

# No Longer Invisible?

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Counting and Discounting People of African Descent in Mexico  
(1545-2020)

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2. AFRODESCENDIENTES

**Por sus antepasados  
y de acuerdo con  
sus costumbres y  
tradiciones, ¿(NOMBRE)  
se considera  
afromexicano(a)  
negro(a) o  
afrodescendiente?**

*CIRCULE SÓLO UN CÓDIGO*

Sí ..... ①

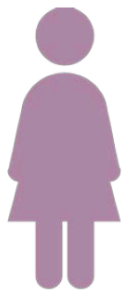
No ..... 3

# POBLACIÓN QUE SE AUTORRECONOCE AFROMEXICANA O AFRODESCENDIENTE



**2 576 213**

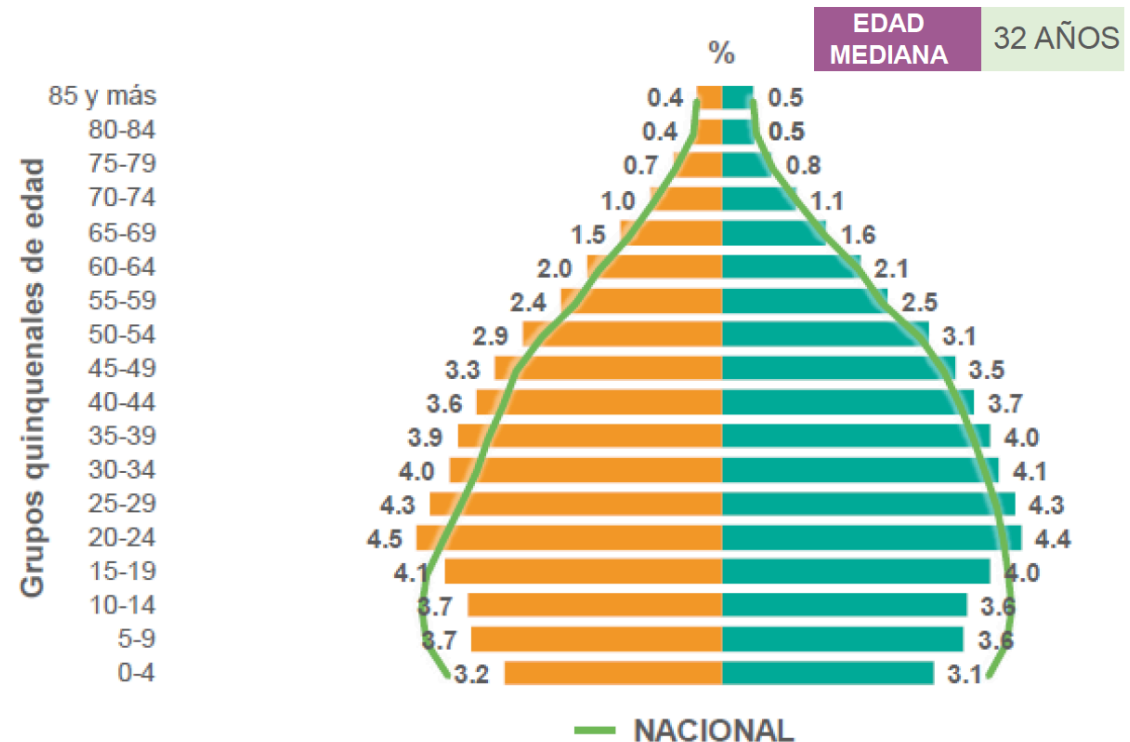
Representa el 2.0% de la  
población total



**50.4%**

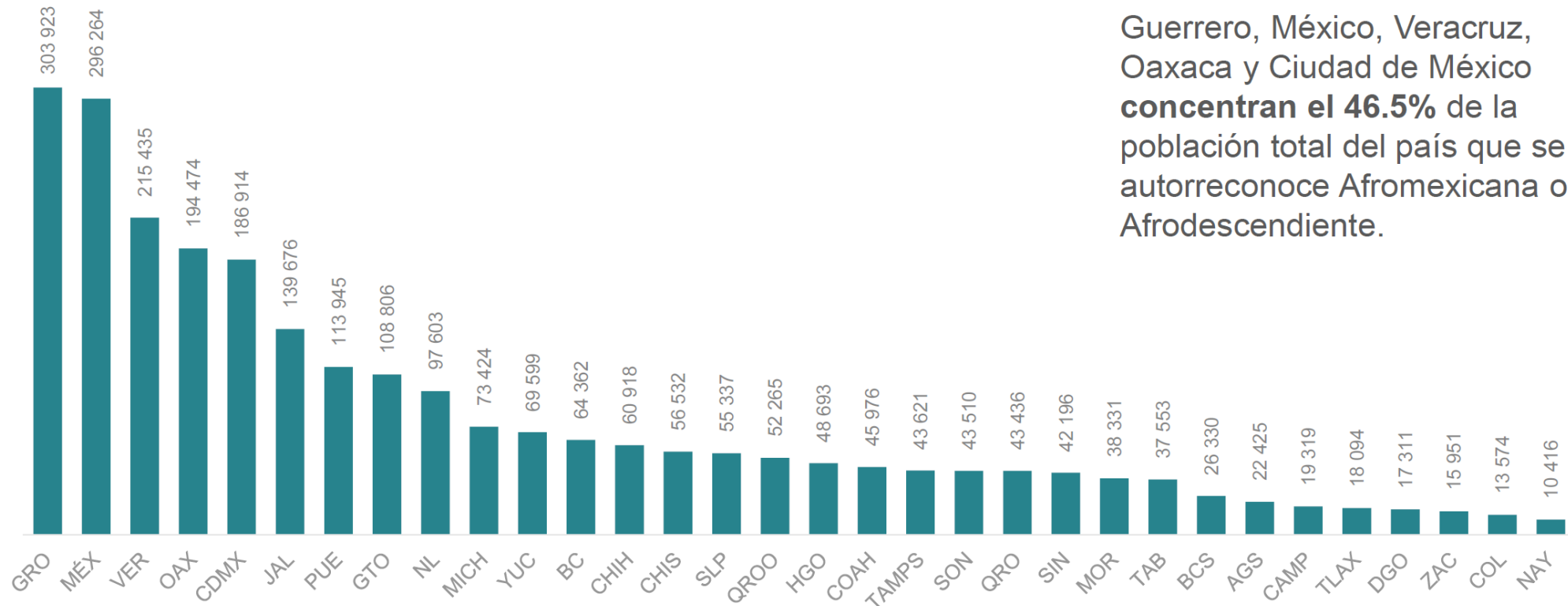


**49.6%**



**Nota:** Los porcentajes pueden no sumar 100%, debido al redondeo que genera diferencias poco significativas.

# POBLACIÓN QUE SE AUTORRECONOCE AFROMEXICANA O AFRODESCENDIENTE POR ENTIDAD FEDERATIVA

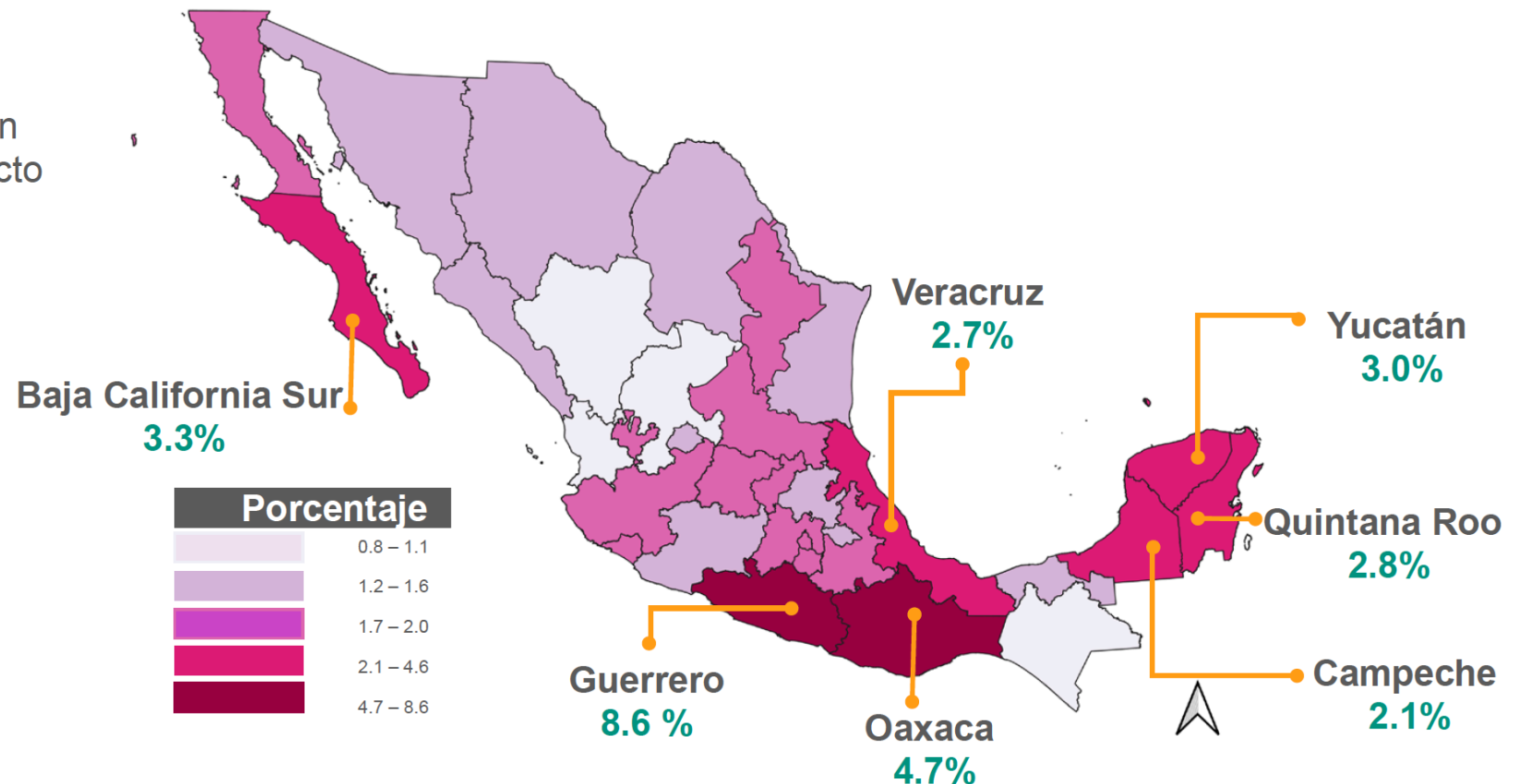


Guerrero, México, Veracruz, Oaxaca y Ciudad de México **concentran el 46.5%** de la población total del país que se autorreconoce Afromexicana o Afrodescendiente.

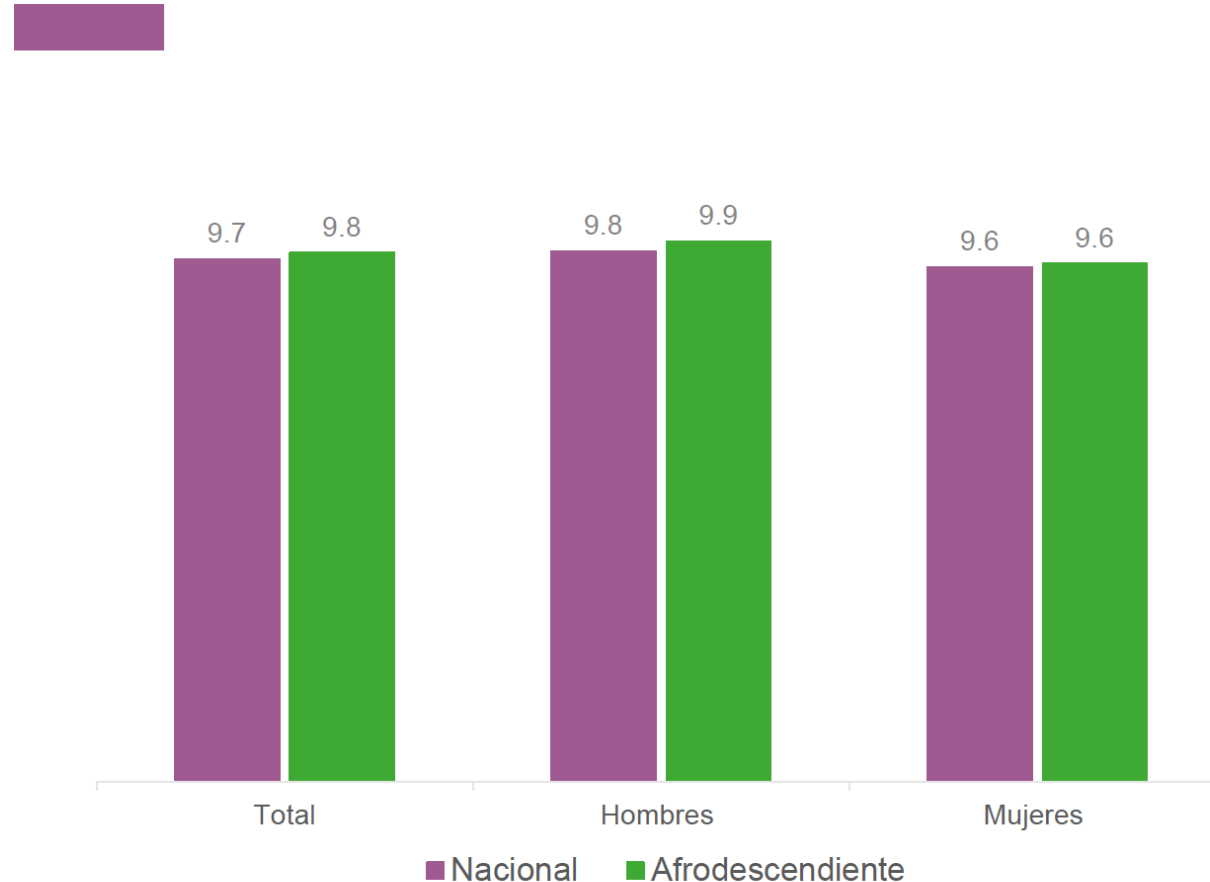
# ESTRATIFICACIÓN DE LAS ENTIDADES SEGÚN PORCENTAJE DE POBLACIÓN QUE SE AUTORRECONOCE AFROMEXICANA O AFRODESCENDIENTE



Entidades con mayores porcentajes de población afrodescendiente respecto a su población total:



## GRADO PROMEDIO DE ESCOLARIDAD DE LA POBLACIÓN DE 15 AÑOS Y MÁS SEGÚN SEXO






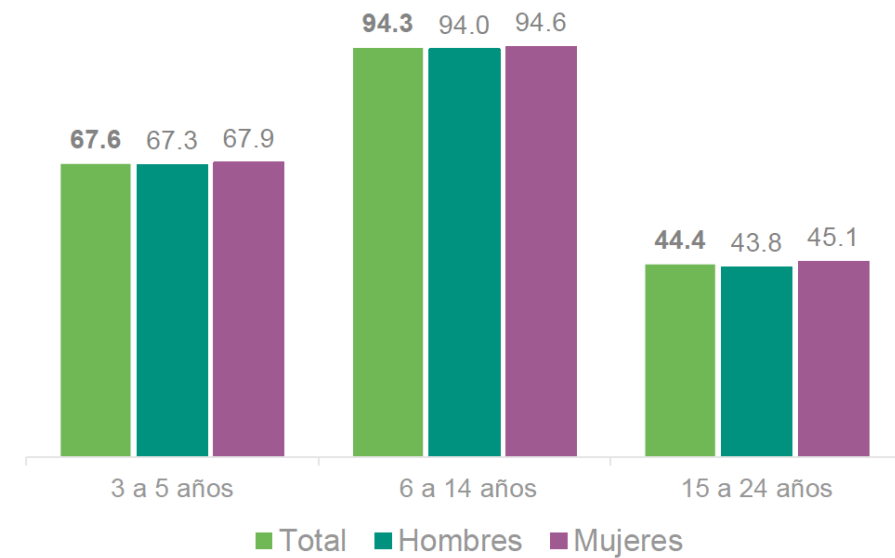
### Grado promedio de escolaridad de la población afromexicana o afrodescendiente:

- Las entidades con mayor grado promedio de escolaridad son Ciudad de México y Querétaro, con 11.7 y 11.3 por ciento, respectivamente.
- En las entidades donde se registra el grado promedio más bajo son Chiapas y Oaxaca, con 8.2 y 8.3 por ciento, respectivamente.

# PORCENTAJE DE POBLACIÓN QUE ASISTE A LA ESCUELA SEGÚN GRUPOS DE EDAD Y SEXO



	 3-5 años	 6-14 años	 15-24 años
Nacional	63.3%	93.8%	45.3%
Afrodescendientes	67.6%	94.3%	44.4%
Entidades con mayor porcentaje de asistencia escolar:	Guerrero 78.7	Hidalgo 96.9	CDMX 53.2
	Tabasco 77.0	Tlaxcala 96.7	Sinaloa 50.4



# No Longer Invisible?

- **Thesis #1:**

Visible, equal, and rightly enumerated.

- **Thesis #2:**

Invisible, unequal, and wrongly enumerated.



# Pregunta de indagación en la Encuesta de Sesgo de la Prueba Temática

Al informante adecuado se le aplicó una pregunta de indagación sobre la **comprensión de la palabra Afrodescendiente** :

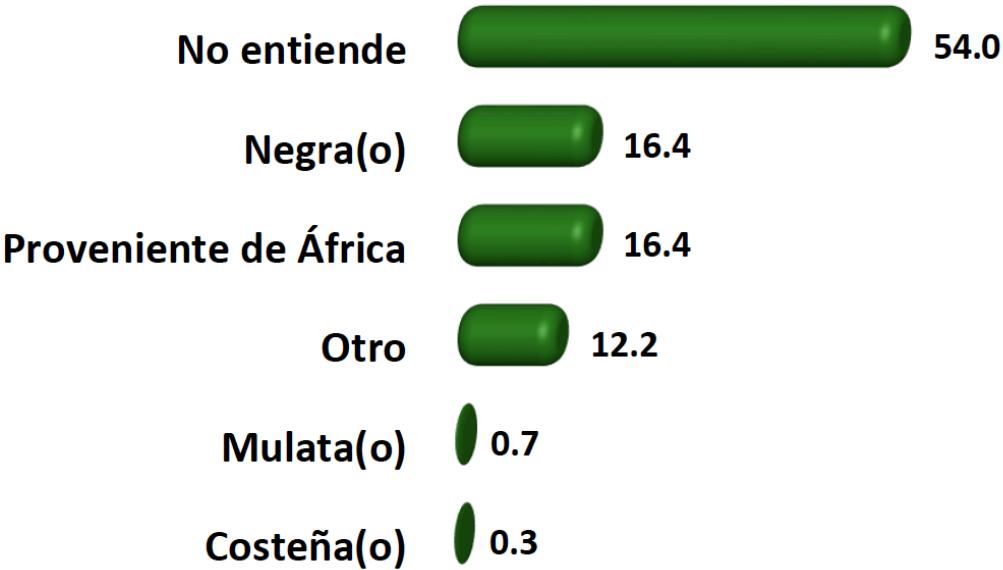
9. AFRODESCENDENCIA

¿Qué entiende usted por la palabra afrodescendiente?

CIRCULE UN CÓDIGO O ANOTE

Proveniente de África .....	1
Negra(o) .....	2
Mulata(o) .....	3
Mexicana(o).....	4
Costeña(o).....	5
Jarocho(o) .....	6
Otro _____	
ESPECIFIQUE	
No entiende .....	8

Distribución porcentual de la población según lo que entiende por Afrodescendiente, Encuesta de Sesgo



Fuente: INEGI. Prueba Temática del Censo de Población y Vivienda 2020. Base de datos de la Encuesta de Sesgo.

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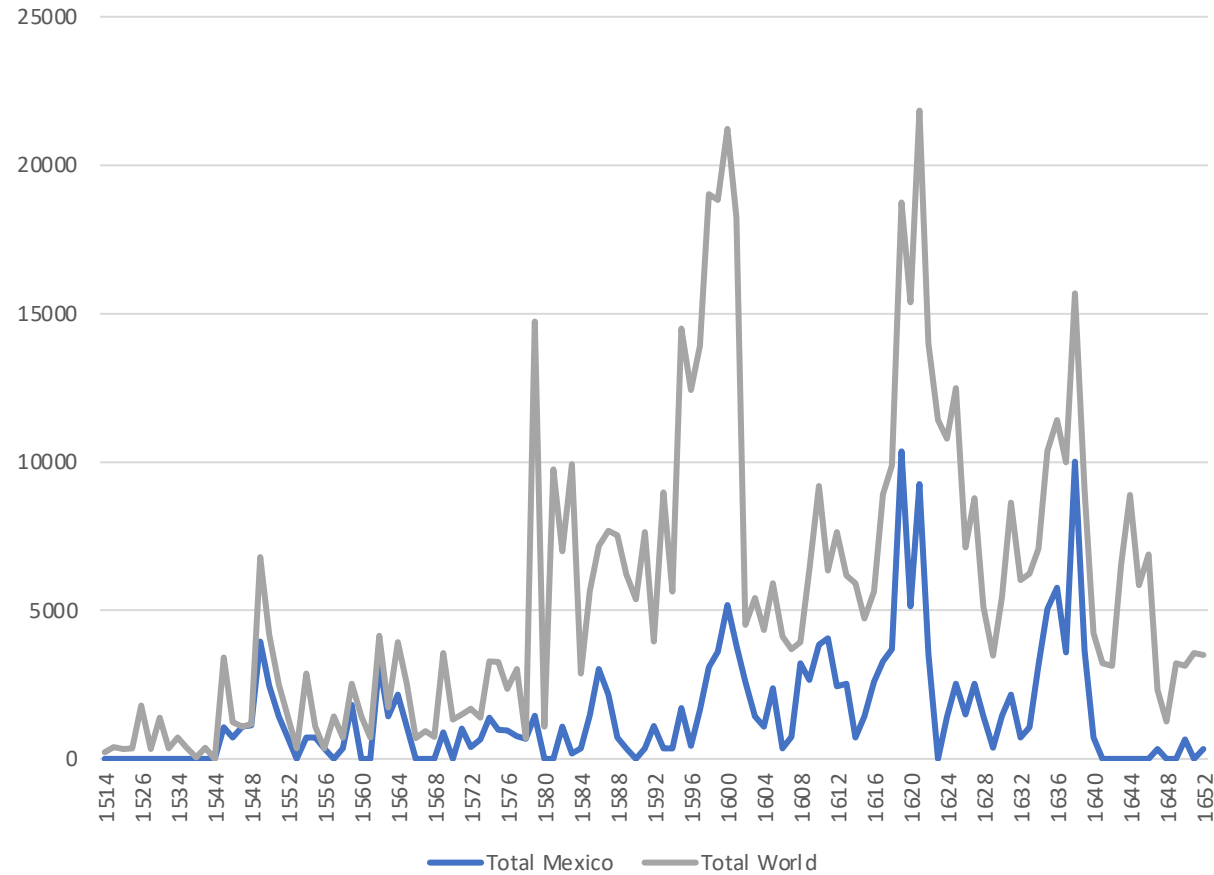
- **Thesis #3:**

Visible, unequal, but constitutively hard to enumerate.

# The Constitutive Difficulty of Enumerating People of African Descent in Mexico

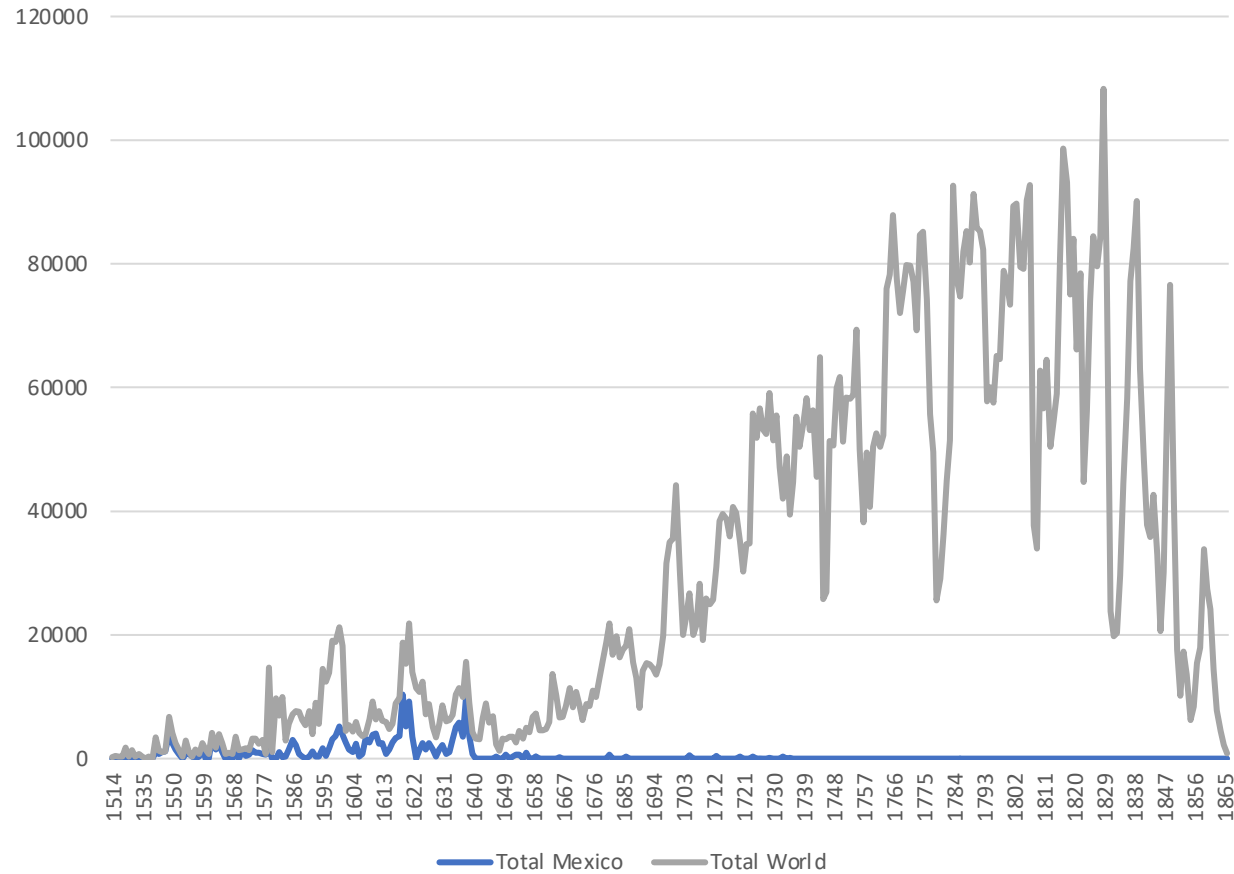
1. The slave trade of people of African descent was comparatively short.

# *Slave Trade of People of African Descent (1514-1652)*



(Slave Voyages Database)

# *Slave Trade of People of African Descent (1514-1865)*



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# The Constitutive Difficulty of Enumerating People of African Descent in Mexico

1. The slave trade of people of African descent was comparatively short.
2. By the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, the majority of afrodescendants were free.

# *Population by Castas in New Spain (1570-1810)*

Year	Indigenous	Afrodescendants		Mestizos		Europeans	Total
		Slaves	Free	Indo-Mestizos	Euro-Mestizos		
1570	3,366,860 98.7%	20,569 0.6%	2,437 0.1%	2,435 0.1%	11,067 0.3%	6,644 0.2%	3,410,012
1646	1,269,607 74.1%	35,089 2.0%	116,529 6.8%	109,042 6.4%	168,568 9.8%	13,780 0.8%	1,712,615
1742	1,540,256 62.2%	20,131 0.8%	266,196 10.7%	249,368 10.1%	391,512 15.8%	9,814 0.4%	2,477,277
1793	2,319,741 61.1%	6,100 0.2%	369,790 9.7%	418,568 11.0%	677,458 17.8%	7,904 0.2%	3,799,561
1810	3,676,281 60.0%	10,000 0.2%	624,461 10.2%	704,245 11.5%	1,092,367 17.8%	15,000 0.2%	6,122,354

(Adapted from Aguirre (1981:234))

# *Afrodescendent Population in Selected Latin American Countries (ca. 1810)*

Country	Afro-Latin Americans			Whites	Mestizos	Indians	Total
	Free	Slaves	Subtotal				
Brazil	587,000	718,000	1,305,000	576,000		61,000	1,942,000
	30	37	67	30		3	100
Mexico	625,000	10,000	635,000	1,107,000	704,000	3,676,000	6,122,000
	10	>1	10	18	12	60	100
Venezuela	440,000	112,000	552,000	185,000		161,000	898,000
	49	12	61	21		18	100
Cuba	114,000	212,000	326,000	274,000			600,000
	19	35	54	46			100
Colombia	245,000	61,000	306,000	203,000	122,000	156,000	787,000
	31	8	39	26	16	20	100
Puerto Rico	65,000	25,000	90,000	72,000			162,000
	40	15	56	44			100

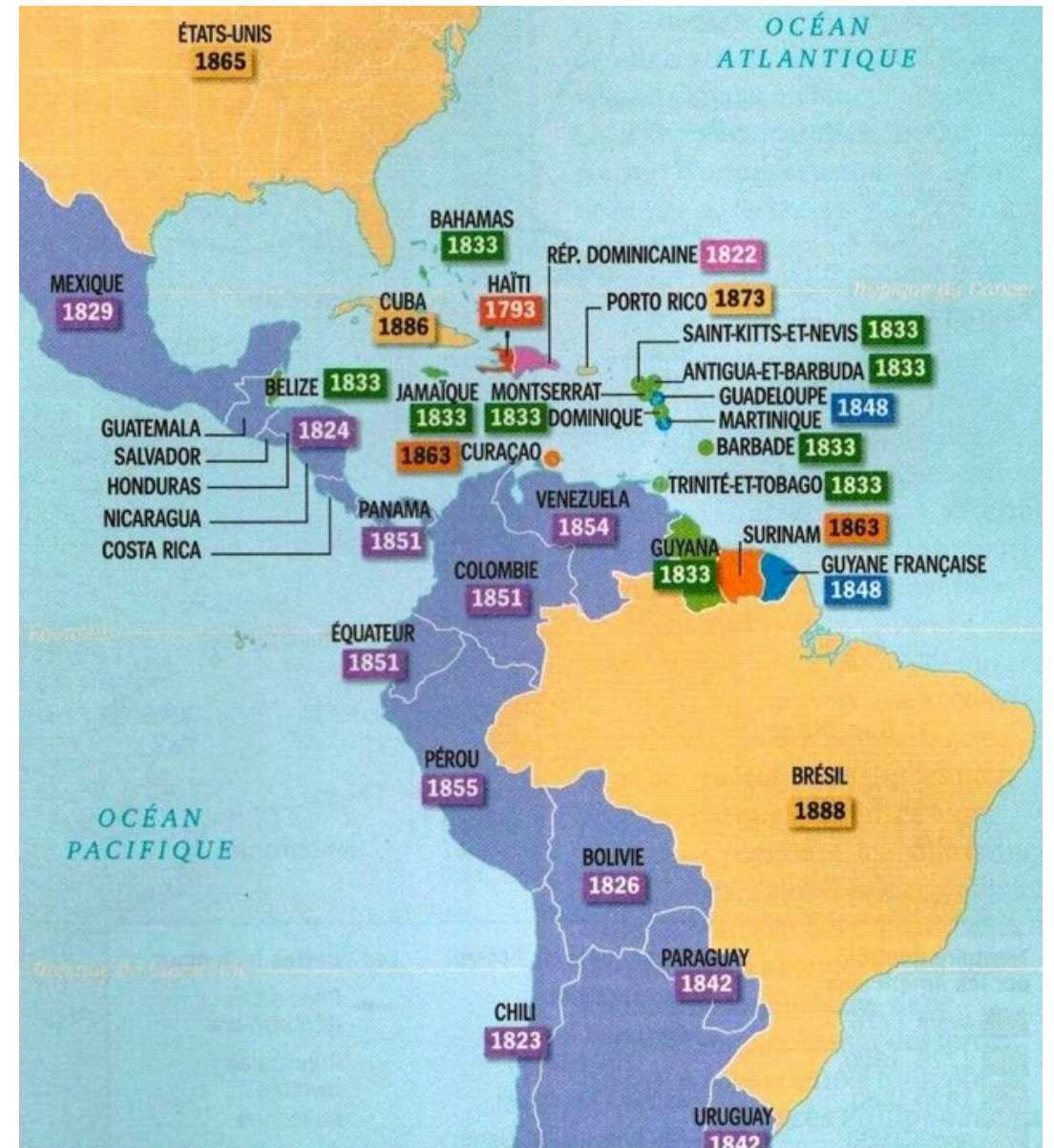
(Andrews 2004:41)



# The Constitutive Difficulty of Enumerating People of African Descent in Mexico

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3. Mexico was one of the first countries to abolish slavery (by an Afrodescendant president).

# *Abolition of Slavery in Latin America (1793-1886)*



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4. People of African descent were early excluded from the national representation in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

# MEJICO

Y

## SUS REVOLUCIONES ,

OBRA ESCRITA POR

JOSE MARIA LUIS MORA ,

CIUDADANO DE LOS ESTADOS-UNIDOS MEJICANOS.

*Suum cuique.*  
A cada uno lo que le pertenece.

TOMO I.

PARIS,

LIBRERIA DE ROSA,

1856.

de la Republica. El numero de negros que ha sido uno de los elementos que han entrado a constituir su actual poblacion, ha sido siempre cortisimo y en el dia ha desaparecido casi del todo, pues los cortos restos de ellos que han quedado en las costas del Pacifico y en las del Atlantico son enteramente insignificantes para poder inspirar temor ninguno a la tranquilidad de la Republica, ni tener por su clase influjo ninguno en la suerte de sus destinos: desapareceran del todo antes de medio siglo, y se perderan en la masa dominante de la poblacion blanca por la fusion que empezó hace mas de veinte años y se halla ya muy adelantada.



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6. The enumeration of racial categories for people of African descent was not implemented in 20<sup>th</sup> Century censuses.

# Mexican Census of 1930

“The data collected on race, in addition to implying an antiscientific concept, have progressively turned out to be more false, to the point of no longer deserving any credit. Except in rare cases, such as those presented by groups still isolated from national life, [...] very few individuals have knowledge of the ethnic characteristics of their grandparents and none of those of their great-grandparents.”


Dirección General de Estadística (1930)




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	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Argentina																					●
Bolivia			?	?				?		●											●
Brasil							●		●					●	●	●		●	●	●	●
Chile	●																			●	
Colombia											●								●	●	●
Costa Rica												●			●					●	●
Cuba				●		●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●		●	●		●	●
Rep. Dominicana												●	●		●	●					
Ecuador																				●	●
El Salvador							?	?	?				●							●	
Guatemala												●		●						●	●
Honduras										?	?		●	●						●	●
México																					●
Nicaragua				●		●		●		?		●		?						●	●
Panamá											●	●	●	●							●
Paraguay				●					?				?								●
Perú		●					●							●							●
Uruguay																					●
Venezuela																					●

 : censado

 : visibilidad afrodescendiente

 : censado sin datos encontrados sobre el cuestionario

# Implications for Understanding Ethnoracial Inequality in Mexico

1. The configuration of blackness in Mexico is multiple.
2. There is not a single form of ethnoracial inequality affecting people of African descent.
3. Territorial inequality is as important as categorical inequality.
4. Measuring ethnoracial inequality, using national aggregates and national averages, can be misleading.

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