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Militarization of the Ukrainian Publishing Market During the Russo-Ukrainian War since 2014*

Abstract

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE: The purpose of the article is to analyse the impact of the Russo-Ukrainian war, which has been ongoing since 2014, on the Ukrainian publishing industry and to characterize the transformations that the book market has undergone as a result of the full-scale invasion in 2022.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODS: The article examines the transformations that have taken place in book media as a result of the military conflict. The research used bibliographic searches, statistical research, the comparative method, desktop research, as well as the methods of typology, observation, generalization and analogy.

THE PROCESS OF ARGUMENTATION: The events of Russia's war against Ukraine have become a serious challenge for the Ukrainian media system and have impacted the book publishing industry in particular. Therefore, changes in the publishing landscape and in publishing houses' business models are analysed.

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RESEARCH RESULTS: The article describes the main changes that the publishing market in Ukraine has undergone as a result of Russian aggression. On the basis of statistical data, the authors analyse the dynamics of changes in the number of publishers and the increase in the number of military books. The authors focus on the emergence of a new literary phenomenon, namely veteran literature, and the emergence of a significant number of veteran publishers. Changes in the business models of publishers are analysed.

CONCLUSIONS, INNOVATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS: The war has had a significant impact on the organizational structure of the Ukrainian publishing industry. This includes the moving of publishing facilities to other territories, changes in infrastructure, transition to other publication formats, entering new markets, etc. This experience could be useful for developing problem-solving strategies in this segment of the media industry.

KEYWORDS:

book publishing market, publishing repertoire,
Russo-Ukrainian war, military books, veteran (combatant)
literature

INTRODUCTION

The publishing industry, which is directly dependent on the socio-political, cultural and material conditions that determine the direction and level of its development, reacts very sensitively to changes in public attitudes, and even more so to the events that lead to these changes.

War as a factor of change has previously been considered mostly in the context of the destruction of library infrastructure and monuments (Knuth, 2006), in particular during the Second World War (Maack, 2001), during the Cold War in certain territories (Manning, 2014), or during the wars in the Balkans (Riedlmayer, 2007). Meanwhile, we are interested in an overview of the problems faced by the publishing industry in Ukraine since 2014, which have begun to be more thoroughly investigated relatively recently (Koleko, 2022).

The significant change of outlook that took place in Ukraine in 2014 due to the Russian Federation's invasion naturally affected the situation with book publishing and determined its ideological priorities. At the same time, the events of the end of 2013 and the beginning

of 2014 (the bloody months of the Revolution of Dignity, the temporary occupation of Crimea, unrest in the east of the country, which eventually ended in hostilities and loss of part of the territory) complicated the financial condition of the industry and fundamentally changed its landscape.

In this study, we trace the mutual influence of military themes and publishing works. As Horbyk (2023) notes, one possible way of studying mediatization is to focus on literary and artistic representations of war, in particular reflection of this experience in books. Therefore, it seems logical to study the militarization of the publishing market by investigating its infrastructural changes and the subject of published titles and literary images.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study covers various aspects of the transformations in the publishing market caused by the war; therefore, a complex of interdisciplinary research methods was used. We used statistical research for various reasons: to process statistical data for the years 2014–2022 related to quantitative changes in the publication of socio-political literature, in particular books on military affairs and military technology; to identify trends in the increase in the number of other thematic groups of books on the topic of the Russian Federation's armed forces' aggression against Ukraine; and to forecast the development of book publishing on this topic and analyse the subjects of the publishing industry. The method of bibliographic information search, systematization and typology was also applied to identify and analyse publications on the topic of the Russo-Ukrainian war. The use of the comparative method was applied to trace the transformations that the book market has undergone since the beginning of the war.

The method of desk research was applied in order to obtain a comprehensive analysis of the influence of the state of war on the transformation of the book publishing industry. Data collected in primary research on changes in certain segments of the steel market formed the basis for generalizations. The obtained results of the empirical information collection were also studied and analysed using mixed analysis comparison.

CHANGES IN THE UKRAINIAN PUBLISHING LANDSCAPE DUE TO THE WAR

Until 2014, in terms of the number of publishing houses in Ukraine, third place was taken by the Donetsk region (329), after Kyiv city (2,175), and Kharkiv region (700). However, after Donetsk itself and the urban conglomeration around it was cut off from Ukraine (Horlivka, Makiivka, etc.), this large book-producing area lost its position. At the end of 2014, there were 144 publishing organizations in the State Register that were located in the area of this region that was then controlled by Ukraine. Accordingly, the temporarily occupied Crimea almost disappeared from the publishing landscape: of the 133 publishing houses that existed there in 2013, only 65 remained active in the Ukrainian information space at the end of 2014.

However, due to the fact that

more favourable financial conditions and better business opportunities were created in 2014, which encouraged publishing houses to invest in infrastructure and technology as prerequisites for development (British Council, Ukrainian Book Institute, 2021),

the total number of publishing organizations increased from 5,526 at the beginning of 2014 to 5,678 at the end of the year (as of December 1, 2014). In all subsequent years, until the beginning of the full-scale Russian invasion, the number of publishing organizations grew dynamically: 2015 – 5,834, 2016 – 5,980, 2017 – 6,590, 2018 – 7,153, 2019 – 7,543, 2020 – 7,695, 2021 – 7,948. As of 05/05/2022, i.e., two months after the invasion, the State Register of Publishers, Manufacturers and Distributors of Publishing Products had recorded 8,026 subjects (whose activities naturally take place with very different intensity) (State Register of Publishers, Manufacturers and Distributors of Publishing Products, 2022).

The general state of certain areas of the industry is monitored by relevant state institutions, professional communities and initiative groups. For example, a survey of how Ukrainian publishers have been working during the full-scale war shows that

54.9% of publishing houses have not changed their location in Ukraine. 35.4% of publishing houses have partially moved to other cities; 7.3% have fully moved to other cities, and only 2.4% of publishers now operate abroad (Zahorui & Khmelovska, 2022).

According to this survey, 39% of publishers had not closed during the first 9 months of the war; 51.2% had changed their performance model (i.e., work part-time, online or offline), and 9.8% had been unable to continue their activities. 54.9% of publishing houses had not changed their location in Ukraine; 35.4% of publishing houses had partially moved to other cities; 7.3% had fully moved to other cities, and only 2.4% had moved their operations abroad. Publishers also express new vectors of work: preparation of foreign catalogues, taking up initiatives in selling rights, and plans to prepare e-versions of their recent books (Zahorui & Khmelovska, 2022).

The war has not become an insurmountable obstacle for the industry's further development, despite the losses it has suffered. As a result of shelling, the offices and warehouses of the publishing houses "Vikhola", "Vivat", "Folio", "Korbush Publisher", "Pegas", "Summit-Book", "Lantsuta", "Chas Maystriv", "Zhorzh", "Osнова" and others were damaged; this is 18.5% of the surveyed publishers (Zahorui & Khmelovska, 2022). Most of the damaged premises are in Kharkiv, but warehouses are affected in other regions of Ukraine. For example, in the Kyiv region, in the city of Bucha, the warehouse of the "Adef-Ukraine" publishing house was damaged. "Ranok" publishing house's direct losses reached UAH 16 million, while "Folio" publishing house lost UAH 2 million (Zahorui & Khmelovska, 2022). Nevertheless:

Even during the war, there are those willing to open a publishing business. In 2022, the State Television and Radio Committee received about 178 entrepreneurs' applications to the State Register of Publishers, Manufacturers and Sellers of Publishing Products. This speaks not only of the optimism and faith of Ukrainians in their army, but it also shows the prospects for the development of the publishing industry,

said Oleh Nalyvayko, head of the State Television and Radio Committee (Ostapa, 2022). According to Nalyvayko, in 2022 the number of publishers in Kyiv city increased by 59, in Lviv region by 10, Dnipropetrovsk region by 9, Kyiv region by 8, Khmelnytskyi region by 7, Kharkiv region by 6, Zhytomyr region by 5, etc. (Ostapa, 2022).

The situation is similar with bookstores: "Before the war, there were about 200 bookstores in the whole of Ukraine... This means that there is one bookstore for every 200,000 people... Now, during the war, we have only 130 of them," said Oleksandra Koval, director

of the Ukrainian Book Institute (Kabatsii, 2023b). At the same time, during the full-scale war in Ukraine, new bookstores have opened: “Forest Bookstore” in Irpin, “Vivat” and “Book Lion” bookstores (as well as “Sens”, which opened a few months before the full-scale invasion and did not stop its work) in Kyiv, and the “Persnyi Tom” comic book shop in Cherkasy. Even in Kharkiv, a new “Family Leisure Club” bookstore opened in August (Honchenko, 2022).

Another thing is the sale of books: with the beginning of hostilities, sales fell catastrophically. One of the reasons is the increase in the price of books due to paper shortages, power outages, problems with logistics, devaluation of the national currency, rising prices for services, etc.; all this led to an average 60% increase in the price of books – in some cases even 100% (Melnyk, 2023). The Ukrainian book market is generally small; there are no official statistics, and publishers’ estimates vary. Oleksandr Krasovytsky, director of the publishing house “Folio”, estimates the volume of the printed market at UAH 1.4 billion, and the ebook market at UAH 70 million (Melnyk, 2023). Founder of the “Laboratory” publishing house and the “Librarian” library, Anton Martynov, believes that the market for printed books at the end of 2022 remained at the level of 2021, i.e., around \$100 million (Melnyk, 2023). During the war in Ukraine, the demand for digital ebooks and audiobooks increased significantly. For example, the “Booknet” service reports 353,000 sold copies of electronic books in 2022, which is 2.5 times more than the previous year (Melnyk, 2023). In 2021, a 10-fold sales increase in audiobooks was noted over the previous 2 years (Pyrohova, 2021), and this trend continues.

MILITARY BOOKS IN NUMBERS: STATISTICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN MARKET

Even a brief look at the book windows of Ukrainian bookstores or the websites of online book stores or publishers confirms the changes in war-themed publications, namely a wide range of books dedicated to the events of the Russo-Ukrainian war. These publications belong to different typological groups and have different targets and readership: if a decade ago the readership of military-themed publications was relatively narrow, today in Ukraine the range of books about

war and countering armed attacks is designed for the widest possible readership; even for children’s reading, dozens of books about the war have been published in the last two years.

Statistical analysis of Ukraine’s publishing market allows us to draw certain conclusions regarding the influence of Russia’s military invasion of Ukraine on how publications related to this topic have changed in recent years. Official information on the number of editions, circulations, etc. is published in the annual statistical collection “Print of Ukraine”, the printed body of the Book Chamber of Ukraine. According to the data in the column “Military Affairs. Military equipment”, we can trace the quantitative trends of publications devoted to this topic (Book Chamber of Ukraine, 2012–2022). In her study, Nadiia Zubko analyses how the statistics regarding war-themed books changed in 2014–2018, concluding that the number of titles increased by 76.5% (Zubko, 2020).

In order to illustrate our research and clarify press statistics on this topic, we have expanded the chronological boundaries to a ten-year period (2012–2022) to trace the quantitative indicators of military publications from the start of hostilities in 2014 until 2022, the year of the full-scale invasion. *Table 1* shows a steady increase in the number of titles every year (except for 2020, the first year of the pandemic, and 2022, the year of the full-scale invasion) (Book Chamber of Ukraine, 2012–2022).

Table 1. Publication of books on military affairs and military equipment in Ukraine in 2012–2022 by number of titles, based on Book Chamber of Ukraine statistics

Years	Number of titles (printing units)	Circulation (thousands of copies)
2012	91	83.3
2013	71	75.4
2014	51	56.2
2015	79	72.6
2016	78	67.1
2017	83	74.2
2018	90	63.9
2019	102	60.1
2020	59	27.4
2021	99	65.0
2022	63	54.1

However, these statistics do not cover the entire spectrum of publications because the topic of the Russo-Ukrainian war, in addition to political and socio-economic sciences, has penetrated into other thematic groups, in particular, medical, literary and artistic, children's books, etc.

Ukrainian librarian and blogger Hanna Skorina, author of the "Books about the war" project (Facebook group Книги_про_війну), which researches the range of books about the Russo-Ukrainian war, highlights these works in the media, analyses the main trends of the veteran book market, and communicates with readers about them. In March 2020, she published her calculations of books about the war, noting that more than 600 titles had been published in the 2014–2019 period (Skorina, 2020) and more than 1000 titles as of February 2023 (Mymruk, 2023).

VETERAN LITERATURE AS A PHENOMENON OF THE MODERN UKRAINIAN LITERARY AND PUBLISHING PROCESS

Veteran (combatant) literature has become a key concept in the modern literary process in the last few years and has formed a separate segment of the publishing market in Ukraine. This term is used to denote works about the war, the authors of which were direct participants in the 2014 hostilities in Donbas and the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, as well as journalists, volunteers and others (among the authors of veteran literature, the most noticeable are Oleksandr Mykhed, Artem Chekh, Artem Chapeye, Borys Humenyuk, Serhiy Hrydin, Artem Polezhaka, Vitaliy Zapeka, Saigon, etc.). The war as a subject of reflections is the main goal of veteran literature, which is characterized by a true depiction of the events of the Russo-Ukrainian war, living the tragedy of the war on behalf of eyewitnesses and contemporaries, documenting the events, counteracting disinformation and manipulative coverage of the war, showing the authors' perception of war realities, etc.

In our analysis of the publishing repertoire, we observe an emphasis on fiction publications, which, since the beginning of the war in 2014, have described the trauma of the hostilities in Donbas, thus

offering a literary vision of the Russo-Ukrainian war in numerous collections of poetry, prose of various genres, drama, memoirs, etc. The authors of these works are participants in hostilities, eyewitnesses, volunteers and writers, many of whom have a direct or indirect connection with war events but no writing experience; nonetheless, their debut works about the war have won recognition and even national awards (for example, *Daughter* by Tamara Horikha Zernya received the Shevchenko Prize in 2022) (Mori, 2022).

The main thematic emphasis of contemporary publications is the depiction of events in the East of Ukraine and the experience of the full-scale invasion. Works on historical themes – Ukraine’s dramatic twentieth-century history, the national liberation struggle, the Soviet occupation, the activities of The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists/Ukrainian Insurgent Army – that were popular in previous decades have somewhat lost ground. These publications popularised important historical milestones with a wider audience that did not delve into scientific historical literature but had a demand for historical stories and an understanding of the history of their own country in the postcolonial period.

With the outbreak of hostilities, the thematic emphasis shifted to literature about contemporary historical events, featuring expressive voices of young authors who reflected on their identity, the history of their country, and people’s inner experiences in the context of war. Publishers focused their attention on such publications.

As a result, a total revision of the repertory policy of most publishing houses is taking place, which, together with the participation of veteran publishing houses, has resulted in the release of a significant number of titles about the current Russo-Ukrainian war and about what – event-wise and mentally – preceded it after 2014. Moreover, there are not as many books about actual combat operations (whose analysis and representation will probably happen somewhat later in large-scale, historically balanced works) as there are about the themes of suffering, escape from war, and emigration.

Many books are now published in the format of diaries, written on the hot trail (*Diary of an Illegal Soldier* by O. Bilozerska, 2020; *War 2022: Diaries, Essays, Poetry* compiled by V. Rafeyenko, 2022; *Furious February 2022. Testimony about the First Days of the Invasion* by D. Bura & E. Podobna, 2022; *Fire Shaft. Kharkiv* by O. Boroday, 2023, etc.).

According to researchers' calculations, more than a thousand have been published since 2014, and more than 270 titles of works of various – sometimes unexpected for this topic – genres were published in 2022 alone: from novels and essays to comics, children's books and fiction (*Abyss* by V. Sord, 2019; *After the 24th* by V. Ivchenko, 2022; *The Cat, The Rooster and The Cupboard* by O. Mykhed, 2022, etc.).

A state initiative to support the development of veteran literature and other projects, aimed at the heroization of the defenders of Ukraine, was announced in October 2019 in the program of Ukrainian government activities. In February 2020, its implementation was supported for the next five years. In 2023, so-called veteran literature, in particular works of art related to celebration of veterans' feats of war during the defence of Ukraine's sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability appeared in the "Issue of books according to priority thematic areas" cultural and artistic projects contest alongside two other programs (Announcement of an artistic competition, 2023). The Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, as a state institution, also supported a number of veteran projects, such as a documentary study of the first year of the Russo-Ukrainian war from February 2014 to February 2015 *WAR.ru* by Yu. Rudenko (2020), etc. In 2021, the "Culture Plus" program supported "Culture and Veterans" cultural and artistic projects, which contribute to the social reintegration of veterans, and among them there were many types of media, especially publishing projects.

The information industry, in particular the book industry, is subordinated to the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine; however, in the conditions of the war, the Ministry for Veterans Affairs (MVA) actively contributed to the development of the sphere analysed in our study. MVA has organized a number of promotional events for veteran literature within BookForum in Lviv and Book Arsenal in Kyiv, among which the most significant are the "Veteran Tent" (since 2019), the "Veteran Book" thematic area (2021), and the "Books about the Russo-Ukrainian war" section (2023). In 2019, a stationary "Veteran Tent" exhibition was opened in Kyiv for the purpose of presenting and selling publications about the Russo-Ukrainian war by veterans, volunteers, and immigrants ("Veteranskyi namet", 2019).

Discussions on the topic of veteran literature were held more and more frequently in 2019–2023 within literary festivals and book fairs in Ukraine and beyond. Notable examples include "The role of

veteran literature in countering the semantic war of the Russian Federation against Ukraine" (within the framework of the Book Arsenal 2021 festival) and "Veteran literature, or what soldiers write about" (within the 27th BookForum). The initiators of such discussions in Ukraine are the Ministry of Veterans' Affairs of Ukraine, the Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine, as well as public organizations (UkrInform TV, 2022).

When analysing interviews, round tables and other events dedicated to the current state of veteran literature, we observe that in the responses of authors, librarians, and publishers there are requests to create more effective mechanisms for supporting military writers, supplying this literature to library collections, and promoting it outside of Ukraine in order to inform other countries about the Russo-Ukrainian war and create an information platform in the radio and television space that would highlight veteran literature for the broad public.

UKRAINIAN PUBLISHERS: MODELS OF RESPONSE TO THE WAR

In regards to Ukrainian publishers' business models during the war, Shenderivska et al. (2022, p. 83) define the fulfilment of a social function as well as the use of a collaboration strategy as their priorities. So-called "veteran publishing houses" make up a notable part of the newly created publishing structures today: they began to appear immediately after the events of 2014 with a completely pragmatic goal, namely publishing veteran literature, the volume of which is growing and will grow even more in the near future. These veteran publishing houses include Marko Melnyk's "Markobook" publishing house (actually established in 2014 and registered in 2016), which is the first veteran publishing house that was created on the basis of the editorial office of the "Azov" regiment newspaper and began publishing the works of soldiers who fought in the east of the country. Today, this publishing house's repertoire includes books on history and philosophy, memoirs of prominent figures, poetry and children's literature.

Marko Melnyk and Mykola Kravchenko were also the founders of the "Orientyr" publishing house (2015), which started to publish

memoirs by veterans and participants of past and recent military operations; later, the works of theorists of nationalism appeared in its repertoire. Dmytro Savchenko's "Zaliznyi Tato" publishing house (2016) announced its intention to publish literature that forces the reader to "step out of the intellectual comfort zone", i.e., look at things from a different, unexpected angle. In particular, this publishing house has released many books about the war and the history of the development of the volunteer movement, proving that this movement was born not in 2014 but in the first days of Ukraine's independence. Other publishing houses worth mentioning include Pavlo "Pastet" Belyan-skyi and Dmytro Vokhmyanin's "Dipa" (2016), Iryna Bilotserkivska's "Bilka" (2018), Victoria Hranetska and Vlad Sord's "Dim Khymer" (2018), Oleksiy Beshula's "Propala Hramota" (2019), and Oleksandr Andrievskyi's "Kryla" (2019) and "Stylet i Stylos" (2020), etc.

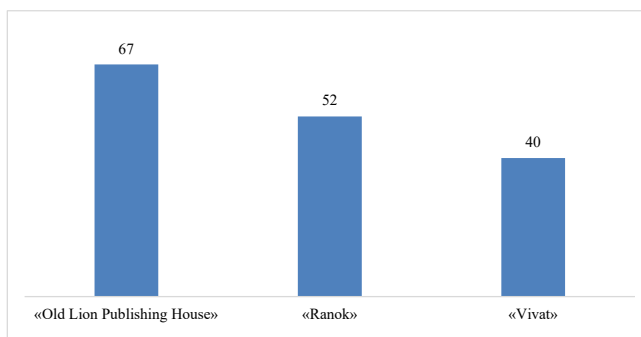
Veteran publishing houses have become a very visible component of Ukraine's publishing market. Their mostly military theme was probably the most noticeable trend of 2022 and was picked up by publishers who previously felt more comfortable in other thematic niches. Paradoxically, with the beginning of the war, new opportunities opened up for Ukrainian publishers, as is well illustrated by the cases of two publishing houses: "Vivat" and "Nash Format".

The "Vivat" publishing house, whose employees were forced to leave Kharkiv in the first days of the full-scale war, moved its activities to Poland. Books were taken from the warehouses to Rivne in the west of the country; an online store was set up in Lviv, and most of the employees started working remotely. Diversification of funding sources (in particular, assistance from various foundations and organizations, including USAID, House of Europe, Universal Reading Foundation), collaboration with other publishers and provision of services to colleagues through their online store) as well as other activities made it possible to quickly establish a production process. Thus, on the initiative of "Vivat" publishing house, cooperation with Polish bookstores and online sales platforms began. It is easier to export books from Poland to many other European countries. Taking into account the current Ukrainian realities, "Vivat" began to emphasize the preparation of e-books and plans to release audio books (at least 40–50 titles annually). Not abandoning the traditional paper format (with a 9% increase in total circulation in 2022), "Vivat"

published a number of titles about the Russo-Ukrainian war (*Weapons of Victory* by M. Zhyrokhov, *Dictionary of War* by O. Slyvynsky). Plans for 2023 include a biography of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, Valeriy Zaluzhnyi, *Invasion* by the British journalist Luke Harding, and many others.

Realizing that the war and the heroism of Ukrainians had increased interest in Ukrainian authors and books in general abroad, “Vivat” began to actively enter the rights sales market, in which it became a leader in 2022 (see *Diagram 1*, source: Ukrainian Book Institute).

Diagram 1. Publishers who sold most licenses in 2022



Over the course of a year, Ukraine made a quantum leap in rights sales. Other countries will read more Ukrainians and see our quality texts, professionally executed illustrations, and will listen to us more, “Vivat” states (Kabatsii, 2023a).

Another well-known publishing house, “Nash Format”, embodies a slightly different model of activity in wartime. Having gained authority long before the full-scale war among readers and in the professional environment by publishing non-fiction literature, mostly in translation (since 2014), this publishing house did not change its general direction *typologically* but significantly adjusted it *thematically*. Today, the repertoire of “Nash Format”, as well as all of its own publishing and non-publishing volunteer activities are clearly oriented to the needs of the front.

Since 2020, “Nash Format”, together with the NGO “Reformation”, has worked on the “Army Reads” project (professional and world-view literature), thus consistently filling still-empty segments

of the book market. However, it can only be called a “market” quite conditionally because, together with the NGO “Reformation”, this publishing house produces all the books that military and medics need at its own expense or using charitable contributions, auction sales, etc. (not via sales). Moreover, “Nash Format” provides access to free electronic versions of these books, including *Emergency Military Surgery*, *Mini-Manual of Urban Defence in Modern Conditions* by John Spencer, *Light Infantry Tactics for Small Units* by Christopher Larsen, *Mild Traumatic Brain Injury. Rehabilitation Toolkit*, *Mortar Commander’s Notebook*, *American Sniper* by Chris Kyle and others. In February 2022, a new program “Printing statutes and manuals for the Armed Forces” was launched on the same basis.

CONCLUSIONS

A comprehensive analysis of various segments of the Ukrainian publishing market since 2014 allows us to make certain generalisations about the changes in the publishing landscape of Ukraine caused by the military actions on its territory.

Firstly, the war that began in 2014 has led to significant transformations in the publishing infrastructure; the temporary occupation of Crimea and certain regions in eastern Ukraine has led to a substantial reduction in the number of publishing and book trade entities, and their locations have undergone serious changes. However, the ban on imports of Russian books and the cultural policy of new post-Maidan institutions and other factors have contributed to the emergence of new publishing houses and growth of the book market. The large-scale war that started in 2022 has further exacerbated changes in the territorial distribution of publishers and caused enormous material losses in publishing capacity, book collections, etc.

Secondly, analysis of the range of publishing products reveals a significant increase in military-related publications in various thematic and typological groups, from socio-political books to children’s literature, with a particularly large increase in the number of works of fiction and non-fiction books dedicated to the events of the Russo-Ukrainian war.

Thirdly, a new literary phenomenon called veteran (combatant) literature that represents the events of the war in Ukraine is emerging in the publishing repertoire and is forming a separate segment of the literary process, supported by state institutions. As a result, veteran publishing houses have appeared on the Ukrainian market, and discussions about veteran literature are becoming key events at festivals and book fairs.

Fourthly, many publishers have undergone significant transformations of their business models during the war. The number of publishers cooperating with foreign partners, selling copyrights abroad, changing publication formats, and radically revising their repertoire policies has increased.

Each aspect of the changes in the Ukrainian publishing market under the influence of hostilities requires further in-depth research to understand the phenomena that have emerged and to develop strategies to prevent future risks.

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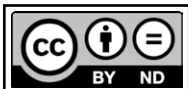
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