

Journal of Media and Communications History in Israel and the Jewish World
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INSIDE *KESHER* 47

À LA GUERRE COMME À LA GUERRE—IS ALL FAIR IN LOVE AND WAR? / Gideon Kouts

War paid us a visit last year in two contexts: current and nearby, and historical and remote. We endured another grim conflict in Gaza that went down in the media, and will go down in history, as “Operation Protective Edge.” Shortly afterwards, the world marked the centenary of the beginning of World War I. “*À la guerre comme à la guerre*,” as the French say: war dictates rules and logic of its own. The French adage is also apt in any crisis that forces us to adjust the means to the situation. Media and the media people usually belong to the side that’s dictated to, the one that has to adjust to a change in the rules of the game, although media history also knows cases in which they take the dictating side. Do the rules and the functioning of the media fit into the system of values that war dictates? And do the media know, as in Judith Eyal’s cover illustration, how to confront and defend their interests and those of their readerships? Can one find something particular about the Jewish or the Israeli media in this context?

The main section of this edition of *Kesher* concerns itself with “Media and War.” It begins with Dov Shinar’s challenge to the conventional wisdom that media “love war.” Shinar notes the contradictions and dilemmas that the media face in this context and puts forward ten proposals for the “improvement” of war coverage. Gideon Kouts expounds on the contradictions and dilemmas that war correspondents and commentators confronted in the first Hebrew newspapers in Europe, in the second half of

the nineteenth century, by analyzing the first political section of the newspaper *Halevanon* and subsequent war coverage in that journal. Uzi Elyada dissects the inception of military coverage in the Hebrew press in Palestine, from the (futile) war waged by the British major-general Charles Gordon against the Sudanese insurgents in Khartoum up to the eruption of World War I. Again we present an article by the late Yuval Shahar about the author Isaac Babel as a “military correspondent” who describes his participation in the ranks of the Red Army cavalry in the Soviet-Polish war in 1920. Rafi Mann discusses “Israel’s first hasbara battle”—the treatment of foreign correspondents in the War of Independence. Haim Grossman presents postcards that soldiers in Palestine and Israel wrote and sent to the rear from World War I to the Second Lebanon War. Yehudith Auerbach and Zipi Israeli discuss protest movements and their relations with the media and national security during the IDF’s stay in Lebanon (1997–2000). Yehiel Limor and Baruch Leshem usher us into Operation Protective Edge by offering an initial analysis of the doings of the military spokesperson’s office during the war. Vered Malka, Yaron Ariel, Ruth Avidar, and Ayelet Chen Levy investigate the same war from an original point of view: as the first “WhatsApp War.” Avshalom Ginosar asks whether the “patriotism” of the press in times of crisis necessarily claims a price in the coin of “professionalism.” In the Documentary section, we again present a discussion of the legal aspects of

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 presstau@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).

media policy in times of war and terrorism, a matter to which our unforgettable colleague, the late Ze'ev Segal, related the case of the Second Lebanon War.

On other topics, we publish the continuation of Moshe Pelli's study on Volume 2 of the *Haskala* journal *Bikurim* (1864–1865). Merav Amran writes about the use of communication technologies to distribute religious messages in the haredi (“ultra-Orthodox”) community. Orr Levental, Dotan Shraiber,

and Yair Galily escort us into the online arena of the world of sports by analyzing the use of the Internet by fans of the Hapoel Tel Aviv soccer team. Tal Laor probes the use of radio in online platforms in Israel.

Our other regular sections complement this material for your perusal until the next time we meet. We wish you a useful and also, we hope, an enjoyable read.

MEDIA AND WAR, A LOVE STORY? CONTRADICTIONS, DILEMMAS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT / Dov Shinar

The media preference of war and violence is presented as the outcome of significant correlations between media psychology, profession, and interests with war and violence. At the institutional level, such correlations reveal personal, professional, and organizational contradictions, e.g., between patriotic/ethnic and professional allegiances; between the “agenda-setting” monopoly once held by the traditional media and the competition created by the emergence of new media; between technological advancement and ethical standards; and between longer and shorter spans of “media memory.” At a more professional level, these contradictions tend to provoke dilemmas of coverage adequacy, selectivity of narratives and

contexts, and manipulation, narrow ranges of discourse, and limited focus. Research and applied efforts to update the media culture of war coverage and violence may help to attenuate such difficulties. Recommended steps include identifying and dealing with media controls; encouraging gradual and cumulative contextual pre- and post-escalation reporting; employing “thick coverage” and “thick training” in the spirit of Clifford Geertz’s “thick description”; promoting cooperation between established and newer types of journalism; helping journalists to resolve war-coverage dilemmas; promoting ongoing field monitoring and empirical research; and establishing appropriate media structures, regulatory frameworks, and content production.

THE INCEPTION OF MILITARY REPORTAGE IN THE HEBREW PRESS IN PALESTINE / Uzi Elyada

The article discusses the onset of military reportage in the Palestine Hebrew press. The patriarch of this reportage was Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, who in late 1884 began to report in *HaZvi* about Mahdist Sudan’s besieging of General Gordon and his forces in Khartoum, the Sudanese capital. Ben-Yehuda ran a series of articles on the front page of his newspaper and kept readers abreast not only of the siege of Khartoum but also of the efforts to extricate the British expeditionary force that had inched its way up the Nile but reached its destination too late. Ben-Yehuda, basing his articles on reports from Reuters that reached Palestine by maritime post, analyzed the sides’ military strategies and tactics and attempted to predict the demarches to come.

This series of articles had no sequel. In the 1880s and 1890s, Ben-Yehuda provided much less military reportage because his intended main readership then was composed of Zionist Jews in Eastern Europe whose interests focused on news from Palestine. When they sought international military news, they consulted local newspapers written in their vernaculars. This changed in the late 1890s, after the readership in Europe shrank considerably. At that time, Ben-Yehuda revisited his strategy and chose nearby readers, in Palestine, as his main targets. Since these readers, of all people, took an especially keen interest in international military events, military reportage made a comeback in 1898–1899: now it was served up continually and in a starring role on the front pages of *HaZvi*. Thus, Ben-Yehuda

described in minute detail the Boers' war against the British in the Transvaal, the Boxer Rebellion in China, the American occupation of Cuba, and, afterwards, the Russo-Japanese War.

The Young Turks Rebellion gave the development of military reportage an important push forward. This uprising, which ordained freedom of the press across the Ottoman Empire, prompted the Ben-Yehuda family to convert its newspaper from a monthly into a daily from late September 1908. To encourage readers to consult the paper on its new daily basis, Ben-Yehuda and, above all, his son Itamar Ben-Avi, the de facto editor of the daily *HaZvi* (subsequently renamed *HaOr*) introduced a dramatic editing style that gave precedence to the spectacular and the sensational. This brought war reportage back to the front pages on an ongoing basis. Thus, between October 1911 and October 1912, *HaOr* lavished coverage on the Italo-Turkish War, foremost in Libya. At this time, a rival to the daily *HaOr* came into being in the form of *HaHerut*, which also provided regular vivid and sensationalistic coverage of the war. Unlike *HaOr*, which used news agencies, *HaHerut* had a field correspondent in Tripoli who submitted first-hand reports on the state of the war and of Libyan Jewry.

Ongoing military reportage continued to occupy the center of the front pages of *HaHerut* and *HaOr*, which were now joined by the Orthodox newspaper *Moriah*—another user of a bombastic, lurid editorial style. In 1912–1913, all three papers provided daily coverage of the First Balkan War. Ben-Avi's organ attempted to present not only the official Turkish take on the war but also, on the basis of foreign news agencies, that of the enemy. He paid dearly for this audacity: In late October 1912, he was placed on trial for harming national morale and avoided punishment only due to worthy legal defense.

For various reasons, Ben-Yehuda and Ben-Avi's *HaOr* shut

down in May 1913. Both of its competitors, however, continued to cover the First and Second Balkan Wars intensively. On the basis of this ongoing reportage, the two papers were able to expand from three issues per week to six and to continue advising the local public, each day, of what was happening in war theaters around the world—not only in the Mediterranean Basin but also in Persia and the Far East.

The Ben-Yehudas resurrected *HaOr* after the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, the event that triggered World War I. Once again, a lengthy and large-scale war appeared to stimulate enormous interest among readers and allowed the daily press to prosper. Indeed, between August and December 1914, Palestine had three Hebrew-language dailies that devoted their prime pages to the Great War. The reportage was multivocal, varied, and comprised of copious telegraphic information as well as extensive analyses. In the summer and autumn of 1914, it seemed that the entire Palestine Hebrew press concerned itself with war reportage and it alone.

Things changed in November 1914, when Turkey entered the war. Censorship became much tougher, non-Turkish and non-German sources could not be quoted at all, and journalists faced official personal persecution. This gradually put the newspapers out of business: first *HaOr*, in December 1914, and then *Moriah* in January 1915. Only *HaHerut* held out until April 1917. *HaHerut* continued to cover the war for those three years, but the reportage was biased and meager, based mainly on sources associated with one side only.

Nevertheless, one may say that the Palestine Hebrew-language newspaper's pivot to the local reader as its preferred audience in 1898 revolutionized reportage and led to a dramatic increase in military coverage, which became a central fixture in its content in 1911–1917.

ISAAC BABEL—A WAR CORRESPONDENT / Yuval Shahal

Isaac Emmanuilovich Babel (b. Odessa in 1894) was a writer, a playwright, and in due course a military correspondent. The article focuses on his oeuvre in the last-mentioned capacity.

Babel addressed topics of war and the military in two blocs of work: in a set of articles that he published in the Red Army's first cavalry newspaper during the war against Poland (June–September 1920) and in several dozen texts that he wrote during

his service on the front and published in Soviet newspapers in 1923–1925. The article examines these writings by means of literal and, at times, ethnic, cultural, and historical analysis.

Babel's writings allow the voice of the “unheard soldier” (to use Yaakov Erez' term) to come through. What is more, he was the last Soviet military writer for decades to dare to deviate from the official Party line—for which he met a cruel

fate. Babel's writing was highly personal. At a place and time in which collectivism bludgeoned all that was "different," Babel was different in almost every sense. His output was very personal, fierce, dense, and rife with imagery, much in contrast to standard military journalism. He wrote as he saw fit, even ridiculing the Soviet system by putting its own words in his heroes' mouths incongruously.

In all higher aspects of his work, Babel advanced the state of Russian literature by a generation. Apart from his use of language, he was ahead of his time in his ability to document, inventing the time capsule long before computers and digital or virtual storage devices existed. His role in documenting the Soviets' Polish campaign in 1920 compares well with what Werfel did for the Armenian genocide and what Hemingway did for the Spanish Civil War. Unlike Werfel and Hemingway, however, Babel "earned" for his trouble a short and fatal meeting with an NKVD firing squad on January 27, 1940, part of Stalin's

Great Purge. Arguably, Babel was a belated victim of the war that he had covered as a military reporter and continued to write about as a military author. Alternatively, in his writings, which represented a declaration of his independence and equality, he may have expressed a de facto death wish. That is to say, the interaction between the Jewish boy from Odessa and the Cossacks of the Red Cavalry could only end with the death of the former, as indeed it did.

If Babel's oeuvre, by now translated into dozens of languages, were to be taught in journalism schools in lessons on military writing and on images and their creation (and destruction), students might come to the conclusion that "This is not the way a military reporter writes." However, the very exposure to Babelian language, Babelian spirit, and the Babelian experience could only do them good—as it would for Isaac Emmanuilovich Babel, who deserves not to be forgotten quickly.

ISRAEL'S FIRST HASBARA BATTLE: LIAISON WITH FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS IN 1948 / Rafi Mann

Dozens of foreign reporters arrived in Israel in 1948 to cover the Jewish state's birth and war of independence. The new Israeli government, however, while highly aware of the importance of international news coverage, was unable in many cases to accommodate the correspondents' needs. Correspondents repeatedly complained about lack of access to the war fronts and technical problems that delayed their press cables—all of which as Arab announcements of victories over Israel made headlines around the world. Within weeks after the country's independence was declared, Israeli politicians and journalists rebuked the government and the army for mishandling the foreign media. Israel's first hasbara crisis was the subject of a heated discussion at a cabinet meeting in June 1948.

Based on the minutes of the meeting, other official documents, press reports, and foreign correspondents' memoirs, the article

presents and analyzes the difficulties and dilemmas that attended to hasbara in 1948. They included, among others, the army's decision to keep journalists away from some fronts so as not to reveal the troops' poor equipment and insufficient training, the lack of coordination among government ministries and units, the profusion of official spokespersons who often delivered contradictory messages, and suspicion of reporters who were not considered "friends of Israel."

Some of these problems were disentangled in July 1948, following the establishment by the Foreign Ministry and the IDF of a joint foreign press liaison bureau, headed by Moshe Perlman. This fully integrated office answered most of the foreign correspondents' needs and was able to deliver a unified Israeli message. It was a unique endeavor, however—never to be repeated by future governments, mainly due to politicians' prestige and power struggles.

WRITING HOME—A JEWISH-ISRAELI SOLDIER FIGHTS ON THE FRONT AND WRITES TO THE REAR / Haim Grossman

The image of the Jewish soldier first appeared in postcards and greeting cards in the late nineteenth century. Initially, he reflected the Emancipation as the Jewish counterpart of the European soldier; later on, he represented the Hebrew soldier who had gone to and settled in Eretz Israel to build the country and mobilize for soldierly duties whenever called upon to do so. In his main manifestation, he was a soldier in the Israel Defense Forces, the bringer of redemption and protection.

These postcards and greeting cards, used by soldiers to keep in touch with loved ones, present the handsome serviceman as the Jewish ideal of upending the diasporic pyramid, the advent of the New Jew who takes up the military cudgels along with his other vocations. The fine-looking soldier represents the Hebrew ideal of the pioneer-warrior who is called to arms, fights for his country's independence, and sustains its sovereignty by dint of his weapon. The soldier as depicted by the establishment is noted for the restrained look on his face and his message of "doing what he must." The graphic products of the private cardmakers amplify the look of the "soldier-hero" by emphasizing his physical beauty in many ways that, in their essence, project a fetching, colorful appearance pulsing with power and strength.

The striking visual image that results from all the foregoing reflects the social reality that was current among the Hebrew Jews of the New Yishuv and serves as an instrument for the construction and reinforcement of the image itself. The handsome depiction of the soldier, needed in order to reflect the new Hebrew Jewish identity that the public discourse wished to validate, attains its strongest expression in this graphic output throughout the years. It substantiates his centrality, his importance for the sustaining of sovereignty, and the love and admiration that are showered on him. This continuing expression alternately enriched the public discourse, created a broad public consensus around him, and imparted to him, and to the army, much importance and justification for the use of their services over the years.

Such postcards and greeting cards no longer exist because they are unneeded; today, after all, soldiers have their own mobile telephones. The cards have been replaced by text messages that reach their recipients directly and instantly. This medium of communication no longer mirrors the message of the establishment or a private cardmaker; it is more varied, detailed, and personal, painted in the colors of a more democratic reality—probably for the best.

“HEADLINE-SEEKING DOORMATS AND VIP’S”: PROTEST, THE MEDIA, AND NATIONAL SECURITY / Zipi Israeli, Yehudith Auerbach

This article examines interrelations between media and protest groups at the time of a security crisis. The investigation concerns two protest groups that acted for the removal of Israeli military forces from Lebanon in 1997–2000—the Four Mothers, an extra-establishmentarian protest group led by women, and the Movement for a Safe Withdrawal from Lebanon, an establishmentarian entity spearheaded by men.

To test the interrelations between these groups and the media, the authors searched for differences between the groups in three respects. The first was *the connection between the groups' use of the media and the media coverage that they received*. The findings showed a direct relation between each group's self-framing and self-portrayal and the framing created by the media. Each group played a role in its own framing.

The Four Mothers framed itself in emotional terms, usually without offering material and rational arguments in favor of withdrawal. Correspondingly, the media coverage of the group's activity focused on the emotional aspects of the activity and, in particular, the motif of motherhood. The Movement for a Safe Withdrawal, in contrast, emphasized rational arguments for withdrawal. By so doing, it dictated to the media the way its activities would be covered—in rational, thoroughgoing, and broad-based terms. These findings link to the second respect of the inquiry: *gender*. Do the media treat a "feminine" group differently from one composed (mainly) of men? The answer is yes: the media appear to have framed each investigated group as the research literature thought they would. Thus, women are identified with the private sphere and appear predominantly in

traditional women's roles, not as experts but as reflecting the views of the "man in the street," who recounts his personal experiences; they also came across as passive, excitable, and illogical. The opposite traits are attributed to men. These and other findings make one wonder how a women's protest group should best pursue its goals. Discussing this issue, the authors argue, among other things, that at the practical level women should make a greater effort at the strategic thinking stage and plan the nature of their activity in advance in order to avoid the trap. The third aspect examined relates to *establishmentarianism*: is an establishmentarian group covered differently from one that is not? The findings show that the limited activities of

the Movement for a Safe Withdrawal received extensive and prominent media coverage relative to the scanty coverage given to the Four Mothers. If so, the authors find that the media favored the establishmentarian group and explain this in various ways. In sum, several factors are proposed for the media's preference of the Movement for a Safe Withdrawal, led by Yossi Beilin, over the Four Mothers. The origin of this preference, however, is hard to trace. Is it the gender aspect? the establishmentarian one? Each probably contributed. Although it is difficult to determine the essence and proportions of these contributions, together they yield a clear picture of the likelihood of sympathetic and extensive coverage of protest groups.

OPERATION PROTECTIVE EDGE—MILITARY PUBLIC RELATIONS IN WARTIME: FROM "OPEN CLOSURE" TO "CLOSED OPENNESS" / Yehiel Limor and Baruch Leshem

Information and public relations are weapons. Words and pictures are ammunition. Important in almost any peacetime social or political struggle, they become even more important in wartime.

Operation Protective Edge (July 8–August 26, 2014) raised, not for the first time, the question of relations between the Israel Defense Forces and the media. Modern wars, particularly those waged against terrorism, do not always yield clear results. Hence the importance of trying to construct the way events are perceived by public opinion.

The Israeli government and the IDF attached great importance to explaining OPE through the domestic and international media. The structured conflict between a hierarchical and undemocratic organization that tries to keep its secrets and the media of a democratic country that aspires to reveal all (or almost all) has created changing patterns of relations between the sides over the years.

The authors review the changes that have occurred in the relationship between the military and the media since Israel's early days. OPE, fifty days long, posed a PR challenge to the military information apparatus, especially with events occurring simultaneously on the front (the Gaza Strip) and in Israeli towns and villages.

In a combat zone, an army can invoke the "closed space model," which means, among other things, a blackout on information, a ban on media access to various areas, and the "fog of war." In the hinterland, in contrast, an "open space model" must be used because coverage of damage and casualties in civilian areas cannot be thwarted.

The authors identify and characterize different models of relations between the military and the media—especially three new models first used in the past decade, including the "closed openness" model invoked during OPE.

OPERATION PROTECTIVE EDGE: THE FIRST WHATSAPP WAR? / Vered Malka, Yaron Ariel, Ruth Avidar, Ayelet Chen Levy

This article investigates the roles that WhatsApp, the popular smartphone application, played in the lives of Israel civilians who were exposed to war hazards during Operation Protective

Edge—the conflict between Israel and Hamas in July–August 2014. The research questions focus on the ways in which civilians used the application, the attributed effects of this usage

on their lives, and possible connections among users' profiles, patterns of usage, and perceived implications.

The data are based on a representative fifty-item survey among 500 Israel citizens aged 16–75, all of whom are smartphone users (maximum sample error: 4.5%). The survey was conducted during the third week of the operation (late July 2014).

Our findings suggest that WhatsApp played a central and multi-functional role in its users' lives during the war. Participants resorted to it rather frequently to obtain news and updates about the war, to check up on their loved ones, to deliver humorous or satirical messages as well as war-related rumors, and to help promote various voluntary aid initiatives. In this sense, WhatsApp served as a mass communication channel as well as an interpersonal one. Users expressed their belief that the

application enabled them to stay up-to-date and “in the know,” helped to ease their jitters, and intensified their communal and national sentiments. The findings also indicate that while all age groups put WhatsApp to common use during the operation, only young users (16–35) used it for news updates as an alternative to traditional news media.

This is one of the first studies that looks at the roles played by a popular smartphone application in the lives of civilians threatened by war. While findings on WhatsApp usage in the West have been collected for the past few years, ours is the first research initiative that reveals the centrality of this application under extreme circumstances. It also suggests that WhatsApp may be considered a unique blend of mass and interpersonal communication channels.

JOURNALISM IN A TIME OF CRISIS: PATRIOTISM AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR PROFESSIONALISM / Avshalom Ginosar

The traditional model of professional journalism in its Western liberal version clashes with the actual behavior of journalists in times of national crisis. Namely, while the traditional model instructs journalists to cover all events objectively and impartially, empirical evidence throughout the democratic world and in different eras demonstrates that journalistic coverage of national crises, wars, and other violent events in particular, is biased, nationalistic, and patriotic.

Two approaches to patriotic journalism that can be identified in the research literature—the “tribal” and the “global”—are presented and analyzed. The former is more descriptive, the latter more normative. Tribal patriotism is signified by (a) expressions of solidarity with the journalist's national or ethnic community; (b) adoption of the formal (mostly, the governmental) framing and narrative of the conflict; and (c) disregard of the other side of the conflict (the enemy), its narrative, positions, victims, etc. Conversely, the global approach to patriotism in journalism favors coverage that is guided by global humanistic values and expresses solidarity with human society at large. In more practical terms, this approach encourages journalists not to be objective but to favor the weak, the unprivileged, and so on.

Three critiques of both approaches are presented. The first addresses the contradiction between patriotic journalism—according to both approaches—and objectivity as a journalistic professional value. The second focuses on the geopolitical aspect of journalism; it presents the gap between the Western liberal model of journalism and other models elsewhere in the world that adopt different professional values. The third critique is methodological: it notes that the current research literature fails to differentiate among types of crises and levels of patriotic journalism.

Pursuant to this analysis, another normative approach is proposed: “democratic patriotic journalism.” The core assumptions of this approach are (a) the public in democratic countries must be aware of a variety of aspects of every issue, in ordinary times as well as in crisis; (b) the main goal of journalism should be the enabling of such public awareness; and (c) journalism can attain this goal only by being objective and impartial. Consequently, the professional identity of journalists should always—even amid crisis—dominate every other identity, including the national one. By embracing this approach, journalists can contribute to their community and may be seen not merely as professionals but as patriots as well.

BIKURIM VOL. II (1865): “THE HASKALAH GENERATION IS THE PILLAR OF FIRE THAT ENLIGHTENS THIS SUCCESSFUL GENERATION” / Moshe Pelli

The second volume of *Bikurim*, published in 1865, was marked by the death of its editor, Naphtali Keller. Although Keller had managed to prepare the volume and write the editorial, the task of bringing it to press fell on the writer and teacher Meir Ish-Shalom (Friedmann), who undertook to proofread the volume as its original editor had arranged it. Several articles in the journal were devoted to Keller, praising his work and his contribution to Hebrew letters. M. H. Letteris wrote an obituary on Keller, a biographical sketch that saluted Keller and his personality as an exemplary Maskil.

The contents of Volume II mirrored the model of the previous issue. The new volume reported the anniversaries of the death of major personalities in Jewish history and carried obituaries of important persons who passed away that year. Adolf (Aaron) Jellinek and Eisik Hirsch Weiss continued to publish their studies on the Talmud, their area of expertise. Other writers and scholars contributed studies on the book of Psalms (Meir Ish-Shalom), the institution of the synagogue during the Talmudic period (Jacob Reifman), the Mishna (David Oppenheim), and

the history of the Jews during the Babylonian exile (Feibel Mieses). M.H. Letteris contributed an important study on the history of Hebrew printing and printers in Vienna, highlighting Anton Schmid, a non-Jewish printer who developed the Hebrew press and published hundreds of titles in sacred and Haskalah books. More contemporary topics centered on the history of Swedish Jewry. David Gordon continued his review of the civil situation of Jews around the world, covering European countries such as Prussia, Austria, and France; Serbia and Turkey; and others. In *belles lettres*, Keller published a novella on the Jewish life in Galicia and A.B. Gottlober contributed a satiric story in rhymed verse.

In sum, most of the articles concerned classical Judaism: eight about the Talmud, five about prayers, seven about Jewish history, and five about Jewish education. Three articles were devoted to the Hebrew Bible, three to Jewish customs, and two to the Hebrew language. In *belles lettres*, *Bikurim II* made room for three poems, two piyyutim, two short stories, two biographies, and one satire.

COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS MESSAGES IN THE HAREDI COMMUNITY / Merav Amran

The article deals with developments in the methods that Haredi (“ultra-Orthodox”) society uses to distribute internal religious messages. It describes in detail the establishment of a Torah audio culture by means of electronic communication, all of which via the so-called “small media.” It explains the distinction between the means used by Haredi society to distribute these messages, which mirror the concept of *client preservation*, in contrast to those used by Israeli society at large—*religious marketing*. The focus is on how Haredi society has been adopting electronic communication technologies since the early 1980s, in the context of other modernization processes in this society and without losing sight of this society’s ideological and economic constraints. Finally, first indications of the use of communication in ways that are inconsistent with traditional

patterns of consumption are noted. This inconsistency aside, these new uses accord with dynamism and adaptation—two of the most prominent characteristics of Haredi society as it struggles to preserve its unique style as a separatist group.

Although based on master’s and doctoral research in 1995–2006, the article tracks patterns of “small media” use by the Haredi community up to 2013. The qualitative ethnography research method is used, including extended stays in the field, numerous meetings with heads of organizations and members of the community, and analysis of print and electronic media texts.

The establishment of the Torah audio culture has gone through four stages. First, the audiocassette made its appearance and spawned a flourishing cassette market. Second, “holy channels”—pirate radio stations—were established in fruitful cooperation

with the cassette market. Third, Torah CDs penetrated the market, causing damage to the recording market. In the fourth and current stage, the mp3 player emerged and took control of the Torah audio culture. The mp3 device offers an ideal solution to a group that is interested in continuing to consume religious messages under two severe constraints—limited financial resources and a conservative and separatist ideology that restricts the use of a variety of communication media. The mp3 player appears to have become the main means of communication for the unification and strengthening of the Haredi identity in its traditional format.

Haredi society behaves cautiously and suspiciously in its adoption of new technologies for the delivery of religious messages. Even if the latest developments appear to be characterized by the partial obliteration of the distinction between client-preservation and marketing-the-faith media, they seem to be in their initial stage for the time being and the direction and extent of their development must be monitored. As Haredi society becomes more and more modern and Israeli, its use of means of communications for the distribution of religious messages presents us with another test case for the study of change and continuity in this society.

IMAGINED COMMUNITIES, SPORTS, AND THE WEB: USES OF THE INTERNET BY HAPOEL TEL AVIV FC FANS / Orr Levental, Dotan Shraiber, Yair Galily

The article investigates the ways in which fans of the Hapoel Tel Aviv FC use the Internet. Its goals are two: to better understand current trends in sports fans' involvement in information management—how they work with, organize, distribute, and consume information—and to shed light on the process that brings an independent online community into being. To attain these goals, a three-phase study is conducted. First, trends in the development of sports information in Israel are reviewed, with emphasis on the technological advantages

of the Internet in terms of two-way communication channels and tools for the creation and management of information. Second, platforms and online tools that fans use as both creators and users of information are analyzed. Finally, the struggle of Hapoel Tel Aviv fans against the owners of the club in the 2011/12 season, which took place mainly on the Web, is examined as a case study grounded in interpretive historical analysis, qualitative content analysis, and interviews with fans and fan site managers.

RADIO IN ISRAEL AND CYBERSPACE—RADIO PRESENCE ON ONLINE PLATFORMS AT THE TURN OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM / Tal Laor

The digital revolution over the past few generations has by no means overlooked radio, one of the most popular and widely used media of all. Traditional radio broadcasts today are available in both analog and digital formats, which have been combined to accommodate listeners' needs and their ever-changing consumption habits in this, the third millennium. Contemporary radio reaches us via an array of digital platforms, from the computer and the mobile phone to portable music players and dozens of other readily available gadgets.

In this day and age, the Internet offers a variety of platforms

by which one might consume radio content, from radio stations streaming their content online and in tandem with its traditional FM broadcasts, to exclusively online stations, and independent programming.

This study showcases, for the first time, the ways in which the medium of radio is being used on Israel's various online platforms today. For this purpose, it recaps the many worldwide technological advances related to the radio medium in addition to the medium's local development in Israel. At the heart of this study lies the aim of mapping out the primary uses of radio

and the benefits that traditional radio stations wish to reap as they venture into cyberspace.

The overview of the study shows that while nearly 90 percent of all stations have their own websites and actively use them, many of them fail to utilize them in a way that would further involve listeners and encourage them to play a more active role.

This study offers an update on the status of radio as it

transitions into R@dio. While this update and transition take on different forms at each station, overall it is found that traditional radio stations are undergoing a process of overhaul and transition into a far more accessible and interactive medium, one that offers audiences the opportunity to listen only to desired segments as opposed to entire programs, at the time of their choosing and on a variety of devices.

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