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(RE)PRESENTING LOCAL CONTENT: PROGRAMME ADAPTATION IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Abstract

This article looks at the increasing incidence of television format flows in the Asia Pacific, and draws upon findings from a three-year eleven country study. It argues that format activity is both a consequence of demand for low cost content and a catalyst for change in local content. Fashioning formats has become a means of financial and cultural insurance. Media producers in Asia have joined the international television format trade circuit. This paper looks at a number of international formats that have staked out a presence in the Asia Pacific region.

Introduction

Local television industries have always existed in relationships of conversation -- internally, among themselves, and externally, with industries elsewhere. Three different forms of exchange control this interaction: the licensing of programmes for broadcast elsewhere; international co-productions; and the adaptation of TV programme production ideas from one place to another. The first and the second have not lacked for scholarly investigation. On the other hand, the third kind often bears little recognition, although a moment's reflection enables us to call to mind such recent instances as the international start-up of various national versions of *Big Brother* and *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?*

Galvanised by this awareness, we conducted a large-scale study of the flow of TV formats in Asia and the Pacific (Moran and Keane, 2004).¹ Our study concentrated on eleven countries, paying close attention to both national and regional trade. The emphasis fell on the economic, legal and cultural dynamics of this flow. The paper commences with an overview of the format trade within the general context of the new, international, multi-channel television landscape. Following this, we look in detail at the some of the cross-country comparisons.

The multichannel landscape

Beginning in the last years of the previous century – and quickening since 2000 – television

systems in many parts of the world have undergone institutional reconfiguration: in particular, a sustained shift away from oligopoly-based scarcity associated with broadcasting towards a more differentiated abundance or saturation associated with the proliferation of new and old television services, technologies and providers.

A major consequence of these changes is falling audiences for television shows, felt most dramatically in free-to-air schedules (Griffith, 2002). With so many channels and technologies of distribution and circulation, it is increasingly difficult for any hit show, no matter how popular, to register the kinds of ratings achievable in earlier phases of television. Several responses to this situation are now evident. One of these is a levelling off, if not a drop, in demand for more expensive forms of prime-time programming. In the UK and Australia, for example, there has been a decline in demand for both drama and current affairs programming in prime time (Brunsdon *et al*, 2001; Moran, 2005). In characterising the present era as one of abundance, however, it needs to be borne in mind that this tendency only occurs with certain programming genres -- and it occurs at the expense of other types of content.

Adaptation

What then is the motor or source of this differentiated abundance? How does it register as a phenomenon and how does it come about? The significant dynamic of the present era in television seems to be one of adaptation, transfer and recycling of narrative and other kinds of content. The phenomenon is widespread even while the particular term or set of terms that cover its operation are quite imprecise and slippery to apply. Although we invoke a series of labels including adaptation, transfer, recycling, translation, remaking, spin-off, and re-versioning, we recognise that this kind of activity needs greater commonly agreed upon terms.

Many different kinds of adaptations are familiar. At the institutional level, for instance, films become television series just as television series trigger feature films. At the level of content, adaptations are equally common in cinema, as are sequels and prequels, while spin-offs are a feature of television production. A more encompassing description for the process of adapting such diverse forms of content -- and one that captures the idea of building on past success -- is *serialization*. In other words, there is an attempt to extend the product life cycle through adaptation. Nor does the phenomenon of content genealogy end there. Narratives can span several media platforms: theatrical film, television, video, DVD re-release, video games, CD soundtrack, radio, comics, novels, stage shows, musicals, posters, merchandising, and theme parks. Fanzines and Internet web sites further spin out these contents. Individually and collectively, this universe of narrative and content constitutes a loosening of the notion of closure and the self-contained work of art (Thompson, 2002).

Behind this ever-expanding recycling of ideas is a set of new economic arrangements designed to secure a degree of financial and cultural insurance not easily available in the multichannel environment of the present. Adapting already successful materials and content offers some chance of duplicating past and existing successes. Media producers -- including those operating in the field of television -- attempt to take out financial and cultural insurance by using material that is in some way familiar to the audience. Having invested in the brand, it makes good business sense to derive further value from it.

In the age of multi-channel television there is a clearly identified need to derive as much financial mileage out of an ownership as possible -- hence the idea of Intellectual Property (IP). Of course, the notion of IP is neither new nor unique to this area. All the same, the move to safeguard and control content-related ideas formalises ownership under the protection of property

laws such as those of trademark, brand name and registered design, as well as those of copyright law. Indeed, the era of multi-channel television may come to be characterised as one of a heightened awareness and emphasis on programme rights. However, for all the rhetoric about IP from industry associations and lobbyists as well as individual companies, with attendant discourses concerning 'piracy', 'plagiarism', and 'theft', it is important to emphasise we are dealing here with the transformations facing international and national television industries in changing market conditions.

The TV program format

Although international television industries talk confidently of the format as a single object, it is in fact a complex abstract and multiple entity that is typically manifested in a series of overlapping but separate forms. At the point of programming and distribution a format takes the cultural form of different episodes of the same programme. Meanwhile, at the production end different industrial manifestations include a short written account known as the paper format, a full dossier of written and other information now referred to as the programme Bible, compilations of demographic and ratings information, programme scripts, off-air videotapes of broadcast programmes, insertable film or video footage, computer software and graphics, and production consultancy services. A format is not, therefore, a single or a simple entity. Nevertheless, the industry ignores this complexity for pragmatic reasons. The TV format has become one of the most important means of functioning industrially in the era of multi-channel television. As an economic and cultural technology of exchange inside the television institution, the format has meaning not because of a principle but because of a function or effect. The important point about the format is not what it is but rather what it permits or facilitates.

Of course, all TV programmes can be copied or imitated to a greater or lesser extent. The construction of formats increases this adaptability. More than in the past TV programmes are not simply created and produced for local buyers with the (often faint) hope that they might sell elsewhere in the world. Instead, they are consciously devised, developed and distributed with the deliberate intention of achieving near simultaneous international adaptation. Moreover, increased communication and company linkages around the world have meant that unauthorised appropriation of TV programme formats -- especially in the larger international metropolitan centres of population -- are less and less likely to go unchallenged.

The Asia/Pacific research project

Inspired by this reconfiguration of television, especially the emergence of the TV programme format as a cultural commodity, we focused our research on the national and international significance of television programme format adaptation, taking television systems in Asia and the Pacific as our object of inquiry. Two pilot projects undertaken in 2000 were followed in 2001-2 by a larger study of Australia, India, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, The Philippines, The Peoples Republic of China, Hong Kong SAR, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. These studies verified that geo-linguistic differences across the area are confirmed and reinforced by television. The area contains a variety of broadcasting industries that are qualitatively very different from each other, not least in their attitude to formats as intellectual property. By examining eleven different television systems, it has been possible to track a series of different format flows, economic and cultural chains that link national industries together as part of

different cultural regions.

Cultural nuances and variations in television formats and genres are expressed in terms of 'cultural continents'. Put another way, these are similarities of programme reception that coalesce around cultural values and shared histories. In attempting to categorise reception in our study we distinguish three broad cultural continents: East Asia (Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the People's Republic of China), South Asia (India, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines) and Oceania (Australia and New Zealand).

Within the East Asian continent Japanese television industries play an influential role, circulating content that is 'already local', and facilitating adaptation according to taste and cultural values. In South Asia formats absorb and reflect local cultural nuances although in many locations there is greater industry awareness of international Western formats than in East Asia. Countries such as India, Singapore, and Malaysia exhibit greater porousness to English-language programming in contrast to Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and the PRC, whose audio-visual products do not attract a great deal of competition from English programming. In other words, linguistic isolation works to the advantage of local content production in East Asia.

In South Asia Hindi, Malay, Chinese, and Tamil constituencies allow multiple versions of formats to be made; in many instances these are unlicensed copies of popular 'brand' formats. They tend to occur at local levels among producers and broadcasters who have little contact with the main centres of the international format trade. Indonesia and the Philippines in turn demonstrate a rapid uptake of the format mode of production. In all these countries a number of successful shows are either licensed or appear as copycat versions. The decision to license or to copy ultimately depends on the individual broadcaster: in many instances the cost of the format license acts as a disincentive. Copying without attribution is widespread. This process is not dissimilar from what is occurring in Australia and New Zealand. However, certainly so far as cultural and economic trade is concerned, Australia and New Zealand are part of a different 'cultural continent' whose geographical centre is located in the Northern Hemisphere. In other words, despite some recent claims about Australia becoming more open and oriented to East Asia (Cunningham & Jacka, 1996b), the fact seems to be that both these region of white, settler societies remain firmly within a Western Anglophone region whose centre is the US, the UK and western Europe. Let us examine these regions in more detail.

East Asia: Japanese influence and information challenge fever

The East Asian mediascape was of particular interest to us in terms of its dynamism and its shared values. Japanese influence remains particularly strong and is filtered through a variety of popular cultural genres, often using Hong Kong as a conduit. Television consumption practices in Taiwan and South Korea have for some time reflected Japanese influences and styles -- although in recent years both South Korea and Taiwan have managed to develop their own distinctive aesthetic. The genesis of a yearning for Japan occurred during a period when governments in the East Asian region (including the PRC) were earnestly trying to protect their youth (and citizens) from the perceived damaging influence of Japanese culture. The Japanese television drama *Oshin*, which was first exported to Singapore in 1984 (Iwabuchi, 2002: 75), broke down the resistance to Japanese popular culture by focusing on how traditional values were played out in the interaction between democratization and modernization. It was hugely popular, a momentous media event in Taiwan and Mainland China. Japanese popular drama genres were extremely influential, not least in terms of providing a model for production.

Taiwan opened its markets to Japanese culture in 1992 while South Korea proceeded through

several stages of liberalization, finally allowing Japanese television drama to be broadcast in 2003 (Lee, 2004). This gradual opening had the interesting effect of fermenting an ethical position among producers who were opposed to the cheap cloning of Japanese ideas. As Japanese culture became available and visible in its original form local production could no longer simply mimic but rather needed to take the next step and adapt. In effect, liberalisation has not produced a negative 'Japanisation effect' but has stimulated the industry to more conscious and deliberate adaptation. Elsewhere we have referred to this process as cultural technology transfer and have observed that while origins are often European or North American the success of adaptation is fashioned from local cultural influences (Keane *et al*, 2005; Moran, 1998). On the other hand, in Korea, the mimicking of Western (i.e. U.S or European programmes) is deemed not as gratuitous as the copying of Japanese programmes (Lee, 2003). This is not to say, however, that there is necessarily a move against Japanese culture. It merely signifies that so much Japanese culture has been assimilated, and used as templates for localisation that many producers regard the Western European source product in a more favourable light.

The most conspicuous format newcomer in Asia is the 'winner-take-all' information challenge show. While quiz shows have been a staple diet of audiences in Japan, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Korea for some time, the sudden emergence and licensing of the international brand format *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* (UK: Celador) created a new benchmark for quiz show makers. Quiz shows had suddenly become more exciting and riveting. Part of the mystique and attraction of the Celador format is the magic lure of becoming an instant millionaire. *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* was first broadcast in Singapore in August 2001, first in English, then in Mandarin Chinese (Lim, 2004). A Cantonese version was unveiled in Hong Kong in May 2001 while other regional versions followed in India (Hindi); The Philippines (Filipino), and Indonesia (Bahasa).

Until the arrival of *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?*, large payouts were not permitted on television in China, Japan or Korea. Japan's version had already made its entry into the market by 2000, creating a surge in ratings for Fuji Television (Iwabuchi, 2004). In Japan the maximum prize for a single contestant still remains 2 million yen (\$AUD24,200). While this amount might appear insubstantial in comparison with the UK and US payouts, there is the proviso in Japan that a maximum prize of 10 million yen (\$121,000) can be shared among five team members - the person answering questions and nominated 'phone-a friend' team members. In Hong Kong, where there is no limit on prizes, the success of the Celador 'franchise' was partly attributed to a yearning for material success in a time where the Asian economic crisis had hit hard (Fung, 2004). With people losing their hard-earned savings in the crisis the idea of instant wealth created a 'Millionaire fever'. Reports estimated that ATV had to pay Celador, the UK franchising company a license fee around HK\$2 million in total, and around HK\$20,000-30,000 (\$3275-4915) for each subsequent episode of *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* (Chau, 2001). The show was broadcast six nights a week on ATV, a strategy that eventually led to falling ratings.

Meanwhile, the Beijing-based national broadcaster China Central Television (CCTV) had noticed the international appeal of *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* and moved quickly to gain the first mover advantage with its own programme *The Dictionary of Happiness* (*kaixin cidian*). The similarity between CCTV's effort and *Millionaire* was more than just serendipitous, although the producer of *Dictionary of Happiness*, recognising the economic value of the show, distanced themselves and CCTV from accusations of plagiarism (see Keane, 2004). Despite Celador claiming a trademark on its '50:50', 'Phone A Friend' and 'Ask The Audience', the CCTV version heavily exploited these key elements. Even the background, set design, and use of heartbeat background sounds during questions, are strikingly similar.

A sub category of winner-takes-all formats in East Asia is the elimination reality game show

or elimination information challenge show. The most high-profile international models are *The Weakest Link* and *Survivor*. However, *The Weakest Link* failed to impress Taiwanese viewers, where it was localised as *The Wise Survive* (*zhizhe shengcun*). The stern manner of the quizmaster was adjudged to be culturally inappropriate for a culture intent on maintaining face. In Hong Kong the format rights for *The Weakest Link* (*yibi OUT xiao*) were purchased by TVB in 2001 to counter the success of *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* on rival network ATV (Fung, 2004). In Japan the format had a brief and unspectacular lifespan during 2001, again introduced in the wake of *Millionaire* success. By the time *The Weakest Link* was introduced in mainland China, it was re-versioned as *The Wise Rule* (*zhizhe wei wang*), and the host, an attractive and dynamic young woman called Shen Bing, who was well-known as an investigative journalist, offered words of encouragement rather than berating, cajoling, and humiliating contestants. Interestingly, ECM, the distributors of *The Weakest Link*, had offered the franchise to Shanghai Oriental Television, who declined the opportunity, again citing the fact that it was not culturally appropriate for Chinese viewers.

The reality game show, *Survivor* has achieved great success from its strategy of locating its contestants in 'hostile' oriental settings such as Borneo, Thailand, and more recently Pearl Islands. However, attempts to localise the format in Asia have met with disapproval by audiences. *Japanese Survivor* commenced in April 2002 (Tokyo Broadcasting System with a great deal of promotional activity, only to struggle with its own survival. Such reluctance to countenance the key elements of the *Survivor* format, has also led to its localisation according to more 'collectivist' values of cooperation in Mainland China. A Chinese version of *Survivor* called *Into Shangrila* (*zouru Xianggelila*) was made in 2002 (see Keane *et al*, 2005). Filmed in the foothills of the Himalayas in Sichuan province, it offered Chinese viewers a chance to identify with members of two teams - the sun and moon teams - striving for an ultimate prize and testing their mettle in a series of challenges, against the elements and against themselves. The promotional material for the programme closely echoed its international cousins. The opening credits even saw the word 'China' burning across the ground, a branding strategy reminiscent of the opening credits of the Western versions.

Into Shangrila attempted to generate publicity through its novelty. Apart from national propaganda campaigns of the revolutionary past, nothing like this had been attempted before in China, certainly nothing of this scale. The preparations for the adventure were linked to national web-sites and people could follow the events unfold. The programme aspired to announce itself as documentary - an anthropological and sociological examination of people's relationships, rather than the dog-eat-dog nature of the international *Survivor* formats. The show was itself responsible for coining a new Chinese term -- *zhenren xiu* -- literally 'real person show'. By the time the show was broadcast the term reality television had become part of the vernacular and new ways of blending reality with documentary were being offered to station officials.

South Asia: linguistic bio-diversity and format opportunism

The south Asian cultural continent includes India as well as Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines. In many respects programming is more diverse in these areas due to a multiplicity of language groups. Linguistic promiscuity generates format abundance as multiple language versions are possible and many of these are economically viable due to the vastness of linguistic communities. In India for example there are seventeen major languages, aside from Hindi and English. Singapore, while being usually identified as a Chinese city, endorses a policy of multi-racialism and television is broadcast in English, Mandarin, Tamil, and Malay. While

Indonesia is a Muslim country, it has a recent history of importing programming, including localizing Chinese and Indian drama scripts. In the Philippines most programming is in Filipino, although English is understood by many of the elite classes.

Format activity has increased in south and south-east Asia in recent years as international game show formats -- both licensed and unlicensed -- have displaced to some extent a former reliance on imported 'finished programming' such as movies and television dramas. In Indonesia local content increased significantly during the period from 1994 to 1999 on all television stations (Kitley, 2003: 142). Licensed formats have become part of the business of broadcasting during this period. In 1994 the broadcaster Indosiar had taken advantage of a contractual arrangement with Hong Kong's TVB to adapt 800 Chinese television drama scripts for Indonesia. Highlighting some of the effects of free trade, the incident threatened jobs of local scriptwriters and created a furore tinged with racism (Kitley, 2003: 147). Even earlier during the 1970s and 1980s children's game show formats such as *Romper Room* had been licensed from the Australian company Becker Entertainment. By the late-1990s the commercial aspirations of Indonesia's new free-to-air commercial channels had become apparent, following the demise of Soeharto and the subsequent liberalisation of broadcasting by the Wahid government. New free-to-air licenses were issued, and with profit now the bottom line stations were keen to produce high quality popular programming. The commercial imperative of securing advertising meant that many stations were swayed by the idea of formatting with its proven track record. Shows that were licensed in Indonesia in recent years include *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* (Celador), *Family Feud* (Fremantle Media), *Russian Roulette* (Columbia Tristar), and *Newlywed Games* (Becker Entertainment).

In Singapore shows such as *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* and *The Weakest Link* became mainstream hits, replicating trends elsewhere and precipitating widespread debates in the print media as to the effects of formats. Tania Lim writes of the multi-racial passions aroused by a quiz show in an online discussion thread concerning Channel 8's Mandarin version of *Millionaire Singapore*:

Please can MediaCorp TV or the sponsors confirm if they will have Malay and Tamil versions of Who Wants to be a Millionaire now that they are launching the Chinese version? If not, why not? It would not be fair to the non-Chinese speaking population of Singapore, as then the show should be called 'Which Chinese Wants to be a Millionaire'. Otherwise they should keep the whole show in English only.

(cited in Lim, 2004)

The trend towards exploiting this new mode of media globalisation and avoiding paying license fees has led to a 'copy and be damned' attitude in places such as China and India in particular. In India opportunistic cloning merged with multi-lingual diversity resulting in what Thomas and Kumar (2004) have called 'clones of clones'. This is the practice of making local versions of copies of international formats. For instance, the massive and sudden popularity of the licensed version of *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* (*Kaun Banega Crorepati*) spawned copies including Zee TV's *Sawal Dus Crore Ka* and Sony ET's *Chapar Phadke*. However, the only clone of Millionaire that managed to compete with the original was one produced in the Tamil language by Sun TV, a South Indian channel (Thomas and Kumar: 133).

The Philippines presents a case study of where the foreign format *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* encountered a strategic opponent. *Millionaire*, along with *The Weakest Link* and *The Price is Right* had established a formidable presence in viewing schedules. The Filipino *Who*

Wants to be Millionaire? was a cheaper version of the original with money saved on sets. Nevertheless, it was effective in winning ratings for the government sequestered Channel 13. ABS-CBN, the dominant network, having felt the tide turn, moved to up the ante with a counter programme, *Are You Ready for the Game?* (*Game Ka Na Ba*), which drew on many of the key elements of Celador's original such as a modernistic set with visual aids. However, there was the added lure of prizes and jackpots exceeding those of *Who Wants to be a Millionaire?* Santos notes that the lesson learnt from *Are You Ready for the Game?* is that local versions can compete and defeat international formats (2004). The comparative advantage here was that by avoiding paying the significant license fee ABS-CBN was able to shift its production expenses into providing big prizes, a tactic that won the day.

Oceania: the Anglo-American-European main street

The cultural continent in which the least amount of 'tweaking' is required is arguably Oceania or the Pacific rim. As these names suggest, the latter is not a part of Asia, no matter how proximate. The vast area of the region is mostly composed of water dotted by islands. Of the latter, Australia and New Zealand have the largest populations followed by many underdeveloped countries with small populations including Papua New Guinea and Fiji. Australia and New Zealand are therefore the main television markets in this region and formed separate case studies in our project. Given the fact that these country's economic foundations, political institutions, and cultural patterns mark them as part of an international Anglo-American social and cultural formation, one of the many sites of a global English geo-linguistic configuration, it might be predicted that the two television industries would look well beyond the television infrastructures of their geographically-close neighbours for the television ideas and techniques that can help underwrite the start-up of new programmes. These countries are avowedly not part of the Asian geo-linguistic region, despite the fact that from time to time, cultural researchers -- including those concerned with media -- have claimed their 'Asianisation' (cf. Cunningham and Jacka, 1996b). In both the Australian and New Zealand television schedules TV format trade is of central importance in producing many of the 'headline' programmes that dominate programming. More formats come in rather than go out. Where they come from is the Anglo-American-European main street of international television. The Australian and New Zealand television producers and broadcasters almost universally draw their format imports from the US, the UK, The Netherlands, Germany and one or two other European industries. Television formats do not come from Asia to these 'major minors'.

English-language programming emanating from the UK and America finds a comfortable fit within Oceania, at least in Australia and New Zealand. Format traders such as Endemol, BBC, Fremantle Media, ECM and Distraction have managed to secure distribution and partnerships in Australia and New Zealand. The most notable of these to date has been Endemol's collaboration with Southern Star to co-produce the Australian version of *Big Brother*. The latter was first licensed to the Ten Network in 2001 and each succeeding year has seen another series licensed by the same broadcaster. In turn, both because the New Zealand television market (at less than 4 million viewers) is deemed to be too small for a local version, and because New Zealand appeal can be built into the Australian version, the same programme is broadcast in the two markets.

This instance of a common Australasian version of *Big Brother* is one example among several of particular convergences between these two industries and the advent of programme format trade has done nothing to dispel. As always though, the particular traffic has frequently been two-way. Budgetary matters are often decisive, particularly with formats imported from the UK

and Europe. For example, New Zealand could not afford the requisite production budget (including licensing fees) for such overseas hit formats as *Survivor*, *Big Brother*, *Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?* and *The Weakest Link* and had to make do with sharing in the versions produced primarily for the Australian market. On the other hand, New Zealand has acted as a format incubator and was, most notably, as Leland reminds us, the source of the format of *Pop Stars* (Leland, 2004). First broadcast on New Zealand television, the latter idea was acquired by the Australian company Screentime (now with additional offices in Auckland, Dublin and London) and its Australian production subsequently became the prototype for this very successful international format.

Another point worth mentioning is the recent history of programme ideas and formats that have made the leap from New Zealand to other places. Most recently, Touchdown Productions consciously chose to bypass Australia with their format *The Chair* and instead struck a deal with CBS for the first adaptation of that format (Leland, 2004). It went to air after its deviser attempted to secure a court injunction against what seemed like a clumsy attempt by a rival US broadcaster to produce its own clone of *The Chair*. This reminds us that legal dispute and court action are a regular process of the format business in New Zealand and Australia.²

In conclusion: a challenge to the field?

Finally, the television format business model has implications for the competitiveness of Asian television industries and for the field of media studies. As we have observed, Japan has led the way in exporting its formats. New independent companies have emerged and countries such as China, Taiwan, India, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and South Korea have taken up the challenge of making new forms of local content using global ideas. Initially, the development of local content and new independents is enabled by formatting. While there are a number of advantages in this growth model, the long-term implications are yet to be understood. The prospects are encouraging for formatting to prosper as an alternative industry growth model in Asia. This is an important challenge to the field (see Keane *et al* 2005). The problem for much critical media research is that it is still wedded to '20th century models' of 'transnational television' where the focus lies on international media conglomerates moving their business into peripheral markets and selling finished programs (see Chalaby 2005). For us, representing local content is about a broader canvas – one that provides a sense of agency to Asian media industries. It is this important zone of development where formats function as seeds of growth and innovation. The television industry has moved on to accept this fact; meanwhile media studies research is struggling to break free of its own conventions and formats.

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Notes

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² Back in the 1980s, New Zealand was the jurisdiction where UK devisor and producer took unsuccessful legal action against the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation for its unauthorised adaptation of *Opportunity Knocks*. More recently in Australia, the Nine Network in 1999 threatened legal action against rival Seven who rushed a new format *Million Dollar Chance of A Lifetime* to air just before its own adaptation of Celador's *Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?* went to air. In the event, however, ratings soon went the way of the latter so that the threats were dropped.