Hacienda

James Hoxeng
University of Massachusetts - Amherst

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Hoxeng, James, "Hacienda" (1973). Technical Notes. 3.
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TECHNICAL NOTE NO. 3

HACIENDA

NOTE WRITTEN BY: JAMES HOXENG
GAME DEVELOPED BY: JAMES HOXENG

SUMMARY:

Hacienda is the first simulation/game produced for use on the Ecuador project. It attempts to replicate certain important aspects of rural life in the sierra region of Ecuador. This note not only describes the game and its operation, but attempts to trace the impact the game has on those rural people who have played it.
This series of Technical Notes has been produced by staff members of the Ecuador Nonformal Education Project. Each note focuses on a particular issue or technique which has been developed and tested in Ecuador. The notes contain the information available at the time of writing and analytic comments based upon available evaluation data. However, the notes are in no way an evaluation of the project. Their purpose is to share ideas and information about new techniques as they are developed. Project staff want to encourage comments and suggestions from readers who may have had experience with similar techniques in other settings.

The project is financed by USAID and is a joint undertaking of the Ministry of Education in Ecuador and the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts. Ideas and materials derived from the ideas were created jointly by staff in Massachusetts and staff in Ecuador. All materials have undergone considerable change in the field as usage in various situations indicated needed modifications. The notes attempt to accurately credit the creators of each technique. In some cases, though, ideas have been modified by a variety of people and precise assignment of credit is difficult. In all cases, various members of the staff have made substantial inputs into the final version of the materials.

After three years of effort the number of people in Ecuador and in the United States who have made substantial contributions to this project is considerable. Rather than trying to enumerate the particular contributions of each, we will only note that this has been a genuine bi-national effort.

These Technical Notes are reports of work in progress and will be issued periodically as they are written. A small charge of $1.00 per copy will be made to partially defray the costs of reproduction and mailing. The Technical Notes are available in both English and Spanish and may be obtained by writing to:

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David R. Evans
Series Editor & Principal Investigator
Apathy is the apparent stance taken by most Andean campesinos toward modernization and its institutions. Middle and upper class Latin Americans generally believe that campesinos have no wish to change their life style, or are simply too lazy to do so.

One of the tenets of our non-formal education project is that this apathy is basically a defense mechanism, the only viable way the campesinos have found to preserve their personality and dignity vis-a-vis a culture which offers them little opportunity.

The game attempts to reflect the campesinos' reality in a mildly irreverent way, offering them a chance to portray the officials they know so well, who administer the inequities which face them every day. The game underlines the campesinos' precarious position with respect to duly constituted authority, and in relation to the hacendado whose wealth and position generally guarantee him a very different treatment under the law.

Several value judgments are incorporated into the game: that school provides very little possibility of reward to rural dwellers, but that other more utilitarian educational alternatives exist; that acquisition and improvement of property is a necessary factor in bringing about any change in the present situation; that working together is
virtually essential; that information is a valuable source of power. These values have been seen to be consistent with those held by the campesinos who have played the game.

SETTING

Before launching into a description of the game as such, it is useful to visualize the surroundings in which it might be played in the campo. The house is likely to be constructed of adobe, with a thatched roof, without electricity or water. In the sierra, the nights are chilling with the cold of an eight to ten thousand-foot elevation; near the coast, one always perspires, as the equator is only a few miles away. In both areas, smoke always fills the upper third of the house, for there are no chimneys - the smoke provides a convenient way to kill the many bichos, or bugs, which would otherwise plague the occupants.

The occupants themselves, if they are Indians, wear traditional dress, especially the women: long embroidered skirts and cotton blouses; a poncho useful for warmth, carrying children, and for decoration. On the coast the dress is more nondescript - the hot weather dictates dressing for maximum comfort and ventilation. The people have strong faces, weatherbeaten, not unkind. When they are drinking paico or chicha the space behind their eyes becomes empty, the fierce liquor suspends all mental activity, and they fight or simply stagger senselessly - otherwise, they are quiet. The children don't cry much; they are busy taking care of chores or of their younger brothers and sisters.
Now picture a gathering of from five to forty campesinos who have between two and ten hours to spend. Then imagine introducing into this setting a monopoly-style board game.

THE BASIC METHOD

*Hacienda* is a board game which attempts to simulate certain aspects of the peasants' situation in rural Ecuador. Some groups using the game have renamed it, "*Juego de la Vida*" or "The Game of Life." The pivotal role in the game is the lawyer, and only he has a copy of the rules. The other players must consult with him frequently. Since he does not otherwise take an active part in the game, his income must be derived from the advice he has to give.

The *hacendado* (owner of the *hacienda*) is chosen by a roll of the dice at the outset (like an accident of birth); he then gains title to all the properties of the *hacienda*, and is given 20 times as much money as the *campesino* players.

It is also possible to name a *teniente politico*, or political boss, if there are extra players available. He usually does no more than

*Special mention needs to be made of individuals who contributed to development of the game: Bill Smith, who changed the game from a nice idea into something on paper; Edgar Jacome, whose suggestions for the *teniente politico* and other situations were born of his long experience in the campo; and to Gilberto Espin, who outlined the church situation cards as only an ex-priest could. The campesino players themselves must take credit for the idea that the lawyer be the only person in the game who knows what the rules are and who eagerly sells but reluctantly delivers his services.*
collect fines, but in cases of disputes between players he earns money for exercising his influence.

The banker handles all the money dealings. The bank owns all the properties at the outset, and gives the players loans which are generally repaid in installments. The five or six other players take the role of campesinos, and the game begins.

Peasant players roll the dice and move their tokens around the game board. The squares they land on represent institutions and events in rural life. The consequences of landing on a given square are determined by either drawing an appropriate card or following the rules cited by the lawyer.

Properties in the game have been geared to the Andean sierra. There are four crops: *maiz* (corn), *cebada* (barley), *papas* (potatoes), and *habas* (beans). These have differing prices, and bring different incomes to their owners. They are all potentially fertilizable and irrigatable, but both these activities must be done cooperatively; e.g. all properties of *papas* must be irrigated or fertilized at once, to realize economies of scale. This means their owners must agree to invest at the same time, and nothing can be done until all the *papas* properties are owned.

The *hacendado* can buy properties also, but because of the agrarian reform law, he is required to sell these whenever a campesino wants to buy and has money enough to pay. This does not hold true for the
original hacienda property, which he is not required to sell until faced with four agrarian reform shares, and campesinos ready and able to buy for cash.

The remaining board squares are filled with other institutions of the campo: the church, jail, tienda or store, chicheria or bar, office of the teniente politico, school, center for adult education, savings and credit coops, a bank, agrarian reform office, market, and one square reserved for self-education. Another intangible institution which is represented on the board is suerte, or chance. The lives of campesinos are governed to a great extent by events outside their control, and they find in the suerte cards many of these happenstances which bring unanticipated results.

There are too many of these situation cards to list completely, but some examples follow:

- The teniente politico fines players for not sending their children to school, for stirring up the people, for being drunk and fighting, for stealing a sheep, and so on.
- The church sells masses: a mass with musicians costs 200 sucres; a mass for the dead with deacons costs 500, and so on.
- Chance or suerte: a player may lose his year's crop because of a freeze, or the priest may help him out with a gift of 50 sucres, or he may have to go to jail for a year because of a false accusation, and so on.
- Market: players may collect one of three prices for their
products at the end of a round or year: low, medium, or high, depending on both luck and their own decision-making. On arrival at the end of a round, a player has three choices:

-- to sell in the campo to an intermediary or middleman, in which case he needn't pay any transport to the market or any costs of processing. In this case he always gets the low price.

-- A second possibility is to sell his products unprocessed in the market. He pays transport costs and takes a market card to see what price he has received.

-- For an additional investment, a player may pay for processing of his product at the mill, in which case he receives a higher price for his goods at the market.

Prices: the market cards are based on considerations of quantity and quality - "too much grain, low prices," or "grain of unusual quality, high price." However, other considerations also enter in from time to time: "You were tricked. Go to jail without collecting anything." or "You were given short measure. Low price."

The object of the game is for the campesinos to improve their lot by making use of the opportunities offered to them by society. An ancillary but generally deeply felt goal is to remove the hacendado from his property through agrarian reform, although this is as difficult in the game as it has proved to be in real life agrarian reform pro-
grams throughout Latin America.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

Styles of play have varied greatly, depending on the preference of the players. Even among Ecuadorian campesinos there has been wide divergence of emphasis. These styles can be roughly classified into overlapping groups: traditional or reality-reflecting; modernization oriented; and role play oriented.

In "reflection of reality," the first style, the campesinos have generally not been eager to invest in property and put themselves in debt to the bank. Instead they choose to rent agricultural properties and give half their gross income to the banker. They are then blocked from investing in fertilizers or irrigation to improve their properties, and their income stays at its initial low level. Usually their resource base dwindles as the hacendado, or perhaps a more industrious and risk-prefering neighbor, acquires more properties and improves them. Slowly their initial cash balance is paid out in fines levied by the teniente politico, in payment for masses, in purchase of staples from their neighbors and the owner of the tienda, and in occasional bouts in the chicheria. The hacendado is generally not seriously threatened, because the agrarian reform program remains essentially moribund. The lawyer and the teniente politico maintain a steady income from fines and fees, and the church resources grow and are kept on the board in full view of the players.
In a modernization oriented game, the campesinos realize at an early date that their only hope for meeting the hacendado's challenge is to work together. Thus, for example, if there are three owners of the potato properties, they go to considerable effort to collaborate in raising money for improvements. They demonstrate a willingness to go into debt, because their initial cash balance isn't enough to allow them to acquire and improve properties while maintaining a cash flow. They realize that only through improvement of their properties can their market income from sales of their products at the end of each circuit around the board - that is, at the end of each year - increase sufficiently to provide money to continue their investment and to hold their own against the hacendado's acquisition and improvement of other properties.

Modernization oriented players also invest in education, especially in adult and self-education, which have immediate if small payoffs. These payoffs result from improvement of the properties, such as learning about income-increasing innovations by reading coop publications. In the mechanics of the game, this knowledge is reflected in higher incomes from properties for players who have invested in adult and self-education.

Schooling has a different type of payoff. In the game, anyone completing six years of school has the right to sell off his properties and leave the game - ostensibly for the city, where his new primary certificate provides an admission ticket to many urban jobs. However,
schooling has no payoff in terms of the players' direct objectives in the game. As a result, players of the game generally ignore schooling after they have given their educational alternatives some consideration.

This style game, as would be expected, gives the campesinos the best chance of making life uncomfortable for the hacendado. He must be insightful enough to take advantage of his initial favorable position, and to acquire and improve properties as quickly as possible. Unless he does so, the hacendado finds himself in a continuously eroding position as the campesinos take more and more advantage of the opportunities the game makes available to them.

Emphasis on role play can be consistent with either of the above styles, but is more likely to accompany a modernization oriented game. This style requires that the players be quite familiar with the roles included in the game. A player often takes satisfaction from the opportunity to represent one of the characters in a way he knows to be authentic. The game itself can be successfully halted for half an hour at a time while the players negotiate and make deals (above board or otherwise). The hacendado generally has the lawyer overtly on his side, but the lawyer is at the same time motivated by personal gain. As a result, the campesinos have a possibility of actually getting support from him, if the price is right.

On the other hand, it is a traditional role of the lawyer to take fees from campesinos and then counsel them to wait and do nothing
while he "researches" the situation. All of these things can and do take place in the game, and negotiations can go on for lengthy periods, with all sides mustering new arguments/evidence/resources to back up their position. The campesinos find insights as the situations are played out. Comments of "That's life," and its equivalent are heard during the game from players and observers alike.

FURTHER APPLICATIONS

One indicator of acceptance of a technique is the appearance of adaptations, as those who use it "bend" it to better suit their own purposes. This has happened with Hacienda.

One informal adaptation that campesinos themselves have made is to enlarge the cast of characters (up to forty people have played!) when there are plenty of interested people available. They have added family members for the hacendado and officials of the game who of course influence decisions and directions taken by these persons, as is the case in the campo. It also leads to longer discussions of each problem, as each individual adds his suggestions.

With repeated playings, each village tends to develop its own private version of Hacienda. Special rules evolve and become part of the "way the game is played" in that village. In some cases chance cards are modified by the facilitator to reflect real incidents which have occurred recently in the village. Roles are added or deleted according to the situation in that setting. For example, some villages have
little or no interaction with the political officer and his role is therefore not used. On occasion, the actual holder of the role in the village comes to play his own part in the game. In one case this led to comments, amongst much joking and laughter, that the priest was charging too much for the various services performed by the Church. Players from that village later reported some lowering of the charges on the part of that priest.

Other adaptations have been made more formally. A Provincial Supervisor of adult education in Ecuador has adapted the game to reflect the institutions and practices of the coastal region, which differs in many respects from the sierra. Another adaptation has been made to use the game for family planning. An Ecuadorian has added a family planning center to the game, the major point being that if a player does not enter the center in his first round, he begins the next round (year) with an additional child, and all the additional expenses that implies. The point quickly becomes clear.

As part of the University of Massachusetts' project, the game has also been translated into Quechua, with slight adaptations to reflect the institutions of Ecuador's Indian population.

COST OF REPRODUCTION

The game consists of the board, a sufficient amount of play money, and the various cards used to indicate fines, actions, and chance. Reproduction thus involves a board large enough for all to follow the game,
and a series of cards. Various means of reproduction have been tried or are being thought about. During the development phase games were made by hand, copied by the office messenger/guard as part of his work. He became quite proficient at it and was able to make a complete game in about 3 hours. Colors were added to the main board by using colored markers or crayons. On this small scale the estimated cost of each game was approximately $3.00.

As the project faces the need for larger numbers of copies, two approaches have been investigated. The first involves the use of a set of rubber stamps. Each square on the board is made up as a rubber stamp and boards are made by hand stamping each square. Colors are added by having different colored ink pads. The time required to make a board is substantially reduced. The technique raises some intriguing possibilities, particularly as it allows easy substitution for various modifications of the board. Clearly though, the method is not appropriate for large scale reproduction.

Also under study is the commercial printing of the board in three or four colors. Preliminary costing indicates that facilities in Ecuador would not be able to print copies at an economical cost. Printing could probably be done economically elsewhere, although that raises some sensitive issues. Reasonable cost could be obtained by using only black and white and printing on cheap paper, but that raises questions of durability. At this point a variety of other methods need to be studied further. Our goal is to find a cheap method which
if feasible in cost and can be funded by an Ecuadorian agency which is interested in using the game.

CONCLUSION

Hacienda, or the Game of Life, has been tried out on an extended basis only with campesinos in the Ecuadorian sierra. Twenty-four representatives of seven sierra communities, chosen by their peers, were introduced to the game as part of a five-week community education training program in late 1971. They played for eight hours, and asked if they could have copies of the game to take back to their people. Games were provided and have been used in the communities since the beginning of December, 1971. In April, 1972, the campesinos were asked to report on their use of the game in the context of the nightly literacy classes they had been conducting. One community said they had used the game only once; two said they had played it every week, or twenty times. Use rates in the other communities fell between these figures. The average was eleven playings of between two and three hours duration (corresponding to the length of the classes), with from six to forty participants.

The campesinos were also asked if they liked the game, to which the response was a unanimous "Si." The twenty-four facilitators were asked, "What are the feelings of the people in your community about playing this game?" A free translation of their observations follows:

"With this game they react to their own lives, and when they play, they say that this is what happens to us in life."
"It helps them to think about things like land fragmentation, chicherias, and lawyers."

"They like it because from it they take clear ideas. We want to keep playing because using this game makes the participants reflect."

"In this game there's something to think about. It's necessary to keep playing to modify our lives."

"The players, even the lawyer, are entertained and find things to think about. It promotes cooperation because the players loan money to each other."

"It's important for fathers and mothers because through thinking about these things they will change their lives."

The game seems to work as a combination of elements. It is at once village entertainment, a forum where issues of concern are discussed, a weekly drama with neighbors playing the leading roles, a chance to experience the connecting links between various actions and the outcomes which follow from them, a time when village conflicts can be discussed without confronting individuals directly, a setting in which new and unfamiliar actions can be tried without risk—such as borrowing money from the bank—and finally it is participating in the development of a group with a shared set of experiences and learnings. In any village at a particular time only a few of these things may be happening, but over time many of them will occur as the game is repeated and as experience with it grows. Exactly what part of the game is responsible for what kinds of learnings remains unknown. As of now, all that can be said is that people play, they enjoy themselves, they return to play again, and a wide variety of community activities is occurring in villages where these groups are meeting.
GAME OUTLINE

Name/Title: Hacienda
Developed By: James Hoxeng
Operating Time: Varies greatly from two hours to twelve hours depending on the enthusiasm of the group.
No. of Participants: Five - Fifteen
Subject Matter: Rural life in Andean community dominated by a hacienda.
User Level: Practically anyone: especially designed for rural adults in the Andes.
Components: 1 game board
1 set of Market cards
1 set of School cards
1 set of Adult education cards
1 set of Self-education cards
1 set of Church cards
1 set of Chance cards
1 set of Political Officer cards
1 set of Agrarian Reform cards
Tokens for each player
1 set of dice

GAME OPERATIONS AND RULES

At the beginning a lawyer is chosen. He will be the only player who knows the rules. Players will seek his advice on "legal questions." He readily accepts the players' money, but is sometimes less accommodating in delivering his services.

He first instructs players to choose a token to represent them on the
board. He then instructs them to throw the dice. He informs the man with the highest roll that he will be the *hacendado*.

The *hacendado* receives $10,000 and all the *hacienda* lands. The *hacendado* then chooses a banker to manage the community's money. The banker can make loans to players at 10% per year. He is also owner of all the non-*hacienda* properties on the board.

The remaining players are given $500 each, and told that they are campesinos. The *hacendado* begins play by throwing the dice and moving the appropriate number of spaces, starting with the *chicheria*. The campesinos follow suit. Events occur as players progress around the board.

Landing on certain square means drawing a card and following the instructions. Other squares represent properties which can be purchased from the owner, subject to negotiation and adequate financing arrangements. Trespassing by campesinos on another player's property often entails a fine. The *hacendado* is not subject to fines.

One circuit of the board represents one year, and may entail stops at the following locations:

*Chicheria:* This is the local bar. Players landing here get drunk. Peasant players must always pay the owner for drinks, and are sometimes sent to jail for disorderly conduct. The *hacendado* does not pay for drinks and is never sent to jail. The *Chicheria* may be bought when a deal can be worked out with the owner.
**Tienda:** May be purchased. Campesinos landing there must pay installments on their debt to the store owner (they are always in debt to him.

**Chance:** Player draws Suerte card and follows the instructions, returning used card to bottom of the deck.

**Church:** A player landing on the Iglesia square must pay for a mass. The type of mass and its cost are determined by drawing a card. The money for the masses remains on the Iglesia square in the center of the board. It is redistributed through good works of the church, as governed by the chance cards.

**Agricultural Properties:** Include Papas, Habas, Maiz, and Cebada. They may either be purchased or rented from the bank. Purchase can be made by time payments with interest (eleven payments of 10%). Rent is a percentage of the yearly income, which must be negotiated with the banker.

**Bank:** Each time a player passes the Banco square he must make a payment on his loans, normally 10% of the original amount. Other arrangements may be possible by negotiation with the lawyer and the banker.

**Income from Agricultural Properties:** Two sources - individuals who land on properties, and market income. Income may be increased by investment in fertilizers, irrigation, and education. Costs of these investments are listed on the title to the property.

**Jail:** Players landing on Carcel may be just visiting unless they are sent there by some other factor on the board.
Tenencia Política: Players landing here draw a Tenencia Política card and follow instructions on the card.

Education: Three options -
- Schooling: provides no intermediate returns - if a player completes the required cycle, he sells out and moves to the city.
- Adult Education ($15/card)
- Self-Instruction ($10/card): Each card purchased increases return on all properties owned by the player - the idea being that knowledge acquired in these fashions is more likely to be useful in a rural situation.

Credit Cooperative: When a player lands on the Coop square, he has a choice of joining or not. To join, a player makes a deposit. He is then entitled to borrow up to four times the amount of his deposit at 5% interest per year.

Agrarian Reform: There are twenty Reforma Agraria cards. A player landing on the Reforma Agraria square is entitled to one card. Once a person or persons have four cards, they are entitled to buy one section of the Hacienda (beginning with the poorest land) if they can agree among themselves to borrow the money and do so.

Market: Upon reaching the Mercado area, a player is faced with a series of decisions. He may:

1. elect to sell his products directly in the campo, without going to market at all. He thus automatically gets the low market price, but does not have to pay transport or milling costs.
2. decide to ship his goods directly to market, thus paying transport costs. He then is entitled to take a market card, which will yield a low, medium, or high price.

3. decide to ship his goods first to the mill for processing. Once the mill is paid, his goods go to market directly, and he also takes a market card. In this instance, however, he is entitled to the price for processed products. In options two and three the milling and transport costs are each equal to the "individual income" of the property, as specified on the title.

These rules are tentative, and should be treated as such by the lawyer who settles all disputes, and whose word is, of course, law. Prices and rules should be changed at will to adapt to local situations and to encourage different outcomes from the game.

HACIENDA PLAYING CARDS

Market:

2 Poor quality grain, Middle Price
2 Too much grain available, Low Price
2 Little grain available, High Price
Medium harvest, Medium Price
Good quality but lots of grain available, Medium Price
Too much rain caused low quality grain, Low Price
You have been cheated, go to jail without anything
You gave the wrong amount of grain, Low Price
Church:
Vesper Mass with tickets, Pay 300 sucres
Mass for the Local Saint, Pay 400 sucres
For Charity, Pay 1 sucre
For Wedding with candles, Pay 200 sucres
For a Novena Mass, Pay 700 sucres
For a Children's Mass with singing, Pay 200 sucres
For a Mass with musicians, Pay 200 sucres
For a Mass with flowers and candles, Pay 100 sucres
For a simple Mass, Pay 100 sucres
For a Mass with two sacred dresses, Pay 40 sucres
For a Mass by the Chapel director, Pay 50 sucres
For a Mass with Deacons, Pay 500 sucres

Chance:
Your irrigation system needs repairs, pay 20 sucres for each one you own.
The Church gives you 50 sucres assistance.
Because of a hail storm lose your chance to enter the market this round.
You have been falsely accused. Go to Jail for one turn.
Guarantee: For special friends your next time in the Market will bring High Price.
New Tax: Pay 50 sucres for each of your properties.
Because of personal friends you may get out of Jail now.
You just won the lotería, collect 100 sucres from Bank.
The next time that any player lands on the Church, the richest campesino must pay: 500 sucre to the Church, 500 sucre to the owner of the Tienda, and 500 sucre to the owner of the Bar.

In order to educate your children, pay 30 sucre to the Bank.

For medical services, pay 25 sucre.

Pay 20 sucre for insecticide for each of your properties.

Free Transportation: Go directly to Market.

**Political Officer**

Pay 20 fine for having offended the Hacienda owner.

Pay 20 fine for not helping with the Minga.

Pay 10 fine for not sending children to school.

Pay 20 fine for bothering people.

Pay 10 for not selling your potatoes cheaply in the market.

For not having work, pay 20 fine.

For not having gone to the local fiesta, pay 10 fine.

Pay 50 fine and go to Jail for having stolen your neighbor's goat.

Pay 40 fine for having stolen the Hacienda's animals.

Pay 20 fine for not having paid your debts on time.

Pay 20 fine for being in a drunken brawl.

**Agrarian Reform Cards**

11 cards which simply say Reforma Agraria; with four of these cards you may take over 1/4 of the Hacienda land, starting with the poorest land.

**School Cards**

**Self-Education Cards**

**Adult Education Cards**
MARTKET
Scarcity of goods in the market place.
COLLECT HIGHEST PRICE.

CHURCH
You have been selected to give a high Mass with flowers for the community.
PAY: 500 SUCRES

AGRARIAN REFORM
Campesinos with four of these cards are entitled to take over 1/4 of the Hacienda's poorest land.

? 
You just had a new baby. Pay medical expenses.
100 SUCRES

SELF-EDUCATION
For having studied a pamphlet on fertilizer you learn of its benefits. Receive 500 SUCRES in credit to fertilize your land.

ADULT EDUCATION
After having studied cooperativism you may join the coop and take out loans to meet your needs.

SAMPLE HACIENDA CARDS
The Ecuador Project

Conscientизации and Simulation Games

Hacienda

Mercado

Ashton-Warner Literacy Method

Letter Dice

Bingo

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13. Fotonovela - Description of the development and use of the fotonovela as an instrument of literacy and consciousness awareness in the community.

The Notes are available at a cost of $1.00 each. Please remit cash or money order with your orders.

Center for International Education
School of Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts  01002