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"Then and now": Change in BRICS film markets, 2009–2022

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Abstract:
The BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) have gradually increased their economic and cultural influence worldwide in recent years. Their film industries, in particular, have progressively developed to gain a more important place in the global film market. This article compares the BRICS film markets to identify the similarities and differences in their development in the period from 2009 to 2022. Specifically, it analyses the degree of product and market diversification, the extent of government intervention in film markets, and the level of technological and product progress in each of the five countries. The research finds that similarities in film market development across the BRICS countries are linked to the influence of the wider global market environment. I argue that the film markets of the BRICS are slowly gaining international attention and prominence. This trend is exemplified in five original "Then and Now" infographics that I designed and created to visually capture key elements of change in BRICS film production from 2009 to 2022.

Keywords:
BRICS, Soft Power, Media Industry, Film Market, International Communication

1 Introduction

My article aims to explore the development of entertainment film markets among the Global South countries, focusing in particular on the BRICS countries' film industries, political contexts and cultural practices.

BRICS refers to Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, a union in the Global South, which has been described as a powerful cooperation reshaping the world order [1]. The original term "BRIC" (Brazil, Russia, India and China) bore the trace of the expansionist, capitalist logic of the post–Cold War global order [2].

According to Thussu and Nordenstreng, Russia was the first country to propose the BRIC [3]. It has gained the support of other BRIC countries to resist the Euro-Atlantic world order and the current system of global governance. Both China and India recognise the collective ability to revolutionise global norms, particularly in terms of economic growth [4]. Furthermore, India, Brazil and South Africa are more oriented towards Western societies, and Ellings and Sutter state that these countries could act as a counterweight to the emerging "axis of authoritarianism" between China's economic power and Russia's military strength [3].

The BRICS countries carry a rich and powerful historical memory of epic struggles against colonialism, slavery, apartheid, fascism and capitalism [5]. They all experienced the struggles such as staggering inequal-

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ity, corrupt systems of government, relentless oppression of dissidents, exploitation of workers and discrimination against minorities. As a result of these struggles, these countries formed collective memory, historical solidarity and animosity [6]. They share significant historical and political experience, with a history of oppression by the Global North or Western countries.

In the modern context of political diplomacy, cinema is considered as an important medium for communicating a country's values to the rest of the world. It also plays a significant role in the discussion of soft power [7]. The growth of blockbuster films from BRICS countries in recent years has started challenging Westernisation of the film industry [1]. The film market in the BRICS countries does not have the same standing as Hollywood, but the economic pull of their markets plays an important role in the soft-power strategies of these countries. Chinese journalist Congjun Li (2014) has pointed to the need for the BRICS countries to work together more effectively in order to use media in a coordinated way in an economic context [8]. This would allow BRICS to realise the group's potential for the Global South as a whole, so that the voices of the Global South are not drowned out by the West [8]. This reflects the need for BRICS countries to unite to create a voice in the world that belongs to the Global South.

In my research, I will analyse the film markets in the BRICS countries through three main aspects: diversification (the influence of other industries on the film industry and globalisation), state intervention (government control of the film industry) and progress (the relationship between technology and the film industry). This will answer my research questions: 1. What is the degree of market diversification (companies expanding their media businesses) and globalisation present in the BRICS film markets? 2.What is the extent of government regulation and censorship of the BRICS film markets? 3.What are the key technological and product development trends in each country as indicators of market performance? Ultimately, this article will discover how the BRICS film markets have evolved from 2009 to 2022.

2 Literature Review

International media practice scholars have conducted research on the film industry in the Global South since 2010 but at the time it was mainly the media systems of the BRICS countries that were studied [3]. While previous studies focused on films of a single Global South country or a comparison between films of the Global South and Global North, limited research has been carried out on the BRICS film market. In this chapter, I will review the existing research on the BRICS countries' film industry.

2.1 BRICS Films in Research

With the formation of the BRICS alliance, more and more scholars are focusing their research on the entertainment media in the BRICS countries and their collaboration in the film industry.

Cooke (2016) discusses the role of film culture as a soft power for BRICS countries and the South–South cooperation in the film industry [7]. Cooke argues that film culture allows the countries' cultural values and narratives to be exported internationally, and that the cooperation between BRICS countries can contribute to the globalisation of cultures of the Global South [7]. Thussu and Nordenstreng focus primarily on the media industries that have developed in the BRICS countries and have been challenging the dominance of the West-

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ern media over the years [9]. This edited collection also elaborates on the media alliance among the BRICS countries and raises the question of whether they can reshape the global communications order [9].

2.2 Chinese Films in Research

Studies of the Chinese film market have focused on the Chinese Government's management of the industry and the transformation of the film market over the years.

Wang (2014) uses the well-known Chinese film Lust, Caution[10] (2007) to criticise the lack of a formal film rating system in the Chinese film market [11]. Chen (2022) describes the impact of the Chinese Government's censorship of the Tiananmen Square incident on Chinese literature and cinema. Censorship affects the image of China internationally and limits the exchange of ideas and culture [12]. Other scholars focus on the private film production in China. Li (2020) analyses the participation of China's internet industry in the film industry, and the use of new media technology, big data analysis and artificial intelligence in film production [13]. McGrath (2022) also argues that Chinese cinema has given rise to a new form of cinematic realism, with the Chinese able to use digital technology to create cinematic effects in the same way as filmmakers in the West [14].

2.3 Russian Films in Research

Much of the current research focuses on the changes that occurred in the Russian film industry as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union, and this research still relies heavily on the political and historical context of Russia.

Vartanova evaluates how the media in Russia evolved from the Soviet era, from a state-controlled film industry to the film industry combining state intervention and private production [15]. Kristensen (2012) analyses how the fall of communism affected the film industry and the production of films [16]. According to Laukkanen and Ruoho, popular nationalism blockbusters such as Stalingrad[17] (2013) and T-34[18] (2019) rival Hollywood blockbusters at the domestic box office [1]. Burry and White (2016) describe the impact of famous Russian literary works adapted into films on the Russian and on the world's film industry [19].

2.4 Indian Films in Research

The study of Indian cinema mainly focuses on Bollywood in the context of the national and international film industry, and its relationship with politics and power. Punathambekar (2013) analyses the transformation of Bombay's national film industry into the multinational, multimedia cultural enterprise now known as Bollywood [80]. Mehta and Pandharipande (2010) analyse the reasons for and impact of the globalisation of Bollywood through multinational media conglomerates and new media technologies [20]. Banerjee, Williams and Hirji (2021) analyse the intersection of Bollywood, politics and power [21].

Moreover, there are also a number of studies that focus on film content in India. Ganti (2013) examines the history, themes and styles of popular Indian cinema, as Bollywood films are characterised by music, dance, lavish productions and melodrama [22]. Wright (2015) discusses the ways in which Bollywood cinema incorporates postmodern themes, styles and technologies [23].

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2.5 Brazilian Films in Research

The studies of Brazil film mainly focus on the foreign investment in and development of the Brazilian film industry, and the relationship between society and film content.

Freire (2022) analyses the role of the Brazilian film distribution company Marc Ferrez & Filhos as the exclusive agent of Pathé Freres and the reasons for the growth of the domestic film industry in Brazil [24]. Sadlier (2022) examines the development of documentary films in Brazil and the relationship of politics and society [25]. Contributors to the edited collection by Conde (2018) analyse the history of Brazilian cinema and demonstrate how films shaped the national image [26]. Mattos, Abreu and Castro (2020) discuss the relationship between history, memory and politics and the contribution of film as a medium to the study of history [27]. Gillam (2023) assesses how Afro-Brazilian feminist filmmakers use the oppositional gaze as a tool for creating films that challenge dominant narratives of race, gender and sexuality [28].

2.6 South African Films in Research

Research into the South African film industry focuses on the relationship between social issues in South Africa and the film industry, and the comparative studies of the film industries of South Africa and other Africa countries.

Collins and Snowball (2015) outline the impact of government subsidies on the South African film and television industry, South African Government has sought to stimulate economic growth through creative industries policies, with the overarching aim of achieving a social and labour market "transformation" away from the legacy of the apartheid era [29]. Paleker (2011) demonstrates the history of "Ethnic Films" or "Black Films" in apartheid-era South Africa [30]. Barnard and Tuomi (2008) question the drivers of economic upgrading and the role of demand sophistication in technically and narratively accomplished films, through a case study of the film industry in two developing countries [31]. Tella (2021) provides case studies and analysis of African countries and their soft-power strategies including film output to other countries, and explores the role of the African Union and individual African countries in shaping global politics and diplomacy [32].

In summary, research on films in the BRICS countries focuses on film culture, national soft power and challenges to Western dominance of the film industry. No research has been carried out on how the film markets developed in these countries following the BRICS alliance, and I will focus on filling this gap.

3 Methodology

The purpose of my article is to understand how the film markets in the BRICS countries have developed between 2009 and 2022 (the film market after the formation of the BRICS alliance). To answer the research questions, the study will employ comparative research to analyse the development of the film market among BRICS countries.

In consideration of my research methodology, a comparative study is most appropriate as my research is based on comparing media markets between countries. As Esser and Hanitzsch state:

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The uneven progress in comparative communication research is not surprising if we consider that the need for international comparison is more evident in areas where we find a strong relationship between communication phenomena, on the one hand, and political systems and cultural value systems, on the other. This is certainly the case in political communication, media policy and regulation, and development communication, as well as in interpersonal and intercultural communication [33].

Esser and Hanitzsch (2012) demonstrate that the aim of the research method is to draw conclusions that go beyond a single system or culture and to explain the similarities and differences between the objects of analysis in their contextual conditions [33]. They also state that, where possible, spatial (across geographical areas) comparisons should be complemented by longitudinal (across time) comparisons to illustrate the process of transformation through time of the fact that systems and cultures are not identical and are constantly changing under the influence of time [33]. Moreover, comparative communication research needs to have four conditions: the research aim; clearly defined macro-level units of comparison; the object of analysis should be on at least one common, functionally equivalent dimension; and the objects of analysis need to be compared on the basis of a common theoretical framework and using equivalent conceptualisations and methods [33].

In my research, the macro-level is the media market, and I will draw on Picard and Russi's (2012) conceptualisations of media markets, and the method of analysing markets in BRICS countries, by focusing on three dimensions: product and market diversification, levels of state intervention, and levels of progress in the film industry [34]. For each of the three aspects, I will analyse the trends to identify similarities and differences amongst the Global South media markets. Finally, I will draw conclusion about developments in the BRICS film markets [34].

Comparative communication research has five steps: "describing differences and similarities; identifying functional equivalents; establishing typologies; explaining differences and similarities; and making predictions." [33]. For my research, I will look at the overarching theme: film markets of the BRICS countries after the formation of the BRICS alliance. Then I will collect samples of the corresponding media (films) from the BRICS countries, and then classify and categorise the samples to describe and explain similarities and differences and establish typologies. Finally, I will analyse the data and draw conclusions.

I will review three types of sources detailing BRICS film industries – 1) published information from industry sources (2009–2018), 2) box office data found on Statista, Entgroup Data (China), Box Office India, Box Office Mojo and IMDb (2018–2022), and 3) BRICS national policies on media market regulation. The multiple forms of content immersion will provide the opportunity to observe the film industries of BRICS countries in detail and allow dominant themes and ideologies to emerge through a systematic approach.

In order to analyse the aspects of the films in the Global South and to answer the research questions, this study compares the film markets of the BRICS countries: China, the most censored country with a long media history; Russia, the country spreading nationalism; India, the country with the "Hollywood" of the Global South (Bollywood) and addressing political and cultural issues; Brazil, with a film industry dealing with social inequality and national experiences; and South Africa, the country exposing social inequalities, especially the legacy of apartheid. Analysing the film market in each country helps to increase the understanding of the developing trends of film markets in BRICS countries, which is important for answering the research ques-

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tions.

4 Analysis and Findings

In this section, I will analyse the film markets in BRICS countries, looking at the comparison of: (1) the diversification of product and globalisation of the film market in BRICS countries, (2) the levels of state intervention – censorship of films and government control of the film market, and (3) the level of development of media technology and the media products. I will analyse, compare and explain these aspects, especially from the supply and demand aspects and public policy, in order to identify the reasons for the evolution of film markets in these countries, and finally to answer my research questions.

4.1 Comparison of Diversification

"Diversification is a defining characteristic of media firms and products in the new millennium" [35]. Diversification is an important subject in media market research, which can lead to the understanding of the media structure of the country/region and the internal and external influences of media market structure. "Much of the literature on diversification can be divided into two broad groups: product diversification, which involves the expansion of firms into different lines of business or industries, and market diversification, which entails the adaptation of a given product to reach additional customers or users" [35]. Within media market diversification, especially for films, product diversification can be understood as companies expanding their media business, such as TV stations making films, while market diversification is the expansion of new markets, such as films developing overseas business, exporting, etc. In this section, I will compare the product and market diversification in the BRICS countries to identify the media market structure similarities and differences among these countries. For this section, I will collect box office data from 2018 to 2022 to capture the most recent trends.

China's entertainment media market has diversified in two main ways: first, from centralised TV and film production to private companies that invest in film and TV productions, such as Baidu (iQiyi), Tencent (Tencent) and Alibaba (Youku); and second, the globalisation of film. According to Western norms, China's media is not pluralistic [36]. In recent years, the internet film companies such as Tencent and Alibaba have created a duopoly [37] and they have a profound influence on the diversity of Chinese media. Internet companies have reshaped the traditional way of producing, distributing, marketing and screening films in China, allowing the traditional film industry to be optimised in terms of enhanced online interactivity, mobility and fragmentation [13]. Comparing to the top box office films of 2018, 2020 and 2022 (before, during and after the pandemic) (see Table 1), internet companies have gradually turned into the main producers of the Chinese film market and acted as leading film production companies during the pandemic. The internet companies are successful examples of product diversification.

Films are considered to be a symbol of a country's cultural soft power, and there is an important interrelationship between screen culture and internationally oriented soft power [38]. Chinese-style soft power is mainly reflected in "culture export" in the Go Out policy, which states that "companies are supported to build new media platforms that cover the entire world" [39]. Robinson (2017) reports that the President of the People's Republic of China Jintao Hu stated the need to promote culture as part of the country's soft power,

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which was seen as an attempt by the government to challenge the hegemony of Hollywood and shape domestic public opinion so as to build a positive image of the country abroad [40]. The development of internet companies has formed the first step in the globalisation of Chinese film [40]. This has also led to an increase in Chinese film production, more films with foreign companies such as The Great Wall[41], and the delivery of Chinese culture to a wider overseas audience [40] [38]. This shows that Chinese media globalisation is ambitious, with the aim to quickly increase the visibility and presence of Chinese film in the world, and also to convey Chinese culture through cinema, thus enhancing China's cultural soft power in the world. Therefore, China's media market diversification is mainly reflected in the transformation of internet companies to produce films to monopolise the film production industry and the globalisation of Chinese media in order to enhance China's cultural soft power in the world.

Table 1 Main production companies of the highest grossing local films of 2018, 2020 and 2022 in China

Rank	**2018**	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	Operation Red Sea	Bona Film Group, Emperor Motion Pictures, Film Fireworks Production, Star Dream Studio Media
2	Detective Chinatown 2	MM2 Entertainment, Wanda Pictures, Wuzhou Film Distribution
3	Dying to Survive	Film Workshop, Beijing Culture, Beijing Joy Leader Culture Communication
	2020	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	The Eight Hundred	Huayi Brothers, Tencent Pictures, Beijing Enlight Media, Alibaba Pictures
2	My People, My Homeland	Huaxia Film Distribution, Polybona Films, Alibaba Pictures
3	Legend of Deification	Beijing Enlight Pictures, Coloroom Pictures, Zhongchuan Hedao, Cocoa beans Animation
	2022	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	The Battle at Lake Changjin II	Bona Film Group, August 1st Film Studio, Huaxia Film Distribution
2	Too Cool to Kill	New Classics Media, Slinky Town Pictures
3	Nice View	Shanghai Tao Piao Piao Movie & TV Culture, Shenzhen Media Film & Television

*Internet companies are in bold

*Source: Entgroup Data and IMDb.

The Russian Government remains involved in production of entertainment media. According to Wijermars, the most important producers are television stations in Russia, which focus on historical blockbusters and creating cultural memory [42] [43]. "Cultural memory is a kind of institution. It is exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms that, unlike the sounds of words or the sight of gestures, are stable and situa-

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tion-transcendent: They may be transferred from one situation to another and transmitted from one generation to another" [44].

The Russian television stations produce films, which are very different from China's and are more of an expansion of the entertainment media business (from TV to film) than the Chinese diversification. Contemporary Russian cinema collaborates with foreign companies such as Hollywood, forming a combination of foreign film technology and national themes. These collaborations have allowed Russia to play a decisive role in shaping public opinion and, since 2009, the Ministry of Education has received special funding to enable it to produce films based on "ideas of humanism, of spirituality, of patriotism, and of other traditional values of the peoples of Russia" [45]. This shows that Russia, like China, is trying to use the globalisation of the film market to promote nationalism and the country's history, except that Russia is more inclined to instil nationalism in its own people and thus create a collective memory. As can be seen in Table 2, the diversification of the Russian media market is mainly reflected in the fact that television stations combine both television and film production functions. Moreover, Russia uses films both domestically and globally to promote the country's nationalism and create cultural memory.

Table 2 Main production companies of the highest grossing local films of 2018, 2020 and 2022 in Russia

Rank	**2018**	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	Three Seconds	Three T Productions, **Russia-1**, **Cinema Fun**d
2	Trener	Kinoslovo, TriTe Studios, *DK Entertainment (South Korea)*, **Cinema Foundation**, **Russia-1**, Mosfilm
3	The Three Bogatyrs	Melnitsa Animation Studio
	2020	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	Son of a Rich	*Yellow (Finland)*, *Black and White (Israel)*, MEM Cinema Production, KIT Film Studio
2	Smack Dab Kakha	*Movies Forever (UK)*, START Studio
3	The (UN)perfect Guy	KIT Film Studio, Non-Stop Productions
	2022	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	Son of a Rich (re-release)	*Yellow (Finland)*, *Black and White (Israel)*, MEM Cinema Production, KIT Film Studio
2	Land of Legends	Profit (Igor Tolstunov Production Firm), Star Media, **Russia-1**, **Cinema Fund**
3	Legenda No. 17 (re-release)	Three T Productions

*The companies in bold are government organisations, in italics are foreign companies, and the films in bold are nationalist blockbusters

*Source: Box Office Mojo and IMDb.

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Compared to China and Russia, the media in India is more Western biased. The diversification of the media market in India is mainly reflected in globalisation, especially in partnerships with foreign companies or filming by foreign investors. The Indian film market is more liberally structured than either China or Russia; it is part of India's informal economy, with no formal model of integrated operations and a decentralised organisation [46]. Because of its colonial past, the Indian film industry has long been influenced by foreign capital, particularly Hollywood, so the globalisation of India is more likely to be Americanised [46]. Hollywood has similarly expanded its business to Indian cinema, as a form of cultural imperialism. The content of Hindi films, however, has withstood the onslaught of Hollywood. The localisation of Indian cinema has brought about a fusion of indigenous Indian culture and Western technology, thus bringing about the rise of Bollywood cinema [47] [48]. This shows that the Indian film market has already been under international influence for many years. Unlike China and Russia, Indian films have been influenced by the cultural imperialism of the international film production companies and the localisation of the media, or the Indian film market has been "propped up" by the western countries' film production companies. The year 2009 marked the tenth anniversary of the transformation of the Bombay film industry to Bollywood, and the tenth anniversary of the globalisation of Indian cinema, with Bollywood as a symbol of the fit between globalisation and culture in the Indian film industry [49]. Hence, the diversification of the Indian film market is mainly reflected in the country's total influence and "control" by the Western film market. Although China and Russia also blend their local culture with Western technology, India is more influenced by its historical background (colonial influence) and the gradual transformation of the Indian film industry from Bombay cinema to Bollywood, which has gone global under Western influence. Some famous films that are a combination of Western technology and Indian culture are 3 Idiots[50] (2009) and English Vinglish[51] (2012).

Table 3 Main production companies of the highest grossing local films of 2018, 2020 and 2022 in India

Rank	**2018**	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	Sanju	*Fox Star Studio India Pvt. Ltd. (part of US company)*, Rajkumar Hirani Films, Vidhu Vinod Chopra Productions
2	Padmaavat	Sanjay Leela Bhansali Films, *Viacom 18 Motion Pictures (a joint venture between India and Germany)*
3	Simmba	Dharma Productions Pvt. Ltd., Reliance Entertainment, Rohit Shetty Productions
	2020	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	Baaghi 3	*Fox Star Studio India Pvt. Ltd. (part of US company)*, Nadiadwala Grandson Entertainment
2	Sir	*Ciné Sud Promotion (France)*, Inkpot Films
3	Vinash Kaal	Jaya Films, Shreenath Films Production
	2022	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	K.G.F: Chapter 2	Hombale Films
2	RRR (Rise Roar Revolt)	DVV Entertainment
3	Ponniyin Selvan: Part One	Lyca Productions, Madras Talkies

*The companies in italics are foreign companies

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*Source: Box Office India and IMDb.

The Brazilian media market's diversification is mainly reflected in production of diversified entertainment media and globalisation. Like in Russia, Brazilian cinema is also produced by television. The Globo Film production company started out producing newspapers, then expanded to radio, then to television in 1965 and then it started producing films [52]. As mentioned above, Globo is the largest media conglomerate in Latin America, which means that the diversification of media products in Brazil, although similar to Russia in some respects, is not identical. In Russia it is driven by a state media organisation, whereas in Brazil a media conglomerate produces a diversified range of media products purely for the profit of the conglomerate. Unlike the globalisation of the Chinese, Russian and Indian film markets, new Latin American cinema (NLAC) and its Brazilian version cinema nôvo are focused on promoting an indigenous, anti-Hollywood, anti-European form of cinema, where the region's cinematic storytelling must have a unique aesthetic [53]. This illustrates that the Brazilian film market has retained more local culture and technology than China, Russia and India, and is the least susceptible to Western markets, having been influenced by their own national media from the beginning (films produce by television). Thus, the Brazilian film market leads to the gradual rather than sudden development of their media market diversification over history. In addition to this, the globalisation of cinema in Brazil, one of the most unequal countries in the world, serves to expose the dark side of society and to generate political influence through public debate [53]. This demonstrates that the media market in Brazil, although privately controlled, is just as political as in China and Russia, only more democratic in comparison. Thus, the diversification of the media market in Brazil is influenced by the country's history and national development rather than by other countries, but in comparison the media market is democratic and free.

Table 4 Main production companies of the highest grossing local films of 2018, 2020 and 2022 in Brazil

Rank	**2018**	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	The Beachnickers	Camisa Listrada, *Fox International Productions (FIP) (US)*, **Globo Filmes**
2	Fala Sério, Mãe!	Camisa Listrada, *Focus Entretenimento (US), Fox International Productions (FIP) (US)*
3	Tudo por um Pop Star	Panorâmica
	2020	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	My Mom is a Character 3	Migdal Filmes, *Brazil Production Services (a joint venture between Brazil and US)*, **Globo Filme**s
2	10 Horas para o Natal	Paris Entretenimento
3	O Melhor Verão das Nossas Vidas	*Sony Music (US)*
	2022	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	Beyond the Universe	Camisa Listrada
2	Marte Um	Filmes de Plástico, **Canal Brasil**

*the companies in bold are TV stations and in italics are foreign companies

*Source: Box Office Mojo and IMDb.

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Compared to the booming local film industries in China and India, South African cinema has been on the fringes of the global film market, despite the breadth of African filmmaking in terms of scope, innovation and diversity [54]. South Africa is one of the oldest film industry in the world and has been steadily integrated into African cinema as a whole since the end of apartheid, with South African cinema increasingly gaining international recognition and many South African films focusing on the politics and struggles of identity in the post-apartheid era, reflecting the country's troubled history of racial and economic segregation that has not been magically resolved [54] [55]. This illustrates the longevity and political influence of South African cinema, although the African film industry has been given little attention in the world. The globalisation of the South African film market is less evident than in China and India, and low-budget South African filmmakers have yet to receive systematic academic and national recognition, let alone support from transnational cinema production companies. Nevertheless, globalisation has had some impact on South African filmmaking, with the exchange of different cultural ideologies between films from the Global North and the Global South [56]. In other words, it is very similar to the fusion of Western filmmaking techniques with local culture that has occurred in several countries. Although producers in the Global North are beginning to incorporate the South African landscape into their films to appeal to international and local audiences, it is still difficult to show these films to non-South African audiences [56]. This shows how the diversification of the South African film market has been influenced by foreign film production companies, but still has not brought South African cinema into world cinema, unlike the globalisation of China and India. Hence, the South African film market is the most underdeveloped of the BRICS countries, and the one that produces the least diversity and the least globalisation.

Table 5 Main production companies of the highest grossing local films of 2018, 2020 and 2022 in South Africa

Rank	**2018**	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	Stroomop	The Film Factory, 17 Filmstreet Media
2	Ellen: Die storie van Ellen Pakkies	Moving Billboard Picture Company
3	Susters	Inhoud Huis Media
	2020	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	Vergeet My Nie	The Film Factory
2	Toorbos	The Film Factory
3	Poppie Nongena	Helena Spring Films
	2022	
	Movie Title	**Main Production Company**
1	Mr. Bones 3: Son of Bones	*DTI (Australia)*, *Film Chrome (UK and US)*, *Filmfinity (UK)*
2	Indemnity	Gambit Films
3	Thando	Bakwena Productions

*The companies in italics are foreign companies

*Source: Box Office Mojo and IMDb.

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To sum up the diversification of the media markets in the BRICS countries: the Chinese film market is dominated by internet companies, which develop product diversity as well as collaborate with foreign production companies on films and export local films at the same time; the Russian film market is mainly controlled and produced by state television, which is a diversity of products within the entertainment media, as well as collaborating with foreign production companies, thus achieving a fusion of nationalism and foreign technology and creating cultural memories for foreign and domestic audiences; India is the most Western-biased film market, the diversification of film market is mainly globalisation, especially cooperating with foreign production companies films include foreign capital and foreign technology and local cultural fusion, which resulting in the rise of Bollywood internationally; Brazilian film is also mainly produced by television and has production diversification in the entertainment media market, and, although the Brazilian film market is global, the country has preserved its own culture and technology the most, and its diversification is less impacted by foreign influences; the South African film market is the least diverse, and although there is globalisation, especially the fusion of foreign technology and local culture, it is not visible as the films are less noticeable to the world. This summary shows that each BRICS film market has expanded the media business and tried to work with foreign production companies and thus globalisation has occurred.

Table 6 Summary of the diversification in the film market in the BRICS countries

	Product diversification	Market diversification
China	Internet companies take part in the film industry; especially during the pandemic, films produced with the participation of internet companies make up the majority of the Chinese film market.	□ Collaborate with foreign production companies. □ Export local films to the world.
Russia	The television stations expanded business into producing films as the government wanted to spread national memories.	□ Collaborate with foreign production companies.
India	/	□ Investment by foreign film companies □ Produced by foreign film companies (gradual independence in production in recent years) □ Export Bollywood films to the world.
Brazil	The television stations expanded business into producing films, but television stations are not all owned by the government in Brazil; one is owned by Globo media conglomerate.	□ Collaborate with foreign production companies, but retain local filmmaking techniques. □ Export local films to the world.
South Africa	/	□ Collaborate with foreign production companies. □ Trying to attract foreign investment.

4.2 Comparison of Levels of State Intervention

"Intervention pre-supposes a society of distinct units with separate spheres of agency, authority, and responsibility. Intervention paradigmatically entails an external agent acting within the preserved domain of another agent or unit" [57]. In this study, the external agent refers to the country (BRICS countries: China, Russia, India, Brazil and South Africa) and the other agent or unit is the media market of that country, i.e. the object to be compared in this section is government intervention in each country's media market. Each country has its

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own media censorship system, and this section assesses the media conduct of BRICS countries by comparing the extent of regulation and censorship in these countries.

China is well known in the world for its censorship of entertainment media; the Chinese film industry has always had a close association with the state. Once a propaganda agency, it has been upgraded to a visible and lucrative source of income and prestige in recent years [58]. People in other countries have the impression that China's censorship system is inconsistent, arbitrary and unpredictable or completely monopolised by officials [59]. China has become one of the world's largest film markets worldwide, and government has shifted its functions from direct management and administrative intervention to a free and open external institutional environment, thus making the film market more open and inclusive and stimulating the creativity of filmmakers [60]. China was influenced by the global political and economic context, whereby the planned economic system of the media market shifted to a market economy, reducing total control over the film market. In terms of film market regulation, Xiao (2013) shows that the Film Bureau in China has included film directors, cinematographers, screenwriters and academics in its committees, thus departing from the traditional practice of film censorship [59]. Furthermore, for the consideration of films on sensitive subjects such as ethnic minorities, diplomatic relations, historical events or mythology, experts on these subjects are invited on a case-by-case basis [59]. This shows that in recent years, although China still interferes heavily in the film market, it has become fairer, it is not exclusively the government that censors films, and filmmakers can also participate in censorship. The censorship system has changed and evolved, and it has broken the stereotype of the Chinese censorship system in the Western countries. Filmmaker Johnnie To[1] Chinese censorship has not been especially intensive … mainland Chinese censors demanded cuts but didn't touch the crime story itself; they were upset about political elements" [61]. Therefore, the Chinese Government is regulating the film market less than before; it advocates government regulation of the market, but leaves a part of it free, not exclusively the voice of the government but also mixed with the voice of the people as well as the filmmakers.

Compared to China in recent years, Russia's intervention in the media market is much more extensive. Russian films are produced by television stations. The number one channel in Russia, Russian Public Television (ORT), is 51% state owned and 49% private, while Russian Channel Two (RTR) is directly controlled by the government [62]. This illustrates that the Russian film market is largely produced by the state, which means that there is a great deal of state intervention in the Russian film market. In addition to this, on a national political level, Russia has also interfered heavily in the media market. The state is seen as promoting a single, unchanging interpretation of Russia's cultural identity, focused on maintaining its power and eliminating domestic opposition, while non-state actors are portrayed as trying to undermine and tarnish that power [43]. This means that Russia is trying to consolidate power by interfering in the film market and thus creating a collective memory on a political level. This is similar to China many years ago, when the media was only used to promote the voices of political party and leaders, not the voices of the people. Thus, comparing the state intervention in the media market in recent years, it seems to be more severe in Russia than in China; that is, the Russian Government holds most of the power over film production and wants the media to promote the voice of the Government rather than the voice of the people (the collective memory of nationalism).

1 Johnnie To is a Hong Kong film director, screenwriter and producer and is famous for Breaking News, Election, Election 2 (a.k.a. Triad Election), Exiled, Mad Detective and Drug War.

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India has a freer media market than either Russia or China because it is more Westernised and there is little government intervention. In India, state-owned television must be contrasted with and separated from cinema (especially commercial cinema) [63], which leads to the transformation of the Bombay film industry to Bollywood and was also a transformation of Indian film production from state to private ownership [49]. This shows that India is completely biased towards a free film market and has allowed the Indian film market to be completely dominated by Western film production companies and completely separated from India's entertainment media industry (television). It demonstrates the complete non-intervention of the Indian Government in the development of the film market. The more interesting finding is that the Indian Government also condones the growth of the pirate film market. The piracy market is in an extreme form of a long-term trend, a variant of international and national distribution systems that emerged in an organised and unorganised manner in order to provide audio-visual content to a global audience in a timely manner. India has piracy production markets, which are in a very nebulous lot in India as it does not produce either the classical subjects of crime or the classical acts of crime [64]. Hence, the Indian Government's intervention in the film market is very different from that of Russia and China: the Indian Government is neither involved in the development of the film market, nor interfering with the prevalence of the pirated film industry in India that can be considered as pernicious but also the key to the international fame of Indian cinema.

Brazilian films are produced by the largest private media conglomerate in Latin America, and government intervention in the film industry is not as severe as in China and Russia, but it is also not as free as in India. Brazil's film industry shows evidence of becoming a product and player in the context of nationally branded neoliberalism, with increased film production and the development of new laws and funding policies [65]. In other words, the Brazilian Government's intervention in the media market is similar to that of China, with the difference being that the Brazilian Government is more interested in making Brazilian cinema a national brand. Branding is also a diffuse process involving fictionalisation, mythologisation and the creation of lucrative emotional connections with products, places or people. At the national level it is more about cultural policy to provide practical or discursive interventions in the film market in order to diversify culture and develop a creative economy [65]. This is very similar to Russia: Brazil's government wants to create nationalism, except that its aim is to intervene for the sake of democracy, rather than leaving cinema entirely in the hands of the state, as in Russia. The Brazilian Government's minimal intervention in the Brazilian film market was the right decision, as the commercial performance of Brazilian national cinema has been very positive and local film distribution has increased by 50%, with two local films among the top ten box office earners in 2013 and 2009 [66]. It is very similar to the approach taken by the Indian Government, where the Brazilian Government only issues policies for the purpose of national branding but leaves the production and distribution of films to private production companies. Thus, the Brazilian Government's intervention in the film market is done in a neoliberal style; it does not completely deregulate the film market as India does; it does regulate it somewhat (i.e. to create a national brand), but does not have complete control as Russia does, nor does it impose restrictions on content as China does.

South African films have tended to reflect racial inequality and related issues, and the South African Government has intervened in the film market mainly in this area, trying to use films to address these social issues. The National Film and Video Foundation is taking the first step towards addressing this inequality by bringing more digital cinemas to the country's black townships, and NFVF's Terrence Khumalo says the gov-

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ernment-funded project, which will cost Ra10 million ($3.8 million) over the next three years, will help give local filmmakers a platform to showcase their films [67]. However, some filmmakers believe that building more screens will only partially solve the problem, with local films accounting for less than 4% of the total box office and grossing $2.3 million in the first two quarters of 2011, according to statistics compiled by the NFVF [67]. Therefore, the South African Government's level of intervention in the market is somewhere in the middle of China, Russia, Brazil and India. Its control of the film market is aimed to address long-standing social issues in South Africa, to promote equality and to address racial inequality in the country, rather than purely for the political purposes of the leaders.

In summary, the situation in recent years has seen the strongest state intervention in the media market in Russia, where the government controls the production of films in order to promote the voice of the political party, i.e. nationalism. The next is China, which is "famous for its censorship", which has moved away from the traditional model, but censorship has always existed, only with the addition of more filmmakers (the people) to censor these films in order to achieve fairness. In Brazil and South Africa, the government does not interfere too much with the film market; it is a neoliberal state (but less severe than the neoliberal market in China) and the state wants to use films to brand the country or reflect social issues, but they are produced by private film companies. The Indian Government is the least intrusive and it is basically a free film market, but too much freedom has led to some disadvantages such as a pirate production market. Therefore, government intervention in the film market in the BRICS countries has been largely not direct but through policy, advice and subsidies, the film markets becoming freer and more private.

Table 7 Summary of the extent of intervention in the film market in the BRICS countries

	Regulation	**Assessment (1 is least, 5 is most)**
China	Has censorship, but with the involvement of filmmakers (mainly in sensitive subjects such as ethnic minorities, diplomatic relations, historical events or mythology).	Partly regulated by the government but retaining part of the freedom of the market to allow the voice of the people and the voice of the filmmakers. Level: 4
Russia	Russian Government wants the films to promote the voice of Government rather than the voice of the people (the collective memory of nationalism).	Basically, completely controlled by the government, spreading the government's voice. Level: 5
India	Indian Government allows the Indian film market to be completely dominated by Western film production companies, completely divorced from the Indian entertainment media industry (television), and also condones the piracy market.	The government has largely refrained from interfering in the film market and has largely privatised the film market. Level: 1
Brazil	Brazilian Government only issues policies aimed at national branding, leaving the production and distribution of films to private production companies.	The government only issues the relevant policies, but the films are produced by private film production companies. Level: 3
South Africa	The government uses film to address inequalities and will intervene in film content.	The government basically only wants films to reflect social issues but doesn't interfere too much. Level: 2

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4.3 Comparison of Levels of Progress

"Market performance refers to the end results of these policies – the relationship of selling price to costs, the size of output, the efficiency of production, progressiveness in techniques and products, and so forth" [68]. Technological and product advances will be used in this study as a measure of market performance and are the object of this comparative research. The development of media technology and the media products themselves (film, television, etc.) are different in BRICS countries, which is important to measure the development of the media markets, so this section compares media development in BRICS countries and thus assesses media market performance. For this section, I will collect box office data from 2018 to 2022 to capture the most recent trends.

China's expansion of the film industry in recent years has been largely linked to the investment of China's three internet giants (Baidu, Alibaba and Tencent). China's share of the box office in the domestic and international film market is increasing, but its share in the international market is predicted to possibly decline in 2022, as can be seen in Figure 1. With the help from new media, big data and other technologies, the full integration of internet creativity resources has reshaped the film production model, and the production mode of Chinese domestic films has undergone a radical change [13]. Film production has changed from being purely director-centred to being "audience" centred, with viewers moving from being recipients to participants [13]. Films that are predicted by film production companies to make money through big data analysis, i.e. commercial films, have changed from the traditional artistic creations of the past to products that cater to their audiences, which explains why China has produced a large number of commercial films in recent years. These films are analysed by big data, thus making Chinese films more famous internationally [13]. The involvement of internet companies also has led to a diversity of investment in film production. "Online crowdfunding" has become the new way of financing films, allowing viewers to contribute financially to a film, and giving them a significant sense of involvement [13]. This shows that the internet has made it possible to produce commercial films in a more diverse way and has opened up more possibilities for Chinese films. Therefore, internet companies have pushed the Chinese film market forward not only in terms of film technology but also in terms of the diversity of film content, which has allowed Chinese films to target audiences more precisely.

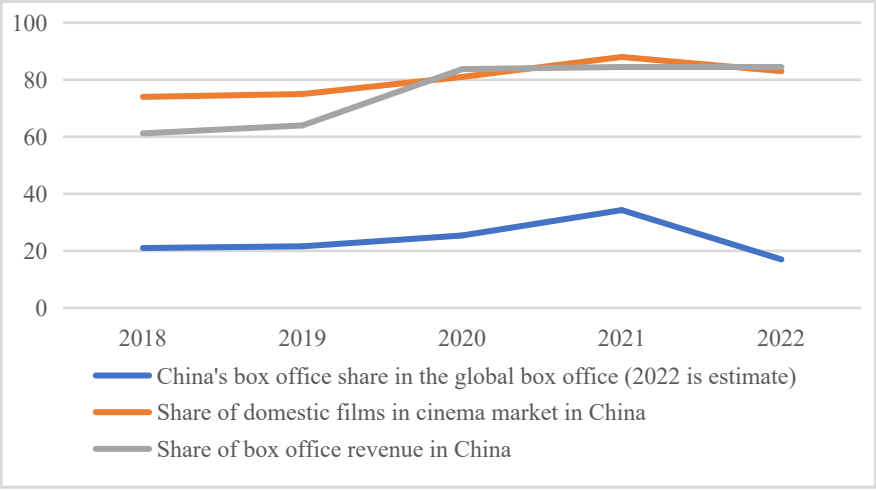


Figure 1 The Chinese film market share trends in 2018–2022

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In recent years Russia has been developing ethnic media in addition to nationalist media, and with over 190 ethnic groups speaking more than 150 languages in Russia in 2010's population census, it is important for Russian society to develop a diverse culture and language [69]. This means that the Russian media has progressed over the years mainly to help inter-ethnic understanding compared to other countries. Beyond this, Russia's progress in cinema has been mainly in the quality of the nationalist films production, that is, the inclusion of historical events in film and television [43]. This illustrates how the Russian film market has progressed in recent years mainly in terms of film content, i.e. historical rhetoric and re-creation. As a result, as the film market figures show, the share of Russian films in the domestic film market is gradually increasing, but from 2019 Russian films are earning less in the international film market.

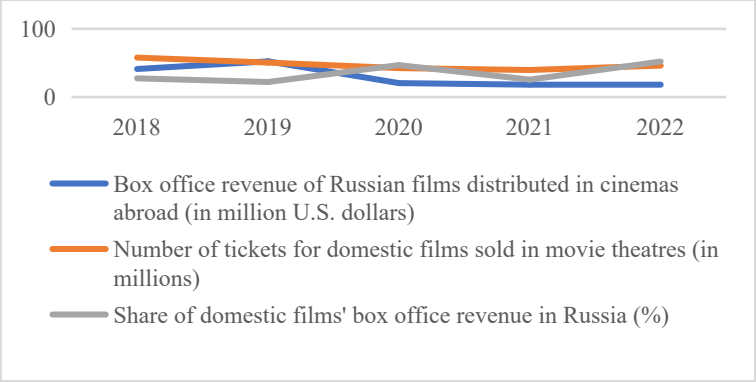


Figure 2 The Russian film market share trends in 2018–2022

The progress of the Indian film market in recent years is still largely due to the influence of the Bombay film industry on Bollywood. The most obvious progress is the FICCI-Frames 2009 corporatisation and the financing of films. Corporatisation is bringing the operations of the film industry in line with the demands of global capital, that is, transforming the previous culture of capitalism so that more money can be invested in the film industry [70]. This is very similar to China's progress, except that India is more focused on reforming film financing by studios, whereas China is using the internet and big data, but this can also be reflected in a similar film market trend that is most likely due to the influence of international capital. In addition to this, there is the way in which film production in India has improved, with websites and other branding strategies of major companies such as UTV Motion Pictures[2] emphasising their own mission in line with the corporatisation. This healthy competition of film companies has reinforced the benefits of corporatisation and has brought a more specialised technology to the Indian film production process [70]. This has led to the independence of Bollywood and no longer being a product of Hollywood imperialism. However, as seen in Figure 3, India's share of the international film market is gradually declining, and the local film industry is growing in size.

2 UTV Motion Pictures is owned by Disney India (the subsidiary of The Walt Disney Company).

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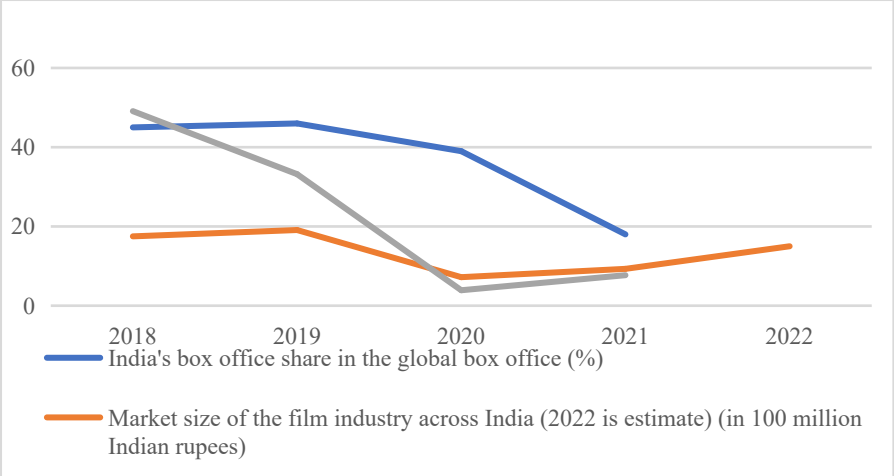


Figure 3 The Indian film market share trends in 2018–2022

Brazil's progress in the film market in recent years has been mainly in the production of films, and the films produced by the Globo Group are popular in the market. The 20 most watched Brazilian films between 2000 and 2014 were mostly produced by Globo Filmes [52]. However, the Globo Group's share of television declined while the number of internet connections increased; thus the film market has allowed many independent filmmakers and certain film production companies to collaborate with Globo and this is beneficial for aesthetic diversification in the film industry [52]. This demonstrates that Brazilian media groups producing films can help the Brazilian film industry, but can also make television less popular; thus the progress of the film market is two-sided in Brazil. In addition to this, a more visible phenomenon in the progress of the Brazilian film market is Brazilian films have dared to expose social phenomena, such as drug trafficking and inequality, which are gradually moving beyond social depiction to new forms of expression with the advancement of technology [52]. This demonstrates that the progress of the film market lies in alerting people to, and changing, social phenomena, as opposed to China, Russia and India which are largely increasing reputation and economic revenues. As seen in Figure 4, like in China, Russia and India, Brazilian films are also gradually growing in the share of local films in the domestic market (except during the pandemic period) and many new local films are released in the domestic cinemas every year. However, the share of Brazilian films in the international film market is very low; there is no data on Statista.

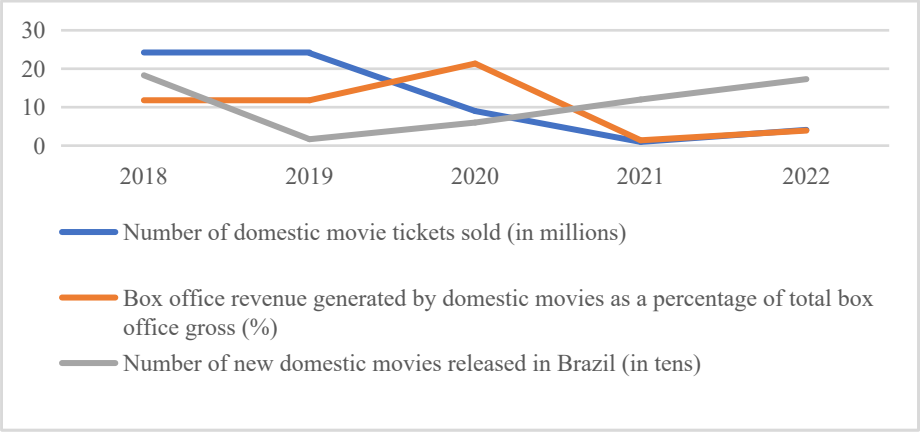


Figure 4 The Brazilian film market share trends in 2018–2022

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As mentioned earlier, the South African film market still closely links to African cinema, and to the "creative cities". The Department of Trade and Industry's allowance policy has led to the inflow of foreign capital, the transfer of skills and the transformation of the film industry, particularly regarding black issues in South Africa. Using data from the Department of Trade and Industry from 2009 to 2012, the South African film industry has progressed primarily in terms of employment opportunities, skills and attracting foreign investment with the establishment of micro-enterprises, thus becoming an important venue for skills development. This has been desperately needed to renew the crew base of the mainstream film industry and has finally addressed many black employment issues and improvement of film skills [29]. This illustrates that South Africa's government is focused on tackling social issues before increasing the country's economic gains, which is similar to the Brazilian film market. The initiatives bring more important advances to the film market, not only in terms of improving domestic film production technology, but the foreign investment to help the film industry. It is also clear from Figure 5 that the share of South African cinema in the domestic market is slowly increasing, but because of its relatively low share in the international film market, like Brazil, there is data on Statista.

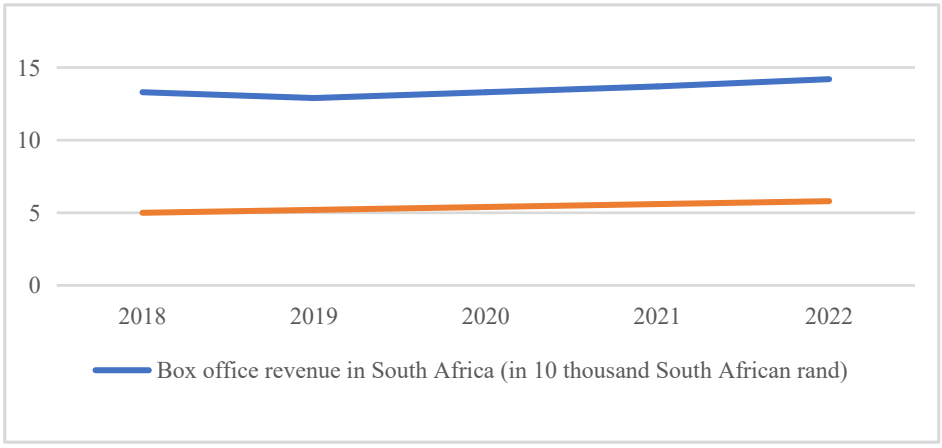


Figure 5 The South African film market share trends in 2018–2022

To sum up, the level of progress in the Chinese film market is related to the participation of the internet companies in the Chinese film market, mainly through the existence of commercial films and film production financing analysed by new media technology; Russia has been involved in the development of national media and the making of nationalist films; the Indian film market has developed in corporatisation and financing of the film market and the improvement of film production; the progress of the Brazilian film market is in the production of films by television companies, the achievement of film dividends and the increasing number of films that expose social phenomena; and the progress of the film market in South Africa is in black employment opportunities, the improvement of film skills and the attraction of foreign investment. The share of domestic films in BRICS countries' local markets has been growing, but the performance in the global film market is not ideal. The BRICS countries with a relatively large share of the international market are China and India. This suggests that BRICS filmmakers are catering more to domestic audiences in recent years.

5 Then and Now – Discussion and Conclusion[3]

3 All figures above are original and using templates on Canva.

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An unexpected finding in this research is the low share of BRICS films in the international film market.

Based on readings analysed in my literature review, I anticipated that BRICS films would account for a significant share of the international film market, or at least be on a par with box-office earnings for Western films.

However, my study found that with the exception of China, the other four BRICS counties do not have the same box-office success as Global North films. Their key problems include limited and low-quality production. For example, two of the three most popular domestic films in Russia in 2022 were re-releases, while Brazil produced only two domestic films in 2022, while all other films were imported from Hollywood.

At the same time, this research finds there are many BRICS films that have earned themselves a very good reputation internationally. To illustrate this claim, I have created five infographics that visually show how their film markets have changed over time, and provide examples of well-known films from each of the BRICS countries.

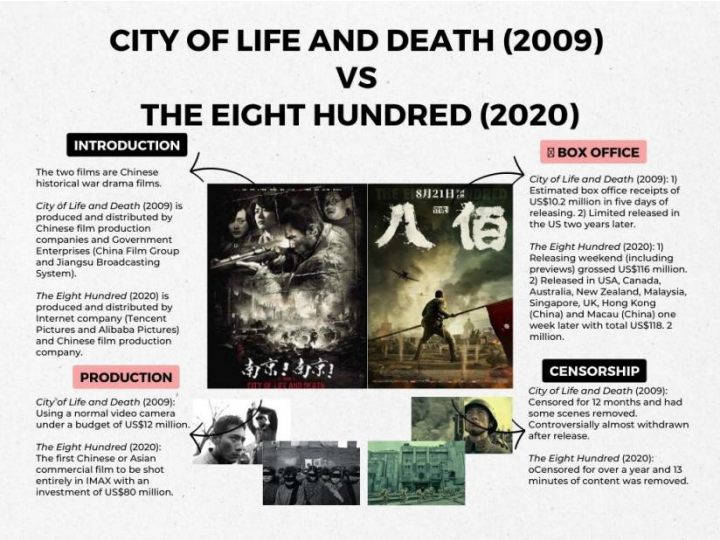


Figure 6 "Then and now" infographic of Chinese film market [71] [72]

The infographics above of two Chinese films about World War II released in 2009 and 2020 shows that, although the Chinese Government has severe censorship, there is a significant improvement in Chinese film production technology by the influence of Chinese internet companies. From my experience of working in the Chinese film and television industry, China sees the United States and even other countries in the Global North as targets to overtake, and Chinese films are ambitious about their share of the international film market. Therefore, in the future, the Chinese film industry will produce films that are more in line with the audiences worldwide and will gain a greater share of the international film market as well as increased visibility.

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Figure 7 "Then and now" infographic of Russian film market [73] [74]

The infographics above of two Russian drama films released in 2009 and 2022 shows the Russian film industry has received government support, as well as the production of many nationalist blockbusters, and has improved much at the box office. However, by the picture quality of the stills, the Russian film industry has not progressed particularly significantly. Therefore, the future of the Russian film industry is likely to continue to promote history and national memory of Russians, and the filmmakers may focus on Russian audiences rather than international audiences.



Figure 8 "Then and now" infographic of Indian film markets [75] [51]

The infographics above of two Indian drama films released in 2012 and 2022 shows the Indian film industry is less dependent on foreign companies, and the quality of the local productions was similar to that of the foreign capital production films. The local productions have also retained more of the Bollywood songs and dances and have achieved international recognition for their ethnic songs in films (winning awards). Therefore, the Indian film industry will probably remain the most international of the BRICS countries in terms of future growth. Although the study found that the share of Indian films in the international film market has

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declined, their former influence will still be felt in the future.

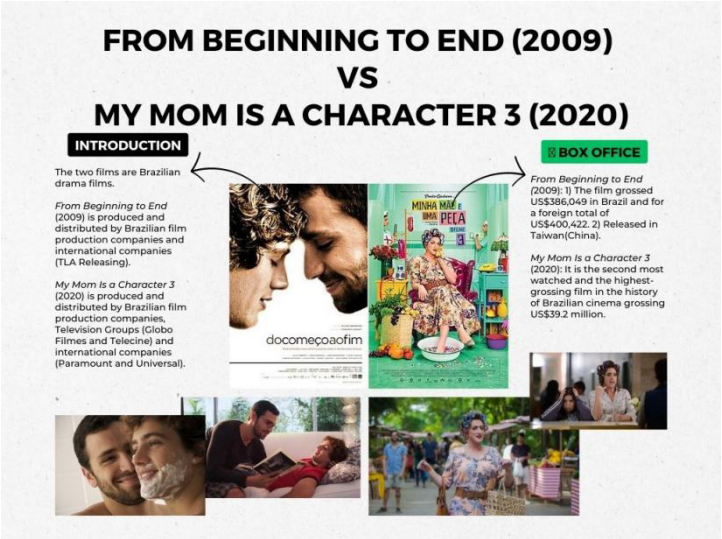


Figure 9 "Then and now" infographic of Brazilian film markets [76] [77]

The infographics above of two Brazilian drama films released in 2009 and 2020 shows Brazilian films are geared more towards local productions over the years and the country has not improved much in terms of picture quality in terms of filmmaking, much like Russia. The country's films are popular in the domestic film market but have received little attention from overseas audiences (see the box office section). Thus, in the future, Brazilian cinema may focus more on the domestic audience than on the overseas audience and improve the local production technologies.

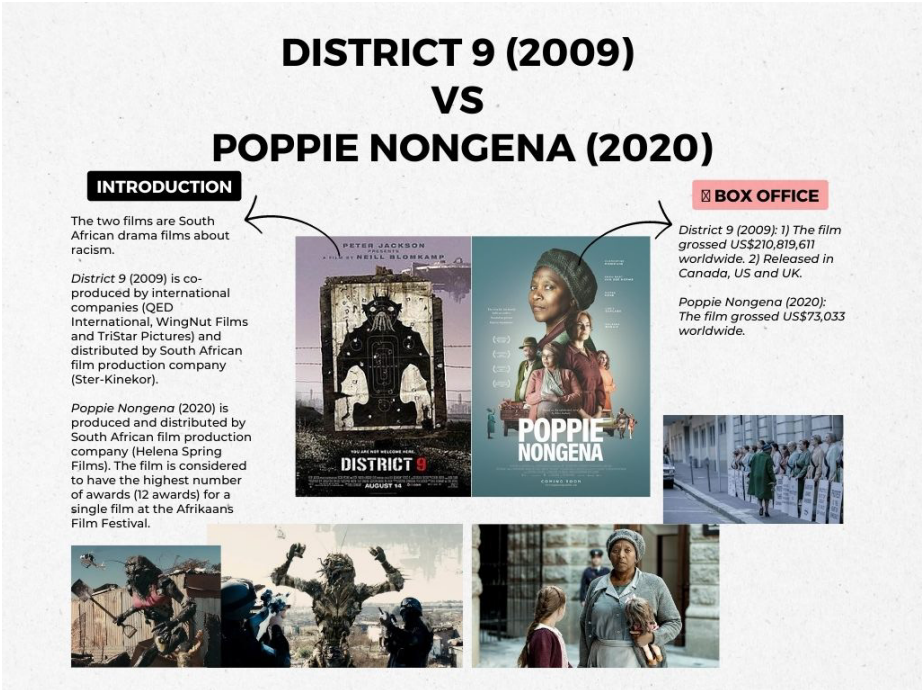


Figure 10 "Then and now" infographic of South African film market [78] [79]

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The infographics above of two South African drama films released in 2009 and 2020 shows South African cinema used to be assisted by film production companies from the Global North, as were India and Brazil, but in recent years it has also started to produce films independently. The quality of South African independent productions is very high, and Poppie Nongena has won awards at international level, but South African cinema has always used film as a way of addressing racial issues. Thus, in the future, South African cinema should continue to reflect the issues of society and spread South African cinema internationally, and I think South African cinema has a lot of potential in the international film market.

The film market in the Global South is slowly moving closer to international prominence, which allows these countries in the Global South to come to prominence in the world. This visibility can achieve diversity of representation of Global South features and experiences to both domestic and international audiences. For filmmakers, it is important to hedge against the risk of low box office in film markets by producing films on events or themes that are of interest and marketable to domestic audiences [1], which is the reason why they cater more to domestic audiences. Therefore, my research is a significant exploration for both audiences and filmmakers in the Global South, which will boost the confidence of filmmakers from the Global South in winning a larger share of the global film market and help pit the Global South against the Global North in the film market, thus promoting the visibility of the Global South in the world.

In conclusion, this study shows the film market development in the BRICS countries by three aspects: diversification, government intervention, and the progress of the film industry. The developing trends are very similar among BRICS countries as they are mostly influenced by the wider global film market environment, such as globalisation, the international evaluation of national film market regulatory regimes (e.g., criticism of censorship in China and the nearly free market in India) and competition with the international film market (export of films and the desire to take a larger share of the international film market), as well as the development of modern technology in the film industry.

In the diversification aspect, the BRICS countries all cooperate with foreign countries, especially the countries from the Global North, and thus engage in globalisation. Chinese internet companies have largely influenced the Chinese film market; the Russian films are mainly produced by television stations; Indian films' foreign production has led to the rise of Bollywood; Brazil also produces films by television stations but focuses on local culture and filmmaking techniques; the globalisation of the South African film market is the least visible.

At the level of state intervention, government controls vary, making the film markets more or less liberal and private. In terms of level of interference, the Russian Government exercises the most controls, mainly to promote nationalism. China has very strict censorship, but, interestingly, the Chinese Government has invited filmmakers to participate in the censorship of films to improve fairness. In Brazil and South Africa, the governments intervene in the film market mainly through policy and have been keen to use film to highlight social issues. Finally, India has a film market nearly completely free from government interference.

At the level of progress, the film industry in all five BRICS countries is growing and it is evident that both filmmaking technology and film content are improving. Chinese internet companies have been involved in the Chinese film industry in recent years to improve film production techniques such as online financing and

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the use of big data to analyse audiences; the Russian film market has not progressed much, but the country has developed the quality of nationalist cinema; the gradual corporatisation of the Indian film market, i.e. reducing Western foreign involvement, has allowed the improvement of India's indigenous film production techniques and more independence, although Bollywood's share of the international box office has decreased. Brazil and South Africa have progressed mainly in terms of films' content, both countries devoted to exposing social phenomena, while the difference is that South Africa needs to attract more foreign investment and improve its film technology. In the 2010s, US film production studios have also moved towards producing mainstream films that appeal to broader audiences (genre films, sequels, 3D and superhero films), which suggests similarities between the progress of the BRICS film market and the West. From the perspective of box office, the share of BRICS domestic films in the film markets of each country is increasing, but the share in the international market could be greater.

For further research, to better understand the relationship between the development of film markets in BRICS countries, it would be useful to look at the relationship between media markets in the Global South from an economic perspective; for example, whether taxes are reduced or increased in Global South countries compared to Global North countries. Furthermore, interviews of filmmakers in BRICS countries can be conducted to discover how films are produced and distributed in the international media market. Finally, if the BRICS countries collaborate more on films and related activities in the future, there may be more material to examine how they collaborate with each other. At the moment the only links are at the BRICS film festivals, but they are indeed some of the most interesting events in the BRICS film industry.

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