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The Shalom Rosenfeld Institute for Research of  
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The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities



**Keshar**

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Journal of Media and Communication History in Israel  
and the Jewish World

The Shalom Rosenfeld Institute for Research of Jewish Media and Communication

The Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies

The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities

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# KESHAR

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*Kesher*, a scholarly journal devoted to the history of the press and media in the Jewish world and in Israel, is published twice yearly by The Shalom Rosenfeld Institute for Research of Jewish Media and Communication at Tel Aviv University. *Kesher* seeks to publish original research articles and academic reviews on all subjects relating to the history, endeavors, and influence of Jewish media and media people from a multidisciplinary perspective. All articles are peer reviewed blindly by experts, members of the Journal's Advisory Board, and if necessary, externally. Articles should be submitted in Word to [press@tauex.tau.ac.il](mailto:press@tauex.tau.ac.il). A reply will be given within three months. Articles should not usually exceed 8,000 words. The bibliography and notes should appear at the end of the article. Citations should follow the conventions of your discipline.

The editorial board invites reviews of new books in the journal's areas of interest and proposes such reviews itself. *Kesher* also publishes a list of recently approved doctoral dissertations and master's theses, along with abstracts of no more than 250 words in length (for master's theses) and 500 words in length (for doctoral dissertations).



## WHAT'S IN *KESHER* 62

### THE PRESS BOX: MEDIA AND SPORTS IN ISRAEL

Amid the grim daily reality, we wished to take a time-out and the Olympiad year gave us an opportunity to do so. With the invaluable assistance of our guest editor, Prof. Raanan Rein, we have compiled in *Kesher* 62 articles dealing with the relationship between sports and the media, primarily in the Jewish and Israeli context. We found that sports and people's involvement in it are intertwined with war and politics, discourse and linguistic research, history, philosophy, gender studies, and more. The Olympic Sports section of this edition, which looks at sports from a media point of view, is called the "Press Box."

Sadly, the events in Amsterdam that unfolded after Maccabi Tel Aviv's game in that city in mid-November this year, just as we were about to go to press, show that sports do not always allow us to take a time-out from reality; what happened there could have been included in the discussion that we undertook in our previous edition about defining riots and pogroms.

The first two articles on media and sports are historically oriented. Moshe Zimmermann's contribution is a Hebrew version of his article about the sports press in Germany in the service of Nazism, originally published in German in a collection dealing with changes that the German sports newspaper *Kicker* underwent during the era of Nazi rule. Hezi Asher writes about the "collective amnesia" that gripped the Israeli sports media surrounding the visit of the German footballer Franz Beckenbauer (nicknamed "der Kaiser") in 1973 and the film *Libero*, in which he took part.

Hanan Tomer reviews the development of the unique jargon of the sports press in Eretz Israel and the State of Israel in the twentieth century and emphasizes its contribution to enhancing the flexibility of the Hebrew language and furthering its evolution as a vernacular. Oshri Zigelboim also deals with the linguistic aspect of the sports press, examining conceptual metaphors in the discourse of the online sports media.

Maayan Peleg-Berkowitz investigates the coverage of sports and women's sports in the women's magazines *Nashim* and *P'nima*.

Winding up this section, Yair Galily calls on Kantian philosophy to probe issues associated with video-based refereeing technology in football. This device creates a temporary lag between the experience of live spectators and that of viewers on television and raises the question of fairness and accuracy versus authenticity and human judgment.

In our regular, eclectic section, we have included articles on the history of the Orthodox and the nationalist Jewish press; relations of the Israeli press with the country's education system; and the younger generation's consumption patterns of media content. Continuing our previous edition, we also deal with the Holocaust as an interpretive template in the public discourse in today's social media.

Menachem Keren-Kratz examines the haredization of Orthodoxy in America in the early twentieth century through the lens of the religious press of the time.

Discussing the greatest Yiddish newspaper in the first half of the last century, *Haynt*, and its editor, Shmuel Yankev Yatskan, one of the most important shapers of the Yiddish press in Europe, Haggai Zilberberg considers whether the Yiddish press was a fighting national medium or an eccentric yellow one.

Raviv Naveh looks at relations between the education system and the media in pre-television Israel (1948–1968) and questions whether they were friend or foe.

Tal Laor probes differences between Generations Z and Y in patterns of consumption by demand.

Motti Neiger, Anat Ben-David, and Oren Meyers explore the Holocaust discourse on social networks at a time of protests and war and explain how the Holocaust serves as an interpretive framework against the background of questions relating to what one may do, what one must not do, and whether one should compare.

Of course, we have not foregone our regular sections.

We look forward to meeting you again next spring in a different reality, one of normalcy and tranquility, so that we can continue to investigate the history of the Jewish media in calmer waters.

Just as this issue was going to press, we received the sad news of the death, at the age of 96, of our friend Zvi Gill, a media and news person until his very last days. We will honor his memory in more length in our next issue.

The Editors

## SPORTS JOURNALISM IN NAZI GERMANY AT THE SERVICE OF THE FINAL SOLUTION\*

MOSHE ZIMMERMANN

The Third Reich used sports and sports journalism, too, in order to disseminate its propaganda, including its antisemitic messages. The popular football weekly *Kicker* serves as an exemplary case study. As in other institutions, the first step taken by the new regime was the removal of Jews from the system. The popular weekly's founder and Jewish editor-in-chief, Walther Bensemann, was forced to step down and leave Germany shortly after the Nazis came to power. Jewish journalists were fired and the new editorial staff operated in the spirit of the new regime.

Under the supervision of the Nazi Commissar for Sports Affairs and the Propaganda Ministry, the editorial board and the journalists worked to convey, among other messages, the regime's antisemitic credo. This was accomplished in two ways: on the one hand, by weekly published reports and articles of a blatantly antisemitic nature, such as those written by the previous coach of the German football team, Dr. Otto Nerz. On the whole, the weekly took pains to present the conduct of the football associations and the sports press in the days before the Third Reich as proof of the "contaminative" Jewish influence on "Aryan" football. National-Socialism considered professional football a Jewish idea, aimed at corrupting a "pure," non-materialistic amateur German sport. On the other hand, the weekly utilized the strategy of *damnatio memoriae*—"eliminating" the Jews and their contributions to German and Austrian football made in the past, including omitting the names of Jewish teams and football players from official lists and statistics.

International competitions in which German footballers took part also served as a convenient pretext to attack the Jews, especially if the team from the German Reich encountered demonstrations, protests, or boycotts. During World War II, the weekly's antisemitic tone became even more radical than it had been during the peace years. The article focuses on an extreme example of this radicalization: a historical discussion of the Bar Kochba-Berlin football club, published in June 1943. The article was practically a recommendation and justification for the Final Solution as an answer to the "Jewish problem."

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\* A Hebrew version of M. Zimmermann, "Fußball im Dienste des Antisemitismus," L. Peiffer & H. Wahlig (Hrsg.), *"Einig. Furchtlos. Treu": Der Kicker im Nationalsozialismus – eine Aufarbeitung* (Bielefeld, 2022), 206-22.

## **A HISTORIC OMISSION: THE “KAISER’S” FORGOTTEN VISIT TO THE HOLY LAND**

HEZY ASHER

The article discusses the Israeli sports media’s collective forgetfulness regarding the visit to the country of the renowned German footballer Franz Beckenbauer in June 1973. It also highlights the complete lack of coverage of the purpose of his visit, which was filming the semi-documentary *Libero*. The film portrays a player’s struggles with the ups and downs of his career and a nagging injury. Beckenbauer arrives in the Holy Land after a dream, where he finds relief from his pain. The film features a clip of singer Michal Tal performing the patriotic Israeli song “HaKotel” (The Western Wall). Against this musical backdrop, the film shows Beckenbauer on holiday in Eilat and at the Dead Sea, as well as visiting the Western Wall, where stills from the film depict him wearing a yarmulke. Such photographs would no doubt have been featured on the front page of every daily newspaper in Israel today, yet the film and its stills remain unknown in the country. Furthermore, there has been no mention of the 1973 visit in any Israeli article about Beckenbauer in the more than fifty years since, including in the obituaries following his death in January 2024. The only indirect reference to the film and Beckenbauer’s visit to Israel are two stills on display at the Tel Aviv Cinematheque, which show him with Israeli cultural figures Yossi Banai and Geula Noni.

The article explores the concepts of collective memory and forgetfulness, and recounts the events surrounding Beckenbauer’s visit, as well as the current state of memory regarding the visit. It investigates whether there is a correlation between forgetting the visit and Israel’s unwavering support, and particularly that of its sports media, for the Dutch national team during the 1974 World Cup final against Germany. The recollection of Beckenbauer in Israel is compared to the visit of Israeli fan favorite Johan Cruyff, captain of the Dutch national team in 1974. The article examines the agents of memory in Israel in the 1970s and today, and the appropriation of Holland by Israel versus its alienation from Germany. It also analyzes the extent of sports journalism coverage in the 1970s compared with the situation today.

## **DEVELOPMENT OF SPORTS JOURNALISM JARGON IN ERETZ ISRAEL AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL**

HANAN TOMER

This study reviews the evolution of the Hebrew language used by sports newspapers and journals in Eretz Israel, and later in the State of Israel, in the twentieth century and emphasizes the importance and contribution of these media to the development of the Hebrew language. Through this research, I claim that the sports media were the first to break accepted Hebrew language patterns, and to enhance their flexibility.

This process is particularly noticeable when compared to the patterns used by other media—radio and later also television—which maintained an elevated language.

One of the claims of the study is that the linguistic changes that took place in sports newspapers and journals in the 1940s and 1950s preceded those that took place in other areas of journalism in the following decades. This argument is based on two assumptions: first, the richness and great creativity conveyed in those newspapers and journals created expressions that clearly stood out linguistically in the Israeli media landscape; second, the hundreds of different idioms created by the sports press over the years maintain relevance even today, and have even broken the boundaries of sports coverage. This alone indicates the contribution of the creators of these expressions to the Hebrew language as a whole.

This point, in my opinion, underlines the possible claim that the place of the sports journalist has been absent, unjustly, from the pages of the history of the Hebrew language. While reality itself—the various soccer leagues and teams, along with the political debate around them—are often painted in black and white, sports newspapers and journals managed, through the written word, to inject much more color into it, thereby enriching it and captivating an audience.

The fact that even today, sports media tend to employ words and expressions used by the “founding fathers” of the sports press over sixty years ago, shows not only their creativity but also the importance of their role in our culture and, perhaps, also the need for history to recognize those people and their important contribution to the Hebrew language.

## **CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN ONLINE SPORTS JOURNALISM DISCOURSE**

OSHRI ZIGHELBOIM

Sports journalism discourse exhibits a distinctive linguistic style influenced by both colloquial speech and a rich tapestry of creative expressions, imagery, metaphors, and wordplay. Prior sports-related metaphor research viewed sports as a source domain of metaphors in areas such as economics and politics, typically utilizing a semantic-lexical approach that focused on novel or “live” creative metaphors, while overlooking the significance of ordinary, everyday metaphors. In contrast, this study shifts its focus to sports as a target domain, relying on cognitive semantics that emphasize the value of all kinds of metaphors, particularly the commonplace ones.

The objective of this study is to recognize and classify underlying metaphorical patterns and to trace their cognitive origin. Analysis of the findings maps out the fundamental metaphors that link seventeen distinct semantic fields to the target domain—sports reporting discourse. Some of the semantic fields from which sports reporting derives metaphorical expressions appear solely in positive contexts, while others in negative ones, or a mixture of both. Additionally, this study connects the semantic fields, acting as source domains for metaphorical expression, to the entities

they reference—players, games, coaches, teams, relationships between coaches and players, and the development of teams and players. By delving into the profound connection between language and thought and between language and society, the study investigates the impact of conceptual metaphors on the mind and worldview of the speakers. Thus, a sports game can be interpreted as a war, a meal, or a musical show, depending on its constituents. The significance of the study lies in its analysis of conceptual metaphors and the ability of this analysis to illuminate how people conceptualize and comprehend sports.

**ON THE AGENDA: SPORTS AND WOMEN'S SPORTS IN THE WOMEN'S MAGAZINES *P'NIMA* AND *NASHIM* (2010-2019)**  
MAAYAN PELEG-BERKOWICZ

Sports were perceived for years, and perhaps since their inception, as bastions of masculinity, an arena where women were marginalized. Since it can be argued that sports largely reflect social reality even in the context of gender, and “agenda theory” can be used to explain the public agenda as a product of the media’s agenda, this article seeks, through this theory, to explain the extent of sports coverage in general and female sports, in particular, in the women’s newspapers *Nashim* (Women) and *P’nima* (Inside) between 2010 and 2019. Due to similarities that I found between theories dealing with women’s journalism and those dealing with sports journalism, I also sought to examine whether the women’s newspapers under review provide a mirror image of the negligible coverage of women’s sports in the traditional sports press. Despite my expectations from women’s newspapers, I found that women’s sports and sports in general appear in small and inconsistent amounts within both the fixed and changing agendas in the newspapers studied. When examining how the names and descriptions are listed in the tables of contents, as compared to those appearing in the sections themselves, I discovered that sometimes expressions from the world of sports appear in the name or description of the section title, but not in the actual sports coverage there—a phenomenon that also exists in the gap between verbal meaning and actual meaning in four additional units of analysis. As a result, readers might internalize that sports are not a female issue, and thus exclude themselves from the dominant discourse in society. Whereas in practice studies show significant women’s and men’s interest in women’s sports, coverage of female religious athletes in the general media, and an increase in the share of female athletes participating in popular and professional sports, the percentage of women athletes in competitive sports continues to remain low. I therefore believe that the presence of sports, including women’s sports, in the regular agenda of women’s newspapers could constitute another important layer in advancing the status of women in Israeli society in general, and of religious women in particular.

**AUTHENTICITY OF THE GAME AND USE OF TECHNOLOGY TO IMPROVE ACCURACY: IMMANUEL KANT AND THE CASE OF THE VIDEO ASSISTANT REFEREE (VAR) IN FOOTBALL\***

YAIR GALILY

The introduction of the Video Assistant Referee (VAR) system in 2018 has had a significant impact on the football industry, which generates billions of dollars. As the most popular and widely viewed sport in the world, football attracts various economic interests, including clubs, leagues, broadcasters, sponsors, and fans. The ongoing debate around VAR underscores the need to strike a delicate balance between preserving the authenticity of the game and using technology to improve refereeing accuracy. Moreover, a gap is widening between fans in the stadium and those watching on television: the latter receive real-time access to explanations and replays, while the former are often left without clear information and rely on decisions made beyond their immediate reach. Thus, it is crucial to achieve the right balance in order to preserve football's metaphorical power and the joy it brings to fans across generations.

In this context, Immanuel Kant's philosophy may offer valuable insights regarding the use of VAR in football. According to Kantian moral theory, the use of VAR can be justified if it contributes to enhancing fairness and accuracy and aligns with referees' moral duties. However, it is important to consider the potential for dehumanization and the need to preserve the value of human judgment within the game. Therefore, this article seeks to examine in depth the complex dynamics that arise when technology is integrated into traditional practices, emphasizing the importance of critical reflection on the implications of such innovations.

**THE HAREDIZATION OF AMERICAN ORTHODOXY IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY**

MENACHEM KEREN-KRATZ

Until the 1940s, many members of the populous Orthodox Jewish communities in America worked on Shabbat because of the scarcity of alternative employment; they consumed non-kosher rather than higher-priced kosher meat; they let slide the laws of family purity because the *mikvot* were sparse and often charged high admission fees; and they did not provide their children with a Jewish education because it was private and costly.

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\* An abridged Hebrew version of Yair Galily, "From Sport Psychology to Action Philosophy: Immanuel Kant and the Case of Video Assistant Referees," *Behavioral Sciences* 14, no. 4 (2024): 291.

Most rabbis earned low wages and, reluctant to risk their precarious livelihood, did not dare challenge the laxity of their congregants' religious lifestyle. Thus, while in Eastern Europe most Jews who considered themselves Orthodox and regularly attended synagogue were observant, in America the vast majority of Jews who belonged to Orthodox congregations did not observe even the most basic *mitzvot*.

A radically different picture emerges at the end of the twentieth century: At this point most members of American Orthodox congregations led a religious lifestyle that was even more rigorous than that prevailing in many Orthodox communities in Eastern Europe, which included a significant number of observant yet religiously lax members. Several scholars have described the Haredization of American Orthodoxy during the latter decades of the twentieth century as "the shift," or "the slide," to the right. In this article, however, I return to the first half of the twentieth century to examine the beginning of the process, relying on primary sources, particularly Orthodox newspapers and journals published in America during that period.

## **A NATIONAL STRUGGLE OR YELLOW-SPIN JOURNALISM: SHMUEL YANKEV YATSKAN AND THE HAYNT FAMILY**

HAGGAI ZILBERBERG

In the 1860s, Warsaw—the main center of east European Jewry in general and of Poland in particular—witnessed the development of a rich and varied Jewish press in language, organization, and content. This trend gained momentum with the advent of the semi-democratic Russian reforms, embodied by the laws for the first Duma elections in 1905.

This study examines the Yiddish daily *Haynt*, one of the major east European Jewish newspapers in the years 1908–39, from an organizational perspective: its organizational-economic development, competitive environment, and ownership structure, as well as its division into various departments and relations between them. It ends with the newspaper's policies vis-à-vis marketing content and definition of its target audience.

It also examines content and policy through an analysis of *Haynt's* reportage and commentary, compared with the content and policies of the other major Jewish newspapers in Warsaw—*Ha-Tsfira*, *Der Moment*, and *Izraelita*. The items covered are the funeral of Magnus Krinsky, a well-known Jewish public figure who disagreed with the *Haynt* management; and the Polish elections for the General Assembly, held on a Friday night coinciding with the eve of the Day of Atonement, September 1912. The analysis uses media research methods that address the importance of the press as a major institution for construction of the urban public sphere and formulation of national definitions, as well as the mass media's mediatization of the political sphere, including framing processes, agenda-setting, and the priming theory.



The article also highlights sharp criticism by contemporary journalists Yosef Haim Brenner and M. Vanvild (Moyshe-Yoysef Dikshteyn) of the economic interests that ostensibly influenced the writing and editing patterns of *Haynt* and newspapers like it.

## **FRIEND OR FOE: ISRAELI EDUCATION AND THE MEDIA IN THE PRE-TV PERIOD (1948–1968)**

RAVIV NAVEH

Since the early days of the Israeli education system, educators and stakeholders have been concerned about the media and their effects on children and youth. During the 1950s and 1960s, the media were perceived primarily as a means of education and recruitment rather than a part of leisure culture. This view led to a dichotomous division between the media's informative and didactic functions and their entertainment and leisure ones. While the former were identified with national values and were adapted to Zionist ideology, popular culture was considered not only as corrupting cultural taste but as undermining the ethos of nation building.

Therefore, this study distinguishes between media that were mainly informative, such as radio and newspapers, and entertainment media (films and pulp literature). The latter were mostly avoided: teachers and educators aimed at reducing the exposure of youth to such content. The education authorities' perception of newspapers and radio, on the other hand, was much more complex and raised issues of statehood versus partisanship, the role of journalism and education in nation-forming, and the limits of criticism that could be directed at the press and the government.

This study suggests that due to these controversies, media education in the 1950s and 1960s took place mainly in informal educational frameworks, such as youth movements and clubs, rather than in schools. Examples of media education in informal structures, as well as its absence from state schools, reveal the education establishment's perception of the media's roles during that period.

## **WHO DEMANDS WHAT AND HOW MUCH? DIFFERENCES IN CONSUMPTION PATTERNS OF ON-DEMAND CONTENT BETWEEN GENERATION Y AND GENERATION Z**

TAL LAOR

The concept of "generation" is a prevalent sociocultural notion widely explored by researchers across various disciplines such as psychology, sociology, literature, and political science. It revolves around the cognitive and social frameworks that characterize different age groups. Scholars have studied extensively the emergence of generational cohorts, the traits of generational identity within each cohort, and the factors shaping their worldviews. In the twentieth century, Western society

identified four major generations: Baby Boomers, Generation X, Generation Y, and Generation Z.

The purpose of this research was to investigate communication consumption disparities between members of the younger generations—Generation Y and Generation Z—who have grown up amid significant digital and internet-driven transformations within the communication landscape over the last decade. For this purpose, a comprehensive survey involving 800 respondents was conducted, with 500 belonging to Generation Y and 300 to Generation Z.

The research findings indicate that generational characteristics significantly influence communication consumption patterns. Generation Z, in particular, strongly prefers digital communication, emphasizing speed and focus on Video on Demand (VOD) and YouTube. This preference stems from their exposure to high internet accessibility and heavy reliance on smartphones. It reflects a generational identity marked by immediacy and rapid information access. Generation Y, on the other hand, did not grow up with platforms like YouTube and VOD, differentiating them from Generation Z, which had exposure to on-demand content from an early age. Consequently, these disparities in communication consumption are notably pronounced.

As the study reveals, these differences extend to traditional media such as newspapers and radio. Having been raised with these media, Generation Y demonstrates a higher demand for them. Within the generational cohorts, the gender-based digital gap has narrowed, while the socioeconomic digital divide remains noticeable. Additionally, even among the younger generation, the secular segment prefers digital communication to a greater extent than the religious one.

## **HOLOCAUST DISCOURSE ON THE X PLATFORM BETWEEN PROTEST AND WAR**

MOTTI NEIGER, ANAT BEN-DAVID, OREN MEYERS

The research examined how Holocaust discourse was manifested in Hebrew on the social network X during the first hundred days of protest against judicial reform (Jan.–April 2023), and during the first hundred days following the October 2023 Gaza war (Oct. 2023–Jan. 2024). By combining computational and qualitative research methods, the study retrieved and analyzed 4,673 original tweets and responses from the protest period and 4,348 original tweets and responses from the wartime period. The findings indicate the entrenchment of Holocaust discourse as a deep interpretive framework in Israeli culture, as well as the limitations of this discourse, which we term the “heuristic of trauma.” Use of the Holocaust was prominent throughout both periods, yet there were days when it surged. The Holocaust, which served as a significant interpretative framework during the protests, became a mandatory comparison during the war, leading to the creation of online Holocaust-related neologisms.