men. None indicated a transgender identity.

The respondents were all connected in some way to Educafro, the aforementioned black NGO, and had been involved with Educafro for varying periods of time. I placed respondents in three categories based on their "length of experience" with this organization: newcomers, who were just being introduced to Educafro on the very day they took my survey; veterans, who had been benefiting from Educafro's resources for an extended period of time, and employees, who either worked for or functioned as official volunteers for the organization.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION
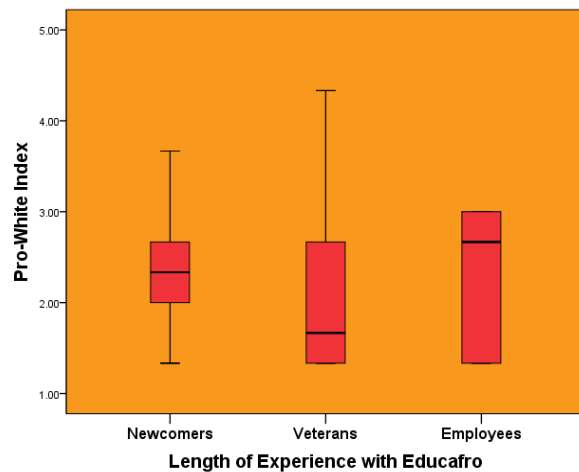*Length of Association with Educafro: Influential in Respondents' Negrophobia Levels*?
The data from this study was drawn from 66 individuals in the sample—namely those who self-identified as Pardo, Preto, or Other. The study is based on the hypothesis that people who have interacted with Educafro the least will be more negrophobic than both those who have been with Educafro for an extended period of time as well as those who work with Educafro. Seeing as the data was non-normally abnormally distributed, I analyzed it using the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test: this test does not require assumptions about the normality of the data. The results from these analyses demonstrate that, for the Anti-Black Index, newcomers tend to hold attitudes that are more negrophobic than their counterparts. For the other indices, there are no significant differences in negrophobia levels across the experience with Educafro.

The Pro-White Index
I expected newcomers to exhibit more pro-white attitudes than both Educafro employees and veterans. Figure 1, "Distribution of Pro-White Attitudes across Lengths of Experience with Educafro," however, shows that Educafro

employees were a little more likely to have pro-white leanings than their less-connected counterparts.[2] Employees expressed a median response of approximately 2.6 within a 1.3 to 3 range of responses, while the median for newcomers was 2.3 within a 1.3 to 3.7 range of responses. The veterans' median response was only 1.7, and was seated within a range of 1.3 to 4.4. Additionally, each groups' responses indicated an overall moderate level of negrophobia, based on a five-point scale in which higher values signify stronger expressions of pro-white sentiment. While this finding suggests important ideas, it was not statistically significant.

Figure 1: Distribution of "Pro-White" Attitudes across Lengths of Experience with Educafro

The presence of pro-white leanings is not unusual in Brazil (Pinho 2009, Nascimento and Nascimento 2001, Nascimento 2001, Sheriff 2001). Many Afro-descendants use the methods which the questions describe—acting white in order to get ahead, not acting black around whites, and shunning their blackness in other ways—not only to try to advance economically, but also to try and present themselves more "palatably" to society. This method, however, qualifies as promoting cultural genocide (Pinho 2009, Santos and Hallewell 2002, Sheriff 2001).

Not only are these ideas prevalent, but pro-white prioritization is also generally perceived as an effective method for advancing in society (Andrews 1991, Silva 1999). The truth is that advancing is a goal that affects all areas of the African descendants' wellbeing: the ability to provide for one's children, meet one's one basic needs for survival, and acquire a sustainable profession. Unfortunately, Brazilian society penalizes its outcasts to the extent of severely limiting their access to basic resources (Vargas 2008, Amparo-Alves 2009, Smith 2008, Pinho 2009, Santos and Hallewell 2002, Veira 1995, Sheriff 2001, Silva 1999). One faces a hard decision when choosing between ones physical wellbeing and their racial dignity. Before we can care for our emotional selves, we must care for our physical selves. That is why this aspect of negrophobia is arguably the hardest to break free from.

At minimum, this finding confirms that African descendants face a very challenging struggle in Brazil. But the fact that employees were a little more likely to hold pro-white ideas than their less connected counterparts may reveal a weak point in Brazil's black self-empowerment ideology.

The Pro-Black Index
Newcomers and veterans were expected to be significantly less proud of their African heritage than Educafro employees. Employees exhibited a high level of pro-blackness, or minimal levels of negrophobia, as indicated by the clustering of the median response at 1 (see figure 2, "Distribution of Pro-Black Attitudes across Lengths of Experience with Educafro"). Newcomers and veterans expressed mild levels of negrophobia,[3] sharing a median of about 1.3 as well as a range of 1 through 3. These findings illustrate overall mild levels of negrophobia.

The mild levels of negrophobia indicated in the pro-black index could signify that blacks in São Paulo tend toward pro-blackness, perhaps due to São Paulo's role in the black movement (Andrews 1991, Hanchard 1994). It could also mean that black negrophobia's structure in Brazil is less related to hating one's black identity than it is to internalizing the broader society's negative ideas about how black people perform in society. Internal dissonance

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[2] The "whiskers" on this box-and whiskers plot indicate the minimum and maximum levels of negrophobic attitudes expressed by respondents. The bottom of the "box" locates the 25th percentile of respondents; 75% of the sampled group expressed more negrophobia than this group. The line in the middle of the box locates the median response of the sampled group. Fifty percent of respondents expressed more negrophobia than this group. The top line of the box represents the 75th percentile: twenty-five percent of the sampled group expressed more negrophobia than these respondents.
[3] High values in this analysis always indicate negrophobia; hence, in the Pro-Black Index, low values indicate adherence to pro-black values and the minimal presence of negrophobia.
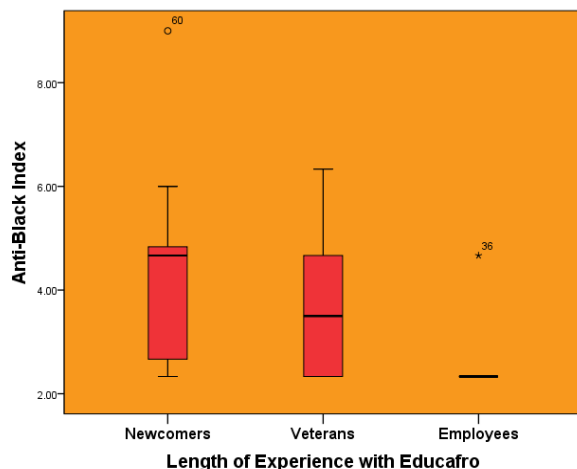
between personal beliefs and the message conveyed by society could possibly coexist with a black group's pro-black sentiments.

It is important to note, however, that this data was gathered using a convenience, rather than representative sample. There are two concerns with this. First of all, those who participated in this sample are highly educated. Only one individual out of the 66 had a 5th to 8th grade educational level. Everyone else had completed high school, was pursuing a masters or philosophical doctorate, or already had a doctorate. This educational level is not the norm in Brazil. It is more common for blacks to have less than 5 years of education (O'Connell and Birdsall 2001, Hasenbalg and Silva 1999, Penha-Lopez 2004). Hence, these findings cannot be generalized to the larger population. Any negrophobia found in this sample is likely to be amplified among less educated blacks.
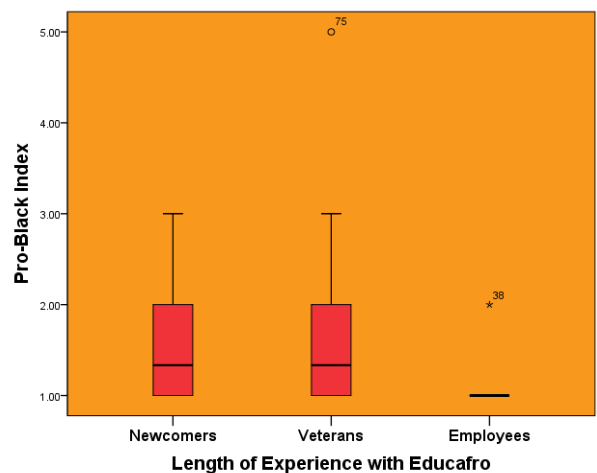
The second concern with the convenience sample is that it is possible that pro-black people are more likely to utilize Educafro's resources, seeing as pro-black people will know other pro-black people and invite them to events that support pro-black causes. Thus, Educafro could easily be a hub for pro-black Afro-descendants, which further draws other pro-black individuals into its progressive community. Thus, these findings cannot be generalized to the greater Brazilian community. It is far more likely that the general Afro-Brazilian population is not nearly this pro-black (Veira 1995, Silva 1999, Pinho 2009, Sheriff 2001).

Figure 2: Distribution of "Pro-Black" Attitudes across Lengths of Experience with Educafro

Anti-Black Index

Newcomers were expected to harbor more negative ideas about Afro-descendants' inherent character qualities than their veteran and employee counterparts do. In support of this hypothesis, the findings illustrated in Figure 3 (entitled "Distribution of Anti-Black Attitudes across Lengths of Experience with Educafro") demonstrate that Educafro employees (i.e., those who presumably have the longest term of experience with the NGO), showed the least amount of negrophobia in this dimension, with almost all respondents clustering at a median of approximately 2.3. Negrophobia rose to moderate levels among the veterans, who expressed a range of 2.2 through 6.2 and a median of about 3.3. The newcomers pronounced an even higher increase, showing a median of 4.4 within a range of 2.2 through 6. The gradual distinction among these three groups was statistically significant, which confirms that the level of negrophobia expressed by these respondents varies considerably depending on how much experience the participants have with Educafro.

Figure 3: Distribution of "Anti-Black" Attitudes across Lengths of Experience with Educafro

This finding reveals two things. First, it shows that the structure of Brazilian negrophobia incorporates the belief that blacks are both negatively and innately different from others. Secondly, it indicates that the black self-empowerment ideology adopted by Educafro successfully dismantles the anti-black aspect of negrophobia and helps Afro-descendants overcome this aspect of black negrophobia in their personal lives. As one's adoption of Brazilian pro-black self-empowerment ideology deepens, an individual's level of personal negrophobia decreases.

Relationship Index

Newcomers were expected to be less inclined to marry black people, be less accepting of their significant others' marrying of black people, and be less open to having blacks move into their neighborhoods. I further hypothesized that Educafro collaborators would be comfortable welcoming blacks into their inner circles, and that veterans' attitudes would range between the two extremes. However, as figure 4, ("Distribution of Attitudes toward
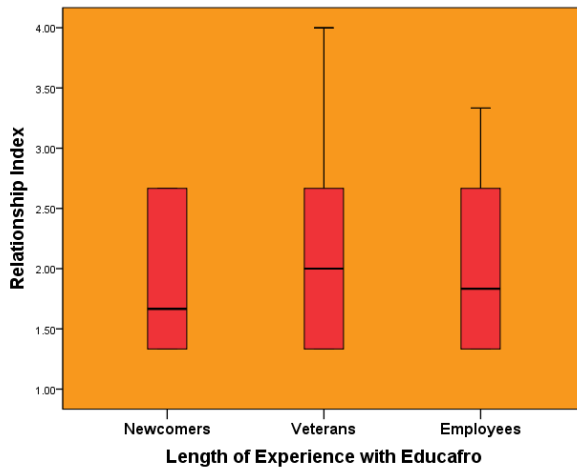
Interracial Relationships across Lengths of Experience with Educafro") indicates, all three groups expressed moderate levels of negrophobia. The first and third quartiles for each group were 1.35 and 2.65 respectively. Thus, no matter how long a respondent had been involved with Educafro, the interquartile range of responses was almost identical. The medians in Figure 4 indicate that employees were more likely to be negrophobic in this dimension than the newcomers, and that the veterans were typically more negrophobic than the employees were.

While the differences between these groups were not statistically significant in this dimension, the trend that is expressed could indicate some interesting things if similar results were replicated or amplified in a larger sample. "Money whitens," as the saying goes in Brazil (Pinho 2009, Sheriff 2001, Silva 1999, Nascimento 2001). It could be that as blacks increase their incomes and educational levels that their perceived likelihood of personal success makes them more prone to prefer light skinned and white partners. In other words, their access to social resources may cause them to seek to distance themselves from blacks and elevate their position further. Alternatively, individuals could develop this negrophobia as they encounter social pressures in the educational system or in the network of contacts they acquire as they progress in their education (Silva 1999, Pinho 2009, Andrews 1991).[4] Either way, the black self-empowerment ideals utilized by Educafro and other segments of the black movement may not have addressed the preference for interacting with whites versus blacks as an indicator of racial self-hatred. Black movements should make note of this and be sure to incorporate this type of discussion in their circles of influence.

Figure 4: Distribution of Attitudes toward Interracial Relationships across Lengths of Experience with Educafro

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

There are numerous things that are not yet known about the negrophobic worldview. For example, the precise tenets of the worldview are not yet enumerated.   Neither is it known exactly how negrophobia is structured in other cultures around the world, including in the US.

Thus, there are several areas of research that need attention. The first priority is to flesh out the idea of negrophobia as a thought system. Does it consist only of explicitly anti-black propositions, or is it also expressed by more general expressions of disdain, including but not limited to the idea that blacks suffer economically solely because they do not utilize the resources available to them? There is more to be known about the structure of negrophobia and how it presents in society on the national and international level.

Secondly, researchers should solicit representative samples of African descendants from all over Brazil, both from a variety of socio-economic and educational backgrounds as well as with varying levels of connection or an absence of connection with pro-black organizations such as Educafro. Such work would help to not only illustrate the structure of negrophobia in Brazil, but also provide a sound picture of Black Brazilian negrophobia levels, along with how negrophobia levels correlate with respondents' incomes, educational backgrounds, and geographic

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[4] This is assuming that veterans and employees have larger incomes, or that they are expected to have higher incomes as a result of the education they are pursuing. Due to a translational error, only limited analysis of respondents' income in relation to their adoption of whitening ideals is possible.

location. Furthermore, it will help identify the level of psychosocial health Brazilian African descendants experience.

This study on black negrophobia makes significant contributions to the literature. It offers a more comprehensive tool for identifying respondent negrophobia and draws attention to the fact that blacks throughout the western world are being taught that they are a problem. Secondly, it illustrates that much of the racism in today's global society is persistent and unrecognized.

The findings discussed here may influence both the way in which blacks socialize each other as well as the way individuals conceptualize issues experienced by the black community. Blacks and others should be consistently reminded that race does not predetermine an individual's aptitude, intelligence, work ethic, sex drive, or tendency toward violence. Rather than harboring such beliefs, people should be encouraged to invest in their communities. Educafro offers an excellent example of investing resources into the lives of black youth. This focus should be adopted in black communities throughout the world.

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