

Journal of Media and Communications History in Israel and the Jewish World
 The Shalom Rosenfeld Institute for Research of Jewish Media and Communication
 The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities, Tel Aviv University, P.O.B. 39040 Ramat Aviv, Tel Aviv 6139001, Israel
 Tel. 972-3-6405144; Email: presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il

Head of the Institute: Prof. Raanan Rein
Founder of the Institute: Shalom Rosenfeld
First editor of *Keshet*: Dr. Mordecai Naor

No. 52, Winter 2019

CONTENTS

<p>Editor Prof. Gideon Kouts</p> <p>Editorial Board Prof. Meir Chazan Prof. Yaacov Shavit Prof. Yosef Gorny Dr. Mordecai Naor Dr. Orly Tsarfaty Dr. Baruch Leshem Prof. Uzi Elyada</p> <p>Editorial Assistant Dafna Bareket and Nurit Karshon</p> <p>Hebrew Copy Editor Herzlia Efrati</p> <p>English Section Naftali Greenwood</p> <p>English Copy Editor Beryl Belsky</p> <p>Graphic Editors Michal Semo-Kovetz and Yael Bieber</p> <p>Cover Design Michal Semo-Kovetz</p> <p>Cover Illustration Judith Eyal</p> <p>Print Elinir Printing</p>	<p>What's in <i>Keshet</i> 52? Pictures and War / Gideon Kouts 3</p> <p>Fake News at the Inception of Hebrew Journalism: Selected Examples / Gideon Kouts 4</p> <p>“A Word with Our Writers”: The Problem of Fake News in Foreign Reportage of the Newspaper <i>Hatsefira</i>, 1874 / Zef Segal 15</p> <p>Hanukka, Its Heroes, and Its Festivities in Eliezer Ben-Yehuda’s Newspapers / David Lavi 21</p> <p><i>Keter Torah Hame’asef</i>: An Emulation of the Journal <i>Ha-Me’asef</i> by an Unknown Author / Moshe Pelli 34</p> <p>Avigdor Hameiri and the Shaping of Popular Media in Mandatory Palestine in the 1920S / Ouzi Elyada 39</p> <p>“The Modern Matchmaker”—Yosef Lieber’s Hebrew Matchmaking Revolution / Orit Yaal 49</p> <p><i>Hamashkif</i>—History of a Revisionist Newspaper / Ofira Gruweis-Kovalsky 63</p> <p><i>Haredi</i> (Ultra-Orthodox) Society and the State of Israel in Its First Decade, as Reflected in the Haredi Press / Menachem Keren-Kratz 74</p> <p>“Who’s Going To Investigate The Fiasco That’s Called Rabinowitz?”— Propaganda And Messages In The Electoral Reversal In Tel Aviv, 1974 / Eran Eldar 92</p> <p>Does the Israeli Public Really Want to Know about Its Leaders’ State of Health? / Dana Raviv And Yehiel Limor 102</p> <p>Crime Reportage in Israel’s Daily Newspapers / Alina Korn 111</p> <p>“Making History”—Podcast Consumption Patterns in Israel / Tal Laor 124</p> <p>Research Reports 135</p> <p>Book Reviews 142</p> <p>The Contributors to this Issue 154</p>
---	---

Annual Subscriptions:
 2 issues a year
 USA: \$45; R.O.W: €40
 Please contact us by mail:
presstau@tauex.tau.ac.il

WHAT'S IN *KESHER* 52?

PICTURES AND WAR

The old journalistic canard has been revived in the fashionable term “fake news,” with the kind assistance of U.S. President Donald Trump and his aides, as well as various other leaders and players—mainly politicians—around the world. Many well-intentioned and less-well-intentioned souls have pondered this phenomenon and offered torrents of advice on how to surmount it. As usual, the finger of accusation is pointed at the media, even though from a historical perspective politicians have been viewed as responsible for disseminating fake news. Undoubtedly, powerful media play a political game of their own, as in the famous anecdote about the influential publisher of the *New York Journal*, William Randolph Hearst. In 1897—so the story goes—Hearst told his illustrator, Frederic Remington, whom he had sent to Cuba to report on a rebellion there and Spain’s war preparations to counter it, and who complained that all was quiet and no such preparations were in evidence: “You furnish the pictures, and I’ll furnish the war.” Thus, Hearst reinforced the myth of the yellow press lord who spreads lies and spins worldwide conspiracies in pursuit of the holy grail of circulation. Today, with the evolution of new communication technologies and social networks, responsibility has seemingly been removed from the hands of those who control the media and transferred to the individual and “friends.” Conversely, the accountability of the “internet giants” is emphasized. Some claim, with a measure of justice, that rumors, conspiracy theories, and fake news come about when the public lacks information. Others say, also with a measure of justice, that they emerge precisely when the public has too much information. Defining “fake” in media, of course, is difficult, just as it is to define “truth” there. The fashion of relativism and “post-truth,” placing

the “story” exclusively at the center of journalistic practice, and its reception at the expense of “facts,” makes it hard to tackle this old-new phenomenon.

In several articles of this edition of *Kesher*, we begin a historical debate on this issue, to be continued in ensuing editions, using examples of how the forebears of the Hebrew press contended with the broad domain of fake news. In this context, Gideon Kouts offers cases from the days of *HaMaggid*, *HaLevanon*, and *HaMelits* in the second half of the nineteenth century, and concludes by documenting the attitude of the journalist and propagandist Nahum Sokolow toward the fake news phenomenon in the first half of the twentieth century. Zef Segal discusses how the newspaper *HaTsefira* coped with the problem of the credibility of writers in faraway places. Moshe Pelli calls attention to a hitherto unknown periodical called *Me’asef*, dating back to the second decade of the nineteenth century, which mimicked the original *HaMe’asef* that Moses Mendelssohn’s successors had published. David Lavi analyzes the use made by Eliezer Ben-Yehuda’s newspapers of the festival and heroes of Hanukka. Ouzi Elyada describes the role of the author and journalist Avigdor Hameiri in shaping the popular media in the Yishuv of the 1920s, and the connections between the press and the medium of satirical cabaret. Orit Yaal writes about matchmaking columns in the press of 1930s’ Mandatory Palestine. Ofira Gruweis-Kovalsky relates the history of the Revisionist organ *HaMashkif*. Menachem Keren-Kratz recalls how the State of Israel looked at its first decade through the lens of the *haredi* (ultra-Orthodox) press. Eran Eldar deals with propaganda in the 1973 Tel Aviv municipal election campaign. Dana Raviv and Yehiel Limor ask whether and what the Israeli

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).

public want to know about their leaders' health. Alina Korn examines crime reportage in Israel's "quality" and "popular" press. Tal Laor discusses consumption patterns of podcasts in Israel by using "Making History," the country's most listened-to podcast, as a case study. The regular sections follow, as usual.

Due to structural changes at Tel Aviv University, the Shalom Rosenfeld Institute for Research of Jewish Media and Communication, publisher of *Kesher*, has been annexed to the S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies. The head of the Center, Professor Raanan Rein, will also direct the Shalom Rosenfeld Institute. We offer him a warm welcome. In his capacity as Vice President of the university, a member of the scientific board of *Kesher*, and an erstwhile senior media person, he has known how to give the Institute

and its journal the support they need, as well as useful advice that he can now apply in order to ensure the continuation and strengthening of this Jewish enterprise in the academic world. We express our warm gratitude to Professor Meir Chazan, who is winding up his term as head of the Institute. During his years of service, he kept the Institute functioning successfully, assured the regular appearance of the journal, and initiated conferences and workshops. Like his predecessors, he is not leaving *Kesher*; of course; we expect to continue benefiting from his input.

Finally, dear readers, we look forward to meeting you again when the summer issue comes out.

**Wishing you an enjoyable and useful read,
The Editors**

FAKE NEWS AT THE INCEPTION OF HEBREW JOURNALISM: SELECTED EXAMPLES/ Gideon Kouts

Nineteenth-century European Jewish society and its media navigated uncertain and often hostile waters as they transitioned from the suffocating but protective confines of tradition to the modern world. The confrontations that ensued between these trends created (according to Marc Bloch) "a helpful culture" for fake news—making this phenomenon in Hebrew journalism as old as the genre itself. Thus, amid turbulent internal political and ideological disputes in Jewish societies, publishers and editors disseminated falsehoods and half-truths in defense of sanctified interests and in pursuit of professional and business rivalries.

The main case studies in this article are two early Hebrew-language newspapers from the 1860s, *HaLevanon* and *HaMagid*, and their respective editors. Being a local correspondent for one of them conferred a social status that compensated for poor remuneration. Desperate to be published, some resorted to sensationalism or recycled old stories with an occasional retouching of details, all in the highest literary style they could muster in the holy tongue that was then being regenerated. Stories of miracles, some purely fraudulent, were an inseparable part of the evolving popular press in Europe, and therefore of the Jewish and Hebrew press as well, especially where they also carried a moral that reinforced the paper's ideological or theological position.

The great tussle between these vehicles, actually originating in personal interests, was manifested in accusations of malicious lying and/or criminal business practices, bogus letters to the editor, and possibly, the invention of a fake foreign-affairs

correspondent. It even led to genre innovations in the Hebrew press, such as one paper's virtual prosecution and conviction of another's editor for alleged false reportage.

The early Hebrew-language newspapers lacked the clout of their gentile counterparts. They appeared in a "dead language." Outside of parochial Jewish topics, they carried terse second-hand content at best. Their principal mission, in their own eyes, was not to report information but to connect Jews around the diaspora and advise them on Jewish matters. Fearful of angering people in high places, they augmented official censorship by censoring themselves—itsself a form of fake news. A newspaper's impact depends on a large readership and powerful sources; the Hebrew newspapers had neither.

As a consequence of the foregoing, Nahum Sokolow, a founding father of the Hebrew press but also a Zionist functionary and the Zionist Movement's first "professional" propagandist, addressed himself to the eternal debate over whether press "freedom" can be squared with press "responsibility"—and favored the latter. He prescribed the creation of a "guided" press that would serve the needs of the Jewish people and the Zionist movement. Events in the Land of Israel, he believed, should be covered without the "fake democracy" and sensationalism that typified reportage in the Yiddish press, which he equated with falsehood. The dissemination of an official "truth" that ignores undesired topics such as riots, scandals, and agitation in the Land of Israel—a classic demand in the history of government-press relations—is itself a form of fake news, of course. Sokolow's

attitude found expression in the State of Israel through the “response committee,” which represented all the country’s daily newspapers in steering and coordinating the responses of the Hebrew press in everything pertaining to Zionist policy, and its successor, the now-defunct “editors’ committee.” Thus,

the official function of “national responsibility,” freed from considerations of truth and falsehood, left its imprint on the Israeli press as it oscillated between reliable information and fake news.

“A WORD WITH OUR WRITERS”: THE PROBLEM OF FAKE NEWS IN FOREIGN REPORTAGE OF THE NEWSPAPER *HATSEFIRA*, 1874 / Zef Segal

On December 16, 1874, Chaim Zelig Slonimski, the founder and editor of *HaTsefira*, concluded volume 23 of the newspaper with a harsh and critical letter which he addressed not to readers but to his writers. The seemingly innocuous title that he attached to the letter, “A Word with Our Writers,” did not attest to the rage and frustration that appeared in the following paragraphs. The letter was directed against the newspaper’s reporters from distant Jewish communities who had taken advantage of his public stage to spread fake news.

Slonimski’s outburst followed the publication of three news items in the period October–December 1874, which had received critical responses from readers due to their allegedly biased, if not falsified, accounts of current events—a style of reportage far different from the objective and scientific journalism that Slonimski advocated. By examining the institutional and cultural background of the newspaper, the three false reports, and Slonimski’s letter, fake news is found to have been unavoidable despite Slonimski’s good intentions.

HANUKKA, ITS HEROES, AND ITS FESTIVITIES IN ELIEZER BEN-YEHUDA’S NEWSPAPERS / David Lavi

Eliezer Ben-Yehuda’s newspapers, *HaZvi* and *HaOr*, played a meaningful role in reconstructing renascent Hebrew culture. They emphasized a secular-national perspective on the Jewish festivals, including Hanukka. This festival was portrayed as one of national liberation, relying selectively on Jewish sources demonstrating that the Hasmonaeans’ struggle freed the Jews from the yoke of Greek rule in the Land of Israel. In line with this approach, the religious narrative of Hanukka, centering on the miracle of the cruse of oil and the rededication of the Temple, was muted.

Ben-Yehuda defined the Hasmonaeans as “wonderful, holy national heroes.” Accordingly, the words Hanukka, Hasmonaeans, Matityahu, Modi’im, Judah Maccabi, and Jonathan were thought to be “sacred” and revered in the new cultural order. Ben-Yehuda—who went to great lengths to stir public affection for this festival—judged Hanukka to be “the festival that has become the most beloved among us in

recent years.” He portrayed its heroes as sources of consolation for the terrible paucity of Jewish heroism in the modern era. Consequently, his newspapers wished not only to report the news but to inculcate positive sentiment for the holiday among readers, manifested in admiration for the heroes of antiquity and delight in the festive atmosphere of the holiday’s resurgent form.

Schoolchildren and preschoolers were central in the meaningful national ritual that evolved on the basis of Hanukka, one that brought together local celebratory traditions, performances, and plays that included elements harvested from the symbols and lore of the festival. The content of those modern events reflected the shift of emphasis from the theological plane to the national one, as Ben-Yehuda engineered it—a transition that his press dealt with comprehensively. Thus, reportage about Hanukka events was perceived more as coverage of real happenings than an attempt to advocate for a new national agenda.

KETER TORAH HAME'ASEF: AN EMULATION OF THE JOURNAL HA-ME'ASEF BY AN UNKNOWN AUTHOR / Moshe Pelli

The first Hebrew journal of the Berlin Haskalah, *HaMe'asef* (1783/4–1811), continued to influence the Haskalah and the Maskilim beyond its time and place.

After the original journal met its demise, some Maskilim attempted to emulate it and to write—sometimes even to publish—a periodical similar in image and style, and even in title. One such attempt was made in 1815–1816 and in 1817 in Coevorden, a small town in Holland, by an aspiring Maskil, Meier de Wulft. The periodical, titled *Keter Torah Hame'asef*, which I found at Amsterdam's Rosenthaliana Library in manuscript form, was never published. Several years ago, I wrote about the first two volumes (1815–1816). A third volume, for 1817, was found subsequently and is the subject of the current article. Here I analyze the variety of literary genres and forms that appear in the manuscript, including poems, stories, epigrams, riddles, prayers, and letters, and assess their literary merit. I also attempt to reconstruct the literary personality behind those writings, basing myself on Wulft's knowledge of

traditional Jewish texts and his acquaintance with German and classical literature. Then I deal with the question of whether the manuscript was written for publication or for a closet writer's personal satisfaction. The texts do appear to address the reader; thus, one may assume they were intended at least to be read by, or to, an audience, as was the practice at meetings of the Amsterdam society of the Maskilim, To'elet. Finally, I compare this periodical-like manuscript with the original *HaMe'asef*, only to conclude that it was a far cry from the original.

Nevertheless, what is impressive about Wulft's *HaMe'asef* is the impact of the German Haskalah on an unknown, aspiring Maskil in a remote locality in Europe after the original *HaMe'asef* had ceased publication. The manuscript sheds light on the desire of this young Maskil to write in Hebrew while experimenting with various literary genres. The texts reveal some information about the author, his community, and its social, cultural, and religious milieu.

AVIGDOR HAMEIRI AND THE SHAPING OF POPULAR MEDIA IN MANDATORY PALESTINE IN THE 1920S / Ouzi Elyada

This article deals with the work of the Hebrew poet, author, and publicist Avigdor Hameiri, who was a central figure in shaping the Hebrew popular press in Mandatory Palestine from the 1920s onward. Hameirim, whose mother tongue was Hungarian, immigrated to Palestine in 1921. He believed that a popular press of a spectacular and entertaining nature could be used to attract the Jewish masses in Mandatory Palestine to Hebrew culture and literature, on the one hand, and to Western and Central European literature, on the other. The popular style allowed him to tackle social, economic, and local political issues in a politically and ideologically clear and inquisitive manner and to take a critical point of view toward the powers that be.

Hameiri established two independent periodicals: *Lev Hadash* (New Heart) in the early 1920s, and *HaMahar* (Tomorrow), at the end of that decade. He financed the latter vehicle by means of HaKumkum, a satirical cabaret he established, and the journal and the cabaret were related in content and style. For several months in 1925, Hameiri managed, in between the two journals, to edit *HaMizrah* (The East), the first photographic Hebrew

periodical in the country, which also typically approached the news from the standpoint of entertainment and spectacle.

Hameiri was politically involved in the press. He published articles in the Revisionist newspaper *HaTsafon* (The North), but devoted much of the 1920s and early 1930s to extensive journalistic activity at the sensationalistic Revisionist mass newspaper *Doar HaYom* (Daily Mail). Initially, he edited its literary supplement, through which he disseminated Hungarian and Central European literature among Hebrew readers in Mandatory Palestine; afterward, he edited the paper's culture and entertainment column. Hameiri continued to write for this paper in the 1930s and was even dispatched to cover events abroad. He also published his short stories there. Concurrently, he was active in other popular formats. His novel *Hashiga'on haGadol* (The Great Madness) became the first great bestseller in the history of Hebrew publishing in 1930. Additionally, he helped Shlomo Ben-Israel and David Tidhar to distribute the popular *HaBalash* (The Detective) pamphlets, which were published in thousands of copies.

“THE MODERN MATCHMAKER”—YOSEF LIEBER’S HEBREW MATCHMAKING REVOLUTION / Orit Yaal

The first half of the twentieth century saw a transition from the traditional Jewish world to a life of progress. Thus, the age-old institution of matchmaking also needed a makeover. This article tracks the revolution that turned traditional Jewish matchmaking in the Land of Israel into a modern enterprise run by means of mass media.

The nexus of the modern era, the new country, and the large number of customers seemingly deprived the traditional personal matchmaker of their relevance. Instead, for people to find their match, a large pool of candidates and frequent get-togethers were needed. In the 1930s, the matchmaker Yosef Lieber inaugurated a Lonely Hearts column in the Hebrew press, called “Find Your Match.” Lieber—or, as he called himself, “the Modern Matchmaker”—upgraded traditional matchmaking in a manner tailored to the conditions of time and place, combining matchmaking with mass communication and advertising. Lieber had lists of hundreds of names and used mass media, mainly his column, to advertise his wares. He also used the media to generate additional traffic. Indeed, his home/office bustled with clients, and generations of satisfied customers recommended him as their children’s matchmaker, too.

Lieber was neither the first nor the only matchmaker in Mandate Palestine. He was, however, the most adept at adapting to the new modern era in which he lived. Apart from his clear-headed perspective, three other qualities were needed to transform his insight into action: an appropriate personality, effective partners, and a marketing platform. Lieber had just the right personality for the job: he was an extrovert who loved to

market and advertise his business; he had two loyal partners, the Jerusalem matchmaker Moshe and his wife, Bronia Lieber, a matchmaker in her own right; and he had a good commercial sense in that he realized a new era of communication and advertising was at hand, and understood its inherent advantages. He seems to have believed in the notion that there is neither good nor bad advertising; all advertising is advertising.

Lieber’s “modern matchmaker” method was well suited to the contemporary era, the atmosphere, and the conditions that existed in the country at the time. It had the advantage of enabling individuals without families to find spouses; it brought new criteria into the formation of marital relations; it allowed the search to take place anonymously; and it reached a very large potential population by using mass media. Its main drawbacks were that it was less personal, intimate, and accurate than the old way. Nevertheless, thanks to this revolution, couples from different places around the country were able to meet each other, while those from different countries and of different ethnicities could get acquainted. Lieber disseminated new criteria for the spouse-hunt and enabled people who struggled to form relationships to accomplish this successfully and quite easily. The change that Lieber brought about resembles, in its significance, processes that have taken place in the field with the transition from the modern era to the postmodern digital age, in which a mathematical algorithm does the matchmaker’s work. To bring about such an upheaval, it takes a person of vision who could put his finger on the needs of time and place—and Yosef Lieber was such a man.

HAMASHKIF—HISTORY OF A REVISIONIST NEWSPAPER / Ofira Gruweis-Kovalsky

The Revisionist movement published an impressive range of newspapers in various languages throughout the Jewish world, and particularly in the Land of Israel. Numerous writers were employed and, contrary to common perception, many were members of Revisionist organizations. By 1948, the Revisionist movement in Mandate Palestine had published roughly 204 newspapers, mostly in one issue only and a few of them regularly, for several months. There were two main reasons for the proliferation of nonrecurrent publishing in

Mandate Palestine: lack of funds and harassment by the British Mandate authorities. Internal processes, however, also seem to have been involved in the closure and opening of Revisionist newspapers. *HaMashkif* was the longest-lasting one. This daily made its debut in late 1938, even though the movement already had a daily newspaper, *HaYarden*. The article relates the history of *HaMashkif*, which appeared in Palestine almost every weekday until 1949—sometimes under a different name when the Mandate authorities shut it down—making it unique

among Revisionist newspapers. I focus on the reasons for the establishment of this paper, which also pertain to its precursor, *HaYarden*; its editors, the role of Jabotinsky, its day-to-day

operation, the period following World War II, and the causes of its discontinuation.

HAREDI (ULTRA-ORTHODOX) SOCIETY AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN ITS FIRST DECADE, AS REFLECTED IN THE HAREDI PRESS / Menachem Keren-Kratz

For thousands of years, Jews in the Diaspora prayed three times a day for their return to Zion. In 1917, following the Balfour Declaration, this abstract desire began to acquire realistic shape. At one of its international conferences in 1937, Agudat Israel, the global haredi (ultra-Orthodox) movement, discussed the idea of establishing a Jewish state alongside an Arab one. Ten years later, in November 29, 1947, following the Holocaust, the United Nations General Assembly approved the Palestine partition plan, thereby recognizing the Jewish people's right to its own state. Despite all the time that had passed, however, haredi society seemed totally unprepared for the establishment of the State of Israel when it actually happened in May 1948.

Haredi society conforms to the *Halakha*, the corpus of Jewish religious laws. The Halakha is the outcome of a continuous scholarly debate on various religious issues that has developed over millennia on the basis of previous halakhic rulings. Since no modern Jewish state had ever existed before, there were neither precedents nor halakhic rulings that could be applied to this new situation.

Consequently, although each haredi group tolerated differences vis-à-vis others in regard to many halakhic issues on the grounds of long-lasting tradition, this was not the case where Zionism, and later the State of Israel, were concerned. Radical groups sought to thwart the advent of Jewish sovereignty and, once it became a fact, to disregard it. The mainstream haredi movement, Agudat Israel, endorsed the new state, and its leaders signed the Declaration of Independence and took part in its first governments. The more progressive haredi groups demonstrated an even greater interest in helping the state attain its goals. They encouraged their youth to join the Israel Defense Forces and to build new settlements; they also

urged haredi businesspeople to set up factories and enterprises and promoted workforce participation among ultra-Orthodox rank and file. Each faction published its own newspaper, in which it presented its ideology vis-à-vis the State of Israel and attacked that of other haredi groupings.

By perusing the pages of these newspapers throughout Israel's first decade, I discover the issues on which these groups agreed and disagreed. I find, for example, that while one group ignored or even condemned the official celebrations of Israel's Independence Day, another rejoiced along with the majority of Israelis. However, all haredi groups criticized the government's decision to revise the procedure that women had to follow in order to obtain an exemption from army service.

I divide the ten-year period from 1948 to 1958 in accordance with dominant attitudes toward the State of Israel in the haredi press. The establishment of Israel and the War of Independence in 1948 marked the time when most Haredim were totally committed to the new state and its victory. The 1949–1952 subperiod was one of optimism, haredi leaders believing that by serving in the government not only could they promote their own interests but they could also make the state “more Jewish.” When they discovered that the secular majority would not let the religious minority dictate the state's quotidian ways, the haredi parties left the government. The years 1953–1956 were a time of disillusionment as haredi society reflected on its role in a primarily secular and Zionist state. In the last subperiod, 1957–1958, the accumulated frustration finally boiled over. As Israel prepared to celebrate its first decade of independence, tens of thousands of Haredim from all groups demonstrated against the Jerusalem municipality's decision to build a public swimming pool.

“WHO’S GOING TO INVESTIGATE THE FIASCO THAT’S CALLED RABINOWITZ?”—PROPAGANDA AND MESSAGES IN THE ELECTORAL REVERSAL IN TEL AVIV, 1974 / Eran Eldar

In the eighth Knesset elections, held on December 31, 1973, the ruling Labor Alignment, headed by Golda Meir, lost much of its strength but remained the largest in the parliament and the main governing force. Municipal elections also took place in late 1973. Although the old method for polling was used, the elections took on a personal aspect that preceded by four years the direct election law of 1978. This article examines the election propaganda of the two candidates for the mayoralty of Tel Aviv: Yehoshua Rabinowitz, the incumbent mayor representing the Labor Alignment, aged 63 in the election year, and Shlomo Lahat, 47, an experienced military man, a colonel in the reserves, and former head of the Personnel Division of the Israel Defense Forces, representing the Likud. The election propaganda of both candidates was different in style from the familiar model of that time in that it was more personal. It combined the especially

aggressive election propaganda that the Likud favored with personal propaganda in which the differences between Lahat and Rabinowitz were accented. Rabinowitz was depicted as a tired, elderly Labor Alignment hack who had held the post for four years. He was also identified with the hegemonic ruling party which now, after the Yom Kippur War, was being battered for its blundering conduct in that traumatic conflict, in addition to earlier criticism on various grounds. These factors together toppled the Labor government at Tel Aviv City Hall—a large municipality with a strong financial base, the control of which was important to both political blocs that had taken shape in those years. The electoral upset at the polls was followed three and a half years later by the famous upheaval that brought the Likud to national power in May 1977. Was the electoral reversal in Tel Aviv a portent for the Labor Party?

DOES THE ISRAELI PUBLIC REALLY WANT TO KNOW ABOUT ITS LEADERS’ STATE OF HEALTH? / Dana Raviv and Yehiel Limor

In March 2018, it was reported that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had been hospitalized for tests after having developed a high fever. He was discharged a day or so later, but the public was not given full information about why he had been taken to hospital or why he had been released.

Is the public entitled to be informed about its leaders’ state of health, or are politicians ordinary individuals who, like all others, are entitled to privacy in their personal lives, even when their health is at issue?

This question, which has commanded public and media concern in Western countries in recent decades, has been increasingly highlighted in the past few years as technological innovations and social networks challenge old and entrenched perceptions of privacy. While the question of “the right to know” in the context of leaders’ illnesses and health problems has been discussed in the past, mainly with reference to media coverage

of specific cases, the uniqueness of this article lies not in its focus on media coverage but in its broad perspective, based on a series of successive studies over a ten-year period—in 2006, 2009, and 2016—on the public’s attitudes toward the matter.

The findings show, generally, that in the period 2006–2016 the public attributed increasing importance to the “right to know” as it pertains to politicians’ personal lives—thus signifying erosion in politicians’ “right to privacy”. This was the case in matters such as extramarital affairs, sexual relations with female subordinates, non-standard sexual relations, homosexual relations, and children born out of wedlock. Conversely, where leaders’ and politicians’ health was concerned, the findings demonstrate, during the years of the study, a slight decrease in the public’s interest in the “right to know,” coupled with stronger preference for politicians’ entitlement to privacy.

CRIME REPORTAGE IN ISRAEL'S DAILY NEWSPAPERS

/ Alina Korn

This study examines crime reportage in Israel's four largest Hebrew-language newspapers—*Yedioth Ahronoth*, *Ma'ariv*, *Israel Hayom*, and *Ha'aretz*—during a one-month period, November 2008. I looked for similarities and differences among these papers and asked whether the three “tabloids” were distinct from the one “quality” newspaper in the extent of their crime reportage and types of misdeeds covered. The findings point to a similar pattern of crime reportage in all the papers, with minor variances between the “quality” vehicle, *Ha'aretz*, and two of the tabloids, *Yedioth Ahronoth* and *Ma'ariv*. Although defined as a tabloid, *Israel Hayom* differed from the two true

tabloids, displaying a pattern similar to that of *Ha'aretz*. Violent crimes and murder were given strong emphasis in *Ha'aretz* (the “quality” paper), as well as in the others. The share of reportage on sex crimes, in contrast, was lower in *Ha'aretz* and *Israel Hayom* than in *Yedioth Ahronoth* and *Ma'ariv*. It was also found, much as in other studies, that violent crime figured disproportionately in the news reportage of all of the newspapers, whereas “conventional” property crimes were underreported relative to their frequency in the official crime statistics.

“MAKING HISTORY”—PODCAST CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN ISRAEL / Tal Laor

The internet has allowed radiophonics and vocal content to branch out in additional directions, one of which is the podcast, an audio file that can be consumed online at request. This study examines, for the first time, the consumption patterns of podcast listeners in Israel by means of an online survey and semi-structured, in-depth interviews among listeners to a talk titled “Making History”—the country's most listened-to podcast. It was found that podcast consumption patterns usually resemble those typical of radio, that is, secondary listening, mostly while driving. Furthermore, podcast consumption is higher among men, young adults, the well educated, and persons of high income than among others; this accords with the theory of digital gaps in the adoption of technologies. A large share of listeners works in high-tech, and listening to podcasts satisfies their need for knowledge. The podcast is often circulated by word of mouth—recommendations from friends—making it appear to be a social element. The results of the study show

that listeners appreciate and enjoy the podcast, considering it a complement to the acquisition and enrichment of knowledge as a hobby and a way to meet additional needs. Thus, our study corresponds to the uses-and-gratification school. Listeners attest to a strong connection with, trust in, and appreciation of the creators of the podcast. Accordingly, they treat its sponsorships and advertisements tolerantly, with understanding and approval of the source of income and livelihood that the podcast provides.

It is assumed that the supply of podcasts will grow in number and content, and that consumption of this product will continue to trend upward among its target audience, due to the need to acquire quality knowledge and the technological infrastructure that makes it possible. However, if and when the content of podcasts grows in popularity and is aimed at a broader common denominator, additional audiences may be exposed to these media and their consumption will expand.