

Reading Orwell in Moscow

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Job Market Paper

September 29, 2025

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Abstract

In this paper, I measure the effect of conflict on individuals' willingness to seek *frames of reference*, or heuristics that help individuals explain their social and political environment by means of *analogy*. To do so, I examine how Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 reshaped readership of history and social science books in Russia. Combining roughly 4,000 book abstracts retrieved from the online catalogue of Russia's largest bookstore chain with data on monthly reading patterns of more than 100,000 users of the most popular Russian-language social reading platform, I find that the invasion prompted an abrupt and substantial increase in readership of books that engage with the experience of life under dictatorship and acquiescence to dictatorial crimes, with a predominant focus on Nazi Germany. I interpret my results as evidence that history books, by offering regime-critical frames of reference, may serve as an outlet for expressing dissent in a repressive authoritarian regime.

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1 Introduction

How do moments of political turmoil reshape the ways individuals make sense of their social and political environment? Previous research has documented that experiencing a dramatic event, such as a war, a regime transition, or a natural disaster, often leads to changes in political preferences. For example, losing a loved one on the battlefield may increase support for progressive taxation (Tchaouchev, 2025), whereas surviving a man-made famine can foster intergenerational distrust towards the regime responsible for it (Chen and Yang, 2019b). Less is known about the cognitive processes that connect lived experiences to the formation of political preferences.¹ Addressing this gap, I demonstrate that living through moments of political turmoil can evoke unexpected historical analogies and imbue the ongoing events with new political meaning.

To measure the effect of war on individuals’ willingness to seek *frames of reference*, I examine how Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 reshaped domestic readership of books in *history and the social sciences*. By frames of reference, I mean heuristics that help individuals interpret unfamiliar events through *historical analogy*. In this paper, I combine roughly 4,000 book abstracts retrieved from the online catalogue of Russia’s largest bookstore chain with monthly reading data from over 100,000 users of LiveLib, the most popular Russian-language social reading platform. Using individual-level reading data spanning the period between January 2018 and May 2025, I compare changes in the readership of books on the crimes of dictatorial regimes with those on ancient civilizations before and after the start of the invasion. I find a significant and persistent rise in individual-level readership of books on the crimes of dictatorial regimes following the invasion, with no corresponding change in readership of books on ancient civilizations. I interpret my results as evidence that the invasion increased individuals’ willingness to seek frames of reference critical of the current regime.

To map the space of ideas represented in the Russian book market, I apply a structural topic model to the corpus of book abstracts and uncover three war-related clusters of topics emerging from patterns of word co-occurrence.² The first cluster, which I label ‘Ideology’, appears to promote Russian exceptionalism and justify confrontation with the West, echoing the political rhetoric employed by the Russian regime with respect to its invasion of Ukraine. The second, labelled ‘Russian Wars’, focuses on military conflicts in which Russia has participated throughout its history, with a particular emphasis on World War II. The third, labelled ‘Dictatorship Crimes’, examines the acquiescence of ordinary citizens to the crimes of dictatorial regimes, with a predominant, though not exclusive, focus on Nazi Germany, and occurs in a different subset of books than the first two. While the first cluster offers an ideological lens for interpreting the ongoing invasion, the latter two seem to provide readers with historical frames of reference.

I further show that the onset of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine was associated with divergent trends in the prevalence of these topics in the Russian book market.

¹Previous literature has highlighted fairness concerns (Scheve and Stasavage, 2016), blame attribution (Koenig, 2023), or exposure to economic hardships at the time of the event (Lueders, 2024).

²In topic modelling, each text is treated as a combination of several topics, whose proportions are estimated from patterns of word co-occurrence. As the model is agnostic to the substantive content of the discovered topics, they must be manually labelled based on in-depth reading of associated words and representative texts. See Section 3.1 for a detailed description of the methodology.

Abstracts of books published from 2022 onward devote, on average, around 2 percentage points more attention to ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ than books published earlier, constituting a 30% increase over the sample mean. In contrast, the prevalence of ‘Ideology’ decreases by 3 percentage points. There are no significant differences in the prevalence of ‘Russian Wars’ or non-war-related topics between books published before and after the start of the invasion. The results hold for both the years of earliest and latest prints in post-Soviet Russia, and remain robust to controlling for publisher fixed effects. As the Russian book market remained relatively uncensored after the start of the invasion, I infer that changes in book supply reflect changes in demand.

I then examine whether Russia’s invasion of Ukraine shifted readers’ preferences towards war-related books. Using data on the reading behaviour of LiveLib users who logged at least one book from the sample of book abstracts, I compare changes in readership of war-related topics to politically neutral ones before and after the start of the invasion, employing both a difference-in-differences and event-study approach. If war-related books acquired new political meaning by supplying historical analogies to the ongoing events, I expect their readership to increase after the start of the invasion.

Comparing books on ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ to those on ‘Ancient Civilizations’ — the most comparable topic based on its pre-invasion readership and accessibility — I find that the difference in readership between the two nearly doubled after February 2022, controlling for user and time fixed effects, but had been indistinguishable from zero for more than two years before the invasion. Although I find no immediate response of ‘Ideology’ books to the start of the invasion, there is a significant but moderate increase in the readership of the ‘Russian Wars’ cluster. This result suggests an increased interest in historical events, which can provide analogies to contemporary ones, rather than in ideological rhetoric. At the same time, the growth in readership of ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ significantly surpasses that of ‘Russian Wars’, increasing by 65% relative to their pre-invasion difference.

Finally, I demonstrate that the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic, uncovered in the sample of book abstracts, is replicated in patterns of individual reading behaviour. Relying on data on almost 10,000 history and social science books logged by at least 10 readers in my sample of LiveLib users, I measure book co-readership with the Jaccard similarity, which captures the extent to which two books are read by the same users relative to the total number of users who read at least one of these books. For each LiveLib book, I compute its average similarity to the set of books assigned to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic and find a substantial overlap between the two. The top 5% of the similarity distribution contains 51% of books assigned to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic, while all of the 25 books with the highest average similarity substantively correspond to the topic. In other words, if a LiveLib user has read a book on ‘Dictatorship Crimes’, she is likely to read another one as well.

As the average LiveLib user differs from the average Russian across multiple dimensions, my results cannot be expected to generalize to the broader Russian population. First, internet access and peer effects tend to shape individuals’ decisions to register on social media platforms. Moreover, individuals who read regularly likely differ from those who do not in terms of their education, occupation, and available leisure time. Finally, LiveLib users who read history and social science books may exhibit a greater interest in politics and be inherently more sceptical of the Russian regime than those who prefer

other genres. Even though my results cannot speak to the political preferences or attitudes towards the war of the average Russian, they shed light on changes in the demand for ideas among younger, educated, and urban groups and suggest that books may serve as an outlet for expressing dissent even in a repressive authoritarian context.

Despite intensified repression in Russia aimed at silencing opposition to the war, it does not appear that repression can introduce a considerable selection bias in the study of book readership. Unlike mass media tightly controlled by the regime, the book industry in Russia remained relatively free until recently, a perspective shared by industry insiders (Kharitonov, 2025).³ Post-publication book bans remained rare, even though their frequency had been slowly increasing over the last decade. Similarly, until late 2024, publishers and booksellers did not face explicit state pressure in the form of arrests or substantial fines. This relative freedom may have allowed publishers to make publishing decisions based on market forces. Although, anecdotally, the start of the invasion brought about a surge in pro-war cultural production, such as patriotic poetry, frontline reporting, and anti-Western philosophy (Pakhalyuk, 2025), my results indicate that the invasion significantly increased public interest in books focusing on the crimes of dictatorial regimes and confrontation with traumatic history, rather than ideologically driven narratives.

This paper contributes to three major literatures. First, it relates to the literature on bounded rationality and decision-making under uncertainty. When estimating the probabilities of different events, individuals may rely on cognitive shortcuts, also known as *heuristics*, due to limited cognitive capacity and data availability (Tversky and Kahneman, 1974; Gigerenzer and Gaissmaier, 2011). Heuristics have been studied in a wide range of contexts in politics and economics, including voting (Carnes and Sadin, 2015; Bernhard and Freeder, 2020), redistribution (Guala and Filippin, 2017), taxation (Rees-Jones and Taubinsky, 2020), and financial markets (Kwon and Tang, 2025). Whereas heuristics such as partisanship, class, and gender have received considerable attention in the literature, this paper emphasizes the role of historical analogies in interpreting dramatic political events.

Analogies have been previously studied in relation to their role in fomenting public support for policy decisions. For example, it has been argued that invoking a positively perceived analogy can increase support for policy reforms across diverse domains, ranging from health care to immigration to foreign policy (Barabas, Carter and Shan, 2020; Dinas, Fouka and Schl  pfer, 2021; Blair, Lendway and Schwartz, 2024). Similarly, drawing an analogy with the country’s traumatic past, such as the history of state violence, has been shown to increase support for police reform and to promote protest participation (Thaler, Mueller and Mosinger, 2023; Mosinger, Thaler, Garcia and Fowler, 2022). However, studying the effects of analogical reasoning on public opinion typically involves presenting individuals with a set of pre-established analogies, either promoted by politicians and political activists or devised by researchers in a laboratory setting. Much less is known about how new analogies emerge in times of uncertainty and which analogies individuals form and adopt when confronted with an unfamiliar or unsettling environment.

Second, this paper adds to the recently growing literature on the political economy

³On state pressure on mass media in Russia, see, for example, Sanovich, Stukal and Tucker (2018), Rozenas and Stukal (2019), Paskhalis, Rosenfeld and Tertytchnaya (2022), or Otlan, Kuzmina, Rumi-antseva and Tertytchnaya (2023).

of ideas by examining how new ideas emerge. By ideas, I mean beliefs about how the physical and social world works and ought to work, following a definition of a worldview developed by [Mukand and Rodrik \(2018\)](#).⁴ Previous work has highlighted changes in communication technologies ([Chiopris, 2024](#)) and the geographic concentration of idea producers ([Mitchell, 2019](#)) as factors conducive to the emergence and diffusion of new ideas. In contrast, I show how ideas that were previously politically neutral can acquire political meaning during moments of political uncertainty by means of analogy. Building on the literature that highlights the importance of written works as a medium for disseminating technological and political ideas across historical contexts ([Squicciarini and Voigtländer, 2015](#); [Almelhem, Iyigun, Kennedy and Rubin, 2023](#); [Avetian and Mehmood, 2024](#); [Bai, Jia and Yang, 2024](#)), I show that books continue to play an important role in expressing ideas today.

Third, this paper contributes to the literature on authoritarian information control. Prior research has argued that resilience to authoritarian information control depends on both the awareness of information manipulation and the demand for censored or suppressed content ([Roberts, 2020](#)). Awareness of information distortion may provoke aversion towards sources that engage in it ([Pan and Siegel, 2020](#)).⁵ The lack of such awareness makes the demand for censored information inelastic, keeping it low even among educated and technologically sophisticated social groups, such as college students ([Chen and Yang, 2019a](#)). The literature, however, has yet to explain what can shift the demand. My paper demonstrates that a dramatic political event, such as a war, may stimulate public interest in topics silenced or avoided by the regime if these topics bear an analogy to ongoing events.

Analogies are particularly appropriate for the study of public sentiment under authoritarian information control. The diffusion of ideas through books depends on a shared contextual understanding between authors and publishers, on the one hand, and the reading public, on the other ([Dijk, 1980](#)).⁶ Changes in the broader political environment may prompt the political re-interpretation of topics that previously seemed to bear no explicit political relevance, invoking analogies and appealing to emotions and imagination. For these reasons, books have the potential to communicate attitudes towards political events even without explicitly mentioning them. Whereas publishing a book that openly calls for regime change may lead to political prosecution, focusing instead on the history of regime changes may end up being a commercial success.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 develops the theoretical argument linking moments of political turmoil to individuals’ willingness to seek frames of reference. Section 3 documents ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ as a distinct topic circulating in the Russian market for history and social science books, outlining the topic

⁴As an example, [Mokyr \(2018\)](#) describes the Enlightenment worldview, which posited the possibility of “economic improvement through an aggressive manipulation of natural forces made possible by useful knowledge”.

⁵For example, it has been shown that, between 2013 and 2015, the average consumer of online news outlets in Russia preferred less ideologically slanted representations of sensitive political events ([Simonov and Rao, 2022](#)).

⁶For example, to infer that the mysterious disappearances in the haunted flat in Mikhail Bulgakov’s *The Master and Margarita* allude to the Great Terror, a reader must be familiar with the history of repression in the USSR and the author’s relationship with the Soviet state. Otherwise, the novel will read less as a political statement and more as a work of fantasy.

modelling approach (Section 3.1), presenting the book abstracts data set (Section 3.2), and summarizing the results (Section 3.3). Section 4 examines changes in the readership of ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books. I describe my empirical strategy (Section 4.1), introduce the LiveLib user data set (Section 4.2), and document the increase in readership after the start of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine (Section 4.3). Section 5 concludes.

2 Political Turmoil and Frames of Reference

Analogical reasoning is pervasive in politics. Alongside other heuristics, such as partisanship or endorsements, analogies have the power to facilitate decision making under uncertainty. When a similarity is drawn between two events in one domain, analogical reasoning requires inferring their similarity in other domains, such as the set of available actions, the probabilities of their success, and their likely consequences (Zashin and Chapman, 1974; Steenbergen and Colombo, 2024). Furthermore, once accepted, an analogy compels individuals to also accept its moral or political implications. For these reasons, policymakers have extensively relied on analogies to guide their own decision-making and to justify their decisions to the public — with examples ranging from the Vietnam War (Khong, 1992) to Russia’s invasion of Ukraine (Kalhousová, Finkel and Kocián, 2024).

Books in history and the social sciences provide a useful source for studying the emergence of new analogies. I argue that the consumption of books serves three major functions. First, individuals may derive utility from reading books for leisure. Second, some books provide information which can be used to update beliefs and make real-life decisions, such as how to train for a marathon or where to dine while travelling. Third, books may offer *frames of reference* against which the world can be understood and judged. When confronted with an unfamiliar or unsettling environment, an individual may resort to analogies to impose structure on the unknown by referencing what is already known. While most books combine these functions across genres, works in *history and the social sciences* supply frames of reference in the most explicit manner.⁷ When an unexpected political event occurs, whose outcome is still unknown, such as a war or a regime transformation, individuals may turn to history to learn about past events that resemble the ongoing one.⁸ For example, after a war breaks out, individuals may start seeking information about previous conflicts. This search for frames of reference is likely to increase an interest in history books.

What remains unclear, however, is which frames of reference will be considered relevant to ongoing events. The salience of different analogies can be influenced by a combination of factors, such as public discourse about the event constructed by politicians, publishers’ efforts to promote books in the market, the availability of books on various topics, or the interests and prior knowledge of readers themselves. A memorable and resonating title may also play a role. For example, *The German War* by Nicholas Stargardt,

⁷This may help explain why autocrats have historically paid close attention to regulating this type of books — for example, by banning history works (Bai, Jia and Yang, 2024) or rewriting school curricula (Cantoni, Chen, Yang, Yuchtman and Zhang, 2017).

⁸Analogical reasoning is inherently prone to producing bias (Steenbergen and Colombo, 2024), as finding an appropriate analogy to a complex social event is itself a cognitively demanding task. In this paper, however, I am not interested in whether historical analogies serve as efficient heuristics, but rather which analogies become most salient in a given political environment.

which examines how the German society responded to World War II, was published in Russian as *The Mobilized Nation* a year before the invasion. Initially unnoticed by Russian readers, it gained momentum after the government announced mass mobilization on September 21, 2022, as shown in Figure E1 in the Online Appendix.

For these reasons, I hypothesize that the onset of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine will increase the readership of war-focused history and social science books. On the one hand, as Russian propaganda has been portraying the invasion of Ukraine as a defensive war against Nazism to the domestic audience (Treyger et al., 2025), heavily relying on World War II narratives, one could expect an increase in the readership of works on military history and ideologically slanted books. On the other hand, the invasion triggered a wave of mass anti-war protests across Russia, which were swiftly suppressed through large-scale repression, as well as dissent-driven emigration of up to a million Russians (Chi et al., 2025). Feelings of guilt and responsibility for one’s home country’s military aggression against Ukraine, expressed in surveys of Russian emigrants (Sergeeva and Kamalov, 2025), require different frames of reference, which might also be reflected in the patterns of book readership.

Studying individuals’ willingness to seek frames of reference poses several methodological challenges. First, I need to identify books that might provide relevant frames of reference — specifically, history and social science books that focus on wars. However, no publicly available registry of all titles published in Russia exists. Moreover, according to the annual reports of the Russian Book Union, between 2019 and 2024, approximately half of all titles in Russia were printed in runs of fewer than 500 copies, which suggests a limited public reach. To balance sample size with the relevance of books to the general reading public, I focus on the online catalogue of *Chitay-Gorod*, Russia’s largest bookstore chain.

I then need to identify which of these books might be relevant for interpreting the ongoing invasion. Seller-assigned book categories are rarely detailed enough to indicate a book’s subject matter, and even less so to suggest its political implications for readers. Furthermore, books focusing on the same question or events can cover them from contrasting perspectives. Thus, to classify history and social science books into substantive groups, I run an unsupervised algorithm on a corpus of book abstracts, which assigns abstracts to topics according to patterns of word co-occurrence. Based on the resulting topics, I will be able to classify books in my sample as war-related, which seem to offer frames of reference to the ongoing invasion, or politically neutral.

Having identified war-related books in my sample, I will be able to study how their readership changes in response to the start of the invasion in comparison to politically neutral books. Obtaining reliable readership data, however, is similarly challenging. Bookstore chains, online retailers, and independent book sellers are typically reluctant to share proprietary sales data. Even when such data are available, they fail to capture engagement with alternative reading practices, such as audiobooks, electronic subscription services, borrowing books from libraries and friends, or piracy. To overcome this problem, I focus on readership behaviour on LiveLib, a Russian-language analogue of the social reading platform Goodreads, where users can keep track of books they have already read or are planning to read. Conditional on having ever logged a book from the *Chitay-Gorod* sample on LiveLib, I can examine individual-level changes in readership of books falling under earlier defined topics.

3 Frames of Reference in the Book Market

3.1 Empirical Strategy: Topic Discovery

The first step in studying how Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine affected Russians’ reading preferences is to map the frames of reference circulating in the domestic market for books in history and the social sciences. To that end, I apply a structural topic model to a corpus of *book abstracts*. From the perspective of topic modelling, each text is treated as a combination of multiple ideas, called topics, reflecting the inherent complexity of written works (Grimmer, Roberts and Stewart, 2022). Taking a fixed number of topics as input, the model estimates the set of probabilities of each topic being prevalent in a document. These probabilities can also be interpreted as the proportion of the text each topic comprises. Topic prevalence, in turn, is based on the presence of words associated with that topic. Since the model remains agnostic to the meaning of words, resulting topics need to be labelled manually based on substantive interpretation of the most representative documents and the most frequent words associated with each topic.

Unlike standard topic models, which assume independence across topics, structural topic models explicitly allow for the estimation of cross-topic correlations. The correlations indicate which topics tend to appear together across documents. Structural topic models also incorporate document-level covariates into the process of topic discovery, allowing topic prevalence to vary with these covariates. In estimating the structural topic model, I control for *Post 2021*, a dummy variable that takes on a value of one if a book was published starting from 2022 onward. To determine the optimal number of topics, I balance three criteria: semantic coherence, measuring whether the same words tend to co-occur within a topic; exclusivity, indicating the extent to which different topics are comprised of distinct sets of words; and overall topic interpretability. I then combine discovered topics into broader groups based on their correlation structure.⁹

To examine whether the start of the invasion shifted the distribution of topics in the book market, I use topic prevalence estimates from the structural topic model in the following regression equation:

$$Pr(Topic)_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Post\ 2021_i + XB_i + \mu_j + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

where $Pr(Topic)_i$ is the estimate of the topic group j ’s prevalence in a document i . Here, I measure *Post 2021* _{i} in two ways: first, based on the publication year of the edition currently in stock; second, based on the publication year of the book’s earliest edition in post-Soviet Russia. The set of control variables X includes price, print run of the edition in stock, book’s popularity and its average user rating on the Russian-language social reading platform LiveLib. I measure popularity as the total number of LiveLib users who have logged a book as either read or planned to read. Finally, μ_j are the publisher fixed effects.

As the dependent variable is itself an *estimate*, standard errors need to be adjusted for the additional uncertainty. To do so, I sample 1000 topic prevalence estimates from the structural topic model posterior and compute the posterior standard deviation of $\hat{\beta}_1$. Finally, if the invasion affected the supply of books, it did so through publishing decisions,

⁹Throughout the paper, I rely on the `stm` package in R (Roberts, Stewart and Tingley, 2019).

implying that the effect of the invasion operated at the publisher level. To account for that, I incorporate the cluster structure into the estimation of the standard errors using Rubin’s rule.

3.2 Data: *Chitai-Gorod* Catalogue

In December 2024, I scraped the entire online catalogue of *Chitai-Gorod*, Russia’s largest bookstore chain. The catalogue claims to rank books by popularity based on an undisclosed metric. For the first 125,000 catalogue entries, I recorded each book’s abstract along with book metadata, including the author, publisher, publication year of the edition in stock, the number of copies printed for that edition, and International Standard Book Number (ISBN). In the catalogue, each book is assigned to one or more thematic categories, and I focus on titles listed under ‘History and Society’. I then exclude textbooks and educational materials, entries with a missing abstract or publication year information, and duplicates (i.e., earlier editions of the same book listed in the catalogue). This leaves me with 4,302 titles, available for purchase at *Chitai-Gorod*.

To estimate a structural topic model, I construct a document-term matrix from the corpus of book abstracts, where rows correspond to books, columns to unique words across all abstracts, and entries to the frequency of each word in each abstract. To construct the matrix, I remove punctuation, numbers, capitalization, stop words, single-character words, and author names from each abstract, perform word lemmatization, and exclude abstracts with fewer than 15 remaining words. This results in a sample of 4,028 documents used for further analysis. Section A in the Appendix provides a detailed description of all pre-processing decisions.

The publication year reported in the catalogue of *Chitai-Gorod* does not necessarily indicate the year when the book first appeared on the Russian market, as more successful books tend to be reprinted. To determine the original publication year in post-Soviet Russia, I rely on the online catalogue of the Russian State Library in Moscow. Under the Russian law, a copy of every printed work published in the country must be deposited in the Russian State Library. Using an automated search algorithm, I extracted all entries that matched a combination of book title and author, recording the publication year of the earliest matched edition published after 1990. This approach matched 74% of the sample. For books not found in the Russian State Library catalogue, I relied on the earliest edition reported on LiveLib (see below), increasing the final match rate to 98%.

Figure E2 in the Appendix demonstrates the distribution of books in the sample by publication year. The purple distribution denotes the publication year of the edition in stock at *Chitai-Gorod* as of December 2024. The distribution is left-skewed leaning towards more recently released books with 50% of the books published from 2022 onward. The orange distribution shows the publication year of the first post-Soviet edition. This distribution has a heavier left tail. Whereas less than 1% of the most recent editions were published prior to 2010, this is true for 15% of the first editions. Among 4,270 books for which both the first and last publication years are available, 42% have been reprinted in a later year than their original release, implying that a substantial share of books on the market, despite not being the latest release, continue to experience public demand.

The availability of books on the market might, however, be prone to selection bias. First, writers’ and publishers’ decisions about which types of books to produce may be

affected by self-censorship or external censorship. For example, no work that explicitly condemns Russia’s invasion of Ukraine can be expected to enter the Russian book market. However, the book industry in Russia did not experience substantial state pressure until 2025, when the regime cracked down on books featuring LGBTQ characters, but not history and social science books.¹⁰ Although self-censorship cannot be completely ruled out, it would likely *reduce* the supply of books that could be perceived as critical of the invasion and the current regime.

Second, the sample of books available at *Chitay-Gorod* may not be representative of the entire book market. As a large commercial chain, *Chitay-Gorod* likely prioritizes stocking mass-market books over books from smaller or specialized publishers. Similarly, although the catalogue ordering is described as a popularity ranking, it may reflect the seller’s unobserved marketing strategies that promote some titles over others. The catalogue also downranks books that were out of stock at the time of data collection, suggesting that newer bestsellers or older books that have gained popularity but have not yet been reprinted may be omitted from the data. Moreover, although the sample focuses on books listed under ‘History and Society’, some books classified as ‘Philosophy’ or ‘Essayism’ may also offer readers historical frames of reference. Finally, the sample naturally overrepresents books published more recently. Therefore, the sample may underrepresent the books whose popularity is likely to react to the invasion, both within and outside the *Chitay-Gorod* catalogue.

Panel A of Table D2 in the Appendix reports descriptive statistics for the books sample.

3.3 Results: Dictatorship Crimes

Relying on the corpus of book abstracts, I fitted a set of correlated topic models, with the number of topics ranging from 10 to 35. The model with 18 topics provided the best balance between semantic coherence and topic exclusivity while avoiding redundant or uninterpretable topics. The substantive composition of topics tends to remain consistent across models, indicating the robustness of the results.¹¹

Figure 1 presents the distribution of topics across the entire corpus, together with English translations of the three most frequent words associated with each topic.¹² In turn, Figure 2 shows the correlation structure among the topics, indicating those that tend to co-occur within the same documents. Whereas some of the topics, such as ‘Royal Families’ or ‘Culture and Folklore’, seem to be primarily oriented towards entertainment and bear no explicit political relevance, others are more directly connected to politics. Among those, two distinct clusters of topics emerge. One cluster can be labelled ‘Russian Wars’, focusing on the military conflicts Russia has engaged in throughout its history, with a specific emphasis on World War II.¹³ The other cluster encompasses the topics

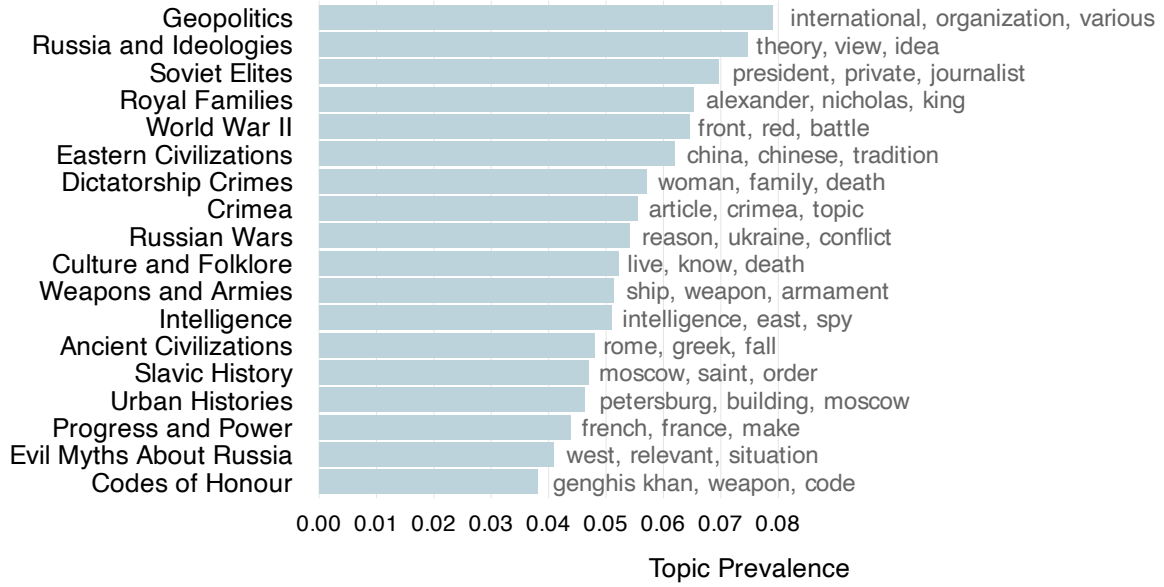
¹⁰Section B in the Appendix examines state pressure on the book industry in Russia in greater detail.

¹¹Figure E7 in the Appendix shows the average coherence and exclusivity values for models with varying numbers of topics.

¹²Section C in the Appendix provides the author’s interpretation of each topic and lists the five most frequent words associated with them, translated into English.

¹³In this cluster, I include topics labelled ‘Soviet Elites’, ‘World War II’, ‘Intelligence’, ‘Weapons and Armies’, and ‘Russian Wars’.

Figure 1: Book Topics in the *Chitay-Gorod* Catalogue



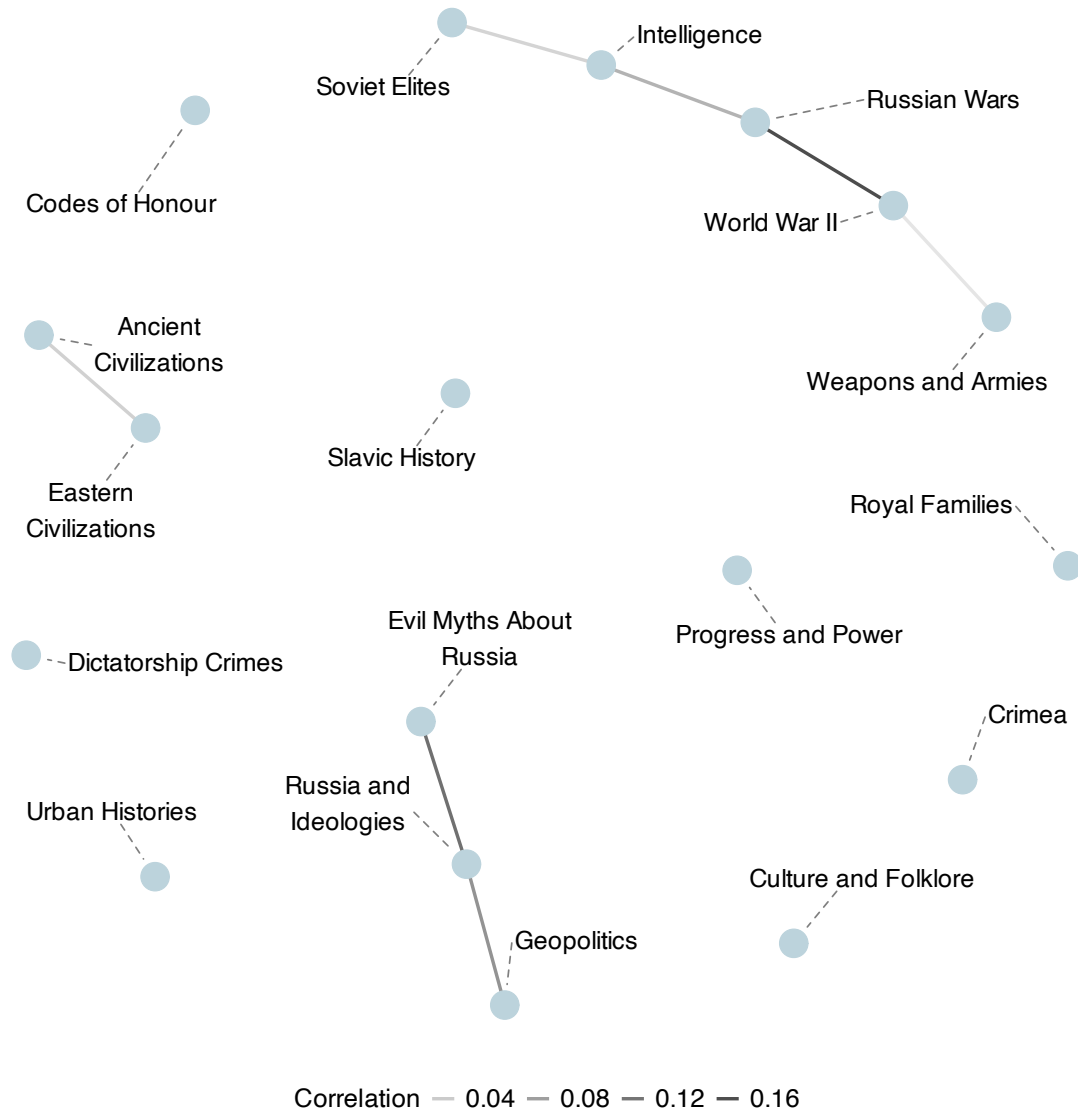
Notes: The figure shows the overall topic prevalence estimated from the correlated topic model with 18 topics, along with English translations of the three most frequent words associated with each topic. Topics were manually labelled based on an in-depth reading of the most representative documents and the most frequent words associated with each topic.

‘Geopolitics’ (8% of the corpus, making it the most frequent topic), ‘Russia and Ideologies’, and ‘Evil Myths about Russia’, and can be broadly labelled ‘Ideology’. Many books in this cluster tend to broadcast the ideas of Russian exceptionalism, justify the confrontation with the West, and discuss alleged Western propaganda and mass media manipulation. One of the most representative documents is the book entitled *Evil Myths About Russia: What the West Says About Us*.

The prominence of these two clusters reflects broader patterns in contemporary Russian political rhetoric. The narrative of Russian exceptionalism and its value-based antagonism with the West has been steadily solidifying in the official political language over the past two decades (Sakwa, 2017; Laruelle, 2025). Correspondingly, works by notorious historical and contemporary Russian right-wing authors who contribute to this narrative, such as Alexander Dugin, tend to appear in the ‘Ideology’ cluster. Similarly, the state-promoted perspective on the Great Patriotic War — the term used in Russia to denote the conflict on the Eastern Front of World War II, fought between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany between June 1941 and May 1945 — has been considered by scholars as the foundational myth of the post-war Soviet and then post-Soviet Russian state (Tumarkin, 1995; Markwick, 2012).

Another topic with notable political relevance that stands out in the set of discovered topics, yet remains uncorrelated with the ‘Russian Wars’ and ‘Ideology’ clusters, is ‘Dictatorship Crimes’, which constitutes around 6% of the corpus. Documents with a high proportion of this topic focus on the lives of ordinary Germans during and after the Nazi dictatorship and their acquiescence to Nazi crimes, with a substantial emphasis on the Holocaust. The books with the highest prevalence of this topic are Tova Friedman’s and Malcolm Brabant’s *The Daughter of Auschwitz* and Horst Krüger’s *The Broken House:*

Figure 2: Books on Dictatorship Crimes Are Unrelated to Books on World War II



Notes: The figure shows the estimated correlations among 18 topics fitted on the corpus of book abstracts. Correlations smaller than 0.01 have been set to zero.

Growing Up Under Hitler. Also falling under this topic, though considerably less numerous, are books on early Soviet and Stalinist repression, as well as on other dictatorial regimes, such as North Korea.

This perspective on twentieth-century European history seems orthogonal to the state-promoted narrative with respect to both World War II and the invasion of Ukraine. Neither the Soviet Union nor post-Soviet Russia emphasized commemoration of the Holocaust (Markwick, 2012). Launched at the dawn of the Cold War, Stalin’s anti-Semitic campaign downplayed the significance of the Holocaust, portraying the USSR as the main victim of German aggression and severing ties between Soviet Jewry and international organizations (Snyder, 2016). The Soviet reading of World War II appears to have persisted across generations. In a recent survey, fewer than half of Russian respondents listed the Holocaust among core World War II events, even though they completed the

Table 1: Topic Prevalence and Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Topic Prevalence, %			
	Dictatorship Crimes (1)	Ideology (2)	Russian Wars (3)	Other (4)
<i>Panel A: No Controls</i>				
Published after 2021	1.809*** (0.645)	−3.404** (1.48)	0.379 (2.681)	1.216 (2.966)
Mean of DV	5.71	19.46	29.04	45.8
Standard deviation of DV	14.41	25.58	32.4	35.46
Observations	4,028	4,028	4,028	4,028
<i>Panel B: Controls</i>				
Published after 2021	1.729** (0.732)	−1.956 (1.423)	−2.187 (2.106)	2.413 (2.778)
Price, in 100 Rubles	−0.116** (0.045)	−0.184* (0.094)	0.193 (0.187)	0.107 (0.17)
Copies, in 100 Copies	0.001 (0.028)	0.092** (0.042)	−0.087 (0.073)	−0.006 (0.041)
Popularity, in 100 Readers	0.173** (0.081)	−0.106 (0.099)	−0.194** (0.062)	0.128 (0.055)
Average Rating	0.706*** (0.199)	−0.618** (0.225)	−2.005*** (0.438)	1.917*** (0.468)
Publisher Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of DV	6.17	18.83	29.45	45.55
Standard deviation of DV	15.08	25.22	32.59	35.59
Observations	3,239	3,239	3,239	3,239

Notes: The unit of observation is a book. The dependent variable is the sum of topic prevalence estimates derived from a structural topic model for a given topic cluster, scaled between 0 and 100. Standard errors, computed using the posterior distribution of the topic prevalence estimates and adjusted for clustering at the publisher level, are shown in parentheses.

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

questionnaire in English, which might have prompted them to invoke more West-oriented narratives (Abel et al., 2019).

Similarly, Russian political rhetoric has explicitly framed the invasion of Ukraine in historical terms, drawing direct parallels to World War II. The invasion has been justified as the fight against ‘Nazism’ and the prevention of ‘genocide’ of the Russian-speaking population allegedly committed by the Ukrainian state (Treyger et al., 2025). While this perspective can indeed be found in some books within the ‘Ideology’ cluster, the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic is not correlated with either ‘Ideology’ or ‘Russian Wars’. It therefore appears that ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ invokes a substantively distinct set of ideas in discussing Nazi Germany and the Holocaust.

Does the distribution of topics differ across books published before and after the start of the invasion? Table 1 shows the results of estimating Equation 1, documenting changes in topic prevalence for books published before 2022 and from 2022 onwards. In Column (1), the dependent variable is the prevalence estimates for the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic; in Columns (2) and (3), for the ‘Ideology’ and ‘Russian Wars’ clusters, respectively; and Column (4) combines the remaining topics. Panel (A) shows the bivariate relationship between topic prevalence and a dummy variable indicating whether a book was published in 2022 or later, whereas Panel (B) reports the results from a specification that controls for book characteristics and publisher fixed effects.

It appears that the start of the invasion has been associated with a shift in the topical composition of the market for history and social science books in Russia. Abstracts of books published after 2021 devote, on average, around 2 percentage points more attention to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic than books published earlier. This constitutes a 30% increase over the sample mean. In contrast, the ‘Ideology’ cluster becomes significantly less prevalent in books published after the start of the invasion with a 3 percentage point decrease, corresponding to an 18% reduction relative to the sample mean. At the same time, neither the topics in the ‘Russian Wars’ nor all the remaining topics exhibit a significant difference in prevalence over time.

Controlling for a vector of book characteristics, which include price, print run, popularity, and rating, does not alter the result for the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic, with the coefficient remaining positive, similar in magnitude and highly significant. In contrast, the difference in the prevalence of the ‘Ideology’ cluster in books published before and after the start of the invasion becomes statistically indistinguishable from zero. Due to missing values, however, the sample size decreases by around 800 books with the inclusion of controls. The results are further replicated when books are compared based on their first print in post-Soviet Russia, as reported in Table D3 in the Appendix.

The results presented in this section suggest that the abstracts of books first published in 2022 and later contain a higher share of a topic that appears to focus on the Holocaust, the lives of ordinary Germans in the Third Reich, and the crimes of other dictatorial regimes than those published earlier. While engaging with the questions of war and violence, this topic does *not* appear to be related to the regime’s narrative about the invasion, as it is uncorrelated with either the topic that promotes the regime’s ideological agenda or the topic that presents a Russia-centred military history. Taken together, these results may indicate the emergence of a new frame of reference in the Russian book market in response to the invasion.

4 Effects of the Invasion on Book Readership

4.1 Empirical Strategy: Book Readership

I now examine whether Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine has increased the relative popularity of books under the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic in Russia. I define such books as books in the *Chitay-Gorod* sample whose abstracts are composed of more than 50% of the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic, as estimated by the structural topic model. To that end, I rely on readership data retrieved from LiveLib, the Russian-language analogue of the international social reading platform Goodreads. While I am interested in changes in individual reading behaviour, I expect the invasion to drive these changes through its effect on *the salience of books*.

Thus, I estimate the following difference-in-differences-style model, where the unit of observation is a user-date-topic triple:

$$Read_{ikt} = \beta_1 Post\ Invasion_t \times Topic_{ik} + \mu_{ik} + \eta_t + \varepsilon_{ikt} \quad (2)$$

Here, the outcome $Read_{ikt}$ denotes the share of books for which the prevalence of topic or group of topics k exceeds 50%, relative to all books that user i logged as read in month t , where $k \in \{1, 2\}$, as defined by the structural topic model discussed in Section 3.1. The month values range from January 2018 to May 2025. $Post\ Invasion_t$ is a dummy variable that takes the value of one in the post-treatment period, that is, the months following Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, starting in March 2022. $Topic_{ik}$ is a dummy variable taking the value of one for $k = 2$, the topic of interest, and zero for $k = 1$, the comparison topic.

I further control for user-topic fixed effects μ_{ik} , which account for user-specific characteristics, such as logging behaviour, and their time-invariant preferences for each of the topics. Month-year fixed effects η_t account for time shocks affecting all users simultaneously within each month. After including fixed effects, the coefficient β_1 on the interaction term $Post\ Invasion_t \times Topic_{ik}$ reflects the average *change* in readership rates of ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books relative to the comparison topic after the start of the invasion. If positive, it indicates that an increase in readership rates for ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ was larger than the corresponding increase for the comparison topic after the start of the invasion.¹⁴

Model Validation

To test for pre-treatment effects, I estimate an event-study model, examining differences in readership rates between the two topics over 6-month periods relative to the 6 months preceding the start of the invasion, from August 2021 to January 2022:

$$Read_{ikt} = \sum_{t=-q}^{-2} \gamma_t Period_t \times Topic_{ik} + \sum_{t=0}^m \delta_t Period_t \times Topic_{ik} + \mu_{ik} + \eta_t + \varepsilon_{ikt} \quad (3)$$

Here, $Period_t$ is a dummy variable indicating a period, γ_t is a set of pre-treatment coefficients, and δ_t is a set of post-treatment coefficients. To ensure consistent period

¹⁴Alternatively, it could also imply that a decrease in readership rates for ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ was smaller than the corresponding decrease for the comparison topic after the start of the invasion.

length, I limit the analysis to months between February 2019 and January 2025, amounting to five full pre-treatment periods and six post-treatment periods. If the two topics followed the same trend prior to the invasion, the coefficients on the set of pre-treatment interactions γ_t should not be statistically different from zero. The coefficients on the post-treatment interactions δ_t , however, should be positive and gain significance.

As both Equation 2 and Equation 3 include the full set of fixed effects, they do not capture the *direction* of change. A positive coefficient on the interaction term could either reflect a larger increase *or* a smaller decrease in readership relative to the comparison topic. Nor do they indicate whether the comparison topic itself experienced a change in response to the invasion. To address this concern, I estimate separate event-study models for both topics without time fixed effects. For a causal interpretation of the results, the comparison topic should show no significant pre- or post-period changes. In contrast, the topic of interest should exhibit insignificant coefficients on the pre-period dummies, and positive and significant coefficients on the post-period dummies.

Choosing the Comparison Group

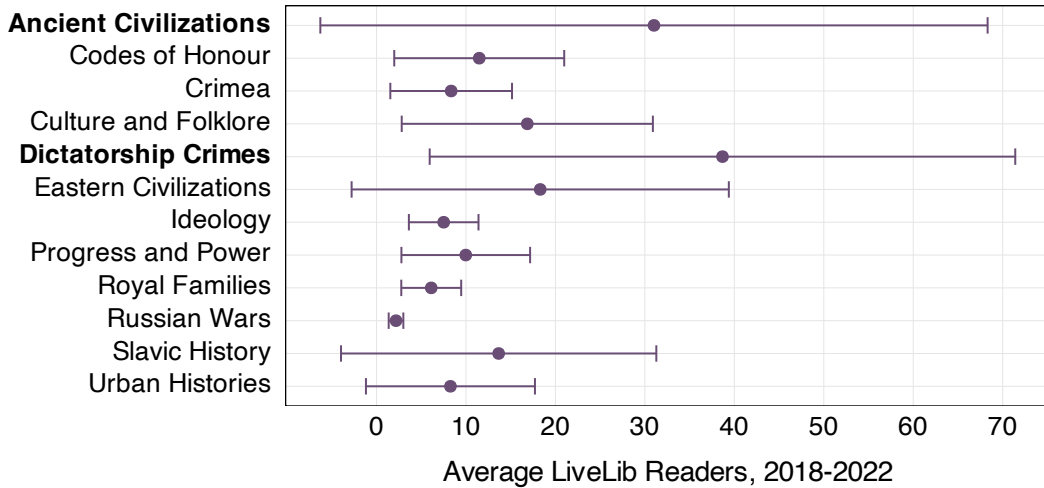
Ideally, to estimate the causal effect of the start of the invasion on the readership of ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books, one needs to find an appropriate comparison topic. It must resemble ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ in its pre-invasion characteristics as closely as possible, while also having no political relevance to the forthcoming invasion. To find such a topic, I assign all books in the *Chitay-Gorod* sample to a topic or a group of correlated topics whose prevalence exceeds 50% in that book’s abstract. I then compare them to books assigned to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic with respect to their pre-invasion readership on LiveLib, as well as their price and print runs. Data on price and print runs, however, are available only for the post-invasion period, as they were measured in December 2024. For this reason, they could have responded to the start of the invasion and should be interpreted with caution.

Figure 3 reports the average pre-invasion LiveLib readership across books assigned to each of the topics estimated by the structural topic model, measured between January 2018 and January 2022. The ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ and ‘Ancient Civilizations’ topics stand out as the most popular before the start of the invasion, with an average of 39 and 31 readers across 126 and 120 books assigned to each topic, respectively. The difference is not statistically significant at the 95% level. They are also statistically indistinguishable in terms of the average post-invasion price, print runs, and total LiveLib readership, suggesting comparable levels of accessibility to readers. There is, however, no reason to expect that the ‘Ancient Civilizations’ topic, dominated by titles on the history of Ancient Rome and Ancient Greece, would exhibit any systematic response to the onset of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine.¹⁵ Table D4 provides a more extensive comparison across all topics.

At the same time, the books on dictatorship crimes seem different from books assigned to the ‘Russian Wars’ and ‘Ideology’ topics, which also bear relevance to the ongoing invasion. Although the latter two, combined, are 15 times more numerous than those on

¹⁵The example of a representative document under the ‘Ancient Civilizations’ topic is Douglas Boin’s *Alaric the Goth: An Outsider’s History of the Fall of Rome*, originally published in English in 2020 and translated into Russian in 2023.

Figure 3: Choosing the Comparison Topic



Notes: The figure compares topics estimated by the structural topic model in the *Chitay-Gorod* sample, showing the average number of LiveLib readers who logged books assigned to each topic between January 2018 and January 2022. The ‘Ancient Civilizations’ topic is closest to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic in terms of pre-invasion readership.

‘Dictatorship Crimes’ in the *Chitay-Gorod* catalogue — 1,829 and 126, respectively — they have roughly one fifth as many readers on LiveLib and have smaller print runs on average. Whereas the average book in the *Chitay-Gorod* sample is printed in approximately 1,700 copies, books on ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ have a higher than average print run of 2,200 copies, which might indicate their higher commercial success.

Throughout the remainder of this paper, I will treat books on ‘Ancient Civilizations’ as a primary comparison group for books on ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ among history and social science books. I will further compare ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books to those of non-historical genres whose readership is unlikely to increase in response to the invasion, such as travel, classic fiction, and self-help literature. Finally, I will contrast changes in the readership of ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books to that of true crime, examining whether the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic reflects a broader societal interest in the motivations of criminals rather than in crimes perpetrated by states.

4.2 Data: LiveLib Users

To measure readership patterns, I retrieved data from LiveLib, a Russian-language social reading and book cataloguing platform. Founded in 2007, it allows users to log, rate, and review books, functioning as analogue to the international platform Goodreads. According to Similarweb, as of July 2025, LiveLib receives around 80% of its web traffic from users located in Russia, followed by Belarus and Ukraine, which account for about 4% of traffic each. Creating an account on LiveLib does not require users to provide identifying information, such as a legal name or a phone number, which partially alleviates concerns of self-censorship.

To match the books from the *Chitay-Gorod* sample with entries in the LiveLib catalogue, I first relied on ISBN and, for books that remained unmatched, a combination of the book’s title and author. This way, I was able to match 97% of the sample. For each

matched book, I recorded the number of users who marked it as read or planned to read, and the average user rating. I then extracted the identifiers of users who had read each book, resulting in a total of 105,215 users. For each of these users, I retrieved the full list of books they have logged on LiveLib between January 2018 and May 2025, along with a logging date, which is publicly displayed on a website as a combination of a month and a year, the user’s rating, and book metadata, such as title, author, and thematic category as defined by LiveLib. This procedure resulted in a sample of 96,119 active users who have logged at least one book since January 2018.

For each user, I recorded their registration date on the platform and their self-reported location. The location field contains unstandardized text that may mention a city, a region, a country, or a fictional place (e.g., ‘Platonic realm of ideas’). To standardize and extract meaningful geographic data, I resorted to the OpenStreetMap API to match unstandardized entries to precise locations, extracting corresponding administrative names and countries. The location field was available for 46% of users, and I was able to standardize locations for 43%. Among those, 79% are from Russia, 7% from Ukraine, 6% from Belarus, and 2% from Kazakhstan. Almost 77% of all users registered before February 24, 2022.¹⁶

To ensure consistency of the sample and account for the growing popularity of LiveLib in Russia over time, I exclude users who registered on the platform before the start of the observation window, January 2018. To mitigate attrition, I further exclude users who logged their last book before March 2023, one year into the war. This leaves me with a sample of 26,679 active users. Figure E6a in the Appendix shows the total reading dynamics for all users in the sample, and Figure E6b on the subset of active users as defined above. Although the full sample demonstrates an upward trend in total readership up until 2023, indicating an increase in the user base, readership remains fairly constant in the restricted sample, oscillating around a monthly average of 72,000 logged books.

Some users can misreport their true reading behaviour. For example, one can log all books they have read over their lifetime in the month of their registration on the platform. This is evidenced by the descriptive statistics in Table D2 in the Appendix, where the maximum number of books logged in a month reaches 10,369. To account for misreporting, I exclude all users whose average monthly log exceeds 30. This further reduces the number of unique users in the full sample to 26,635.¹⁷

The sample of LiveLib users, however, cannot be treated as representative of the Russian population. First, self-selection based on peer effects or internet access, among other factors, drives individuals’ decisions to register for any social media platform, including LiveLib. Second, a group of avid readers is likely to be biased relative to the general population in terms of education, residence, income, and available leisure time. Finally, individuals who read books in history and the social sciences may differ from those who prefer different types of books in terms of their occupation and interest in politics.

¹⁶Figure E4 in the Appendix plots the dynamics of cumulative user registration between 2007 and 2025 for the entire sample, users located in Russia and Ukraine, and users with unknown location. The patterns across the four groups appear to follow the logistic curve of technology adoption, supporting the validity of the data. Furthermore, the registration dynamics for users from Ukraine appear to flatten out after the start of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine, reflecting Ukrainians’ willingness to abandon Russian products and the Russian language (Kulyk, 2024), lending further credibility to the sample.

¹⁷The results remain robust to using the most conservative method, excluding all users whose maximum monthly log exceeds 30.

Although demographic information is not available for LiveLib users, about 48% of those who reported a Russian city as their location reside in the four largest cities — compared to only 15% of Russia’s total population.¹⁸ According to a survey studying Russians’ reading behaviour, conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) in November 2024, 53% of respondents stated that they had read at least one book in the preceding three months. Comparing respondents who read books to those who do not, I find that readers are more likely to have higher educational attainment with at least an unfinished bachelor’s degree, be female, have a high perceived income, be aged between 18 and 38, live in an urban area, and not watch TV, as demonstrated in Figure E5 in the Appendix.¹⁹ At the same time, respondents who reported reading at least one book in the preceding three months and LiveLib users exhibit similar reading behaviour, averaging about two books per month. Taken together, the average LiveLib user who reads history books appears to be more educated, reside in urban hubs, and be better off economically than the average Russian.

Panel B of Table D2 in the Appendix reports descriptive statistics for the readers sample.

4.3 Results: Effects of the Invasion

Table 2 reports the results of estimating Equation 2. In Panel A, readership rates for books categorized under ‘Dictatorship Crimes’, a war-related topic, are compared to those under ‘Ancient Civilizations’, a politically neutral topic, controlling for user-topic and month-year fixed effects. In Panel B, the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic is compared to the ‘Ideology’ cluster, and in Panel C to the ‘Russian Wars’ cluster. Here, books are assigned to a topic if it accounts for more than 50% of the book’s abstract according to the structural topic model. Column (1) shows the coefficients obtained on the full sample of active users, Column (2) excludes users who reported Ukraine as their location, and Column (3) focuses on users who reported Russia.

Across all specifications, there is a positive and significant increase in readership rates for ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ relative to ‘Ancient Civilizations’. Both the significance and the magnitude of the effect are robust to geographic restrictions of the sample. According to the most conservative estimates, derived from the sample of users who reported Russia as their location and presented in Column (3), readership rates of books under ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ increased by approximately 68% in the post-invasion period relative to its pre-invasion mean, controlling for a simultaneous change in the reference topic. Alternatively, this corresponds to a 1.9 times increase relative to the pre-invasion difference of 0.024 percentage points.²⁰ There is also an increase in the difference in readership rates between books on ‘Dictatorship Crimes’, on the one hand, and those on ‘Ideology’ or ‘Russian Wars’, on the other, albeit of a smaller magnitude, corresponding to an approximately 133% and 65% increase relative to the pre-invasion difference between

¹⁸These cities are Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, and Novosibirsk.

¹⁹There is an ongoing discussion in the literature regarding the quality of survey research in authoritarian contexts, in particular, in Russia after the start of the invasion (Rosenfeld, 2023). However, questions about reading behaviour do not appear to be sensitive enough to induce self-censorship or non-participation among the respondents.

²⁰The pre-invasion differences are reported in Table D5 in the Appendix.

Table 2: Changes in ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ Readership Rates and Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine

		<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
		Read, %		
	Reference	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Panel A</i>				
Post Invasion × Dictatorship Crimes	Ancient Civilizations	0.050*** (0.007)	0.050*** (0.007)	0.043*** (0.007)
<i>Panel B</i>				
Post Invasion × Dictatorship Crimes	Ideology	0.033*** (0.006)	0.033*** (0.006)	0.032*** (0.008)
<i>Panel C</i>				
Post Invasion × Dictatorship Crimes	Russian Wars	0.033*** (0.007)	0.034*** (0.007)	0.021*** (0.008)
User-Topic Fixed Effects		✓	✓	✓
Month-Year Fixed Effects		✓	✓	✓
Pre-Invasion Treated Mean		0.061	0.062	0.063
Pre-Invasion Treated SD		1.851	1.851	1.864
Geographic Sample		All Users	Not Ukraine	Russia
Unique Users		26,635	25,671	14,528
Observations		2,781,968	2,684,064	1,578,556

Notes: The unit of observation is a user-date-topic triple. The dependent variable is a percentage of books under topic k — defined as books whose abstracts are more than 50% comprised of the respective topic as defined by the structural topic model — relative to the total number of books recorded by the same user in month t . The panel covers the period from January 2018 to May 2025. Standard errors, clustered by user and month, reported in parentheses.

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

‘Dictatorship Crimes’ and a respective topic.

To what extent can the increase in readership of ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books be attributed to the start of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine? Figure 4a presents dynamic differences in readership rates between ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ and ‘Ancient Civilizations’ over 6-month periods before and after the start of the invasion, estimated from Equation 3 using the full sample of active users to maximize statistical power.²¹ The reference period, encoded as -1 and denoted with the red dashed vertical line, represents the last pre-invasion period and spans August 2021 to January 2022. While the difference in readership between the two topics remains close to zero in magnitude and statistically

²¹The results remain robust to dropping users who reported Ukraine as their location.

indistinguishable from the reference period during the two years preceding it, it starts increasing immediately after the start of the war. The coefficient in the first post-treatment period between February 2022 and July 2022 is not statistically significant, which may partially reflect the time required to read a non-fiction book on an emotionally challenging topic. The coefficients in the subsequent post-treatment periods become statistically significant, with estimates around 0.04 percentage points, and remain so for two and a half years after the first post-treatment period between August 2022 and January 2025.

The interaction event-study model with month-year fixed effects, however, does not indicate the direction of change. For example, it is possible that the start of the war *reduced* readership across all topics, but that the readership of war-related books declined to a lesser extent. To rule out this possibility, I estimate the event-study model separately for each category, omitting time fixed effects, and present the results in Figure 4b for ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ and Figure 4c for ‘Ancient Civilizations’. If the start of the invasion prompted the reading public to look for frames of reference in history, one should be able to observe an increase in readership rates for books on ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ after the start of the invasion, but not before. At the same time, books on ‘Ancient Civilizations’ should not exhibit a positive response to the invasion. The estimates confirm the expectation. Whereas there is a visible increase in readership rates for ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books after the start of the invasion, those for ‘Ancient Civilizations’ books remain stable throughout the entire period.

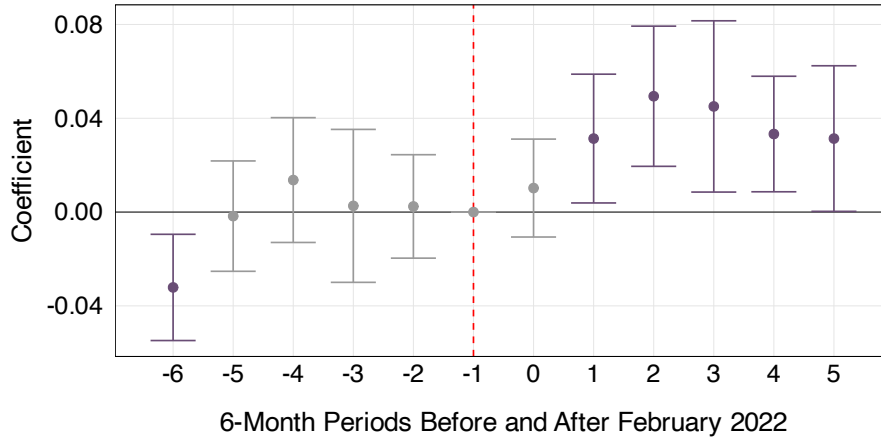
Figure 5 shows the coefficients of the event-study models estimated separately for four additional groups of books: books on ‘Ideology’ and ‘Russian Wars’ clusters, travel books, and true crime books. Readership rates for ‘Ideology’ books do not show a clear response to the start of the invasion, as shown in Panel (a). Although there is a significant increase in 2024 (periods 4 and 5), readership remains roughly the same from 2020 and through 2023. In contrast, readership rates for ‘Russian Wars’, presented in Panel (b), having displayed no trend before the invasion, appear to increase immediately following its onset, albeit with a considerably smaller magnitude than ‘Dictatorship Crimes’. An increased interest in books on military history following the start of the invasion further substantiates the frames-of-reference mechanism: living through a military conflict, readers seek information about previous conflicts in which their country was involved.

The increase in readership of the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic does not appear to reflect morbid curiosity, as seen in a broader societal interest in true crime stories (Scrivner, 2021). Panel (c) of Figure 5 shows coefficients from the event-study model of true crime readership.²² True crime literature does not experience an increase in readership immediately following the start of the invasion. A dramatic surge in interest is observed in the second half of 2023 (period 3). This increase, however, can be attributed to a single book, *The Boy’s Word*, which became a bestseller after a successful TV series based on the book, focusing on criminal gangs in late-1980s Kazan, was released in Fall 2023. Once *The Boy’s Word* is excluded from the sample, readership of true crime literature among LiveLib users remains stable throughout the period (see Figure E8 in the Appendix).

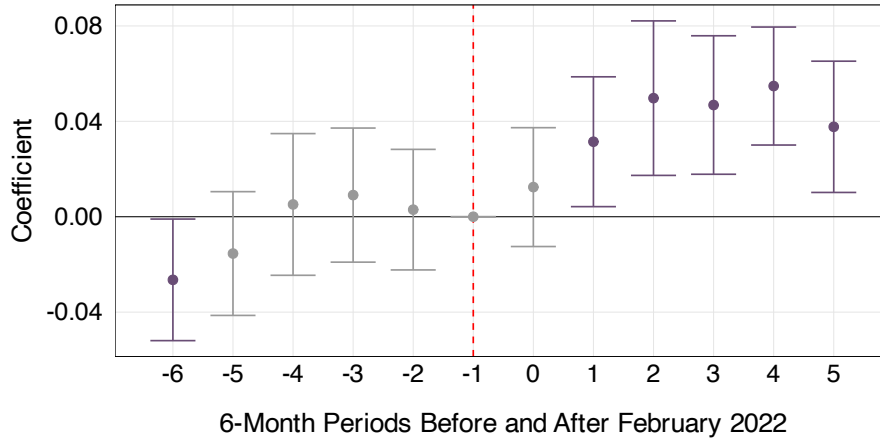
Similarly, the start of the invasion does not appear to foster interest in non-political books outside the history and social science genre. Panel (d) of Figure 5 shows changes

²²To measure readership of books outside the *Chitay-Gorod* sample, I use the universe of books logged by users in the LiveLib sample. To identify their genre, I rely on thematic categories used by LiveLib.

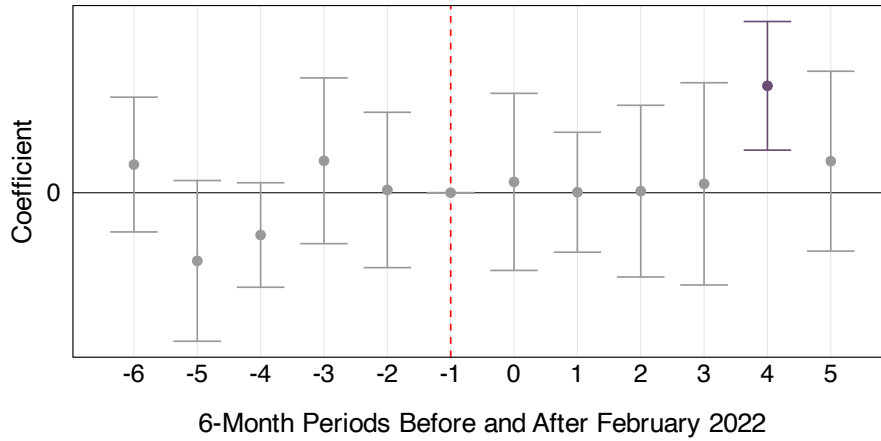
Figure 4: Readership of ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ Books Rises After the Invasion



(a) Changes in ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ Readership Rates Relative to ‘Ancient Civilizations’ Readership Rates



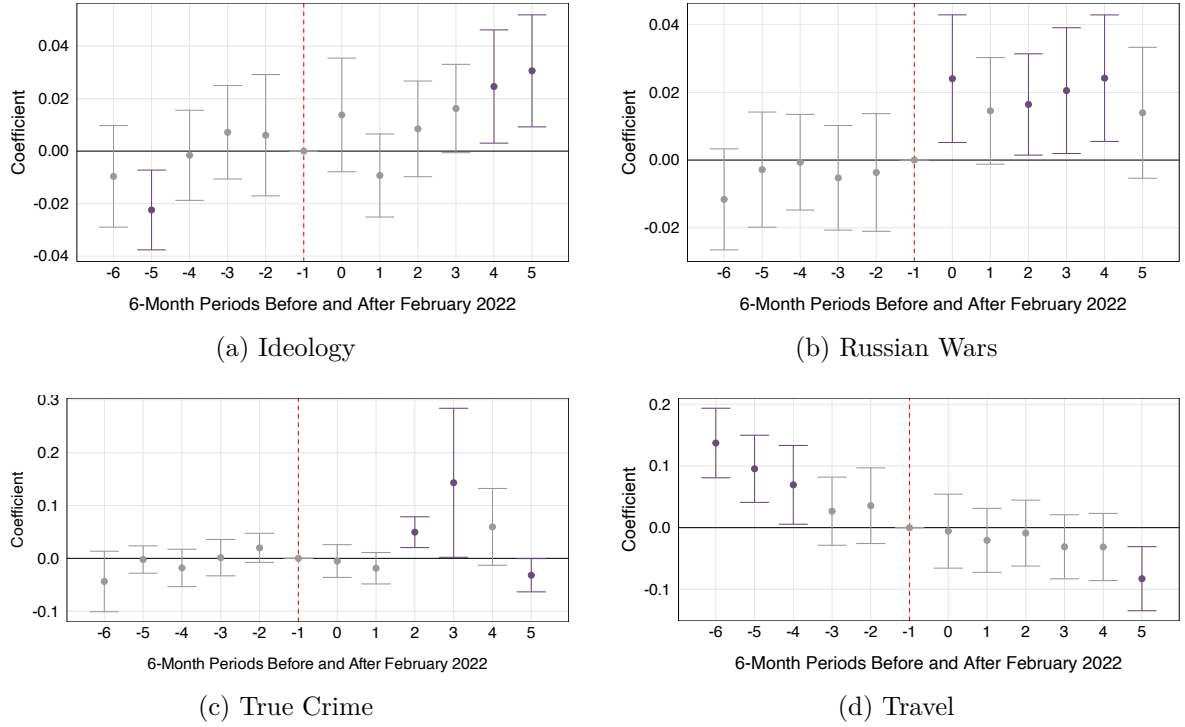
(b) Changes in ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ Readership Rates



(c) Changes in ‘Ancient Civilizations’ Readership Rates

Notes: The figure reports coefficients on the pre- and post-period dummies estimated from Equation 3, comparing readership rates of books on ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ against those on ‘Ancient Civilizations’. The reference period, encoded as -1 and denoted with the red dashed vertical line, spans August 2021 to January 2022. The panel covers the period from February 2019 to January 2025. Coefficients significant at the 5% level are displayed in purple, and insignificant in gray. Standard errors are clustered by user and month.

Figure 5: Readership Rates of Other Genres



Notes: The figure reports coefficients on the pre- and post-period dummies estimated from Equation 3, focusing on separate topics. The reference period, encoded as -1 and denoted with the red dashed vertical line, spans August 2021 to January 2022. The panel covers the period from February 2019 to January 2025. Coefficients significant at the 5% level are displayed in purple, and insignificant in gray. Standard errors are clustered by user and month.

in readership for books about travel. Whereas there was a steady decline in readership of travel books between 2018 and 2020, which might have been related to pre-pandemic decreases in disposable income and pandemic travel restrictions, it remained stable between 2021 and 2024, exhibiting no observable response to the start of the invasion. Figure E9 in the Appendix presents additional results for classic fiction, self-help literature, sports books, and fantasy. Neither seems to experience an increase in readership after the start of the invasion. Instead, classic fiction and self-help literature demonstrate a long-term decrease in readership between 2019 and 2025, whereas readership of sports literature remains fairly stable throughout the entire period. Although fantasy books may offer a psychological escape from reality, their readership does not increase following the start of the invasion.

The results suggest that the start of Russia's invasion of Ukraine led to an increase in domestic interest in war-related topics, but not politically neutral ones. While there appears to be an immediate yet small rise in readership of books on military history and conflicts involving Russia, the increase is much more pronounced for books on the Holocaust, Nazi Germany, and everyday life under dictatorship. I interpret these results as evidence that the invasion generated an interest in historical analogies: living during the ongoing war prompts readers to learn more about past ones. Furthermore, I treat the rising popularity of books on dictatorial crimes among LiveLib users as an indication of the emergence of a new frame of reference, which draws an analogy between the experience

of living in contemporary Russia and that of living under past dictatorial regimes.

Topic Validation

Does the reading public in Russia, however, perceive books on ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ as a distinct group in the book market? Estimated by a structural topic model based on patterns of word co-occurrence in book abstracts, the discovered topics do not account for how readers engage with books in practice. As a result, they may not correspond to meaningful patterns of reading behaviour. To validate the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic, I rely on readership data from LiveLib, focusing on patterns of book co-readership.

To this end, I extract the set of unique books logged by all users in the LiveLib sample between January 2018 and May 2025, resulting in a total of 671,554 entries. The distribution of readership is highly right-skewed, with approximately 41% of all books logged by only one reader. To improve computational efficiency and focus on titles with non-trivial readership, I restrict the analysis to books with at least 10 readers, which constitute 19% of all titles. Of the 126 books assigned to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic (see Table D4 in the Appendix), 67 meet this threshold. For each of these books, I extract the thematic categories assigned by LiveLib — the most frequent being ‘Biographies and Memoirs’, ‘Documentary Literature’, and ‘History’. I then restrict the full list of books to include only those belonging to these categories, focusing on titles most topically related to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books, resulting in a subset of 9,935 history-related books.

Using these data, I construct a user-book matrix in which rows correspond to unique users who have read any of the 9,935 history-related titles, columns correspond to books, and entries indicate whether a user has read a given book. This results in a matrix with 84,042 rows and 9,935 columns. Relying on the user-book matrix, I derive a book-to-book similarity matrix using the Jaccard index, which measures the extent to which two books are read by the same users relative to the total number of users who read at least one of them.²³ Finally, for each of 9,935 history-related books, I calculate its average similarity to 67 ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books, excluding similarity with itself.

Figure E10 in the Appendix demonstrates the distribution of similarity values. It is concentrated around zero, with 50% of titles sharing less than 0.02% of their readership with the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic. In contrast, *The Twins of Auschwitz* by Eva Mozes Kor, whose abstract was estimated to be composed of 94% of the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic, has also the highest Jaccard similarity of 0.03, implying that, on average, 3% of the combined readership of this book and other ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books have read both. Similarly, the top 5% of the similarity distribution contains 51% of books assigned to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic. In other words, ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books tend to be read together.

Which other books do users, however, read alongside ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ books? Table D6 in the Appendix lists the 25 books with the highest average similarity, indicating whether they entered the *Chitay-Gorod* sample and were assigned to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic. All listed books substantively correspond to the topic, focusing on the Holocaust (*After Auschwitz*), the experience of a life under dictatorship (*Defying Hitler*²⁴), acquiescence to Nazi crimes (*The Conscience of a Nazi Judge*), and coming to

²³The results are robust to using cosine similarity.

²⁴Przeworski (2023) commented on the English edition of this book: “For the despair at the futility

terms with the dark chapters of family and national history (*My Grandfather Would Have Shot Me: A Black Woman Discovers Her Family's Nazi Past* and *An Inconvenient Past: The Memory of State Crimes in Russia and Other Countries*). Most of the books in the *Chitay-Gorod* sample were also assigned to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic; those that were not have an average prevalence of 25% for the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’. Therefore, this topic emerges both in the book abstracts and in the observed behaviour of LiveLib users.

5 Conclusion

From 2022 onward, news outlets in Russia have started documenting puzzling changes in domestic book readership. By the end of 2022, historical studies and memoirs exploring the daily lives of ordinary Germans under the Nazi dictatorship had become bestsellers, despite an overall decline in book sales.²⁵ This paper studies the effect of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 on individuals’ willingness to seek frames of reference conveyed by history and social science books in Russia. I conceptualize frames of reference as heuristics that help individuals interpret unfamiliar or unsettling events by means of historical analogy. By drawing an analogy between the present and the past, individuals can infer likely outcomes and the moral implications of ongoing events.

I thus ask which historical analogies can be found in the books that Russians were reading after the war began. To that end, I examine 4,000 books listed in the online catalogue of Russia’s largest bookstore chain, extracting their abstracts and supplementing them with the data on readers who logged these books as finished on LiveLib, a Russian-language analogue of the social book cataloguing platform Goodreads, along with all other books they read, between 2018 and 2025.

A text analysis of book abstracts uncovers three war-related topics in the Russian book market. One provides an ideological lens on the ongoing events, featuring books that promote the Russian regime’s rhetoric on its role in the world and its invasion of Ukraine, while the other two appear to offer historical frames of reference: books on military history and books on the crimes of past dictatorial regimes, with a predominant focus on Nazi Germany. Although the first topic remains the most prevalent overall, its share decreases after the start of the invasion. In contrast, books on dictatorship crimes gain prominence and appear to attract the largest readership on LiveLib. I argue that these books do not align with the Russian regime’s stance on the invasion, as they highlight events that are largely absent from the regime’s political discourse, such as the Holocaust, acquiescence to totalitarian regimes, and mass repression — potentially offering a substantively different interpretation of the invasion. I then provide evidence that the invasion prompted LiveLib users to shift towards books on dictatorship crimes, compared to politically neutral books. Moreover, books on dictatorship crimes appear to cluster in an individual’s reading behaviour: users tend to read these books together.

I interpret my results as evidence that the invasion increased individuals’ willingness to seek frames of reference critical of the Russian regime among *LiveLib* users. Reading

of resistance, see Haffner’s 1939 memoir, which was horribly mistitled in English as *Defying Hitler*, it was called *Memoir of a German* in the German original.”

²⁵Natalia Anisimova, “Demand for books on Nazi Germany has soared in Russia”, *RBC*, October 21, 2022. <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/11/10/2022/63453e5a9a79470cb0ecaaff>

books on dictatorship crimes may prompt readers to draw an analogy between life in contemporary Russia and life under past dictatorial regimes. These results, however, must be treated with caution, as they may not be informative of the broader Russian population. The average Russian reader tends to be more educated and have higher income than someone who does not read books, whereas the average LiveLib user is more likely to reside in the centres of cultural, social, and political life in the country. Although one could not rule out a possibility that segments of the population that are critical of the regime may be overrepresented among LiveLib users, my results nonetheless suggest that history books may serve as an outlet for expressing dissent in a repressive authoritarian regime.

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Appendix to ‘Reading Orwell in Moscow’

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September 29, 2025

A Text Preprocessing

Preprocessing decisions can affect the results of unsupervised learning models, making it crucial to document and, whenever possible, substantiate all preprocessing steps (Denny and Spirling, 2018). Following prior literature, I remove punctuation, numbers, capitalization, and stop words. Similar to other languages, there is no unified and theoretically grounded list of stop words for Russian. Most lists would include prepositions, pronouns, numerals, and copular verbs. I use the list that contains 421 words and overlap it with the full list of prepositions in Russian language.²⁶ Additionally, I drop non-Cyrillic characters, single-character words, which are often abbreviations, and author names from each abstract. I then perform lemmatization by assigning inflected word forms to their canonical forms.

The language of book abstracts differs from other types of texts in its reliance on a specific vocabulary. First, abstracts aim to delineate a book’s target audience. For example, they often state that ‘a book is intended for a broad audience of readers.’ This is reflected in the most frequent three-word combination in the corpus, ‘broad audience reader’, mentioned 345 times. Second, abstracts summarize the book’s contents, which leads to overreliance on reporting language.²⁷ To capture abstract-specific language, I devise three strategies. First, from each abstract, I remove words that fall within the top 0.5% of the word frequency distribution. Across the entire corpus, the top three words are ‘book’ (used 5,142 times), ‘history’ (3,697 times), and ‘war’ (2,306 times). These words do not seem to provide substantive information about the books’ contents, aside from indicating a focus on historical or societal topics, and can be considered stop words. Figure E3 in the Appendix shows 15 most frequent words along with their frequencies.

Second, I compile a list of abstract-specific words by comparing the corpus of book abstracts to the corpus of Russian mass media texts, which covers articles published on the online platforms of the 27 largest Russian mass media outlets between April 2016 and March 2017. I compute each word’s relative frequency in the corpus of abstracts compared to the corpus of news and find the median of the frequency ratio distribution. I treat all words whose frequency ratio exceeds the median as abstract-specific. However, some words with high frequency ratios turn out to be infrequent in the corpus of abstracts, contradicting the definition of a stopword. I thus compute the 97.5% quantile of the abstract frequency distribution and exclude the words below this threshold from the list of abstract-specific words.

Third, I compute the frequencies of all three-word combinations, or 3-grams, that are formed after the exclusion of baseline stopwords, common words, and abstract-specific words. An examination of the most frequent 3-grams, such as ‘contain comment hundred’ or ‘exert significant influence’, suggests their mostly technical nature. Thus, I also drop words that enter 3-grams occurring more than four times in the corpus of abstracts.

As the final step, to reduce the sparsity of the document-term matrix and improve computational efficiency, I exclude all documents that consist of fewer than 15 words, which make up lower 5% of the document length distribution, and all words that appear in fewer than five documents. This leaves me with a sample of 4,028 documents.

²⁶The sources of all data used in text preprocessing are listed in Table D1 in the Appendix.

²⁷The most frequently used reporting verbs in the corpus are ‘to devote’, ‘to recount’, and ‘to represent’. These rank 26th, 40th, and 71st among the most frequent words in the corpus.

B Book Industry and State Pressure in Russia

As opposed to mass media tightly controlled by the Russian government, the book industry appears to have enjoyed relatively more freedom under the Putin regime until 2025. Whereas pre-publication censorship involving official approval of manuscripts existed in both the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, it has not been practised in post-Soviet Russia.²⁸ Post-publication bans remain rare in contemporary Russia, even though their frequency has been slowly increasing over the last decade. This section examines state pressure on the book industry in Russia.

One can distinguish two approaches to post-publication book censorship in Russia associated with a varying degree of leeway available to publishers and sellers. The first approach involves classifying a book as extremist through a court ruling. According to the legal definition, extremist content justifies terrorism, promotes national or racial supremacy and incites violence against ethnic, racial, or religious groups. Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* stands among the most prominent examples of extremist books in Russia. The publication of a book labelled extremist can result in a substantial fine or a temporary suspension of the publisher's operations. In recent years, politically sensitive books have been occasionally added to the list, as, for example, the Russian translation of *The Russo-Ukrainian War* by Harvard professor Serhii Plokhy in October 2024 or Alexei Navalny's memoir *Patriot* in July 2025.²⁹ This, however, remains a rare event.

The second approach can be described as outsourced censorship, in which publishers and sellers, responding to public accusations of violating a repressive law, voluntarily withdraw already published books from the market to avoid facing charges under that law. For example, in April 2024, following the tightening of the anti-LGBTQ law, six books portraying queer relationships, such as James Baldwin's *Giovanni's Room* or Madeline Miller's *The Song of Achilles*, have been withdrawn from the market. Neither of the cases, however, involved an explicit court's decision. Under this strategy, publishers incur financial losses, as best-selling books are more likely to attract ideological scrutiny and may consequently be removed from circulation. Vague legal definitions create uncertainty about what does and does not fall within a particular law's boundaries.

The history of the World War II has been another book topic highly sensitive to the Russian state. Specifically, sexual violence committed by the Soviet army against German women during the later stages of WWII, discussed both in fiction and non-fiction, seems to provoke censorship under both strategies. For example, in November 2021, *A Woman in Berlin* by Marta Hillers, published in Russia in 2019, was banned as extremist literature. The diary, first published anonymously in English in 1954, recounted the author's experiences of sexual abuse by Soviet soldiers. Even though the law on extremist content prohibits reproducing such works in full or in part, Hillers's diary has still been often quoted in recently translated and reprinted books on World War II and post-war German history.

More recently, in January 2025, *Irena's Children* by Tilar Mazzeo, a biography of

²⁸This may change in the foreseeable future. In April 2024, a new institution has been established as a part of the Russian Book Union (see below) to assess printed and electronic book publications for compliance with the state law.

²⁹Both books, however, were never published in Russia; this, therefore, can also be considered as the unique cases of publicly announced pre-publication censorship.

a Polish social worker who helped smuggle Jewish children out of the Warsaw Ghetto, was withdrawn from the market by its publisher. First translated in Russian in 2020 and reprinted in 2024 by one of Russia's two largest publishers, the book was accused of 'spreading false information about the conduct of the USSR during World War II' by a nationalist Telegram channel with 16 thousand subscribers due to its mention of sexual violence perpetrated by the Soviet army. Such accusations have been treated as a criminal offence under Russian law since 2014.

Starting in the spring of 2025, when eleven current and former affiliates of one of Russia's two largest publishing houses were detained and several independent bookstores were fined under the anti-LGBTQ law for distributing books featuring LGBTQ topics and characters, the situation in the book market appears to have changed.³⁰ The subsequent wave of self-censorship resulted in the largest withdrawal of books from circulation. Although state pressure has not yet broadly targeted other types of books, spillovers of preventive self-censorship across topics remain cannot be ruled out.

Instead of resorting to explicit censorship, Russia has attempted to dissuade citizens from reaching for books the regime considers threatening or divert their attention to other readings. For example, works written by authors that have been declared 'foreign agents' by the Russian regime — both fiction and non-fiction — are required to be marked as such by both offline and online sellers.³¹ The regime also initiates criminal proceedings, widely covered in media, against prominent émigré authors who have been publicly condemning the Russian aggression in Ukraine — without overtly banning their works. Moreover, the government increases the supply and lowers the cost of literature it prefers citizens to consume. In June 2023, Gosuslugi, a digital platform with over 110 million registered users that provides Russians with easy access to state and municipal services, sent all its users a free digital copy of a collection of pro-war poetry that had been published by one of the two Russia's largest publishers in the Fall of 2022.

In general, despite the increased wartime repression and intensified ideologization of public discourse in Russia after 2022, the book market continued to enjoy a cautious freedom until mid-2025. According to some reports, self-censorship was increasingly driving the planning of publishers' portfolios to prevent financial losses associated with fines and the withdrawal of already printed books.³² However, a complete shift in publishing policy away from contentious topics that nevertheless experience readers' demand could itself lead to losses, especially when there is high uncertainty about what is considered sensitive by the regime. This might suggest the continuing importance of market forces in publishing decisions.

³⁰Instances of state pressure on the book industry in Russia since 2018 are collected here: https://nvasilenok.github.io/reading_orwell/index.html

³¹The foreign agent law, first enacted in Russia to target organizations in 2012 and expanded to include individuals in 2019, restricts the civil rights of those receiving funds from abroad or deemed to be under foreign influence.

³²Vladimir Kharitonov, "Russia's Hybrid Book Censorship and Propagandistic Agenda", *Russia.Post*, May 15, 2024. https://russiapost.info/culture/hybrid_book

C List of Topics

This section provides an interpretation of the topics identified in the sample of book abstracts using a structural topic model and lists the English translations of the five most frequent words associated with each topic. For details of the methodology, see Section 3.1.

1. Soviet Elites

- *Definition:* This topic features biographies and studies of Soviet and early post-Soviet leaders and political elites.
- *High-frequency words (English):* president, private, journalist, leader, government

2. Urban Histories

- *Definition:* Studies on urban history, urban planning, architecture, and city guides.
- *High-frequency words (English):* Petersburg, building, Moscow, Sankt, capital

3. Codes of Honour

- *Definition:* Books on this topic discuss military codes of conduct from various countries, such as the Japanese Bushido and the Russian Empire's duelling code.
- *High-frequency words (English):* Genghis Khan, weapon, code, duration, sword

4. World War II

- *Definition:* The topic focuses on specific battles, operations, and armies, as well as the memoirs of war participants, with a particular emphasis on events on the Eastern Front.
- *High-frequency words (English):* battlefield, red, battle, soldier, Moscow

5. Royal Families

- *Definition:* The topic includes books that explore the private lives of royal families across the world in history and today. A significant portion of these books focuses on the Romanov family.
- *High-frequency words (English):* Alexander, Nicholas, king, family, England

6. Eastern Civilizations

- *Definition:* The topic explores the history and politics of countries situated between the Middle East and the Mongol Empire, from antiquity to the present. It also includes books on the Russian Empire's policies in Central Asia.
- *High-frequency words (English):* China, Chinese, tradition, religion, Japan

7. Intelligence

- *Definition:* The topic features books on the international history of espionage, with a focus on World War II and the Cold War. It also features works on the contemporary Russian intelligence service. Some books under this topic seem to be written in a conspiracy-mongering tone.
- *High-frequency words (English):* intelligence, East, spy, republic, region

8. Culture and Folklore

- *Definition:* This is a fairly heterogeneous topic that comprises historical and cultural studies of religious and secular holidays, folklore, and national traditions.
- *High-frequency words (English):* live, know, death, knowledge, topic

9. Crimea

- *Definition:* This topic explores the history of Crimea's annexation by the Russian Empire and its role in wars waged by the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union.
- *High-frequency words (English):* article, Crimea, topic, extend, cover

10. Russia and Ideologies

- *Definition:* This topic includes works promoting hierarchical and elitist world-views, anti-globalist agendas, and conspiracy theories.
- *High-frequency words (English):* theory, perspective, idea, public, offer

11. Weapons and Armies

- *Definition:* Studies and references on historical and modern weapons.
- *High-frequency words (English):* ship, weaponry, armament, cruiser, aircraft

12. Geopolitics

- *Definition:* This topic focuses on international relations, examining Russia's role in the global political and economic order and its own and other countries' foreign policies.
- *High-frequency words (English):* international, organization, various, consider, governance

13. Slavic History

- *Definition:* Medieval and early modern history of Russia and Eastern Europe.
- *High-frequency words (English):* Moscow, saint, order, Ivan, church

14. Evil Myths About Russia

- *Definition:* This topic focuses on alleged anti-Russian sentiment and Russia's confrontation with the West.

- *High-frequency words (English)*: West, relevant, situation, profound, picture

15. Ancient Civilizations

- *Definition*: The topic includes books on Ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece, and nomadic empires, as well as the cultural history of worship and religious rituals.
- *High-frequency words (English)*: Rome, Greek, fall, Ottoman, sea

16. Progress and Power

- *Definition*: This topic combines books on advances in technologies, both in industry and science and governance and power.
- *High-frequency words (English)*: French, France, make, technology, discovery

17. Dictatorship Crimes

- *Definition*: The topic primarily focuses on the Holocaust and the lives of ordinary Germans under the Nazi dictatorship, as well as books on the atrocities of other dictatorial regimes.
- *High-frequency words (English)*: woman, family, death, love, Jewish

18. Russian Wars

- *Definition*: The history of military conflicts involving Russia throughout its history.
- *High-frequency words (English)*: reason, Ukraine, conflict, defeat, confrontation

D Tables

Table D1: Data Sources

Description	Used For	Source
<i>Chitay-Gorod</i> catalogue	Books data	https://www.chitai-gorod.ru/catalog/books-18030
LiveLib	Readership data	https://www.livelib.ru/
Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM)	Survey on reading behaviour, November 2024	https://wciom.ru/analytical-reviews/analiticheskii-obzor/chtenie-v-ehpokhu-cifry
Russian State Library	First publication year in post-Soviet Russia	https://search.rsl.ru/ru
Stopwords for Russian language	Text preprocessing	Ranks NL
Russian prepositions	Text preprocessing	Wiktionary
Russian mass media corpus	Text preprocessing	Max Fomichev on GitHub

Table D2: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	St.Dev.	Median	Min	Max	N
<i>Panel A: Books Sample</i>						
Words in Abstract	45.4	24.0	42.0	1	257	4,302
Published after 2021	0.6	0.5	1.0	0	1	4,302
Copies Printed	1,694.5	1,915.1	1,200.0	20	40,002	3,770
Price (Rubles)	1,027.3	729.7	839.0	87	9,870	4,001
Reprinted after 2021	0.2	0.4	0.0	0	1	4,270
Users Read	43.9	321.9	2.0	0	11,144	4,201
Users Planning	79.9	346.8	2.0	0	8,312	4,201
Average Rating	2.4	2.0	3.5	0	5	4,201
Users Rated	42.2	311.1	2.0	0	10,920	4,201
<i>Panel B: Readers Sample</i>						
Registered before January 1, 2018	0.4	0.5	0	0	1	95,913
Registered after February 24, 2022	0.2	0.4	0	0	1	95,913
Active until February 24, 2023	0.7	0.4	0	0	1	95,913
Books Logged, Per Month	1.8	10.0	0	0	10,369	8,153,030
History Books Logged, Per Month	0	0.4	0	0	261	8,153,030

Table D3: Topic Prevalence and Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Topic Prevalence			
	Dictatorship Crimes (1)	Ideology (2)	Russian Wars (3)	Other (4)
<i>Panel A: No Controls</i>				
First Published after 2021	1.702** (0.669)	−1.751 (1.442)	2.333 (2.532)	−2.284 (2.638)
Mean of DV	5.78	19.35	29.16	45.71
Standard deviation of DV	14.53	25.47	32.48	35.46
Observations	3,939	3,939	3,939	3,939
<i>Panel B: Controls</i>				
First Published after 2021	2.257*** (0.802)	−1.057 (1.065)	−2.294 (2.312)	1.094 (2.354)
Price, in 100 Rubles	−0.119** (0.047)	−0.196* (0.095)	0.191 (0.186)	0.124 (0.165)
Copies, in 100 Copies	−0.003 (0.027)	0.097** (0.04)	−0.082 (0.072)	−0.012 (0.041)
Popularity, in 100 Readers	0.200** (0.081)	−0.122 (0.097)	−0.223*** (0.073)	0.146* (0.04)
Average Rating	0.74*** (0.214)	−0.613** (0.224)	−2.032*** (0.455)	1.904*** (0.462)
Publisher Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mean of DV	6.17	18.83	29.45	45.55
Standard deviation of DV	15.08	25.22	32.59	35.59
Observations	3,239	3,239	3,239	3,239

Notes: The unit of observation is a book. The dependent variable is the sum of topic prevalence estimates derived from a structural topic model for a given topic cluster. Standard errors, computed using the posterior distribution of the topic prevalence estimates and adjusted for clustering at the publisher level, are shown in parentheses.

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table D4: Choosing the Comparison Topic

	Books	Readers, 2018-22	Readers, Total	Price, Rubles	Copies
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<i>Clusters</i>					
Dictatorship Crimes	126	38.7	191.1	903.6	2,201.4
Ideology	557	7.5	27.9	952.1	1,697.0
Russian Wars	1,039	2.2	8.5	1,068.2	1,315.8
<i>Topics</i>					
Ancient Civilizations	120	31.0	100.7	929.1	1,914.4
Codes of Honour	87	11.5	80.8	940.2	2,039.5
Crimea	104	8.3	35.4	1,286.1	1,470.8
Culture and Folklore	90	16.9	87.4	913.9	2,634.8
Eastern Civilizations	150	18.3	89.9	1,167.5	1,521.4
Progress and Power	89	10.0	44.0	985.8	2,367.7
Royal Families	161	6.1	25.3	916.2	1,934.0
Slavic History	125	13.7	16.6	951.0	1,546.3
Urban Histories	117	8.3	28.5	1,249.3	1,835.3

Notes: The unit of observation is a book, whose abstract contains more than 50% of a given topic. Columns (2) and (3) report data from LiveLib: the average number of readers between January 2018 and January 2022, and over the entire period of the platform's operation. Column (4) reports the average price in rubles, and Column (5) reports the number of printed copies of the edition in stock at *Chitay-Gorod*.

Table D5: Pre-Invasion Readership Differences

	<i>Geographic Sample:</i>		
	All Users	Not Ukraine	Russia
	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Panel A: Dictatorship Crimes against Ancient Civilizations</i>			
Pre-Invasion Difference Mean	0.021	0.019	0.024
Pre-Invasion Difference SD	2.502	2.496	2.407
<i>Panel B: Dictatorship Crimes against Ideology</i>			
Pre-Invasion Difference Mean	0.018	0.018	0.022
Pre-Invasion Difference SD	2.412	2.417	2.389
<i>Panel C: Dictatorship Crimes against Russian Wars</i>			
Pre-Invasion Difference Mean	0.029	0.029	0.034
Pre-Invasion Difference SD	2.223	2.230	2.175
Unique Users	26,635	25,671	14,528

Notes: The table reports pre-invasion differences in readership rates, computed as a percentage of books under topic k relative to the total number of books recorded by the same user in month t , for books under ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ against those under ‘Ancient Civilizations’, ‘Ideology’, and ‘Russian Wars’. The data cover the period from January 2018 to January 2022.

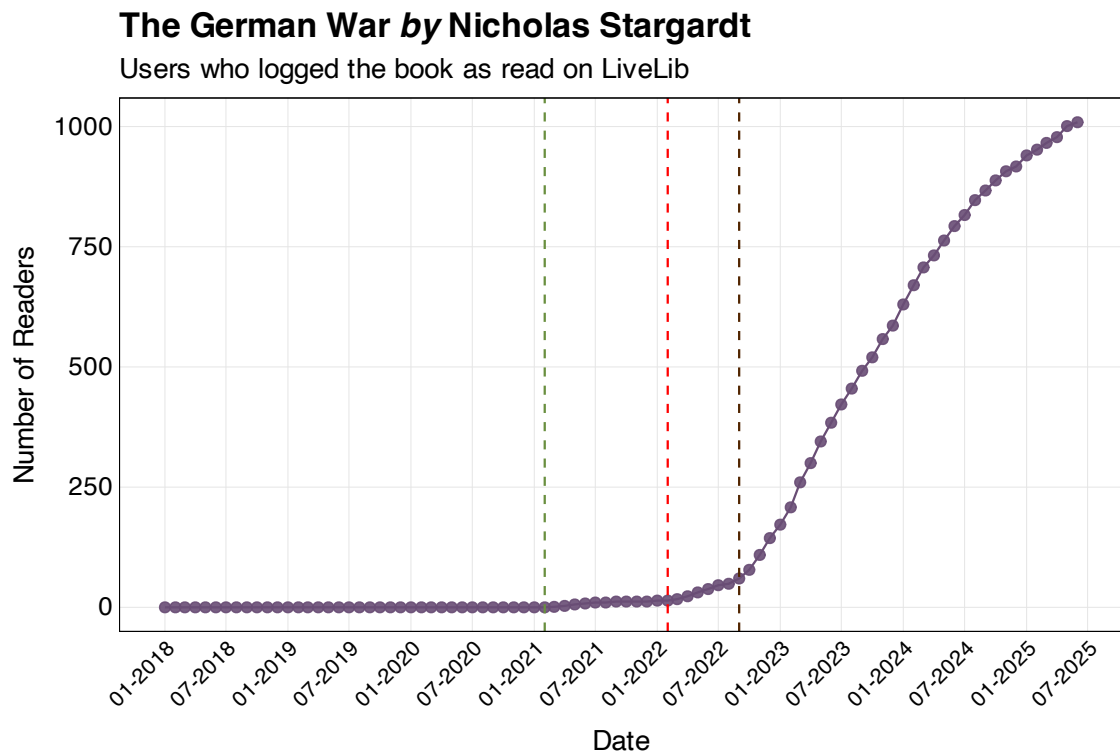
Table D6: Most Similar Books

Title	Author	Dictatorship Crimes (1)	Chitay-Gorod Sample (2)	Average Similarity (3)
The Twins of Auschwitz	Eva Mozes Kor and Lisa Rojany-Buccieri	✓	✓	0.030
Auschwitz Lullaby	Mario Escobar			0.028
My Grandfather Would Have Shot Me: A Black Woman Discovers Her Family's Nazi Past	Jennifer Teege and Nikola Sellmair	✓	✓	0.028
Perpetrators: The World of the Holocaust Killers	Guenter Lewy			0.028
The Little Girl Who Could Not Cry	Lidia Maksymowicz and Paolo Rodari			0.027
Boy From Buchenwald	Robbie Waisman and Susan Elizabeth Mc- Clelland			0.027
999: The Extraordinary Young Women of the First Official Jewish Transport to Auschwitz	Heather Dune Macadam			0.027
The Broken House: Growing up under Hitler	Horst Krüger	✓	✓	0.026
Konrad Morgen: The Conscience of a Nazi Judge	Herlinde Pauer-Studer and J. David Velleman		✓	0.026
A Demon-Haunted Land: Witches, Wonder Doctors, and the Ghosts of the Past in Post- WWII Germany	Monica Black		✓	0.026
The German War: A Nation Under Arms, 1939-1945	Nicholas Stargardt	✓	✓	0.026
Last Stop Auschwitz	Eddy de Wind			0.026
The diary of Eva Heyman	Eva Heyman		✓	0.026
Doctors from Hell: The Horrific Account of Nazi Experiments on Humans	Vivien Spitz			0.025
The Pharmacist of Auschwitz: The Untold Story	Trisha Posner	✓	✓	0.025
Defying Hitler: A Memoir	Sebastian Haffner			0.025
Aftermath: Life in the Fallout of the Third Reich, 1945–1955	Harald Jähner	✓	✓	0.025
An Inconvenient Past: The Memory of State Crimes in Russia and Other Countries	Nikolai Eppele			0.024
The Happiest Man on Earth	Eddie Jaku			0.024
Witnesses of War: Children's Lives Under the Nazis	Nicholas Stargardt	✓	✓	0.024
After Auschwitz	Eva Schloss	✓	✓	0.023
Hiroshima	John Hersey		✓	0.023
The Volunteer: The True Story of the Resis- tance Hero who Infiltrated Auschwitz	Jack Fairweather			0.023
Hitlerland: American Eyewitnesses to the Nazi Rise to Power	Andrew Nagorski		✓	0.023
The Daughter of Auschwitz	Malcolm Brabant and Tova Friedman	✓	✓	0.023
Counts		9	14	25

Notes: The table lists the 25 books with the highest average similarity values based on LiveLib co-readership patterns. Column (1) indicates whether a book was assigned to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic by the structural topic model. Column (2) indicates whether a book was present in the *Chitay-Gorod* sample. Column (3) reports the average Jaccard similarity values computed between each book and the books assigned to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic by the structural topic model, excluding self-similarity.

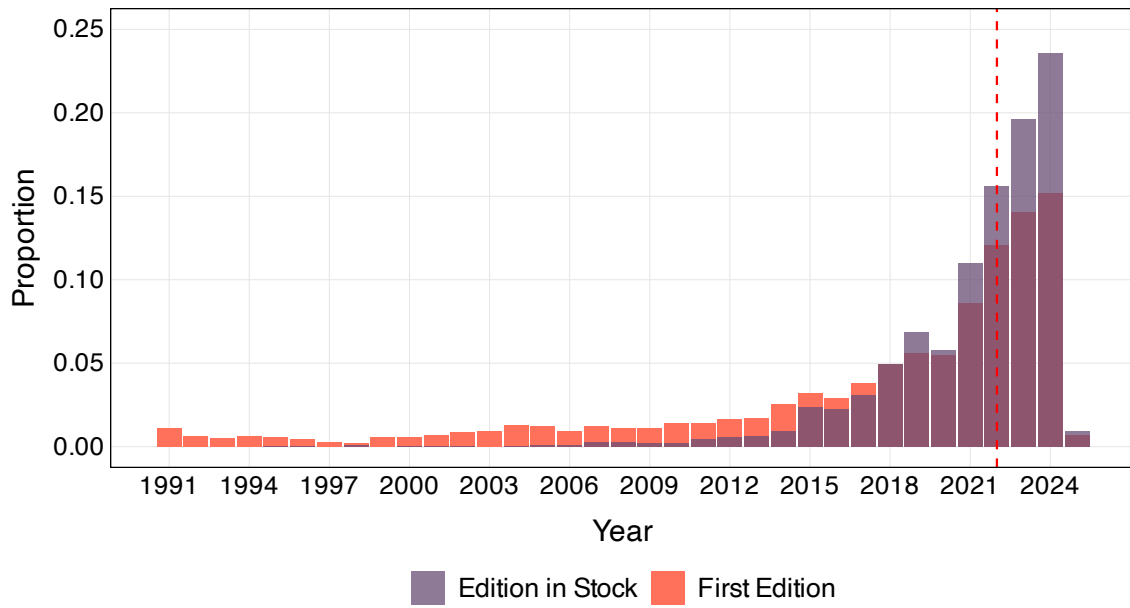
E Figures

Figure E1: Search for Frames of Reference



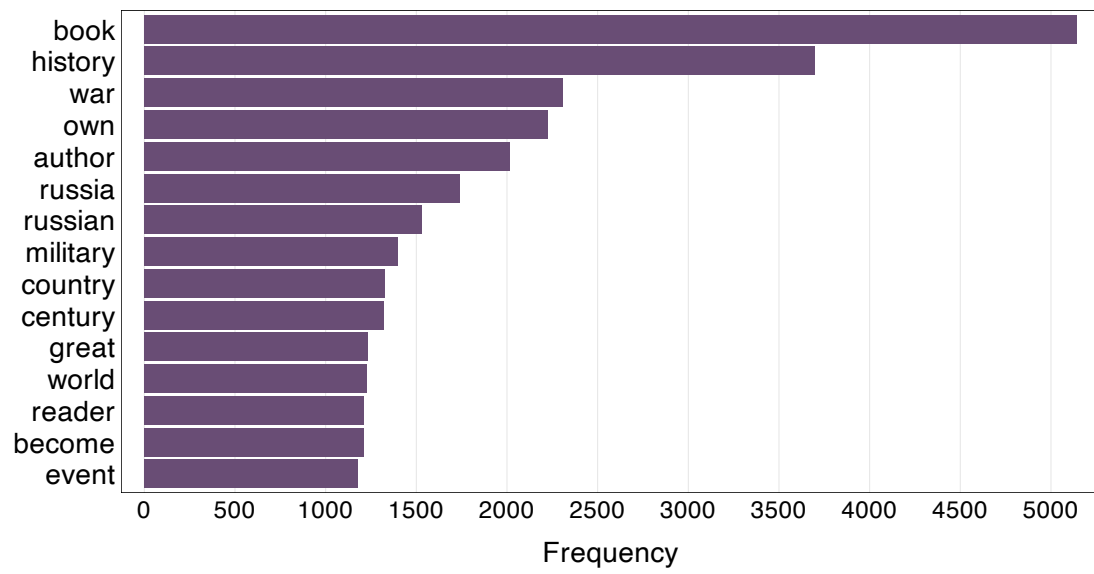
Notes: The figure shows the cumulative number of LiveLib users who logged *The German War* by Nicholas Stargardt (in Russian translation, *The Mobilized Nation*) as finished by a given month. The red dashed line indicates the start of Russia's full scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, and the brown dashed line marks the announcement of the mobilization on September 21, 2022. The green dashed line denotes February 2021, the month when the book was published.

Figure E2: Books by Publication Year



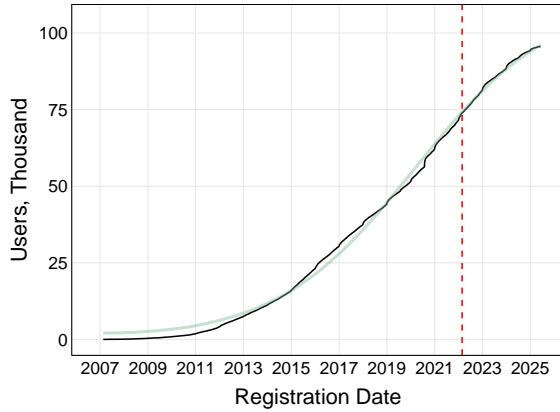
Notes: The figure shows the distribution of books in the sample by publication year. The purple distribution represents the publication year of the edition in stock at *Chitai-Gorod* as of December 2024. The orange distribution represents the publication year of the first post-Soviet edition. Data are retrieved from the Russian State Library for 76% of the original sample and from LiveLib for 22%. The red dotted vertical line indicates the onset of Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Figure E3: Most Frequent Words

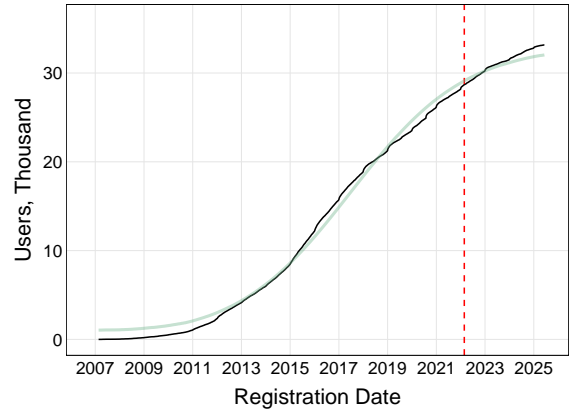


Notes: The figure shows the English translations of the 15 most frequent words across the corpus of book abstracts after the baseline set of stopwords has been excluded.

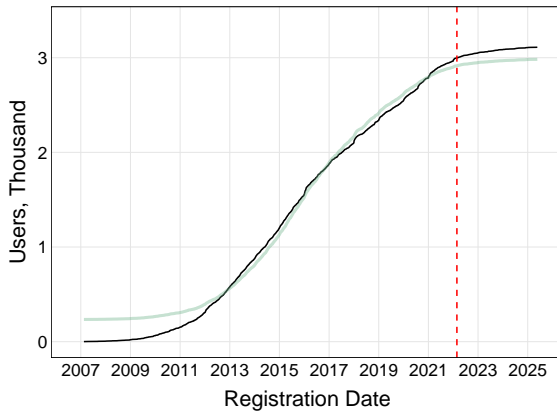
Figure E4: LiveLib User Registration Dynamics



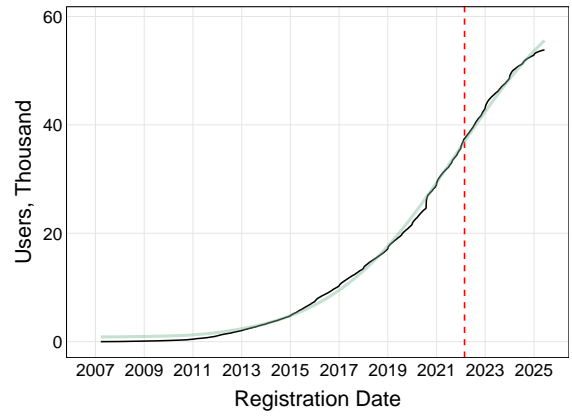
(a) Full Sample



(b) Located in Russia



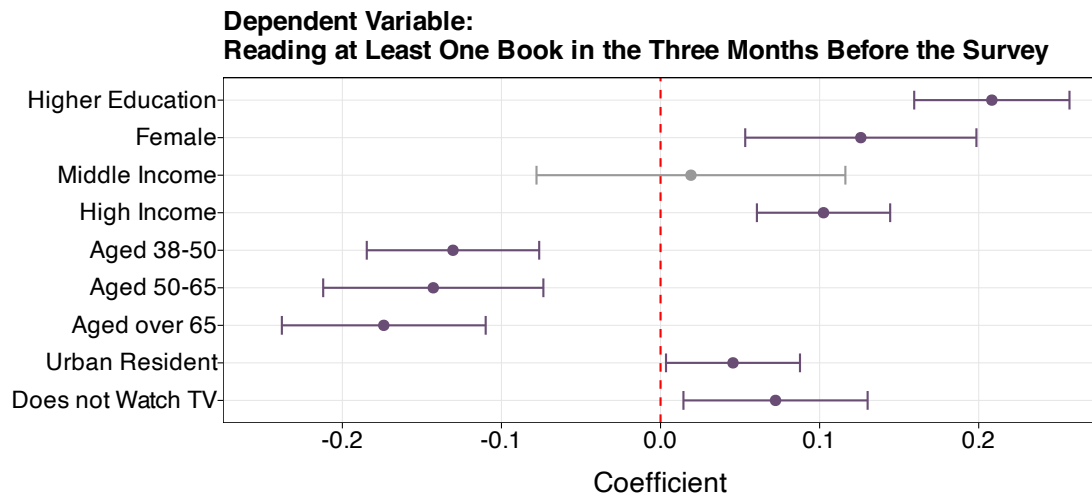
(c) Located in Ukraine



(d) Location Unknown

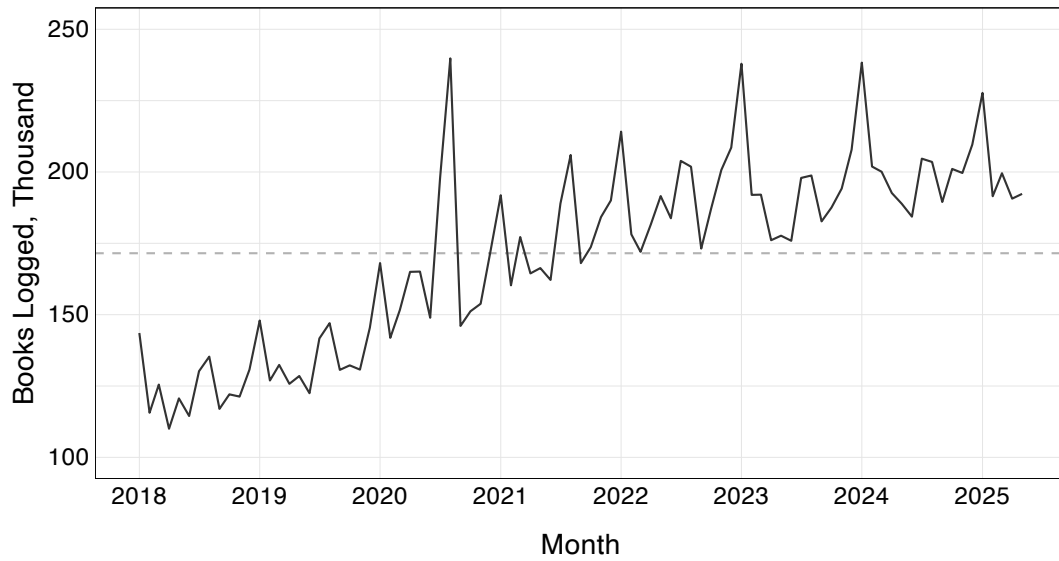
Notes: The figure shows the cumulative daily registration dynamics for the sample of LiveLib users between 2007, when the platform was founded, and 2025, overlaid with the logistic curve fitted to the data (denoted with light green). The red dashed line denotes February 24, 2022, the date of the onset of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Panel (a) represents the full sample. Panel (b) subsets to users located in Russia. Panel (c) subsets to users located in Ukraine. Panel (d) shows users whose location is unknown.

Figure E5: Comparing Readers to Non-Readers



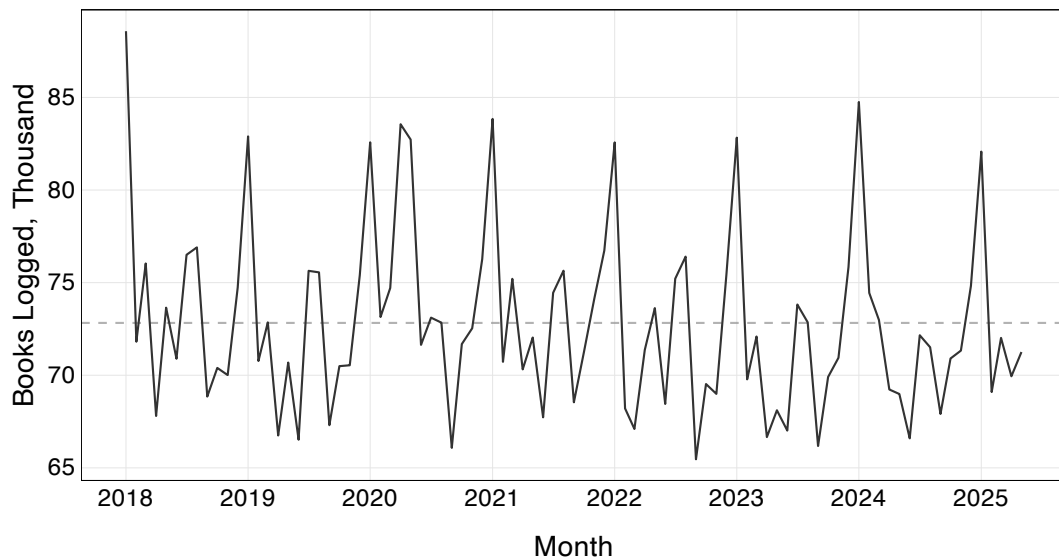
Notes: The figure shows the coefficients, along with 95% confidence intervals, from a linear regression of a binary variable indicating whether a respondent had read at least one book in the three months preceding the survey on a set of demographic variables, controlling for district fixed effects. The data come from a phone survey conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM) in November 2024, with a sample size of 1,600 respondents.

Figure E6: Data Validation: Readership Patterns



(a) All Users

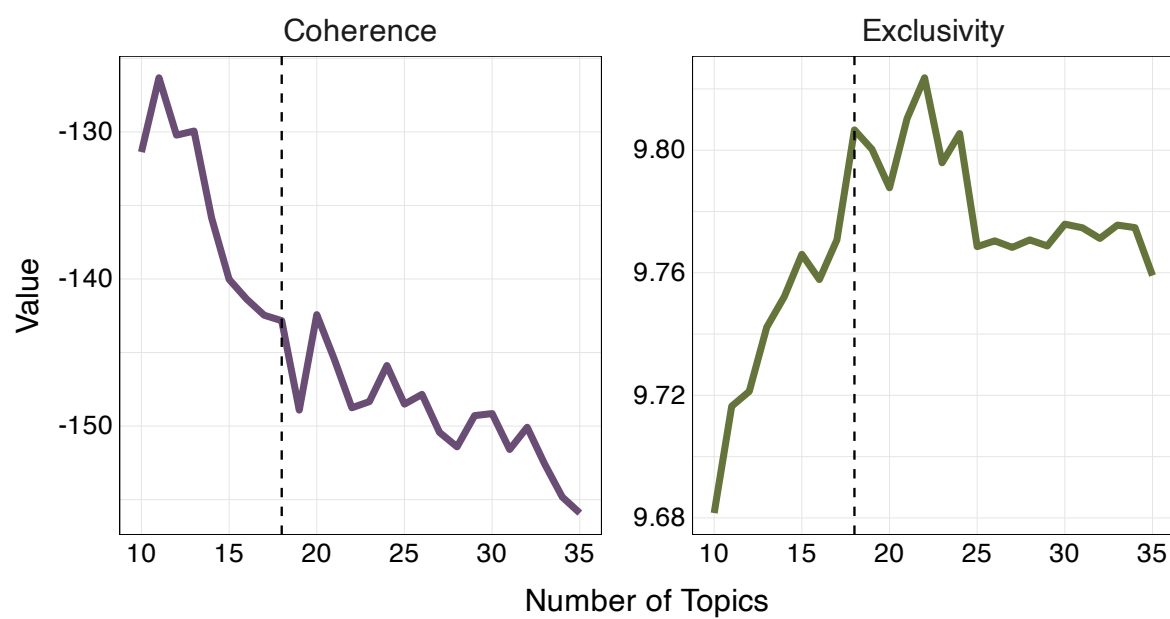
Notes: The figure shows the total number of books in thousands recorded as read on LiveLib each month between January 2018 and June 2025 by all users in the sample. The dashed light gray line represents the average.



(b) Active Users

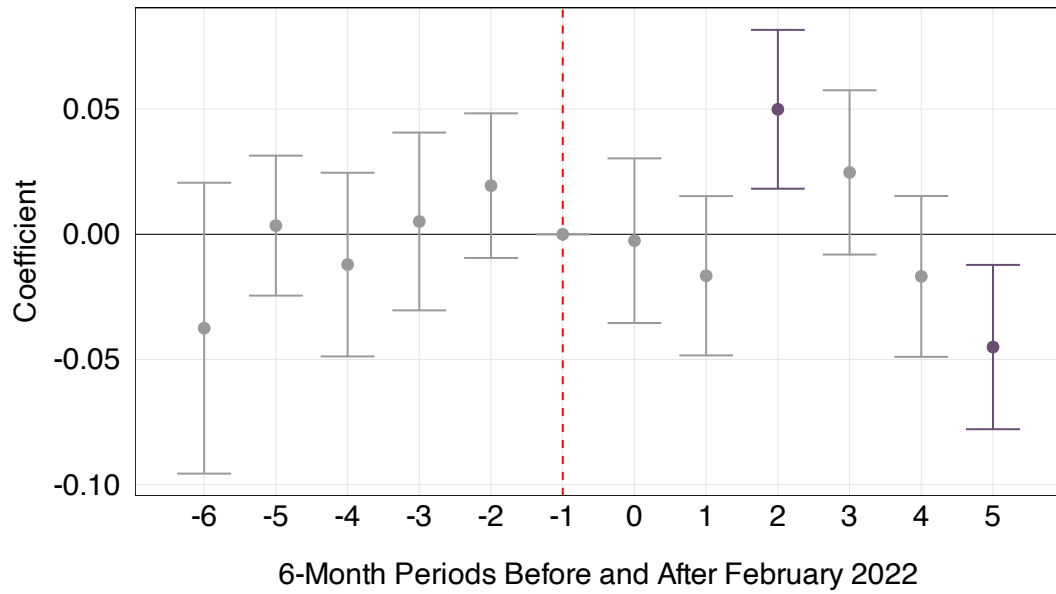
Notes: The figure shows the total number of books in thousands recorded as read on LiveLib each month between January 2018 and January 2025 by users active throughout the observation period. I define active users as those who registered on the platform before the start of Russia's invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, and who logged at least one book beginning in March 2023, one year into the war. The dashed light gray line represents the average.

Figure E7: Choosing the Number of Topics



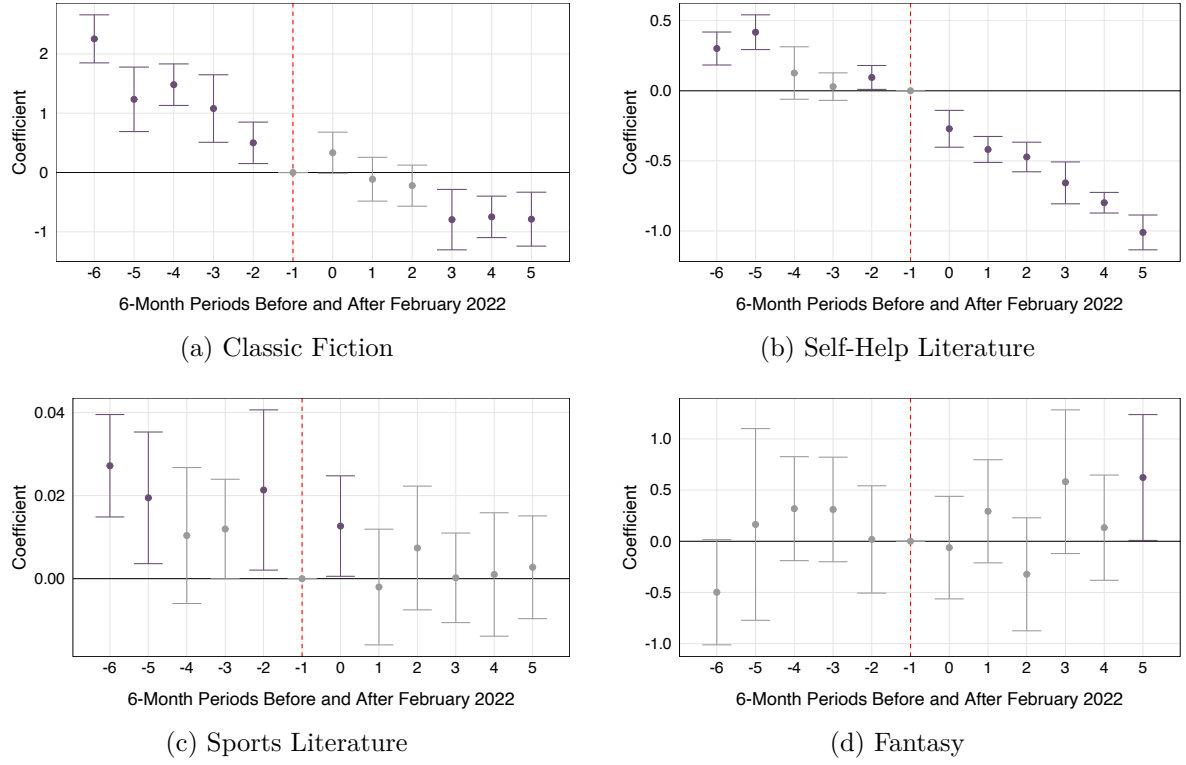
Notes: The figure shows the semantic coherence and exclusivity values for a correlated topic model fitted with a number of topics ranging from 10 to 35. The dashed black line indicates the chosen number of topics.

Figure E8: Readership of True Crime Literature Remains Stable Throughout the Period



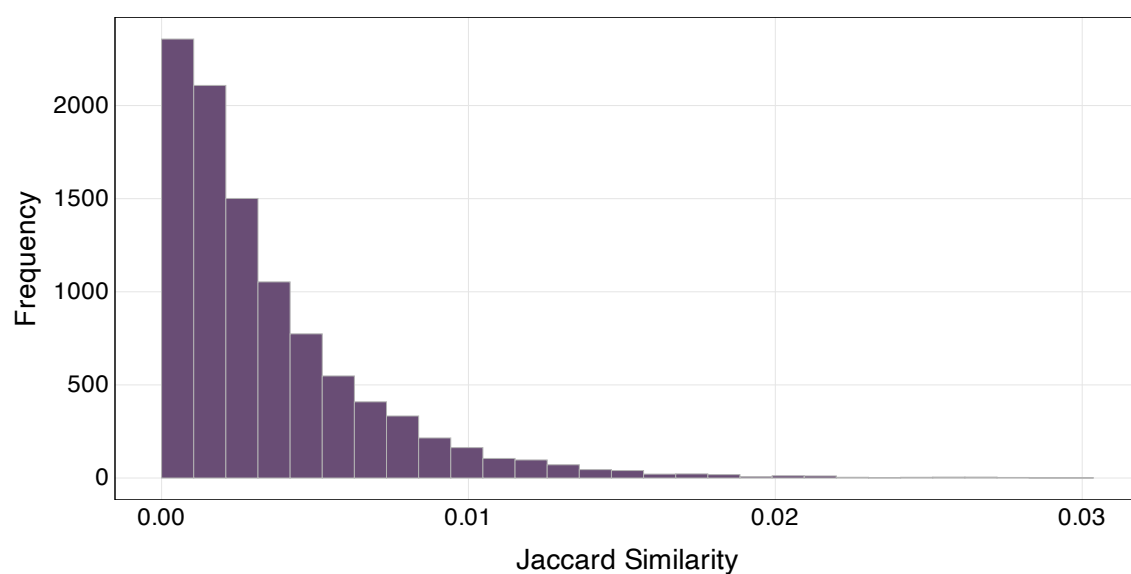
Notes: The figure reports coefficients on the pre- and post-period dummies estimated from Equation 3, focusing on readership of true crime literature. The reference period, encoded as -1 and denoted with the red dashed vertical line, spans August 2021 to January 2022. The panel covers the period from February 2019 to January 2025. Coefficients significant at the 5% level are displayed in purple, and insignificant in gray. Standard errors are clustered by user and month. Once *The Boy's Word* by Robert Garaev is excluded from the sample, the increase in readership in the second half of 2023 (period 3) disappears.

Figure E9: Readership Rates Across Different Book Genres



Notes: The figure reports coefficients on the pre- and post-period dummies estimated from Equation 3, focusing on separate topics. The reference period, encoded as -1 and denoted with the red dashed vertical line, spans August 2021 to January 2022. The panel covers the period from February 2019 to January 2025. Coefficients significant at the 5% level are displayed in purple, and insignificant in gray. Standard errors are clustered by user and month.

Figure E10: Topic Verification: Jaccard Similarity



Notes: The figure shows the distribution of average Jaccard similarity values, computed between each of the 9,935 history-related titles extracted from LiveLib and 67 books assigned to the ‘Dictatorship Crimes’ topic by the structural topic model in the *Chitay-Gorod* sample. All books included in the calculation had at least 10 readers on LiveLib between January 2018 and May 2025.