Reading *Costumbres – El Verdadero Espíritu de los Peruanos*:

A Semiotic Analysis of a Peruvian TV Program

A thesis presented to

the faculty of

the Center for International Studies of Ohio University

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Master of Arts

Hernán Medina Jiménez

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This thesis titled

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A Semiotic Analysis of a Peruvian TV Program

by

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ABSTRACT

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Reading Costumbres – *El Verdadero Espíritu de los Peruanos: A Semiotic Analysis of a Peruvian TV Program* (148 pp.)

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This thesis analyzes the TV program *Costumbres* and the different meanings between the opening credits and the TV program’s content. To ensure that the analysis remains concrete, the episode chosen was *Mi Santa Cruz, Pueblo de Amor*—literally, “Saint Cross of Andamarca, my Home Town”—broadcast on Peruvian Public Broadcasting on 2007. Despite the fact that the opening credits repeat the same images of the TV program, the study argues that both products—the opening credits and the TV program—are essentially different because the former creates a different structure and a different concept throughout the editing process. In general, whereas each TV program addresses only one traditional festivity, the opening credits consist of a collection of excerpts from different TV episodes whose plot can be seen repeatedly by the audience every time the program is on the air. In this sense, in order to explore the content of these visual samples, the theoretical and methodological roots of this thesis are grounded in the tradition of cultural studies. The primary frameworks that I appropriate, therefore, are semiotics, ideological criticism and critical pedagogy.

Approved: _____________________________________________________________

Karen E. Riggs

Professor of Media Arts and Studies
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COSTUMBRES

‘EL VERDADERO ESPÍRITU DE LOS PERUANOS’

1.1 Contextualizing ‘Costumbres’: The Peruvian Broadcasting

Costumbres-El verdadero espíritu de los Peruanos —translated as Customs, the real spirit of Peruvians—is a popular television show broadcast in Peru by the Public Broadcasting Service - Radio & Television of Peru, Channel 7. This thesis analyzes this TV program focusing on the difference in meaning between the opening credits and the TV program’s content. Costumbres was created in a particular context because it started in 2001 during the first year of the Peruvian Provisional Government as part of a new programming strategy that accompanied the total restructuration of the Public Broadcasting Service. Prior to this strategy designed by the Provisional Government, Peruvian broadcasting was infected with corruption and lies and controlled by an interventionist government, the Fujimori Administration, between 1990 and 2000. This dysfunction is significant: television was not exclusively understood as a source of entertainment. As stated by Czitrom, “Television is the primary agent for maintaining the dominant monopolies of knowledge and power” (184).

In the decade of the 1990s, Peru presented a façade of the characteristic tools of a democratic system. The Political Constitution was to support the principle of separation of powers: free elections, multiple and oppositional parties and freedom of speech and press. However, it was false. Behind this façade of democracy, Vladimiro Montesinos—
the President’s Advisor of the Fujimori Administration and the former Head of Peru's Intelligence Services—bribed politicians, judges and broadcasters in order to control the production laws, sentences and news. Regarding the bribes, Luis Peirano emphasizes the fact that the Ministry of the President managed the distribution of advertisement investment, which became the most important political and administrative tool to control not only the different powers but also the construction of news on television (Peirano 160). If the common cliché “The customer is always right” refers to the TV advertisers’ power of decision over the programming, then it is easy to understand why during the presidential election campaign the Peruvian state spent more than $ 16 million between January and May 1999 in advertising, becoming the biggest advertiser in Peru (160). The state decided what the programs should or should not be as a way to manipulate public opinion.

By directly bribing broadcasters Vladimiro Montesinos made broadcasters encode particular information about how citizens voted, how judges decided and how media reported. To accomplish this Montesinos paid television broadcasters far more than politicians or judges. The largest of the checks ordered by Montesinos was for broadcast television. In fact, one single television channel's bribe was five times larger than the total of the opposing politicians' bribes (McMillan and Zoido 69). As a result, with the complicity of all the television channel owners, the Former Intelligence Chief “controlled” all of the Peruvian media and its audiences. As a former Peruvian spy chief and longtime C.I.A. agent, Vladimiro Montesinos made sure that there were videotapes
recording the bribe takers when they accepted his cash so that these tapes were proof of others’ complicity. In one of the tapes Montesinos secretly recorded, he declared,

Now we are playing with something very serious. They all are lined-up. Every day at 12:30 pm I have a meeting with them [...] and we plan what is going to be aired in the evening news. I measure the time and I monitor the characters and at the end I summarize the day: how much they devoted to this activity, how much to that, how much in favor, how much against. (McMillan and Zoido 83)

The implication is that Peruvian reality was shaped by the information provided by these channels. America Television-Channel 4, Frecuencia Latina -Channel 2, Panamericana Television -Channel 5, Andina de Television -Channel 9, Red Global -Channel 13 and Cable Canal de Noticias were all responsible for the legitimacy crisis of private broadcasting. Unfortunately, there was no exception. For instance, in the 1990s, brothers Manuel and Genaro Delgado Parker received $ 10,600,000 in exchange for business help and judicial favors from the government (McMillan and Zoido 81). Ironically, in the early 1970s, the same person, Genaro Delgado Parker—who was General Manager of PANTEL, the leading Peruvian private channel—served as the “brain” behind Simplemente María, which was a soap opera considered a pioneer for its educational/entertainment design (Singhal and Rogers 1999). A few years later, however, its producers were loyal accomplices of the Fujimori regime. Like a paranoiac fantasy, Peruvian programming became a combination of political censorship, repression and government propaganda controlled by the state.
1.2. The TV Show: *Costumbres-El verdadero espíritu de los Peruanos*

Public television was another extension of the regime. After the crisis of the Fujimori Administration (1990-2000)—which caused the crisis in Peruvian public and private media—two consecutive General Managers of the PBS, Bernardo Cáceres and the poet and playwright José Watanabe, created a new programming strategy for the restructuration of the Public Broadcasting Service. Prior to that public television programming consisted of only biased political-party news about the regime, family shows hosted by a female nightclub dancer, and a few comedy television shows which denigrated the most important journalists’ and politicians’ honor. In contrast, for the new Provisional Government, the new programming strategy promoted social and health-related issues, rural development, history, arts and popular culture. In addition, there was a TV show dedicated to each ‘high culture’ issue, such as literature, history, film or theater. The slogan “TV PERÚ, Sembrando Cultura”—translated as “TV Peru, Sowing Culture”—followed public television’s guidelines, and it summarized the principal goals of the Public Broadcasting Service during this period.

Within this context, different types of TV shows were launched by the Public Broadcasting Service - Radio & Television of Peru/ Channel 7 between 2000 and 2008. *Costumbres* was launched in July 2000 and Sonaly Tuesta has been the presenter since then. Rather than using a Jeep 4 x 4—like the private TV shows which promote “tourism”—*Costumbres* shows how the hostess travels to forgotten communities, by car, motorcycle, boat, truck or donkey. In a broad sense, although the hostess is continuously featured throughout the TV program, the main character of each program is the
community itself, so the locals are in charge of the explanation of the festivities most of
the times. Likewise, without a community and its festivities there would not be a
program. Sonaly Tuesta, as hostess, is in charge of the interviews but also builds the
narrative of the filmed festivities.

1.3. Costumbres - The TV program

1.3.1. Origin, Genre and Staff

Sonaly Tuesta—journalist, hostess and director of Costumbres—is from Lamud,
a province of Luya in the Amazonian region of Peru. Prior to hosting and directing
Costumbres, she had already written two books, a book of poetry entitled El secreto de
los Sachapuyos —Sachapuyos’ Secret—and a collection of chronicles about her
hometown's traditions entitled El rescatador y las Virgenes—The rescuer and the
virgins—(Castillo). At the beginning of Costumbres, she and her husband wanted to
launch a magazine, but they could not get the approval or the financing from the local
newspaper that previously had published her column about traditional feasts. Then she
shifted to cable Channel 57 UHF to host the first version of Costumbres for three months
(García). There she began to develop the main concepts of this program and afterwards
she received an invitation to host and direct a new program for the Public Broadcasting
Service during the Provisional Government.

Although the TV show began as a program entirely produced by public television,
throughout the years it became a co-production and finally an independent production.
The updated information regarding Costumbres includes the following items:
Table 1.1 *Costumbres*—General Information

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>Educational Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject</strong></td>
<td>Peruvian Folklore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title</strong></td>
<td><em>Customs, The real spirit of Peruvians</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Audience</strong></td>
<td>TV-G (General Audience)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TV Schedule</strong></td>
<td>Monday, 9:00 pm (Premiere)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Length</strong></td>
<td>45 minutes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frequency</strong></td>
<td>On a weekly basis (and reruns).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TV Channel</strong></td>
<td>Channel 7/ Public Broadcasting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Producers</strong></td>
<td>Costumbres S.A.C.</td>
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Currently the opening credits include just four people as a permanent staff:

Table 1.2 *Costumbres*—Production Crew

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<td><strong>Director and Hostess</strong></td>
<td>Sonaly Tuesta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Executive Producers</strong></td>
<td>Milagros Meneses Arce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martín Alvarado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Post-Production Editor</strong></td>
<td>José Luis González</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The opening does not include the camera operators because they are selected by the Television Director each week. However, based on the credits written on the DVD set *Nuestra Costumbre*, a DVD set commercialized for the 7th anniversary of *Costumbres*, the camera operators selected in the most recent years for this task were: Luis Casquino, José Luis Espinoza, Sandro Estación, Jaime Gálvez, Mario Gutiérrez, Víctor Miranda, Diego Mora, Jhonny Quimper and Jack Valer. All of them worked for TV Peru/ Channel
7, Radio and Television of Peru, and were responsible for the camerawork in
*Costumbres*.

1.3.2. The TV Concept

1.3.2.1 Goals and Objectives

Contemporary media theories state that television consumption is related to
questions of cultural identity. In line with this argument, Martin-Barbero has drawn
attention to the *deterritorialization* of identities, in particular, as attributable to
international television (Sinclair 25). Considering these premises, the TV program
*Costumbres* proposes to value all Peruvians who maintain their traditions, dancing,
textiles, images; in other words, *customs*. To stress these goals, the TV program focuses
on the notion of “fiesta” as believed, celebrated and experienced by each community. An
inclusive definition of the concept “fiesta” is described in the DVD set *Nuestra
Costumbre* as follows:

La fiesta es el momento mágico de los pueblos. Es el instante mismo en que la
devoción tiene formas distintas de manifestarse. Hay quienes deben abrir un
agujero en la tierra para llenarla de ofrendas, hacer enseguida un brindis con el
cerro y el agua, esperando que los campos sean más fértiles que el año pasado.
Hay quienes hablan de su pueblo a través del hilo, de la paja, de las pepitas
regadas en el campo, de los ingredientes que se unen para crear un delicioso y
colorido potaje…” (Tuesta)

The festivity is a magical moment belonging to each town. It is the instant in
which the devotion incarnates different forms to exist. Some persons have to open
a hole in the ground to fill it with offerings. Others have to drink a toast with the
mountains and water, hoping that the fields will be more fertile than the previous
year. Others tell stories about their community with threads or straws, or seeds in
the field, or the ingredients to cook a delicious and colorful dish…” (Tuesta)
A literal interpretation of this definition stresses two main characteristics. First, unlike the vast body of TV shows that promotes Peruvian tourism, only *Costumbres* has avoided the country's “beautiful” geography as its main focus. Rather than considering inanimate pictures, tropical animals, fruits or monuments, its TV concept stresses the particular contributions of the communities that produce, recreate and believe in the religious values of the traditional festivities of Peruvian life and culture. Second, although the notion of “fiesta” is related to religious belief, the definition itself addresses the concrete and particular actions developed by different communities. Therefore, ordinary people are the main characters of every episode. With Andean religion and festivities, the program stresses the importance of these people. Considering these two elements, the TV program’s concept follows the premise that public television must be not only a common reference point for all members of the public, but also a stage on which society observes and evaluates itself (Blumler 3).

1.3.2.2 The TV Program Name

In a recent interview by a local radio station, Sonaly Tuesta revealed a new conceptualization of the TV program name: “*Costumbres* is, honestly, a way of life. It is not only a TV show—at least, for me. Neither is it just a job. I would like to dedicate my life to *Costumbres*, forever” (Kusunoki). For Sonaly Tuesta there is an intentional play on the name itself. Although the common meaning for “costumbres” (*customs*) refers to a usage or practice common to many of a particular place or class, or habitual to an individual, the word “costumbres” itself does not refer exclusively to Peruvian traditions.
It refers to Tuesta’s mother cooking, a traditional dish of her hometown. In this sense, the name refers to customs as well as hometown cooking and memories.

This anecdote was told with more explicit details in the introduction to the DVD set *Nuestra Costumbre*. Recorded in sepia color tones, the DVD prologue shows the hostess’s mother preparing this dish step by step. Then, after cooking the food Mrs. Tuesta holds the plate and says, “Daughter, this is the custom.” Thereby, with this reference to the name “Costumbres,” the hostess extends the meaning of her mother’s words: “Yes, Mother. This is the custom, our custom. ‘Custom’ is a typical dish belonging to the Amazonian region. It is made with pig’s entrails, potatoes, parsley and mint. Generally it is cooked when someone kills a pig. And then, this is the first dish made at home in order to share with relatives” (Tuesta).

Nowadays, after visiting and recording more than 250 communities, the TV program name has a different connotation. It refers to a TV show and its production team whose goal is to visit the most remote and hidden Peruvian places in order to record different traditional festivities. In these places, Peruvians—under the observation of their Patron saint or the Virgin Mary—still give thanks to the sky, the Father sun or the *apus*. "Through this program, the spectator can watch the patron festivities, the geography and the culinary arts of each Peruvian town. To sum up: they can watch their customs," stated Tuesta (Castillo). Unlike other TV programs in which the task is the promotion of high culture—classical music, opera, theater, or literature—*Costumbres*’ concept focuses on the diffusion of Peruvian traditional festivities throughout the whole country. Therefore,
Costumbres is currently defined as a cultural and informative TV program, which shows the different beliefs and traditions of Peru.

1.3.2.3 The TV Promotion

In 2007 a TV promotion represented Costumbres’ goals and objectives. Posted on the Peruvian Public Broadcasting Service website, Costumbres’ promotion mixes a scene with little children—a little boy and girl playing at a little table—with shots related to religious festivities and customs of Peru. Three concepts configure the main elements of the promotion’s plot: transportation, dances, and fire. The first concept focuses on non-traditional forms of transportation between communities in the Andes. Because of the absence of a net of public transportation throughout the whole country, most community members move from one community to another by trucks, using the back of the truck as a van to carry merchandise as well as people. In the TV promotion an extreme long shot depicts a rural area where a truck, with passengers greeting the camera, drives down a hill through a dirty road.

The second concept refers to the Scissor Dance, a traditional dance from the Inca times. It is a dance competition (atipanakuy), in which two or more dancers (danzak) perform a dance, followed by the music of a violin and a harp. As part of the contest, the dancers dance in turns either doing challenging steps, such as dancing with just one foot, or performing acts of fakirism. The Scissor Dance, however, represent the syncretism of Quechua Christianity. It is performed during Easter but its rite appeals to the Inca divinities: the mountains (apus), the Mother Earth (mamapacha) and the heavenly body
(inti, quilla, coyllur). Not limited to a choreography contest, it is a petition for the blessing of the agricultural cycle. The dancers, called the Tusuq and traditionally considered high priests, fortune-tellers and sorcerers, performed a ritual to pay tribute to the sowing time, the harvest and animal hair shearing. During the Spanish conquest the representation of this popular dance was prohibited so the Tusuqs—called by that time “Supaypa Wawan”, translated as "Devil’s son"—began to hide in the Andes mountains until they were accepted in colonial society with a new function: to dance as an homage to the Christian God. In this way the Scissor Dance began to be performed during the celebration of the Patron Saint festivals. Finally, the third concept, fire, refers to the image of a bonfire, an image used not only for cooking but also singing and storytelling.

Therefore, in three acts the whole montage’s narrative uses a cross-cutting technique to form parallels between the children’s universe (represented by toys) and Peruvian reality (represented by TV images). The first sequence cuts away from a wooden toy truck carrying purple corn (and a little wooden TV camera) to images of an interprovincial bus service in a rural area of Peru. The second sequence flows from the little girl playing with Peruvian Scissor dancer dolls (while the little boy pretends to be a camera man) to images of the celebration of this traditional street festival. In the final scene, the montage focuses on the girl playing and blowing a cane to images of an old woman blowing a cane to light a bonfire. In the promotion, rather than using foreign toys, these children use simple objects to document ancestral Peruvian traditions. There is no host, narrator or dialogue. Unlike other spots designed by Channel 7, in this promotion there is neither a voice over nor a voice off. For this reason there are three videographics
throughout the promotion with three explicit messages: First, “¿Qué sabes del Perú?”
Second, “Despierta tu espíritu.” Finally, “Mira ‘Costumbres’. Lunes 7:00 pm.” Literally,
these phrases are an interrogative sentence (“What do you know about Peru?”), and two
informal commands: “Wake your spirit” and “Watch Costumbres.” In addition, the thirty
second (30 sec.) promotion is scored with the music of Peruvian festivities such as the
Scissor Dance from the south of the Peruvian Andean region. Avoiding ambient music
and electronic sound effects, this promo uses as a soundtrack the traditional song, the
Scissor Dance, characterized by the use of a violin and harp.

Whereas the common slogan—“The real spirit of the Peruvians”—is still used in the
opening credits, the website uses a new slogan synthesized in the expression “El
verdadero sentir de nuestros pueblos”—translated as “The real feeling of our towns.” In
both cases, the intended meaning of the whole spot is the promotion of Costumbres, a TV
program focused on Peruvian values as well as the documentation of these ritual
performances through a documentary TV style.

1.3.3. Program Format and Television Style

One of the most celebrated episodes, “Mi Santa Cruz, Pueblo de Amor,” can serve
as a paradigm for the aforementioned TV show. As usual, the hostess travels to a
community, in this case to Santa Cruz, a small town in the highlands of Peru. Because
shots are taken outdoors, Costumbres uses neither a studio nor a control room; therefore,
it is not necessary to use the television studio camera set up, which usually consists of
three cameras characterized by little or no camera movement. The omission of the control
room means that there is no technical director responsible for the monitor wall, the video switcher or the VTR control. As a result, only a few people—the hostess/director, the producer and the camera operator—are in charge of the quality and aesthetics of the episodes; that is, the visual and sound design.

1.3.3.1 Visual Design

With reference to the program’s style, image and sound, *Costumbres* usually uses two Betacam video recorders. It is not cinematography, but videography, which allows true broadcast quality recording, with 300 lines of horizontal luminance resolution and 120 lines of chrominance resolution. The pictures are shot in exterior settings (open air) rather than using interior settings (indoors) and the aid of artificial lighting. Because of the absence of typical lighting instruments, the TV program broadcasts images of outdoor scenes in direct sunlight.

The camera set-up includes long shots (L.S.), medium shots (M.S.) and close ups (C.U.) Usually, the camera movements form a static position using tripods and dollies to permit smooth camera movements; however, the production crew frequently uses a hand-held camera in order to create a documentary feel. In general, the videos document traditional festivities, ritual music, and dance performances carried out in rural areas of highland Peru. The actions are explained, but not emphasized. In this sense, no scenes have been recreated.

The narrative flow is not interrupted by plot because a linear narrative proceeds in chronological order. In this case study, the process of selecting and joining together shots
uses continuity editing, which is the predominant style in this program. Both temporal and spatial continuity are commonly achieved by conventional techniques, such as the establishing shot, the 30° rule and the eyeline match.

With the exception of the credits, the program does not use many videographics.

1.3.3.2 Sound Design

Regarding the program’s sound and music, dialogue and sounds are recorded at the time of shooting. This synchronous sound includes Amerindian musical instruments played during the traditional festivities. On occasions, this music is also used as wild sound, recorded non-synchronously and used as music at a background level. For instance, the opening credits do not include musical notes from either a guitar (a Spanish heritage) or a keyboard. Therefore, both the opening and the program use the same traditional wind instruments and percussion played during the festivals, music native to Peru. This fact is not a trivial detail since the main concept of this popular TV show is to show the traditional Peruvian festivities of the rural provinces where the population not only speaks the native language Quechua or Aymara, but also where more than half do not speak Spanish. As a result, the use of Andean music appears constantly either as diegetic music (as a part of the character’s world) or non-diegetic music (as a part of the program’s authorial commentary) (Rabiger 482).

Not all the programs, however, use Andean music because in some cases the technician in charge of the audio uses a ‘wall of sound’ or ‘ambient music’ in all types of musicalization of episodes in order to fill the vacuum of silence. Some TV programs, for
example, have used classical music as a transitional device to fill the vacuum and to set a mood. On the contrary, *Costumbres* uses synchronous sounds. In addition to a voice over, there is a voice off with the narrator’s commentary. No sound effects are included during the editing.

1.3.4. Television Prizes and Acknowledgments

*Costumbres* has received several prizes and acknowledgements in the latest years. For example, the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima-Peru awarded this TV program two times for exceptional achievement in the field of culture. Due to her work toward increasing cultural awareness and promoting traditional festivities, the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima granted the “Ciudad de Lima Award 2002” as well as the “Minerva Award” in 2008 to Sonaly Tuesta. In addition, the Municipal Decree n° 34 of 6 March 2008 established the principal reasons for this acknowledgement:

Que, en aplicación del citado Acuerdo, la Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima, en base a sus respectivas hojas de vida, ha calificado para el premio “Minerva”, entre otras personas, a la señora Mariela Sonaly Tuesta Altamirano, exitosa y reconocida periodista que a través de su programa “Costumbres”, que se transmite por TV Nacional del Perú, narra y difunde y promociona las festividades y fiestas patronales, incluyendo danzas, comidas, geografía y costumbres de los diferentes pueblos del Perú, haciendo conocer la tradición de los mismos, fomentando así el turismo mediante su programa de alto contenido informativo, cultural y de identificación nacional.

Because of its role in recognizing and disseminating traditional Andean festivals, *Costumbres* was awarded with the ANDA Award, granted by the National Association of Advertisers, who considered this program the best in Peruvian programming during
2006. Furthermore, based on a survey in Lima, Arequipa, Iquitos and Puno, which confirmed *Costumbres* as the best TV program in 2006, the Peruvian Veeduria de Comunicación Social—led by Professor Rosa María Alfaro—rewarded Sonaly Tuesta with the Citizenship Award 2007 in a public ceremony that took place in the Peruvian Congress.

The result of these surveys was confirmed by the Ministry of Transportation and Communication of Peru, and by CONCORTV (Advisory Board for Radio and Television), with the results of a home survey in the cities of Lima, Trujillo, Arequipa, Cuzco and Iquitos. In this analysis of media audiences, the sample investigation was targeted towards age (16-70), sex groups (male-female) and all the socio-economic levels (level A, level B, level C, level D and level E) that at least had a radio and/or a television. The survey took place between August 25\textsuperscript{th} and September 18\textsuperscript{th}, 2006, but the final report was considered confidential for some time.
Recently made public, conclusion No. 36, stated in the survey done by the Ministry of Transportation and Communication of Peru and by CONCORTV confirmed that audiences considered *Costumbres-El verdero espíritu de los peruanos* to be the best TV program, and that it improved the quality of Peruvian television. At the present time, *Costumbres* is still on the air, broadcast by TV Peru/ Channel 7 every Monday at 9:00 pm.
CHAPTER 2: THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 Research Question and Methodology

2.1.1 Research Question

In his famous guide to doing qualitative research in mass communication, John J. Pauly affirms that the study of mass communication can occur in one of three different ways: as a product, as a practice, or as a commentary (3-4). Each of these concepts implies a different object of study. As a product, the research interprets media artifacts as texts, as a strategy of symbolic action. On the other hand, as a practice, media artifacts need to be studied as economic commodities. In other words, attention should not only be on the patterns of a monopoly but also on distribution, advertising and marketing. For the purposes of this thesis, only the first object of analysis—as a product—will be considered throughout this thesis in order to analyze two samples: the opening credits and the TV program’s content. In addition, rather than focusing on a subject matter using a quantitative approach, the methodology is based on qualitative communication research, focusing on the fields of signification (Merriam, 2002; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

This thesis aims to analyze the different meanings encoded in the opening credits and the TV program’s content, respectively. Indeed, either the one or the other can be analyzed as a product. Both products stress Peruvian religious festivities and the faith and devotion prevalent in the small provinces of Peru. However, despite the fact that the opening credits repeat the same images of the TV program and purportedly continue to achieve the main goal, the present thesis argues that both products—the opening credits
and Costumbre (the TV program)—are essentially different. On the one hand, instead of focusing on a single tradition, the opening credits consist of a collection of excerpts from the TV episodes.

- **Research Question 1**: Through the construction of a structure as well as a plot in the editing process of the opening credits, what implications occur in the opening credits’ meaning by repeating and addressing specific subjects and topics not frequently presented in the TV program?

On the other hand, each TV program is dedicated to only one traditional festivity. Because of this special attention on one single festivity, Costumbres stresses the religious festivity and theoretically promotes peoples’ participation. Thus, it empowers minority groups to take collective action. This means that during the forty-five minutes of content—one hour on the air—the protagonists (and the main plot) are the town itself, that is, the people. In fact, its unique characteristic is the omission of celebrities and intellectuals who teach or explain a lecture to the audience.

- **Research Question 2**: Although the publicized goal is the religious festivity, what meanings does the TV program’s content construct by addressing not only the religion issue but also related subjects, characters, public spaces, props and music within the program?

These are the research questions that led our interest. By focusing on meaning-making, this thesis will seek to decode these media artifacts as text.
2.1.2 The Sample

To achieve this goal, two products will be continuously compared through these chapters: 1) the first product is the Costumbres’ opening credits and, 2) the second one is the TV program Costumbres itself. Hence, this study focuses on the episode entitled ‘Mi Santa Cruz, Pueblo de Amor’ to ensure that the analysis remains concrete. Broadcast by the Public Broadcasting Service on December 3rd, 2007, this sample was chosen for analysis because it illustrates many elements of a documentary —interviews, graphics, commentaries, people carefully selected to speak, music— ordered in a way that the episode as a whole entertains and informs the audience (Silverstone 299). This episode was considered the Best Report of the year 2007. The episode is about the Andean town Santa Cruz de Andamarca. Mainly focused on a religious festivity, its content also includes the history of its foundation, trade, traditional food and archeological ruins.

Because there is not an official post-production script done by PBS, a video copy and DVD player are needed to analyze the episode with repeated viewing. This sample—that is, this episode—can be bought at Television Nacional del Peru/ Channel 7, by paying an official fee of $20 at the Programming and Distribution Office. At this point, a brief observation should be made: Although neither the official Public Broadcasting Service website nor the independent producers have posted the aforementioned episode on the Internet, the complete episode can be found through the website Youtube/ Broadcast Yourself, posted by a third person, John Figueroa Bueno, a television fan and native of Santa Cruz de Andamarca, the Peruvian small town which was the main topic of the episode. Divided into six posts, each of them corresponds
exactly to the six fragments in which the master copy divides the original episode, beginning with a brief opening and ending with a fade out. Hence, this TV episode was available through Youtube through the following links:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>SCENE</th>
<th>URL/ LINK</th>
<th>TIME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Travel and Events</td>
<td>Amor Santacrucino</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J8jlNxs557o&amp;feature=related">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J8jlNxs557o&amp;feature=related</a></td>
<td>9:17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel and Events</td>
<td>Frutos de la tierra</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5wEb0kXBxCI&amp;feature=channel">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5wEb0kXBxCI&amp;feature=channel</a></td>
<td>7:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel and Events</td>
<td>Asado de papas</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=24r9LG1HUA&amp;feature=channel">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=24r9LG1HUA&amp;feature=channel</a></td>
<td>7:44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel and Events</td>
<td>Queso, bueno queso</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrBiGxNC6NU&amp;feature=channel">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrBiGxNC6NU&amp;feature=channel</a></td>
<td>9:11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel and Events</td>
<td>A mi pueblito de Santa Cruz</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tT4Ubl1hIwg&amp;feature=channel">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tT4Ubl1hIwg&amp;feature=channel</a></td>
<td>7:54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel and Events</td>
<td>De vuelta al pasado</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/user/jfigueroa07#p/a/u/1/nZ5dexNkGaI">http://www.youtube.com/user/jfigueroa07#p/a/u/1/nZ5dexNkGaI</a></td>
<td>8:04</td>
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For the purpose of this research, the viewing of this television material through the Internet implies different advantages: i) Firstly, each post respects the original duration of each TV block as well as all the TV format, including videographics and soundtrack. In other words, it is the same TV program migrated to a computer screen. ii)
Secondly, the potential viewers of this case study are not limited by the PBS programming and its limited number of reruns on the air; contrary to this, the selected episode is posted 24 h. a day on the Internet. iii) Finally, the possibility of reproducing the episode many times as the research requires. Following the conventions of Youtube, each excerpt has its own chronometer and timing based in minutes and seconds, which are helpful and useful for reference and citing. For these reasons, this research based its television viewing on the episodes posted on the World Wide Web.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

In *Imagined Communities* (1983) Benedict Anderson defines a ‘nation’ as an imagined political community where “members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (10). Similarly, referring to this particular concept of nationhood, Fiske and Hartley affirm that the importance of using theory in television criticism is based on the awareness that broadcast television not only creates the largest *imagined community* the world has ever seen (the TV audience), but through its various textual forms and genres it functions as an active teacher of cultural citizenship over several decades (xvi). No matter the good intentions of promoting education and culture, the fact is that the notion of *culture* portrayed by any TV production does not legitimate nor define a program as ‘cultural’. In this sense, in order to explore the content of the aforementioned visual samples, the theoretical and
methodological roots of this thesis are grounded in the tradition of cultural studies. The primary frameworks employed, therefore, are Semiotics and Ideological Criticism.

2.2.1. Semiotics

In *Theory of Semiotics* (1976) Umberto Eco states, “Semiotics is concerned with everything that can be a sign. A sign can be everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else” (7). Therefore, considering that human beings—in essence, *homo significans*—are the only species to be driven by a desire to make meaning “signs can take the form of words, images, sounds, odours, flavours, acts or objects, but such things have no intrinsic meaning and become signs only when we invest them with meaning” (Chandler 13). Semiotics, consequently, refers to the science of signs and codes. According to this conceptualization a sign stands for something else (be it an object, a word, an image or a symbol); whereas codes address the relationship of signs to the objects or ideas they represent (Moriarty 227). The central concept in semiotics is the assumption that the meaning of words, images or objects is neither natural nor inevitable because they are socially constructed. In this sense, by asking *how* meaning is created, rather than *what* the meaning is, semiotics studies “the way such ‘signs’ communicate and the rules that govern their use” (Seiter 31). For the purpose of this analysis, our approach draws so heavily on semiotic theory due to the fact that semiotics’ concepts and principles can be applied equally to the images seen on the television. Because of the particular application of semiotics to many different sign systems related to television studies, the two dominant models—Saussure and Pierce—
of what constitutes a sign, as well as the contribution of two contemporary authors—Barthes and Fiske—are described briefly.

“The linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name—affirmed the Swiss linguist Ferdinand Saussure in his *Course in General Linguistics* (1966)—but a concept and a sound-image” (Saussure 66). Defining a sign as the combination of a concept and a sound-image, Saussure conceptualized the nature of the sign by breaking it into two components: a sound or image (called *signifier*), and the concept or content for which it stands (called *signified*). The signifier exits in the material world whereas the signified has no material presence. Hence, both realms are a theoretical construction in which the relation between the two concepts is entirely conventional and arbitrary. This was the first principle he proposed: “The bond between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary” (67). Within the Saussurean model the sign became logocentric using language as the preferred model for the sign system. As a consequence, he privileged verbal language (speech and writing) over other sign systems, such as visual perception. However, the importance of his works to media studies is founded on two premises: First, by conceiving language in terms of signs (rather than words), Saussure emphasized the signifying function and the mechanics of meaning and interpretation (Joseph 61). Second, stressing the *arbitrariness* of the sign, Saussure also emphasized the fact that the relationship between both concepts is dependent on social and cultural conventions that have to be learned (Chandler 28).

In addition, the distinction between a paradigmatic and syntagmatic analysis is yet another legacy from Saussure since he emphasized that meaning arises from the
differences between signifiers within these two structural axes. A **paradigm** is a set of signs from which a choice is made and only one unit from that set (all members of some defining category) may be chosen. By contrast, the **syntagm** is an orderly combination of interacting signifiers which form a meaningful whole within the text. For Saussure, “syntagmatic relations refer intratextually to other signifiers co-present within the text, while paradigmatic relations refer intertextually to signifiers which are absent from the text” (122). The application of these concepts within television criticism is not confined to the verbal mode. For instance, in the case of film or television the characteristics of the shot (shot size, cut, fade, dissolve or wipe), the genre itself or the colors are cases of paradigmatic choices in which the meaning of the unit chosen is determined largely by the meanings of the unit not chosen (Fiske *Introduction* 58). In the syntagmatic analysis, a TV excerpt (a text) is examined as a sequence of events in which the chosen sign can be affected by its relationship with others. In the case of television, a TV shot should be studied comparing it with its preceding and following shots. Therefore, this thesis is based on a paradigmatic and syntagmatic analysis of both chosen samples, the TV program itself, as well as the opening credits.

Contemporary to Saussure, the work of the pragmatist philosopher and logician Charles Sanders Peirce was not limited to symbolic signs (language), but attempted to account for types of signs, including pictorial ones (Seiter 35). Concluding in *The Collected Papers* that reality (and thoughts) can only be known through representation via signs, Pierce formulated his own model of sign based on a triadic model consisting of:

i) a **sign** (or **representamen**), which is the perceptible object functioning as a sign
corresponding to Saussure’s signifier; ii) the object, something beyond the sign to which it refers (a referent); iii) an interpretant, the idea evoked in a person’s mind by the sign (Sheriff 56; Martin and Ringham 186). In this sense, a sign is a unity of what is represented (the object), how it is represented (the representamen) and how it is interpreted (the interpretant) (Chandler 29). Based on this concept, Peirce developed three different ways of classifying signs according to the relationship between the representamen and the object: icon, index or symbol. Peirce’s triad is crucial because “television images are both iconic and indexical, states Seiter, and programs often use words (symbolic signs) on the screen and soundtrack” (35).

An iconic sign—an icon—is mimetic and resembles the object it signifies. An icon is recognizable looking, sounding, tasting or smelling; hence, it could be a visual sign such as a photograph, a map, or a scale model. It also could be verbal, such as an onomatopoeia or a metaphor; not to mention sounds such as ‘realistic’ sounds used in a soundtrack. On the other hand, an indexical sign—an index—has a direct existential connection (casually or physically related) with its object. It is connected to its object as “a matter of fact.” Without an arbitrary association an index can be observed or inferred, such as ‘natural signs’ (smoke, thunder, footprints), medical symptoms, measuring instruments (a barometer, a sundial), and by extension, communicational recordings such as film, video, television shot, or an audio-recorded voice. The difference from an iconic sign results from the fact that indexical signs rely on a material connection between signifier and signified (v.gr. smoke means fire). Finally, a symbol denotes a sign whose relationship to its object is fundamentally arbitrary and purely conventional. For
instance, ‘words’ as well as ‘numbers’ are symbols (Fiske 47; Chandler 36; Moriarty 231). Likewise, if Peirce used a photograph as an example of an indexical sign —v.gr. a photographic image is an index of the effect of light (Chandler 43)—, in “Semiotics, Structuralism and Television” (1987), Seiter refers to most images produced by cameras as indexical signs because they require the physical presence of the referent before the camera lens. Semiotics, affirms Eco, is in principle the discipline studying everything which can be used in order to lie; then, trick photographs, special effects, computer graphics can also be used to lie to the camera (36).

In addition to Peirce’s work, Roland Barthes’ contribution is also crucial to visual semiotic analysis. Based on Saussure’s work, he extended the concepts of signifier and signified to develop a new order of signification: the plane of denotation and the plane of connotation. Focusing on the relationship of the signifier and signified within the sign, and of the sign with its referent in external reality, denotation is the direct, specific and literal meaning of a sign (Fiske Introduction 85). Literally, it is a description or representation of the sign, the obvious meaning. Unlike the denotative meaning, connotation comes from the word connotare (“to mark along with”) and it refers to the socio-cultural and personal associations (ideological, emotional, etc) of the sign (Chandler 138). That is, a meaning evoked on a subjective level, reflecting cultural meanings, mythologies and ideologies (Moriarty 231). Therefore, associated with “cultural baggage,” the connotative meanings are more related to the interpreter’s class, age, gender or ethnicity. Barthes exemplified these topics in his works Mythologies (1957) as well as Image, Music, Text (1977).
Rather than a combination of phonemes, images function as an analogy, like iconic signifiers. Hence, in drawings, paintings, cinema, theater (the whole range of analogical reproductions), the image is not the reality but it is its mechanical analogue of reality. Besides the style of reproduction, however, there is a second meaning whose signifier is a certain “treatment” of the image (done by the creator) whereas the signified (aesthetic or ideological) refers to a specific culture of the society (Barthes *Images* 17-18). Not only does connotation occur at the level of “production” but also at the level of “reception”. On the one hand, in the case of the press photograph, it is composed, constructed and treated to aesthetical and ideological norms that constitute a level of connotation. Barthes asserts that decisions regarding technical treatment, framing and lay-out, are associated with the imposition of connotation (20-23). On the other hand, the photograph is read through *myth*, that is, through a cultural message superimposed on the image. A *myth*, as a culture’s way of conceptualizing or understanding signs, is defined as a system of communication whose message is “not defined by its object but by the way in which it utters this message” (Barthes *Mythologies* 109). If imitative arts comprise a denoted message (the analogon itself), then the connoted message comports the manner in which the society communicates what it thinks of it (Barthes *Images* 17). Therefore, in television criticism, the Barthian visual semiotics applies not only to speech but also to camera distance, angle, focus, lighting effects, background music or frequency of cuttings in order to *connote* meaning. Whereas the mechanical process of reproduction conveys denoted meaning—“denotation is visual transfer,” states Barthes—connotation is the result of human intervention.
Finally, the notion of code described by Umberto Eco, and particularly as used by John Fiske in *Television Culture* (1987), will be used as part of the analysis of this case study. If Umberto Eco concluded that in a system of signs there is a relationship between the sender and the addressee “based on a code supposed to be common to both” (Eco *Semiotic* 4), then the meaning of the sign depends on the code within which it is situated. Thus, a code refers to a system of communicative conventions into which signs are organized, emphasizing the social dimension of communication. In terms of Fiske, “a code is a rule-governed system of signs, whose rules and conventions are shared amongst members of a culture, and which is used to generate and circulate meanings in and for that culture” (Fiske *Television* 4). Eco was the first to classify the codes used specifically in television messages into three types: First, the *iconic code* which comports an iconological, aesthetical and erotic subcode (at the level of the selection of images) and the montage subcode (at the level of the combination of images). Second is the *linguistic code* based on emotional codes and syntagms with either stylistic or conventional values. Third, Eco described the *sound code* which includes all sounds of the musical range as well as noises (for its imitatible value). According to Eco, both codes and subcodes are applied to a framework of cultural references belonging to the receiver’s patrimony of knowledge (ideological, ethical, religious, tastes, value systems, etc) (Eco *Semiotic* 12-13).

Different types of codes—verbal, non-verbal, visual—underlie the production and interpretation of meaning. In addition, Fiske asserts that codes work in a complex hierarchical structure. In this sense, most of this case study will follow the methodology
in which Fiske oversimplifies the codes of television into three levels: Level one, *reality* related to appearance, dress, make-up, speech, sounds, etc; level two, *representation*, focused on camera, lighting, editing, music and sound; level three, *ideology*, which is organized into coherence and social acceptability by the ideological codes (individualism, patriarchy, race, class, capitalism, etc) (Fiske *Television* 5). Therefore, Fiske begins with the assumption of two main premises: the notion of codes implies links between producers, texts and audiences; the process of making sense involves a constant movement up and down through the aforementioned levels. All of these codes represent, in one way or another, rules.

In short, as a highly complex medium, television uses verbal language, visual images and sounds to generate impressions and ideas in the audience. In applying semiotics to television, a textual analysis can determine the arbitrary nature of the sign used in a TV production, not to mention the paradigmatic or syntagmatic analysis. Furthermore, it addresses the representational (denotative) and symbolic (connotative) meanings of the people, places and things portrayed in the images (Van Leewun 117). In addition, the use of codes will depend upon an agreement amongst their users and upon a shared cultural background within the community using that specific code. These concepts and principles are applied to the semiotics of the television medium.

2.2.2. Ideological Criticism

A sign is a message, but signs are also *ideological* because they are bound to politics, domination and issues of power (Easthope and McGowan 41). An ideology
refers not only to systems of beliefs characteristic of a particular group, but also to the general process of the production of meaning and ideas. In television studies, ideological criticism refers to different types of analyses that base their evaluation of texts on issues of a political or socioeconomic nature of great interest to a particular group of people (Berger *Media and Communication* 71). This thesis, particularly, deals mostly with Marxist theories of culture because they are based on the assumption that cultural artifacts—produced in specific historical context by and for specific groups—reflect the belief system and the ideology of the dominant class (White 136-137). Similarly, taking into account the different degrees of the combination of the Marxist method with semiology, Donald Lazere pointed out: “[Marxist method] seems to explicate the manifest and latent or coded reflections of modes of material production, ideological value, class relations and structures of social power—racial or sexual as well as politic-economic—or the state of consciousness of people in a precise historical or socioeconomic situation (Berger 74). Both *Costumbres* (as a TV program) and its opening credits refer to Peruvian ‘culture’, so it is impossible to ignore that ‘culture’—for critical theory and cultural studies—implies a *site* with a permanent struggle between culture and power. In this view, “texts are complex (and contested) artifacts of ideologies that work to determine their symbolic form and content” (Lindlof and Taylor 59). As a result, Marxist criticism theory can be applied to point out ideological messages intrinsic to any form of communication.

Considering both the sender (TV producers) and the addressee of the text (audience), two reasons led to the use of these theories: *i) television is a cultural
commodity working within an economically determined capitalist economy: both the TV program as well as the audience are a commodity produced and then sold to distributors (Fiske *Moments* 59). ii) For many years the Peruvian society was based on the exploitation of the masses, by a few. Prior to the agrarian reform, implanted by the Military Government of General Velasco Alvarado, the peasants were subordinated to the interests of Peru’s dominant elites. Indeed, the land ownership pattern stated that laborers could not leave this colonial structure voluntarily until they paid loans and advances. Hence, the laborers were bound to the land through arrangements that discouraged productivity and produced human relations reminiscent of the age of serfdom (Lowenthal 5-20). Because of these reasons, the two concepts used in this analysis that belong to Marxist criticism must be explained briefly.

First, the notion of *dialectical materialism* described in the *Preface to a Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859): From Marx’s perspective the mode of production of material life conditions determines the general character of the social, political and intellectual life processes in general (Marx 45). Thus the moving force behind human history is its economic system because society is shaped by the force of productions. Consequently, “the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas” because the class that has the means of material production also controls the means of mental production (Marx and Engels 47). For Marxism criticism, consequently, there is a political significance to everything in culture. Second, the notion of *false consciousness* and *ideology*. According to Marx, an ideology refers to a belief system produced by relations between different classes in a society. In this context, the ideology
dictated by the dominant classes functions to secure its power and to justify its status and make it difficult for ordinary people to recognize that they are being exploited and victimized (Berger 42). Keeping the oppressed masses in a state of false consciousness, “The ruling class promulgates systems of ideas to promote its own interests”—affirms Mimi White—“that are adopted by oppressed or subservient classes as their own” (137). The notion of false consciousness, therefore, refers to the acceptance of a system that is unfavorable for them without questioning. Indeed, people’s consciousness is produced by society, not by nature or biology. Similarly, applied to television the working classes believe that television is harmless entertainment; however, it lulls them into passive inaction and indeed instills bourgeois values (White 138).

Another related term is ‘culture industry’, described in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947) by the Frankfurt School philosophers Theodor W. Adorno and Mark Horkheimer. *Kulturindustrie* denotes the systematic application of the principles, procedures, and values of industrial capitalism to the creation and marketing of mass culture (Gunster 9). Influenced by the dialectical materialism of Marx, Adorno and Horkheimer addressed the standardization and homogenization of contemporary culture by studying its process of commodification. For them, all products of culture industry, as commodities, obey the dictates of the laws of exchange, transferring the profit motive to cultural forms. Borrowing the concept of ‘use-value’ (virtue of satisfying human needs) and ‘exchange value’ from Marx, Adorno states that in cultural commodities the exchange-value has become a substitute for the use-value due to the fact that the industry is driven by the objective of making a profit from the sale of culture (Cook 31; Gunster
In terms of Adorno, “The consumer is not king—he states in *The Culture Industry Revisited*—as the culture industry would have us believe, not its subject but its object” (32). Therefore, all of this cultural consumption takes place in a market environment so the categories through which culture is conceived produced and consumed can be determined by capital (Gunster 35-7). Further, not only is culture made specifically for the purpose of being sold, but also the commodity itself is assumed to naturally possess the properties to make cultural commodities fetiches. For these reasons, Adorno and Horkheimer understood mass culture, including television, as an ideological form of capitalist domination.

The concept of culture industry is not obsolete. As mentioned above, television is a cultural commodity, so it works within an economically determined capitalist economy (Fiske *Moments* 59). The TV production itself is a site where several factors beyond the authors’ control imply a continuous struggle: nature of the capital (private vs. public), time and costs, the role of the TV executive as sellers of audiences for advertisements, the scheduling of the program, the program’s length, type of narration, technical issues and so forth. Nothing is created outside a context so anything can be analyzed until the study underlines other texts that surround the text (context) which can provide more data for making sense of it. In this sense, the use of Marxist criticism was founded on the belief that cultural products must be understood within a context of profound struggle between dominant and marginalized groups.
2.3 The Research Methodology

Most of the studies focuses on Peruvian programming are based on statistics, so their conclusions are legitimized by a number instead of a theory. Because of these gaps, several programs can be considered a success because of their ratings. Usually this so-called “success” is legitimized by prizes and rewards given by private institutions, such as private firms or a consortium of advisers. Ratings, however, are just statistics designed to determine which type of people are captive during a specific hour. A rating is a number that measures the size (quantity) of an audience, not the quality of a program (Eco Apocalipticos 326). Moreover, popularity does not equal efficacy (Singhal and Rogers 2002: 161). There are several contradictions in public television programming because some TV programs are obviously distorted by profit and competition in an effort to respond to consumer demand and maximize consumer choice.

Reality in qualitative inquiries, following Sharam B. Merriam, assumes that there are multiple, changing realities since individuals have their own unique constructions of reality. “No matter which paradigm one is working from—states the author—reality is always interpreted through symbolic representations such as numbers and words” (Merriam 25). Although some parts of this thesis mention quantities and counts, the research methodology uses qualitative analysis because it aims to “describe, decode, and translate the meaning, not the frequency of certain more and less naturally occurring phenomena” in these media products (Lindlof and Taylor 18). For the purpose of my argumentation, the main research method applied in this study is textual analysis, combined in some cases with ideological analysis.
2.3.1 Textual Analysis

As John Fiske has argued referring to the semiotic textual analysis,

It recognizes that the distribution of power in society is paralleled by the distribution of meanings in texts, and that the struggles for social power are paralleled by semiotic struggles for meaning. Every text and every reading has a social and therefore a political dimension, which is to be found partly in the structure of the text itself and partly in the relation of the reading subject to that text. (Fiske *British* 272)

Text, commonly, refers only to written text. In media studies, however, a text can take many forms including pictures, sounds, *grosso modo*, any form of verbal or non-verbal sign. Theoretically, it is composed of signs used together according to a set of codes and conventions, techniques (lighting, editing, camera use) and characterization (Casey, Calvert and French 289). In the case of television text, it cannot be reduced only to a pattern of signifiers on the screen and in the airwaves at any one time, because television is a cultural agent that broadcasts programs that are replete of potential meaning, attempting “to control and focus this meaningfulness into a more singular preferred meaning that performs the work of the dominant ideology” (Fiske *Television* 1). In this sense, this thesis applies a semiotic textual analysis. I mean two things by this: The textual analysis involves a close reading of the signifiers of the text but also recognizes that the signifieds exist not in the text itself, but extratextually, in the myths, countermyths and ideology of their culture (Fiske *British* 272). Therefore, the textual analysis is the methodology that assesses the impact of visual materials by exploring their connotative and denotative properties, deconstructing the text for the gleaning of both its direct meaning and the underlying ideological assumptions it possesses (Johnny and
Mitchell 758). In this case-study, fundamentally, the textual analysis is used because a collection of components of the TV program *Costumbres*—statistics or a simple count—cannot address, in itself, any explanation of reality. Facts and statistics are just more texts which must also be interpreted (McKee 144).

On the one hand, this thesis assumes the premise that *text* is the most primary link between producers and audiences as well as a definable object separate from producers and recipients: the text is an entity separate from readers (Gripsrud 14). Two main arguments support this decision. First: despite the fact that recent theories in the field of audience studies dissolve the notion of text and author, the defense of textual interpretation made by Jostein Gripsrud is based on the simple fact that literature and television have different principles. The importance of the author/producer (and his message) is assumed because a TV *text* differs radically “from the romantic notion of creativity, which basically is about an individual creating something out of nothing” (Gripsrud 60). Because of the budget, every part of the process of production is carefully planned, and corresponds with an intended meaning. Second, repeating the arguments previously used in literary studies—i.e. reader-response criticism—some theories recognize the reader as an active agent who completes the meaning of the text through interpretation. Gripsrud argues, however, that reading cannot be reduced to an aesthetically gratifying experience due to the fact that people do learn something from reading. “That is why school and universities make people read books”. Hence, the readings of other kinds of texts are not different in this respect (14). Textual analysis, consequently, is the main methodology used as a way to continue gathering and
analyzing the information read in the text television. The main form of textual analysis chosen is semiotics.

Another method of textual analysis employed in this thesis is related to ideological analysis. Under this method, the text is linked to a political or socioeconomic issues related to a particular group of people. Hence, another reading is made by critical theory works and cultural studies by conceptualizing television as a text, in order to demonstrate the relationships between power, knowledge and discourse produced in the context of historical and cultural struggle. In this regard, these main premises are used to identify the multiple forms that power takes in programming. As a consequence, in addition to written and spoken language, this thesis considers the text as a collection or system of signs since that television (as well as cinema, according to Christian Metz) uses different channels of communication, such as the image, written language, voice, music and sound effects simultaneously (Seiter 43). Media text produces and perpetuates a distorted perception of the world, maintaining the structural inequalities of a capitalist society (Creeber 32). According to Glen Creeber, the inclusion of ideological analysis is crucial because “without ideology and its theoretical roots semiotics would be little more than a semantic exercise, this is because its ideological underpinnings reveal not only how but also why texts are constructed the way they are” (32).

Heretofore, these are the theoretical frameworks and research methodologies employed in this thesis.
CHAPTER 3: PARADIGMATIC READING OF “COSTUMBRES” (TV PROGRAM)

THE OPENING CREDITS

3.1. The Opening Credits

This chapter begins by exploring the structure of the opening credits as an autonomous section that can be seen repeatedly by the audience every time the program is on the air. Because of the length of the opening credits, usually 30 seconds, every shot is carefully selected by the production crew in charge of the editing. Far from discussing the aesthetics of the visual images, I intend to show the discourse behind this initial montage-segment, which can be considered the statement of purpose of Costumbres. In addition, considering the difference between the “shot” (the largest minimum segment) and the “sequence” (the autonomous segment), the opening credits can be considered a specific autonomous segment called bracket syntagma which consists of more than one shot, achronological and not based on alternation (Metz 124-6). Hence, through different optical effects (dissolves, wipes, pan shots and even fades) this type of segment shows an order of reality in which each shot is related thematically without linking them chronologically with any spatial or temporal continuity.

In Film Language/ Semiotics of the Cinema (1974) Christian Metz confirms that it is only at the level of montage where one can pass from photography to cinema—“isolated shots are not even a small fragment of cinema,” argues Metz. However, the fact that Costumbres’ opening credits last only 34 seconds implies a detailed analysis at the level of the shot. A shot refers to each series of frames contained in a short scene filmed in one block, forming an indivisible segment between two joins (Mitry 59).
Consequently, its camera movement, unedited, is a result of panning, tracking, zooming but not editing cuts. Because semiotics takes into account the importance of the verbal and visual production, the following chart contains the sample selected as a shot breakdown and schematic outline of the aforementioned sequence.

3.1.1. Outline of the Opening credits

What follows is a paradigmatic analysis of the opening credits broadcast during the year 2007. To simplify the structure of this sequence, the following chart is based on Saussure’s dichotomy as well as the second-order meaning described by Barthes.

Table 3.1 Outline of the Opening Credits. Total Time: 34”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHOT</th>
<th>SIGNIFIER</th>
<th>DENotation</th>
<th>CONNOTATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fade in. Medium Long Shot.</td>
<td>The hostess and a native member of a community look straight at the camera, dancing inside a human-circle made of community members. All of them are wearing traditional clothes, including folkloric hats. A tourist bus is parked at the back of the feast.</td>
<td>Identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Medium Long Shot. Split screen.</td>
<td>On the right: The hostess enters frame left because one of the dancers is holding her hand. She also wears the folkloric hat like all the community members. On the left: The hostess is crossing a river, using short pants and handling a cane.</td>
<td>Place as a product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>On the right:</strong> The hostess is carried on the dancers’ shoulders. She is laughing and greeting them, while the community members throw grains at her. <strong>On the left:</strong> The hostess is on a motorcycle, behind the driver, in the middle of a highway.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Medium Long Shot. Split screen.</td>
<td>Carnivalization of life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 4 | Graphic over image. White letter [arial font]  
*Sonaly Tuesta  
Hostess and Director*  
Split screen.  
Medium Long Shot  
Long shot | On the right: The hostess is still carried by the dancers, but this frame shows more members of the feast yelling and throwing grains. **On the left:** A motorboat is sailing on an Amazonian river. |
| 5 | (Graphic continues) White letter [arial font]  
*Sonaly Tuesta  
Hostess and Director*  
Split screen.  
Medium shot.  
Three shot  
Extreme Long shot | Bodily codes (personal relationship)  
On the right: A group of women of the same community kiss and hug her, draping their arms over her, in a friendly fashion, continuously. The tourist bus is just behind them. **On the left:** An old freight truck, the back full of people, drives downhill. |
| 6 | Graphic over image. White letter [arial font]  
*Milagros Meneses  
Executive Producer*  
Split screen.  
Long shot.  
Long shot | On the right: The same group of women stands up in front of the camera while they are singing. They are still using their traditional garments. A tourist bus is parked behind them. **On the left:** The hostess is riding a black mule. |
| 7 | Graphic over image. White letter [arial font]  
*Milagros Meneses Executive Producer*  
Split screen. Long shot.  
Medium shot.  
|---|---|
|  | **On the right:** Using the same frame, the same women continue singing when the hostess enters frame left. One of the dancers is holding her by the hand, dancing with her. The same tourist bus is parked behind them.  
**On the left:** A subjective shot shows what the hostess is looking at: a dirt road.  
| 8 | Graphic over image. White letter [arial font]  
*Milagros Meneses Executive Producer*  
Split screen. Medium shot. Tracking shot. Long shot  
|---|---|
|  | **On the right:** The same group of women continues singing.  
**On the left:** The hostess enters an archeological site.  
| 9 | Graphic over image. White letter [arial font]  
*Milagros Meneses Executive Producer*  
Zoom shot. One shot.  
|---|---|
|  | A Peruvian box is played by a black man. The focus is on the box.  
| 10 | Graphic over image. White letter [arial font]  
*Martin Alvarado Executive Producer*  
Long shot.  
|---|---|
|  | Eight black women are dancing afro-music in their traditional clothing. They are dancing in front of old arches.  
|  | -Tourist/Place Consumer  
- Ruins/ the work of others  
Leisure/ Music
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Graphic over image. White letter [arial font] <em>Martin Alvarado Executive Producer</em></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Long shot. Five Amazonian teenagers are sailing in a launch and swimming in a river. They use their clothes to swim.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Graphic over image. White letter [arial font] <em>Martin Alvarado Executive Producer</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium shot. The hostess is walking in the mountains. She looks at the camera, carrying a backpack.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Graphic over image. White letter [arial font] <em>Martin Alvarado Executive Producer</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium shot. <em>Panning</em> In a school yard, black children are dancing to Peruvian Afro-Music.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Graphic over image. White letter [arial font] <em>Martin Alvarado Executive Producer</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium shot In the Titicaca lake, the hostess is sitting on a motorboat staring at the fluttering Peruvian National flag. She wears a yellow waterproof jacket.</td>
<td>Leisure/ contemplation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Graphic over image. White letter [arial font] <em>Jose Luis González Post- Production</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Close up. Two shot.</td>
<td>The hostess kisses a native woman. She still wears the yellow jacket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Graphic over image. White letter [arial font] <strong>Jose Luis González Post-Production</strong></td>
<td>Medium shot. <strong>Panning</strong> A group of the parents are clapping their hands. Supposedly, they are watching their children dancing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Medium shot.</td>
<td>The hostess is looking at historical ruins. Ruins/State as the guardian of the tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Long shot. <strong>Panning</strong>.</td>
<td>In the same school yard, Black children continue dancing to Peruvian Afro Music. They are wearing traditional clothing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Long shot. Two shots.</td>
<td>A native man plays a traditional Peruvian percussion instrument as well as a wind instrument. The hostess walks in front of him. A tourist bus is parked behind them. One can read the word “Costumbres” painted on the side of the bus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Graphics over image. In orange letters: ‘Costumbres’</td>
<td>Long shot. The man continues playing the same instruments. Leisure/Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fade to black.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2. Paradigmatic Analysis of the Opening Credits

The chart presented above is derived from Saussure’s definition of the sign, an arbitrary association between a signifier and a signified. This concept comports the identification of the particular use of one signifier rather than other alternatives; indeed, this concept implies the search for a hidden pattern of oppositions, binary oppositions, which generate meaning. On the one hand, a paradigmatic analysis involves comparing and contrasting each of the signifiers present in the text with absent signifiers which, in similar circumstances, might have been chosen (Chandler 88). On the other hand, this type of analysis searches for polar oppositions since meaning is derived in terms of “this is not that” (Moriarty 230). For these reasons, assuming that meaning emerges through the play of difference between these oppositions, this part of the analysis addresses the paradigmatic structures of the credit sequence. For this reason, visual signs can define themselves as what they are and also as what they are not (231). To classify the arbitrariness of each decision, therefore, the following analysis follows John Fiske’s breakdown of the main codes used in television, assuming that codes link producers, texts and audiences. According to Fiske, “a code is a rule-governed system of signs, whose rules and conventions are shared amongst members of a culture, and which is used to generate and circulate meaning in and for that culture” (Television 4). For the purpose of this study, codes’ divisions are simplified to three levels: reality, representation and ideology.
3.2.1 Level One: Reality

John Fiske affirms that prior to broadcasting a program, reality is already encoded by social codes. “The point is that reality is already encoded, or rather the only way we can perceive and make sense of reality by the codes of our culture […] Reality is never raw” (Fiske Television 5). According to the author, these social codes relate to appearance, dress, behavior, speech, sound and setting. Similarly, the opening credits carry the same codes. Although it is only thirty seconds in length, it is possible to identify a pattern constantly appearing throughout the whole segment. For the purpose of the analysis of this case study, the 30 second opening credits is divided into two main sequences. Although they have almost the same length, each of them depicts different topics: the first one stresses the image of a native indigenous community; the second one refers to children. Therefore, in this study, the first segment will be analyzed at this level, titled reality; whereas the second one will be discussed in the next section, titled ideology.

3.2.1.1 First Sequence: The Indigenous Community

The opening credits can be divided in two parts. Unlike the second part of the opening sequence, the first segment—11 seconds—is characterized by two issues: first, it uses a split-screen, rupturing the illusion that the screen's frame is a seamless view of reality. Second, it refers exclusively to an indigenous community. The visible division of the screen—in this case, in half—has a particular association linked to the notion of 'place.' Because the split-screen is a device that is spatial, it traditionally relates to the
crossing of space, but not to the crossing of time (Lury 171). However, the content in the *Costumbres*’s split-screen follows neither the unity of space nor the unity of time: whereas the right-screen addresses one single indigenous community, the left screen emphasizes the different difficulties encountered when traveling throughout Peru, shooting different settings. In this sense, both images portrayed by the screens show a set of oppositions that can be summarized in the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEFT-SCREEN</th>
<th>PROTAGONIST</th>
<th>RIGHT-SCREEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single Person</td>
<td>PROTAGONIST</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>Indigenous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor Clothing</td>
<td>CLOTHING</td>
<td>Traditional Dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature and Outdoors</td>
<td>PLACE</td>
<td>Rural Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long shot (LS)</td>
<td>SHOT SIZE</td>
<td>Medium Shot (MS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-traditional transportation</td>
<td>TRANSPORTATION</td>
<td>Tour Bus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monument</td>
<td>DESTINATION</td>
<td>Community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What follows attempts to explain the way the split-screen is constructed.

3.2.1.1.1 The Protagonists

Differing from the left screen that focuses on only one person—the presenter—the right-screen stresses the relationship between an indigenous community and the hostess. It does not portray a collection of shots with different communities, but one single indigenous community. Because of the use of long shots and medium shots, the frames certainly denote characters and settings, but also connote social context and
personal relationships, respectively. The main characters in this part are the community and the hostess. Furthermore, analyzing the six shots contained in the first 11 seconds, the images show the hostess and the community always appearing together in two-shots. On the one hand, the community appears to sing and dance. On the other hand, the frames portray the hostess being carried on the shoulders of the same male members of the community who are singing and dancing. Based on these first shots, two implications can be deduced: first, if the TV program supposedly addresses the notion of traditional festivities, this sequence does not portray symbols, images or props related to religion or customs. By exclusively showing men and women singing and dancing, the opening credits stress the notion of a continuous carnivalization of life by indigenous communities, extending the cliché of a subculture of peasantry described by Everett M. Rogers. “Peasants lack the ability to postpone satisfaction of immediate needs in anticipation of better rewards in the future […] Peasants exhibit mental inertness,” stated Rogers under the dominant discourse of development in the 1960s (Melkote and Steeves 89-90). In this sense, the sequence does not provide an alternative reading because the indigenous people are simply celebrating.

Second, the opening certainly shows a celebration, but the motives are not clear. The question is to whom are they paying homage, or why is there a celebration. The analysis of the first five shots contains a possible explanation: shot 1- shot 2: the villagers are around the hostess in different moments: a human circle surrounds her; shot 3 - shot 4: a couple of dancers carry the hostess on their shoulders; shot 5: women hug and kiss her. Applying the kinesics code—referring to hugs as well as kisses—the images confirm
that the person who is receiving the ovation is the hostess. A possible reading could connote a welcome to new visitors to the village; however, the Quechua chant that accompanies the scene confirms that the sequence implies a sort of homage to the hostess. Sung by the female members of the community, the lyrics of these first shots, a combination of Spanish and Quechua, say:

Table 3.3 Opening Credits’ Lyrics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Lyrics in Quechua</th>
<th>Translation into English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunuly, Sunuly</td>
<td>Sonaly, Sonaly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chayllaman chayllaman</td>
<td>Here, here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutimunki</td>
<td>You will come back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Costumbres’, siempre</td>
<td>‘Costumbres’ forever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adelante.</td>
<td>Go ahead.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ceremony does not refer to the traditional customs. On the contrary, the lyrics are a continuous ode to the presenter and the program: “Sonaly” is the first name of the presenter, Sonaly Tuesta; “Costumbres” is the name of the TV program, “Costumbres, el verdadero espíritu de los Peruanos.” If the members of the community carry her on their shoulders, dance with her and sing a chant to her, then the result is a visualization which serves primarily as a ceremony dedicated to the presenter. The traditional chant, in fact, is a jingle.
3.2.1.1.2 Clothes and Settings

The medium shots that portray the villagers cut them off just below the waist with the bottom of the frame. Consequently, the camera shows not only race and ethnicity—in this case, indigenous people—but also the typical dress worn by the Quechua people of the Andes. Rather than showing synthetic fabrics, the screen shows clearly that women wear colorful skirts known as polleras, handmade white blouses, and a traditional black packer hat adorned with branches or flowers. Men wear dark pants, white shirts and sandals made from truck tires, called ojotas. In this sense, the garments shot in the opening credits create a radical contrast with the clothes worn in the capital. With the exception of the hostess, all the characters portrayed in each shot of this sequence wear traditional dresses. Therefore, clearly encoded is the intended message referring to the notion of identity, because the sequence continuously displays images of villagers wearing their traditional clothing.

The long shots, on the contrary, not only show the villagers’ entire bodies but also their surrounding space. In this sense, the concepts place and space refer to relationships and their quality aspects, that is, the way in which objects, buildings, people and landscapes are related to one another in space and time (Lury 148). For instance, none of the six shots contained on the right screen depict the setting with an establishing shot; however, it is clear that the settings do not represent urban centers. On the contrary, the images of trees and mountains that surround the community denote the idea of country life. Whereas the right-screen refers to a community living in a rural area, the left-screen refers directly to the notion of outdoors, strengthening the idea of a rural setting. Both
screens, therefore, establish an association with Western tradition by repeating the
literary topic of the “ideal landscape,” represented in two rhetorical topics: *Beautus Ille*
and *Locus Amoenus*. The former comes from the opening words of Horace’s second
Epode, *Happy the man free of business cares*, which refers to an idyllic description of a
country-man's life. Hence, this topic praises the joys of country life as well as the joy of
working one’s own land free from exploitation (Heyworth 71). The latter—the word
*amoenus* means “pleasant, lovely”—refers to an idealized place comprised of three
essential elements: a tree, a meadow and a spring or brook (Curtius 195). Similarly,
showing dwellers living between mountains and rivers in a rural area, the first part of the
opening credits repeats frame by frame the same elements belonging to these rhetorical
topics.

In addition, with reference to these two topics, two conclusions can be made: On
the one hand, the combination of grass, shade, and water constitutes a universal and
recognizable emblem of rest, relaxation, and retirement (Evett 506). On the other hand,
the *locus amoenus* is literally associated with the form of an earthly Paradise. To link this
concept to the aforementioned TV program is not arbitrary. Tzvetan Todorov in *The
Conquest of the America: the Question of the Other* (1984) argues that the origin of the
association of America with earthly Paradise comes from the time of the Spanish
conquest. Influenced by the reading of Pierre d’ Ally’s *Imago Mundi*, Columbus strongly
believed that earthly Paradise lay in a temperate region beyond the equator. Therefore,
from the Spanish discovery of America, the continent has been associated with the notion
of the wonder. There is no end to the enumeration, states Todorov, of all Columbus’s admiration:

All this country has very high and beautiful mountains, not dry and rocky, but allaccessible and with magnificent valleys. Like the mountains, the valleys are also filled with high and leafy trees, which it is glorious to look upon. (“Journal” 1/26/1492)

Here the trees are so different from ours, that it is a wonder. There are some which, like dories, are decked out in the brightest color of the world: blue, yellow, red, and all the colors. Others are painted in a thousand fashions, and the color are so bright that there is no man who would not marvel and wonder at the sight of them. (“Journal”, 10/16/1492) (Todorov 23)

Similarly, the opening credits imply a rhetorical occasion for the description of nature: if the right-screen denotes country life, fields, meadows (and by association, the shepherds in an idealized fashion), the left-screen refers to an idealized place of safety or comfort having three basic elements: trees, grass, and water, all of them portrayed by the split-screen. Therefore, this sequence continuously repeats these two aforementioned rhetorical topics. It does not overcome the representation of Latin America as an idealized landscape, a rhetorical commonplace.

3.2.1.1.3 The Tourist

The notion of tourist refers to “sightseers, mainly middle-class, who are at this moment deployed throughout the entire world in search of experience” (MacCannell 1). Similarly, the left-screen exclusively portrays the presenter in exterior scenes emphasizing the different difficulties encountered when traveling throughout Peru.
Furthermore, a detailed analysis of the shots can determine that each shot corresponds to non-traditional means of transportation, summarized in this consecutive order:

### Table 3.4 Analysis of the Shots — First Sequence/ Left-Screen. Total Time: 11”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHOT</th>
<th>ACTION</th>
<th>MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shot 2</td>
<td>The hostess crosses a river</td>
<td>Foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot 3</td>
<td>The hostess rides a motorcycle as a copilot</td>
<td>Motorcycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot 4</td>
<td>The hostess sails in the Amazon river</td>
<td>Boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot 5</td>
<td>An old freight truck drives downhill</td>
<td>Truck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot 6</td>
<td>The hostess rides a black mule</td>
<td>Mule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot 7</td>
<td>A subjective shot shows a dirt road</td>
<td>Car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot 8</td>
<td>The hostess enters an archeological site</td>
<td>Foot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following the plot, the shots depict the hostess travelling throughout different settings toward a final destination. The images portrayed on the right-screen suggest that the final destination should be the community. Indeed, those images display a welcome ceremony upon the hostess’ arrival. On the contrary, the left-screen portrays a different final destination: an archeological site. Differing from the right-screen—in which the presenter appears with the community dancing—the left-screen portrays a historic building (made with large stones, like Inca settlements) clearly void of people. In this sense, like the landscapes displayed in a tourist brochure, “the nature is glossily presented as having empty space into which to escape, where people are tourists rather than locals, inviting the potential traveler to put themselves in the picture” (Bell and Lyall 4). The presenter, then, represents a tourist.
The hostess’ attitude can support this thesis. First, in all the frames she appears travelling alone, without any relationship with a community. Second, like the common tourist, she wears outdoor clothing and accessories such as a backpack. Third, she enters into the Inca building—the only interior scene in this sequence—without showing familiarity, looking up and around. Seen in this light, the presenter’s attitude informs the viewer that she does not belong to the place. Literally she is a stranger, a term that derives from the Anglo-French estrangier, which means “stranger” but also “foreigner.” Therefore, the presenter connotes the notion of the tourist who reaches a tourism destination; that is, a place product, a selected portion of a town, that is sold to a consumer, a place consumer (Ashworth and Voogd 14). If the concept displayed on the
left screen refers to tourism, then, the presence of a tour bus on the right-screen is totally justified. In fact, from the very beginning the opening credits present a big white tour bus in different angles and scales in shots nº. 1, 6 and 7, respectively. Likewise, the final shot at the end of the opening credits confirms the existence of the tour bus by showing a long shot (LS) of the whole bus, including the logo of the TV program on one side of the bus.

![Figure 3.2 The Tour Bus — Opening Credits 2007](image)

In addition, if the Inca ruins refer to a tourist setting, then they refer to a reconstructed monument which must be kept empty of native people. The main reasons behind “museumizing imagination,” following the thesis of Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*, are profoundly political. First, in countries with poor educational policies, the archeological restorations can be seen as a sort of conservative educational program: instead of investment in modern schooling, these policies prefer the “natives to stay natives” (Anderson 181). Second, in post-independence states which exhibit continuities with their colonial predecessors, the reconstructed monuments—juxtaposed with the surrounding rural poverty—always place the builders of the monuments and the
colonial natives in a certain hierarchy by continuously saying: “Our very presence shows that you have always been, or have long become, incapable of either greatness or self-rule” (181). In either case, it is not the community but the power of the State who appears behind the archeological settings as a guardian of a generalized tradition. Therefore, according to Anderson, the museumizing imagination is regalia for a secular colonial state (182).

3.2.2 Level Two: Representation

As John Fiske argues in *Television Culture*, once the social codes are chosen, their representation on television is encoded by technical codes. Although the list of technical codes is extensive, in this section the study will address the camerawork, lighting and editing, sound and music.

3.2.2.1 Camerawork

Camerawork implies the size of the shot and angles which influences how a scene is portrayed. The opening sequence exclusively uses long shots (LS) and medium shots (MS). On the one hand, although long-shots where characters can be seen from head to foot are not common on television, most of the shots that depict the outdoors—on the left of the split-screen—have this shot size because they are establishing the location of the action. Because of this, settings and environment are clearly portrayed. However, these shots always include the presence of the hostess. Indeed, she appears during this first sequence with the exception of three cases: when a motorboat is sailing in an Amazonian
river (shot 4), an old freight truck full of people drives downhill (shot 5), and the subjective shot that shows what the hostess is looking at; that is, a dirt road (shot 7). On the other hand, if the long shots are usually on the left of the split-screen during the first part, the right split-screen uses medium shots to portray the local people as if the events, actors and even the presenter were face-to-face with the viewer. For this reason, the lower part of their body is cut out of the frame so their heads and shoulders dominate the image.

By definition, the shot is an “*instruction* unit involving a larger or smaller assembly of people, actions, events, a complex unit with a global meaning rather than a unit of meaning” (Mitry 59). That is to say, it is an instruction to look in a particular way. Portraying people, here the medium shot (MS) is used to connote personal relationship. With no exception, all the people featured, community members as well as children, are dancing. No other activity is presented. Due to the MS, the shot emphasizes how the presenter establishes *bodily codes* with the people in every shot where she appears with them, not only greeting them but hugging and kissing the community members with different gestures and postures. Although the second part of the sequence does include two close-ups (CU) focusing on the *cajon*—the Peruvian percussion instrument—the pattern continues featuring people using LS and MS. Only in a few cases does the camerawork prefer a single shot, because the sensation of personal relation to the subject is strengthened with two-shot and in most cases group-shot. All of these shot sizes are combined with an eye-level angle, depicting equality. Therefore, long-shots refer to the environment (object) *where* the hostess is, whereas the medium-shots feature the native people (*subject*) *whom* the hostess greets.
3.2.2.2 Lighting and Editing

Considering that the opening credits can be divided into two parts, it is important to highlight that each of them displays different techniques in lighting and editing. Unlike the second part, in the first part of the opening credits the editing prefers the use of the split-screen; however, the split-screen is not tied to temporal simultaneity. As mentioned before, because the hostess appears on both sides of the screen, these images do not refer to the same moment in time. Rather than emphasizing the parallelism of editing simultaneous actions, this particular technique stresses two different topics: outdoors vs. community. This first part of the editing has the following characteristics. In both screens, all shots are exterior-days. Therefore, the split-screen broadcasts images of outdoor scenes in direct sunlight; so, the technique of lighting prefers a high-key picture because the shots look bright overall with small areas of shadow (Rabiger 83). Because of this high lighting, there is an implicit association with the feeling of optimism of the people dancing or playing music from the first shot to the last shot. By contrast, the second part of the opening credits applies different techniques. Rather than using a split-screen, the montage prefers the use of parallel syntagmas, alternating interiors and exteriors. The presenter continues to appear in exteriors whereas the children are shot in interiors, using a low-key picture. The children, indeed, are dancing in an auditorium, but there is an absence of typical lighting instruments.

Regarding the editing, as said above, the whole montage is a bracket syntagma based on dissolves, pan shots, cuts and fades, in order to show an achronological order not based on alternation. The editing is rapid with an average of 1 sec. per image. The
images of the villagers and the children are given equal time, but the hostess definitively appears in almost all of the shots during the whole sequence. Besides the split-screen, the only visual effects used in this sequence are videographics to introduce the credits. In this particular order only four credits are presented on the bottom of the screen: Sonaly Tuesta/ Director and Presenter; Milagros Meneses Arce/ Producer; Martín Alvarado/ Producer; José Luis Gonzáles/ TV-Editor and Post-Production Editor. Each proper name uses Arial as its font. Equally, each name lasts 5 seconds, which means that for 20 seconds out of 30 sec., the screen displays the credits. The camera operator credits are omitted. Finally, the last 8 sec. of the sequence show a graphic title with the program’s proper name, “Customs, the Real Spirit of the Peruvians.”

3.2.2.3 Sound and Music

From a musical point of view, the 30 sec. opening credits can constitute three sequences as follows: i) the community members, ii) the children’s act and iii) the musician’s solo. Each of these parts has a different soundtrack: i) the community sings a native song (performed by a chorus of native women); ii) the children’s acting employs an infantile song (interpreted by a children’s chorus); and finally iii) a solo native musician performing a native instrumental piece. The opening credits use, as the main concept, diegetic sound; that is, music and sounds which come from a source within the story. Consequently, each character produces its own soundtrack. For instance, during the first part of the opening credits, all of the sequence is musicalized by one song performed by the village chorus.
Regarding the first sequence, the lyrics can be transcribed as follows: *Sunuly, Sunuly/ chayllaman chayllaman/ kutimunki/ ‘Costumbres’, siempre siempre adelante.* Not only do the lyrics combine Quechua and Spanish, but they also combine Quechua vowels in some words. For instance, it pronounces "Sunaly" instead of "Sonaly," the presenter's name. As mentioned before, both the hostess (Sonaly Tuesta) and the TV program (*Costumbres*) are the main protagonists of the lyrics. Consequently, it is not an original native chant, but an *ad hoc* theme composed especially for the occasion. It is not a chant about their customs, but an auto-referential song (referential to the video producers).

![Figure 3.3 Final Sequences — Opening Credits 2007](image)

In short, it is an *imitation* of an original native chant. In addition, in the second part of the opening credits, the singers do not dedicate the lyrics to the hostess, but to the TV program’s proper name. All the time the little singers repeat the word ‘Costumbres’ as if it were the chorus. Finally, the last part of the opening credits shows a solo musician playing two native musical instruments. Rather than using a chorus (human voice), this shot displays a native musician playing Amerindian instruments. The opening concludes...
by using traditional wind and percussion instruments to play music native to Perú. To conclude, diverging from all the Peruvian programs, the main characteristic of the music used in *Costumbres* is the preference of *diegetic sounds*.

3.2.3 Level Three: Ideology

Finally, following Fiske’s explanation about the three levels of codes, Victoria O’Donnell states that “representational codes are organized into coherence and social acceptability by ideological codes, such as individualism, patriarchy, class, materialism, capitalism and so on” (531). In this sense, together with the other codes, the ideological codes come together to make coherent, unified sense in order to encode a preferred meaning that supports a certain ideology. In television studies, the term ideology refers to a set of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors that are agreed on to the point that they constitute a set of desirable norms of society (Casey and Calvert 151; O’Donnell *Cultural* 560). Applying ideology to television, the understanding of the production of TV programs and the production of meaning implies the analysis and critique of the notion of discourse due to the fact that ideology and discourse have an intrinsic correspondence.

Not produced by a single person, a discourse is a language or system of representation that has socially developed in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about an important topic area (Fiske *Television* 14). For Fiske, the implication is evident: “Discourse is, therefore, a social act which may promote or oppose the dominant ideology” (14). For instance, this case study generally assumes that the opening
sequence is composed of two main parts. However, the main difference between both segments is the use of shots focusing to the *children*. In this sense, by arranging these types of images, the central set of oppositions between the first sequence and the second one are as follows:

**Table 3.5 Set of oppositions — Second Sequence. Total Time: 13”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIRST SEQUENCE</th>
<th>SECOND SEQUENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adulthood</td>
<td>AGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>RACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Dress</td>
<td>CLOTHING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andean-Music</td>
<td>MUSIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highlands</td>
<td>GEOGRAPHY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Town</td>
<td>LOCATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exterior</td>
<td>SETTING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Childhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Costume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Afro-music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interior</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike the first half in which the main protagonist is the native community, the second part of the opening credits is mainly composed of images of children (shot 13—shot 19). If we follow the chart above, we can list a set of oppositions which contribute to the creation of the façade of an autonomous section. Clearly both segments are differentiated in order to address the presence of the children. However, both sequences repeat the same generic *plot*: a) in both segments the presenter is travelling throughout Peru; b) in both segments a community is celebrating. Therefore, considering that they are performing the same action there is an association between the native community and the children: a celebration. The question is why the opening credits *substitute* the presence of the native community with the presence of children. Why are children and
adults performing the same action? Rather than affirming an intended association with the myth of the noble savage, the aim of this section is to demonstrate that this second part reinforces one main topic, the notion of leisure time, not in an Andean framework but in the Western tradition.

3.2.1.1 Second Sequence: The Notion of Leisure

The difference between the properties of the image as well as the sound implies the autonomy of the second sequence. Hence, rather than using a split-screen like the first sequence, the editing process prefers a parallel montage in which one shot addresses the presence of the hostess while the other continues stressing the notion of a community. Furthermore, the sound editing uses a different soundtrack: instead of using a native chant sung by female members of the village, it presents a musical performance sung by children. These two elements emphasize a radical shift regarding the editing aesthetics of the opening credits. As discussed above, however, both sequences—the first and second sequence—repeat the same plot. In addition to the images of travels, this second part mainly portrays a recreation of the traditional dances. Children are acting in a school.

3.2.1.1.1 The Greek Leisure: Music

Most of the elements portrayed by the opening credits—the place as a product and the tourist as a place consumer—lead to the notion of tourism, which is inevitably associated with the notion of leisure. On the one hand, the repetitive images of journeys through different landscapes are associated with touristic experiences. On the other hand,
the sequence evokes—in a first level of meaning—the classical dimension of leisure. In Greek ‘leisure’ is *skole*, in Latin *scola*, and in English *school*. Similarly, the editing technique uses cross-cutting to purposely combine scenes of sightseeing with a musical show (performed in a *school* yard). According to Josef Pieper “the word used to designate the place where we educate and teach is derived from a word which means ‘leisure’ [… ] ‘School’ does not, properly speaking, mean school, but leisure” (26). For this reason, leisure as well as education share a common purpose: the honing of wholeness (Charles 47), one of the foundations of Western Culture.

In the *Politics* Aristotle uses the word *schole* to refer to the “freedom for the necessity to labor.” However, rather than stressing the idea of free time, in Aristotle’s short definition, time has no role. For him, leisure is a *condition* or a *state*, the state of being free from the necessity of labor (De Grazia 61). Labor, in Greek, has two meanings: one is *ponos*, which has the connotations of ‘toil’, which implies fatiguing, sweating, and manual effort; the other is *ascholia*, which refers to the modern idea of work or occupation. Hence, by using a negative prefix the term *a-scholia* literally means *un-leisure* —in which ‘leisure’ refers to the absence of being occupied (*occupation*) or busy (*business*, originally busyness). In this sense, whereas an occupation refers to an activity pursued for a purpose, leisure originally referred to “the state of being in which activity is performed for its own sake or as its own end” (62). Under this theoretical framework, only two activities are worthy of the name leisure: music and contemplation. Music, because it was almost a synonym for culture: it gave the beat in gymnastics; it carried the meter of poetry. Contemplation, because it was close to the definition of
leisure: the term *theorein* also means to behold, to look upon. For Aristotle, not only was contemplation the best way of truth-finding, but also it, like leisure, brings felicity:

“Leisure is a different matter […] We think of it as having in itself intrinsic pleasure, intrinsic happiness, intrinsic felicity. Happiness of that order does not belong to occupation: it belongs to those who have leisure” (Aristotle, quoted by De Grazia 63).

In the same way, the opening credits repeat two common elements with the Greek notion of leisure: *i)* music, and *ii)* the absence of labor. Indeed, in the case of music, both the first and the second part of the opening sequence stress the use of *diegetic sounds*. Consequently, all the music used as a soundtrack is literally produced by the same protagonists that are part of the sequences. For instance, in the first part, the female members of the community play the role of the chorus. Not only do they sing an indigenous chant, but they also play the tambourines: they play the role of musicians. In the second part of the sequence, there is no visible image of a chorus but one can hear a children’s chorus constantly repeating in unison one single word, “Costumbres,” as if it were the refrain of the chorus. In addition, deliberately portrayed by the camera, the link between the two parts depicts denotative images of musical instruments. The link between the two segments can be represented thus.
The use and presence of music is clearly emphasized by three elements: the female indigenous chorus, the medium shots of musical instruments, and the children dancing in the school yard. The final seconds of the opening credits, however, prefer a different concept. Unlike the use of an *a capella* chorus, the final single shot displays a native musician simultaneously playing Amerindian instruments, wind instruments and percussion instruments. The frames do not portray neither a community nor children. The main protagonist is just the native musician playing music. Indeed, music is emphasized from the beginning to the end of the opening credits.

### 3.2.1.1.2 The Greek Leisure: Contemplation

In the article titled "The Myth of the Idle Peasant" Stephen Brush differs from the traditional economic studies which address the notion of idleness, leisure and underemployment by arguing that in the highland Peruvian community in which he
conducted field research, there was full employment of the community population (Brush 121; Swartley 133). However, in the opening credits the images only portray scenes in which the protagonists are free of labor. Hence, like the Greek philosophers gazing at the stars, both sequences present the hostess contemplating Inca monuments. Further, the community as well as the children only appears dancing. Their portrayed happiness, then, seems to be in leisure. Apparently, in the opening credits the construction of the notion of leisure is associated to the Greek leisure, which is false. Two counterarguments can be presented: first, in the case of the presenter, to travel is the presenter's duty. In this sense, it is important to highlight that in both sequences the presenter's final destination is a monument, and therefore, these images do not necessarily comport the absence of work. According to Dean MacCannell, nowadays work and labor are presented to sightseers as an object of touristic curiosity. Detached from its original meaning, these images of monuments are just a representation of “abstract, undifferentiated human labor,” quoting Karl Marx (MacCannell 6). As an example of the alienation of the worker, MacCannell refers to the pyramids as a fetish that represents “the work of others.”

Second, if the notion of happiness can appear only in leisure, it is because in the original conception of leisure, as it arose in Greece, the universe was a hierarchy. Indeed, Plato was an elitist who argued that those who were capable of truly rational thought and action would always be a small minority. Likewise, Aristotle believed leisure to be essential so that citizens could carry on the business of government, law and culture. Because some were naturally free and others were naturally slaves, “leisure was given to a comparatively few patricians and made possible by the strenuous labor of the many”
(Kraus 295). Therefore, without the leisure created by the labor of slaves to carry out daily tasks, there could be no opportunity for an elite to meet in the academy to speak of grand themes or sing the *scholion* or devote himself to the pleasure of contemplation. This argument refers to the Greek conception of leisure. This classical view has not been embraced in contemporary society because the masses now have free time, which has been earned from work for leisurely pursuits (Murphy 43).

Furthermore, in the Andean society, one of the main precepts of the Andean ethic can be summarized in the customary Inca law *ama quilla*, which literally means “do not be lazy” (Quimbo 208; Estermann 250). On the one hand, for the Andean cosmovision to work is the only way to establish relationships with the *Pacha*—a term in singular which means ‘cosmos’—, synthesis of matter and energy, origin of the world (García and Roca 31). Therefore, if one does not work, one becomes marginalized not with the society but the cosmos. “An idler does not deserve recognition either as a living being or as a human. As a result, the idler must be excluded from the *Pacha*, proportionally to his omission. *Qellakunaqa mana nunayoq purin* (Idlers walk without soul)” (82). On the other hand, in the absence of money, wealth in the Inca state had to be based on the possession of three sources of income: a labor of force, the possession of lands and the state herds. Consequently, labor was general and mandatory for everyone, and therefore, leisure was considered to be a crime against the State, the Inca and the Sun (Rostworowski 182; Del Busto 141).

From the Inca perspective labor and leisure differ from the Greek notion in many different aspects: On the one hand, labor was associated with the creation of social bonds.
For instance: in the *ayni* system, labor among the peers, the most important value was the *collective effort*; in the *minca* system, labor for the state, the value was *reciprocity*. Both values were considered pillars of the Andean society. In this sense, the principle *ama quilla*—do not be lazy—directly refers to the absence of reciprocity in the communal labor (Estermann 250). Therefore, not only is an idler considered an antisocial person but also a potential danger to the family and the society because he does not proportionally return the communal labor conducted by the community (250). On the other hand, rather than considering leisure—that is, the absence of labor—as a value, labor is still an expression of pride in the Andes (Bolin 71). In *Growing Up in a Culture of Respect* (2006) Inge Bolin argues that “a *faena*—a work party where at least one member of every family participates—is considered as important as a fiesta” (72). For that reason when she tried to photograph a group of people while they rested, they quickly grabbed their foot plows to plough the earth, so the picture “would be of their work and not their leisure.” When she asked a centenarian community member what he considered most important, the answer was “that I do good work every day” (72). Similarly, according to José Quimbo, because inactivity is not part of the Andes, Andean people think that to wake up early is a sign of a healthy person and that to sleep in excess can cause illness (208).

The term ‘ideology,’ in general terms, refers to the process of the social production of meaning and ideas (Fiske *Introduction* 166-167). Similarly, Barthes uses this term when he speaks of the connotators, the signifiers of connotation, as ‘the rhetoric of the ideology’ (166). Ideology in this way is the source of the second-order meanings.
From an Andean cosmovision, therefore, labor and leisure radically differ from the Greek tradition. Labor, not leisure, is considered a sign of health and happiness.
4.1. Structure of the episode “Santa Cruz de Andamarca”

This chapter discusses the *Costumbres*’ structure based on a paradigmatic analysis. The episode chosen was broadcast on TVPERU, Peruvian Public Broadcasting, on December 3rd 2007. The running time was 49 minutes and 26 seconds, approximately. The episode was entitled *Mi Santa Cruz de Andamarca, Pueblo de Amor*—literally, “Saint Cross of Andamarca, my Home Town”—and it addresses a small town in the Andean region of Peru. Based on the opening credits and final credits, the production roles for this specific episode are:

| **Table 4.1 Production Crew — “Mi Santa Cruz de Andamarca, Pueblo de Amor”** |
|---|---|
| *Costumbres—Production Crew* | Sonaly Tuesta |
| Director and Hostess | Milagros Meneses Arce |
| Executive Producers | Martín Alvarado |
| Post-Production Editor | José Luis Gonzáles |
| Camera Operator | Víctor Miranda |
| Camera-Assistant | Pedro Julio Oré |
| Infographics | Yohny Gonzáles |
| Production Assistants | Javier Salazar |
| | Nury Isasi |

By using a *cold open*, the technique of jumping directly into a story at the beginning or opening of the show, the hostess announces the main episode’s content.
Thus, the hostess remarks: “Hello, this is Sonaly Tuesta. Welcome to Costumbres. This is Santa Cruz de Andamarca’s joy: a bullfight in honor of the Lord of the Miracles,” summarizing the episode from her point of view. After Tuesta speaks, in almost 45 seconds the principal images portrayed by these sequences are: the bullfight, the picture of the Lord of the Miracles and the common people. It is important to note that the episode introduces itself as a program which deals with the Catholic festivity The Procession of The Lord in Santa Cruz de Andamarca. My aim in this chapter is to analyze this specific episode, its structure, as well as its content, concentrating on a paradigmatic analysis.
### 4.1.1. Outline of the Episode Mi Santa Cruz, Pueblo de Amor

**Table 4.2 Outline of the Episode “Mi Santa Cruz de Andamarca”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>SCENES and SEQUENCES</th>
<th>DENOTATION</th>
<th>CONNOTATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SIGNIFIER</td>
<td>SIGNIFIED 1st Level of Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1’19”</td>
<td>EXTERIOR. VILLAGE—DAY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place. Beginning with extreme long shots, most of the images portray the valley and the mountains of Santa Cruz de Andamarca.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Graphic over image.</td>
<td>Establishing Shot</td>
<td>Object:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Title in white letters [arial font]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Love from Santa Cruz</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final sequence combines many shots of elderly people, the image of the Lord of the Miracles, a chapel and two mothers carrying their children (CU).

<p>| 2’14” | INTERIOR. ACCOMMODATION—DAY | Long Shot | Subject: | Hostess |
|       | Time. The hostess enters to the room. Her introduction refers to the religious festivity and the importance of the program of activities. | Medium Shot | | |
|       | Insert: Videographics of a map. A map shows the route to the town. | Videographics | Object: | Route (Lima-St. Cruz) and map. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Scene Description</th>
<th>Shot</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Concept</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4'20" | **EXTERIOR. MAIN SQUARE—DAY**  
*Oral tradition.* An elderly man explains the origin of the festivity. | Close up | Elderly man | Oral tradition |
| 5'20" | **EXTERIOR. MAIN SQUARE—DAY**  
*Sacrifice.* Seven bulls are guided to the main square by the community. All the members of the community are holding hands and dancing around the square. | Long Shot | Bulls | Social Prestige |
| 5'51" | Insert: *The gratitude.*  
An unidentified *mayordomo* (host) thanks the community. | Medium Shot | 3rd Mayordomo | Ayni institution/Reciprocity |
| 6'38" | **EXTERIOR—DAY**  
*Designation.* People celebrate the appointment of the next ‘padrino’ (*sponsor*) | Close Up | Unidentified future ‘Padrino’ | Social Prestige |
| 7'17" | **Designation.** Designation of the second and next ‘padrino.’ Carrying a bull’s head, he and his wife collect donations from the locals. | Medium Shot | Community | Ayni institution/Reciprocity |
| 7'46" | **Penance and Punishment.** The actual first ‘padrino’ explains the reason for the sacrifice (animals) and the punishment (people). Rehearsal of the punishment.  
(Herefore nobody was identified. From this point, all the persons invited to speak are identified). | Medium Shot | Vladimir Moreno / 1st Mayordomo | Payment to the Mother Earth |
## BLOCK II

**Title:** The Fruit of The Earth  
**TOTAL TIME:** 7’16”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>SCENES and SEQUENCES</th>
<th>DENOTATION</th>
<th>CONNOTATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0’10”| EXTERIOR. SANTA CATALINA—DAY  
Thermal Bath. Images portray the route to Santa Catalina, a town famous for its medicated thermal bath.  
Graphic over image.  
Title in white letters [arial font]  
The Fruit of the Earth | Extreme Long Shot | 1st Level of Meaning |
| 0’41”| The hostess appears at the beginning explaining the importance of Baños Colpa, a medicated thermal bath. Then, a voice-over describes the medicated usefulness of different thermal wells and pools. Locals swim in the pool. | | |
| 2’00”| EXTERIOR. MAIN SQUARE—DAY  
Souvenirs. The first mayordoma (f) explains the souvenirs given to devotees and to the people that volunteer during the festivity. | Close Up | |
| 2’50”| EXTERIOR. MAIN SQUARE—DAY  
Regional Products. The hostess introduces an event organized by the local school. The first speaker is the principal who enumerates and highlights the regional products sown in the area. The principal is surrounded by the community. It is a public event. | Close Up | |

**Subsections:**
- 1st Level of Meaning
- 2nd Level of Meaning
3’34” EXTerior. Main Square—Day (cont.)
Ingredients and Recipes.
The hostess continues visiting each table that contains a different traditional dish. A different person explains each recipe. In the first shots, first two children are not identified. The banner is not used.

The rest of the guests are identified.

| Close Up Medium Shot | Subjects: 02 children (Students)  
Object: Chuño Mazamorra (corn pudding) |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Medium Shot          | Subject: Serafina Figueroa (Local) 
Object: Patasca (soup) |
| Medium Shot          | Subject: Gisella Obregon (Student) 
Object: ‘La Huatia’ |
| Close Up Medium Shot | Subject: Mijail Delgadillo (Student) 
Object: Yaco-Chupe (potato soap) |
| Close Up Medium Shot | Subject: Fernando Paez (Student) 
Object: ‘Purple Mazamorra’ (pudding) |

Payment to the Mother Earth
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>SCENES and SEQUENCES</th>
<th>DENOTATION</th>
<th>CONNOTATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0’10”</td>
<td>EXTERIOR. FARM—DAY</td>
<td>Medium Shot</td>
<td>Subject: Rocio Lucas (Local) Object: Roast Potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BCU of a red-hot charcoal. Graphic over image. Title in white letter [arial font] Roast Potatoes</td>
<td>Close Up</td>
<td>Subject: Luz Avendaño (Local) Object: ‘Cachifa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EXTERIOR. MAIN SQUARE—DAY (cont.) Ingredients and recipes. The camera shoots potatoes cooked by charcoal. Then, the aesthetic is as in block II: Each dish’s recipe is explained by a different person.</td>
<td>Medium Shot</td>
<td>Subject: Brayán Yalico (Local) Object: Fried Trout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2’57”</td>
<td>EXTERIOR. CHAPEL—DAY</td>
<td>Medium Shot</td>
<td>Subject: Community  Object: Huaylahuasin Chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Picture of the Lord of the Miracles. Narration/ Voice over. From the Huaylahuasin Chapel, the community carries the picture to the main square. Holding hands, people accompany the image during this procession.</td>
<td>Close Up</td>
<td>‘Waka’ Intermediary (Sacred object)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Afterwards, the main action consists of cleaning and decorating the sacred image. Four actions happen simultaneously: i) the placing of floral arrangements (by elderly women), ii) the collection of donation (by an elderly man), iii) the cleaning of the religious image and iv) the offering (when young people—using their typical dress—dance around it; and the community dances holding hands and making a circle).

**EXTERIOR. MAIN SQUARE—NIGHT**

*Procession of the Lord of the Miracles.*

Narration/ Voice over.

Brief scenes of the procession are portrayed. Then, the program shows fireworks and the people dancing around the pyre of fireworks. They make a circle holding hands and dance around the fireworks castle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Pilgrimage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fireworks</td>
<td>Dancing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Medium Shot**

- Floral Arrangement
- Religious Image
- Offering

**Long Shot**

*Ayni*-institution

Collective work
### BLOCK IV
**Title:** Cheese, Good Cheese  
**TOTAL TIME 9’11”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>SCENES and SEQUENCES</th>
<th>DENOTATION</th>
<th>CONNOTATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0’10” | EXTERIOR. FARM—DAY  
A woman milks a cow.  
Graphic over image.  
Title in white letters [arial font]  
*Cheese, good cheese*  
INTERIOR. FARM—DAY  
*Recipe.* The hostess interviews the farmer who explains how to prepare cheese. There is an image of the Lord of the Miracles on a wall. | Medium Shot  
Close Up  
Split-Screen  
*Subject:* María Paez (Farmer)  
*Object:* Milk  
Cheese |  |
| 3’01” | EXTERIOR. CHAPEL—DAY  
*Morning Procession.* The hostess explains briefly how the image of the Lord of the Miracles comes back to his chapel.  
The sequence is focused on the procession and its main characters: the congregation, the perfumers, the *orquesta típica* (band), the mayordomos and the dancers. | Close Up  
Medium Shot  
Long Shot  
*Subject:* Congregation  
Perfumers, Band, Mayordomos and Dancers  
*Object:* Huaylauasín Chapel  
Virgin Mary Image  
Lord of the Miracle  
‘Wanka’ Intermediary (Sacred object) |  |
| 4'48" | EXTERIOR. CHAPEL—DAY (cont.)
Liturgy.
Excerpts of the religious mass celebrated in the open air. It is described by the hostess using a *voice over.* | Long Shot Medium Shot | Subject: Walter Tamayo (Priest) |
| 5'33" | *Designation and Appointment*
During the mass the future mayordomos are designated. The community witnesses this appointment. | Medium Shot | -Luis Felix 3rd Mayordomo 
-Percy Paez (Future Mayordomo) |
| 7'22" | *Baptism.*
The hostess is invited to be part of the congregation of the Lord of the Miracles. The priest baptizes her and she becomes a sister. Afterwards, she receives an official souvenir, a nameplate by the mayor. | Long Shot Medium Shot | Subject: 
-Walter Tamayo (Priest) 
-Congregation 
-TV Hostess |
| 8'22" | INTERIOR. KITCHEN—DAY
Faith
The third mayordomo declares that essentially the mass and the procession make him closed to the Lord. “The lord is with me,” he says crying. | Medium Shot Close Up | Subject: Community 
Congregation Luis Felix 3rd Mayordomo |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>SCENES and SEQUENCES</th>
<th>DENOTATION</th>
<th>CONNOTATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 0’10” | EXTERIOR. FARM—DAY  
(CU) Images of pea pods, meat, potatoes, in general, ingredients to prepare a ‘pachamanca’.
Graphic over image.
Title in white letters [arial font]
To my Little Town Santa Cruz Recipe. A man prepares the earthen oven using a spade, mixing meats together with stones in the earthen oven. | Medium Shot | Object: Earthen Oven  
Ingredients ‘Pachamanca’  
Payment to the Mother Earth |
| 0’34” | EXTERIOR. FARM—DAY (cont.)  
Dinner. The same man and his family have a lunch with the hostess. He details the recipe and the ingredients.  
Insert:  
A group of people prepares the earthen oven. | Medium Shot | Subject: Pedro Bueno and Family (Locals)  
Object: Dinner |
| 2’24” | Toast. After the man explains when they eat this special dish, the hostess thanks them for the lunch and toasts the festivity with everybody. | Medium Shot |  |
| 2’48” | EXTERIOR. BULLRING—DAY  
Bullfighting.  
For 1’29”, the shots exclusively portray the community celebrating the bullfighting, clapping their hands and greeting the camera.  
There are some inserts that focus on the bullfighter and the bull. The narration (voice over) details this ceremony. | Long Shot  
Medium Shot | Subject: Community Bullfighter  
Objects: Pisco (liquor) Toast Bullring  
Liberation and feast |
Like the previous chapter, the charts are based on Saussure’s dichotomy as well as the second-order meaning used by Barthes.

4.2 Paradigmatic analysis of the episode “Santa Cruz de Andamarca”

As discussed in the previous chapter, semiotics argues that meaning arises, in part, by contrast to what is absent as well as present. “Concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with other terms of the system. Their most precise characteristic is in being what the others are not,”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Lens</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4'33" | EXTERIOR. MAIN SQUARE—DAY | **Oral tradition**  
An elderly man, the first character that appeared in the first segment, explains the origins of the festivity. | Close Up | **Subject:**  
Isidoro Félix  
(Local) | Oral tradition |
| 5'26" | EXTERIOR. OUTDOORS—DAY | **Immigration**  
The hostess explains that immigration to this town is due to the growth of the mining industry. | Long Shot Split-screen | **Subject:**  
TV Hostess | Hispanic culture vs. new symbolic order |
| 5'55" | EXTERIOR. BULLRING—DAY (cont.) | **The community**  
The camera continues to portray the community celebrating the bullfighting. The narration continues giving more explanations. | Extreme Long Shot | **Subject:**  
Community | |
| 7'00" | **The toast** | The last part of the sequence shows the people drinking a toast with the viewers. Finally, the community makes the toast “three cheers for Santa Cruz de Andamarca”. | Medium Shot | **Object:**  
Bullring  
Moñas Dolls  
Pisco (liquor) | |
writes Saussure in his *Course in General Linguistics* (Berger 90). Consequently, the paradigmatic analysis of this episode derives from its *differences* from the opening credits studied in the previous chapter. The samples radically differ in their lengths: while the opening credits last 30 seconds, the whole episode is 49 minutes and 26 seconds in length. Because of this difference, a shot by shot analysis would be inappropriate. If the analysis of the opening credits follows John Fiske’s breakdown of the main codes used in television—simplified to three levels: reality, representation and ideology— the study of the episode “Santa Cruz de Andamarca” has a different method of analysis: It mainly focuses on the first level, *reality*, in order to study in depth not only the denotation level but also the connotation level depending upon social class, cultural levels and other factors.

Assuming that the first level has to do with how social codes are used to represent reality, John Fiske enumerates codes such as “appearance, dress, make-up, environment, behavior, speech, gesture, expression, sound, etc” in order to illustrate this level (5). In practice, however, not only do most of these codes denote a meaning but they also connote a cultural signification. For that reason, considering that the analysis of level one (*reality*) refers to a straightforward description of what one perceives in the images—that is, a direct relation between signifier and signified— for the purpose of this chapter, the study of this level can begin with the category *mise-en-scène*. For Jeremy G. Butler, the *mise-en-scène* of a play is composed of all the physical objects on the stage (props, furniture, walls, and actors) and the arrangement of those objects to present the play’s narrative and themes. Indeed, the importance of the staging of the action is due to its
influence on our perception of characters before the first line of dialogue is spoken (Butler 134). Likewise, Keith Selby and Ron Cowdery study this concept in their analysis of media text by focusing on four formal codes of construction: i) settings, ii) props, iii) codes of dress, and iv) codes of non-verbal communication. Nothing means anything by itself, but every meaning depends on relationships.

4.2.1. The Setting: Environment and Space

4.2.1.1 Mapping Santa Cruz de Andamarca

Because interaction between people takes place in a specific context, this study begins by taking into account environment and space. Rather than shooting in a studio set design, the whole program is recorded on location because the action occurs in an historical reality. Recorded in a rural area, this episode is dedicated to one single community, Santa Cruz de Andamarca, situated 149 km to the northwest of Lima, approximately 6 hours by land from the capital. Located in the central highlands of Peru at an altitude of 3,522 meters above sea level, it covers an area of 216.92 km². It was founded March 3, 1570 by local dwellers. The Supreme Resolution of August 19, 1937 recognized it as an indigenous community. Finally, by Decree Law Nº 15468 of March 19, 1965 it was legally recognized as a district. The Costumbres episode begins briefly with travelling shots focusing on the geography of the Chancay Valley, between the San Cristóbal Mountains and the Araro Mountains. Afterwards, the focus shifts to the small town of Santa Cruz de Andamarca, a rural village, shooting the main square, the principal streets, houses and their native residents walking through the town.
Two elements strengthen the presence of this particular community: On the one hand, the episode title as well as the title placed at the beginning of each sequence addresses the daily life experienced in this village in order to highlight the community and the community’s autonomy. Among the six titles, three refer directly to the location: “My Santa Cruz, Home Town” (block I), “To my Little Town, Santa Cruz” (block V) and “Come Back to the Past” (block VI), which refers to the Araro Inca ruins, located 2 km from the town. On the other hand, the sequence’s musicalization uses a local song with lyrics that refer to the community as well. All the lyrics, in fact, appear on the screen during the first minutes:

Mi Santa Cruz, pueblo de amor/ que estás en el valle de Huaral./ Entre los cerros de San Cristóbal/ tus nobles hijos lloran por ti./ Señor Morado, tu bendición/ a mi pueblecito de Santa Cruz./ Yo te dejé por un querer/ que de mi vida su porvenir./ Pero algún día regresaré/ buscando el amor que ahí dejé./ Yo soy Huaralino de corazón,/ humilde cuna es Santa Cruz./ Soy provinciano trabajador/ cariño inmenso en el amor.

My Santa Cruz, Love Town/ which are in the Huaral Valley./ In the middle of the San Cristobal Mountains/ your noble sons cry for you./ Purple Lord, your blessing / to my little town Santa Cruz./ I left the town because of a love, / seeking my life, my future./ However, I will come back someday/ looking for the love I left there./ I am a Huaralino with all my heart./ modest birthplace is Santa Cruz./ I am a hard-working man from the provinces,/ with a huge heart.

Written by the folk singer Víctor Alberto Gil Mallma (1930 - 1975), better known as “Hummingbird from the Andes,” not only does the episode use the song as a soundtrack but also the lyrics are deliberately typed on the screen highlighting the specific location, the community Santa Cruz de Andamarca. If a paradigmatic analysis assumes that signs are defined negatively by their relations with others of the system,
then, the aforementioned town, as a specific location, implies a set of oppositions that inform what it is not. *Costumbres* is not a program whose locations promote travel adventures. Therefore, unlike the opening credits, the episode images do not emphasize the different difficulties encountered when traveling to Santa Cruz de Andamarca. For instance, whereas the opening sequence portrays a motorcycle, a black mule, a motorboat or a truck as means of transportation for each different location, the TV program summarizes the information with computer graphics. Neither the landscape nor the scenery is highlighted. By contrast, the images directly address the existence of the town with computer graphics showing a *map* with the route to Santa Cruz de Andamarca.

![Figure 4.1 The Town: Santa Cruz de Andamarca](image)

The use of a map is controversial. Although traditionally the map attempted to legitimize the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion, here the images prefigure neither bounded territorial space nor sovereignty. Indeed, during the Spanish viceroyalty the map was an instrument to concretize projections on the earth’s surface as well as to anticipate spatial reality (Anderson 173); however, here the *Costumbres* episode uses a map—an icon, an abstraction of reality—not to define an imagined
political community, but to provide the viewers a route to a specific and concrete setting. Following the thesis of *The Lettered City*, maps were a symbolic system that “fused the thing represented (the city) with the representation (the drawing) in haughty independence from mundane realities” (Rama 7). Instead of representing things already existing—states Rama—signs were made to represent things as yet only imagined because maps preceded the foundation of cities. In the case of Latin America, the arbitrariness of this sign has had different repercussions for centuries. Indeed, each new South American republic was a Spanish administrative unit from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. South American republics were not a new *creation* based on market zone or natural-geographic reasons. By contrast, the map and its content generate meaning. Therefore, the organization and shaping of Latin American cities and towns have repeated the Spanish military conquests or subsequent administrative organization.

This socio-historical structure still influences most TV programs related to the promotion of travel and tourism. For instance, differing from *Costumbres*, in *Tiempo de Viaje*, a famous TV program aired on cable, nature is given more importance than human beings to achieve a different objective: the promotion of tourism. Hence, in order to reach those program goals, Peru is reduced to a picture, as if it were just a postcard. Indeed, in *Tiempo de Viaje’s* episode “From Tarma to San Ramón,” for example, indigenous people do not appear during the show unless they are tour-guides, peasants or workers. In those cases the shots regularly portray peasants who work for a landlord. The main location, in that episode, is the *hacienda* “La Florida.” Traditionally, a hacienda belongs to a *gamonal*, a wealthy landowner who controls vast areas of land, towns and communities
encompassed by and surrounding his hacienda. By contrast, unlike other similar TV programs under the concept of “travel-guide” which include the hacienda (plantation) as the first location, this Costumbres episode does not refer to haciendas because it connotes directly one of the systems of large land-holdings that used to exist in Peru before the agrarian reform of the ’70s. A hacienda can provide facilities to the travelers or the tourists, but its connotation is linked to the consequences of the corregimiento, a colonial Spanish term used for country subdivisions. An environment, by definition, is an area one attempts to structure, in which one attempts to create a mood or a response. In this case, therefore, the Costumbres episode directly shoots the dwellers living and inhabiting all the spaces of the main setting, Santa Cruz de Andamarca.

4.2.1.2 The Public Space and the Production of Space

Considering that all the actions refer directly or indirectly to the Procession of the Lord of the Miracles, the program’s concept demands exterior shooting to facilitate the movement of people during the processions and parades. Essentially, the principal actions take place in five locations: the main square, the church, the home, the bullring, and the Inca ruins, where each location corresponds to a different action. For instance, the main square is the site where the explanations about the religious festivity are given (block I and V), where the procession takes place (block III and IV), where the fair food honoring the Lord is organized by the local school (block II), not to mention the fact that it is the platform to watch the fireworks of the central day (block III). In the case of the church, it is the location for the devotion to the image of the Lord of the Miracles and the Dolorosa
Virgin, the collection of the donations, the general arrangement for the liturgy (block III) and the designation of the new ‘padrinos’, the sponsors of the festivity (block IV). Next, the *home* is the place where the third mayordomo, the host, experiences an act of faith (block IV) and where the act of cooking takes place: cheese (block IV) and pachamanca (block IV), respectively. The *bullring* is the setting for the sacrifice of the bulls and the collective cheers (block V). The *ruins*, finally, evoke the times of the Incas (block VI).

Although the episode combines public and private activities, the fact remains that there is a large presence of publicly accessible places where people go for group or individual activities.

The aforementioned spaces, however, are not only a frame for an action. Following the core thesis of Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* (1976), if *social* space is a *social* product, then, these *produced* spaces imply a set of relationships, never given, never in a state of nature untouched by culture (Wiles 10). Therefore, not only does the use of the space connote a different cultural meaning, but also the chronological order in which each location appears comports a symmetric game. If the episode begins from the main square (*plaza de armas*)—a Spanish heritage—the final shots are recorded at the Araro ruins—Inka archaeological site—located near the town. Likewise, the sequences recorded in the church (associated with the notion of *penitence*) constantly alternate with the images of the bullring (associated with the notion of *feast*). The home is the center, and the middle, of the TV episode, reminiscent of the personal and intimate concentric circles used by Edward T. Hall in his study of *proxemics*, the study of fixed
measurable distances between people as they interact. Heretofore, this chart reproduces the symmetric relationships between the different locations:

![Diagram of symmetric relationships between different locations]

**Figure 4.2 Symmetric Relationships between the Different Locations**

First, in the first block, once the hostess’s introduction is finished the first person interviewed is an elderly man—an unidentified citizen, a common person—who explains the origin of the festivity. The shot takes place in the main square. Indeed, during the whole program the main square is recorded as one of the centers of the dramatic action. Currently the **plaza mayor or plaza de armas** (main square) is an open area and a public space commonly used for community gatherings; however, historically Latin American colonial cores were sites where Spanish colonizers subjugated native people by building churches and fortresses that served ideological as well as military ends (Scarpaci 39). As Angel Rama states in *The Lettered City* (1984), the urbanization of Spanish America did not follow the European pattern: “rather than stemming from agrarian growth that gradually created an urban market and trade center, rural development here followed the creation of the city” (11). In some cases, like the destruction of Tenochtitlán, almost all the native settlements were destroyed by the Spanish conquest. In other cases, the
Spaniards simply desired to construct the urban dream, the ideal and ordered city, which connotes a desired social order: the cabildo and church had to face the square; however, the main officials received lots near the main plaza. Therefore, the colonial architecture implies the suppression of native culture and the exploitation of native labor in order to represent the liturgical act of sanctifying an extension of the church as well as the Royal Crown (Scarpaci 32).

The main square stretches its presence throughout the whole episode; however, it is in the beginning—from block I to block III inclusively—in which the main square clearly constitutes the principal location. By placing the final action in Incan ruins, consequently, the episode displays a set of oppositions between these two items:

Table 4.3 Set of Oppositions during the Episode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLOCK I-II-III</th>
<th>BLOCK VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Square</td>
<td>SPACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>TIME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Culture</td>
<td>THEME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning</td>
<td>SEQUENCE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Entitled “Comeback to the Past,” the last block refers directly to the Inca culture because almost the whole block constitutes an exploration not of the town but of the Araro Inca ruins. In this sense, the episode begins by shooting a Spanish heritage site (*plaza mayor*) but the final block portrays the Inca ruins. The former denotes a present time, but the latter connotes a Peruvian mythical past whose costumes and values extend to the present. Moreover, in this case study, *Costumbres* portrays many sequences of
resistance that are directly related to this space. For Steve Piles, “power is the power to have control over space, to occupy it and guarantee that hegemonic ideas about that space coincide with those which maintain power’s authority of space, and this can be oppressive as it can be subversive” (Lambright 95). Similarly, the creation of a space of resistance is explicit in different Costumbres scenes. If during the colonial period the concentration and hierarchical differentiation of power was in charge of ecclesiastical personnel and intellectuals (the letrados), deliberately this episode does not show historical instruments of domination: the judge (the Law), the soldiers (the military) and the Priest (religion). The mayor appears for only a few seconds, less than 10. The Priest is not in charge of giving the religious explanation of the origin of the festivity, and appears for less than 10 seconds as well. By contrast, the episode begins its first interview with Don Isidoro Felix, not only a common dweller but an elderly person. In telling and explaining the origin of the festivity, this man connotes a symbol of the oral tradition since his testimony is verbally transmitted in speech from one generation to another through the television. Only the first three persons featured in the episode are unidentified. Hereinafter, during the whole episode, all the explanations given in the program belong to common people who occupy the main square.

Additionally, the next dichotomy church/ bullring also constitutes opposite values as well as re-signifying two Spanish heritages. In the first case, because religion comports a function of power, the history of the establishment of the Church in Latin America necessarily implies rights and duties of the conquering nation over the native Indian population in order to Christianize (and conquer) the colonies. Hence, in order to convert
or reduce the Indian population to Christianity, their existing belief systems had to be dismantled. Rather than portraying the traditional Catholic Mass—Eurocentric, to a certain extent—*Costumbres* addresses two patterns of the rural Quechua Christianity: the celebration of the patron saint (in this case, The Lord of the Miracles) and the payment to Pachamama (the Mother Earth). Like the celebration of the Patron Saint, the portrayed festivity includes a sequence of three days—from October 16th to October 18th—when not only do devotees gather at the church, but they also take part in the procession and participate in the feast. In this sense, in addition to specifically religious acts, the *Costumbres* episode includes secular manifestations, such as the food, drink, dances, bull fight and other traditions with a religious meaning in the context of the patronal festival (Marzal *Indian* 73). The episode consists of both *the eve* (the day before, block I, II, and III) and the day of the fiesta in honor of the Lord of the Miracles (procession and bullring, block IV and block V respectively). Consequently, it is important to point out that the church has a minimal presence if it is compared with the other locations. In fact, most of the action takes place in public spaces, while the majority of the action related to a specific religious space is not recorded inside the Church but from its exteriors, the Church’s façade.

Therefore, the celebration denotes a religious meaning, but also connotes a social meaning. First, according to Manual M. Marzal SJ, in a society based on status and prestige the greatest honor is to be the sponsor of the festivity. The festivities fulfill religious needs, but essentially they act as a promotional mechanism of social prestige within the ceremonial career (Marzal *Estudios* 230). In this way the first interviewees—
following the elderly man’s introduction of the origin of the religious festivity—are the padrinos (sponsors). “Let’s drink a toast to thank you for your kindness, for designating me the title of padrino,” said the third mayordomo. “I want to thank everybody for the appointment as the bull’s head padrino, which is going to be tasted during this festivity,” expressed another padrino. The first block, consequently, portrays the importance and celebration of the padrino’s appointment. Second, the festival functions as a means of integrating the participants into the life of the community. Dwellers bring together funds from various sources and work together to produce the whole festivity, clearly based on the Inca system of reciprocity called *ayni* (Marzal *Indian* 73). Thus, the episode addresses how women construct floral arrangements and how men clean the religious paintings as well as cook the *pachamanca* in the earthen oven. Third, the fiesta also serves as a means of collective relaxation in the midst of a framework of prayer, *abstinence* and *penitence*. The bullring, in this sense, is another secular activity within this religious festivity; however, contrary to the Mass’s solemnity it essentially symbolizes *liberation* and *feast*. The dichotomy church/ bullring comports the following oppositions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCH</th>
<th>BULLRING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>RITUAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enclosed</td>
<td>SPACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penitence</td>
<td>THEME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstinence</td>
<td>FOOD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Order</td>
<td>CHAOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>CIVILIZATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solo</td>
<td>ACTORS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.4 Dichotomy Church/ Bullring*
At the first level, despite both places being important parts of the festival (and its religious meaning), the presence of the bullring contrasts radically with the meaning of the Church because location and the action performed at these sites—a Mass vs. a bullfight—denotes opposite ceremonies. First, unlike the Mass (celebrated in a church), the bullfight does not take place in a religious space but a secular one, the circular ring near the town. Second, while the Mass is celebrated in interior scenes or at the church’s façade, the bullfight is performed in open air. Third, the Mass is focused on the liturgy exclusively explained by the priest with little devotee participation; the bullfight is a collective show displayed by three *toreros* (bullfighters) influenced and applauded by the masses. Finally, differing from the Mass’ solemnity where everyone remains respectfully silent and devout, the bullring is a feast where people are eating and drinking liquor in excess. To reiterate, the festivity includes both religious and secular manifestations; however, these sites (as well as their actions) connote symbolic places in which the parties negotiate relations of power: the bullfight, in this episode, does not comport a Spanish symbol anymore.

The *corrida de toros* (bullfight) is practiced only in seven countries besides Spain, all of them ex-colonies formerly belonging to the Spanish crown: Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala and Panama. According to John McCormick, only in Venezuela and Peru does the fiesta flourish, and except in Lima, the public is uneducated in *toreo* (McCormick 206). Its acceptance and tolerance in Latin America, however, have been controversial. For instance, in Mexico the Venustiano Carranza administration—during the Mexican Revolution—published a decree in 1916 that stated
“the diversion of the bulls provokes bloodthirsty feelings which unfortunately have been a reproach to our race throughout history” (199). Historically, because the feudal system prevailed in Spain far longer than elsewhere in Western Europe, the bullfight remained an aristocratic pastime for a long time. Indeed, the bulls were killed on horse with a lance (rejón) by the rejoneador, an aristocrat, who required servants to cape the bull. Consequently, its association to the aristocratic form does not disappear even in the present: In Spain as well as in Latin America, the aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie currently sit down on the shady side of the plaza, while the poor take their place in the sun. Not only does the bullfight represent Spanish heritage but also aristocratic roots.

Figure 4.3 The Corrida de Toros (Bullring)

It is important to point out that unlike the Indian-style bullfight (the turupukllay), a Spanish bullfight is represented in this episode. In the turupukllay, a condor (symbol of the Andean world) is tied atop a bull (symbol of the Spanish world). Pecking at the bull, the purpose of the condor is to enrage it and make it more aggressive. Anne Lambright states that the image of the condor over the bull connotes an explicit symbol for the
indigenous people: “It marks a return of the indigenous culture to its rightful place at the peak of the Andean culture and social hierarchy” (54). However, this *Costumbres*’ episode clearly portrays a Spanish bullfight. In fact, the toreros (*bullfighters*) are not locals; they came from the capital and Spain especially for the occasion. According to the voice over, the international crew consists of: David Gil Ochoa (Spain), Fernando Roca Rey (Peru) and Fernando Villavicencio (Peru). Differing from the Spanish bullfight, here the audience is totally integrated with indigenous people. The ceremony does not belong to the aristocracy, wealthy people or inhabitants of the capital, but the common dwellers that literally produce the event. Using the voice over, the narration explains the different stages of the bullfight’s production:

[… ] The devotion, expressed with the collection of donations, makes possible the production of the feast and the spectacles. The detailed program of activities identifies which bulls are going to be sacrificed, the mayordomo who receives the bull’s head and the bulls’ names (“Rebel,” “Adventurer,” “Gypsy,” “Chihuahua’s Conceited”). The cattle’s name, the donor’s name as well as the person’s name who brings them to Santa Cruz de Andamarca are also mentioned. And finally the program mentions the name of all the persons who construct the *moñas*, the little dolls that are carried by mistresses and ladies during the bullfight.

The TV episode does not limit the settings to one place because the religious festivity cannot be reduced to the catholic Mass since it also includes secular activities. If the dichotomy of the main square/ Inca ruins focuses on common people—not a “lettered city” based on the traditional Spanish institutions (the judge, the Chuch, the military)—, then the dichotomy church/ bullring negotiates a new symbolic order as well: not the
wealthy people but the community produces, manages and enjoys the bullfight as a symbol of the re-negotiation of power relationships in Santa Cruz de Andamarca.

4.2.1.2 Props

The Costumbres narrative structure creates a documentary and factual television program, a non-fiction production which aims to say something about the real world without intervention and interpretation. Deferring from other formats, the documentary’s technique shows the viewers rather than telling them, plays out the story in front of the audience rather than reporting it second hand (Kriwaczek 10). Therefore, unlike theater, a documentary does not literally have ‘props.’ There are, however, a set of predominant elements that are shown continuously through the entire program. All of them can be put into two groups: religion and food. Despite the fact that all the activities are based on religion—sacrifices and punishments, donation and offerings—only two blocks (III and IV) denotatively portray the picture of the Lord of the Miracles. None of the block titles refer directly to the religious festivity either.

4.2.1.2.1 Catholic Icons and Mother Earth

To decode the presence of these two types of props, it is important to realize that in the case of the Quechua religion, the faith has two vectors: 1) the Catholic religion, which is built around the celebration of the patron saint (in this case, the Lord of the Miracles); 2) the Andean religion which is built around the payment to Pachamama whereby Mother Earth is offered thanks (Marzal Indian 70). Regarding the Catholic
religion, the most common artifacts depicted by the camera are the candles, the cross and floral arrangements which can be considered *indexes* because they anticipate the Lord of the Miracles’ procession. Despite the town’s name being Santa Cruz de Andamarca—literally “Saint Cross of Andamarca”—the presence of *the cross*, the main symbol of Christianity, is not relevant during the episode. For instance, at the beginning of the episode brief long shots (LS) and extreme long shots (ELS) depict the Huaylahuasin Chapel and its cross, but they are only *inserts* to fill the first sequence, when the elderly man explains the festivity’s origin. Immediately, after this scene, the next frames capture, during a couple of seconds, two secular elements: fireworks and a kind of flagpole with a bull’s head and the Peruvian flag hanging together. From the very beginning, the conjunction of different symbols—the cross, the bull’s head and the Peruvian flag—connotes the main characteristic of the Andean religion: the Patronal Festival as a sign of the syncretism and transformation of the Catholic religion in the Andes.

Depicted in the first block, the *bull’s head* is the first symbol portrayed and explained by the program. After the elderly man describes the festivity’s origin, the hostess explains that the festivity begins with the sacrifice of seven bulls as well as eight rams in order to feed the devotees during the three day festivity. The episode shows how the community goes to a square to testify to the bull’s sacrifice, but none of the sacrifice images are filmed, or shown in the episode. On the contrary, after an ellipsis, three different men explain the meaning of the bull’s head. Literally, a bull’s head is shown by the camera. Thereby, the camera captures both the designation and the scene in which the *padrinos de cabeza* (the godfather of the bull’s head; that is, a sponsor) show gratitude
for the appointment. While the first one thanks the community and drinks a toast to the fraternity among the community, the second one thanks the community but also collects the donation from the locals carrying the bull’s head as a collection box. Finally, because the bull’s head is hanging from a high wooden flagpole called wayunca, the third man—the first mayordomo Vladimir Moreno—provides an explanation of this second symbol and its cultural meaning.

To feed the general public it is necessary to sacrifice the cattle. Therefore, the bull’s head is the sign of this sacrifice, so it is put on this stick. It will be removed at the end of the festivity… [the stick] the wayunca is a quechua term. Why is it called wayunca? There is an old tradition: every person who makes a mistake is hung from the top of the wayunca, beside the bull’s head.

According to the hostess’s narration the aforementioned festivity honors the Lord of the Miracles; however, the episode begins by emphasizing the images and symbols of the animal sacrifice. Therefore, the bull’s head comports a twofold meaning: On the one hand, the bull’s head means the sacrifice (of animals) and the donation (of money), emphasizing the strong symbolic significance of the pagos, or payments, being offered either to vital forces or to God. On the other hand, the bull’s head implies another connotation: the punishment. Indeed, in the final sequence of this block, a group of women arrest the padrino and hang him with the bull’s head. Therefore, both the animal and the man can be considered sacrifices and payments to the vital forces.
In *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1928), José Carlos Mariátegui attempted to explain the reasons for Peruvian syncretism: Rather than a philosophical or theological concept, the Quechua religion was a moral code. As a result, Church and State, having almost the same meaning, were worried about the kingdom of earth instead of the “the kingdom of heaven”. Without the Inca state, however, the Quechua religion could not survive. The Spanish missionaries could not impose the Holy Gospels (*content*). Instead, they only could impose the cult and the liturgy (*continent*), adapting them to the indigenous traditions. According to Mariátegui, what survived was not a metaphysical theology, but agrarian rites, magical practices and pantheism. Native paganism, therefore, continued to exist within the Catholic religion.

To illustrate Mariátegui’s thesis, Juan M. Ossio states that during the Inca times the celestial divinities (the Sun, the Moon or the Thunder) were associated with the Inca, his wife the Coya, and the successor son. Indeed, this form of association has been preserved through some superimposed Christian images. This is the case with the revered image of Jesus Christ, who is associated with earthquakes in two main centers of Peru: Lima and Cuzco (Ossio 205). Therefore, there is a connection between the image of Jesus
Christ and the concept of earthquake, preserved through a Christian image: the Lord of the Miracles. The devotion to the Lord of the Miracles began in 1655 when an earthquake destroyed Lima, but not the wall with the mural of the image of the Lord painted by an Afro-Peruvian. However, in this case study the main Catholic icons portrayed by this Costumbres episode, the picture of the Lord of the Miracles as well as the statue of the Dolorosa Virgin Mary, do not denote Catholic symbols, but connote a different cultural meaning belonging specifically to the Andean region.

In the case of the Lord of the Miracles, although in the cold open—the opening pre-credits scenes—the hostess did mention the festivity is in honor of the Lord of the Miracles as the main topic of the episode, the fact is that this information is incorrect. The picture of the Lord of the Miracles appears during a couple of frames in the cold open, but only after the first two blocks is its physical or visual presence significant. The principal sequences related to him belong to block III and block IV. Transported on the shoulders of the cargadores (or “carriers”) during the procession, the image can be considered an icon, not necessarily a symbol, because it resembles the object it signifies: Jesus Christ, the central figure of Christianity. However, it is important to remark that the image of Jesus Christ does not refer to a faith directly professed to the Christian God, due to the fact that in most Andean towns the community’s faith is essentially Christocentric (Marzal Indian 104). In this sense, according to Manuel Marzal SJ, if the Andean communities do not have an historical knowledge about the holy lives of the saints of heaven (including Jesus Christ and the Virgin), then the indigenous people cannot consider them to be model lives. In this line of thought the picture of the Lord of the
Miracles corresponds to the Quechua religious class of the *Wakas* (objects that represent something revered). Similarly to the *wakas*, these icons are only Christian intermediaries that hear the community’s prayers.

![Figure 4.5 The Catholic Images](image)

In the case of the Dolorosa Virgin Mary, it is important to highlight that in these two blocks her presence is consistent because the Santa Cruz procession is a form of devotion not only to the Lord but also to the Dolorosa Virgin Mary. In block III, especially, both pictures appear together in almost all the sequences: both figures are moved from the Huaylahuasin Chapel, both are decorated with flowers by the community, both are transported on the shoulders of the *cargadores* during the procession. Neither of them receives different treatment during the festivity. The image of the Virgin Mary, however, not only refers to the Catholic tradition, but since the colonial period her presence has been related to the worship of *Pachamama*, mother Earth (Ossio 206). In the Andean region the Earth was considered to be a living reality with the characteristics of a mother, a sacred mother, who nourishes and protects her children and who serves as God’s intermediary. In a broader sense, Pachamama is mainly
conceived of as a fertility goddess to enhance the productive capacity of land and of the animals. She has been the embodiment of earth’s regenerative powers since Inca times. Both Father Cobo in 1653 and the Spanish chronicler Martin de Murúa in 1590 wrote about this issue:

All adored the earth, which they called Pachamama, which means Earth Mother; and it was common for them to place a long stone, like an altar or statue, in the middle of their fields, in honor of this goddess, in order, in that spot, to offer her prayers and invoke, asking her to watch over and fertilize their fields; and when certain plots of land were found to be more fertile, so much greater was the respect for her. (Cobo, quoted by Silverblatt 24)

It was a common thing among the Indians to adore the fertile earth… which they called Pachamama, offering her chichi by spilling it on the ground, as well as coca and other things so that she would provide for them […] and when it was time to plow, turn over the earth, sow and harvest corn, potatoes, quinoa, and other vegetables and fruits of the earth, they would offer her, in similar fashion, fat, coca, cuy (guinea pig), and other things, and all the time drinking and dancing. (Murúa, quoted by Silverblatt 25).

Costumbres announces that the episode’s topic is the Lord of the Miracles’ festivity; however, an interesting point to remark is that three blocks’ titles refer directly to food, such as “The Fruit of the Earth” (block II), “Roast Potatoes” (block III) and “Cheese, Good Cheese” (block IV). The Catholic icons appear in block III and block IV both with titles that do not refer to the Catholic feast. On the contrary, since the inhabitants of Santa Cruz de Andamarca—as well as the Andean communities—have been predominantly farmers, their religion has evolved from agricultural experiences. The cult has survived because “the missionaries did not offer a real alternative to support the agricultural activity and the husbandry of the Quechua in a ritual manner” (Marzal
Indian 100). Consequently, despite the acceptance of baptism on the part of the conquered Inca region, the majority of the rural people continue celebrating the *pago a la tierra* (sacrificial offering) because the earth is a sacred reality known as Pachamama. This *Costumbres* episode shows this reality. Like the Inca feast, the community drinks, eats and dances to honor both the Lord of the Miracles and the Virgin Mary. During the Inca times an image of the Pachamama joined those of Viracocha, Sun, Thunder and Moon—the major Inca Gods—in the capital’s large public square during the major imperial festivals celebrated monthly in Cuzco (Silverblatt 49). Similarly, now the statue of the Virgin Mary accompanies the image of Jesus Christ all the time. Behind the façade of Catholicism, the festivity still retains its original meaning. Considering that the image of the Virgin Mary has been associated with the Pachamama—referring to all the forces and elements that make life here on Earth possible— the predominance of all the food is not arbitrary.
### 4.2.1.2.2 Food: The Fruit of the Earth

The rest of the TV blocks, from block II to VI, refer to culinary artifacts. The following chart distributes this information:

**Table 4.5 Props: Food and Religion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Block</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Religion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BLOCK I</strong></td>
<td>- Brochure and Festivity schedule</td>
<td>- Water (medicated thermal bath)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Bull’s head</td>
<td>- Huaychapa (souvenir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- <em>wayunca</em> (wooden flagpole)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Beverage <em>(beer)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BLOCK II</strong></td>
<td>- Chuño mazamorra (corn pudding)</td>
<td>- Image of the Lord of the Miracles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- <em>Patasca</em> (soup)</td>
<td>- Image of the Virgin Dolorosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ‘La Huatia’</td>
<td>- Floral arrangements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- <em>Yaco-Chupe</em> (potato soup)</td>
<td>- Candles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Purple mazamorra (pudding)</td>
<td>- Fireworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BLOCK III</strong></td>
<td>- Roast Potatoes</td>
<td>- Image of the Lord of the Miracles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- ‘Cachifa’</td>
<td>- Image of the Virgin Dolorosa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Fried Trout</td>
<td>- Floral arrangements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BLOCK IV</strong></td>
<td>- Milk</td>
<td>- Candles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Cheese</td>
<td>- Fireworks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Pots and containers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BLOCK V</strong></td>
<td>- Earthen oven</td>
<td>- Bullring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Raw Meat</td>
<td>- Moñas dolls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Table and dinner</td>
<td>- Beverages <em>(pisco)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Beverage <em>(wine)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For Marcel Danesi the term food “denotes, firstly, bodily survival; second, it takes on specific connotative meanings in social settings; and third, these meanings cohere into the various food codes (cuisine) that characterize what and how people eat in specific social settings” (164). The notion of food informs what the community eats and how they eat. If the three block titles refer directly to food—“The Fruit of the Earth” (block II), “Roast Potatoes” (block III) and “Cheese, Good Cheese” (block IV)—then, the first title denotes fresh and raw farming products, whereas the following ones refer to the transformation of the raw food by two different processes, roasting and boiling. Block II begins by mentioning the importance of the local fruits and agricultural products in order to present the festival food organized by the communal school. Hence, María Avendaño, the school’s principal, states that the main reason for the festival is to inform the devotees about the local products and their nutritional values: “The olluco (potato) is sowed by the community, the corn is harvested by the locals and the trout are fished in our rivers,” affirms María Avendaño to the hostess in a short interview. Afterwards, the TV episode portrays different members of the community presenting the local dishes: in block II five students present five traditional dishes; in block III three locals introduce three more. In both cases each dish implies the explanation of a different recipe. On certain occasions
the sequence includes inserts of each ingredient, but most of the time the interviewee only mentions them.

Similarly, the other blocks refer to the production of cheese (block IV) and the making of the *pachamanca* (block V), a traditional Peruvian dish based on baking with the aid of hot stones. On the one hand, in the first case the explanation of the artisanal cheese production, a detailed explanation of the whole production, is recorded in front of a picture of the Lord of the Miracles. The camera shoots this image during the whole sequence, almost 5 minutes in length, portraying *religion* and *food* simultaneously.

Following this sequence, the procession of the Lord of the Miracles is addressed by the rest of the episode. Despite the title “Cheese, Good Cheese,” the image of the Lord is present during the whole block. His exposition within the block begins with artisan cheese production and continues consistently with the religious procession. On the other hand, block V depicts the making of the *pachamanca*. Its cooking is usually done in three specific events. The following scene reproduces Pedro Bueno’s explanation:

**EXTERIOR—HOME**

*TWO SHOT. MEDIUM SHOT (MS).*

THE HOSTESS IS HAVING LUNCH WITH PEDRO BUENO’S FAMILY, A LOCAL AND ELDERLY DWELLER. WHILE EATING PACHAMANCA THEY ARE HAVING AN INTERVIEW. PEOPLE ARE EATING.

SONALY:

When do you usually eat *pachamanca*? On what important dates do you eat it?
PEDRO BUENO

We cook this dish on our birthday, during the herranza ritual—generally, the plainsmen cook it during this ritual… And finally, during the Lord of the Miracles festival. The mayordomos prepare it in order to serve the devotee as well as the guests. It is an homage.

The special events mentioned by Pedro Bueno are: birth, the herranza ritual and the Lord of the Miracles feast. All of them imply the preparation of the same dish, pachamanca, whose definition combines two Quechua words: pacha (earth) and manca (cooking pot). Historically, its origins go back to Inca rituals when it was a way of rendering homage to the Earth goddess, whereby participants used to eat directly from the bowels of the earth the products that it produced. Needless to say, in the episode all the traditional dishes belong to the Andean region.

4.2.1.3 Codes of Dress

While it is generally accepted that humans wear clothes for protection and modesty, the functions are multiple if we assume that clothing also serves to determine origin, age, sex, economic level, social position, trustworthiness, or moral character (Hickson and Stacks 108; Rubinstein 16). The importance of clothes in Andean societies has already been described by the Peruvian colonial writer Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in the Comentarios Reales de los Incas (1609). In his chronicles he states that clothing was the second most important tax that Inca subalterns had to pay to him: “In addition to the first tribute which consisted of sowing and harvesting the Sun’s lands as well as those of the Inca, the Indians offered another tribute, which was to furnish the clothes, shoes and weapons for the army as well as for needy people” (Meléndez 22). Because of the
impossibility of wearing clothes without transmitting social signals—as signifiers standing for something else—clothing is a cultural product that serves as a code or vehicle of culturally relevant information. It has always played a crucial role in the process of identity construction: For the Incas clothing represented a symbol of distinction and social class; during the colonial period it was used as a determinant visual factor to ascertain who was who in society. Actually in many countries with indigenous populations, *indígenas* can speak Spanish rather than Quechua or live in the city rather than in their natal communities, but, as long as they wear traditional dress, they are identified as *indígenas* (Meisch 146). Therefore, throughout the centuries clothing has been the rhetorical vehicle to establish not only power relationships but also social categorizations.

In this case study, differing from the opening credits, the TV episode “Santa Cruz de Andamarca” presents the hostess interviewing different people so that five different forms and dress styles can be identified throughout the whole TV program: the town dweller’s dress, the peasant’s dress, the traditional dance groups’ dress, the religious habit and the bullfighter’s costume. Not all of them are portrayed for the same amount of time; the reasons are different in each case. Attended by everyone in town, the local festivity honoring the Lord of the Miracles—the protector of the town—can be considered a *patronal fiesta* (major festival). Like other *fiestas*, the central day features the Mass and a procession as the main religious events in the festival, in which dance groups, accompanied by the musical ensembles, pay tribute to the Lord and the Virgin by saluting them in front of the church, as well as by dancing and showing reverence to the
images (Romero 53). Once the Mass and the procession are concluded, music and dance continue to be the center of the festival’s activities transforming the religious festival into a secular experience. The Costumbres episode follows the same pattern: Instead of portraying the dance group’s dress, the program addresses the everyday garment. Only during 20 seconds of the third block, a huayno (regional dance) with a structured choreography, in pairs and in columns, is performed in front of the images; however, the camera shoots not only them but also common people holding hands and making a circle while dancing. In the sequence, there is an alternate shot of each group, the dancers and the community.

Table 4.6 Codes of Dress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHOT #</th>
<th>SIGNIFIER</th>
<th>SIGNIFIED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Long shot. Zoom in</td>
<td>A group of young dancers wearing their typical dress—in two columns, put into groups of men and women—pay tribute to the two religious images. Men raise their arms. Women wave their skirts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Extreme Long shot. Pan left.</td>
<td>Members of the community dance holding hands and making a circle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Medium shot. Pan right.</td>
<td>Men turn on their axis, and raise their hands, hanging a hat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Medium shot.</td>
<td>Women tap their feet and continue waving their skirts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Medium shot. Pan right.</td>
<td>Members of the community dance holding hands and making a circle.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Because of the continuous presence of the town as the main protagonist, the town dweller’s dress is depicted in all the blocks. In general terms, cotton, wool, and synthetic fabrics are all commonly used by modern and commercial garments worn by adult men and women, such as trousers, sweaters, shirts, long-sleeved jackets (saco), lightweight and sport jackets, blazers, and shoes other than ojotas (tire-tread sandals). There is, however, a difference regarding the traditional garment: men are dressed in western-style clothing more often than women. For instance, instead of a poncho (a single large sheet of fabric with an opening in the center for the head) Don Isidoro Pérez, the elderly man and first interviewee, wears a jacket (open in the front) combined with a shirt and a sweater, all of them in a grey color. The padrinos, Vladimir Moreno and Luis Félix, wear a dark suit and jeans and shirt, respectively. Far from arguing a rejection of traditional dress, there is an historical explanation. Historically, to be male is to plant maize and potatoes. To be female is to weave. During the Inca period, most weavers were women; however, under the Spanish domination, treadle-loom weaving became men’s work, conscripting them to weave under oppressive working conditions. In this sense, according to Janet Catherine Berlo, through contact with the Spanish, men learned their language and dressed in western-style clothing, interacting with the Spanish and other foreigners (Blum Schevill 11).
On the contrary, elderly women became the conservators of weaving lore and continued to wear *traje típico* (typical dress). Unlike teenagers who can wear jeans, polyester sweaters and commercial fabrics, contemporary Santa Cruz de Andamarca female *peasant dress* combines elements of Spanish colonial and pre-Hispanic dress. Indeed, in almost every block farmers and elderly women are depicted by the camera: in block I, they capture the first ‘mayordomo’ to hang him from a stick (punishment); in block IV entitled “Cheese, Good Cheese,” the hostess interviews a female farmer who explains how to prepare cheese; in block V, the community members as well as peasants attend the bullfight in honor of the Lord of the Miracles. In general terms, their traditional dress usually combines a *pollera* (skirt) and a small hand-woven *shawl* with its *pin*. In the case of the *camisas* (either a man’s shirt or woman’s *blouse*), they have their origin during the colonial period after the execution of the rebellious *kuraka* Tupac Amaru II, when a Spanish proclamation officially tried to extinguish all traces of Inka culture (Femenias182). Additionally, they use long-sleeve *sweaters*, a *corpiño* (vest) and *packsaddles* on their backs. It is important to highlight that in all the cases, men and women’s everyday dress includes a traditional handmade *hat* (a traditional brimmed hat of Ecuadorian origin also called “Panama hat”) used in the entire Andean region.

The second half of both the third and fourth blocks shoots the procession and the Mass. Portraying religious acts chronologically both blocks represent the middle of the plot narrated in the whole episode. All the characteristics of the *traje típico*, however, are continuously shown in the third block, in which a group of elderly women constructs floral arrangements in honor of the Lord of the Miracles and the Virgin Mary. The
sequence’s beginning depicts the movement of those images from the Huaylahuasin Chapel to the plaza mayor (Main Square) in order to clean and decorate them for the central days of the festivity. Literally, there is a procession, that is, “a linearly ordered, solemn movement of a group through chartered space to a known destination to give witness, bear an esteemed object, perform a rite, fulfill a vote […]” (Flanigan 35). It is important to point out that none of them wears the religious dress — a traditional purple habit — for this procession, although everybody is decorating the religious images or participating in the procession. By contrast, adult men and women wear town dweller’s dress and elderly women wear a pollera, a black or brown shawl with colorful drawings, and the traditional brimmed hat.

Neither the religious dress nor the torero dress has great prominence in the episode. In the first case, only the second half of the fourth block addresses the Mass and the day’s procession. These are the only occasions in which devotees wear religious dress: women wear a veil, a purple habit and a white rope around the waist; men wear a purple habit with a purple tie. In the second case, in block V, almost 4’ 55” are dedicated to the corrida de toros (bullfight). The shots, however, do not portray the corrida de toros exclusively. The shots focus on the common people looking directly into the camera.

4.2.1.4 Codes of Non-verbal Communication

Non-verbal communication comprises a very large area of human behavior including, in general terms, paralanguage and kinesics. The term ‘paralanguage’ refers to
the non-verbal aspects of speech such as prosodic and the paralinguistic codes. The prosodic codes (incoherent sounds, content-free vocalizations and pauses) affect the meaning of the words used; whereas the paralinguistic codes (speed, tone, volume and accent) are associated with personality, class, social status, etc. The other term, ‘kinesics,’ refers to the articulation or movements of the body between parties in an interaction resulting from muscular and skeletal shifts (Fiske 71; Druckman 43; Ritchie 10). Some scholars such as Argyle or Poyatos classify the main non-verbal signs under ten headings—including the notion of proximity (proxemics), orientation, head nods, bodily contact, posture, etc. In this section, however, because of the limits of the shot size, the discussion will focus on kinesics, specifically i) facial signs and ii) visual behavior, because these signs communicate meaning both in complementation with and independently of verbal meanings (Danesi 54).

First, facial signs can assume a twofold function: a) to express emotion; b) to express “standard demographics”. In the first case, facial expressions imply the premise that “the face is a signifier, a mask that people prepare to present themselves to social audiences” (Danesi 55). They are shown to convey rather specific information, like emotions and attitudes, in a short period of time (Druckman and Rozelle 52). Although this code can be broken into sub-codes—eyebrow position, eye shape, mouth shape, and nostril size— my intention is not to consider specific types of expressions. However, there is a relationship between location – action – facial expressions. Therefore, among the primary emotions usually used in psychology, only “happiness,” “surprise” and “interest” are portrayed in the TV episode. For instance, whereas the bullring and the
main square (fireworks and food festival) are the main sites where people celebrate the festivity, the church is the place where the principal attitude is devotion. “Happiness” and “interest” are the emotions respectively portrayed during these sequences. The rule, in general terms, affirms that facial expressions show less cross-cultural variation than other presentational codes (Argyle 249). In *Costumbres*, as well as in this episode, the general facial sign corresponds to the pride of being a member of Santa Cruz de Andamarca. Furthermore, through facial observations one can make predictions about “standard demographics” such as race, nationality, sex and age of the people (Malandro 147). Thus, as a result of shooting in an Andean town, all the people recorded are native community members of Santa Cruz de Andamarca, as said before, a small town that was recognized as an indigenous community by the Supreme Resolution of August 19th 1937. There is virtually no big difference between the numbers of times in which men or women are portrayed by the editing. However, unlike the opening credits which dedicate almost 50 % of the images to children, the TV program only includes minimal scenes with them. Children appear only in two blocks. For instance, in the first block, two mothers appear carrying their babies in two different shots. Each of these shots has a minimum length of 01 second. In the second block, children appear presenting the food at the festival organized by the local school. In this section, only five students are depicted by the program. By contrast, in the aforementioned episode, all the characters are adults or elderly people.

Second, linked to the ‘facial signs’ the visual behavior comports several functions, including the regulation of conversation, the seeking of information, the
expression of feelings, and the attempt to influence another’s behavior (Druckman 74). In this sense, the shooting position and the protagonists’ eye contact—both captured by the shot size—determine the type of interaction that takes place in the episode. To determine the shot size implies a choice of the distance and type of emotion the protagonists’ eye is experiencing based on their eyes. Consequently, two different shot sizes used by the episode have direct correspondence to this type of non-verbal communication: i) the medium close-up and ii) the group shots. On the one hand, the first local interviewee appearing in the episode is an elderly person. Further, portrayed by using a ‘medium close-up’ in the form of the ‘talking head,’ he addresses the camera directly. Because of this shot size, his eyes provide meaning to the spoken word. Due to the fact that he is addressing the camera, not only do his eyes provide greater intimacy, but they also create the feeling that the viewer is personally being addressed. As S. Martin Shelton has stated, “When the talking head looks directly at us, with strong eye-contact, the communication is personal. It’s one-on-one. We get a perceptive insight into the personality and character of the person talking to us” (155-156). Like the chorus’ role in the Greek religious drama, the unidentified elderly man is presented as the storyteller permitted to speak directly to the audience to tell the origin of the religious festivity. In this case, the eye contact is with the TV addressee, allowing others to gain information about Santa Cruz de Andamarca.

Whereas in both a wide shot and a long shot the audience looks at the entire scene as a whole, the “group shot” concentrates on the interaction between its members (Kriwaseck 89). Considering that most interactions are one-on-one, in this case study the
two-shot (abbreviated as 2-S) is the most common shot because it portrays only two participants—a speaker and a listener—even if the shot contains more than the two main subjects. The interaction, in fact, is always between the locals and the hostess, so the shot depicts how both participants of the conversation tend to look directly at the other person. Among a wide range of shot sizes, this Costumbres episode uses the “over-the-shoulder” view although the “flat on” view is more frequent. Because the flat on includes both characters at almost full length, the strong interaction between the two participants is very visible. The visual behavior is clearly depicted. A study by Exline, Ellyson and Long determined that people of greater status have less direct eye contact than those of a lower status (Malandro 164). This is not the case with the hostess because the Costumbres visual behavior implies a different kind of relationship. In her case, eye contact is a sign of linking, so she always looks into her interviewees’ eyes showing willingness on her part to show interest in the answer.

Another relevant aspect is associated with the notion of displaying emotions. Through “mutual look” (when two persons gaze at each other’s face) and “eye contact” (two persons look into each other’s eyes and are aware of each other’s gaze) all the persons depicted in this episode display expressions of feeling. In the main square, in the church, at home or in the bullring people all express happiness or devotion. In most of the cases, the shot size begins with a group shot and moves into a close-up. That is, the camera begins portraying the speaker and the listener, but then it focuses only on the speaker. In block IV, for instance, the final sequence illustrates this function:
SONALY TUESTA: ¿Qué es lo que te acerca más al Señor de los Milagros?

LUIS FELIX: Bueno, pues, mira, ve esto…. Aquí hay una hermandad del Señor de los Milagros. Yo pertenezco a esa hermandad. Dios está conmigo. Quizá por eso él me permite…quizá… me emociono, pero yo no sé…Yo, a mí, la misa y la procesión, los actos religiosos. Y también los actos festivos como la corrida de toros, los castillos, las danzas, la orquesta, esos complementos para reanimar más la festividad.

SONALY TUESTA: What things makes you feel near the Lord of the Miracles?

LUIS FELIX: Well, let’s see… Here there is a brotherhood, an association belonging to the Lord of the Miracles. I belong to that association. God is with me. Because of that, perhaps… I am excited; I do not know…Me, for me, the mass and the procession, the religious acts. In addition, other activities such as the bullring, the fireworks, the dances, the music band, they are only accessories to revive the festivity.

The significance of the eyes has been summarized by J. Heron: “The most fundamental mode of interpersonal encounter is the interaction between two pairs of eyes and what is mediated by this interaction” (Druckman 74). In this particular case, the shot size properly focuses on the facial signs including the eyes to illustrate this statement.

The third mayordomo Luis Felix answers the hostess’s question and cries. For him, the mass and the procession make him feel near the Lord of the Miracles. The “flat on view” introduces the protagonist of this scene who shares eye gaze. Afterwards, the zoom in implies a close up that portrays the man’s eyes crying. Sometimes there is eye contact between them; sometimes Felix avoids her gaze to look at the sky. In both cases there is a clear intention to keep eye contact with the listener. The question is who the listener is.
Through different expressions, facial sings and visual behavior the viewer understand why this festivity is a *religious experience* for Luis Felix.
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

This thesis analyzes the TV program *Costumbres* and the difference in meaning between the opening credits and the TV program’s content. To ensure that the analysis remains concrete, the episode chosen was *Mi Santa Cruz, Pueblo de Amor*—literally, “Saint Cross of Andamarca, my Home Town”—originally broadcast on Peruvian Public Broadcasting, on December 3, 2007. Despite the fact that the opening credits repeat the same images of the TV program, both products—the opening credits and *Costumbres* (the TV program)—are essentially different considering that the former creates a different structure and a different concept through the editing. In general, whereas each TV program is dedicated only to one traditional festivity, the opening credits consist of a collection of excerpts from different TV episodes whose plot can be seen repeatedly by the audience every time the program is on the air. The opening credits radically differ from the episode in two elements: the protagonist and the plot.

*The protagonists.* In the episode’s content, the main topic (and the main plot) is *the town* itself—that is, the people. By contrast, in the opening credits, although men and women are portrayed singing and dancing, the images as well as the Quechua chant that accompanies the scene confirm that the center of the plot is the presenter and the TV program’s name. The first indigenous chant’s lyrics refer to the presenter; the second to the TV program. In this sense, both songs cannot be considered a traditional chant but a *jingle* because their music and lyrics intend to convey an advertising slogan for identification purposes. In addition, in analyzing the opening credit’s split-screen, it is clear that the left screen exclusively depicts the presenter travelling throughout different
settings toward a final destination, which is an archeological site rather than the same community depicted on the right screen. Considering that the archeological site is clearly empty of people, the presenter, then, represents a tourist. Finally, the opening credits address the images of children, substituting the presence of the native community with the presence of children. If this substitution is not related to the myth of the noble savage, then, it reinforces the notion of leisure time, not in an Andean framework but in the Western tradition.

The plot. Two characteristics summarize the opening credits plot: first, there are not any symbols, props or images related to religious festivities during this sequence; second, all the characters do not appear to be working for the festivity. By showing community members living between mountains and rivers in a rural area, the first part of the opening credits establishes an association with Western tradition by repeating the literary topic of the “ideal landscape,” represented in two rhetoric topics: *Beautus Ille* and *Locus Amoenus*. Because the *locus amoenus* is associated with the form of an earthly Paradise, the opening credits do not overcome the representation of Latin America as an idealized landscape, which is still a commonplace depiction. In addition, the images only portray scenes in which the protagonists are free of labor. The portrayed happiness, then, seems to appear in leisure. However, rather than considering leisure—that is, the absence of labor—as a value, labor is still an expression of pride in the Andes, not to mention that one of the main precepts of the Andean ethic can be summarized in the customary Inca law *ama quilla*, which means “do not be lazy.”
In the case of the episode “Santa Cruz de Andamarca,” three main differences should be mentioned: First, the community. The presence of a particular community is continuously strengthened. For instance, among the six titles three refer directly to the location: “My Santa Cruz, Home Town” (block I), “To my little town, Santa Cruz” (block V) and “Comeback to the past” (block VI), which refers to the Araro Inca ruins located near the town. Additionally, during the first minutes the first musicalization uses a local song with lyrics—appearing on the screen during the first minutes—that refer to the community as well. In this sense, neither the landscape nor the scenery is highlighted because the images directly address the existence of the town with computer graphics showing a map with the route to Santa Cruz de Andamarca. Therefore, unlike the opening credits, the episode’s images do not emphasize the different difficulties encountered when traveling to Santa Cruz de Andamarca, because the difficulties can be easily associated with the concept of travel adventures, which is not the focus of this program.

Second, the re-negotiation of the space. The principal actions take place in five locations—the main square, the church, the home, the bullring, and the Inca ruins—combining public and private activities. If these places were historically sites where Spanish colonizers subjugated native people by building main squares or churches, in the TV program these sites not only are an open area and a public space commonly used for community gatherings, but also a site where the community has control over space. Consequently, if during the colonial period, the concentration and hierarchical differentiation of power was represented in the main square, here this episode deliberately does not show historical and traditional instruments of domination: the judge
(the Law), the soldiers (the military) and the Priest (religion). If their administrations were and are usually located in the main square, here, none of them has a relevant presence during the whole program. For instance, in the case of the church, the Priest is not in charge of giving the religious explanation of the origin of the festivity. Regarding the bullfight, in this episode it does not comport a Spanish symbol anymore because here the audience is totally integrated with indigenous people. The ceremony does not belong to the aristocracy, wealthy people or inhabitants of the capital, but to the common community members that literally produce the event.

**Third, props.** Despite the town’s name of Santa Cruz de Andamarca—literally “Saint Cross of Andamarca”—the presence of the cross, the main symbol of Christianity, is not relevant during the episode. By contrast, the bull’s head is the first symbol portrayed and explained in the program. In addition to specifically religious acts, the *Costumbres* episode includes secular manifestations, such as the food, drink, dances, bull fight and other traditions with a religious meaning in the context of the religious festival. To decode the presence of props, it is important to realize that in the case of the Quechua religion, faith has two vectors: the Catholic religion, which is built around the celebration of the patron saint (in this case, the Lord of the Miracles); and the Andean religion which is built around the payment to *Pachamama* whereby Mother Earth is offered thanks. Therefore, even though *Costumbres* announces that the episode’s topic is the Lord of the Miracles’ festivity, three block titles refer directly to food, such as “The Fruit of the Earth” (block II), “Roast Potatoes” (block III) and “Cheese, Good Cheese” (block IV). Considering that the image of the Virgin Mary has been associated with the Pachamama,
referring to all the forces and elements that make life here on Earth possible, the predominance of all the food and dishes is not arbitrary.

On a deeper level of analysis, however, the conclusions lead us to highlight that *Costumbres* goal cannot be simplified to recording and collecting traditional festivities. *Costumbres* is essentially an educational project, and in this case, its concept presents many similarities with the critical pedagogical theory described in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, written by the philosopher and educator Paulo Freire. Freire’s theory has been used as a theoretical framework in Peru by most of the communication projects which foster social change. In 1973, for instance, a team led by Paulo Freire conducted a literacy project in poor communities of Lima by asking common people questions in Spanish, but requesting the answers in photographs. When the question “What is exploitation?” was asked, the photographs selected were of a landlord, a grocer and a policeman. Nonetheless, a shoeshine boy chose a picture of a nail on a wall. That “nail” represented the rent paid by the shoeshine boy. For him, the nail represented “exploitation” since every night he had to rent a nail on a wall because his shoe shine box was too heavy to carry to his home (Singhal and Rattine-Flaherty 314). This case illustrates the first premise of the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*: Freire denounces the presence of de-humanization, as well as the presence of the dichotomy oppressors-oppressed. This statement is a tautology not only in all Peruvian background information but also in the current Peruvian reality. Therefore, one way or another, every TV program that focuses on small Peruvian communities shows Freire’s premise.
In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968), Freire affirms that oppression has been inserted by “traditional pedagogy.” Consequently, the main task is to present a new methodology—he calls ‘pedagogy of the oppressed’—which must be forged *with* (not *for*) the oppressed (Freire 33). Introducing the concept of “the banking education,” he criticizes the narrative character of the teacher-student relationship because this pattern only emphasizes the separation between the teacher (narrating *subject*) and the student (listening *object*). Within this pattern, the act of teaching becomes the responsibility of the one who instructs, whereas the act of learning is the duty of the student. In this top-down model, the teacher possesses the knowledge whereas the students are assumed to possess no knowledge. Under this vertical system education is viewed only as an act of depositing: the teacher is the *depositor* and the students are the *depositaries*. Freire sums up this concept with ten characteristics: the teacher talks and the students listen meekly; the teacher knows everything and the students know noting; the teacher chooses the program content; and the student (who were not consulted) adapt to it (Freire 59). Due to this traditional educational system, the oppressors impose curricula, ideas and values. Thus, as a passive objects that memorize, recite or catalogue, the students will not develop the critical consciousness, so the oppressed can be dominated more easily (Freire 60). “The more passive people are, the more they adapt.” They will never critically consider the reality because—implicit with this concept—, there is a dichotomy between man and world. Emphasizing the role of the man only as a spectator (not a re-creator), traditional education indoctrinates students to accept oppression because under this system man is not a conscious being. As an object it is an “empty mind passively open to
the reception of deposits” owned by the oppressors (Freire 63). Therefore, the utilization of the “banking concept of education” serves to avoid the threat of student conscientização.

On the contrary, The Pedagogy of the Oppressed states that the educational system must replace the banking-education by posing the problems of the people in relation to the world. As Denis Collins points out, Freire adopts from Husserl’s phenomenology the principle that exploration of consciousness is a prerequisite to knowledge of reality (31). Following this philosophical framework, he introduces a new concept of education called the “problem-posing education” which “strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality” (Freire 68). In short: whereas the banking-education treats students as “objects of assistance,” the problem-posing education makes them “critical thinkers.” As his first premise states, this theory supports the humanization of people, their liberation. “Authentic liberation—the process of humanization—is not another deposit to be made in men,” stated Freire (66). For him, liberation is the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it. Thus, the Pedagogy of the Oppressed declares, “In problem-posing education, men (sic) develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation” (71). Therefore, the pedagogy proposed by Freire addresses the concept of conscientization so it responds to man’s vocation to be a subject. Freire argues that conscientization is a political education process which enables the masses to realize their situation in society so they can take part in changing society in the capacity
of subjects. For instance, the objective of the literacy process was not only technical mastery of the written word, but a quality of consciousness (Mackie 40). The problem-posing theory, therefore, takes man’s historicity as their starting point. For this reason, he introduces the concept of dialogicity which is crucial because through dialogue both the teacher and the student become responsible for the process in which both grow (Freire 67). His inference affirms that authentic education is not carried on by “A” for “B” or by “A” about “B,” but rather by “A” with “B.” The problem-posing education, in conclusion, stresses the act of cognition, not transferrals of information (67).

Similarly, in the case of Peru, Peruvian reality is—using Freire’s words—a permanent quest about the injustice, exploitation, the oppression and the violence of the oppressors (Freire 28). More specifically, since Costumbres is based on the life of the small communities of Peru, this program permanently shares the Freirean assumptions and premises throughout. Indeed, the dichotomy oppressors-oppressed is consciously considered by the TV program using different codes. First, the garment codes provide information on how the host and native people are positioned in the show. Therefore, it can reinforce the peasant’s status as a passive, self-effacing and subjugated character. This is not the Costumbres-discourse because Costumbres addresses the everyday-clothes used by local people. During the length of the program, rather than continuously using outwear garments, the presenter begins wearing traditional clothes belonging to the community, accepting the people’s gifts or following the religious festivity’s requirements. On the contrary, the garment code used by similar programs reinforces a distance from the peasant by showing the use of watches with specific labels, imported
waterproof jackets, special boots, not to mention the use of the latest models of a Jeep 4 x 4—a car label which is one of the sponsors of this TV show. According to those program’s discourse native people is classified as the other. Costumbres, on the contrary, avoids all kinds of distance produced by the clothing and the props, which can reproduce a distance in the dichotomy oppressors-oppressed. Costumbres’s discourse does not maintain the dominance imposed by patriarchal social structures. As a result, the viewers never watch scenes in which native people—in front of the presenter—take off their hats in a sign of politeness or curtsy. In the Costumbres concept, therefore, there are no differences between the host and the peasants.

Secondly, the codes of nonverbal communication also reinforce the idea of equality between the presenter and the dwellers. In Costumbres the hostess touches and is touched—through formal hugs and kisses, like the local customs—by every person who celebrates the festivity, including singers and dancers. The hostess also dances with the people celebrating the faith of the festivity. Dancing implicates permanent body languages with their own messages. As has already been indicated through this TV program, there is no power, distance or hierarchy among people. Diferring from similar programs in which the presenter rarely uses body language to express feelings—in those cases, the presenter seldom touches people to express greetings—, in Costumbres Sonaly Tuesta milks the cows and eats pachamanca with peasants and locals outdoors. These attitudes exhibit a kinesic behavior which does not promote passivity and subjugation.

In addition, a textual reading of Costumbres confirms that its main concept agrees with Freire’s theory by differing radically from the communication projects under the
modernization paradigm. *Costumbres* supports and promotes the values of each traditional festivity of the peasant communities; whereas scholars like Lerner, Inkeles and Rogers assumed that modernization could not occur unless peasants were persuaded to change their traditional ways of life (Melkote and Steeves 59). In a traditional perspective, modernization assumes that the Western model of economic growth is applicable everywhere. Thus, the notion of development implies specialization and division of labor, and also, implies the necessity of private capital for production of output. In order to achieve development, the agricultural sector must shift from human/animal labor intensive techniques to a machine intensive approach, so that planning can be controlled by only a few experts. On the contrary, the absence of lecturers or practitioners who teach the community members using a top-down model (*banking education*) is the most obvious commonality between the TV program and Freire’s premises. Moreover, the inclusion of the villagers themselves not as objects but as subjects of the episode, as critical thinkers who define their own town, essentially follows Freire’s premises. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Freire argues that most educational and communication projects fail because they are designed by technocrats who seldom take into account or respect the knowledge of people’s lived experience. Following this premise *Costumbres*, as a TV show, is characterized by the omission of celebrities and intellectuals teaching or lecturing to the audience. Hence, the TV program *Costumbres* avoids the presence of experts by interviewing common people from the beginning to the end of the show. To stress their presence, their proper names appear on the screen as if
they were credits. In this sense, future tourists as future consumers are not the target. The main goal is not the promotion of tourism either.

To conclude, this TV program broadcasts how the whole community lives and experiences the festivity. Ancestral songs, traditional dances and typical food are the way they feel their reality. In Costumbres the community is not a passive actor of the program because this TV show realizes that the principal mode in which the problem-posing education is carried out is in dialogue. Rather than monologues the dialogue with the community develops and constructs the narration. Because the responsibility does not lie with the host, neither the common people shot by the camera nor the audiences are passive actors of this program, becoming responsible for the process in which both grow through this TV show. In addition to the concept of “dialogue”, there is another concept in the textual reading that is worth considering. Distinct from traditional television shows, Costumbres does not treat students as “objects of assistance” because it promotes the people’s participation and empowers minority groups into collective action. Therefore, its main characteristic is the omission of celebrities and intellectuals lecturing to an audience. This program broadcasts the religious festivities and the faith and devotion professed by believers. This is the plot. Behind this idea the main protagonists and the main plot are the town itself. As a result, the discourse does not reinforce the peasant’s status as a passive, self-effacing and subjugated character. During its one hour on the air, the community itself is the scriptwriter, the producer and the director of the TV show. As mentioned before, rather than being a lecture, this program stresses the act of cognition, not transferrals of information. Mi Santa Cruz, pueblo de amor/ que estás en el valle de
Huaral. / Yo soy Huaralino de corazón,/ humilde cuna es Santa Cruz./ Soy provinciano
trabajador/ cariño inmenso en el amor. This TV program is dedicated to all Peruvians,
rather than specifically targeting consumers.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


