DIGITALIZING MODERN MEXICAN HISTORY, 1980-2012

by

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .................................................................................................................................6

INTRODUCTION: *LET'S GO DIGITAL!* *DIGITALIZATION'S PLACE IN MODERN MEXICAN HISTORY* ..................................................................................................................7

CHAPTER ONE: *VISUALIZING MEXICAN MIGRATION PATTERNS POLICY* ....................15

CHAPTER TWO: *OIL EXPROPRIATION TO ENERGY REFORM: DIGITALIZING THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM* ........................................................................................................24

CHAPTER THREE: *MEXICO'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION* ...........................................34

CHAPTER FOUR: *THE TRANSFORMATION OF MEXICO'S RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS* 44

CONCLUSION: *WHERE TO GO FROM HERE: THE FUTURE OF DATA VISUALIZATION IN MEXICAN HISTORY* .........................................................................................................53

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..........................................................................................................................55
ABSTRACT

Since the digital revolution in the 1990s, scholars are increasingly debating the use of digital technologies in their research and data dissemination. This new era of scholarship, “digital humanities”, has promoted the use of data visualization, info-graphics, data animation and interactive maps to promote and make visible scholarship. This thesis uses digital technologies to explore the possibilities for digitalizing modern Mexican history. By using Mexican historical events as case studies, it argues that data visualizations promote the accessibility of scholarly research and a more popular history, while remaining transparent.
Introduction: Let’s Go Digital! Digitalization’s place in Modern Mexican History

 Reformers, renegades, and heroes, have enveloped twentieth-century Mexico in democratization, corruption, and constitutional reforms, with complex and interwoven processes that make it one of the most intriguing places and periods in Latin American history. While the early part of the century experienced violent nation-building and national identity campaigns, it is in the second half of the century that the effects of those processes take form within the culture and society of modern Mexico.

 Nineteen-Eighty marks the beginning of a new upsurge of social, political and economic programs within Mexico. These created a different sort of revolution that lacked outward violence, coup d’états, or dramatic exiles; nevertheless, it was a revolution that destroyed much of community sense of security, reorganized social structures, changed international trade laws and altered the face of politics.¹ The drastic reorganization of multiple entities created a complex, interwoven and intriguing period. Relatively a non-violent “revolution” experience, the country remained closed off to foreign trade and investment.²

 This thesis examines specific events, themes or ideas that were prominent from 1980-2012. These include the surge in informal and unauthorized migration after the termination of the Bracero Program in 1964, the history of natural

² Haber, Mexico Since 1980, 2.
resources from oil expropriation in the 1930s to energy reform in 2012, the transition to transparent and accountable democracy, exemplified in the 2000 Presidential election, and finally, the transformation of religion and its institutions, with the 1992 religious reforms.

Although many scholars have considered this era from 1980-2012, few have approached the sources, material, and narrative using digital methodology. Digitalizing and graphically organizing history allows for greater accessibility and promotes a more popular history, in the sense of using visuals to make it more accessible to the general public. Through the use of info-graphics and data animation, modern history can be understood and reimagined for popular consumption, disseminating data transparently and clearly to reach broader audiences. The approach of digital humanities does not avoid traditional historical methodologies, but rather builds on them. Applying historical methods into info-graphics and data animation provides scholars, students and public audiences access to academically respected research. Digital history departs from writing history for other historians and expands the reach of otherwise sheltered historical data.

Digital scholars, like David M. Berry, believe that as technologies continue to develop, digitalization of information will become more prevalent. While some scholars rely more heavily than others on technology, most use it in some way or another. Berry’s research argues that with so much information available to

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scholars, digitalization provides a concrete way to visualize, and at the same time, disseminate information.4

The emergence of digital humanities, according to Berry, can be traced to the evolving field of humanities. Digitalization became more prevalent the more scholars used technology as a type of digital toolkit. He argues:

...First-wave digital humanities involved the building of infrastructure in the studying of humanities texts through digital repositories, text markup and so forth, whereas the second wave digital humanities expands the notional limits of the archive to include digital works, and so bring to bear the humanities’ own methodological toolkits to look at “born-digital” materials, such as electronic literature (e-lit), interactive fiction (IF), web-based artifacts and so forth.

The field of digital humanities did not appear overnight, it evolves as new research is constantly being produced and new methodologies are adapted. Accordingly, Berry ascertains that we are currently in the “third wave” this evolution humanities in which the emphasis is on the actual process of digitalization.

Digitalization acts as a representation and “mediation” between one’s memory and historical archives.5 Using Mexican events as case studies, this thesis uses Berry’s theoretical idea that digitalization facilitates communication between the data and sources in the archives and how people remember that information. As the mediator between archive and memory, digitalization allows scholars to approach history in a different way.

Due to its adaptive and evolutionary nature, there are multiple ways to define the field of digital history. Katherine Hayles argues that as print-based disciplines experienced a shift towards digital research, we began to think alongside

4 Berry, Understanding Digital Humanities, 4.
5 Berry, Understanding Digital Humanities, 6.
and through digital humanities. As what she calls digital media transitions and new technologies develop, there has also been a change in the way we think and how we conceptualize digital media. The first stage of digital media began with the emergence of the Internet, email communication, websites and the sharing of digital files. On this level, the majority of academic scholars have participated in one way or another. The second development moved from digital media as a tool to share data into an integral part of a scholar’s research process. The third development involved the conceptualization and implementation of research projects in digital formats. In this stage, the way in which scholars thought about the material transformed. Digital media, or “graphics, animation, design, video, and sound” took on an “argumentative force and became part of the researcher’s quest for meaning.”

Hayles departs from the majority of digital scholars, in her direct and unapologetic analysis of the inherent “rift” between traditional and digital scholars. While the former often reject digital media and resist using digital methodologies, the latter assume their readers’ and audience’s ability to conceptualize an argument presented in digital form. What becomes dangerous for traditional scholars is when, in their resistance to digital media, they develop “tunnel vision that focuses on text to the exclusion of everything else, such as graphics, animation navigation, etc.” Additionally, the rift between traditional and digital leads to isolated research

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7 Hayles, *How We Think*, 2.
8 Hayles, *How We Think*, 3.
on both sides. Traditional scholars may be isolated from communication with the growing field of digital researchers. Digital scholars may be “cut-off from the rich resources of print media.”

Hayles suggests using comparative media studies to broaden and unify the theoretical framework of both print and digital research.

A major critique is that humanities scholars rarely have the necessary skills to produce advanced digital projects. Yet, as technologies become more user- and budget-friendly, digital humanities becomes more ubiquitous and exciting. However exciting the direction the field is going, there are still important factors to consider. Like Berry and Hayles, digital scholar Bryan Carter notes that the field of digital humanities is still evolving and has multiple definitions attached to it. The fluctuations within digital humanities can both limit and promote new scholarship. For example, due to developments in technology, researchers no longer depend on coding skills to design their own applications and projects. Additionally, the user-friendly programs promote greater communication among scholars across the field.

Carter’s research focuses on the applied and active nature of digital humanities. Through the act of arranging information and data clearly, the researcher gains tangible and intimate knowledge of it. The interaction between researcher and data assumes a relationship based on the physical and visual balance of information.

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12 Hayles, How We Think, 7.
13 Hayles, How We Think, 9.
15 Carter, Digital Humanities, x.
16 Carter, Digital Humanities, x.
Carter argues that the development of digital humanities is approaching the “third wave.” The humanities, he argues, were never really part of the “digital revolution” that happened in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Now disciplines, like history, cultural studies and religion, are accepting digital methodologies.\textsuperscript{17}

A major goal of this thesis is to provide an argument in favor of digital methodologies that provides a new understanding of traditional sources. Through an examination of cultural, environmental, economic and political transformations from 1980-2012, this thesis utilizes comparative media perspectives in which the written narrative and print-based research collide with data visualization and infographics. The intersection between print and digitalization allows for a reimaging of narratives thus, providing new insights into the recent history.

Chapter One assesses the transformation of migration policy and patterns from the end of the Bracero Program in 1964. The effects on migration of terminating the Bracero Program were reflected in the policies created in the 1980’s, such as the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1985. Migration has been a major topic in presidential races on both sides of the border. The mingling rhetoric and policies that fill the narrative make it difficult to understand the multi-faceted history. The visual representation of migration is expressed in an interactive info-graphic timeline displaying essential policies and political responses from the increase in migration to the U.S.. The info-graphic condenses over 60 years in a transparent and accessible manner.

\textsuperscript{17} Carter, \textit{Digital Humanities}, x.
Chapter Two examines Mexico’s natural resource and energy reform history. Since Cárdenas passed the oil expropriation decree and created Petróleos Mexicanos, or PEMEX, in the 1930's, the energy sector has experienced drastic up and downs. From PEMEX's heyday in the 1970's after the discovery of vast reserves in the Cantarell oil fields, to the struggle of having low production and exportation rates paired with paying high government taxes in the 1990's, to Energy Reform in 2012, the energy sector exemplifies the country's tumultuous history. The use of info-graphic visualization provides readers, scholars and students a “Five Minute Guide on Mexico’s path to Energy Reform.” As in the previous chapter, Chapter Two uses a visual info-graphic to appeal to broader audiences while explaining the nation’s modern history.

Much like the monopoly held by PEMEX throughout the twentieth century, the ruling political party, Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), was in power for 70 years. Chapter Three analyzes the nation’s democratic transition focusing on the presidential election in 2000 between President Ernesto Zedillo of the PRI, and Vicente Fox of the PAN party; as well as the presidential election in 2012 in which the PRI regained the presidency as President Enrique Peña Nieto won the election. The animated video traces the contemporary political narrative and provides clarity to the convoluted history of politics from 1980-2012.

Finally, Chapter Four looks at the transformation of religious institutions, ideologies, and moral attitudes. The chapter outlines the major events in the religious transformation, including the 1917 Constitution, 1968 student movements, the Pope’s visit, and finally President Carlos Salinas’s religious reforms that were
passed in 1992. The data visualization in Chapter Four comprises two parts: first, an interactive map that outlines the number of people in each state who belong to different religions; and secondly, six separate bubble maps that display the geographical distribution of religious affiliations in each state. These maps demonstrate that the once mono-religious culture has changed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to include multiple religions.

The choice of the focus on migration, energy reform, democratization, and religious transformation reflects the complexity and digital potential of each topic. While there are many historical events that can, and should be digitalized, these four best represent the power of digital humanities in providing new conclusions to modern Mexican history. This thesis is intended to promote the field of digital history and to offer a starting point for future scholarship in the digital fields.
“La palabra ‘migración’ significaba para los de
Tres Camarones la temporada en que el atún y
las ballenas pasaban rumbo al norte por la costa,
o cuando las guacamayas llegaban del sur.
No sabían de otro significado”.
—Luis Alberto Urrea in Into the Beautiful North

Chapter 1: Visualizing Mexican Migration Patterns Policy

The evolution of Mexican migration across the U.S.-Mexico Border can be seen in two ways. The first looks at the U.S.-Mexico border during the 1940’s. It was a barren, empty land, plentiful in dirt and cacti, there was no military or border patrol, only people crossing back and forth across a small chain-linked fence, the supposed delineation of the two countries. Jump forward 50 years to the 1990’s and the scene becomes bleaker. The violence and separation between the two countries becomes palpable in the 10-foot cement wall and, border patrol maintaining surveillance.18 People no longer cross the divide freely, but must pass through multiple levels of security and bureaucracy in their efforts. In 50 years the U.S.-Mexico border region has changed drastically. Many factors account for this change and have resulted in different events or programs.

One feature of the relationship between the United States and Mexico has always been one of turmoil, hardship, and delicate interactions. The two countries, share the same land, and in many instances the same people. The scenes described above are not isolated instances, but commonplace examples of the large-scale transformation that happened over a relatively short period. In less than half a century the border between the two countries changed from a region with little violence, surveillance, and political attention. Today the border and migration are at the forefront of national political debate and are experiencing intensified militarization. The Border Patrol, Customs agents, and Mexican army have made the border an increasingly dangerous place to cross, thwarting the traditional process of commuter migration in which people live on one side, and work on the other side. With the traditional migration patterns disrupted, more and more migrants remain in the United States.

In 1942, needing an increased work force because of the call up of men due to World War II, the U.S. and Mexico entered into the first authorized agreement that contracted Mexican workers to migrate to the U.S. and work in fields and farms. The Bracero Program was the first major guest migration program for the United States in the 20th century. The end of the Bracero Program in 1964 left hundreds and thousands of Mexican workers jobless, and United States farmers without field hands. The demand for a cheap labor force in the US and the lack of jobs in Mexico caused unauthorized migration to the U.S. to skyrocket. In response

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to the increase in unauthorized migration, the U.S. passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act. In 1994 two essential responses to the increase in unauthorized migration took place: the Border Patrol Strategic plan and the signing of North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA under President Bill Clinton’s Administration. The progression of the U.S. response to Mexican migration represents a clear pattern in policies and laws surrounding the border.

Many scholars from both the United States and Mexico have discussed the change in migration patterns, the effect of those changes on the U.S.-Mexico border, and migration policy. The Scholars’ disciplines range from sociological and anthropological studies to more empirical geographical studies that survey land, space and population. Some of the most notable scholars who have written on these migration patterns include Douglass Massey, Jorge Durand, Manuel Garcia y Griego, and Katherine Donato.

Sociologist Douglass Massey and anthropologist Jorge Durand, in the study, “The Changing Geography of Mexican Immigration to the United States: 1910-1996,” use micro-data samples from 1910 and population surveys from the 1990’s to describe the trends in geographic destinations of migrants. The authors found that before 1910, most migrants went to Texas, but with the escalation of the Bracero Program in the 1940s, California surpassed Texas as the top destination. In the 1990s it became clear the migration to the U.S. was no longer a regional phenomenon, but rather international as migrants were increasingly arriving apart

from the five traditional “gateway” states. The study stresses that clear patterns of migration from Mexico to the U.S. that can be traced geographically through population surveys and census data. These patterns, they argue, are integral to understanding modern day migration trends.

Manuel Garcia y Griego approaches the subject of migration from a Mexican perspective. In his article, “Responses to Migration: The Bracero Program” he looks specifically at Mexico’s response to migration and the Bracero Program. He, like Massey and Durand, argues that there have been periods in migration since the beginning of the 20th century. Instead of looking at U.S. Census data, he uses letters from Mexican ambassadors and several Mexican executive orders to display the response to the changing atmosphere of migration to the U.S. García y Griego’s essay looks specifically at the Bracero Program, from its establishment in 1942, its many amendments throughout the 1950’s, and to the program’s final termination in 1964. He argues that the era of the Bracero Program has been the only period in which both countries managed labor migration.

Katherine Donato’s study, “U.S. Policy and Mexican Migration to the United States, 1942-92” looked at how the trends among migrant “cohorts” corresponds with U.S. Immigration policy. By looking specifically at 17 case studies, she found three patterns of migration. The first starting with the inception of the Bracero

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23 Garcia y Griego, “Bracero Program,” 1215.
Program, the second beginning at the end of the Bracero program and the final beginning in the late 1970’s when unauthorized migration of both men and women soared. These three migration trends highlight not only movement of people, but also the transformation of policy and security along the border. Donato’s study brings a gendered perspective to migration studies as she also looks at the migration pattern for women and children, not just the traditional agricultural worker migrant.

Migration back and forth between Mexico and the United States has long been a tradition. Before there were walls, watchtowers, and swarms of armed border patrol agents, there was indifference towards the border. People from the United States and Mexico crossed freely without fear of death, deportation, or separation from family members. Research has dominated the historiography of Mexican migration to the U.S. While empirical geographical studies, investigations from the Mexican perspective, and studies that focus on the beginning of the Bracero program provide a necessary interdisciplinary perspective on the increase in Mexican migration since the 1960’s, but they are not always accessible to the public.

An info-graphic demonstration, as a visual display of the research presented by migration scholars enables the general public to access and engage with the information. The visualization of the data provides an interactive opportunity for students and scholars, while still promoting transparent, academic research.

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The info-graphic below displays a timeline of major migration policies and trends in the twentieth century. It traces the history of migration from the beginning of the twentieth century to present day policies and reactions.
A History of Immigration Policy and Migration Flows

**Pre-World War II Migration Era**

- **1900**: At the turn of the 20th century, about 60,000 Mexicans entered the United States per year.
- **1910**: New agriculture and transportation technology developed. Migration rates doubled.
- **1920**: Anti-immigration backlash reaches the U.S.-Mexico Border. 75% decrease in Mexican migration to the U.S.
- **1928**: Migration rates continue to increase, doubling again since 1910.
The Bracero Migration Era

1941
WWII
U.S. goes to war. Labor shortages are prominent due to the military draft and growing demand for factory workers.

1942
The Bracero Program Begins

1953
"Operation Wetback"
Prompted by the return of American soldiers, the campaign, launched under President Eisenhower, deported over 2 million unauthorized Mexicans.

Unauthorized Migration Era

1964
INA
Immigration and Naturalization Act tried to "modernize" migration policy by emphasizing family connection.

1965
Border Patrol
From 1970-1985, Border Patrol's presence along the U.S.-Mexico border increased five-fold.

1970
IRCA
Immigration Reform and Control Act passed. It included legalization processes for those who had been in the U.S. since 1982, more border security and new employer sanctions.

1986
The Bracero Program
Persuaded by coalitions of worker advocates, President Kennedy ended the Bracero Program.
Since 1986

1990
Immigration Act of 1990

1996
Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act

2002-06
U.S. passed six immigration enforcement laws, including US PATRIOT ACT and HOMELAND SECURITY ACT

2010
DREAM Act- Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors

2012
DACA- Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals

2014
President Obama’s Executive Action for Immigration Reform

Created By Clea Conlin
Chapter 2: Oil Expropriation to Energy Reform: Digitalizing the Constitutional Reform

The ownership, production and consumption of natural resources in Mexico have created a tumultuous history. On March 18, 1938, President Lázaro Cárdenas ordered the expropriation of all oil reserves in attempt to keep profits from mineral and oil reserves in the country. Cárdenas later created the government-owned Petróleos Mexicanos, or PEMEX, that eventually acted as a monopoly of the Oil Industry. With little to no competition, PEMEX’s power grew until it became the world’s second largest non-publicly traded company in 2006, with over $415.75 billion in total assets.27

Before oil expropriation foreign companies, interests and investments largely controlled the energy sector and natural resources. Over 60% of oil production came from the subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell Company, and over 30% came from United States-owned companies like the Standard Oil Company of California, now Chevron, and the Jersey Standard Oil Company.28 Under Article 25 and 27 in the 1917 Constitution, the Government owned the subsoil, which included any natural resources found below ground and the rights to exploit them.29 Fearing that Mexico would exercise their constitutional rights, the United States responded with the

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29 “Mexican Oil Expropriation of Foreign Oil, 1938.”
Calles-Morrow Agreement in 1928.\(^{30}\) The Agreement reaffirmed and protected the rights of the foreign oil companies.

With the Great Depression on the horizon, the nation’s largely agrarian-based economy and small domestic market was crippled by the foreign companies’ dominance in the oil industry. The majority of the oil and the profits left the country, leaving Mexico and its people of a rightful share of its natural resource and resentful of foreign companies.\(^{31}\) As the wave of the Depression reached Mexico in the 1930’s, the situation worsened. The Government’s share of oil revenues dwindled and domestic oil production dropped.\(^{32}\)

The unrest in the oil industry and the resentment of the people towards the foreign companies came to a head in 1936 during a strike led by discontented oil workers. The Syndicate of Oil Workers demanded better working conditions and equal pay in their labor contract written for the entire industry.\(^{33}\) The stipulations of the Syndicate reflected the attitudes held by many government officials. After a series of court proceedings and petitions, President Lázaro Cárdenas took action. On March 18, 1938 he issued a decree that reaffirmed the government’s control over oil properties. He stated in his decree:

They are hereby declared expropriated, because of their being of public entity, and in favor of the Nation, the machinery, installations, buildings, pipe-lines, refineries, storage-tanks, ways of communication, tank-cars,

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\(^{32}\) “Mexican Oil Expropriation of Foreign oil, 1938.”

distributing stations, water-craft, and all other real and personal property...” (Article 1)³⁴

After expropriation, all oil was owned, controlled and regulated through PEMEX, or Petróleos Mexicanos. The foreign companies almost immediately retaliated by instituting an embargo on Mexican oil causing a 50% drop in exports.³⁵ Against intense international opposition, Cárdenas’s decree withstood the immense setbacks and changed the future of the national oil industry. Even after Cárdenas left office in 1940s, PEMEX confidently held a monopoly in the industry for the next 70 years.

Fast-forwarding to 2012, energy reform was once again a major topic during the 2012 Presidential Elections. Since its inception in 1938 to its heyday in the 1970’s PEMEX was one of the government’s most profitable entities. The discovery of shallow and easily exploitable oil reserves in the Cantarell field allowed PEMEX workers to extract oil and gas reserves at relatively low costs and minimal effort. ³⁶ Once the majority of reserves were extracted from Cantarell, PEMEX’s revenues fell sharply. They could not afford to extract the oil from the deeper and more difficult fields of the Gulf Coast. Extracting less oil and bombarded by high taxes from the government, PEMEX’s safety infrastructure and working conditions faltered. In

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³⁵ “Mexican Oil Expropriation of Foreign Oil, 1938.”
January 2013, 37 people were killed in an explosion caused by a gas leak at PEMEX offices in Mexico City.\textsuperscript{37}

Enrique Peña Nieto, the current president, based much of his election campaign on the promotion of an energy reform platform. After being elected, he took major steps: in August of 2013, he proposed constitutional reforms that altered the energy sector, in an attempt to stimulate the steadily declining oil and gas production.\textsuperscript{38} Figure 1 shows this decline. While oil consumption remained relatively even over the ten year period, a noticeable decline occurred in the amount of oil being produced by PEMEX.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{oil_production_consumption_2002_2013.png}
\caption{Mexico’s Oil Production v. Consumption, 2002-2013}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{38} Clare Ribando Seelke, et al. “Mexico’s Oil and Gas Sector” Background, Reform Efforts, and Implications for the U.S.,” 2.
Before President Peña Nieto’s Energy Reform Proposal was passed, he joined in the “Pact for Mexico” agreement in which he received support from both the PRI and the opposition party PAN. The pacto propelled the energy reform constitutional amendments to be passed just four months after Peña Nieto’s proposed the amendments. On December 20, 2013 Congress approved the constitutional alterations for the energy sector.

Major provisions of the reform reaffirm that Mexico remains in control of its subsoil and natural resources, but permits foreign and private companies to gain ownership of those resources once they were extracted. It also reorganized PEMEX into a “productive state enterprise” whose budget, operation, and board of direction remained autonomous from the government.

On August 13, 2014 the government announced the results of “Round Zero” or the first official auction of Mexican oil. While historically private companies could not participate in the oil economy, under the new provision foreign investors could bid on an oil field located in Mexican territory. While Round Zero did not open up new fields for private investors, it did increase opportunities for increased foreign involvement in the exploration and production of oil. Under Round Zero PEMEX was

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39 Clare Ribando Seelke, et al. “Mexico’s Oil and Gas Sector” Background, Reform Efforts, and Implications for the U.S.,” 4.
40 Clare Ribando Seelke, et al. “Mexico’s Oil and Gas Sector” Background, Reform Efforts, and Implications for the U.S.,” 3.
42 David L. Goldwyn, Mexico Rising: Comprehensive Energy Reform at Last? Atlantic Council, December 2013,
awarded 83% of reserves and 21% of prospective reserves. PEMEX began transforming its existing contracts, allowing foreign companies interested in investing in oil a chance to become a partner

While Round Zero initiated the reform process, it was not as successful as the government had hoped. According to Carlos Pascual, former U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, thirty-nine companies investigated PEMEX’s oil fields, thirty-four of those qualified to participate in the auctions, but there were only nine bidders, with four of those bids coming from consortia.

After Round Zero, PEMEX carried out the restructuring of its regulatory agencies and began hiring and training staff. Foreign companies interested in the oil reserves have been watching the degree to which PEMEX follows the reform’s safety and transparency mandates. Efforts to establish fair bidding and controlled production and extraction practices has been hindered by the nearly $8 billion dollar budget decline caused by the decreasing oil prices. The second round of bidding, or “Round One” only awarded 2 of 14 oil blocks to foreign companies. The results, like Round Zero, were deemed disappointing.

The lack of foreign interest in the energy reform is due to falling oil prices. To the foreign companies, investing in fields when oil prices are below $50 per barrel is

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43 Clare Ribando Seelke, et al. “Mexico’s Oil and Gas Sector” Background, Reform Efforts, and Implications for the U.S.”, 7
45 Clare Ribando Seelke, et al. “Mexico’s Oil and Gas Sector” Background, Reform Efforts, and Implications for the U.S.”, 8.
not profitable, PEMEX’s oil prices average around $22/barrel.\textsuperscript{47} In order to keep foreign interests in Mexican oil, the government will have to create more competitive terms for the companies like offering lower fees and access to arbitration.\textsuperscript{48}

The results of the energy reform could affect the United States in major ways, yet many individuals are not aware of the situation. Based on the methodology of scholars like David M. Berry, Katherine Hayles and Brian W. Carter, the data listed above is highlighted and expressed in the info-graphic below. By visually displaying the information on energy reform, this thesis can reach broader audiences and promote more widely the field of digital history In the info-graphic, “5 Minute Guide to Mexico’s Energy Reform” the over-arching narrative covers the resource question, beginning with oil expropriation in 1938 and ending in the 2012 energy reform.

\textsuperscript{47} Clare Ribando Seelke, et al. “Mexico’s Oil and Gas Sector” Background, Reform Efforts, and Implications for the U.S.”, 8.
\textsuperscript{48} Dwight Dyer, “New Terms on Mexico’s Oil Bids Will Try to Soften the Blow,” El Daily Post, September 13, 2015
In 1938, Mexico expropriated their oil and created Petroleos Mexicanos, which resulted in a 70 year monopoly of the production, consumption, and ownership of natural resources. President Enrique Peña Nieto, passed Energy Reform in 2013, opening up the energy sector to private investment.

Where does Mexico Stand in the Energy Sector?

Mexico Ranks:

- 3rd in proven oil reserves in Latin America, behind Venezuela and Brazil
- 9th largest oil producer worldwide

Oil Accounts for:

- 13% of Mexico’s earnings from total exports
- 32% of Mexico’s total revenues
However, Mexico can't keep up with the demand—oil production is declining...

75 years after President Lázaro Cárdenas expropriated oil and founded PEMEX, their oil industry began to face many challenges. PEMEX's oil production peaked in the 1970's through the exploitation of relatively easy-to-exploit shallow water reserves in the Cantarell Oil Field.

With shallow oil reserves diminishing, PEMEX saw high losses, low worker productivity, and crumbling infrastructure. Operating at a loss for over a decade, PEMEX became more of a reliability for the Mexican government than an asset.

Mexican Crude Oil Production 2003-2013

Oil Production dropped 22% from 2004–2009

Oil production is at its lowest since 1995
Goals of Proposed Constitutional Reform:

Generate $30 billion in Foreign Direct Investment  
Create over 2.5 million jobs by 2025  
Add 1% GDP growth by 2018

Major Elements of Reform

- Private Investments
- Sovereign Wealth Fund
- New Contract System
- Est. Autonomous Budgets for PEMEX
- End PEMEX Monopoly
- Est. Regulatory Roles

Retain State Ownership of subsoil and natural resources... allow for private ownership once those resources were extracted.

Because democracy as a way of life and government
is based upon the essential equality of all human beings,
it is the best form of legitimation of political power and
the optimal system to respect human dignity.

-PAN Principles of Doctrine, article 5, 1939/1965

Chapter 3: Mexico’s Democratic Transition

In the history of Mexican politics, 2000 was a pivotal year. After nearly 70 years of a political monopoly, the Institutional Revolution Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI), the world’s longest standing one-party regime, lost in the presidential elections, when voters elected the National Action Party (Partido Accion Naccional, PAN) candidate, Vicente Fox over the PRI candidate, Francisco Labastida, by a margin of more than six percent. The PAN’s triumph over the powerful PRI represented the people’s hope for transparency and rule of law. It signified an end to corrupt elections and authoritarian rule. Suddenly, people’s votes were counting and elections mattered. The transition from PRI to PAN, while momentous for politics, reflected a much larger democratic transition happening on local, regional and national levels across the nation.

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Prior to the Fox’s victory, scholars had debated, “whether Mexico’s political system was a ‘perfect’ authoritarian regime or an imperfect democracy.”\textsuperscript{52} While 2000 was monumental for democratization, there were moments throughout the twentieth century that propelled the transition. As early as the 1960’s protestors contested the PRI’s power.\textsuperscript{53} Slowly, in the 1980s, more and more opposition candidates were winning seats in legislature, planting the seeds for democratic reform and the eventual victory of the PAN in 2000.

Born out of the evolution, the PRI was the result of efforts to secure a legitimate centralization of power.\textsuperscript{54} The instability, chaos, and violence that were characteristic of the Revolution made it difficult to centralize the needs of all those involved.\textsuperscript{55} In 1929 President Plutarco Elías Calles remedied these issues through the establishment of the broad-based National Revolutionary Party (Partido Nacional Revolucionario, PNR), the first manifestation of the PRI.\textsuperscript{56} The establishment of the PNR provided revolutionary leaders and political elites an environment to settle disputes, not with violence, but through dialogue.\textsuperscript{57} The party also formalized the process of distributing political benefits. Under President Cárdenas the PNR transformed into the Mexican Revolution Party (Partido Mexicano Revolucionario, PMR) and established sectors of the party specifically for workers, workers, public service employees, and the military, broadening the scope

\textsuperscript{52} Shirk, Mexico’s New Politics, 1.
\textsuperscript{53} Shirk, Mexico’s New Politics, 2.
\textsuperscript{55} Shirk, Mexico’s New Politics, 18.
\textsuperscript{56} Shirk, Mexico’s New Politics, 18.
\textsuperscript{57} Shirk, Mexico’s New Politics, 18.
of the party’s reach. Finally, during the presidency of Manuel Avila Camacho, the PMR transitioned into its current incarnation as the PRI.

The PRI maintained widespread support and large margins of victory during elections throughout the remainder of the twentieth century. Its control and domination of politics was a result of their relationship with the government as the official, party of the country. The relationship between the PRI and the government led to the party’s and the Mexican government’s undemocratic nature. The party adopted “machine-style” politics, built on clientelistic practices, and promises of rewards in return for political favors. The party’s ability to almost guarantee victory in elections when necessary turned to fraud and corruption. It maintained power through intimidation, extortion, and other abuses of power.

Bribery and clientelism were not the only methods the PRI used against other opposition parties. The PRI’s lack of principles added to its flexible nature. The PRI was able to shift political positions depending on the political climate, opposition candidate, or election. “David A. Shirk describes the PRI’s volte-face as, “...a political pendulum that gravitated from left to right, from one presidential administration to the next in order to maintain support across the ideological spectrum.” The PRI’s political monopoly grew to be uncontestable; their support, whether bought or earned, was incredibly difficult to challenge. Building on the

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social unrest of the 1960’s and ’70’s, PAN began slowly to make its way onto the political stage.  

PAN supporters saw the PRI as an example of how not to run a political party. Therefore, the development and organization of the PAN was based on its opposition of the PRI. The leaders believed that it was the responsibility of the government to uphold the fundamental rights of the individual, and to confront all types of violence, chaos, disorder and injustice in society. The PAN’s doctrine stated:

All democratic regimes should respect, promote, and guarantee not only the theoretical recognition but also the real exercise of the fundamental rights of the individual, that is, those that are due to all members of the political community. (PAN 1939, article 5)

PAN also emphasized the right of the individual to participate in free and fair elections and the “process of formation of the government.” While the PRI held political power, it was not unanimous. During the late twentieth century, PAN and other opposition parties increasingly won seats in the national congress, based on a PRI-inspired process granting seats to individuals who won a certain number of votes and in state and local elections. The graph below show the percentage of votes won for Congress from 1961 until 2000.

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64 Wuhs, Savage Democracy, 22.
65 Shirk, Mexico’s New Politics, 28.
66 Shirk, Mexico’s New Politics, 29.
67 Shirk, Mexico’s New Politics, 29.
In 1961 until 1970 the PRI dominated Congressional elections. After the 1968 Tlaltelolco massacre in Mexico City, PRI’s support saw a small but significant decline in support. Police and military officers mercilessly murdered hundreds of students, who were protesting for more transparency and democracy in government right before the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. The PRI’s support gradually declined though the end of the twentieth century, while the PAN’s support was growing. The PAN finally overtook the PRI in 2000 Presidential Election.

2000 was most significant event in Mexico’s democratic transition. The 2000 Presidential Elections in Mexico marked the end of the PRI’s absolute control in the executive branch of government and the “incestuous” relationship between state
and party began to deteriorate. The PAN’s Vicente Fox irked out a victory against the PRI’s candidate, Francisco Labastida, winning 42.5% of the votes over PRI’s 36.1%. While PAN won the presidency, they did not hold a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. This created a major setback for Fox, many of his PAN-centered ideas were thwarted by the PRI controlled Congress.

Fox’s victory, according to Roderic Ai Camp, can be attributed to a number of trends that extend back to the 1940s, including: “regionalism, urbanization, and the level of economic and social development.” Opposition support has been significantly stronger in specific regions. In an analysis of four presidential elections prior to 1994, Camp found that the opposition parties “…obtained more than 30 percent more of the votes in seven states: Baja California, the Federal District, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Mexico, Michoacán, and Morelos.” These states exemplify urbanization and development, and, collectively, share some of the highest income per capita in the nation. Studies have shown that economic stability, growth, and development are related to election results. While in the U.S. economic instability generally results in a decline in presidential support, the opposite can be seen in Mexico. “…Although strong economic performance in the short term increases voter

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69 Mexico’s Congress of the Union is a bicameral assembly consisting of the Chamber of Deputies in the lower house and the Senate in the upper house. The political party that holds control of the executive branch does not automatically control Congress. Power in Congress is based proportionately on the opposition party and the elected party. Fox lacked a plurality of power in both houses of Congress, even though he was elected the chief executive.
satisfaction with the government, when economic performance translates into higher standards of living, those who live in regions benefiting most have voted for the opposition, contrary to expectations.”

This means that although economically stable, those seven states did not show an increase in the support for the party in power (PRI), but rather demonstrated an increase in support of the opposition party (PAN). Geography also played a role in Fox’s victory in 2000. The states located in the border region are more likely to vote PAN due to their access and geographical proximity to the United States. This is significant, because it shows how influential geography is in presidential elections.

One of the most important factors that led to the PAN’s victory in 2000 was the increase in young and first-time voters. Moreover, individuals age 18-24 were the largest constituency among voters, accounting for over 18% of all votes. The majority of young voters, many of them students, voted for PAN and Vicente Fox. In fact, Fox did better than any other candidate among all age groups under 55. Those over 55 voted for the PRI.

After the 2000 Presidential Election, Mexico was well on its way to democratization. The descent of the PRI in 2000 and the rise of the opposition parties completely changed the political landscape. Yet, no political party has yet to earn full confidence among its supporters. Camp found that fewer than a quarter of all voters have confidence in their political parties; thus, no political party is

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74 Camp, Politics in Mexico: The Democratic Transformation, 199
75 Camp, Politics in Mexico: The Democratic Transformation, 203
76 Camp, Politics in Mexico: The Democratic Transformation, 203
secure. Nevertheless, PAN’s popularity among younger voters, its ideological base, and President Fox’s direct communication with the people put the party at an advantage over the PRI and PRD.

The map below depicts the winning party from each Mexican state. Blue states represent PAN, green states represent the PRI and yellow states represent the PRD.

![Map of Mexico showing winning parties](http://www.electionresources.org/mx/maps/president.php?election=2000)

The map in Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the 2000 Presidential election. PAN won the majority of northern states, excluding Tamaulipas, and PRI was more successful in the central and southern states. PRD only won in Michoacán.

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77 Camp, Politics in Mexico: The Democratic Transformation, 212.
78 Camp, Politics in Mexico: The Democratic Transformation, 212.
Figure 3 shows the election results from the last three presidential elections: 2000, 2006 and 2012.

The 2006 elections saw another PAN victory for candidate Felipe Calderón, winning 35.9% of the votes, PRD received 35.3% and PRI with only 22.2%. The 2012 presidential elections returned the power once again to the PRI, electing current president Enrique Peña Nieto. The PRI solidly won the election with 38.2% of the votes, the PAN received 25.4%, and the PRD won 31.6%.\footnote{Election Resources. “Mexico Results” accessed April 1, 2016, http://www.electionresources.org/mx/president.php?election=2000} The return of the PRI shocked the political community, and brings up the question: was Mexico ever
in a democratic transition, or was it a democratic cycle? The PRI's defeat in 2012 can be seen in two ways: as the definition of democracy, or example of clean elections. With the next presidential election in 2018, the democratic process will once again be tested for its transparency and Rule of Law.

The events leading up to the 2000 election were incredibly complex in their details. Therefore, democratic transition provides the perfect historical documentation to create an animated digitalization of the data. In the following animated video, the complex and interwoven history of the democratization process can easily be understood through a visual methodology, making the historical and academic research more accessible and transparent for a broad audience of people. Using an animated video provides a digital platform for graphics, information, data and images that can be instantaneously shared with thousands of people.
“I am a nonbeliever, but I am a Catholic

in the sense that I belong to a Catholic culture.

I can’t get away from it. It impregnates everything

-my worldview, my view on politics, my view of women,

of education, of literature.” – Carlos Fuentes

Chapter 4: Religion in Mexico

Religion has played much more than just a spiritual role in Mexican society, it
defined and dictated much of the nation’s culture. The trajectory of religion reflects
indigenous spirituality, traditions, and beliefs, and European, especially Spanish
Catholicism. During the colonial period, religion provided one way in which to
enforce the crown’s power and control the indigenous populations. The Church
and State were combined, and the Crown used the Church to promote and pursue its
goals.

The Catholic Church until the late twentieth century was one major source of
“cultural power” in which religious participation could affect political outcomes and
social mobilization. The church’s extensive social, educational, labor and religious
networks injected religious ideologies and beliefs into secular affairs, broadening its

83 Schwaller, The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America, 12.
84 Camp, Crossing Swords, 5.
scope of power on multiple levels.\textsuperscript{85} The Church had influence on politics and through moral and religious teachings determined the construct of the Mexican home, family and everyday life. The Catholic Church as one of the most powerful institutions in the country was challenged first by Benito Juárez and the Liberals, and then by the revolutionaries, especially the Constitutional of 1917.

The Church’s power did not remain uncontested. While newly independent the nation saw the active participation of ecclesiastical leaders in political, social and economic affairs, including those that did not directly affect the Church, the Constitution of 1857 and Reformation period ended that practice.\textsuperscript{86} Liberalism was the biggest threat to the Church’s influence, and developed directly in an effort to separate church and state.\textsuperscript{87} Liberals sought to remove all facets of religious political involvement.\textsuperscript{88} The Constitutions in 1857 was essential to the growth of liberalism. Support of anti church policies also came from the Revolution and the 1917 constitution.\textsuperscript{89}

The framers of the 1917 Constitution attacked religious institutions, most notably the Catholic Church. Their anti-clerical stance sought to end the ideological, economic, and political influence of the Church.\textsuperscript{90} In reaction, Church leaders called on Catholics to oppose the new Constitution. Catholic parishioners launched the Cristero Rebellion in 1926 and fought for three years against the revolutionary

\textsuperscript{85} Camp, \textit{Crossing Swords}, 6.
\textsuperscript{86} Camp, \textit{Crossing Swords}, 25.
\textsuperscript{87} Camp, \textit{Crossing Swords}, 25.
\textsuperscript{88} Camp, \textit{Crossing Swords}, 25.
\textsuperscript{89} Camp, \textit{Crossing Swords}, 25.
\textsuperscript{90} Camp, \textit{Crossing Swords}, 26.
government. The 1917 Constitution and the Cristero rebellion shaped the relationship between the clergy and secular individuals for the next 39 years.

Student movements in 1968 led to another volte-face in the Church and government relationship. There was a crisis in the social control of the religious institution and total breakdown of ideologies that had remained relatively stable since 1929. Additionally, the protests, and government reaction to them, internally divided the Church. Priests and clergy members began questioning the government’s economic and political policies, putting them at odds with the hierarchy in the Church. Nevertheless, the mixed reactions to the Tlatelolco massacre within the Church marked a new era of “openness” in dialogue, and revival of the Church’s historic ties with the government. In 1970s the Church’s influence was rejuvenated with the visit of the Pope to Mexico.

After taking office on December 1, 1988, President Carlos Salinas proposed reforms to the 1917 Constitution that would alter the official mandate for Church and government relations. The reforms called for, among other things, freedom of religion; equality among all churches and recognized the legal character of religious groups. In essence, the reforms reestablished the relationship between the religious

91 Roderic Ai Camp, Crossing Swords, 27.
92 Roderic Ai Camp, Crossing Swords, 30.
94 Roderic Ai Camp, Crossing Swords, 30.
clergy and secular political elites.\textsuperscript{96} The reforms have been debated among scholars. Some argue that the religious reforms could lead to personal gain and self-interest, while others maintain that the 1992 reforms pushed the law into the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{97} The reforms created a political schism--even some of Salinas's close supporters thought the reforms, while necessary, were too precarious and could split the party.\textsuperscript{98} However risky, the reforms passed in 1992 and had an immediate effect on the political sphere, eventually contributing to the divisive 2000 Presidential election.\textsuperscript{99}

Today, religious institutions in Mexico and throughout Latin America have been dealing with a plethora of pressures, and have been struggling to keep their ideological base strong. Now, intensified religious competition and more secularism have caused Catholic religious influence in politics and society to erode. The Catholic Church has lost much power and influence over social networks--this can be seen in the lack of Catholic Free Trade networks and decline in Christian Democratic parties.\textsuperscript{100} Social movements are no longer defined by religious ideals and affiliations, but by issues and concerns of a much large social base.\textsuperscript{101} In fact, two thirds of Mexicans believe that the Church should \textit{not} influence government or

\textsuperscript{97} Camp, "Mexican Political Reforms, Something New, Something Old?,”
\textsuperscript{98} Camp, "Mexican Political Reforms, Something New, Something Old?,”
\textsuperscript{99} Camp, "Mexican Political Reforms, Something New, Something Old?,”
\textsuperscript{101} Hagopian, “Latin American Catholicism,” 150.
personal decisions or votes during elections.\textsuperscript{102} The decline of religious influence can be seen in the beliefs of individuals concerning multiple social issues:

Only roughly a third of Latin American Catholics oppose divorces in all circumstances; a significant minority believes that homosexuality and euthanasia sometimes can be justified; and, although they overwhelmingly reject the notion that an abortion can ever be justified, across Latin America rates of clandestine abortions are among the highest in the world.\textsuperscript{103}

Apart from the lack of streamlined beliefs among individuals, the church in Mexico is experiencing a lack of support from government officials.

Now more than ever, secular democracy has become the expected norm for political parties. Political officials respond to new demands for social and family reform that often go against Church teachings.\textsuperscript{104} This demand has included the debates on abortion, birth control, stem-cell research, and condom distribution. As society’s needs change, political officials are altering their ideological base to fit the needs of the people.\textsuperscript{105} As a result, Indigenous groups, women’s movements and human rights initiatives are no longer stonewalled by the relationship between the Church and state.\textsuperscript{106} The new generation of democratic leaders in Mexico and Latin American are much more open to public discussion of ethical issues that were once inhibited by their predecessors.\textsuperscript{107}

The chart below outlines the religious plurality of Mexicans in 2010 and 2011.

\textsuperscript{102} Hagopian, “Latin American Catholicism,” 151.
\textsuperscript{103} Hagopian, “Latin American Catholicism,” 151.
\textsuperscript{104} Hagopian, “Latin American Catholicism,” 151.
\textsuperscript{105} Hagopian, “Latin American Catholicism,” 152.
\textsuperscript{106} Hagopian, “Latin American Catholicism,” 152.
\textsuperscript{107} Hagopian, “Latin American Catholicism,” 152.
Every state has constituents of a multitude of religious groups and spiritual practices. While Catholicism accounts for the majority of religious identifications, it is by no means the only religion. Additionally, something can be said about the regional attributes. The maps below geographically represent the distribution of religious affiliation and are proportional to Mexico’s total population.

The map below display, the majority of Catholics live in central and southern states, while there are not as many, most likely due to the smaller populations that
live in northern states. There is a fairly even distribution of Protestants and Seventh
day Adventists, Jehovah Witness and Mormon. While there are proportionately
more Muslims in central Mexico, the map also shows an even distribution of
Muslims along both the Pacific and Gulf Coasts. Without a doubt, the most strikingly
different map is Judaism. While most of the other religions displayed fairly even
distributions, Judaism is by far most prominent in the center, with only a few
constituents in the southern and eastern states. Finally, the map with black dots
represents the number of people in Mexico who claim no religious affiliation.
Religious Affiliation in Mexico as a Proportion of Total Population, 2010–11

Catholicism in Mexico

Protestantism in Mexico

Seventh Day Adventist/Jehovah Witness in Mexico

Islam in Mexico

Judaism in Mexico

No Religious Affiliation
The visualization of religions is important because it demonstrates just how diverse, despite popular belief, Mexico’s religious ideologies really are. Through the data visualization of maps, one can easily understand that religious life is no longer monopolized by Catholicism, but contains diverse beliefs, moral codes, and faith ideologies.
Conclusion: Where To Go From Here: The Future Of Data Visualization In Mexican History

Digital humanities are becoming more prevalent, not only as a research and visualization tool, but also in the teaching in college classrooms across the country. Entire classes are based around the theory and methodology of Digital Humanities.

In this methodology, as this thesis demonstrates, the researcher can visualize, interact and engage with the information in a tangible way. Additionally, data visualizations and info-graphics can be shared across the globe with just a click on the button. Scholars are no longer hindered by time-consuming communication between institutions or archives.

The field of digital history will only continue to grow. As digital technologies develop, the way students learn is beginning to change and instructors will need to adjust their strategies. Disseminating information through clear, visually stimulating and transparent means allows both the student and instructor to come to new conclusions about data. Info-graphics, data animation and interactive maps make history more available and accessible to students, it provides innumerous opportunities for further research and promotes interactive learning.

Many scholars remain skeptical about digital history- believing that it detracts from the process of being a historian. While there is merit to this argument, digital history seems almost undeniable. As more and more sources and documents are being digitalized and put in digital archives, data sharing through technology has become normalized. The more scholars use the technology available, the more data animation and info-graphic tools will be used to disseminate scholarly research. The
goal of this thesis is to demonstrate the power of visual representation of data.

Through info-graphics, data animation and interactive maps, new conclusions about modern Mexican history can be made.
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