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Keshar

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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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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. 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* 60

BLACK ON WHITE: HAREDIM, RELIGIOUS ZIONISTS, SECULAR JEWS, CONSERVATIVES, AND RADICALS IN THE MEDIA

The present edition of *Kesher* bears the impressive number “60.” *Kesher* has been appearing for thirty-six years now (interrupted only by three years when its parent institute was inactive). That is an unusual number for a journal that focuses on matters of Jewish and Israeli press and media from a historical perspective, and continues to appear in Hebrew, a language not overly prioritized in Israeli academia, seventy-five years after statehood was achieved. The response and support of our readers and contributors, old and new, and the appreciation of the academic community – we thank them all – strengthen us in our feeling that *Kesher*, with its articles and studies, will retain its place of honor among publications in the humanities and the social sciences, fields that undergo continual renewal.

The main topic in *Kesher* 60 is an old one but in new packaging. We have dealt extensively, and will continue to deal at length, with matters involving relations between religion and the media, the place of the religious media, and its resources and players in Jewish and Israeli history and current affairs. These issues are especially relevant now against the background of the dramatic social and political realities of Israel today. Thus, the debate over the integration of religious media people into the “general” or “secular” media is escalating. How does it fit into more general questions about freedom of speech and the press, progress versus reactionism, unity versus fragmentation, tolerance versus seclusionism, and democracy versus authoritarianism. Supplemental to these questions are the dynamics within religious society itself, its media development, and its strategic and tactical relations and connections with other conservative forces.

In the lead article of the section devoted to these matters, Gideon Kouts gives an example from the distant past of a controversy over the integration of writers from the religious sector of the media map versus fears of “religification,” in an unexpected forum: the radical newspaper of European Jewish society in the second half of the nineteenth century, *Ha-Melitz*. Menachem Keren-Kratz revives memories of the journal *Tzofar/Tzohar*, the first “independent” Haredi newspaper in Eretz Israel that crossed the accepted red lines of this press. Moshe Ehrenvald writes about newspapers published specifically for the Haredi soldier in the War of Independence. Ronel Atia takes us to the Jewish community of Djerba, Tunisia, in the first half of the twentieth century and analyzes relations between the *bet midrash*, the house of religious study, and the *bet defus*, the print shop, and the road from one to the other. And in the “conservative” camp, Ofira Gruweis Kovalsky presents the dialogue that evolved between the Canaanite movement’s journal *Alef*, and Israel Eldad (Scheib)’s *Sulam*

Le-Mahshevet Yisrael. Talia Diskin discusses legal-political education for readers of the Herut Party's youth newspaper *Herut La-No'ar*.

Turning to the use of new media by religious and Haredi society, Neomi Silman and Inbal Ester Cicurel investigate the shaping of *nida* customs among women who post on religious Facebook groups. Nili Steinfeld, Yehudit Miletzky, Tamar Berenblum, and Elazar Korenfeld analyze the detection of fake news in Haredi society as an expression of digital literacy and draw an unequivocal conclusion in their comparison with general society.

In a further contribution on social networks, Tal Laor examines the differences among various groups in their presence and consumption patterns in social networks. The term "dictatorship" is commonly used in Israeli society today: Barak Bar-Zohar compares coverage of the deaths of infamous dictators Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin in the Hebrew press.

Concluding the Studies' section of this issue, Zohar Shavit's original, personal, and thought-provoking article touches on a topic that remains current among population groups that lack adequate media exposure, albeit less so than in the period of rationing: how was food represented in the children's press of that time?

In the Documentation section, Amir Earon reviews newspaper advertisements in the first half of the twentieth century and the early statehood years and the contributions that several of our literary giants made to them. The Research Reports and Book Review sections are with us as usual.

We wish you a pleasant and useful read and look forward to meeting you again in the next issue, *Kesher* 61 (Autumn 2023).

The Editor

THE BLACK *HA-MELITZ*

GIDEON KOUTS

The journal *Ha-Melitz* is remembered in the history of the Hebrew press as its epitomic mouthpiece and as the flagship of the Maskilic and radical Jewish intelligentsia in Russia, as well as for its tempestuous struggles against “black” religious reactionism. As the paper spiraled toward extinction, however, it and its editor, Leon Rabinowitz, became known for having kowtowed to the pious “blacks”; grown close to right-wing and religious “reactionary” circles; undergone “religification”; and recruited, to their loyal supporters’ displeasure, anti-Zionist Haredi and right-leaning writers in order to be “balanced” and “popular” and to attract the traditional Jewish public. This image ultimately contributed to the paper’s downfall.

After the death of the founding publisher Alexander Halevi Zederbaum, on September 8, 1893, *Ha-Melitz* was offered for sale. It eventually passed into the hands of the journalist Leon Rabinowitz (“Ish Yehudi”), who had edited it in the past, and to the management of Shabbetai Rapoport.

Word of the reappearance of *Ha-Melitz* was received enthusiastically by the paper’s writers and readers. Rabinowitz’s appointment as editor was also greeted with elation. As a rising force in the Hebrew press and a representative of the young generation, he would, it was thought, reinvigorate the newspaper and pass it on to the next generation of readers. The main editorialist of *Ha-Melitz* at the time, Ahad Ha’am, wrote to Rabinowitz:

Now that the old editor has died, our connection between [the old] *Ha-Melitz* and us has been severed ... Therefore, the new editor must be much closer to us, much more a member of our generation in all ways: his schooling, his taste, his manner, his state of mind, his linguistic style. And because I consider you, my esteemed friend, a man after my own heart, you will find it no wonder that I was pleased to open the printed edition, in which you apprised readers ... that you would now be its editor.

But was Leon Rabinowitz really a “man after [Ahad Ha’am’s] own heart”? In a manifest that he published when the paper reappeared, Rabinowitz wrote, among other things, that:

Ha-Melitz will be a journal for the entire House of Israel, elucidating the views and wishes of all factions in our land. *Ha-Melitz* among them will be an advocate [Heb. *ha-melitz*] in propagating peace in Israel ... We will stride down the golden mean tilting neither right nor left ... Readers will find scientific articles in the spirit of Judaism [and *Ha-Melitz*] will strive to convey a grasp of all scientific innovations by which we may understand the words of our holy Torah.

After his optimistic overture, however, Ahad Ha'am circumscribed his comments:

... you might be amazed if I were to tell you that I found nothing that I sought in those remarks of yours, and instead, found what I had not sought ... There is one faction in our midst that thinks ... that instead of "scientific articles in the spirit of Judaism," it needs many more articles about Judaism in a scientific spirit ... I fear that many will find in this "golden mean," marked in the manner of which you advised us, a path that leads straight to Canossa [abject surrender] and turns [*Ha-Melitz*] into another *Levanon* [the extremist Haredi newspaper].

Rabinowitz's critics accused him of having hastily introduced a regular column in *Ha-Melitz* on current applied theology. In their eyes, the main Trojan horse of the "blacks" in *Ha-Melitz* was the young rabbi-journalist Joshua Joseph Preil.

Notwithstanding Preil's polite and sophisticated style, his views and assertions were as determined and rigid as those of the Haredim and the "fanatics," to the outrage of regular readers, and particularly his nemeses, the Hovevei Tsiyyon. The permanent targets of his barbs were Hibbat Tsiyyon, the new nationalism "which subverts the foundations of the faith," and his underlying premise was the obligation to observe practical Judaism. In his mission to find "paths to the heart of the masses," however, he did not hesitate to use the enemy's weapons, even if to do so he had to pretend to accommodate "foreign" culture (broad general knowledge), use "enlightened" expressions, and even take initiatives in the direction of religious *belles lettres* that would replace the secular kind.

In the heat of the debate between Preil and leading intellectuals and writers, some of them accused the editor of allowing a dangerous rival to breach the ramparts of radicalism and Hibbat Tsiyyon. Rabinowitz attempted to justify himself: instead of his adversaries publishing wall newspapers and engaging in incitement, let them express themselves overtly in the newspaper.

After debating trenchantly with the most prominent Maskilim and Hovevei Tsiyyon, to the fury of *Ha-Melitz* readers, Preil desisted and explained his decision in a lead opinion piece.

When Preil died at the early age of thirty-eight, Samuel Jacob Jazkan wrote an obituary in *Ha-Melitz* stating that had Preil died two years earlier, the editor would not have afforded him [Jazkan] extensive and honorable room to eulogize the anonymous rabbi from the shtetl of Krakes; but since then, Preil had earned his fame by writing in the newspaper. In this context, he pointed to Rabinowitz's success in reaching out to the Haredim from a newspaper they had once rejected in disgust.

Preil, despite everything, earned his great rivals' esteem, However, among Rabinowitz's original community of readers, the participation of prominent journalists, was to no avail. Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's vigorous support of Rabinowitz during the persecution of the latter by Haredi circles in Jerusalem did not help, either. Even the success of *Ha-Melitz* literary section, which remained an orphan in its grandeur, was useless.

Ha-Melitz was maligned in Zionist circles and Congresses for having “lent a hand to the blacks.” When Nahum Sokolow transformed the rival newspaper *Ha-Tzefira* into the official organ of the Zionist Movement, the defeat of *Ha-Melitz* in the contest for the Hebrew reading community in Europe became complete. The paper was shut down for good in 1904.

TZOFAR/TZOHAR: THE FIRST INDEPENDENT HAREDI NEWSPAPER IN ISRAEL

MENACHEM KEREN-KRATZ

In the 1970s and 1980s, Israel’s Haredi society underwent a radical transformation that changed its characteristics entirely. As of the 1930s, most mainstream Haredi Jews lived in a mixed environment alongside secular, traditional, and religious Zionists, and worked with Israelis of all kinds. Many of them did not dress in today’s black and white garb and did not sport beards and sidelocks. Although pupils in most of Agudat Yisrael’s elementary schools dedicated more time to religious studies, they were also taught general subjects similar to those learned in state schools. The majority of Haredim were proud of their country and its achievements, and in the early years of the state many of them celebrated the national days. The positive attitude of Haredi society toward the state was demonstrated in its official newspapers, all written in modern Hebrew.

In the late 1970s, Rabbi Eliezer Menachem Shach became the supreme leader of Israel’s Haredi society. He promoted a novel and unprecedented worldview that determined how a proper Haredi should live his life even in areas not defined by Halacha. Its dictates included: where a proper Haredi person should live, how to dress, what to study, where to work, which party to vote for, how to spend free time and vacation, which cultural products and media to consume, and which technological means to use and which to reject. These new norms were introduced through the Haredi press which obeyed the rabbis’ instructions without question.

In 1978, the long-time editor of *Ha-Modia*, the main Haredi newspaper at the time, died, and three editors were appointed in his place. Since each of them represented a different camp and each held a veto right, the newspaper no longer followed its previous balanced policy and prevented publication of articles on many Haredi issues both positive and negative. Realizing that the Haredi press no longer reflected what was happening in their world, Haim Shaulzon, a local Agudat Yisrael activist without journalistic experience, decided to establish an independent Haredi periodical. Unlike the existing newspapers, each of which expressed only the view of the movement that published it, Shaulzon was resolved to present the entire spectrum of Haredi opinions. This trailblazing independent Haredi newspaper, *Tzofar/Tzohar*, paved the way for many other independent periodicals that reviewed Haredi society and even criticized it.

DESIGNATED NEWSPAPERS FOR THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX (HAREDI) SOLDIER IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

MOSHE EHRENVOLD

The main non-Zionist Haredi (ultra-Orthodox) parties and organizations – Agudat Yisrael, the Agudat Yisrael Youth movement, and Poalei [Workers] Agudat Yisrael movement – underwent a gradual change from separatism to integration. This process took place during the political and military struggle for the establishment of the state. The Agudat Yisrael organizations, which had boycotted the institutions of the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel and opposed the establishment of the state, were increasingly integrated into the Yishuv's institutions and the various committees that were established in preparation for its founding.

The most significant and noticeable change was in the security field. The Haredi organizations called on their people to mobilize and fight for the establishment of the state and its defense, even though they did not agree with its formation or the way it was taking shape. The change took place among the Haredi political leaders, with the backing of the rabbinical leadership. Their opponents were a small, extreme minority.

The Haredi organizations encouraged and organized the recruitment of their people, with the exception of yeshiva students who, it was agreed, could postpone it until a later stage. The political and military leaderships' acceptance of conditions that would allow the Haredim to maintain their lifestyle during their service contributed to this willingness.

According to the Haredim, the recruitment of many of their men would affect the character of the army and the state in areas that would fit their worldview. It soon became clear that due to the situation of the country – which, in the process of its establishment, was being forced to conduct an existential war, with a shortage of personnel, weapons, and essential equipment – it was difficult to meet the commitments given to them. The Haredi organizations that had encouraged the recruitment of their people took responsibility and invested great effort into protecting their rights.

The Haredi newspaper network joined this endeavor to aid Haredi recruits. The regular newspapers published special editions that were intended for the recruits and were sent to the units in which they served. The goal was to keep in touch with the soldiers who were cut off from their familiar surroundings, to create in them a kind of singular pride, and to give them the sense that solutions to their problems were being attended to.

The Agudist youth movement published a monthly newspaper called *Diglenu La-Meguyasim*, containing between four and eight pages. It featured articles by the movement's leaders about the situation and discussed issues that were troubling the recruits. The latter were given a platform to write about their hardships and experiences. There were also obituaries of members of the movement who had fallen in the line of duty. Another newspaper, the weekly *Igeret La-Hayal*, contained Torah portions,

laws, and customs for the week. The Aguda's recruitment department reported briefly on its activities.

The Agudist labor movement published a special version of its newspaper, *She'arim* as *She'arim La-Meguyas*, in which the leaders encouraged the recruits and shared their expectations. Problems of the recruits and their families and solutions to them were discussed; there were also reports on the soldiers' activities on the various fronts, including photos.

At the end of May and beginning of June 1948, some of the yeshiva students were also enlisted. The regiment dealing with fortifications in Jerusalem had a battalion called Mivchar. The two newspapers published for the battalion's recruits dealt with matters relating to those soldiers, as well as with general matters.

Publishing special newspapers for recruits was intended to create a bilateral relationship: to encourage them, and to give them the sense that their service was appreciated and their difficulties were understood and were being taken care of.

BETWEEN THE *BET MIDRASH* AND PRINTING PRESS: JOURNALISM AND CONSERVATISM IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN DJERBA

RONEL ATIA

The development of a scholastic press among the Jewish communities in North Africa, a movement that gradually expanded among rabbinic figures there from the mid-nineteenth century, was one of the clear signs of the expansion of Maskilic circles. This trend was an expression of a broader mindset of identification with European culture, which encouraged the acquisition of education and foreign languages, and relied on learned circles. The Enlightenment's influence was also expressed in a literary and political revival, which led to a proliferation of writers and reporters, dissemination of the scholastic press, and the expansion of printing resources. The educational movement engendered various reactions among religious leaders of Jewish communities in North Africa. Some firmly opposed the cultural changes introduced by the advent of modernity, while others tried to adapt them to pre-existing religious patterns.

These processes of cultural change also penetrated the two central Jewish communities in Tunisia, one in the capital city of Tunis and the other on the island of Djerba. Many educated Jews from Tunis played an extensive literary and journalistic role in the European Jewish and local Arab Jewish press. In contrast, the Jewish community in Djerba was seemingly fortified against these trends. Nevertheless, despite the absence of references to Jews from the Djerba community in the Jewish press of the time, I argue that the spirit of the modern movement also penetrated that community, albeit in a different way.

THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE MAGAZINES *SULAM* AND *ALEF*

OFIRA GRUWEIS KOVALSKY

The magazine *Alef* was launched in November 1948 under the editorship of Uriel Shelach and Yonatan Ratosh. May 1949 saw the publication of the magazine *Sulam Le-Mahshevet Yisrael* by Israel Eldad (Scheib). Both Ratosh's and Eldad's political paths began in the radical circles of the Revisionist Movement. Likewise, their magazines were both launched shortly after the founding of the state of Israel, and the two individuals represented nonconformist radical groups which operated in 1950s' Israel.

The article demonstrates the fiery dialogue that existed between the two magazines and discusses its significance and effect on Israeli society. Its central argument is that both forms of the interchange between *Alef* and *Sulam* were in many ways a continuation of the debates conducted within the radical Revisionist strand of the Zionist Movement during the 1930s. Despite the ideological gap between Ratosh and Eldad, the dialogue had a common denominator centered on usage of the term *Hebrew nation*.

FROM A DISTANCE: *HERUT LA-NO'AR* AND LEGAL-POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE HERUT PARTY'S YOUTH JOURNAL

TALIA DISKIN

The article presents the political and legal discourse in the Israeli youth journal *Herut La-No'ar* in the 1950s. While focusing on various texts, it seeks to describe and define the paper's doctrine and opens a window to youth education through the eyes of Herut ("freedom," in Hebrew) – the major conservative nationalist party founded by Menachem Begin.

The article first explains the historical context in which the journal was published. It shows, among others, aspects of the Herut movement's self-perception, reflected in the editorials and writing in general, which point to a sense of the party's marginality on the political map in Israel at the time. It also illustrates motifs of the discourse, including the demand for recognition of the movement's members in the struggle for the establishment of the state and its existence. The second part demonstrates the paper's attitudes toward legal and moral public issues and the rhetorical use of elements concerning the concept of "natural law," which views law and morals as inseparable. Thus, the article seeks to contribute to the study of legal and political socialization in Israel in general, and right-wing moral perspectives in particular.

WOMEN'S ONLINE DISCOURSE ON *NIDA*: CHALLENGING THE STRUCTURE OF AUTHORITY

NEOMI SILMAN AND INBAL ESTER CICUREL

This article examines women's discussions on Facebook forums regarding the halachic practice of *nida* laws (relating to menstruation, in traditional Judaism) and the implications of these laws on their lives. The study examined cyber-feminist content posted on Facebook between 2017 and 2019. In addition, the study followed social network discussions that took place in 2021 around the closure of one of the main groups. The aim was to analyze the impact of religious online forums on the nature and implications of the women's struggle.

The findings show that the discussion on Facebook expresses religious activism of women who take responsibility for their bodies as a subject that has halachic status. This activism has led to a change in halachic practice and allowed women to create a subversive discourse whose focal points include: changing the hierarchical relationship to rabbis, accepting the authority of women halachic advisers, and respecting the bodily female experience as a halachic consideration.

The online discourse provides a platform for women to voice their opinions and concerns, to think about their identity as religious women and their place in religious thought and in the religious community, to connect with like-minded individuals, and to effect change within those communities.

Overall, the study highlights the role of social media in empowering women to challenge traditional gender roles and hierarchies within religious communities.

MISINFORMATION IDENTIFICATION IN HAREDI SOCIETY: AN EYE-TRACKING STUDY OF WEB PAGE SCANNING AS A MANIFESTATION OF DIGITAL LITERACY

NILI STEINFELD, YEHUDIT MILETZKY, TAMAR BERENBLUM, AND ELAZAR KORENFELD

The spread of misinformation on the internet can provoke social disputes, normalize prejudice, and cause bias in social perceptions toward distinct social groups. In Israel's already deeply divided society, exposure to misinformation could aggravate the existing polarization between populations, such as the ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) and the general population in Israel. Furthermore, as the ability to detect misinformation is related to knowledge and digital literacy, the Haredi population in Israel, which is characterized by low digital literacy compared to the general population, may be more vulnerable to the influence of misinformation.

The aim of this study was to examine and compare the ability to detect misinformation between Haredi and non-Haredi Jews, while examining the relationship between misinformation detection and digital literacy and knowledge. Haredi and non-Haredi Jewish subjects (N=83) were asked to read various online news articles and to evaluate

their credibility. Using eye tracking technology, we examined participants' scan patterns of the web pages, and their manner of reading the items and the accompanying information, as a measure of the users' attention to areas presenting information about the news (metadata); we also examined the extent of their success in identifying false messages. The findings show that Haredi participants were less successful in identifying false messages than non-Haredi participants. They were also less attentive to informative areas on the web page that signify message authenticity (i.e., metadata). However, when combining other predictors in a multivariate regression, belonging to the Haredi population became a non-significant predictor, and digital knowledge and the degree of activity on social networks were found to be significant and strong predictors of success in identifying false messages.

With regard to digital literacy, it was found that while in a subjective assessment of participant degree of digital literacy, no differences were found between Haredi and non-Haredi participants, in practice – in psycho-physiological behavioral indices, that is, the manner of reading the news and dwelling on the metadata areas, as well as on the digital knowledge index – there was a significant gap between the populations to the advantage of the non-Haredi participants.

The paper discusses the theoretical implications of the findings, alongside practical recommendations.

DIFFERENCES IN THE PRESENCE AND CONSUMPTION PATTERNS OF VARIOUS GROUPS ON SOCIAL MEDIA PLATFORMS

TAL LAOR

The primary aim of this study is to investigate the disparities in presence and consumption patterns of diverse groups in the three foremost social media networks. In order to achieve this objective, we conducted a sample of 501 respondents by means of an online questionnaire. The sample consisted of individuals with a presence on the social media platforms Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter. The results revealed that certain characteristics, such as gender, age, social status, and educational level can serve as predictors of the scope and nature of active and interactive social media use. In regard to the characteristics of gender and education, a reduction in the digital gap was found. By serving as a platform for impression management by underprivileged groups, and providing them with a means of self-expression, social networks thereby mitigate the digital divide.

THE DEMISE OF EVILS: JOURNALISTIC COVERAGE OF THE DEATHS OF BENITO MUSSOLINI, ADOLF HITLER, AND JOSEPH STALIN

BARAK BAR-ZOHAR

This article examines the journalistic coverage of the deaths of Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, and Joseph Stalin in the Hebraic daily newspapers *Ha'aretz*, *Davar*, *Ha-Mashkif*, *Herut*, *Ma'ariv*, *Al Ha-Mishmar*, *Ha-Tzofe*, and *Kol Ha-Am*. The qualitative text analysis reveals how Mussolini was portrayed as a deadly tyrant who followed Hitler's orders and got his just desserts, eventually being hanged and trampled by the masses in the center of Milan. Hitler was described as the most despicable and loathed tyrant the Jewish people had ever known. Unsurprisingly, the newspapers presented him as a monster who was responsible for the Holocaust, and as an extreme satanic nationalist who epitomized pure evil. Discussing Hitler's anti-Semitic, racist, violent, and lethal ideas and actions, the Hebraic newspapers analyzed his character and wondered how he would be remembered in history and whether the German people would be called to account for their deeds.

In contrast, Stalin's death was covered ambivalently. On the one hand, most newspapers mentioned his leading role in mass repressions, ethnic cleansing, extensive deportations, and unthinkable numbers of executions, as well as the cause of famines that killed millions. On the other, he was portrayed as a strong, idealistic, and charismatic politician and a heroic army leader who defeated the Nazi army. Furthermore, *Al Ha-Mishmar*, and to a greater extent *Kol Ha-Am*, portrayed Stalin as a brilliant ideologist, political genius, glorious statesman, international peacemaker, the global embodiment of communism, and a world leader who rescued the Jewish people in World War II.

BETWEEN FANTASY AND HARSH REALITY: PRESENTATIONS OF FOOD IN ISRAELI CHILDREN'S JOURNALS IN TIMES OF AUSTERITY

ZOHAR SHAVIT

The early years of Israel's statehood were a period of economic shortage and fiscal crisis, to which the government responded with a policy of strict austerity. This policy was vital to the very existence of the young state, in which food was rationed and limited to basic staples. As children's journals played a major role in the project of nation building, they were called upon to boost the legitimacy of the austerity regime.

The journals' treatment of austerity depicted a rather harsh reality, expressing the explicit expectation that children should join in and do their part in the national struggle for survival. Children were urged to demonstrate restraint and understanding in the face of difficult circumstances and were even asked to play an active role in

efforts to help increase the food supply, for instance, by cultivating domestic vegetable plots or replacing adults in queuing for food.

Yet, the journals also devoted some space to descriptions of entirely different scenarios which softened their depictions of the harsh reality. Tales and reports of distant or imagined places offered alternative food scenes of exotic abundance, diversity, and luxury, in sharp contrast to the general line of modesty and making-do-with-less that was typical of the journals' portrayal of the here and now. In these remote or fantastical worlds, young readers could encounter lavish feasts and fancy meals at which people dined like kings and rationing was unheard of. Such descriptions introduced, subversively, and through the back door, a reality in which heaps of delicious, unattainable food were meticulously described and presented as a matter of course, but were always juxtaposed with the immediate reality in which only scanty gastronomic options were available.

WHEN NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS WERE WRITTEN BY THE EDITORS

AMIR EARON

Commercial advertising in Eretz Israel began with the appearance of the first newspapers, *Havatzelet* and *Ha-Levanon*, in the second half of 1863. In the initial years of advertising activity, which was in the form of ads in newspapers, the copy was always informative and factual. The increase in economic activity in Eretz Israel, the growth of population because of the first *aliyot*, competition between businesses, mainly in the field of cigarette production, and competition between newspapers, led to changes in the copy that appeared in the ads. More and more ads included provocative texts for the purpose of attracting the attention of readers, on the one hand, and interesting copy aimed at arousing curiosity among them, on the other. It is evident from these new ads that they were penned by those whose occupation was writing. Since advertising agencies that provided copywriting services did not exist until the early 1930s, who, then, wrote the advertising copy for the advertisements in newspapers?

Clues to the answer to this question can be found in the texts describing the development of advertising in the United States. Due to the fierce competition there between journals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries over income from advertising, magazine publishers proposed a copywriting service for advertisements that would be placed in their publications. It was suggested that the service be made up of members of their publications' editorial boards. Proof that this practice was used by publishers and editors of several newspapers and periodicals in Eretz Israel can be found in the archives of writers such as Emanuel Harussi, Avraham Shlonsky, and others. There is also indirect evidence that Avigdor Hameiri was writing texts for advertisements in the form of his signature next to advertising copy that follows his style.

Avigdor Hameiri and Emanuel Harussi, each in his time, were members of the editorial board of *Doar Ha-Yom*. Part of their job was to write rhyming texts for advertisements for the large cigarette company Maspero Fraires. It is evident that some of the ads were initiated by the newspaper itself as part of its commercial effort to gain advertising budgets. Avraham Shlonsky was the editor of the literary journals *Ketuvim* and *Turim*. With him on the editorial board, too, were Nathan Alterman and Leah Goldberg. The financial difficulties of these journals led their editorial board members to take a similar step despite their negative attitude toward advertisements. They wrote advertising ditties for companies whose owners were known to be lovers of culture and poetry and persuaded them to publish these verses as ads in their journals.

It can be assumed that copy writing by writers and editors of the newspaper's editorial boards was not the domain of *Doar Ha-Yom*, *Ketuvim*, and *Turim* alone, and that a similar practice was adopted by other newspapers, although evidence for this is not available.

It was only in the early 1930s, as already mentioned, that the first advertising agencies owned by immigrants from Central Europe were founded. The modern work format of these agencies resembled that used in Western countries and included writing advertising copy for their clients.