

Fall 2019 | TR, 2:00 – 3:15 pm | Classroom: Mitchell Hall 220

# LTAM 400/POLS 320: Latin American Culture & Society

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Office Hours: Wednesdays 2:30-4:00pm (and other times by appointment)

## Course Description

This course is intended as an introduction to the cultures and societies of Latin America from an interdisciplinary perspective. Latin America is a rich and diverse region, with a wide range of peoples, cultures, political and economic systems, religions and languages. The course surveys the region using materials drawn from both the humanities and social sciences. It is designed to develop a deep and complex understanding of Latin American culture, politics, history and contemporary affairs utilizing materials drawn from both the humanities and social sciences. It also aims to develop general skills in analytical thinking, methods of interpretation, perceptive reading and competent writing.

## Learning Outcomes

Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs) from the departments of Political Science and Latin American Studies can be seen [here](#) and [here](#), respectively. In addition, upon completion of this course, students will:

- Demonstrate substantive interdisciplinary knowledge of social, political, economic, cultural, and historical factors influencing international affairs.
- Display an in-depth understanding of a major geographical region of the world, particularly as it has developed within a larger geopolitical context of European colonialism and U.S. interventions in the region.
- Be able to discuss how vectors of race, class, gender, sexuality, and other forms of group identification intersect to produce inequity among the region's diverse populations.
- Conduct theoretically informed and empirically based analysis of real-world conditions and events and present the results of that analysis persuasively in written and oral forms.

## Course Requirements

### Readings

In this course, we will read a combination of books, book chapters, and journal articles. Students are expected to attend class and keep up with the readings. The course schedule indicates the required readings; you are expected to do these *before* coming to class. The required book for the class is:

- ★ Duncan Green and Sue Branford. 2013. *Faces of Latin America (4th Edition)*. New York: Monthly Review Press

All other required readings will be available through UNM Learn. *If you have any problems accessing the readings please let me know.*

## Grading

- Class performance (20% of final grade). This part of the grade has two components: in-class participation (15%) and attendance (5%). An important part of class time will be devoted to discussing the readings; regular and active participation is expected. *Students who do not feel comfortable speaking in class should contact me. Please do not wait until the last week of classes.*

Attendance will be taken each day. I understand that students might miss class for “legitimate” reasons (e.g., holidays, sickness, emergencies), and thus each student will be allowed four absences without penalty. Starting with the fifth absence, the attendance grade will be lowered from 100 by ten percentage points per absence.

- Short papers (40% of final grade). Throughout the semester, you will submit five response papers – each of these is worth 8% of the final grade. These papers are an opportunity to critically reflect on the readings and lecture material and, at the same time, will help you develop critical, argumentative writing skills. The structure of these will be discussed in class. The due dates of the reports are indicated in the course schedule below.
- In-class writing points (10% of final grade). At the beginning of class, students will be asked to write a short paragraph synthesizing the readings for a given prompt. Submitted responses that make it clear that the reading was done will get one point; in order to get full credit for this portion of your grade, you must get 5 points throughout the course of the semester.
- Research paper (30% of final grade). Students will write a short research paper (7-8 pages) on a topic of their choice. This part of your grade will have three components. First, an abstract (and title) of the paper will be submitted by October 1 *at the latest* (5%). Next, students will submit a *full draft* of their paper by October 31 *at the latest*. Graded drafts (10%) will be handed back to the students with comments and suggestions to improve their papers before the final submission. Students will submit the final paper (15%) by December 5 *at the latest*.

The papers should be a thoughtful discussion of the topic of choice and clearly organized. In the introduction, students should include a thesis statement as well as a map of the whole argument. The introduction should be followed by a clear development of the argument, supported by evidence, and finally a conclusion that summarizes the main points of the paper and may open new questions. Your goal in this paper should be to convince the reader of a particular argument with relevant sources. The [CAPS Writing & Language Center](#) is a great resource at your disposal.

## Course Expectations and Policies

1. Late work. Course work must be completed on time. Papers will lose one letter grade for every day of lateness. No “Incomplete” grades will be given except for cases of severe emergency. The emergency must be documented and reported to me immediately. (Professor’s discretion applies).
2. Reading. Students must complete the readings prior to coming to class. I encourage bringing in not only thoughts on the readings but also questions based on parts of the readings that seemed unclear, difficult to grasp, or that you found interesting.
3. Participation. There *is* such a thing as bad participation. Students are encouraged to learn how to both be good listeners and good speakers—a balance between both promotes good participation. Some of the topics in this course can be sensitive or controversial; while engaged discussion is encouraged any language that is disrespectful will result in dismissal. *If anyone feels they are unsafe or disrespected in the classroom they should report to me immediately.*

4. Academic honor and respectful behavior. All activities associated with this course must comply with University policies regarding academic integrity, honesty, and discrimination. The University's full statement on academic honesty and the consequences for failure to comply is available in the [Pathfinder](#). Violations of these policies will be handled with the utmost seriousness.
5. Name. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name. If you have a preferred name or gender that is different as to what will be listed in the roster, please email me so that your preferences can be respected. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records.
6. Disabilities. Accessibility Services (Mesa Vista Hall 2021, 277-3506) provides academic support to students who have disabilities. If you think you need alternative accessible formats for undertaking and completing coursework, you should contact this service right away to assure your needs are met in a timely manner.
7. Subject to Change Statement. Information contained in this syllabus, other than the grade policy, may be subject to change with advance notice, as deemed appropriate by the instructor.

## Course Schedule

**Note:** Readings listed under specific dates (marked with a ★) are mandatory and must be completed before coming to class. Readings listed under *Additional* are completely optional; they have been included in the syllabus for those of you who might want to learn more about a particular topic.

### Week 1

**August 20.** Course introduction. What is Latin America?

**August 22.** Colonial Origins

- ★ Green and Bradford. [History and Power, pages 13-20](#).

*Additional:*

- Skidmore, Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Chapter 2, pages 14-41](#).

### Week 2

**August 27.** Economic Development: Colonial Legacies 1.

- ★ North, Douglas, Barry Weingast, and William Summerhill. 2000. "Order, Disorder, and Economic Change: Latin America versus North America" In Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Hilton Root, eds., *Governing for Prosperity*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

**August 29.** Economic Development: Colonial Legacies 2.

- ★ Bruhn, Miriam and Francisco Gallego. 2012. "Good, Bad, and Ugly Colonial Activities: Do They Matter for Economic Development?" *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 94(2):433-461.
- ★ Guardado, Jenny. 2018. "Office-Selling, Corruption, and Long-Term Development in Peru." *American Political Science Review* 112(4):971-995.

*Additional:*

- Dell, Melissa. 2010. "The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining Mita." *Econometrica* 78:1863-1903.

- Prados De la Escosura, Leandro. 2009. "Lost Decades? Economic Performance in Post-Independence Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 41: 279-307.

### Week 3

#### September 3. Literary Representations: The Mexican Revolution

- ★ *The Underdogs: A Novel of the Mexican Revolution* by Mariano Azuela (Part 1).
- ★ Short article: [When Women Took Up Arms to Fight in Mexico's Revolution](#)

#### September 5. Literary Representations: The Mexican Revolution

- ★ *The Underdogs: A Novel of the Mexican Revolution* by Mariano Azuela (Part 2).
- ★ Garfias, Francisco. 2018. "Elite Competition and State Capacity Development: Theory and Evidence from Post-Revolutionary Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 112(2): 339-357.

#### Additional:

- Salas, Elizabeth. *Soldaderas in the Mexican military: myth and history*. Austin: UT Press, 1990.
- Arrizón, Alicia. 1998. "Soldaderas and the Staging of the Mexican Revolution." *The Drama Review* 42(1):90-112.
- Dell, Melissa. 2012. Path Dependence in Development: Evidence from the Mexican Revolution.

### Week 4

#### September 10. The State, Military, and Politics 1.

- ★ Green and Bradford. [Ballots and Bullets](#), pages 67-106.
- **First response paper is due by the beginning of class at the latest.**

#### September 12. The State, Military, and Politics 2.

- ★ Skidmore, Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. New York : Oxford University Press. [Chapter 9](#), pages 244-277.
- ★ Watch before class: [Chile, 1973](#) (22 minute video)

#### Additional:

- *The House of Spirits (La Casa de los Espíritus)* by Isabel Allende.
- *By Night in Chile (Nocturno de Chile)* by Roberto Bolaño.
- *The Feast of the Goat (La Fiesta del Chivo)* by Mario Vargas Llosa.
- *The Essential Neruda: Selected Poems* [there is a bilingual edition] by Pablo Neruda.
- Film – *The Judge and the General* by Patricio Lanfranco and Elizabeth Farnsworth (2008).

### Week 5

#### September 17. Argentina: *Guerra Sucia* and the Mothers of *Plaza de Mayo*

- ★ Navarro, Marysa. 2001. "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo." In Susan Exckstein and Manuel Antonio Garretón, eds., *Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. University of California Press. pp. 241-258.
- ★ Documentary – *Las Madres: The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo* by Lourdes Portillo and Susana Blaustein. [Will watch film in class].

### September 19. Institutional Instability: Inter-branch Conflict

- \* Valenzuela, Arturo. 2004. "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted." *Journal of Democracy* 15(4): 5-19.
- \* Pérez Liñan, Anibal. 2005. "Democratization and Constitutional Crises in Presidential Regimes: Towards Congressional Supremacy?" *Comparative Political Studies* 38(1): 51-74.

#### Additional:

- Robben, Antonius. 2012. "From dirty war to genocide: Argentina's resistance to national reconciliation." *Memory Studies* 5(3) 305-315.
- Jacobs, Matthew D. 2017. "'The Past is Never Dead': Youth, Adolescence, and Contemporary Guerra Sucia Films in Argentina." *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 23(1): 34-45.
- Helmke, Gretchen. 2010. "The Origins of Institutional Crises in Latin America: A Unified Strategic Model and Test." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(3): 737-50.
- Documentary – *The Fall of Fujimori* by Ellen Perry (2005).

### Week 6

#### September 24. Strategies of Economic Development in the 20th Century 1.

- \* Green and Bradford. *The Comidity Trade, pages 21-37; Silent Revolution: Market Economics, pages 38-63.*
- *Second response paper is due by the beginning of class at the latest.*

#### September 26. Strategies of Economic Development in the 20th Century 2.

- \* Cardoso, Eliana and Anna Helwege. 2000. "Import Substitution Industrialization." In Jeffrey Frieden, Manuel Pastor, and Michael Tomz, eds., *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*. Pages: 155-164.
- \* Williamson, John. 2000. "What Washington Means by Policy Reform." In Jeffrey Frieden, Manuel Pastor, and Michael Tomz, eds., *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*. Pages: 18-23.

#### Additional:

- Weyland, Kurt. 2004. "Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record." *Latin American Politics and Society* 46(1):135-157.
- Huber, Evelyne and Frederick Solt. 2004. "Success and Failures of Neoliberalism." *Latin American Research Review* 39(3):150-164.

### Week 7

#### October 1. Landownership, Power, and Conflict

- \* Green and Bradford. *Land, the City, and Environment, pages 109-125.*
- \* Guardado, Jenny. 2018. "Land tenure, price shocks, and insurgency: Evidence from Peru and Colombia." *World Development* 111:256-269.
- \* *Title and abstract of research paper due by the end of the day at the latest.*

### October 3. Migration and Life in the City

- \* Green and Bradford. [Land, the City, and Environment](#), pages 126-138.
- \* Holland, Alisha. 2015. "The Distributive Politics of Enforcement." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(2):357-371.

#### Additional:

- Dube, Oeindrila and Juan F. Vargas. 2013. "Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 80(4):1384-1421.
- Hummel, Calla. 2018. "Bribery Cartels: Collusive Corruption in Bolivian Street Markets." *Latin American Research Review* 53(2): 217-230.

## Week 8

### October 8. Race and Ethnicity

- \* Green and Bradford. [Identity and Rights](#), pages 159-173.
- \* Fischer, Brodwyn. 2004. "Quase Pretos de Tão Pobres? Race and Social Discrimination in Rio's Criminal Courts." *Latin American Research Review* 39(1): 31-59.
- \* Watch before class: [Black in Latin America: Brazil](#)

### October 10. **Fall break – No class**

- \* Arceo-Gómez, Eva and Raymundo Campos-Vázquez. 2014. "Race and Marriage in the Labor Market: A Discrimination Correspondence Study in a Developing Country." *The American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings* 104(5):376-380. **I know it's a break, but it's only five pages!**

#### Additional:

- Htun, Mala. 2004. "From Racial Democracy to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 39(1): 60-89.
- Telles, Edward and Stanley Bailey. 2013. "Understanding Latin American Beliefs about Racial Inequality." *American Journal of Sociology* 118(6):1559-1595.
- Additional episodes of *Black in Latin America*: [Mexico and Perú](#); [Cuba](#).

## Week 9

### October 15. Ethnic Politics

- \* Madrid, Raúl. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. [Chapter 1](#), pages 1-34.
- \* Magaloni, Beatriz, Alberto Díaz-Cayeros and Alexander Ruiz Euler. 2018. "Public Good Provision and Traditional Governance in Indigenous Communities in Oaxaca, Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies*. Forthcoming.

### October 17. Gender and Politics: Overview

- \* Green and Bradford. [Identity and Rights](#), pages 174-194.
- **Third response paper is due by the beginning of class at the latest.**

#### Additional:

- Salman, Ton. 2012. "Review: The MAS Six Years in Power in Bolivia." *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 92: 89-98.

- *Our Word is Our Weapon: Selected Writings* by Subcomandante Marcos.
- *The Uncomfortable Dead* (Muertos Incómodos) by Paco Ignacio Taibo and Subcomandante Marcos.
- Htun, Mala and Juan Pablo Ossa. 2013. "Political inclusion of marginalized groups: indigenous reservations and gender parity in Bolivia." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 1(1):4-25.

## Week 10

### October 22. Gender and Politics: Substantive and Descriptive Representation

- ★ Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2008. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics & Gender* 4:393-425.
- ★ Htun, Mala and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2014. "Women in Politics and Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum, Working Papers on Women in Politics: No. 2.*

### October 24. Gender and Politics: Violence Against Women and Political Participation

- ★ Krook, Mona L. and Juliana Restrepo Sanin. 2016. "Gender and political violence in Latin America: Concepts, debates and solutions." *Política y Gobierno* XXIII(1):125-157.
- ★ García Ponce, Omar. 2017. "Women's Political Participation After Civil War: Evidence From Perú." *Working paper.*

#### Additional:

- Hinojosa, Magda and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2013. "Promoting Women's Right to Be Elected: Twenty-Five Years of Quotas in Latin America." Paper prepared for the TEPJE.
- Langston, Joy and Francisco Javier Aparicio. 2011. "Gender Quotas are not Enough: How Background Experience and Campaigning Affect Electoral Outcomes." *CIDE Working Paper: No. 234.*
- Bloefield, Merike. 2009. "Feudal Enclaves and Political Reforms: Domestic Workers in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 44(1) 158-190.
- Pérez, Leda M. and Pedro M. Llanos. 2017. "Vulnerable Women in a Thriving Country: An Analysis of Twenty-First-Century Domestic Workers in Peru and Recommendations for Future Research." *Latin American Research Review* 52(4):552-570.
- Film – *Roma* by Alfonso Cuarón (2018).

## Week 11

### October 29. Religion

- ★ Green and Bradford. [The Church, pages 232-246.](#)
- ★ Somma, Nicolás M, Matías A. Bargsted and Eduardo Valenzuela. 2017. "Mapping Religious Change in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 59(1):119-142.

### October 31. Popular Culture

- ★ Green and Bradford. [Culture, Identity, and Politics, pages 209-231.](#)
- ★ Before class: [NPR's All Things Considered – Why East Africa Is Hooked On Telenovelas](#) (4 min)
- ★ Chong, Alberto and Eliana La Ferrara. 2009. "Television and Divorce: Evidence from Brazilian 'Novelas'." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 7(2/3):458-468.
- ★ **Full draft of research paper is due by the end of the day at the latest.**

*Additional:*

- Trejo, Guillermo. 2009. "Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 103(3): 323-342.
- Hagopian, Frances. 2008. "Latin American Catholicism in an Age of Religious and Political Pluralism: A Framework for Analysis." *Comparative Politics* 40(2): 149-168.
- Short documentaries – The cult of "Our Lady of Holy Death in Mexico": [AJ+](#); [SBS Dateline](#)
- Cohn, Deborah. 2012. *The Latin American Literary Boom and U.S. Nationalism during the Cold War*. Vanderbilt University Press.
- The Latin American Boom: Julio Cortázar, Carlos Fuentes, Gabriel García Márquez, and Mario Vargas Llosa.
- La Ferrara, Eliana, Alberto Chong and Suzanne Duryea. 2012. "Soap Operas and Fertility: Evidence from Brazil." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 4(4):1-31.

## **Week 12**

### **November 5. Soccer and Politics**

- ★ Duke, Vic and Liz Crolley. 2001. "Fútbol, Politicians, and the People: Populism and Politics in Argentina." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 18(3): 93-116.
- ★ Paradiso, Eugenio. 2014. "Football, clientelism, and corruption in Argentina: an anthropological inquiry." *Soccer & Society* 17(4):480-495.

### **November 7. Rule of Law 1**

- ★ Documentary – *Presumed Guilty (Presunto culpable)* by Roberto Hernández and Geoffrey Smith. [Will watch film in class].
- **Fourth response paper is due by the beginning of class at the latest.**

*Additional:*

- Film – *Rudo y Cursi* by Carlos Cuarón (2009).
- Guedes, Simoni L. 2014. "On criollos and capoeiras: notes on soccer and national identity in Argentina and in Brazil." *Soccer & Society* 15(1): 147-161.
- Arbena, Joseph L. 1990. "Generals and goles: assessing the connection between the military and soccer in Argentina." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 7(1): 120-130.
- Film – *Todo el Poder* by Fernando Sariñana (2000).

## **Week 13**

### **November 12. Rule of Law 2**

- ★ Vilalta, Carlos J., Castillo, José G. and Juan A. Torres. 2016. "Violent Crime in Latin American Cities." *Inter-American Development Bank*. [Parts 1 & 2, pages 1-35](#).
- ★ Brassiolo, Pablo. 2015. "The Criminal Justice System" In Pablo Sanguinetti and Daniel Ortega, eds., *Towards a safer Latin America: A new perspective to prevent and control crime*. Corporación Andina de Fomento – Development Bank of Latin America. [Chapter 5, pages 167-204](#).

### **November 14. Corruption**

- ★ Helmke, Gretchen et al. 2018. "Draining the Swamp? Partisan Bias in the Prosecution of Former Latin American Leaders." *Working paper*.



- ★ Bohn, Simone R. 2012. “Corruption in Latin America: Understanding the Perception-Exposure Gap.” *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 3:67-95.
- ★ Watch before class – Brazil’s “Operation Car Wash” Scandal: [AJ](#) (24 min); [Vox](#) (9 min).

*Additional:*

- Pablo Fajnzylber, Daniel Lederman, and Norman Loayza. 2002. “Inequality and Violent Crime.” *The Journal of Law and Economics* 45(1):1-39.
- Gaviria, Alejandro and Carmen Pagés. 2002. “Patterns of crime victimization in Latin American cities.” *Journal of Development Economics* 67(1): 181-203.
- Ferraz, Claudio and Frederico Finan. 2011. “Electoral Accountability and Corruption: Evidence from the Audits of Local Governments.” *American Economic Review* 101(4): 1274-1311.
- Balán, Manuel. 2011. “Competition by Denunciation. The Political Dynamics of Corruption Scandals in Argentina and Chile.” *Comparative Politics* 43(4): 459-478.

## **Week 14**

### **November 19.** Electoral Manipulation Strategies

- ★ Stokes, Susan. 2005. “Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina.” *American Political Science Review* 99:315-25.
- ★ Nichter, Simeon and Daniel Hidalgo. 2016. “Voter Buying: Shaping the Electorate with Clientelism.” *American Journal of Political Science* 60(2):436-455.

### **November 21.** Drug Violence in Mexico: Causes

- ★ Durán-Martínez, Angélica. 2015. “To Kill and Tell? State Power, Criminal Competition, and Drug Violence.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1377-1402.
- ★ Trejo, Guillermo and Sandra Ley. 2018. “Why Did Drug Cartels Go to War in Mexico? Subnational Party Alternation, Breakdown of Criminal Protection, and the Onset of Large-Scale Violence.” *Comparative Political Studies* 51(7):900-937.

*Additional:*

- Holland, Alisha and Brian Palmer-Rubin. 2015. “Beyond the Machine: Clientelist Brokers and Interest Organizations in Latin America.” *Comparative Political Studies* 48(9): 1186-1223.
- Gallego, Jorge. 2018. “Natural Disasters and Clientelism: The Case of Floods and Landslides in Colombia.” *Electoral Studies* 55:73-88.
- Ríos, Viridiana. 2015. “How Government Coordination Controlled Organized Crime: The Case of Mexico’s Cocaine Markets.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1433-1454.
- Oeindrila, Dube, Omar García-Ponce and Kevin Thom. 2016. “From Maize to Haze: Agricultural Shocks and the Growth of the Mexican Drug Sector.” *Journal of the European Economic Association* 14(5):1181-1224.

## **Week 15**

### **November 26.** Drug Violence in Mexico: Narcocultura

- ★ Cabañas, Miguel. 2014. “Imagined Narcoscapes: Narcoculture and the Politics of Representation.” *Latin American Perspectives* 41(2): 3-17.
- ★ Film – *Narcocultura* by Shaul Schwarz (2013). [Will watch in class].
- **Fifth response paper is due by the beginning of class at the latest.**

**November 28. Thanksgiving break – No class.**

*Additional:*

- Campbell, Howard. 2014. “Narco-Propaganda in the Mexican ‘Drug War’: An Anthropological Perspective.” *Latin American Perspectives* 41(2): 60-77.

**Week 16**

**December 3.** Drug Violence in Mexico: Consequences

- \* Magaloni, Beatriz, Gustavo Robles, Aila M. Matanock, Vidal Romero and Alberto Díaz-Cayeros. 2017. “Living in Fear: The Dynamics of Extortion in Mexico’s Drug War.” *Working paper*
- \* Jarillo, Brenda, Beatriz Magaloni, Edgar Franco and Gustavo Robles. 2016. “How the Mexican drug war affects kids and schools? Evidence on effects and mechanisms.” *International Journal of Educational Development* 51: 135-146.

**December 5.** Well-being in Latin America & Wrapping up

- \* Rojas, Mariano. 2018. “Happiness in Latin America has Social Foundations” In John F. Helliwell, Richard Layard and Jeffrey D. Sachs, eds., *World Happiness Report 2018*. United Nations.
- \* Short article: [Why Are Latin Americans Happier than Their GDP Would Suggest?](#)
- \* **Final version of research paper is due by the end of the day at the latest.**