

Univerzita Karlova

Filozofická fakulta

Ústav Blízkého východu a Afriky

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Bc. Denisa Glacová

**The Israeli Secular Society in the View of the
Haredi Press**

Izraelská sekulární společnost pohledem ultra-
ortodoxního tisku

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Vedoucí práce: Ing. Arch. Daniel Ziss

Konzultant: Mgr. Aleš Weiss

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ABSTRAKT

Cílem práce je rozbor vývoje a charakteristiky židovského ultra-ortodoxního (ḥaredi) tisku v Izraeli s důrazem na jeho vztah k ostatním skupinám izraelské společnosti. Nejprve shrnujeme historické pozadí ḥaredi tisku jak v Evropě, tak v osmanské a mandátní Palestině a mapujeme jeho vývoj po založení Státu Izrael do roku 2017. Následně provádíme jeho charakteristiku včetně pojetí sebedefinice, vnitřní cenzury, hlavních tematických okruhů a jazykových prostředků. Na závěr analyzujeme, jakým způsobem ḥaredi periodika reflektují sekulární témata.

Práce je doplněna o přílohu, která obsahuje přehled nejoblíbenějších Ḥaredi tiskovin a jejich příloh, proporční schéma zastoupení náboženských a nenáboženských témat v těchto periodikách, přehled vnějších vlivů na formát datace a paginace, příklady aplikace cenzury a příklady titulních stran Ḥaredi deníků a týdeníků, jež byly využity během výzkumu.

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the development and characteristics of the Ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) press in Israel focusing on its relationship to non-Haredi Israeli society. Firstly, the historical background of the Haredi press in both Europe and Palestine is described and its development after the establishment of the State of Israel up until 2017 is surveyed. Secondly, the main features of the press including its self-definition, self-censorship, thematic elements, and language tools are defined. Lastly, we examine the secular topics in the Haredi press and its view of secular issues.

The attachments contain samples of the most popular Haredi newspapers and their supplements, chart of proportions of religious and non-religious topics, overview of the external influences on the format of date and pagination, examples of self-censorship and examples of front pages of Haredi dailies and weeklies used for our research.

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The transliteration of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Yiddish correspond with the approach of the *Scientific Philological Transcription*.¹ Set terms and names that are generally familiar to the English-speaking reader and are used in English regularly (e.g. Haredi, Hasidic, Halakhah, David Ben Gurion, etc.) follow the English orthography.

¹ *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Pub. House, 1996), 90–91.

PREFACE

To understand contemporary Jewish identity and society in the twenty-first century means not only examining Jewish traditions and customs but also exploring modern phenomena and their impact upon the Jewish community. The current Jewish society in Israel is comprised of diverse units stretching all over the wide spectrums of religiosity, degrees of traditionalism or their political orientation.

One of the most dominant and influential groups are the Haredi (Ultra-Orthodox) Jews. 11 percent of Israel's Jewish population defined themselves as Haredim (plural of Haredi) in 2015.² The number of Haredi Israelis rose above one million and they consisted of 12 percent of the population in 2016.³ The Haredi community makes up some 18 percent of the total population of children and youth (ages 0–19) and 8 percent of the working-age population (ages 20–46).⁴ Its inseparable presence within the State of Israel and rapid demographic growth has resulted in Haredim having a great impact on Israeli society's social, economic and political status.

Haredi Community

The Hebrew term *Haredi* means trembling or fearful, referring to fear of the almighty God.⁵ Shnel states that the Haredi groups differentiate primarily in terms of legitimacy,

² See Gilad Malach, Lee Cahaner, and Maya Choshen, *Statistical Report on Ultra-Orthodox Society in Israel* (Jerusalem: Center for Religion, Nation and State, 2016), 6.

³ The Israeli Haredi population was about 140,000 in 1979, 290,000 in 1995, and more than 1,000,000 in 2016. By 2065, the community is likely to make up one third of Israel's overall population. Eli Berman and Ruth Klinov, *Sect, Subsidy and Sacrifice: An Economist's View of Ultra-Orthodox Jews* (Cambridge, MA.: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1999), 22; Lee Cahaner, Gilad Malach, and Maya Chosen, "Statistical Report on Ultra-Orthodox Society in Israel," The Israel Democracy Institute, last modified December 31, 2017, <https://en.idi.org.il/articles/20439>; Ari Paltiel, Michel Sepulchre, Irene Kornilenko, and Martin Maldonado, *Long-Range Population Projections for Israel: 2009–2059* (Jerusalem: Central Bureau of Statistics, Demography and Census Department, 2012), 21–28.

⁴ See Malach, Cahaner, and Choshen, *Statistical Report on Ultra-Orthodox Society in Israel*, 6.

⁵ The term *Haredi* appears in Tanakh in *Isaiah* 66:5 when the prophet reprimands his people: "Hear the word of the Lord, you who tremble [haredim] at His word," in *Ezra* 10:3 "Therefore let us make a covenant with our God to put away all these wives and their children, according to the counsel of my Lord and of those who tremble [haredim] at the commandment of our God, and let it be done according to the Law," etc. "The Holy Bible: English Standard Version," BibleGateway.com: A Searchable Online Bible in over 150 Versions and 50 Languages, last modified 2012,

identity, and territory while Baumel adds that Haredim diverge from other Orthodox Jews, besides other things, in lifestyle, understanding of Judaism, the religious authority they accept, and appearance.⁶

The historical Jewish tradition of exclusivity throughout the ages, whether by external pressure or by internal religious or social choice, was leading to the emergence of such a Jewish community. Haredim were the only major Jewish group that continued to adhere to an exclusive tradition. Therefore, Baumel defines Haredim to be a “particular minority that has retained its uniqueness in spite of its urban character” and claims that Haredim can be considered either a religious minority, a group consisting of people who share a common religious basis and beliefs, or an ethnic minority, a group of people who share a unique social and cultural heritage that is passed on from generation to generation.⁷

Following the Second World War, two decipherable categories of Haredi Jews – Hasidim (Hasidic Jews) and Mitnagdim (Mitnagdic/Lithuanian Jews) have been distinguished.⁸ However, the rivalry between the groups started already in the eighteenth century. The relationship of Hasidim and Mitnagdim was changing but the discrepancy between them has lasted up to now. For instance, disputes between

<https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/English-Standard-Version-ESV-Bible/>. Unless otherwise stated, *The English Standard Version of Bible* is used.

⁶ See Yizḥaq Shnel, “Hahitbadlut Hamerḥavit Shel Haḥaredim Beyisra’el Hebet Fenomenogr’afi,” *Be’eri* 1 (1989): 151–171; Simeon D. Baumel, *Sacred Speakers: Language and Culture among the Haredim in Israel* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn, 2006), 123. The territorial and linguistic aspects of the Haredi self-identification is also discussed in detail in Lewis Glinert and Yosseph Shilhav, “Holy Land, Holy Language: A Study of an Ultra-Orthodox Jewish Ideology,” *Language in Society* 20, no. 1 (March 1991): 59–68.

⁷ Baumel, *Sacred Speakers*, 1. Moreover, in this instance, these two definitions often overlap. In the thesis, we view the Haredi Jewry as a group embodying qualities of both religious and ethnic minorities.

⁸ Baumel, *Sacred Speakers*, 3. Additionally, the sociologist Menaḥem Fridman divided the Haredim into four main sectors – the Mitnagdim originated in Lithuania who represent the lifestyle of the large Yeshivas in Poland and Lithuania at the end of the nineteenth century; the Polish Hasidim connected to the Hasidic tradition set up by the third generation of the Hasidic movement onwards; the Hasidic and Orthodox Hungarian Jewry formed by the influence of Chatam Sofer (1762–1839) and the Jerusalemites creating a hybrid tradition developed in the Old (Ashkenazic) Yishuv, the traditional Jewish community established before the great Aliyot (immigration waves to Israel) in Ottoman Palestine. See Menaḥem Fridman, *Haḥevrah Haḥaredit – Meqorot, Megamot Wetahalikhim* (Yerushalayim: Makhon Yerushalayim Leḥeqer Yiśra’el, 1991).

Hasidim and Mitnagdim revoked monopoly of *Hamodia* over the Israeli Haredi press and gave rise to new newspapers and magazines in the 1980's and later.

In order to provide a deeper understanding of the subject, a brief description of Hasidic and Mitnagdic development is provided below.⁹

Hasidim

The movement of the Hasidim was originally based on the teachings of Israel ben Eliezer (1700?–1760), known as Ba'al Shem Tov (Master of the Good Name).¹⁰ It started in the mid-eighteenth century amongst Jews in Ukraine, spreading later to White Russia, Galicia, and Poland.¹¹ The second and third generations, following Rabbi Dov Ber (1704?–1772), known as Maggid of Mezritch (Preacher of Mezritch), and Rabbi Elimelech of Lizansk (1717–1787) instituted a Hasidic court, the bureaucratic institution situating the Hasidic movement in a specific geographical location, and the concept of the *Zadiq* (literally: the righteous one) or *Rebbe* (leader of Hasidic community) surrounded by his followers.¹²

Mysticism became extremely influential in the intellectual settings of the movement and Hasidism have emphasised the necessity of mystical connection between man and God. Hence, *Devequt* (attachment to God through praying), Torah study, and *Kavanah* (due intention and emotional devotion) are parts of all aspects of Hasidic life and mindset.¹³

⁹ For an overview of the development of the Haredi press in the State of Israel, see the chapters on *The Haredi Press and the State of Israel* and *Rise of the Haredi Commercial Press*.

¹⁰ Moshe Rosman argues that the determination of the year of Ba'al Shem Tov's birth is probably a hypothesis based on Dubnow's misinterpretation of a story in *Shivhei HB'SH"Ṭ* [Haba'al Shem Ṭov]. See Mosheh Rosman, *Haba'al Shem Ṭov* (Yerušalayim: Merkaz Zalman Shazar Leḥeqer Toldot Ha'am Hayehudi, 1999), 21; Simon Dubnow, *Toldot Haḥasidut* (Tel 'Aviv: Hoza'at Dvir, 1975), 42–43.

¹¹ The term *Hasidim* is derived from a Hebrew word *Hasidut* originally meaning piety.

¹² See Solomon Poll, "The Charismatic Leader of the Hasidic Community, the Zaddiq, the Rebe," in *New World Hasidim: Ethnographic Studies of Hasidic Jews in America*, ed. Janet S. Belcove-Shalin (Albany: State University New York Press, 1995), 257–277.

¹³ Baumel, *Sacred Speakers*, 24.

Nowadays, the variety of Hasidic groups includes a wide range of ideologies. Speaking of political attitudes, the groups among Hasidim can be seen to belong to extreme right-wing groups or the opposite side of the spectrum.¹⁴

For example, Satmar, an ultra-conservative and anti-Zionistic Hasidic dynasty has about 100,000 affiliated members nowadays. It was founded in the city of Szatmárnémeti, Hungary (now Satu Mare, Romania) in 1905 by Reb Yoelish (1887–1979) who after the Second World War re-established the Satmar Hasidic Court in Brooklyn's Williamsburg district in New York and was appointed president of Ha'eda Ha'haredit, a Haredi communal organisation based in Jerusalem since 1953.¹⁵ Even though its headquarters remain in Williamsburg, its significant branches thrive in Kiryas Joel (New York), Los Angeles, Montreal, Antwerp, London, Buenos Aires, and Jerusalem.

While the main centre of Satmar movement is located in the United States, the heart of another group called Naturei Qarta' was established in Israel where it formally seceded of 'Agudat Yi'sra'el in 1938. Similar to Satmar, Naturei Qarta' opposes Zionism and calls for the abolishment of the State of Israel. As of October 21, 2017, *The Jewish Virtual Library* states that the sect has some 5,000 members.¹⁶

On the other hand, Chabad (Lubavitch) movement takes a position at the opposite end of the ideological spectrum within the Hasidic community. It was founded by Rebe Shneur Zalman of Liady (1745–1812) in Russia during the late eighteenth century. Following the Holocaust, the Chabad headquarters moved to the US and major centres of the movement are located in New York, Israel, the UK, Canada, and Belgium. Nowadays, it is hard to say how big Chabad is in terms of actual Lubavitcher

¹⁴ As most papers claim allegiance to their respective movements and their ideologies, the differences have to be accentuated. Dealing with the newspapers of some Haredi subgroups, we mention their features below.

¹⁵ Alan Nadler, "Satmar Hasidic Dynasty," YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, last modified 2010, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Satmar_Hasidic_Dynasty.

¹⁶ For more information about Satmar and Naturei Qarta', see for example Aviezer Ravitzky, *Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Motti Inbari, *Jewish Radical Ultra-Orthodoxy Confronts Modernity, Zionism and Women's Equality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Israel Rubin, *Satmar: Two Generations of an Urban Island* (New York: P. Lang, 1997); Qimi Qaplan, 'Amram Blau: 'Olam Shel Manhig Naturei Qarta' (Yerushalayim: Yad Yizhaq Ben-Zvi, 2017).

Hasidim. The general estimate comprises of between 40,000 and 200,000 followers.¹⁷ Chabad itself states that “over 4,500 full-time emissary families apply 250-year-old principles and philosophy to direct more than 3,500 institutions (and a workforce that numbers in the tens of thousands) dedicated to the welfare of the Jewish people worldwide.”¹⁸

One of the features differentiating Chabad from the other Hasidic subgroups is its lifestyle and ideology which is gradually being orientated towards radical messianism.¹⁹ After the death of the last Rebe Menachem Mendel Schneerson (1902–1994), who did not appoint a successor, the movement has fragmented.²⁰

Mitnagdim

At the outset of the Hasidic movement in the eighteenth century, part of the rabbis, led by Rabbi Elijah ben Solomon Zalman (1720–1797), the Gaon of Vilna, mounted an organised and forceful opposition.²¹ Its supporters become known as Mitnagdim (Opponents) or also according to the place of its origin as Litvaks (Lithuanians).²²

¹⁷ The exact number of its adherents is uncertain. Heilman argues that despite the great attention Chabad obtains, owing to its worldwide activities, it is rather a small movement. On the contrary, Fishkoff reckons that it has about 200,000 members. See Samuel Heilman, “The Chabad Lubavitch Movement: Filling the Jewish Vacuum Worldwide,” Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs (JCPA), modified December 15, 2005, <http://jcpa.org/article/the-chabad-lubavitch-movement-filling-the-jewish-vacuum-worldwide/>; Sue Fishkoff, “Chabad Today: The Lubavitcher Hasidic Movement Continues to Grow, Influence Extending Far beyond Jewish Orthodoxy,” My Jewish Learning – Judaism and Jewish Life, accessed November 29, 2017, <https://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/chabad-today/>.

¹⁸ “About Habad Lubavitch,” Judaism, Torah and Jewish Info – Chabad Lubavitch, accessed November 20, 2017, http://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/36226/jewish/About-Chabad-Lubavitch.htm.

¹⁹ The messianic character of the group was changed by the sixth Rebe Josef Isaac (1880–1950) who endorsed a more apocalyptic view of the world. See Rachel Elijor, “The Lubavitch Messianic Resurgence: The Historical and Mystical Background 1939–1996,” in *Toward the Millennium: Messianic Expectations from the Bible to Waco*, eds. Peter Schafer, and Mark Cohen (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 383–408.

²⁰ For more information about Habad, see for example Immanuel Etkes and Yaacov Jeffrey Green, *Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liady: The Origins of Chabad Hasidism* (Waltham: Brandeis, 2015); Belcove-Shalin, *New World Hasidim*.

²¹ For an overview of the Hasidic-Mitnagdic polemics, see Mordecai L. Wilensky, “Hasidic-Mitnagdic Polemics in the Jewish Communities of Eastern Europe: The Hostile Phase,” in *Essential Papers on Hasidism*, ed. Gershon David Hundert (New York: NYU Press, 1991), 224–274.

²² The Mitnagdim were originally based largely in Lithuania, northern Belorussia, and north-eastern Poland. For more information about Mitnagdim, see for example Alan Nadler, *The Faith of the*

Traditionally, these two groups have differed in several ways. First of all, Mitnagdim have adopted a more Western-style of dress. Secondly, unlike Hasidim, Mitnagdim do not engage in business soon after marriage, rather continue to attend Yeshivot and Kolelim, institutes for advanced religious studies designed for married Haredi men.

On the religious level, the Hasidic and Mitnagdic practices also diverge. Up until recent times, contrary to Hasidim who have prayed according to *Nusah Sefarad*, Litvaks have employed *Nusah 'Ashkenaz*. Traditionally, Hasidim were recognised for their swaying and ardour during prayers while Mitnagdim worshipped God more reservedly. Mitnagdim always revered rabbinical sages and their Yeshiva directors but they did not customarily consult them on the mundane issues, as became the habit in Hasidic circles. Up until now, the authority and centrality of the Rebe or the Zadiq and impact of his court have not had a parallel in the Mitnagdic society.²³

Haredim in Israel

Many of the above-mentioned differences and tenets were shaken up during the last decades of the twentieth century. With time, the gap between the Hasidim and Mitnagdim has decreased. However, the basic dissimilarities remain evident in dress-style, liturgy, ritual slaughtering, and the status of Hasidic courts.²⁴

Additionally, in the last three decades, a third group, of Sephardic origin, has enriched the Haredi community. In the past, Sephardim (Sephardic Jews) had a reputation of being tolerant to variations within Jewish practice. Leaning away from radical and fundamental ideology, even after immigrating to Israel, their religious practice was categorised as Masortic, which included a blend of religious and secular behaviour.²⁵ As Sephardic Haredim were an integral part of the general Sephardic Jewry, they did not establish their own separate community.

Mithnagdim: The Rabbinic Responses to Hasidic Rapture (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Dovid Katz, *Lithuanian Jewish Culture* (Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, 2010).

²³ See Samuel C. Heilman, *Defenders of the Faith: Inside Ultra-Orthodox Jewry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 21–27.

²⁴ Hasidim's refusal to eat from the ritual slaughtering of non-Hasidim is discussed in Wilensky, "Hasidic-Mitnagdic Polemics," 255.

²⁵ See Zvi Zohar, "Hokhmei Hatorah Wehamoderna: 'Al 'Ortodoqsiyah, Hakhmei Hamizrah Wetnu'at Shas," in *Haziyonut Hadatit Bere'iyah Mehudeshet*, ed. Me'ir Rot (Petah Tiqwah: Ne'emanei Torah We'avodah, 1998), 161–178. Unless otherwise stated, the term "secular" (Hebrew: *hiloni*) is used in the Haredi sense. The Haredi definition of the term indicates it is to belong to a Jewish majority that does not

The turning point of the Sephardic social status in the State of Israel in the early 1980's was the emergence of Sephardic political parties such as Tami and later of the booming social and political movement called Shas. Shas has emphasised the Sephardic unity and evolved a social/educational network including its own school system.²⁶ Before then, the Sephardic community almost totally lacked their own educational establishments. Previously, the religious Sephardic Jews were forced to send their children to Ashkenazic Haredi schools and Yeshivot. Owing to the ethnophobic nature of some of the Ashkenazic Haredim, the Sephardim were not accepted in the Ashkenazic Haredi social milieu.

Haredim and the Mass Media

Despite its seemingly static and traditional appearance, the Israeli Haredi world is engaged in a constant cultural dialogue with modernity. The dialogue is enacted on various levels from daily interaction with the surrounding non-Haredi society to dealing with political and economic issues of the State of Israel.²⁷ Nowadays, it is possible to observe Haredi activities that result in their acculturation with the broader non-Haredi

keep *Mitzvot* (commandments) because of their ignorance and limited knowledge of Judaism. The so-called Masortic Jews who describe themselves as neither strictly religious nor secular, national religious Jews, followers of an ideology which combines Zionism and Orthodox Judaism, and other non-Jewish religious or ethnic groups are omitted. For more details about the Haredi perception of Israeli secular society and secularism, see the chapter on *Haredi View of the Secular Jewish Society* below. For an overview of the Haredi perception of gentiles in the twentieth century, see Yossi Turner, "Attitudes towards the Non-Jew in 20th Century Jewish Thought," The Schechter Institutes, last modified February 2011, <http://www.schechter.edu/attitudes-towards-the-non-jew-in-20th-century-jewish-thought/>.

²⁶ Shas, led by the former Sephardic Chief Rabbi 'Ovadyah Yosef (1920–2013), was founded as a political party for the Jerusalemite municipality elections in 1983. Nevertheless, it is described by scholars in a variety of ways: as a thriving Israeli political party; as an educational and social-welfare action group, or as an ethnic revivalist movement. Baumel, *Sacred Speakers*, 144. For more details, see Ezra Kopelowitz and Matthew Diamond, "Religion that Strengthens Democracy: An Analysis of Religious Political Strategies in Israel," *Theory and Society* 23, no. 5 (1998): 671–708; Yoav Peled, "Towards a Redefinition of a Jewish Nationalism in Israel: The Enigma of Shas," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 4 (1998): 703–727; Aaron P. Willis, "Sephardic Torah Guardians: Ritual and the Politics of Piety" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1993).

²⁷ For an overview of the Haredi perception of non-Haredi society, see the chapter on *Haredi View of the Secular Jewish Society*.

community. The intercultural synergy is especially visible in the realm of communications and media.

Simultaneously, members of each movement identify intrinsically with their own group's press, whose dissemination creates a cultural territory or space delineated by linguistic, social, cultural, and theological boundaries.²⁸ By and large, the Haredi leadership uses the media as a tool to defend their position within the Haredi Jewry and to heavily influence them. From the emergence of the Jewish newspapers in the nineteenth century, through the boom of radio and television to the digital media, mass media has been seen as a menace to Haredi family values and Haredi rabbis have enacted decrees against it.

Furthermore, other groups such as secular, traditional, national religious, and Modern Orthodox Israeli Jewry form their identity through the commonly used mass media. Nevertheless, the Haredi community sees the non-Haredi media as a threat to their cultural view and prefer their own religious press and radio providing them with a regulated exclusive source of information. Their fundamental religious identity derives from the formal frameworks such as synagogues, religious schools, and higher religious education institutions, whilst the Haredi press serves as a secondary factor which influences the community's official verdicts.²⁹

Methodology

The press is a powerful medium serving as a channel for communication with the wider world and as a channel to address specific internal issues of the Haredi community. Speaking of it, Marc Shapiro argues that traditionally, "the written word is central and even the masses ... are avid consumers of the written world."³⁰ Therefore, the Haredi press is an appropriate source for studying both the self-presentation of the Haredim and their leadership's response to non-Haredi Israeli settings.

²⁸ However, it is necessary to point out that the affiliation of the various Haredi groups to their respective papers has not been always unequivocal and exclusive. See the readerships' composition in the chapter on *The Haredi Press in the Last Two Decades*.

²⁹ Yoel Cohen, "Media Events, Jewish Religious Holydays, and the Israeli Press," in *Global Perspectives on Media Events in Contemporary Society*, ed. Andrew Fox (Hershey, PA: Information Science Reference, 2016), 123.

³⁰ Marc B. Shapiro, *Changing the Immutable: How Orthodox Judaism Rewrites Its History* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2015), 7.

There is an abundant amount of theoretical literature about the Haredi Jewry, its miscellaneous subgroups, ideology, culture, and religion.³¹ However, usually, they deal with different aspects of the Haredi lifestyle and the Haredi press is often neglected.³²

In 1989, Zehriyah Zvi published hugely important work called *Ha'itonut Haḥaredit Haḥadashah*.³³ In the same year, 'Amnon Lewi also devoted a chapter in his monographs *Haḥaredim* to the Israeli Haredi newspapers.³⁴ In 2006, Qimi Qaplan described the development and main features of the Haredi press in Israel in his writings "*Rabot Re'ut Zadiq*": *Qawim Letoldot Ha'itonut Haḥaredit Beyisra'el Leme'afyeneha Welehitpathut*.³⁵ Additionally, Simeon D. Baumel concentrated in his anthropological and sociological research on examining the Haredi newspapers via linguistic tools and gave a detailed description of the Haredi stance towards the media and its social role.³⁶ Simultaneously, Yoel Cohen dealt with the religious content of Israeli mass media.³⁷ Rivqah Neriya Ben-Shahar was concerned with issues about gender in the Haredi

³¹ See for example 'Amnon Lewi, *Haḥaredim* (Yerushalayim: Keter, 1989); Heilman, *Defenders of the Faith*; Noah J. Efron, *Real Jews: Secular versus Ultra-Orthodox and the Struggle for Jewish Identity in Israel* (New York: Basic Books, 2003); Nurit Stadler, *Yeshiva Fundamentalism: Piety, Gender, and Resistance in the Ultra-Orthodox World* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Qimi Qaplan and Nurit Stadler, *Manhigut Wesamkhut Baḥevrah Haḥaredit Beyisra'el: Etgarim Waḥalufot* (Yerushalayim: Makhon Wan Lir, 2009); Shlomi Doron, *Hamahalakhim Beyin Ha'olamot: "Ḥazarah Betshuvah" Wa"ḥazarah Beshe'lah" Baḥevrah Haiisra'elit* (Tel 'Aviv: Haqibuz Hame'uḥad, 2013); Nurit Stadler, *Well-Worn Tallis for a New Ceremony: Trends in Israeli Haredi Culture* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2014).

³² To the contrary, comparing the amount of literature dealing with the Israeli media, most research has dealt with the Haredi Jewry. See Yoel Cohen, "The Israeli Rabbi and the Internet," in *Digital Judaism: Jewish Negotiations with Digital Media and Culture*, ed. Heidi A. Campbell (London: New York Routledge, 2015), 187.

³³ See Tzvi Zehriya, "Ha'itonut Haḥaredit Haḥadashah" (MA diss., Ha'universitah Ha'ivrit Biyerushalayim, 1989).

³⁴ See 'Amnon Lewi, "'Itonut Ḥaredit – L'o Mar'e," in *Haḥaredim* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1989), 240–255.

³⁵ See Qimi Qaplan, "*Rabot Re'ut Zadiq*": *Qawim Letoldot Ha'itonut Haḥaredit Beyisra'el Leme'afyeneha Welehitpathut* (Tel 'Aviv: 'Universitah Tel 'Aviv - Hafaqultah Lemad'ei Haḥevrah 'A"SH Gershon Gordon, 2006).

³⁶ See Simeon D. Baumel, "Communication and Change: Newspapers, Periodicals and Acculturation among Israeli Haredim," *Jewish History* 16, no. 2 (2002): 161–187; Baumel, *Sacred Speakers*.

³⁷ See Yoel Cohen, "Religion News in Israel," *Journal of Media and Religion* 3, no. 4 (2005), 179–198.

press.³⁸ The Haredi view and use of the internet, one of the most increasingly important topics, has been frequently discussed over the past few years. A description of the early Haredi approach to the internet was offered by Horoviz.³⁹ Later, it was updated and broadened in the works of Barzilai-Nahon and Barzilai, Baumel-Schwartz, and Cohen.⁴⁰

Among questions yet to be addressed within the academic research, besides other things, is the Haredi newspaper's attitude towards the non-Haredi Israeli society. There are only two works directly related to the topic; a master thesis by Leah Karmi analysing *Hamodia* and *Yated Ne'eman*'s changing views of the non-Haredi Jewish society from the 1950's until the 2000's and an article by Matt Evans examining the social gap between Haredi and non-Haredi Israeli society reflected in the Haredi newspapers.⁴¹

Therefore, this study seeks to extend this previous research by providing a thorough survey of the features of the Haredi Israeli press and an examination of its view of secular society.

Understanding the phenomenon of the Haredi press and its view of the Israeli secular society, it is necessary to research the problem comprehensively. We apply the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) first developed by Norman Fairclough in the

³⁸ See Rivqah Neriya Ben-Shaḥar, "Hanashim Haḥarediyot Wetiḡshoreṡ Hahamonim Beyiśra'el: Dfusei Ḥashifah We'ofni Qri'a" (PhD diss., Ha'universiṡah Ha'ivrit Biyerushalayim, 2008); Rivqah Neriya Ben-Shaḥar, "Dmuyot Weyizugim Shel Nashim Ḥarediyot Ba'itonut Hanashim Haḥaredit Miqum Hamedinah Wa'ad Yamenu," *Qesher* 41 (2001): 88–100.

³⁹ See Neri Horoviz, "Haḥaredim Weha'internet," *Qiwunim Ḥadashim* 3 (2000): 7–30.

⁴⁰ See K. Barzilai-Nahon and G. Barzilai, "Cultured Technology: The Internet and Religious Fundamentalism," *The Information Society* 21 (2005): 25–40; Judy Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, "From Surfing: Orthodox Jewish Women's Internet Forums as a Historical and Cultural Phenomenon," *Journal of Jewish Identities* 2, no. 1 (2009): 1–30; Yoel Cohen, "Haredim and the Internet: A Hate-Love Affair," in *Mediating Faiths: Religion and Socio-Cultural Change in the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Michal Bailey and Guy Redden (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 63–74; Cohen, "The Israeli Rabbi and the Internet," 183–204.

⁴¹ Le'ah Karmi, "Yahasah Shel Ha'itonut Haḥaredit Harishmit Leḥilonim Weleḥiloniyut Betqufat Hamedinah" (MA diss., Ha'universiṡah Ha'ivrit Biyerushalayim, 2003); Matt Evans, "Exacerbating Social Cleavages: The Media's Role in Israel's Religious-Secular Conflict," *Middle East Journal* 65, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 235–251, Richard B. Parker Memorial Issue. The topic is also partly discussed in Yosef Fund, "Tel 'Aviv Ba'itonut 'Agudat Yiśra'el," *Qesher* 39 (2009): 82–91.

1980's.⁴² It was also used by John E. Richardson for analyses of newspapers in the 2000's and 2010's.⁴³

Fairclough defines CDA to be an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of a social practice. The method which “links linguistic analysis to social analysis” has been used by sociolinguists to highlight the rhetoric behind any forms of speech that may be used to manipulate the impression given to the audience.⁴⁴

CDA examines the structures of the socio-political context. According to Fairclough, social and linguistic dimensions are interrelated and have to be surveyed altogether. Therefore, CDA consists of three elements:

1. Social practice;
2. Discursive practice (text production, distribution, and consumption);
3. Textual corpus.⁴⁵

As we presume that every aspect of textual content is the result of an intentional choice, studying the Haredi journalistic corpus and the way that Haredi papers inform about various topics from non-Haredi social and cultural realms accentuates the Haredi official verdicts and its leadership opinion.

Trying to answer our key question: “How are the secular issues presented in the Israeli Haredi press?” we will examine the three above-mentioned elements.

1. The social practice will be reflected in each of our four chapters. In the first and second chapters called *Development of the Haredi Press* and *The Haredi Press in the Last Two Decades*, we first summarise the historical background of the Haredi press depicting pioneering newspapers in both Europe and then

⁴² See Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (London: Longman, 1989); Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (London: Longman, 1995).

⁴³ See John E. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁴⁴ Linda A. Wood and Rolf O. Kroger, *Doing Discourse Analysis: Methods for Studying Action in Talk and Text* (London: Sage Publications, Inc., 2006), 26. Mentioned in Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers*, 26.

⁴⁵ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 74.

Palestine and survey their progress after the establishment of the State of Israel up until 2017. Additionally, detailed delineation of the development of the current most popular Haredi newspapers and magazines in Israel will be included.⁴⁶ In the third chapter *Features of the Haredi Press*, we will introduce the self-definition of the Haredi press. In the last chapter *Haredi Press' View of the Secular Society*, the Haredi perception of the secular society will be examined.

2. The discursive practice will be analysed mainly in the second and third chapter. The second chapter will introduce the readership of the Haredi press and its production while the third one will deal with features of the Haredi press and introduce its common attributes including its self-censorship, editorship, thematic elements, and language tools.
3. The textual corpus of a one-month's worth of publications of the seven most popular Haredi newspapers and magazines in Israel will be examined.⁴⁷ Primarily, we consider the purpose of such elements as vocabulary, grammar, semantics, etc. have in their moment of use. The content and language of the Haredi press will be discussed in the third chapter. The pragmatics and social effect of the corpus will be examined in the fourth chapter.

All in all, this thesis covers a wide spectrum of issues and tries to formulate hypotheses about its development, main features, content, relations between the media, its readership and religion, and possible social consequences.

⁴⁶ The popularity rank is based on the exposure rate according to *Haredi TGI Survey* that has been initiated by Kantar TNS since 2008.

⁴⁷ Considering the extension of the thesis, one month (January 2016) of Haredi press' production is studied. The dailies *Hamodia*, *Yated Ne'man*, *Hameva'er*, and *Hapeles*, and the weeklies *Mishpa'ah*, *Yom Leyom*, and *Baqehilah* are included.

1. DEVELOPMENT OF THE HAREDI PRESS

The birth of the Haredi press can be dated back to the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ The Orthodox Jewish community felt threatened by the flourishing Haskalah and the success of Reform Judaism and had an urge to react to their opponents defending their own values. Maintaining the Haredi stand, the best strategy for fighting the modern social lifestyle was to turn the enemy's weapons against modernity and to use its own tools. One of them was the press.

1.1 Origin of the Haredi Press

The above-mentioned trend grew stronger at the second half of the nineteenth century. The Jewish leaders in the Land of Israel and East-Central Europe began to use the press intensively for propagating their own stands and for attacking their opponents.⁴⁹ Hebrew and Yiddish newspapers also started to be published in the Land of Israel and the Diaspora to improve and support the image of the traditional and Haredi communities.⁵⁰

Gradually, the newspaper culture gained success across Europe. Dailies like *Hamagid* (1856–1903), *Hameliz* (1860–1904), *Hazfirah* (1862–1931), and *Haḥavazelet* (1863–1911) acquired a pivotal position in Jewish public debates.⁵¹ Besides that, weeklies such as *Izraelit* (1860–1938), founded by Orthodox rabbi Meyer Lehmann (1831–1890), was widely distributed in Germany.⁵² Similarly in Galicia, *Maḥziqei*

⁴⁸ For an overview of the history of the Hebrew and Jewish press, see Gideon Kouts, *The Hebrew and Jewish Press in Europe: Select Problems in Its History* (Paris: Suger Press, 2006).

⁴⁹ Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 11. For a more detailed overview of the very beginning of the Jewish Press from the eighteenth century upward, see Menaḥem Blondhayim, "Klei Tiqshoret Tarbutiyim Bema'avar: Mehadrashah Hamasortit La'itonut Hayehudit," *Qesher* 21 (1997): 63–79.

⁵⁰ Following a great Jewish migration wave from Eastern and Central Europe, particularly from the 1880's, Hebrew and Yiddish Haredi newspapers started to be published in the United States. For an overview of the topic, see A. A. Goren, "The Jewish Press," in *The Ethic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, ed. S. M. Miller (New York, Westport, and London: Greenwood Press, 1987), 203–229.

⁵¹ Shmu'el Fayner, "Toldotehah Shel Ha'itonut Ha'ivrit," *Mad'aei Hayahdut* 33 (1993): 101–105.

⁵² For more information, see Judith Bleich, "The Emergence of an Orthodox Press in 19th Century Germany," *Jewish Social Studies* 42, no. 3–4 (1980): 323–345.

Hadat (1879–1894), founded and distributed by an organisation *Ḥevrat Maḥziqei Hadat* (1825–1894), circulated, first of all, twice a month and later, twice a week.⁵³

During the first decades of the twentieth century, the number of the Haredi newspapers in Galicia, Poland, and other Eastern European countries increased extensively. Dailies, weeklies, and monthlies like *Hapeles* (1901), *Hamodia'* (1910), *Haderekh* (1912), *Das Yidishe Vert* (1916), *Der Yid* (1921) and others were published.⁵⁴

1.2 Inception of the Haredi Press in the Middle East

Simultaneously, almost a century before establishing the State of Israel, the story of the Hebrew press also commenced in Ottoman and later Mandate Palestine.⁵⁵ From the beginning of the 1870's, the pioneering Jerusalem-based weekly *Halevanon* (1863–1886) run by Mikhal Yizḥaq 'Eliyahu Hakohen (1834–1914) and Yo'el Mosheh Salomon (1838–1912), both of whom were Mitnagdim, started to reflect the attitudes of Ha'edah Ha'ashkenazit-Haperushim.⁵⁶ About six months later, a second Jerusalemite

⁵³ Yehoshua' Roqeaḥ (1825–1894), the second Rebe of the Belz Hasidic dynasty encouraged its publishing. See Y. 'Alfasi, "Maḥziqei Hadat – Hashavu'on Hadati Harishon," in *Sefer Hashanah Shel Ha'orkhim Weha'itona'im Bekitvei-Ha'et Beyisra'el* (1990–1991), ed. Yosef Qistr (Tel 'Aviv: Ha'igud Haiisra'eli Le'itonut Tqufatit, 1991), 193–204; Raḥel Manqin, "Zmiḥatah Wegibushah Shel Ha'ortodoqsiyah Hayehudit Behaliziyyah: Ḥevrat 'Maḥziqei Hadat' 1867–1883" (PhD diss., Ha'universitah Ha'ivrit Biyerushalayim, 2000), 89–94.

⁵⁴ Shmu'el Werses, "Ha'itonut Ha'ivrit Weqor'im Bepolin Bein Shtei Milḥamot 'Olam," in *Bein Shtei Milḥamot 'Olam: Praqim Meḥayei Hatarbut Shel Yehudei Polin Lileshonotehem*, eds. Ḥone Shmeruq and Shmu'el Werses (Yerushalayim: M'agnes, 1997), 73–93; Natan Kohen, *Sefer, Sofer We'iton: Merkaz Hatarbut Hayehudi, Bewarshah, 1918–1942* (Yerushalayim: M'agnes, 1961), 178–187; Sh. Rotshṭayin, "Ha'itonut Ha'ortodoqsit Bepolin We'Das Yudishe Tageblat," in *Itonut Yehudit Shehaytah*, ed. Yehudah Goṭhelf (Tel 'Aviv: 'Agudat Ha'itona'im Betel 'Aviv, 1973), 201–209.

⁵⁵ For more information about the pioneering Jewish newspapers in the Middle East, see Shmu'el Shnizer, "Yerushalayim, Tel 'Aviv Weha'itonut Ha'ivrit," *Qesher* 7 (1990): 30–31; Fayner, "Toldoteha Shel Ha'itonut Ha'ivrit", 101–105; Rami Tal, "The Israeli Press," Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed October 12, 2017, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive/1998/Pages/The%20Israeli%20Press.aspx>.

⁵⁶ Menuḥah Gilboa', *Leqsiqon Ha'itonut Ha'ivrit Beme'ot Hashmoneh-'Ešreh Wehatesha' 'Ešreh* (Yerushalayim: Mosad Biyalig, 1992), 186–195; Galia' Yardeni, *Ha'itonut Ha'ivrit Haktuvah Be'erez-Yisra'el Bashanim 1863–1904* (Tel 'Aviv: 'Universitah Tel 'Aviv Wehaqibuz Me'uḥad, 1969), 17–34. For an overview of the Ha'edah Ha'ashkenazit-Perushim, see Yehoshua' Ben 'Aryeh, *Ir Ber'ei Tqufah: Yerushalayim Beme'ah Hatsh'a-'Ešreh* (Yerushalayim: Yad Yizḥaq Ben Tzi, 1977), 331–332.

weekly, a Hasidic mouthpiece *Haḥavazelet* whose original editor was Yiśra'el Baq (1797–1874) emerged.⁵⁷

Side by side, in 1909, an Orthodox assembly in a small German town, Bad Homburg, determined that a universal Haredi organisation had to be set up. Its goal was to increase awareness of traditional Jewish culture. Three years later, 'Agudat Yiśra'el, with headquarters located in Germany, was founded during a conference in Katowice, Poland. In the same year, another branch 'Agudat Yiśra'el Shebe'erez Yiśra'el was established in Jerusalem, and an additional branch Shlomi 'Emunei Yiśra'el was launched in Poland in 1916.⁵⁸ It became a political movement promoting the interests of the Haredi Jewry in Europe and later also in the Land of Israel which played an important role in the development of the Israeli Haredi press.⁵⁹

The story of the Haredi dailies in Mandatory Palestine is interwoven with the history of the ideological press influenced and published primarily by movements 'Agudat Yiśra'el and Po'alei 'Agudat Yiśra'el.⁶⁰ During this era, an immense number of papers came into existence, some more successful than the others.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Eytan Gilboa, "The Evolution of Israeli Media," *The Middle East Review of International Affairs* 12, no. 3 (2008): 88; Tal, "The Israeli Press."

⁵⁸ See Fund, "Tel 'Aviv Be'itonut 'Agudat Yiśra'el," 82.

⁵⁹ See Yosef Fund, "Hahebet Haḥiyoni Ba'itonut 'Agudat Yiśra'el," *Qesher* 9 (1991): 81–90.

⁶⁰ Gide'on Fuqs, "'Itonim Wekitvei-'Et Yehudiyim Biyerushalayim, 5614–5683," *Qatedrah* 6 (1977): 187–219. Mentioned in Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 22.

⁶¹ Proving the abundance of papers, following examples are given: a monthly 'Erez Yiśra'el initiated by Hamerkaz Ha'arez Yiśra'el Shel Yad 'Agudat Yiśra'el Bepolin in December 1932; *Sha'arim* established by Po'alei 'Agudat Yiśra'el at the outset of 1934, started to appear regularly from the beginning of 1936; a paper *Degelanu* of Za'irei 'Agudat Yiśra'el originated in 1939; *Beyit Ya'aqov* (1941) identified with Histadrut Banot 'Agudat Yiśra'el Be'erez Yiśra'el; *Haderekh*, a Hebrew newspaper run by a less Orthodox faction of 'Agudat Yiśra'el expressing the world view of Rabbi Isaac Breuer (1883–1946); a paper *Haḥomah* (1944) operated by Naṭurei Qarta'; *Ha'edah* (1946) reflecting the outlook of Ha'edah Haḥaredit in Jerusalem; *Hamevaśer* that was also active due to the efforts of 'Agudat Yiśra'el in December 1948, etc. For a more detailed overview of the Haredi press published during the Mandate period, see Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 22–27. See also Yeḥi'el Limor and 'Ines Gabel, "'Ir Nazurah We'itonim Ba Harbeh – Ha'itonut Biyerushalayim Bemilhamat Ha'azma'ut," *Qesher* 23 (1998): 25–45; Mordekhai Slipoi, "'Itonut Haredit Ba'ir Haqdosshah," in *'Al 'Itona'im We'Itona'ot: 'Arba'im Shanah Le'agudat Ha'itona'im Biyerushalayim*, ed. Yizḥaq Tishler (Yerushalayim: Y' Tal, 1976), 19–25; Fund, "Hahebet Haḥiyoni," 81–90; Gezel Qresel, *Toldot Ha'itonut Ha'ivrit Be'erez Yiśra'el* (Yerushalayim: Hasifriyah Haḥiyonit, 1964), 185.

In 1922, an innovative Haredi weekly *Qol Yiśra'el* (1922–1948) was established in Jerusalem by 'Agudat Yiśra'el.⁶² The Hebrew magazine was issued with an interruption between 1933 and 1938 and offered a Yiddish supplement called *Di Yidishe Shtime*.⁶³ During its early years, the editor post was first taken by Rabbi Raphael Katzenelenbogen, a representative of the Old Yishuv, and then Rabbi 'Amram Blau, a member of *Za'irei 'Agudat Yiśra'el*. In the middle of the 1930's, both Katzenelenbogen and Blau seceded from *Ha'edah Haḥaredit* and founded an extremist group called *Ḥevrat Ḥayim*. The editorship passed to Mosheh Blau (1885–1946), a key leader of 'Agudat Yiśra'el descending from an Ashkenazic family of the Jerusalem-based Old Yishuv.⁶⁴ From 1933, Blau edited the newspaper alternatively himself and in cooperation with Rabbi Naftali Zvi Gliqman-Porush (1871–1952) and Shmayah Luria' (1905–1989).⁶⁵

In the second half of the 1920's, tensions between representatives of 'Agudat Yiśra'el's Jerusalemite subsidiary called *Hamerkaz Le'inyanei 'Erez Yiśra'el* and more radical part of the Old Yishuv grew. Up until the fourth Aliyah (1924–1928), the radical Old Yishuv played an important role within the organisation in the Land of Israel. Most of its members in Jerusalem descended from Ashkenazic families of the Old Yishuv and claimed allegiance to *Ha'edah Haḥaredit*. At the beginning of the 1930's, an internal split of *Ha'edah Haḥaredit* widened the divide between the radical and moderate sections of the Old Yishuv. It resulted in the division of both factions. The controversy culminated in 1945 during the elections within *Ha'edah Haḥaredit*, controlled by the radical caucus. The editor-in-chief of *Qol Yiśra'el* Mosheh Blau who represented the opposing 'Agudat Yiśra'el was dismissed. Despite this ideological development, the

⁶² Dov Genḥowsqi, "Menaḥem Perush Rokesh Moda'ot Le'Qol Yiśra'el," *Qesher* 18 (1995): 132–136; Fund, „Hahebet Haziyoni,” 84–85.

⁶³ Slipoi, "Itonut Ḥaredit Ba'ir Haqdoshah," 20.

⁶⁴ Seceding faction of *Ḥevrat Ḥayim – Naṭurei Qarta'* was established under the tutelage of 'Amnon Blau. See Binyamin 'Eli'av, *Hayishuv Beyamei Habayit Hale'umi* (Yerushalayim: Keter, 1976), 203–204; Menaḥem Fridman, *Ḥevrah Wedat: Ha'ortodoqsiyah Halo'-Ziyonit Be'erez-Yiśra'el 5678–5696/1918–1936* (Yerushalayim: Yad Yizḥaq Ben Zvi, 1978), 334–367; 'Avi'ezer Ravizqi, *Haqaz Hamegule Wehamedinah Hayehudim: Meshihiyut, Ziyonut Weradiqalizm Dati Beyiśra'el* (Tel 'Aviv: 'Am 'Oved, 1993), 75.

⁶⁵ Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 22. See also Fuqs, "Itonim Wekitvei-'Et Yehudiyim Biyerushalayim, 5614–5683," 209; Qresel, *Toldot Ha'itonut Ha'ivrit Be'erez Yiśra'el*, 185–186.

radical affiliate continued to have control over 'Agudat Yiśra'el's newspapers. It intensified the incongruity of the radical and moderate circles.⁶⁶

Despite the language dispute instigated by the Ashkenazic Haredi society in the twentieth century, Hebrew has prevailed in most of the crucial Haredi papers up to now, except for a few Yiddish items.⁶⁷ Core circles of the Old Yishuv disagreed with using the so-called *Lashon Qodesh* (Holy Language) on a daily basis.⁶⁸ Thus, *Herem* (ban) against those teaching and studying Hebrew at schools in the holy cities of 'Erez Yiśra'el, including Jerusalem, was released. Surprisingly, it was not applied directly to the press. Though, prominent members of the traditional old Orthodoxy formed partly the editorship of the Haredi newspapers.⁶⁹

1.3 The Haredi Press and the State of Israel

Owing to the tragic consequences of the Holocaust in Europe, the Haredi Jewry in Israel felt the burden of responsibility to re-establish the worldwide Haredi community. Thus, 'Agudat Yiśra'el participated in negotiations with the then leader of the Jewish Agency for Israel David Ben Gurion (1886–1975). It sought to secure the future of the kosher Haredi lifestyle even in a future secular state.⁷⁰ The outcome of the negotiations was the so-called *Status Quo Letter* sent by David Ben Gurion to 'Agudat Yiśra'el on 19th June 1947 guaranteeing a platform for mutual understanding relating to religious issues.⁷¹

The political partnership continued even after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and it was also reflected in the Haredi media. For example, news

⁶⁶ Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 24; Fridman, *Hevrah Wedat*," 253–286.

⁶⁷ The language of the Haredi press is discussed in the chapter on *Language of the Haredi Press*.

⁶⁸ Glinert and Shilhav state that *Lashon Qodesh* is a mix of Hebrew as a language of religious study, prayers, etc. declined in late Antiquity and Aramaic as the main language medium of the Talmud. See Glinert and Shilhav, "Holy Land, Holy Language," 72–74.

⁶⁹ 'Efrayim Kohen-Rayis, *Mizikhronot 'Ish Yerushalayim* (Tel 'Aviv: S' Shoshani, 1932), 96, 116–118. Mentioned in Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 24. See also Yehoshua' Kani'el, *Hemshekh Wetmurah: Hayishuv Hayashan Wehayishuv Haḥadash Betqfat Ha'aliyah Har'ishonah Wehashniyah* (Yerushalayim: Yad Yizḥaq Ben Zvi, 1981), 233–234.

⁷⁰ Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 26.

⁷¹ Menahem Fridman, "We'eleh Toldot Hasṭatut Qwo: Dat Wemedinah Beyiśra'el," in *Hama'avar Miyishuv Lemedinah 1947–1949: Rezifut Wetmurot*, ed. Wardah Pilowsqi (Ḥayfah: 'Universitat Ḥayfah, 1990), 47–81.

commemorating the fallen Israeli soldiers appeared in the first issue of the new Haredi daily *Hamodia*' (1950). Furthermore, a month later its front page featured a daily order for the Israeli soldiers by the then Commander-in-Chief of the Israel Defense Force Yigal Yadin (1917–1984) and a call of duty for the reserve units.⁷²

Up until the 1970's, *Hamodia*' was a key Haredi newspaper, supported by most Mitnagdim and Hasidim. Representatives of the central Haredi Ashkenazic stream contributed to its issues. The hegemony of *Hamodia*' lasted until the end of the 1970's when new Haredi dailies, weeklies, and monthlies such as *Hamaḥaneh Haḥaredi* (1979), *Kfar Habad* (1980), *Yated Ne'eman* (1985), and *Yom Leyom* (1993) started to appear. The gradual emergence of the new newspapers and magazines culminating in the 1980's was politically motivated. It was caused by a number of factors such as the 'Agudat Yiśra'el's coalition with the centre-right to right-wing political party Likud in 1977; the establishment of Shas in 1984; the secession of Belz Hasidim from Ha'edah Haḥaredit in 1985;⁷³ and the founding of Degel Hatorah in 1988.⁷⁴

A peculiar feature, that all of the newly created newspapers shared, was a desire to distance themselves from *Hamodia*'. They intended to address the above-mentioned political events and the monopoly of *Hamodia*'. However, it was never stated literally.

For instance, the community Maḥzikei Hadat of Belz Ḥasidim in 'Erez Yiśra'el began to publish *Hamaḥaneh Haḥaredi* on 19th January 1980, following the

⁷² The daily order was published on the front page on 16 October 1950 and the call of duty on the fourth page on 17 October 1950. Mentioned in Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 27. Haredim shared war efforts with the non-Haredi Israeli Jewry and the Haredi families were embodied in the social structure of the Israeli society. However, Qaplan concedes that the cooperation between the Israeli army and *Hamodia*' could be ideologically motivated. *Ibid.*, 27.

⁷³ Belz is a Hasidic dynasty established by Sholomon Rokeach (1781–1855) in the town of Belz in Ukraine in the nineteenth century. Nowadays, it is one of the largest Hasidic groups in Israel. Although its main centre is in Jerusalem, the Belz followers are also spread in New York, Antwerp, London, Zurich, and Montreal. For more information, see for example David Assaf, "Belz Hasidic Dynasty," YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, last modified 2010, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Belz_Hasidic_Dynasty; David Assaf, "My Pretty and Ugly World: The Confession of Rabbi Yitzhak Nahum Twersky of Shpikov," *Contemporary Jewry* 26 (2006): 1–34.

⁷⁴ Ashkenazic Haredi political party Degel Hatorah was founded in 1988 as a splinter from 'Agudat Yiśra'el.

disaffiliation of Belz Hasidim from Ha'edah Haḥaredit.⁷⁵ The editors of the newspaper were targeting the young generation of the Haredi Jewry. They explained:

“They [the young generation of Haredim] are lending an ear to [the words of] God coming from the mouths of the guardians of the Holy Guard. They are the faithful shepherds of Israel who are not damaged by the evil spirits of the cursed Haskalah – the root of all evil – and its daughters: nationalism, fake, and hypocritical religiosity.”⁷⁶

Founding the newspaper *Yated Ne'eman* on 12 July 1985, its editorial column *Gilyon R'ishon Shel 'Iton Ḥadash* (The First Issue of a New Newspaper) stated:

“The newspaper was established by private initiators and is owned by them. It is free of any political influence, either partisan or sectarian, and subordinates to the teaching and wisdom of the Torah sages.”⁷⁷

However, just as the establishment of *Hamaḥaneh Haḥaredi*, the publishing of *Yated Ne'eman* was a planned political step. Followers of Rabbi 'El'azar Menaḥem Man Shakh (1894?–2001), who later became the representatives of the political party called Degel Hatorah, initiated the daily.⁷⁸ Its formation depended on several factors: ongoing disputes between Hasidic and Mitnagdic members of Mo'ezet Gdolei Hatorah of 'Agudat Yiśra'el;⁷⁹ the withdrawal of Rabbi 'El'azar Menaḥem Man Shakh from 'Agudat Yiśra'el in 1982;⁸⁰ recurring ideological-religious discrepancies between

⁷⁵ Lewi, *Haḥaredim*, 208–211.

⁷⁶ Mentioned in Qaplan, “Rabot Re'ut Zadiq,” 28–29.

⁷⁷ “Gilyon R'ishon Shel 'Iton Ḥadash,” *Yated Ne'eman*, July 12, 1985, 2.

⁷⁸ In 1988, the establishment of Degel Hatorah, a non-Hasidic splinter of 'Agudat Yiśra'el, completed the controversy between Hasidim and Mitnagdim in Israel.

⁷⁹ In 1982, Rabbi Shakh resigned from Mo'ezet Gdolei Hatorah (Council of Great Torah Sages), an umbrella group of leading Haredi rabbis, over the question of the construction of a hotel in Tiberias on the site of a Jewish burial ground. See Moshe Horoviz, *Harav Shakh: Shehamafteah Beyado* (Yerushalayim: Keter, 1989), 70–85; Lewi, *Haḥaredim*, 225–227; Fridman, *Haḥevrah Haḥaredit*, 107–113.

⁸⁰ Some sources bring out a different date of birth of Rabbi Shakh. We follow Cohen, *God, Jews and the Media* (London: Routledge, 2014), 86; Baumel, “Communication and Change,” 165–166.

Hasidim and Mitnagdim;⁸¹ organisational and ideological variances regarding education and kashrut, etc.;⁸² and moreover, Rabbi Shakh and his Mitnagdic followers' disapproval of *Hamodia*'s mainly Hasidic-oriented content and positive embracing of Chabad.⁸³

1.4 Rise of the Haredi Commercial Press

At the end of the 1980's, together with the appearance of an ideologically directed press, a new commercial type of the Haredi papers emerged. These weeklies and monthlies have been partly run by the Haredi umbrella group Kaw 'Itonut Datit and partly by non-Haredim. Nevertheless, their common trait was to be orientated towards Haredi Jews around the world but particularly towards Haredi Israelis. Qimy Qaplan clarifies that the Haredi commercial press' unpolitical approach led to an unprecedented success of this new type of the press.⁸⁴

The original target group of the commercial magazines was the Modern Orthodox and Haredi women. As a consequence of their popularity, a boom of the commercial papers started at the end of the 1980's. After the pioneering *Yom Hashishi* (1983), *'Erev Shabat* (1985), and *Mishpahah* (1987) other weeklies were released. Their aim was to share “stories, interviews ... [and articles about] home design, family, fashion, medicine, economics, and other specific topics for the religious population [and mainly for religious women].”⁸⁵ *Mishpahah: Yarhon Habayit Hayehudi*, one of the first Haredi magazines published in Israel in December 1987, declared on the third page of its second issue in January 1988 that its aim was to serve Jewish homes by “writing ... about education, medicine, [but also] cooking, sewing, and handicraft.”

Later, the topics of the magazines started to touch on a miscellaneous gamut of general issues related to the Haredi society in Israel, to target as many Haredi and Orthodox readers as possible.

⁸¹ The Hasidic-Mitnagdic rivalry is also mentioned in the previous chapter. For an overview of the Hasidic-Mitnagdic polemics see Wilensky, “Hasidic-Mitnagdic Polemics,” 224–274. For their reflection in the Haredi press, see the chapter on *The Haredi Press in the Last Two Decades*.

⁸² Fridman, *Hahevrah Ha'haredit*, 158–161.

⁸³ Qaplan, “Rabot Re'ut Zadiq,” 30.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

This is how Yizḥaq Naḥshoni, the editor of the weekly *Yom Hashishi*, explained the journal's initiation in his interview with Menahem Michelson:

“We [Yizḥaq Naḥshoni and his co-editor of *Yom Hashishi* Yiśra'el Kazover (1946)] do not define the paper as being for the Ultra-Orthodox community alone, but rather for the whole religious community. The intention was to replace the secular [non-Haredi] weekend papers, which many religious people read reluctantly. We decided to establish a general paper for religious public.”⁸⁶

Additionally, he argued that it had been necessary to focus on an ideologically and religiously more diverse group of readers:

“We [Naḥshoni and Kazover] wanted to find the broadest possible common denominator among the religious population. Therefore, we had to give up the extremes – the religious kibbutz movement on the one hand, and Naṭurei Qarta' on the other. We decided that our territory would extend from the middle of the NRP [Zionist National Religious Party], through graduates of Merkaz Ha-rav [Kook a national religious Yeshiva in Jerusalem], to the border of the Ultra-Orthodox, where we knew we couldn't set foot. What happened in practice was that we are both in the religious kibbutzim and by quite a few Ultra-Orthodox groups as well.”⁸⁷

Despite their immense popularity, these weeklies have also faced a lot of criticism from the Haredi leadership because they were considered to be not kosher enough. In spring 1997, the weekly *Baqehilah* (1997) was published for the first time. Unlike in the case of the other weeklies, some of the Haredi Rabbis sanctified its content.⁸⁸

Qaplan points out that this diatribe excluded the veteran daily newspapers *Hamodia'* and *Yated Ne'eman* and turned its attention to the new weeklies that

⁸⁶ Menachem Michelson, “The Ultra-Orthodox Press in Israel,” *Qesher* 8 (1990): 14e.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 14e.

⁸⁸ Their statement was explicated in a letter that appeared in its fourth issue. See Qaplan, “Rabot Re'ut Zadiq,” 32.

conquered the Haredi society in the last 30 years.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, the new diversity and success of the weeklies also had an immediate impact on the already existing dailies that were forced to reduce the number of pages of their issues. By and large, the rivalry has continued and it does not look like it will reach a resolution any time soon.

⁸⁹ Qaplan, “Rabot Re‘ut Zadiq,” 32.

2. THE HAREDI PRESS IN THE LAST TWO DECADES

As Cohen remarked, the Israelis are voracious readers of news. It is common to get two or more pieces of the press for the weekend.⁹⁰ In 1995, 88 percent of Jewish-Israelis stated that they read daily newspapers on a regular basis.⁹¹

However, the Haredi community and its own mass media have their differences. It has been highly active in launching their own papers, following its strategy of withdrawal from modern society and keeping its own religious and cultural mindset. In comparison, the interest of Haredi readers in newspapers is significantly lower than the secular readership. Almost a third of Haredim do not read any newspapers and 86 percent intentionally avoid the non-Haredi press.⁹²

In 1997, according to Roqeah, only 44 percent of religious Israeli Jews (including both the Haredi and Modern Orthodox communities) perused a religious newspaper on a regular basis, 9 percent did it frequently, 10 percent sometimes, 9 percent rarely, and 28 percent never.⁹³

Generally, the market exposure of the Haredi newspapers is rather small. The general exposure to the largest traditional Haredi daily *Yated Ne'eman* reached 2.7 percent in 2006 and 3.2 percent in 2007.⁹⁴ By way of contrast, the market exposure of

⁹⁰ Cohen, "Religion News in Israel," 181.

⁹¹ *Exposure of Israeli Public to News Media*, Tel Aviv: Israel Adversaries Association, 1995. Mentioned in Cohen, "Religion News in Israel," 181.

⁹² Furthermore, the majority of Haredim do not watch television and nearly half of them do not listen to the radio. See Cohen, "Religion News in Israel," 182. To demonstrate the stance of the Haredi leadership towards the media, one can take into consideration *drashah* (sermon) of rabbi 'Amnon Yizḥaq (1953) that took place at the end of the 1970's or the beginning of the 1980's when he explicated the biblical verse: "Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivers him out of them all," (Ps 34:20) by associating each Hebrew letter of the term afflictions (Ra'ot) with the initial letters for the Hebrew words radio, newspapers, video, and television. Mentioned in Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 6.

⁹³ By way of contrast, 90 percent of the respondents who define themselves as "somewhat observant" and 98 percent of the "absolutely non-observant" ones never did. See E. Rokeach, *Israeli Governmental Inquiry into Strengthening Jewish Values through Radio* (Unpublished manuscript, 1997). Mentioned in Cohen, "Religion News in Israel," 181–182.

⁹⁴ However, Evans corroborates that Haredi papers boosted their approval rate at the first half of 2000's. For instance, according to a survey taken in 2004–2007, *Yated Ne'eman*'s exposure increased by 50 percent. See Evans, "Exacerbating Social Cleavages," 244; Nati Toqer, "120 'Amudim Bli 'Af 'Ishah," *Ha'arev*, July 31, 2008.

the two most popular Israeli dailies *Yedi'ot 'Aḥaronot* (1939) was 39.8 percent in 2006 and 38.4 percent in 2007 followed by *Ma'ariv* (1948) with 19.2 percent in 2006 and 17 percent in 2007.⁹⁵

Although there have been market exposure surveys conducted in Israel since 1998, Haredi-oriented advertising agencies did not initiate a separate *Haredi TGI Survey* until 2008. Since then, Kantar TNS, a leading market research organisation in Israel, has mapped the attraction of the Haredi readership towards the Haredi press questioning 1,000 Haredi interviewees aged 18 and older.⁹⁶

Contrary to the great boost in the 2000's, the popularity of the Haredi press has been decreasing since 2013. Following its peak in 2012, *Yated Ne'eman* secured the biggest success by reaching an average Haredi exposure of 43.3 percent. *Hamodia'* followed with 21.1 percent. Afterwards, the exposure started to fall. *Yated Ne'eman* dropped to 26.6 percent in 2013, 20.4 percent in 2014, 19.8 percent in 2015, and 17.1 percent in 2016. *Hamodia'* gained 15.8 percent in 2013, 16.6 percent in 2014, 17 percent in 2015, and 18.1 percent in 2016. The decrease of the popular weeklies was very similar. For example, the most popular magazine *Mishpaḥah* dropped from 31.9 percent in 2008 to 21.3 percent in 2016.⁹⁷

The decline was caused by following factors. First, the Israeli newspapers have joined the global industry's downward trend.⁹⁸ Second, the internet started to penetrate Haredi homes.⁹⁹ Third, a new newspapers *Hameva'ser* (2009) and *Hapeles* (2013) lured

⁹⁵ See Ya'el Ga'oni, "Seqer TGI: Yeridah Beḥashifah La'itonim Hagdolim Be-2006; Ma'ariv Yarad Ke-13%," *Globes*, January 29, 2007, <https://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000177342>; Ṭabib Zeliqoviz, "Seqer TGI Le-2007: The Marker Higdil Haḥashifah Be-22.6%; Ha'arev Mezanecq Be-14%; Ma'ariv Mitraseq Be-11.5%," *The Marker*, January 23, 2008, <https://www.themarker.com/advertising/1.4.95747>.

⁹⁶ Anat Qam, "TGI Lemigzar Haḥaredi: Yated Ne'eman Hu' Hayomon Hanafuz Bayoter," *W'alla!*, April 1, 2009, <https://b.walla.co.il/item/1462238>.

⁹⁷ Presented data are based on *Haredi TGI Survey* by Kantar TNS. For a detailed overview of the exposure of Haredi press in 2008–2016, see *Overview of the Most Popular Haredi Press in Israel* in the *Appendix*.

⁹⁸ See Dan Caspi and Yehiel Limor, *The In/Outsiders: The Media in Israel* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1999), 291–309.

⁹⁹ According to the research of The Israel Democracy Institute, there has been a significant increase in internet use among Haredim in Israel. In 2009, only 28 percent Haredim used internet, in 2016, the number reached to 43 percent. See Cahaner, Malach, and Chosen, "Statistical Report on Ultra-Orthodox

away some of the former readers of *Yated Ne'eman* and *Hamodia*'.¹⁰⁰ Lastly, due to the rise of the free newspapers that has spread to Israel in 2006, a free distribution of *Yated Ne'eman*'s Tuesday issue exaggerated the exposure data in the first mentioned years.¹⁰¹

Nowadays, Haredi Jews identify exclusively with their own group which disseminates its own papers or communal magazines. The Haredi press brims over with miscellaneous dailies and weeklies – both politically involved ones and commercial ones.¹⁰²

To sketch a general picture of this media and to outline the heterogeneity of the Haredi press, an overview of the most popular and readable dailies and weeklies is presented below.

2.1 *Hamodia*'

Hamodia' (The Announcer) followed the form of Haredi papers published in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in Europe. Founded in 1910 in Koltova, Poland, a newspaper carrying the same name continued to be published with a short break during the First World War in different forms until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.¹⁰³

Following European *Hamodia*', Yizḥaq Me'ir Lewin (1893–1971), son-in-law of the Gerrer Rebe 'Avraham Mordekhai 'Alter (1866–1948) established an Israeli Haredi daily bearing the same name in 1950. Representing the views of 'Agudat

Society in Israel.” For an overview of the attitude of the Haredi leaders towards the internet, see Cohen, “The Israeli Rabbi and the Internet,” 182–203.

¹⁰⁰ The exposure of *Hameva'ser* reached 10.8 percent in 2010, 11.3 percent in 2011, 12.9 percent in 2012, 10.5 percent in 2013, 10.7 percent in 2014, 7.7 percent in 2015, and 6.6 percent in 2016. The exposure of *Hapeles* oscillated at 9.9 percent in 2013, 11.9 percent in 2014, 10.4 percent in 2015, and 13.7 percent in 2016. Presented data are based on *Haredi TGI Survey* by Kantar TNS.

¹⁰¹ For more information, see Oren Soffer, *Mass Communication in Israel: Nationalism, Globalization, and Segmentation* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 71–72.

¹⁰² The National Library of Israel registers 597 Haredi and Modern Orthodox papers. The list, provided to us by Naḥum Zitṛ, an employee of The National Library of Israel in Jerusalem, includes both active and non-active publications run periodically in Israel. Considering the extent of the thesis, only selected examples of the most popular press are presented here.

¹⁰³ In 1918, it was renamed and run under the name *Das Yidische Vort*.

Yiśra'el, it played a unique part in the sphere of Haredi journalism.¹⁰⁴ The situation changed after the withdrawal of the Mitnagdic stream which formed its own newspaper *Yated Ne'eman* in 1985. Afterwards, *Hamodia'* became publicly more associated with the Hasidic community. In 1995, “65 percent of *Hamodia'* readers were Hasidim, 31 percent were Haredim uncommitted, while only 9 percent of Mitnagdic Haredim saw the paper.”¹⁰⁵

Following the death of the main editor Yehudah Leyib Lewin (1918–1978), the son of the Gerrer Rebe 'Avraham Mordekhai 'Alter, three former reporters Ḥayim Mosheh Knopf (1929–2015), Mosheh 'Aqiva' Druq (1922–2002), and Yiśra'el Shpigl (1934–2001) took over its editorship. While during Lewin's era the paper consisted of mostly politically-oriented news and internal Haredi reports, later, the content of *Hamodia'* expanded covering Israeli national affairs, economics and world news.

Some of the content of *Hamodia'* and its composition also resembles non-Haredi Israeli dailies like *Davar* (1925–1996) of the Labour party, *'Al Hamishmar* (1943–1995) of Mapam, *Ḥerut* (1948–1965) of the Revisionist party, and *Haẓofeh* (1937), a beacon of National Religious Party reduced to a weekly in April 2007.¹⁰⁶ Imitating the format of the daily political organs, its weekday version has usually about six pages. The Friday issue is doubled and contained several additional sections and news portion.

Facing the raise of the commercial press in the 1980's and the 1990's, the newspaper dilated and added specialist correspondents' columns on politics of the Knesset, the military, economics, the everyday affairs of Jerusalem, Bnei Braq, etc.; two supplements on the Shabbat Eve – a general one entitled *Tosefet 'Aqtu'alit* (Current Supplement) and *Tosefet Hatoranit* (Torah Supplement), a “holy” supplement discussing only religious topics such as the weekly Torah portion and Halakhic matters; a children supplement *Hamodia' Haẓa'ir* (Young Hamodia');¹⁰⁷ women's supplement *Habayit Shelanu* (Our House) and an economics section *Madorim* (Sections).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ At that time, it also enabled to express the opinions and views of the non-Hasidic groups of the Haredi Jewry. However, in the 1980's, after the secession of non-Hasidic Haredim, the situation changed. For an overview of the withdrawal, see the chapter on *The Haredi Press and the State of Israel*.

¹⁰⁵ *Survey of Exposure to Mass Media: Haredim*. (Tel Aviv: Israel Advertisers Association, 1995).

¹⁰⁶ Baumel, „Communication and Change,” 165.

¹⁰⁷ However, a children's supplement was also published for a short period in the 1950's. Generally, the very first Hebrew magazine for children entitled *'Olam Qaṭan* (Small World) was being published in Jerusalem for a few months of 1893. Establishing the tradition of Israeli children magazines much later,

Despite the drop in exposure in the last couple of years, *Hamodia* is still very popular and influential within the Haredi society.¹⁰⁹ Thus, in 1998, the English-language weekly of the same name was established, designed for the English-speaking Haredi community in both Israel and diaspora. At the beginning of the 2000's, the French language weekly edition was launched in Israel, in the USA, France, and in the United Kingdom. Also, a daily English edition for the USA was introduced. Moreover, Haredi Jewish households worldwide can access its digital edition since 2010.¹¹⁰

2.2 Yated Ne'eman

The Mitnagdic daily *Yated Ne'eman* (The Faithful Peg), an outcome of the internecine Haredi wars in the early 1980's, expresses political opinions of non-Hasidim who established the political party Degel Hatorah in 1988.¹¹¹ Despite the general falling tendencies in the last couple of years, it considers itself, justifiably, to be the largest and most influential Haredi daily in Israel. With a diverse readership numbering about 64 percent of Mitnagdic Haredim, 29 percent of undefined Haredim and followers of other movements (such as Hardal, a religious Zionist community that incline towards Haredi ideology, the Modern Orthodox, and Sephardic Haredim), and only 7 percent of Hasidim. The Hebrew edition was published in over 100,000 copies and supported by 70,000 – 80,000 paying subscribers in 2002.¹¹²

the young readership had to wait a few decades. In the 1960's, the first children-oriented magazines started to be published regularly. For an overview of the Hebrew children magazines, see Ya'aqov 'Ashman, "Eyin Tahlif Lamilah Haktuvah," *Iyunim Bahinukh G [3]: Simpoziyum Bebeayot Sifrut Yeladim* (March 1974): 45–50.

¹⁰⁸ For an overview of all the supplements, see *The Overview of Supplements* in the *Appendix*.

¹⁰⁹ In 2005, the circulation of *Hamodia* reached 28,000 daily. 25 percent of Haredim see it daily and 26 percent on weekends. Cohen, *God, Jews and the Media*, 86.

¹¹⁰ See *Hamodia: The Daily Newspaper of Torah Jewry*, <http://hamodia.com/>; *Hamodia: The Daily Newspaper of Torah Jewry*, <https://www.hamodia.co.uk>.

¹¹¹ Literally, *Yated Ne'eman* means "faithful peg". In practice, *Yated* stands as an acronym for "Yomon Da'at Tora" (the Torah Opinion Daily) or "Yahdut Da'at Tora" (Judaism, knowledge, Torah). Although the word *Yated* is feminine, the pronoun *Ne'eman* stays in the masculine form referring to Is 22:23: "And I will fasten him like a peg [yated] in a secure place [maqom ne'eman], and he will become a throne of honour to his father's house." For a concise analysis of the term, see also Ya'el Lewin, "Yated Ne'eman," *Lashonenu: Ktav- 'Et Leheqer Halashon Ha'ivrit Wehithomim Hasmukhim Lah* (1986): 251.

¹¹² See *Survey of Exposure to Mass Media: Haredim*; Baumel, "Communication and Change," 166.

In 2001, the death of Rabbi Shakh destabilised the inner relationships and that resulted in power disputes. During his life, Rabbi Shakh was involved in all the procedures including the establishment of the paper and its management. Then, the role of the editor-in-chief was split. Rabbi Yosef Shalom 'Eliyashiv (1910–2012) and Rabbi 'Aharon Yahudah Leyib Shṭeyinman (1913–2017) gained the editorship over the daily and Shabbat issues respectively.

In May and June 2012, *Yated Ne'eman* faced another challenge following the death of one of the co-editors Rabbi Yosef Shalom 'Eliyashiv. Appointing Shim'on Gliq, a close supporter of Rabbi Shṭeyinman, as a new director, the enduring power struggle of Mitnagdic Haredi leaders Rabbi 'Aharon Yehudah Leyib Shṭeyinman (1913–2017) and Rabbi Shmu'el 'Auerbakh (1931–2017) inflamed. The fight for a successor ended with the dismissal of opposing Rabbi 'Auerbakh and the establishment of Rabbi Shṭeyinman as the new leader of the non-Hasidic Israeli Jewry followed. Subsequently, Natan Grosman and Yaqov Lewin backed by Rabbi 'Auerbakh established a new daily *Hapeles* in July 2012.¹¹³

Similarly, as in the case of *Hamodia*, *Yated Ne'eman*'s format reminisces of the eight-page daily *'Al Hamishmar* (1943–1995) of the left-oriented political party Mapam. The newspaper discusses local and world news on several pages and it complements its issues with advertisements, editorial column and letters to the editor, communal announcements, and reports from the Haredi world. Furthermore, its double-sized weekend issue contains two supplements: a magazine *Yated Hashavua'* (The Weekly Yated) deals with the contemporary news, Op-ed columns, and edifying stories. The other supplement *Shabat Qodesh* (The Holy Sabbath), a glossy magazine presenting religious viewpoints, stories about Rabbis, and others. Additionally, the newspaper publishes an economic section entitled *Kalkalah* (Economics), a children supplement *Yated Shelanu* (Our Yated) and a family supplement *Bayit Ne'eman* (Faithful Home) with articles related to family issues, health, education, etc.

Since 1987, an English edition established in Monsey, New York has been distributed in American metropolitan areas with high Haredi populations and is

¹¹³ See Jeremy Sharon, "New Leaders Take Reins of 'Yated Ne'eman'," *The Jerusalem Post*, June 25, 2012, <http://www.jpost.com/Jewish-World/Jewish-News/New-leaders-take-reins-of-Yated-Neeman>.

nowadays also accessible via its own website.¹¹⁴ Although the daily had originally been connected with the Israeli editorship, it later severed the ties.¹¹⁵

The other English edition of *Yated Ne'eman* initiated by the Israeli editorship had been distributed among European Jewry until 2006.

2.3 Hamevaśer

A daily Haredi newspaper *Hamevaśer* (The Herald) is connected with Shlomi 'Emunei Yiśra'el, an inner faction of 'Agudat Yiśra'el. The then member of the Knesset Me'ir Porush (1955) with the support of his father Menaḥem Porush (1916–2010), a member of the Knesset for 'Agudat Yiśra'el, published the newspaper in January 2009.

Its foundation was preceded by a deterioration of the relations between the Gur Hasidim and the Porush family dating back even to the 1980's.¹¹⁶ The impetus for publishing a new daily emerged after the elections for mayor of Jerusalem in November 2008. Following the victory of Nir Barqat (1959), members of Shlomi 'Emunei Yiśra'el stated that *Hamodia*', dominated by the Gur Hasidim, had not supported Porush's candidacy and had "barely reported the election campaign for mayor."¹¹⁷ Thus, Shlomi 'Emunei Yiśra'el felt an urge to invest their own money and to establish a new daily

¹¹⁴ See Yated.com, <https://yated.com/>.

¹¹⁵ See Avital Chizhik-Goldschmidt, "Inside the World of Ultra-Orthodox Media: Haredi Journalists Tell It Like It Is," *Haaretz*, August 11, 2015, <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/features/.premium-1.669916>.

¹¹⁶ Gerrer dynasty (named after Góra Kalwaria in the Warsaw district) was the largest and most influential Polish Hasidic group with more than 100,000 followers. It was founded in the mid-nineteenth century under the leadership of Rebbe Yizḥaq Me'ir 'Alter of Gur (1789–1866). Escaping Poland in 1940, the third Gerrer Rebe 'Avraham Mordekhai 'Alter (1866–1948), a prominent figure in European Orthodox Jewry and a founder of Polish 'Agudat Yiśra'el, established a new centre of the Gerrer Hasidim in Jerusalem. In the 1940's, there were between 1,500 and 2,000 men of the Gerrer sect in former Palestine with eleven Gerrer Shtıbelekh (small Hassidic prayer houses) in Tel Aviv, five in Bnei Braq, one in Haifa, and one in Kiriyat Ata. Nowadays, although precise statistics are missing, it is estimated there are over 7,000 Gerrer families, most of them living in Israel. For more information about Gur, see for example Yizḥaq 'Alfasi, *Gur: Toldot Ḥasidut Gur* (Tel 'Aviv: Hoza'at Sinai, 1978); Eleanora Bergman, "Góra Kalwaria: The Impact of a Hasidic Cult on the Urban Landscape of a Small Polish Town," *Polin* 5 (1990): 3–23.

¹¹⁷ "He'ezinu: Hora'ah Leḥasidei Gur - Hizbi'u Barqat," *Ynet*, November 13, 2008, <https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3622640,00.html>.

arguing “they [stalwart supporters of Shlomi ‘Emunei Yiśra’el] cannot rely on the existing party dailies.”¹¹⁸

Hamevaśer publishes a six-page issue including articles and commentaries on Israeli and worldwide news.¹¹⁹ Its Friday format is available not only in Israel but also in the USA, the UK, and some other European countries. Its size is doubled and spread over 16 pages. Following the standard pattern seen in other Haredi dailies, other supplements also complements the Friday edition. It includes a weekly *Hamevaśer Shvu’i* (The Weekly Hamevaśer) informing about the general news; a supplement *Hamevaśer Torani* (Hamevaśer of Torah), a religious section containing articles by rabbis discussing the week’s Bible reading and Halakhic issues; a family glossy magazine *Labayit* (For the House) devoted to household management, education, health-care, cooking, etc. geared towards women; a children’s supplement *Nequdot* (Dots); and a one-page weekly digest of the worldwide news in Yiddish entitled *Hamevaśer Vor: Der Tsaytung Fon Dem Treyer Yudentum* (Reality of Hamevaśer: The Newspaper for the Faithful Jewry). Furthermore, on Tuesday, a special economical issue *Hamevaśer Kalkali* (Hamevaśer of Economics) and a weekly *Hamevaśer Qehilot* (Communal Hamevaśer), getting its readers acquainted with the internal issues of the Hasidic community, are published.

2.4 Hapeles

Mitnagdic daily newspaper *Hapeles* (The Spiritual Level) represents an outcome of the inner Mitnagdic war in 2012. Its prominence gradually increased among Mitnagdic Jews. With a continuously increasing exposure, it is now the third most popular Haredi daily in Israel.¹²⁰

By and large, its foundation in July 2012 was a secondary product of the above-mentioned power struggle related to successorship of the Mitnagdic leader Rabbi Yosef Shalom ‘Eliyashiv (1910–2012).¹²¹ The strife culminated in 2014. The circle of rabbis

¹¹⁸ Moṭi ‘Ergman, “Le’iton Yomi Ḥadash Mevuqash: Mashkia’,” *Beḥadrei Ḥaredim*, November 17, 2008, <http://www.bhol.co.il/7427/-לעיתון-יומי-חדש-מבוקש-משקייע->.html.

¹¹⁹ Its design and format are influenced by *Hamodia*’. Compare *Hamodia*’ and *Hamevaśer*’s front pages, data and pagination formats. See *External Influences* and *Front Pages of the Most Popular Haredi Press* in the *Appendix*.

¹²⁰ See the *Survey of the Most Popular Haredi Press in Israel* in the *Appendix*.

¹²¹ The secession is discussed above in the chapter on *Yated Ne’eman*.

influence big Israeli companies and business owners to advertise in the newspaper in April 2017.¹²⁶

Hapeles has a format similar to the other dailies.¹²⁷ A 12-page daily issue is published every day, except for Shabbat. It has a few of Friday's supplements: a supplement *Kol Hashavua'* (The Whole Week) summarising recent events of the past week; a weekly magazine *Tazpit* (Observation); a glossy magazine presenting religious viewpoints and stories *Liqr'a't Shabat* (Toward Shabbat); a family supplement *Nofekh* (Nofekh, one of the twelve precious stones in the High Priest's breast plate) dealing with family issues, health, education, etc.; a cultural supplement *'Aspaqlaryah* (Mirror); and a supplement for children called *Hapeles Leyeladim* (Hapeles for Children).

Presenting Israeli and world news and reporting about the Haredi world, the political orientation of its editorship tends to be more radical than *Hamodia'* and *Yated Ne'eman*.

2.5 Mishpaḥah

Yehudah Palei (1937/38?–2012) and other investors founded The Mishpaḥah Publishing Group, today owned by Palei's son 'Eli in 1984. The group established a monthly *Mishpaḥah* (Family), originally entitled *Mishpaḥah: Yarḥon Habayit Hayehudi* (Family: The Monthly of the Jewish Home), in 1987.¹²⁸ The paper is orientated towards both the Hasidic and Mitnagdic Jews. It quickly gained popularity and became a weekly in 1991.¹²⁹ In the 2000's, *Mishpaḥah* doubled its circulation and became one of the

¹²⁶ H̄en Ma'anit, "28 Bakhirei Ha'iton Haḥaredi 'Hapeles' Ne'ezru Beḥashad Lehitradot We'iyumim," *Globes*, April 18, 2017, <http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?fbdid=1001185104>; Yiśra'el Kohen, "Gal Ma'azarim Baqerev Ro'shei 'Hapeleg' Webakhirei 'Hapeles': 28 Ne'ezru," *Kikar Hashabat*, April 18, 2017, <http://www.kikar.co.il/228849.html>.

¹²⁷ Its design and format are influenced by *Yated Ne'man*. Compare *Yated Ne'man* and *Hapeles*'s front pages, data and pagination formats. See *External Influences and Front Pages of the Most Popular Haredi Press in the Appendix*.

¹²⁸ For an overview of the boom of the commercial Haredi press, see the chapter on *Rise of the Haredi Commercial Press* above.

¹²⁹ Most of the magazines that were originally designed for women and families are not affiliated with a specific group but are well-liked by the general Haredi readership. *Mishpaḥah*, particularly, has even aspired to attract readers from modern religious sectors. However, its readership of Modern Orthodox Community is rather small. See "About Us," *Mishpacha*, last modified August 5, 2010, <http://www.mishpacha.com/Browse/Article/71/Mission-Statement>; Cohen, *God, Jews and the Media*, 89.

most successful Haredi weeklies.¹³⁰ However, due to its higher price, the readers usually come from a higher socio-economic background.¹³¹

The weekly's editor-in-chief has been Mosheh Grilq (1936) since 1991. Previously he worked for *Yated Ne'eman* and favours a more open outlook on Haredi journalism. Originating as a women's magazine, now it pertains to a much broader range of topics, including:

“A twilight zone of social issues not covered by the daily Haredi newspapers, among them youth dropouts from the Yeshiva world, discrimination against oriental Sephardi students in European or Ashkenazi Haredi schools, Haredim serving in the Israeli Army, returnees to Judaism, special education and psychology, as well as non-Jewish subjects.”¹³²

Mishpahah has had a rabbinical censor who guarantees that its content is innocuous. It originally gained the support of Rabbi Shlomo Zalman 'Auerbakh (1910–1995). However, part of the Haredi leadership has considered the weekly to be published for economic reasons and not to be founded by the Torah Sages. Therefore, it was repeatedly criticised by some of the Haredi Rabbis for including the above-mentioned topics.

Publishing an essay entitled *The Direction of the Newspaper*, Grilq called the Haredi press to be “a stage for a range of views in our [Haredi] community.” The attitude of some Haredi groups has deteriorated even more.¹³³ Thus, its special supplement on education and employment on Sukkot in 2010 immediately ensued negative reactions. For instance, *Yated Ne'eman* published disapproving articles condemning the weekly and its content.

¹³⁰ It kept its status of the most read Haredi media in 2016. Its exposure rate reached 21.3 percent. For more information about the attainment of *Mishpahah* and Palei's family, see Shaḥar 'Ilan, “Hamishpahah Harevi'it,” *Ha'arev*, August 31, 2011, <https://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1120254>.

¹³¹ Cohen states that according to a 2002-survey, 49 percent of *Mishpahah* readers own car, in contrast to 34 percent and 33 percent of *Yated Ne'eman* and *Hamodia'* readers respectively. 53 percent of its readership spent their last holiday in a hotel, in contrast to 41 percent and 37 percent of *Yated Ne'eman* and *Hamodia'* readership respectively. Cohen, *God, Jews and the Media*, 90.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 89.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 90.

The ongoing power struggle between Haredi leadership and *Mishpahah* escalated in 2011. *Yated Ne'eman* published a letter against *Mishpahah* by Rabbi Shmaryahu Nisim Qareliz (1926). Rabbi Yosef Shalom 'Elyashiv (1910–2012) and Rabbi Shmaryahu Yosef Hayim Qanyevsqi (1928) also added their signatures.¹³⁴ Since *Mishpahah* questioned its authenticity, another letter by Rabbi Qareliz appeared in *Yated Ne'eman* claiming that “he stands up for his decision to avoid *Mishpahah* and other [commercial] weeklies.”¹³⁵ Furthermore, in December 2011, Rabbi 'Elyashiv announced publicly in *Yated Ne'eman* and *Hameva'aser* that “*Mishpahah* falsifies and obscures Torah outlook ... and it shall not enter houses of the God-fearing [people].”¹³⁶

A separate 32-page news supplement *Hadashot Mishpahah* (Family News), added to the glossy magazine in 1994, was followed by other diverse sections. A women's magazine *Betokh Hamishpahah* (Inside the Family) has dealt with such topics as fashion, childcare, healthcare and food. A magazine for children *Yeladim* (Children) has also been launched. Having been publishing a new religious monthly supplement on the Halakhah and Judaism entitled *Qolmus* (Quill/Reed Pen) since 2002, the respectability of the magazine raised. *Mishpahah* established a financial section *Mamonot* (Property). A food and recipe magazine *Ta'imot* (Tastes) and a supplement for young people called *Ne'urim* (Youth) liven up its issue once a month. A health-care and lifestyle magazine *Bari' Yoter* (Healthier) also supplement the weekly on a quarterly basis.

Its first English addition complemented the flagship Hebrew weekly in 2004. It was followed by an English women magazine *Family First* in 2006 and an English website *Mishpacha Magazine*.¹³⁷ Additionally, in September 2017, a Spanish version appeared for the first time and nowadays, *Mishpahah* Publishing Group's magazines are

¹³⁴ See for example Yosi Qaz, Yaqi 'Adamqer, and Mosheh Wisberg, “Bil'adi: Mah Mistater Me'ahorei Hama'avaq Beshavu'onim?,” *Behadrei Haredim*, May 11, 2011, <http://www.bhol.co.il/27489/--בלעד-מה-27489.html>; 'Itel Qazir, “Hashavu'onim Mashivim Milhamah: Yated Merimah Gdolei Yi'sra'el,” *Kikar Hashabat*, May 11, 2011, <http://www.kikar.co.il/-יתד-גאמן-21.html>.

¹³⁵ Yi'sra'el Kohen, “Yated Ne'eman Mashiv Milhamah: HGR" N [Haga'on Rabi Nisin] Qareliz Bemikhtav Hadash: Lo' Shiniti Da'ati Be'inyan Hashavu'onim,” *Kikar Hashabat*, May 13, 2011, <http://www.kikar.co.il/-יתד-גאמן-22.html>.

¹³⁶ Hayim Shqadi, “Ma'avaq Yated Wemishpahah Lesi' Hadash: Mikhtav Meharav 'Elyashiv,” *Kikar Hashabat*, December 30, 2011, <http://www.kikar.co.il/משפחה-מסלף-ומשטשטש-ש-27489.html>.

¹³⁷ See *Mishpacha Magazine*, <http://www.mishpacha.com/>.

available worldwide including places such as Israel, North and South America, Europe, South Africa, Australia, etc.

2.6 Yom Leyom

A Haredi weekly of the political party Shas *Yom Leyom* (Day to Day) started to be published in March 1993.¹³⁸ Rabbi 'Ovadyah Yosef (1920–2013), a former Sephardic Chief Rabbi of Israel and the movement's chief rabbinical leader, announced his intention to launch the weekly in a Sephardic synagogue in Jerusalem in December 1992. He aspired to create a mouthpiece for the Sephardic community in Israel.¹³⁹ Despite some negative reactions from Rabbi Re'uven 'Albaz (1944) and other leaders, the idea was met with approval and support.¹⁴⁰

Compared to the other Haredi press, the circulation of *Yom Leyom* is rather small.¹⁴¹ The small number is influenced by the cultural dichotomy of the *Yom Leyom*'s readership. Whilst the Chabad, Hasidic, and Mitnagdic readers of other Haredi papers often pledge allegiance to their movements and journals, Shas followers usually read the regular Israeli press.¹⁴²

A few supplements complement the 16-page main section with editorials, announcements, and advertisements. The weekly edition and a double-sized digest of recent news *Musaf Shvu'i* (A Weekly Supplement) reports of Shas Knesset members and events from the religious world, politics, etc. Additionally, each edition includes a religious section *'Oneg Shabat* (Pleasure of Shabbat) with a Torah portion of the week and a magazine for children entitled *Za'ir* (Young). Currently, there is also available digital content in Hebrew presenting the most topical issues.¹⁴³

When a publicist and businesswoman Na'amah 'Idan bought the newspaper in August 2017, 'Aryeh Deri (1959) announced the disengagement of Shas from *Yom*

¹³⁸ Originally as a daily paper, it was turned into a weekly shortly afterwards.

¹³⁹ Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 15.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 14–15.

¹⁴¹ 16,000 copies, several thousand subscriptions included, were published every Thursday in mid-2001. See Baumel, "Communication and Change," 167.

¹⁴² Ibid., 167.

¹⁴³ See *Yom Leyom*, <http://www.yomleyom.co.il/>.

In addition to *Baqehilah*'s digest of the contemporary news, it also runs: a magazine *Pninim* (Pearls) directed primarily at women; *Maḥma'ot* (Compliments) focusing on cooking and recipes; a glossy magazine *Ha'olam Haḥaredi* (The Haredi World) providing an overview of the Hasidic courts; religious supplement *Tevunot* (Wisdom) with columns of rabbis, Halakhic and religious articles, and Hasidic stories; and a supplement for children called *Ḥaverim* (Friends).

After seven years of free distribution, the weekly started to be priced in 2004. With a trendy innovative design and content, it has reached the standard of the contemporary Israeli papers since 2010.

3. FEATURES OF THE HAREDI PRESS

One's understanding of their society is largely grounded in information and models obtained from the media which helps individuals to understand and interpret reality.¹⁴⁹ Within the Haredi community, the image created by the Haredi media is very influential and strongly forms the Haredi's perception of the world and society.¹⁵⁰

The papers are used as loud speakers spreading ideology of their umbrella movements and groups and they also express Haredi leaders' disapprovals with ideological concepts of other Haredi and non-Haredi groups.¹⁵¹

To understand the function of the Haredi press and its influence thoroughly, its self-definition, editorship, contacts with the non-Haredi press, self-censorship, content, and language tools are presented below.

3.1 Self-Definition of the Haredi Press

The Haredi evasion of the mainstream press is motivated by several convictions: first, the non-Haredi press often displays issues or views considered offensive in the Haredi community; second, it does not focus sufficiently on religious topics which are believed to be of the utmost importance and third, dealing with non-Haredi press is reckoned as a waste of time that could be used for religious activities.

Referring to a command in *Leviticus* 19:2 that the people of Israel must be holy, the Haredi press considers itself to have responsibility for constructing and keeping the model society.¹⁵² The Haredi press does not endeavour to reflect the genuine reality. To

¹⁴⁹ Philemon Bantimaroudis and Eleni Kampanellou, "The Cultural Framing Hypothesis: Attributes of Cultural Alliances and Conflicts," *International Journal of Press/Politics* 12, no. 2 (2007): 80–90.

¹⁵⁰ "Israel's Religiously Divided Society," Pew Research Center, last modified March 8, 2016, <http://www.pewforum.org/2016/03/08/israels-religiously-divided-society/>.

¹⁵¹ See Lewi, *Haḥaredim*, 244; Michelson, "The Ultra-Orthodox Press in Israel," 11e; Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 19.

¹⁵² Interestingly, at the outset of the development of the Haredi press in the State of Israel, the target group of the Haredi press did not include only Haredim but also non-Haredi Jews. However, later, political and ideological movements seized their opportunity, started to engage in the Haredi press's production and promoted their ideas via the Haredi press. Initiating commercial newspapers and magazines, the phenomenon was partly side-lined. See Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 13; M. Levi, "Torah Journalism: The Origins of the Orthodox Jewish Press," *The Jewish Observer* 2, no. 7 (1965): 8–13.

protect its readership from religiously immoral information, it tends to modify the reality in its “more holy” image.¹⁵³

Speaking about the protection of the Haredi readership, Benyamin Rabinoviz, a prominent journalist of *Yated Ne’eman*, explains that “the Haredi family has a right to know [and to be informed] and a right not to know [and not to be informed].”¹⁵⁴

Additionally, a respectable journalist and an editor of *Hamodia*’ Mosheh Aqiva’ Droq further elaborates on the idea in one of his articles published in *Tosefet Meyuḥedet Beme’lot 40 Shanah Lehofa’at “Hamodia’”* (A Special Supplement on the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of “Hamodia’”) analysing the newspaper’s main goals:

“*Hamodia*’ faced two crucial aims. ... Firstly, it was the concept of ‘*Sur Mera’*,’ turning many away from sin, [which means] from reading the secular press that damaged the vineyard of the House of Israel. ... In the past, the secular press was conceptual, and it was necessary to deal with it. Today, it is not this way. Contrarily, men and women are accustomed to talk about sin without a hint of shame. ... *Hamodia*’ also noticed a long history of fighting where it was [the newspaper which] raised an awareness and encountered the tendencies of hostility that caused the erasing of Torah from the hearts of the sons of Israel.”¹⁵⁵

Furthermore, a few years later, a senior journalist of *Yated Ne’eman* Yiśra’el Fridman proclaimed the importance of the Haredi press is to shield its readership from the non-Haredi press by stating:

“The media is a tool of the lion captivated in the hands of the destroyers of the religion in the society which has been dripping its poison and pouring its venom for many years. Many knights of the order formulate textual materials and hold

¹⁵³ The remodelling of actualities and censorship (i.e. a modification and reinterpretation of the genuine reality which makes it “more holy”) have been inseparable parts of the so-called Orthodox history and its writing for ages. For a detailed study of traditional Haredi censorship in the twentieth century, see Shapiro, *Changing the Immutable*.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Benyamin Rabinoviz (Bnei Brak, March 7th, 2017).

¹⁵⁵ Mosheh Aqiva’ Droq, “Barukh Sheheḥeyenu Weqiyamnu Lazman Hazeḥ,” *Hamodia*’: *Tosefet Meyuḥadet Beme’lot 40 Shanah Lehofa’at “Hamodia’*,” September 7, 1990, 11. Mentioned in Qaplan, “Rabot Re’ut Zadiq,” 12.

microphones without fighting an ideological war. ... As the abiding propaganda doesn't return empty-handed, it enabled the growth of a rotting mushroom. The real and original Jews are exposed to the media, to something scary and frightening. Besides others, one of the aims of the media, as of a Haredi [tool], is to respond to those who decrease us. And also to provide appropriate information to the [Haredi] readers in the sense of 'know what to answer to Epikores'."¹⁵⁶

In general, the Haredi press intends to improve the level of the religiosity within the Jewish society. Thus, regardless of publishing sometimes disinformation or withholding facts, the aim of the utmost importance is preservation and protection of religious values.

3.2 Contacts with Non-Haredi Media

The Haredi avoidance of the non-Haredi media has been heavily influenced by the stances of the Haredi leadership. Some rabbis in both the Mitnagdic and the Hasidic communities fulfil a role of moral leaders that legitimise – and delegitimise – media. They have issued religious decrees against the exposure of Haredi families to the mass media perceiving the non-Haredi media as a threat to family values.¹⁵⁷

Despite the above-mentioned prohibition on the non-Haredi media, Yoel Cohen disproves the deep-rooted notion that Haredim do not read non-Haredi media at all. He argues that some of the Haredi leaders use mass media to keep themselves informed about latest events and developments regarding the Jewish religion.¹⁵⁸ They also write columns with a weekly Torah reading in the non-Haredi press on the Sabbath Eve and appear on television programmes and Youtube channels. Similarly, rabbinical court judges are required to be aware of the content of the non-Haredi media and the current affairs to understand the present issues more satisfactorily.

¹⁵⁶ Y. Fridman, "Lehanmikh 'Et Hamiflas," *Yated Ne'eman*, July 11, 1997. Mentioned in Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 12–13.

¹⁵⁷ See Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 18; Dan Kaspi and Yeḥi'el Limor, *Metawkhim: 'Emza 'ei Tiqshoret Hamonim Beyisra'el 1948–1990* (Yerushalayim: 'Am 'Oved, 1992), 40–49; Y. Fridman, "Lamah 'Iton Haredi?," in *Sefer Hashanah Shel Ha'orkhim Weha'itona'im Bekitvei-Ha'et Beyisra'el TSHN"B - TSHN'G [1991–1992]* (Tel 'Aviv: Ha'igud Hayisra'eli Le'itonut Tqufatit, 1992), 168.

¹⁵⁸ See Cohen, "The Israeli Rabbi and the Internet," 185–187.

Furthermore, we assume that the Haredi journalists also use the non-Haredi media regularly. In the case of the Haredi reporters and editors, the non-Haredi media serve as a tangential source of information.¹⁵⁹ The press even sometimes reacts to articles and issues published in the non-Haredi press going from hinting to directly addressing it.¹⁶⁰

Qaplan mentions a response of *Yated Ne'eman* to the daily *Ha'areẓ* which published an article about a seminar on methodology and teaching about the Holocaust for Haredi female teachers in February 2005. Two days later, *Yated Ne'eman* published a column that defined the crucial turning points of the Haredi Jewry during the Holocaust but also pointed out the non-Haredi background of some of the organisers of the seminar.¹⁶¹

Similarly, in 2008, *Yated Ne'eman* demurred to reports published in the non-Haredi press about ethnic discrimination of Sephardic students within Haredi educational institutions. Moreover, it accused the secular media of ethnic bias against Sephardic political representatives.¹⁶²

3.3 Editorship

Convoluting relationships of the Haredi papers are influenced by internal Haredi power struggles, intricate politics, and business competition.¹⁶³ However, the Haredi

¹⁵⁹ By referring to worldwide news regularly, it is likely that the journalists also use non-Israeli sources. For the development of foreign news in the Hebrew press, see Gide'on Qoz, "He'arot 'Al Hamza' at Hādashot Haḥuz Ba'itonut Ha'ivrit," *Qesher* 36 (2007): 6–17.

¹⁶⁰ For an overview of the reactions and relations of the Haredi and secular press, see Karmi, "Yaḥasah Shel Ha'itonut Haḥaredit Harishmit," 78–85.

¹⁶¹ Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 19.

¹⁶² Yosi Saidof, "Poqhim Ayin Toranit," *The Seventh Eye*, September 17, 2008, http://ww.the7theye.org.il/DailyColumn/Pages/160908_RACISM_in_the_back_door_hypocrisy_in_the_front.aspx. Mentioned in Evans, "Exacerbating Social Cleavages," 249.

¹⁶³ The tensions between the Haredi groups resulting in the establishment of *Yated Ne'eman*, *Hamevašer* and *Hapeles* are mentioned above. In October 2007, *Ha'areẓ* also delineated a crisis between a Mitnagdic wing of *Yated Ne'eman* and Sephardic *Yom Leyom*. The Shas leader 'Ovadyah Yosef (1920–2013) labelled a cartoon in *Yated Ne'eman* as "anti-Semitic cartoon that would not have shamed any anti-Semitic paper in the world." He mentioned that "it is loaded with anti-Semitism and racism of the sort Ashkenazic Haredim feel about Sephardic Haredim." Subsequently, the whole issue resulted in Shas' announcement of his resignation from the religious lobby in the Knesset. See Yair Ettinger, "Cartoon Spat Prompts Shas to Quit Knesset Religious Lobby," *Haaretz*, October 16, 2007. Mentioned in David Keane,

journalistic circle is a rather interwoven but also inaccessible group.¹⁶⁴ Members of the editorships, which are situated mostly in either Central or Jerusalem districts, know each other and are in touch.¹⁶⁵ Not only do they meet at private social events and meetings but they also share tips and put other fellow journalists onto current breaking news in their own private group on WhatsApp.¹⁶⁶

Based on interviews with journalists and editors working for various Haredi papers, most of them did not pass a relevant high school or university programme.¹⁶⁷ They were often invited to cooperate on either thriving papers or newly created projects via personal contacts.

3.3.1 Female Journalists

As it is believed within the Haredi society that a career in journalism is not designed for women, most of the journalists contributing to the Haredi press are men.¹⁶⁸ However, women are still active within the editorships and gradually have gained more and more

“Cartoon Violence and Freedom of Expression,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (November 2008): 855–856. See also Lewi, *Haḥaredim*, 244; Michelson, “The Ultra-Orthodox Press in Israel,” 11e; Ravizqi, *Haqaz Hameguleh Wehamedinah Hayehudim*, 74–111.

¹⁶⁴ Speaking of the inaccessibility of the journalistic circle, Qaplan argues that to extend its foundation of non-Haredi Jewish readership, some of the journalists of the Haredi press are not Haredim. Their goal is to aim at a wider target group including also non-Haredi Israelis. See Qaplan, “Rabot Re‘ut Zadiq,” 18–19; Michelson, “The Ultra-Orthodox Press in Israel,” 20e; ‘Amnon Lewi, “Ha‘itonut Haḥaredit Wehaḥevrah Haḥilonit Beyisra‘el,” in *Lihyot Beyahad: Yahasei Dativim-Hiloniyim Beḥevrah Hayisra‘elit*, ed. Yesha‘yahu Libman (Yerushalayim: Keter, 1989), 30–54.

¹⁶⁵ The main offices of *Hamodia*’, *Yated Ne’eman*, and *Baqehilah* are placed in Bnei Brak. Headquarters of *Mishpaḥah* and *Hapeles* are in Jerusalem. The offices of *Yom Leyom* and *Hamevašer* are situated in Petah Tikvah and Beitar Illit respectively.

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Shim‘on Breytqofef (Jerusalem, March 8th, 2017,) and interview with Meni Gir’e Shwarz (Bnei Brak, October 19th, 2017).

¹⁶⁷ 15 interviews with Haredi journalists and editors were carried out in Jerusalem, Bnei Braq, Tel Aviv, and Kfar Habad during February, March, September, and October 2017.

¹⁶⁸ The image of women in the Haredi press is discussed below. See also *Degrees of the Self-censorship* in the *Appendix*.

opportunities to express themselves.¹⁶⁹ They are effective members of the editorships specialising in family glossies and children magazines.¹⁷⁰

Notwithstanding their active role in the editorship, they often hide their real identity behind an alias or a pseudonym. For instance, a Hebrew article by Rut Likhtenshteyin, a journalist of the English editorship of *Hamodia*, was published under her Hebrew initials in the Hebrew version of the paper.¹⁷¹ In essence, the above-mentioned matter points out a set of established practices in the Hebrew *Hamodia*, *Hamevašer* and *Hapeles* where female authors are listed typically either by their initials or by their first name. However, gradual subsidence of the policy may be observed in *Yated Ne'eman*, *Mishpaḥah* and others. The female editors of *Yated Ne'eman*'s children supplement *Yated Shelanu* protested that the authors and artists may specify whether their full name is published or not under their article.¹⁷² In *Mishpaḥah*, the female authors are listed under their full name.

3.4 Self-censorship

The content of the Haredi press subordinates itself to the approval of censors appointed by a board of representatives from religious and political spheres.¹⁷³ For instance, the daily *Hamodia* is under the supervision of the chief rabbi of the Gur Hasidic sect. Simultaneously, the censoring board of *Yated Ne'eman* is determined by the leadership of the Mitnagdic community, etc.¹⁷⁴

Albeit the representatives of the boards are usually not presented in editorial offices, their authorised censors are. Their role is to check the next day issue before its

¹⁶⁹ For an overview of the development of women's activity within the Haredi newspapers and magazines' editorships, see Chizhik-Goldschmidt, "Inside the World of Ultra-Orthodox Media."

¹⁷⁰ For an overview of the women image in the Haredi women's press, see Ben-Shaḥar, "Dmuyot Weyizugim Shel Nashim Harediyot Ba'itonut Hanashim Haḥaredit," 88–100.

¹⁷¹ Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 17. See also Baumel, "Communication and Change," 178–179.

¹⁷² Interview with Benyamin Rabinoviz (Bnei Brak, March 7th, 2017).

¹⁷³ See also Michelson, "The Ultra-Orthodox Press in Israel," 18e–19e; Sh. 'Ilan, "Ha'itonut Haḥaredit: Ha'ozmah, Hataḥrut, Milḥamot Hayehudim," in *Sefer Hashanah Shel Ha'itona'im*, ed. Y. Ha'alyon (Tel 'Aviv: 'Agudat Ha'itona'im Betel 'Aviv, 1993), 130. Mentioned in Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 17.

¹⁷⁴ Founding *Yated Ne'eman* in 1985, Rabbi 'El'azar Menaḥem Man Shakh (1894?–2001) established a board of seven members including *Dayanim* (rabbinical judges), heads of yeshivot and Halakhic authorities. See Cohen, *God, Jews, and the Media*, 81.

final editing to ensure that ideas and concepts unacceptable by the Haredi leadership are not included in the newspapers.¹⁷⁵

The paper may only contain information that agrees with the Haredi policy and cannot be considered a threat to religious values and the concept of *Zni'ut* (Modesty).¹⁷⁶ Additionally, it is proclaimed that the Haredi press follows Halakhic rules and omits *Lashon Hara'*, *Hoza't Shem Ra'*, and gossiping generally.¹⁷⁷ The concepts are considered to be serious sins. Usually, they deal with the spoken words but they are related to the press either. *Hoza't Shem Ra'*, a slander based on an untrue utterance, is always forbidden. However, prohibition of *Lashon Hara'*, a truthful but negative statement, does not have to be always applied. For instance, if negative information is shared for a positive purpose that prevents harm and injustice, one is permitted to disclose information whether or not the information is disparaging. Therefore, according to the Halakhah, the Haredi press can publish also fierce criticism and diatribes.¹⁷⁸

It is necessary to highlight that the degree of self-censorship in newspapers differs. Generally, the dailies such as *Hamodia'*, *Yated Ne'eman*, *Hapeles*, and *Hamevašer* tend to keep the level of modesty higher than the commercial papers such as *Mishpaḥah* which pushes it lower and lower. Not only is the level of self-censorship reflected in the spectrum of topics but also in the level of anonymity of censors.

¹⁷⁵ See *ibid.*, 80–81.

¹⁷⁶ For an overview of the concept of *Zni'ut*, see Yehuda Henkin, *Understanding Tzniut: Modern Controversies in the Jewish Community* (Jerusalem: Urim Publications, 2008).

¹⁷⁷ See also 'Ari Yizḥaq Shevet, "'Itonim Weḥadashot - Mizwah 'O 'Isur,'" *Taleli 'Orot* (1989): 164–88; Qaplan, "Rabot Re'ut Zadiq," 18; Lewi, *Haharedim*, 246; 'Ilan, "Ha'itonut Haharedit," 130. Similarly, the Halakhic business ethics are also often discussed. For more information, see Moses. L. Pava, "Developing a Religiously Grounded Business Ethics: A Jewish Perspective," *Business Ethics Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (January, 1998): 65–83; Meir Tamari, "The Challenge of Wealth: Jewish Business Ethics," *Business Ethics Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (March 1997): 45–56.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with David Peter (Prague, April 26, 2018). For an overview of the Halakhic concept of *Lashon Hara'a* and *Hoza't Shem Ra'*, see Zelig Pliskin and Israel Meir Hakohen, *Guide Your Tongue: A Practical Guide to the Laws of Loshon Hora Based on Chofetz Chayim* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: S. Weissman, 1975); Ha'led Gena'im, Mordekhai Qremnizer, and Bo'az Shnur, *Lashon Hara': Hadin Hamazui Weharazui* (Yerushalayim: Hamakhon Hayisra'eli Ledemoqraziyah, Hamakhon Lemeḥqarei Haqiqah Ulemishpat Hashwa'ati A"SH He'ri Umikha'el Sa'qer, Hafaqultah Lemishpatim, Ha'universitah Ha'ivrit Biyerushalayim, 2005).

Hamodia', *Yated Ne'eman*, *Hameva'er*, and *Hapeles* keep the representatives of the board and censors unnamed. However, *Mishpahah*, etc. do not hide their identity.

3.5 Content of the Haredi Press

The Haredi press dedicates abundant space to the Haredi issues and events. The coverage of religious issues is much higher in the Haredi press than in the secular one. Contrary to the secular press, where religious topics fill about 5 percent of the content, it is usually about 28 percent in the Haredi papers.¹⁷⁹

Evans words the above-mentioned difference between Haredi and secular newspapers in the following way:

“Discussion of theological issues in the main secular papers primarily comes in the form of a column in the weekend edition. By contrast, the Haredi weekend press is laid out with separate sections devoted to religious issues and secular issues. Thus, a religious reader who does not wish to have worldly news items invade his Sabbath is free to focus on the paper’s religious segments.”¹⁸⁰

Despite the higher percentage of religious topics, the Haredi press still provides reports on non-Haredi matters, delivering Israeli and world political and economic news and analysis.¹⁸¹ The Haredi Jewry is naturally intrigued in politics and the news. Ya'akov Riwlin, a Haredi journalist and an editor of *Hamodia*', compared Haredi interest in the news to the way other Israelis follow sports competitions. In both cases, each closely watch the newest posts about his group.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ See Cohen, “Religion News in Israel,” 184; *Proportion of Religious and Non-Religious Topics* in the *Appendix*.

¹⁸⁰ See Evans, “Exacerbating Social Cleavages,” 248. For an overview of the most popular Haredi papers’ supplements, see *Overview of Supplements* in the *Appendix*.

¹⁸¹ Albeit the Haredi press informs about the domestic and worldwide news, it omits references to other ethnic and religious groups. Arabs, the most populous minority in Israel, are usually mentioned only in connection with terrorism. The Haredi reporting on secular topics is discussed in the chapters on *Image of the Secular Milieu in the Haredi Press* and *Topics Disputed by the Haredi Press*.

¹⁸² Originally, Riwlin used the term *Qvuṣah*, meaning in Hebrew both “group” and “team”. Interview with Ya'akov Riwlin (Bnei Braq, September 26, 2017).

Being responsible for bringing their readership only information corresponding with the concept of *Zni'ut* and protect them from the contradictory news, the Haredi press produces a higher number of religious articles. Following its strict rules regarding sexual modesty, the Haredi press does not publish any pictures of women. This rule is strictly enforced and even pictures of important female politicians would either be hidden or would not be presented in the press at all.¹⁸³ After formation of Israel's 34th Government, both non-Haredi and Haredi papers published its official photograph. However, the figures and faces of female ministers Šofah Landver (1949), the Minister of Aliyah and Integration, Miri Regev (1965), the Minister of Culture and Sport, and 'Ayelet Shaqed (1971), the Minister of Justice, were either blurred or removed from the photograph in the Haredi newspapers.¹⁸⁴

Similarly, when the weekly *Mishpaḥah* published an article about the presidential elections in the United States in 2016, it included pictures of all the candidates except for Hillary Clinton. Her picture was replaced by pictures of her hand and of her husband Bill Clinton complemented with the title: "Will 2016 against Sanders be the same as 2008 against Obama? Bill Clinton, husband of Hillary Clinton, is gathering votes at last moments."¹⁸⁵

Surprisingly, the American *Yated Ne'eman* published even Clinton's picture. However, a panel completely covered her face in the photograph.¹⁸⁶ Likewise, the English edition of *Mishpacha* used an image of both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump on its front page.¹⁸⁷ Although the image was distorted, *Hamodia* ' denounced it stating:

"True Haredi newspapers never have and never will publish pictures of women, even if they are in leadership positions. [Haredi] Jews have their own view of everything that happens, especially when the subject is as important as elections. In the eyes of Jews, the US is definitely a 'kingdom of kindness' in our days and

¹⁸³ Evans, "Exacerbating Social Cleavages," 246–247. See also Matthew Wagner, "For Haredi Papers, Livni Is Faceless," *The Jerusalem Post*, September 22, 2008; *Degrees of the Self-censorship* in the *Appendix*.

¹⁸⁴ For an overview of the above-mentioned images, see *Degrees of the Self-censorship* in the *Appendix*.

¹⁸⁵ Benyamin Roz, "Qruz Qontrol," *Mishpaḥah*, February 21, 2016.

¹⁸⁶ Mentioned in JTA, "Haredi Paper Finds 'Modest' Way to Show Clinton Photo," *The Times of Israel*, August 12, 2016, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/haredi-paper-finds-modest-way-to-show-clinton-photo/>.

¹⁸⁷ For an overview of the above-mentioned images, see *Degrees of the Self-censorship* in the *Appendix*.

deserves recognition and appreciation for that. They understand that the fact that we won't publish a picture of the Democratic candidate on the front page of Haredi newspapers does not mean that we don't support her, but rather stems from the fact we keep Jewish law."¹⁸⁸

The above-mentioned examples from the Haredi papers present a gradual change of the presentation of women in the Haredi press. In Israel, a breakthrough in the matter of women's censorship was made in 2015. Lod District Court ordered *Yated Ne'eman* to publish an election campaign advertisement from an Israeli political party Ubizhutan, formed in early 2015 by the social activist Rut Qoli'an.¹⁸⁹

The Haredi dailies and weeklies do not usually cover topics about entertainment, sport, non-Haredi culture and religious, celebrities, gossips or sexual abuse. Although some of the topics might appear in the papers, they are described either by a neutral term or by omitting the problematic word or phrase. For example, *Yated Ne'eman* implied prosecution of the former Israeli president Mosheh Kāzav (1945) for rape in 2007 by a phrase: "The attorney general decided to indict Kāzav for a series of criminal offences ...". Similarly, the weekly *Baqehilah* reported: "... a flood of criminal suspicions and new revelations are likely to bring about the resignation of the president."¹⁹⁰

Whilst sexual, non-kosher and other similar topics should be avoided, the system is not flawless. For example, in December 2012, Israeli magazine *Ace* pointed out that a picture of a non-kosher pepperoni pizza which complemented a recipe for a "true Italian

¹⁸⁸ "HEATING UP! Hamodia Attacks Mishpacha Decision to Publish Photo of Hillary – Contributing Editor of Mishpacha Sruli Besser Fires Back," *The Yeshiva World*, November 6, 2016, <https://www.theyeshivaworld.com/news/headlines-breaking-stories/482751/heating-up-hamodia-attacks-mishpacha-decision-to-publish-photo-of-hillary-contributing-editor-of-mishpacha-sruli-besser-fires-back.html>. See also JTA, "Hillary Clinton Becomes First Woman on Cover of Popular Haredi Magazine," *The Jerusalem Post*, November 3, 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/Hillary-Clinton-becomes-first-woman-on-cover-of-popular-haredi-magazine-471538>.

¹⁸⁹ See Jeremy Sharon, "Court Rules Haredi Paper Must Publish Ad by Haredi Women's Party," *The Jerusalem Post*, March 15, 2015, <http://www.jpost.com/Israel-Elections/Court-rules-haredi-paper-must-publish-ad-by-haredi-womens-party-393999>.

¹⁹⁰ The incidents are mentioned in Cohen, *God, Jews, and the Media*, 80.

pizza” was published in the women’s supplement of *Yated Ne’eman*.¹⁹¹ Also, an article about an attack on a female soldier at a military base in August 1990 reported that the perpetrator was under indictment of assault and “rape”. Due to the word “rape”, a wave of indignation within the Haredi community surged.¹⁹²

An inadvertent appearance of a picture of Kate Winslet and of a commercial displaying a nude woman with two men in *Mishpahah* resulted in a reprint of thousands of copies. On top of that, after a sub-editor of *Hamodia* reported that neo-Nazi demonstrators in Europe “attacked supporters of the LGBT rights,” he was fired and many subscribers cancelled their subscriptions.¹⁹³

As it is seen above, the Haredi press shares opinions and views of Haredi leaders. It has a huge impact on the public opinion within the Haredi society. Consequently, the preferences of the leading rabbis impact the content of advertisements as well as the Haredi public’s electoral choices.¹⁹⁴ Their statements are shared uncritically, declaring boycotts on particular businesses. For example, following a proclamation of a boycott against a mobile phone company, its products could not be advertised in any Haredi newspapers.

Furthermore, as some of the papers are closely connected with Haredi political parties, their candidates tend to be supported and presented in a good light in their respective newspapers.¹⁹⁵ For instance, Saidof revealed that an article in *Yated Ne’eman* about the failure of government-funded community centres aimed to support the Haredi mayor of Jerusalem in a political struggle.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ 'Aleksandr Kaz, “Fa’dihah Shel Yated Ne’eman: Lo’ Ta’aminu ‘Eyzo Tmunah Hem Bahru Lefarsem Bemador Ha’okhel,” *Ice*, December 12, 2012, <http://www.ice.co.il/media/news/article/347627>. See *Failure of the Censorship: Non-Kosher Pizza* in the *Appendix*.

¹⁹² In the upshot, its censor’s inattention was pardoned because of his exhaustion after Tisha B’Av fast. The incident is mentioned in Cohen, *God, Jews and the Media*, 81; Baumel, “Communication and Change,” 164.

¹⁹³ Cohen, *God, Jews, and the Media*, 81.

¹⁹⁴ For an overview of the regulation of advertisements in the Halakhah, see Aaron Levine, “Advertising and Promotional Activities as Regulated in Jewish Law,” *The Journal of Halacha* (1981): 5–37, <http://www.yutorah.org/lectures/lecture.cfm/735658/rabbi-aaron-levine/advertising-and-promotional-activities-as-regulated-by-jewish-law/>; Tamari, “The Challenge of Wealth,” 45–56; Pava, “Developing a Religiously Grounded Business Ethics,” 65–83.

¹⁹⁵ T̄oqer, “120 ‘Amudim Bli ‘Af ‘Ishah.”

¹⁹⁶ Saidof, “Poq̄him Ayin Toranit.” Mentioned in Evans, “Exacerbating Social Cleavages,” 249.

3.6 Language of the Haredi Press

Generally, the choice of language in the Haredi newspaper is dictated by the nature of the column or the discussed topic. While editors and journalists' articles abound with proper Modern Hebrew, columns by rabbis and memoirs of religious figures are full of the so-called *Lashon Qodesh*. Additionally, a small number of Yiddish phrases appear in various Rabbis' writings and transcriptions of their talks.

Despite the preference of standard Modern Hebrew, slang may appear in editorials. For example, Baumel mentions the usage of terms such as *přazah metaqteket* (a ticking bomb) or *yifei hanefesh* (bleeding heart liberals) in a political context.¹⁹⁷

As a quarter of the subscriptions is distributed abroad, English words written in the Hebrew script are inserted among Hebrew text, often in the form of a direct quotation.¹⁹⁸ The English orthography appears primarily in advertisements.¹⁹⁹

3.6.1 Linguistic tools

To inform the Haredi community effectively, the Haredi press focuses on details, particularly linguistic ones. It exerts a micro-influence through nuances of style and a specific language. Haredi papers choose or omit words and phrases, apply specific abbreviations and acronyms, etc.²⁰⁰ By and large, the more religiously orientated the Haredi paper is, the more of these tools can be found in the text. Examples of the above-mentioned linguistic tools are provided below.

Quotation marks often hint the usage of sarcasm or irony in the texts. This technique is in Aramaic called *Lashon Sagi-Nahor* (blind-light language). It follows the pattern of the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century polemics between Hassidic and

¹⁹⁷ Used respectively in the paper *Kfar Habad* 946, March 29, 2001 and *Kfar Habad* 941, February 22, 2001. Mentioned in Baumel, „Communication and Change,” 170.

¹⁹⁸ For an overview of the influence of foreign languages, see *External Influences* in the *Appendix*.

¹⁹⁹ For instance, the headline “Hadžob Haba’ Shel Obamah” (The Next Job of Obama) in *Hamevašer* was written in the Hebrew script while in an advertisement for nappies in *Hapeles*, the word “Baby” in the inscription: “Hitulei Baby Shel Rami Lewi ...” is written in Latin script. See Ja’aqov ’A. Lušigman, “Hadžob Haba’ Shel Obamah: Našì’ ARH”B [Aržot Habrit] Rožeh Lehitmanot LemZK”L [Mazkir Klali] Ha’umot Me’užadot,” *Hamevašer*, January 10, 2016, 4; *Hapeles*, January 26, 2016, 4.

²⁰⁰ Baumel, *Sacred Speakers*, 80–81.

Mitnagdic groups.²⁰¹ In this way, the “brilliant men” or “wonderful boys” of a non-Haredi or rival group are being called futile fools.²⁰²

The Haredi press also uses methods of either absence or inclusion of some terms to express its ideology and criticism. Hence, the Haredi papers often omit or shift some information. For example, *Yated Ne’eman* usually refers to the Knesset as “the building of the Knesset” instead of “Mishkan Hakneset”, as is customary. Similarly, neither *Yated Ne’eman* nor *Hamodia’* mention in their articles that The Supreme Court of Israel rules (*pasak*) but it decides (*hikhlit*).

Additionally, one of the most distinctive codes distinguishing the Haredi press from the secular one is an application of titles to differentiate between people.²⁰³ Women receive fewer titles and are usually referred to as either Mrs. or Rebetzin, whilst men are called by plentiful titles.²⁰⁴ A person who obtains in the Haredi press a hierarchical title of an *ADMO"R* [*Adoneinu, Moreinu Verabeinu*] (Our master, our teacher and our rebbe) or *Haga'on Harav* is highly respected within the Haredi community. On the other hand, an ordinary Rabbi is called just that and a respected Jew without a rabbinical rank gets the title of *Reb*.

Consequently, reputable men may be called by abundant titles e.g.: *Haga'on Hagadol Harav 'Aharon Zaka'i SHLIT"* [*Sheyizakheh La'orekh Yamim Tovim 'Amen*] *Wehaga'on Hagadol Harav Ya'qov Shakanzi SHLIT"*, *Ben Lebno Haga'on Rav Shmu'el Zaka'i SHLIT"* (The great Ga'on Rav 'Aharon Zaka'i, may he live a good long life, amen, and the great Ga'on Rav Ya'qov Shakanzi, may he live a good long life, amen, the son of the Ga'on Rav Shmu'el Zaka'i, may he live a good long life, amen);²⁰⁵ *HRH"Ĥ* [*Harav Haḥakham*] *Shlomoh Yudqoviz Z"L* [*Zikhrono Livrakhah*] (The wise Rav Shlomoh Yudqoviz of blessed memory);²⁰⁶ or *Mikhal Lewi, B"R* [*Bat Harav*]

²⁰¹ See Wilensky, “Hasidic-Mitnaggedic Polemics.”

²⁰² See Baumel, „Communication and Change,” 169.

²⁰³ Rabbis are mentioned twice as much in the Haredi press as in the non-Haredi one. See Cohen, “Religion News in Israel,” 193.

²⁰⁴ See also Malkah Mučniq and Hadasah Qanṭor, “‘Al Te’arim Yehudiyim Lenashim Ulegvarim Bamoda’ot Haḥaredim,” *Balshanut 'Ivrit* 45 (2000): 53–60.

²⁰⁵ “‘Eynekha Ro’ot Et Morekha,” *Yom Leyom*, January 21, 2016, 15.

²⁰⁶ “HRH"Ĥ [Harav Haḥakham] Shlomoh Yudqoviz Z"L [Zikhrono Livrakhah],” *Hamodia’*, January 21, 2016, 1.

Shmu'el HY"W [Hashem Yehayehu Weyishmorehu] (Mikhal Lewi, the daughter of Rav Shmu'el, may God let him live and watch over him).²⁰⁷

Similarly, personal advertisements regarding engagements, weddings, and funerals are full of titles. The announcements are widely spread and have earned a top position on the front pages of *Hamodia'*, *Yated Ne'eman*, and *Hameva'ser*.

Expressing disfavour, titles can be omitted. Referring to the former Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Israel Shlomo Goren (1917–1994), with whom the Haredi community was in a quarrelsome disagreement, *Hamodia'* intentionally disregarded his title for years.²⁰⁸ Also non-Haredi politicians are often referred to without any title. For example, the Israeli Prime Minister Benyamin Netanyahu (1949) is mentioned by his last name in the article “Natanyahu L'o Yitmoded Neged Hapeteq Halavan” (Natanyahu Will Not Contend against the [movement] Hapeteq Halevan) in *Yom Leyom*, while in an article in *Hameva'ser*, he is called “the Prime Minister Benyamin Natanyahu.”²⁰⁹ Either way, he is not called by any of the above-mentioned honourable titles.

Moreover, abbreviations and acronyms are inseparable parts of the Haredi texts. Many rabbinical and religious abbreviations appear in the texts, e.g. *BS"D* [Besiyata Dishamaya] (With the help of Heaven) or *HZ"L* [Hakhameinu Zikhronam Livrakhah] (Our Sages, may their memory be blessed). However, also regular Hebrew abbreviations and acronyms are generally applied throughout the Haredi press, e.g. *H"K* [Haver Hakneset] (a member of the Knesset), *ARH"B* [Arzot Habrit] (the USA), *Manka"l* [Menahel Hakalkali] (the general director), *Na't"o* (NATO), etc.

²⁰⁷ The Wedding Announcement of Hayim Yitzhaq Markoviz and Mikhal Lewi, *Yated Ne'eman*, January 22, 2016, 1.

²⁰⁸ Baumel, “Communication and Change,” 168–169.

²⁰⁹ Shalom Avivzar, “Natanyahu L'o Yitmoded Neged Hapeteq Halavan,” *Yom Leyom*, January 14, 2016, 15; Me'ir Berger, “Hapraymeriz Beliqud Bu'lu: Natanyahu YW"R [Yoshev Ro'sh] Hamiflagah,” *Hameva'ser*, January 14, 2016, 3.

4. HAREDIM AND THE SECULAR SOCIETY

Journalism, by definition constructs reality and occupies a crucial role in the communication of conflicts and in relation to the surrounding ideological streams. Neither refinement of the media ethics and methods, nor a social change can modify this essence of journalism. Therefore, the press builds its readers' perception of the world.

Considering the important role of the Haredi press within the Haredi community, we find it to be a significant indicator of the Haredi leadership's attitude towards the secular Israeli milieu.²¹⁰

To understand the Haredi view of the secular society thoroughly, we present concepts of the Haredi attitude towards secular Jewish society and we examine its reflection in the Haredi most popular papers below.

4.1 Haredi View of the Secular Society²¹¹

A survey conducted by Pew Research Center in October 2014–May 2015 indicates that the vast majority of Israeli Haredim described themselves to be Jewish first and Israeli second.²¹² 70 percent of Haredim presumed that Jewishness comes from religious practice, 27 percent of Haredim believed that it is derived from religion as well as ancestry and culture, and only 3 percent of Haredim linked the substance of Jewishness with ancestry and culture only.²¹³

Overlooking their above-mentioned affiliations, the Haredi community sees the matter of being Jewish mostly in the religion. Consequently, it divides the Jewish society into three main groups: *Ba'alei Hatshuvah*, Jews from a secular background who become religiously observant later in their life; elites, newspapermen, etc. leading the others away from the religious values and a majority that does not keep *Mitzvot*

²¹⁰ In our research, we focused on the reflection of the non-Haredi culture, i.e. thematic units indirectly related to the ideology and religion of the Haredi Jewry like worldwide, economical, and political news.

²¹¹ The Haredi press omits references to other ethnic and religious groups in Israel. Arabs are usually mentioned only in connection with terrorism.

²¹² 91 percent of Haredim claimed to be of Jewish background before an Israeli one. Contrastingly, 59 percent of secular Jews chose the Israeli background. See "Israel's Religiously Divided Society."

²¹³ On the contrary, 83 percent of secular Jews and 57 percent of somewhat religious Jews classified the Jewishness as a matter of culture or ancestry or both. See *ibid.*

(commandments) because of their ignorance and limited knowledge of Judaism.²¹⁴ The last group contains all Jews who were born to a non-Haredi family and lack the religious education.

'El'or argues that Haredim regard secularism to be a congenital and unintentional lifestyle and do not see it as an alternative to the Haredi way of living. This stance enables Haredim not to view the secular society as heretical but to adopt various stands towards them.²¹⁵

However, Lewi states that the attitude towards the secular Jewish society is rather ambivalent. In his opinion, the non-Haredi Jews are viewed as “clansman” who are prevented from leaving the fallacious path but apart from that, they are basically gentiles.²¹⁶

4.2 Image of the Secular Milieu in the Haredi Press

Based on our research, we tend to support Lewi's statement. The text corpus of the Haredi papers with the highest exposure rate, produced in January 2016, indicates the Haredi view of the secular Jewish society is rather equivocal.²¹⁷ Fridman claims that the Haredi press has gone through a significant transformation in the last few decades and it

²¹⁴ Surprisingly, the scale does not embrace the Masoretic Jews who describe themselves as neither strictly religious nor secular and *Hadatiyim Hale'umiyim*, followers of an ideology which combines Zionism and Orthodox Judaism. For an overview of the self-classification of the Israeli society, see *ibid.* For an overview of the Haredi perception of gentiles in the twentieth century, see Turner, “Attitudes towards the Non-Jew in 20th Century Jewish Thought.”

²¹⁵ See T. 'El'or, “Tinoqot Shenishbu: Tfiśat Haḥiloniyut Baqehilah Haḥaredit,” *Megamot* 1 (1991): 104–121; Karmi, “Yaḥasah Shel Ha'itonut Haḥaredit Harishmit,” 44–45.

²¹⁶ Lewi, “Ha'itonut Haḥaredit Wehaḥevrah Haḥilonit Beyiśra'el,” 38.

²¹⁷ It is necessary to point out that Haredi papers may differ from each other. To present the issue comprehensively, we intentionally generalise their views and imperceptible differences. Nowadays, the Haredi dailies and weeklies pay quite a lot of attention to non-Haredi topics. However, the interest has intensified gradually. In the 1950's, *Hamodia'* did not produce yearly more than 20 articles relating to the relationship and attitude towards secular Jews, the secular education, the State of Israel, and Zionism. In 1999, it published more than 100 articles related to secular topics, and their number has been growing rapidly. Karmi, “Yaḥasah Shel Ha'itonut Haḥaredit Harishmit,” 65–66.

²¹⁷ See T. 'El'or, “Tinoqot Shenishbu: Tfiśat Haḥiloniyut Baqehilah Haḥaredit,” 104–121; Karmi, “Yaḥasah Shel Ha'itonut Haḥaredit Harishmit,” 44–45.

divides seculars into two groups: an ignorant group lacking any knowledge about Judaism and the opposite one intending to insult the religion and its tradition.²¹⁸

Haredim do not perceive secularism as a false ideology but they rather ascribe profound emptiness to it. Hence, hostility to the secular milieu derives from the misunderstanding of the secular society and published verbal attacks in the Haredi press.

Yizḥaq Matatyahu Tanenbaum, a journalist of *Hamodia*, claims in one of his articles that there is no secular culture at all. He argues:

“There is no secular culture because the secularism is lacking the [essence of the] existence, dismantling framework, and denial of guilt. However, an Israeli secular culture does exist. ... We did not know that the Israeli secular culture is [based on] deriding the observant [Jews], their clothing, deeds, and manners. But since we have become acquainted with it, it is easier to hear curses and swear words from their mouths because they have nothing else but this ‘culture’. ... A Jew cannot live without a culture. If he withdraws from the culture of existence, he will lapse immediately into the culture of non-existence.”²¹⁹

Considering the features of the Haredi press and Haredi values scale, the Haredi press often takes a neutral stand towards the secular events. On the other hand, its criticism of secularism prevails when the message of an article affects Haredi identity and menaces the Haredi religious values.²²⁰

For instance, induction of Yeshiva students to IDF (Israel Defense Forces) made the community indignant. Despite the existence of a special Haredi unit, the share of graduates from the Haredi education system enlisted in the IDF or a civilian national service framework was about 34 percent in 2016.²²¹ The Haredi military service is still

²¹⁸ See also Karmi, “Yaḥasah Shel Ha‘itonut Haḥaredit Harishmit,” 47.

²¹⁹ Yizḥaq Matatyahu Tanenbaum, *Hamodia*, December 29, 1995. Mentioned in Karmi, “Yaḥasah Shel Ha‘itonut Haḥaredit Harishmit,” 70.

²²⁰ It is necessary to point out that the approach to secularism may vary. Based on an ideological role of Haredi papers, the weekly *Kfar Habad* of the Chabad movement finds secular Jews not to be doomed. Also, its intention is to return them to the Yiddishkeit (i.e. Jewish way of life). By contrast, *Haḥomah* of the radical movement Naṭurei Qarta’ has strongly condemned them.

²²¹ See Cahaner, Malach, and Chosen, “Statistical Report on Ultra-Orthodox Society in Israel.”

one of the most fiercely debated issues in Israel and rouses a lot of anger in both feuding camps. A headline of *Hapeles* informs about the induction as follows:

“The World of Torah Is Raising the Standards against the Government of Oppression Abusing Beloved Yeshiva Students and Trying to Silence the Protest against the Plots Aiming at the Induction”²²²

Similarly, restricting Shabbat orders, i.e. also infringing the Halakhic rules, newspapers *Hamevašer* and *Hapeles* stated:

“Fury: The Court Revoked a Closing Order of Tel Aviv Municipality to a Business That Was Opened on Shabbat”²²³

“The Mayor of Tel Aviv Trades with the Purity of Shabbat: He Recommends Permitting the Public Transport on Shabbat in Return of Business Closure”²²⁴

However, in the opposite case, when Shabbat rules were supported, the press complimentarily hails the Likud lawmaker Miqi Zohar (1980) in a four-page interview:

“Bareheaded with a clear voice, he fined those who desanctified Shabbat. ... Haredi members of the Knesset already marked the bareheaded lawmaker from Likud Miqi Zohar during his first speech in the Knesset as an extraordinary person who is worth noticing.”²²⁵

²²² Halewi, “‘Olam Hatorah Yoze’ Lema’avaq Naḥush Neged Mišṭar Hadikui Hamit’alel Be’avrakhim Yeqarim Umenaseh Lehashtiq ‘Et Hameḥa’ah Neged Mezimot Ya’dai Hagiyus,” *Hapeles*, January 14, 2016, 2–3.

²²³ Hayim Margeliot, “Za’am: Beit Hamishpaṭ Biṭel Zāv Sgirah ‘Iryat Tel ‘Aviv Le’Eseq Shepataḥ Beshabat,” *Hamevašer*, January 13, 2016, 3.

²²⁴ M. Miler, “RH” [Ro’sh Ha’ir] Tel ‘Aviv Bemishar ‘Al Qdushat Hashabat: Mezi’a Lehatir TH”F [Taḥburah Ziburit] Beshabat Be’tmurah’ Lesgirat ‘Asaqim,” *Hapeles*, January 14, 2016, 12.

²²⁵ Yizḥaq Halewi, “Miki Moqir Shabat,” *Baqehilah*, January 14, 2016, 31.

The unfavourable writing about the secular society in the Haredi press is a part of its educative purpose. The critical and negative writing signals to its readers that the secular lifestyle is faithless and void.

As emerged from the analysis, the educative approach interweaves most of the articles related to secular topics and it is one of the most important functions of the Haredi press. For instance, in an article about the Great Rabbinical Court in Israel which is according to *Baqehilah* harassed by the Supreme Court of Israel, the faith of the Haredi community is depicted as the salvation of the rabbinical court, representing values of the Halakhah.

“New standard of harassment of the Supreme Court of Israel: in a surprising message, the judges of the Supreme Court threaten with closing the Great Rabbinical Court in Israel. It is hard to believe that it went unacknowledged. ... The Supreme Court of Israel threatened it [the Great Rabbinical Court in Israel] with an order of closure this week. But as we are the sons of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob who have chosen Judaism, the Torah and the six orders of Talmud and consumers of the Haredi writings and their commentaries, we can, after all, presume that everything will end with the cry of happiness.”²²⁶

4.3 Topics Disputed by the Haredi Press

Karmi explains that the disputable areas of the relationship of the Haredi and secular Jews in Israel are related to the Holocaust and Zionism, including the secular establishment of the State of Israel and nationalistic movements.²²⁷

Rubenshtayin connects both of the issues. He argues that Haredi understanding of the ravages of the Holocaust is based on the disowning of Zionism.²²⁸ Haredim have waged war on Zionism from the outset of the movement.²²⁹ Just as the Haskalah

²²⁶ 'Eli, Bit'en, “BG”C [Beit Hamishpat Hagavoah Lezedeq] Neged BD”C [Beit Din Hagavoah Lezedeq],” *Baqehilah*, January 14, 2016, 15.

²²⁷ See also Karmi, “Yaḥasah Shel Ha’itonut Haḥaredit Harishmit,” 44.

²²⁸ 'Avraham Rubenshtayin, *Praqim Betorat Haḥasidut Ubetoldoteha* (Yerushalayim: Merkaz Zalman Shazar Leha’amaqat Hatoda’ah Hahistorit Hayehudit, 1997), 228–229.

²²⁹ For more details about encounters of Haredim and Zionism, see for example Shmuel Almog, Jehuda Reinharz, and Anita Shapira, eds., *Zionism and Religion* (Hannover: Brandeis University Press, 1998),

allegedly routed the Jewish communities in the Diaspora, Zionism should have destroyed the religious identity of the Jewish state and its attributes.²³⁰

Zionism also serves as a tool to reconcile the Haredi religious beliefs with their understanding of the catastrophe of the Holocaust. As it is enormously difficult for a strongly devoted person to deal with the tragedy of the Holocaust, Haredim might have perceived the Holocaust to be the consequence of Zionism which according to them, contradicts Halakhah.

Although Karmi points out that one of the disputable areas of the relationship of the Haredi and secular Jews in Israel is the Haredi view of the Holocaust, the extracted data indicates the Haredi understanding of the Holocaust has changed. The news about anti-Semitism and the Holocaust together with domestic and worldwide politics and terrorism prevail. Though, a connection with the negative view of Zionism is not visible. Considering the features of the Haredi press, mentioned in the previous chapter, the information is reported rather neutrally.

Nowadays, the statements about the Holocaust and anti-Semitism are informative and neutral-toned:

“Thousands of Objects Found in Sobibór Extermination Camp Were Exported to the Museum of Majdanek”²³¹

“Peak Number of Visitors in Auschwitz in a Year: About 1.72 Million People”²³²

“New residents of the neighbourhood of Williamsburg, Brooklyn complain that they are exposed to revelation of hatred by the gentiles living in the area. ... The operational unit of the New York police was updated about the incident. The

13–92; Yosef Salmon, *Religion and Zionism: First Encounters* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2002).

²³⁰ Unlike 85 percent of the Israeli Jews, only 33 percent of Israeli Haredim described themselves as Zionists. See “Israel’s Religiously Divided Society.”

²³¹ “‘Alpei Hafaẓim Shenimẓa’u Bemaḥaneh Hahashmadah Sobibor Yoẓe’ Bemuze’on Mayd’anek,” *Hamodia*, January 3, 2016, 6.

²³² “‘Si’ Bemispar Hamevaqrim Beshanah ‘Aḥat Be’Aushwiz: Ke-1.72 Miliyon Bnei ‘Adam,” *Hamodia*, January 6, 2016, 6.

police say that it is hard to decide whether to deal with the incident as an anti-Semitic act.”²³³

However, as Zionism and nationalism are still problematic issues, referring to one of them, the tone of the message changes:

“Treason of [religious nationalist movements] Hilltop Youth”²³⁴

“[The representative of a right-wing nationalist party Yisra’el Beitanu] Liberman Is a Threat to the Haredi Public”²³⁵

For a clear majority of Haredim, it is unfathomable that secular Jews represent the State of Israel whilst they who consider themselves to be the possessors of the only true tradition, constitute a minority within the secular state. Haredim do not understand the secular Israelis’ attachment and bond to the *’Erez Yiśra’el*. From their perspective, the tie between secular Jews and the Jewish tradition is severed. According to Haredim, the State of Israel, given to the Jewish people by God, cannot exist while omitting other tenets of Judaism. Therefore, 86 percent of Israeli Haredim favoured making the Halakhah the state law for Jews in Israel in 2016.²³⁶ Similarly, 89 percent of Haredi Jews would prefer the Halakhah to democratic principles, if they contradicted.²³⁷

Given the above-mentioned approach to the secular Israeli state, Haredi community continuously questions the sovereign entity of the State of Israel. On one hand, the Haredim live in Israel, use its public services and benefits and influence its Jewish and religious template. On the other hand, Haredi community openly opposes the sovereignty and democracy of the State of Israel and its secular values.

Yizḥaq Matatyahu Tanenbaum from *Hamodia*’ sums it up as follows:

²³³ “Ktuvat Ne’azah ’Antishemit ’Al Binyan Dirot Beqirbat Wiliyemsburg [Williamsburg],” *Hamodia*’, January 6, 2016, 2.

²³⁴ Yizḥaq Matatyahu Tanenbaum, “Bogdanut Na’arei Hagva’ot,” *Hamodia*’, January 8, 2016, 4.

²³⁵ ’Avraham Man, “Liberman Hu’ ’Iyum ’Al Haḥibur Haḥaredi,” *Baqehilah*, January 14, 2016, 12–13.

²³⁶ Only 5 percent of secular Jews answered correspondingly. See “Israel’s Religiously Divided Society.”

²³⁷ By contrast, the same number of secular Jews chose democratic principles. See *ibid*.

“As there is nothing of our [Haredi] legacy in the Israeli politics, its [Israeli] establishment is not made by Torah, it does not come from Torah, and it is not touched by Torah or based on the world of Torah. ... The State of Israel was born and made in the profaneness of the seculars, we [Haredim] feel embarrassed there, but due to a lack of options and because of the hidden foundations of Torah sages, we are not exempt, and we cannot escape the responsibilities of the representatives of Torah that we can perform in this reality which we have met under this coercion.”²³⁸

Furthermore, the Haredi press criticises non-Haredi institutions such as the IDF, Israel Police or The Supreme Court very harshly.²³⁹ For example, a Jewish settler ‘Amiram Ben ‘Uli’el firebombed a family house in the Palestinian village of Duma in July 2015. After he was indicted for murder on 3 January 2016, *Yated Ne’eman* condemned the actions of Shin Bet (Israel Security agency). The newspaper pointed out:

“The joy of the seniors of Shin Bet was a thorn in the eyes of many civilians, including those who do not identify themselves with right-winged or extreme right-winged ideas. When the headlines were extolling the end of the investigation of the affair of Duma [arson attack from late July 2015], the chase after the terrorist from Tel Aviv still continued²⁴⁰ ... However, yesterday’s publicity about Duma looks bad. Really bad. Five months after the arson, there is a bill of indictment, the affair seems to be over, everything is clear, everything is obvious but apparently, someone is trying to silence the complaints about the abuse and it is really conspicuous.”²⁴¹

²³⁸ Yizḥaq Matatyahu Ṭanenbaum, *Hamodia*’, June 1, 1990. Mentioned in Karmi, “Yaḥasah Shel Ha‘itonut Haḥaredit Harishmit,” 89.

²³⁹ However, despite harsh criticism, *Arutz Sheva* points out *Hamodia*’ condemned an assault on an IDF officer in a Haredi neighbourhood in Jerusalem in April 2015, being the only Haredi newspaper to address the attack. See Haim Lev and Cynthia Blank, “Haredi Paper Condemns Assault on IDF Officer in Mea Shearim,” *Arutz Sheva*, April 26, 2015, <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/194558>.

²⁴⁰ The statement refers to shooting on Dizengoff Street in Tel Aviv in January 2016.

²⁴¹ Y. Shwarz, “Kishalon Beyaḥasei Zibur,” *Yated Ne’eman*, January 4, 2016, 5.

Lastly, another key area of the conflict between the Haredi and non-Haredi communities is schooling. Considering education to be of the utmost importance, Haredim view the secular education as one of the biggest setbacks. Hence, the Haredi press often discusses the distribution of governmental and municipal resources for educational institutions.²⁴² In this instance, the criticism is often mutual. The Haredi papers describe discrimination from the secular majority limiting their curricula and funding.²⁴³

²⁴² See for example, Yiśra'el Kohen, "Yated Ne'eman Toqef Beḥarifut: Masa' Zayid Hamur Shel Miśrad Haḥinukh," *Kikar Hashabat*, March 23, 2018, <https://www.kikar.co.il/abroad/271818.html>.

²⁴³ Simultaneously, the non-Haredi press illustrates the Haredi educational organisations receive an incommensurable big share of educational funds. See also Evans, "Social Cleavages," 248. Compare also with the misleading terminology and the view of the non-Haredi press on the Haredi Jewry. See Efron, *Real Jews*, 241–275.

CONCLUSION

The media has played an important role in Israeli society and has had a huge impact on its cultural identity. The media's framing fundamentally defines how the reality is interpreted and how the public understands political, ethnic and cultural perspectives.²⁴⁴

The Haredi press is one of the most effective tools for the Haredi leadership to protect their community from the outside influences. Haredi newspapers primarily present events in a way that supports the official response of the leadership. Therefore, it can provide us with a better insight into their community.

From the extracted data, we have come to these conclusions:

1. The Haredim live a life of paradoxes. The values of their community remain unquestionable. However, nowadays, the community hovers between modernity and greater Orthodoxy. While it publically rejects the secular lifestyle, it is virtually dependent on it. For instance, the Haredi newspapers criticise secularism but also use secular sources, cooperate with secular companies and advertise products which also appear in the secular press.
2. The design and content of the Haredi press indicate an ongoing acculturation of the community. Its style and advertising correspond with the current non-Haredi papers. Similarly, the interest of the Haredi press in secularism has intensified and secular topics have increasingly appeared.
3. The Haredi press presents a distorted picture of events. The intentional misinterpretation of events should protect its readership from non-Haredi influences.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ See Evants, "Exacerbating Social Cleavages," 249–250; Matt Evans, "Framing International Conflicts: Media Coverage of Fighting in the Middle East," *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* 6, no. 2 (2010): 209–233; Bantimaroudis and Kampanellou, "The Cultural Framing Hypothesis," 80–90.

²⁴⁵ For the self-definition of the Haredi press, see *The Self-Definition of the Haredi Press* above. Compare with 10 elements common to good journalism in Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2014).

4. The Haredi press' view of the secular society has gone through a transformation since the establishment of the State of Israel. The growing interest in secular topics insinuates progress in the Haredi-secular relationship. However, the attitude towards secularism stays rather ambivalent. Editorships exploit the critical news about secularism for religious educational purposes often emphasising its profound emptiness.

5. The Haredi press neutrally reports on a variety of secular topics. Usually, the diatribe appears when the message of an article affects the Haredi identity based on the values of the Halakhah. Therefore, the crux of the conflict between Haredi and secular Jewry is Zionism and the secular establishment of the State of Israel which contradict the Haredi ideology and Halakhic rules. Although Karmi points out the Holocaust also ranges among the disputable topics, the extracted data imply that the perspective on the Holocaust may have changed. Nowadays, it is rather mentioned neutrally.

By and large, the Haredi press deserves more attention and can serve as a principal source for a complementary research about the Haredi community in both Israel and the Diaspora. Potential findings could help to disprove the often-stereotyped views and enrich the contemporary understanding of the Haredi community.

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APPENDIX

Appendix no. 1: Survey of the Most Popular Haredi Press in Israel

Name	Type	Foundation	Major Target Group	Exposure (%) in 2016: Working days	Exposure (%) in 2016: Weekend
<i>Hamodia'</i>	Daily	1950	Hasidim	18.1	16.8
<i>Yated Ne'eman</i>	Daily	1985	Mitnagdim	17.1	16
<i>Hamevašer</i>	Daily	2009	Hasidim	6.6	-
<i>Hapeles</i>	Daily	2012	Mitnagdim	13.7	-
<i>Mishpahah</i>	Weekly	1987	Haredim	-	21.3
<i>Yom Leyom</i>	Weekly	1993	Shas followers	-	3.3
<i>Baqehilah</i>	Weekly	1997	Hasidim	-	8.9

Figure I. The Most Popular Haredi Press in Israel ²⁴⁶

²⁴⁶ The popularity rank is based on the exposure rate according to *Haredi TGI Survey* that has been initiated by Kantar TNS since 2008.

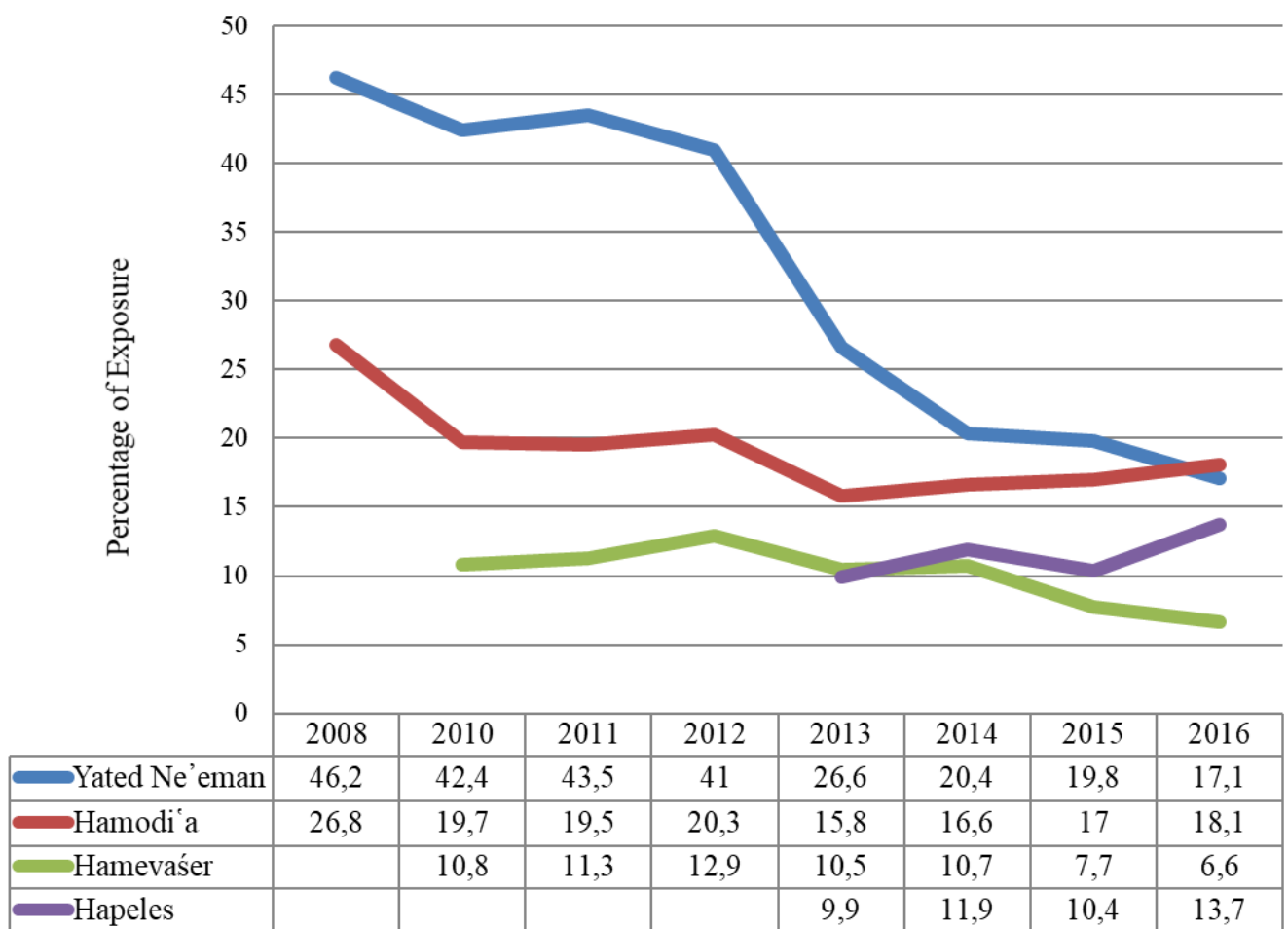


Figure II. The Exposure of the Most Popular Haredi Dailies (2008, 2010–2016) within the Haredi community: Working Days²⁴⁷

²⁴⁷ The data from 2009 is not available. The exposure rate is based on *Haredi TGI Survey* that has been initiated by Kantar TNS since 2008.

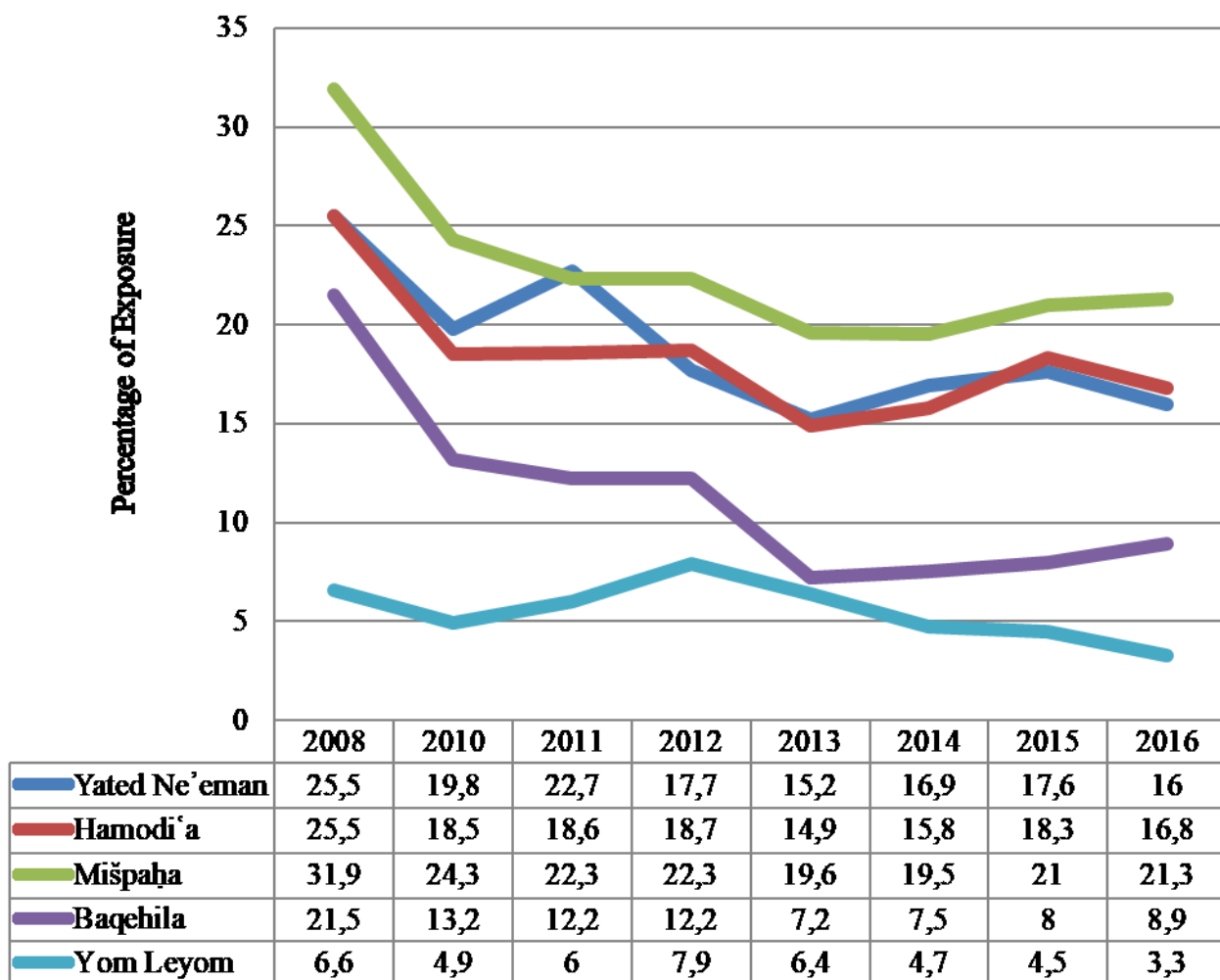


Figure III. The Exposure of the Most Popular Haredi Dailies and Weeklies (2008, 2010–2016) within the Haredi community: Weekends²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ The data from 2009 is not available. The exposure rate is based on *Haredi TGI Survey* that has been initiated by Kantar TNS since 2008.

Appendix no. 2: Overview of Supplements

Thematic Range	Hamodia'	Yated Ne'eman	Hameva'aser	Hapeles
Weekly Digest	Tosefet 'Aqtu'alit	Yated Hashavua'	Hameva'aser Shvu'i	Kol Hashavua', Tazfit
Weekly Digest in Yiddish	-	-	Hameva'aser Vor: Der Tsaytung Fon Dem Treyer Yudentum	-
Women / Family	Habayit Shelanu	Bayit Ne'eman, Qtifa Lebayit	Labayit	Nofekh
Children	Hamodia' Haza'ir	Yated Shelanu	Nequdot	Hapeles Leyeladim
Religion / Shabbat	Tosefet Hatoranit	Shabat Qodesh	Hameva'aser Torani	Liqrat Shabat
Finance	Madorim	Kalkalah	Kalkali	-
Culture	-	-	-	'Aspaqlaryah
Hassidic Community	-	-	Hameva'aser Qehilot	-

Figure IV. The Overview of the Dailies' Supplements

Thematic Range	Mishpa'ah	Yom Leyom	Baqehilah
Weekly Digest	Hdashot Mishpa'ah	Musaf Shvu'i	-
Women	Betokh Hamishpa'ah	-	Pnanim
Children	Yeladim	Za'ir	Haverim
Religion / Shabbat	Qolmus	'Oneg Shabat	Tevunot
Finance	Mamonot	-	-
Food	Ta'imot	-	Ma'ama'ot
Youth	Ne'urim	-	-
Healthcare	Bari' Yoter	-	-
Hasidic Courts Photo Magazine	-	-	Ha'olam Ha'aredi

Figure V. The Overview of the Weeklies' Supplements

Appendix no. 3: Proportion of Religious and Non-Religious Topics

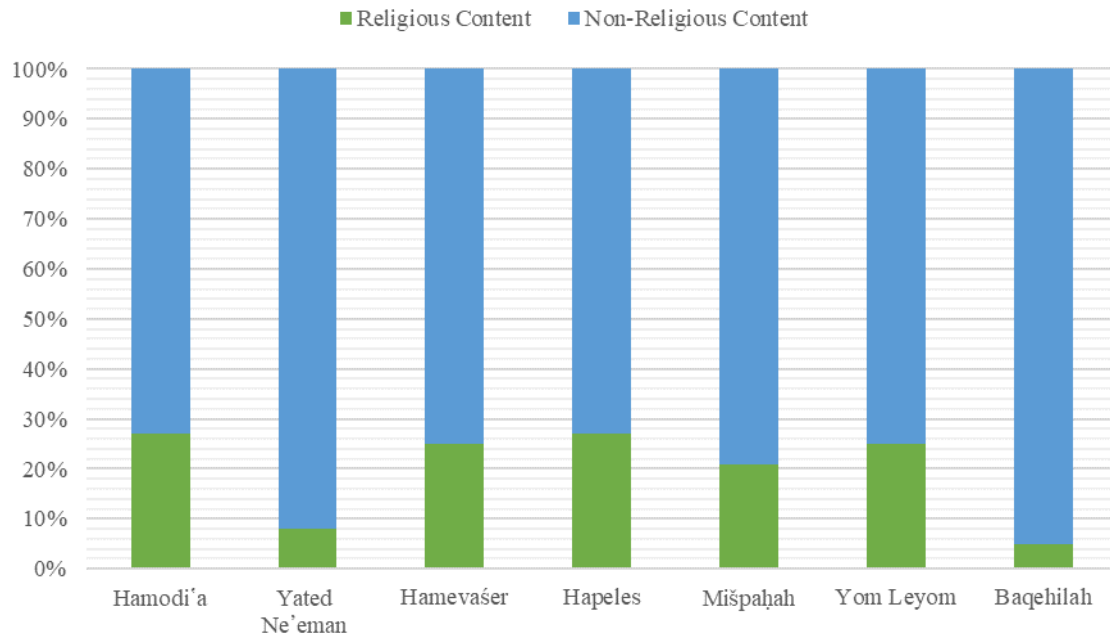


Figure VI. Proportion of Religious and Non-Religious Topics (January 2016)

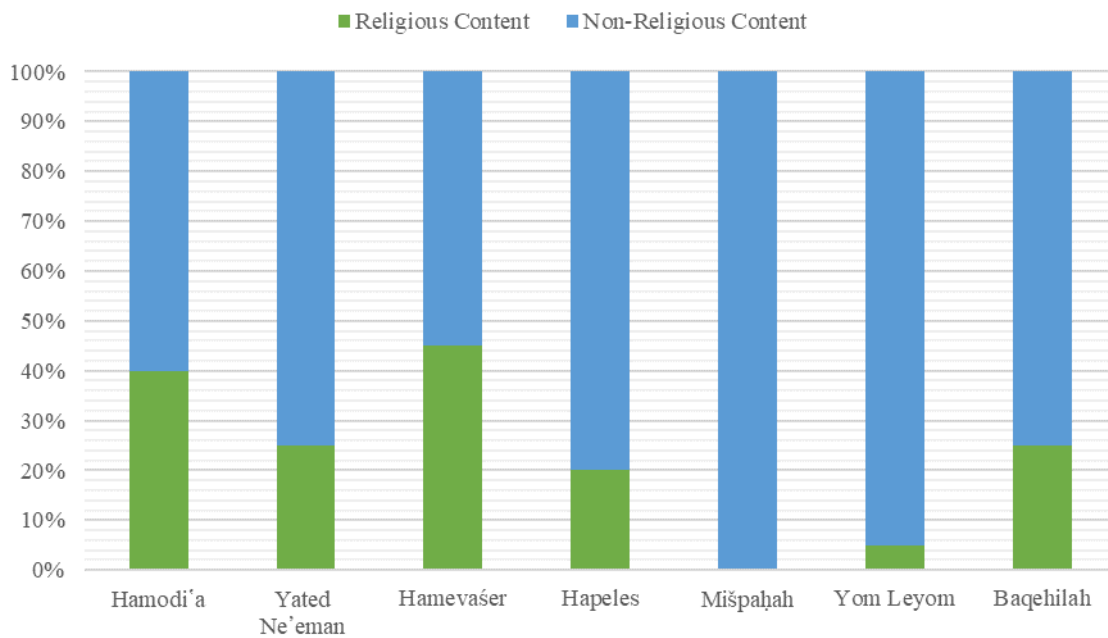


Figure VII. Proportion of Religious and Non-Religious Topics (Front Page, January 2016)

Appendix no. 4: External Influences

	Date	Date Front Page)	Date (Supplements)	Pagination	Pagination (Supplements)
Hamodia'	Hebrew calendar	Hebrew and civil calendar	Hebrew calendar	Hebrew numbers	Arabic numbers
Yated Ne'eman	Hebrew calendar	Hebrew and civil calendar	Hebrew and civil calendar	Arabic numbers	Arabic numbers
Hamevašer	Hebrew calendar	Hebrew and civil calendar	Hebrew calendar	Hebrew numbers	Arabic numbers
Hapeles	Hebrew calendar	Hebrew and civil calendar	Hebrew calendar	Arabic numbers	Arabic numbers
Mishpaḥah	Hebrew and civil calendar	Hebrew and civil calendar	Hebrew and civil calendar	Arabic numbers	Arabic numbers
Yom Leyom	Hebrew and civil calendar	Hebrew and civil calendar	Hebrew and civil calendar	Arabic numbers	Arabic numbers
Baqehilah	Hebrew calendar	Hebrew and civil calendar	Hebrew calendar	Arabic numbers	Arabic numbers

Figure VIII. Data and Pagination Formats

	Non-Hebrew Ortography	Non-Hebrew Ortography (Commercials)	Foreign-Language Version	Internet Website
Hamodia´	Not found	Yes	English, French	English
Yated Ne´eman	Yes	Yes	English	English ²⁴⁹
Hameva´ser	Not found	Yes	-	-
Hapeles	Yes	Yes	-	-
Mishpaḥah	Yes	Yes	English, Spanish	English
Yom Leyom	Yes	Yes	-	Hebrew
Baqehilah	Yes	Yes	-	-

Figure IX. Influence of Foreign Languages

²⁴⁹ Only American editorship offers an English website.

Appendix no. 5: Degrees of the Self-censorship



Figure X. Picture of the 34th Government of Israel²⁵⁰



Figure XI. Detail of the Censored Picture Published in *Beḥadrei Ḥaredim*²⁵¹



Figure XII. Detail of the Front Page of *Yom Leyom*'s Weekly Digest 'Aqtu 'ali'²⁵²

²⁵⁰ “The 34th Government of Israel,” Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed April 15, 2018, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/State/Government/Pages/The-34th-Government-of-Israel-.aspx>.

²⁵¹ ‘Avi Shif, “Hatmunah Hamašortit: Sarei Hamemshalah Bebeijt Hanasi,” *Beḥadrei Ḥaredim*, May 19, 2015, <http://www.bhol.co.il/83749/התמונה-המסורתית-התמונה-שרי-הממשלה-בבית-הנשיא-בבית-ההממשלה-שרי-המסורתית-התמונה>.

²⁵² *Yom Leyom*: 'Aqtu 'ali, May 21, 2015.



Figure XIII. Article about Presidential Elections in the U.S in *Mishpaha*²⁵³

²⁵³ Hillary Clinton’s picture was replaced by pictures of her hand and of her husband Bill Clinton complemented with the title: “Will 2016 against Sanders be the same as 2008 against Obama? Bill Clinton, husband of Hillary Clinton, is gathering votes at last moments.” Benyamin Roz, “Qruz Qontrol,” *Mishpaha*, February 21, 2016.



Figure XIV. Article about Presidential Elections in the U.S in *Mishpaḥah*²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ Benjamin Roz, "Qruz Qontrol," *Mishpaḥah*, February 21, 2016.



Figure XV. Detail of the Front Page of *Mishpacha* (English Edition) with a Distorted Image of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ *Mishpacha*, November 2, 2016.

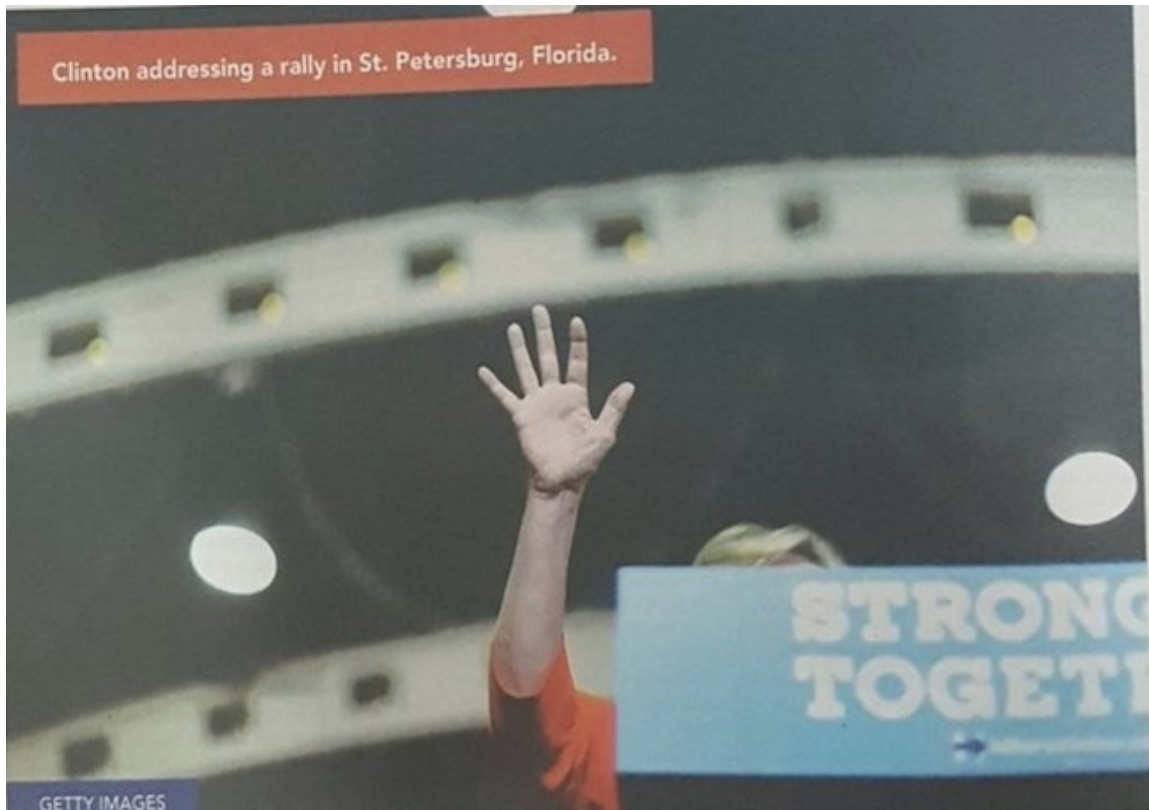


Figure XVI. Detail of the Picture of Hillary Clinton in American *Yated Ne'eman*, Based in Monsey, New York ²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ *Yated Ne'eman*, August 8, 2016. Mentioned in JTA, "Haredi Paper Finds 'Modest' Way to Show Clinton Photo."

Appendix no. 6: Failure of the Self-censorship



המתכון המהיר: 2

עד חמש דקות

חומרים:

- בצק עלים
- גבינה צהובה מגורדת
- רוסב עגבניות

אופן ההכנה:

מרדדים את בצק העלים מורחים את רוטב העגבניות, מסורים גבינה צהובה תכלילים או תוספות, ואופים בתנור.

טיפ המטבח של נעמה:

בנות בשלות מדי - קולפים, מועכים ומכניסים למקפיא בתוך שקית ניילון. אפשר להכין עם זה עוגות מצוינות לחם בנות, אפשר גם להוסיף לסלט פרות.

פיצה איטלקית אמתית 1

לבצק
500 גרם קמח
כף ורבע של שמרים יבשים
כפית סוכר
כפית מלח

5 כפות של שמן זית
1 וחצי כוסות של מים פושרים
לרוטב העגבניות

4 עגבניות קלופות וקצוצות
5 טיני שום כתושות
3 כפות רסק עגבניות
1 כפית אורגנו יבש
סוכר, מלח, פלפל לבן

לציפוי
גבינה צהובה או מוצרלה מגורדת
תוספות שאוהבים (פטריות, זיתים, גבינה

מלווה: תירס ועוד)
אופן ההכנה:
מכינים את הבצק: מערבבים בקערה את הקמח, השמרים היבשים את הסוכר, יוצרים גומה בקערה, שופכים לתוכה את המים, השמן והמלח, ומתחילים ללוש. מוסיפים תוך כדי לשה רבע סוס מים עד שנוצר בצק גמיש. יוצרים כדור מהבצק ומקמחים אותו. שופים בניילון נצמד ומתחילים מעשרים דקות לאחר התפוחה לשים את הבצק בשנית ומרדדים אותו לצורה עגולה הישר על נייר אפייה מקומה ויוצרים בעזרת להצית הידיום ממרת סביב הפיצה.
את הרוטב מכינים בסיר קטן, מסגנים קלות את העגבניות השום ושמן הזית, מבשלים כמה דקות מוסיפים את רסק העגבניות והתכלילים מסירים מהאש.
את הבצק מכינים בשמן זית ומורחים סביב הבצק את הרוטב. מסורים את התוספות שבחרים מסורים גבינה מגורדת, ואופים עד להשחמה בחום של 180 מעלות.

Figure XVII. Recipe with an Image of a Non-Kosher Pizza Published in *Yated Ne'eman*²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ 'Aleksandr Kaz, "Fa'dihah Shel Yated Ne'eman: Lo' Ta'aminu 'Eyzo Tmunah Hem Bahru Lefarsem Bemador Ha'okhel," *Ice*, December 12, 2012, <http://www.ice.co.il/media/news/article/347627>.

Appendix no. 7: Front Pages of the Most Popular Haredi Press

נשלה של ק מון האדמו"ר מסקוורא שליט"א

ההכנות לקראת ביקורו ההיסטורי של ק מון האדמו"ר מסקוורא שליט"א

ביקורו של האדמו"ר שליט"א ותחילת ביום שני הקבוצה הימנית עירי"א בעטב 15:00 חסידי מכל הדתות ובל מצדנים לביקור המהמם ממזרח יעירנו ללל חנוכה בני המודש ברושלים. מן ברת טעום

קבוצת המודש ימנית עירי"א בעטב 15:00 חסידי מכל הדתות ובל מצדנים לביקור המהמם ממזרח יעירנו ללל חנוכה בני המודש ברושלים. מן ברת טעום

קבוצת המודש ימנית עירי"א בעטב 15:00 חסידי מכל הדתות ובל מצדנים לביקור המהמם ממזרח יעירנו ללל חנוכה בני המודש ברושלים. מן ברת טעום

המודיע

בסאון אגודת ישראל העולמית - ירושלים

ביום טו ועשירי 18 שעות כ מבית משער (1 אגודת 2016)
דף חנוכה גליון 100 • דף ראשי ירושלים-טעום 10

מה 10 לילן 19427
16.80 ש"ח כ מצ"ט

הגיעה שבת

זמני מסיבות/ יציאת שבת

6:26	6:10	ירושלים
5:28	4:24	ת"א
5:25	4:14	חיפה
5:23	4:15	צפת
5:30	4:29	באר שבע
5:29	4:26	אשדוד
6:05 מתיישבת		

תחילת

ללמח חללות יום טוב
כעסו חסידו כעסו
חורה

קטור חניני, למודים לחיות כחורו

לחימה עזה בצל מזג אוויר סוער

עמומים לקשים בין העבא הסורי והמודרים סמוך לגבול הגולן

מסר: ירושלים, גמור ירח

הסערה כבר כאן: רוחות עצמטיות, גלי ענק וסופת שלג

השב"כ והמשטרה עצרו 4 ערבים ישראלים ששחרו באמצעי לחימה וארגנו הפרות סדר

השב"כ והמשטרה עצרו 4 ערבים ישראלים ששחרו באמצעי לחימה וארגנו הפרות סדר

השב"כ והמשטרה עצרו 4 ערבים ישראלים ששחרו באמצעי לחימה וארגנו הפרות סדר

מזל טוב

למשפחת המחנכים והתנבן זה הזמן לתחילת וסוף

מזל טוב ל...
מזל טוב ל...
מזל טוב ל...

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

מסד

התעוררות רבה לפתיחת המגביית השנתית

למען "המרכז הארצי לטהרת המשפחה"

Figure XVIII. Front Page of 'Hamodia' (January 1, 2016)

ינתן

במדי יום ראשון ביום בשבת תשע"ו (31 בינואר 2016) שנה ללא גליון 9051 מחיר 6.00 ש"ח כולל מע"מ

מבוכה דיפלומטית

דיווח: ארצות הברית ובריטניה עקבו אחר פעילות המל"טים של ישראל
■ כלי תקשורת אמריקניים פרסמו מסמכים שחשפו כי ארה"ב ובריטניה הצליחו לפצח את צופן המל"טים ולעקוב אחריהם בשנים האחרונות בזמן אמת ■ הדיווח לא זכה לתגובה מכל גורם רשמי ■ בכירי ביטחון בישראל: "אין כאן דרמה גדולה, שום פעילות ביטחונית לא נפגעה" ■ עמוד 3
מאת: י. שורץ

פיגוע נוסף בנתיב הכותל המערבי

דקירה בשער שכם

■ בן 17 נפצע קל ■ הבחור נפגע מדקירה במוח ברחוב סולטן סולימאן ביציאה משער שכם בירושלים ופונה לבית החולים 'הדסה הר הצופים' ■ שני המחבלים, נערים קטינים תושבי מזרח העיר, נמלטו ■ שני חשודים בני 14 ו-15 נעצרו ■ עמוד 4
מאת: ישראל רוזנר

החמאס מודה ומתרברב

"חופרים במזרח, ניסו רקטות במערב"
■ במהלך לווית שבעת המחבלים שנהרגו בקריסת מנהרה, הצהיר מנהיג חמאס בעזה הנייה כי ארגונו מתחמש במרץ לקראת הסלמה נוספת מול ישראל ■ עמוד 4
מאת: י. שורץ

הגאון הגדול רבי חיים ישראל הלוי בעלסקי זצוק"ל



■ ראש ישיבת 'תורה ודעת' מודלי התורה ופוסקי ההלכה בארה"ב, ובמעמס 'שולחן הלוי' ע"ד חלקי השו"ע ■ מסע ההלוי יצא בערש"ק בארה"ב מהיכל ישיבת תורה ודעת, וייצא היום בשעה 6.45 בערב מהיכל ישיבת מיר בירושלים לעבר ישיבת קמניץ בדרכה להר המנוחות ■ עמוד 2
מאת: מ. ברגר

עיונות מדיני

אולטימטום צרפתי: ועידת שלום או הכרה בפלשתין

■ בישראל מתייחסים למהלך הצרפתי באדישות ובזלזול ■ גורם מדיני: "כלל לא בטוח שיש יוזמה ומהלך מגובש, אנחנו מחכים להזמנה מסודרת" ■ אבו מאזן מברך על היוזמה הצרפתית לוועידת שלום בינ"ל ■ ההערכה: סיכוי נמוך להצלחת הוועידה לאור הפערים בין נתניהו לאבו מאזן ■ גורם ישראלי בכיר: האם צרפת תציע ועידה בינלאומית עם דאע"ש? ■ עמוד 3
מאת: אריה זיסמן

על רקע הפסגה בקפריסין
ביידן ונתניהו שוחחו: שיחות הפיוס עם טורקיה יחודשו בתוך שבועיים

■ משלחת ישראלית תיפגש בקרוב עם נציגי המשא ומתן של אנקרה ■ עמוד 3
מאת: י. שורץ

ביטוח החובה לרכב יוזל בעוד כחודש
מאת: מ. גרין | עמוד 10

נא להתפלל עבור **יעקב זק** בן החנייה **זק** העובר היום מתחם מרכזי בתוש"י

המשכן והרבו בתחינה על הילד **שלום בן גילה** הזקוק לרחמי שמים מחובס בתוש"י

נא להתפלל לדפואת **שיינא חיה** בת רבקה בתוש"י

ליאנסופיה לקבלה ללימוד 2 הילדת בתפץ ויום 077-2266182

ברוך דיין האמת
בראשית וראשית אנו על חלקי כאינו אשרי, אנו, סכנו ונקטנו, עטרת ראשנו והשקטנו, איתנו אילת חסדוק, אחרים ולקום ולחיות ספיד בעשר על מקורו של המבורח ועל נגלות חסדים, חודיק, חודיק חרבי ויהא כל בולח למנוח חינוך צנאווה ונעשרה חודיק ישרים מברוכים מודכר בימורים קשים וקבלתם באבה, אוד מוגל מאש
עטל קורנבלי ע"ה
אשת הרה"ח ר' יוסבר רב קורנבלי שביבלחט"א מוקני והשוכי חסדי בעילא בת הרב יהודה ברוגל זצ"ל
ונמנה במעלי פניא יומא דשבטא פר' יתרו בבית החיים סגולה, פתח-תקוה יושבים שבעה בביתה רח' בילו 13 בני ברק זמני ניתום אבליים: 10:00-21:30, 18:00-13:30 שחרית: 7:45 מנחה ומעריב בזמן המשפחות המתאבלות: **קורנבלי, אקסלרוד, וקסלר, שייניו**

ציפי שרון
בר' אלחנן הירי
סמני בית יעקב פיזולוסטק
פתח תקוה

מיכאל זאב גיר
בר' שישכר הירי
ישבת חברון נסת ישראל
בני ברק

מאורסים
בט"ר, אור ליל"א בשבט תשע"ו

מנחם הורוביץ
בן הרח"ו ר' חיים מאיר שליט"א
ישבת טשענדיברסק
בשבת זאב חודשי

מאורסים
בט"ר, אור ליל"א בשבט תשע"ו

חורה חגרי עק אבלי יחיד עשי לך נצחו אראלים אח המצוקים ונשבה ארון ד'

נתינת ראשנו וחס וציון וחסד, על נשכרנו ונרצח נערינו אשר שוף ר' בנחלאו לעני חרומים ארון מרוב רצון עטרת ראשנו אשר נחמנו, נענו חוט האש הולך לפי חמתו, פול בחנה ונחלאו כרה פתח נשיות, ברא נדבוא חלומה, פרים בארבעת חסד ולא מחזיק נצחמה ולמשיק, חנוני חלומים לולסם נחנך למנחה חזון עינים נמתיק למה על מנוח על כל נפשות, נחמנו יסא מלכ חסדון לכל קונו אבני רוע נאמר למה על מנוח על כל נפשות, נחמנו יסא מלכ חסדון לכל קונו אבני רוע נאמן חוסר נפש ונפש למשפחה וחלומי, אהובם של ישראל וברצונם לו על

אריה שלוסברג
בר' יתרוח שליט"א
ישבת בית מתינות
מודיעין קעל

מאורסים
בט"ר, אור ליל"א בשבט תשע"ו

יונה מילר
בן הרב יוסף אריה שליט"א
ישבת נתיבות המכרזולוסטון
קריית אתא

מאורסים
בט"ר, אור ליל"א בשבט תשע"ו

הגאון האדיר רבי חיים ישראל בעלסקי

נצוק"ל

ראש ישיבת "תורה ודעת" ובעממח"ס שו"ת "שולחן הלוי" על ד' חלקי שו"ע
אורח יגיע ביום ראשון בסתת אל על 1000 מתי יקום (ניתוח מושגות 20:00-21:00) מסע הלויים יא ביום ראשון בשעה 18:45 (משעור) משיבת סדר וחוב בית ישראל אחר כך שיהיה קמניץ וחוב זד 18 בדרכה לחלק הרובים בהר המנוחות
כל מלחמה אבדו ונמלו גבורים, אי ואני שוד ושבו למומים וכל בית ישראל יבכו את השריפה אשר שוף ד'
משפחות: בעלסקי, גרוס, כהן, רכנסי, ברל, לרפלד, הרסבי, גולדשטיין

ישבת סענה רחוב שיד חוד 26/1 כריס מסד עד למנוח שחרית ביום שני בשעה 6:30

ברוך דיין האמת
בעקר רב אבי מדיניים על פטירתה של אשרי, אנו מודתנו וסבתנו וקידה

מרת מרים טיימן (ברון) ע"ה
בת הרב ר' ישעיהו לוי ליל (אה"ב) אשת הר"ר מרדכי טיימן הר"ר אלכנח אבינו הרב נצוק מאיר תבתי בן יצ"ל הלווייה התקיימה כפניא דמקיל שבטא פ"י יתרו ל"ט משבט תשע"ו תר ונמנות בירושלים
ח.צ.צ.ה.

השתאבלום מודה בעלת הירי מודיכי שישק ור"ר בית הגב יחול לאח שאובה הר"ר יצ"ל ב"ת רוב מישת תבתי ברין הר"ר יצ"ל הרב אברהם וילא תבתי ברין הר"ר יצ"ל

השתקט שעתה בים א"ל בבת מסל שאנח"ח שיי חסד 13 מודיעין קעל זמניס ג"ר ר' רביעיי בבת מסל הרב שחק בן כהן ברת הרבין 4 לפת"ר ירושלים

בעמוד זה יש בדברים הטעונים בגיזה

Figure XIX. Front Page of Yated Ne'eman (January 31, 2016)

המבט

העתון של הידוד הנאמנה

מדינת ישראל - 10 ינואר 2016 | גודל: 10 עמודים | מחיר: 5.00 ש"ח
 דף ראשון: 10 עמודים | 10 ינואר 2016 | מחיר: 5.00 ש"ח
 דף ראשון: 10 עמודים | 10 ינואר 2016 | מחיר: 5.00 ש"ח

בראשות כ"ק מרן אדמו"ר מסקווירא שליט"א במעמד גדולי ישראל שליט"א

מעמד מרומם ועילאי בחנוכת הבית לבנייני מוסדות סקווירא בעיה"ק ירושלים

המעמד נערך בסיומן השמחה המשותפת בהשתתפות מרבית משרות קהילת חסידי סקווירא בירושלים



קהל משה בן ציון

הותר לפרסום: נעצרה חוליית מאמס שתכננה פיגוע ירי

מאמס חוליית מאמס לפרסום נעצרה חוליית מאמס שתכננה פיגוע ירי מאמס חוליית מאמס לפרסום נעצרה חוליית מאמס שתכננה פיגוע ירי מאמס חוליית מאמס לפרסום נעצרה חוליית מאמס שתכננה פיגוע ירי

גיבוי גרעיני: פקיסטן מאיימת "למחוק את איראן" אם זו תפגע בסעודיה

איראן וחיזה בכיר מבהיר כי גיבוי גרעיני: פקיסטן מאיימת "למחוק את איראן" אם זו תפגע בסעודיה

רוחות מלחמה במפרץ הפרסי

רוחות מלחמה במפרץ הפרסי

הכל מעלין לירושלים

ה'רחי כלה' ה'16 שאגודת ישראל בארה"ב יפתח היום בירושלים

אגודת המשתתפים ששבעי שיעורים ושיחות מגדולי החרדים והחסידים שליט"א

התמחלה אישרה

תעריפי התחבורה הציבורית יופחתו בגובה המוע"מ בעלות שנתיים של 650 מיליון שקל

התמחלה אישרה

מוסדות הבאבא סאלי בעיה"ק נתיבות

התמחלה אישרה

במה מתבטאת יצירתיות קולינרית

בכ"ב אדר א' זה קודרו מרטים בקרב...

המשטרה פשטה אתמול שוב על השכונה בה אותר חוסל המחבל

חוקרי המשטרה פשטו אתמול שוב על השכונה בה אותר חוסל המחבל

נתניהו: "הגיע הזמן לצמצם פערים בין המגזר הערבי לציבור היהודי"

נתניהו: "הגיע הזמן לצמצם פערים בין המגזר הערבי לציבור היהודי"

אמריקה בעיקשות חליפות כוכוה מודג מספר 1 שדרת דוגמאות נשם חתן

אמריקה בעיקשות חליפות כוכוה מודג מספר 1 שדרת דוגמאות נשם חתן

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

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מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

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מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

מכיר נותן לר הצעה חסרת תקדים לחניניה

Figure XX. Front Page of Hameva'er (January 10, 2016)

נוכח ריבוי חילולי השבת בעיר:
חברי הלובי הדתי-חרדי
בעיריית ירושלים נועדו
לאסיפת חירום • עמ' 2
 בתום ישיבה ארוכה הוחלט על מסמך
 עקרונות חד משמעי ובלתי מתפשר שעליו
 חתמו שישה עשר מחברי מועצת העיר

הפעלס

בטאון עולם התורה

בס"ד יום שני ח' בשבט תשע"ו (18 בינואר 2016) שנה ד' גלדין 1028 מחיר 6.00 ש"ח כולל מע"מ

מחבל דקר למוות אם לעיני ילדיה בביתם בעתניאל

• עמ' 3



מצוד נרחב הניסיה לעתניאל אמש. ברקע נראות פצצות תאורה שהשליך הצבא. צילום: יומן זנדל / פלאש 90

המחבל חדר לשטח ההתנחלות, ביצע את הפיגוע בתוך בית המשפחה ולאחר מכן נמלט לעבר הכפרים הסמוכים • כוחות הביטחון פתחו במצוד נרחב אחריו • נתניהו: נמצא את המחבל הוא ישלם את מלוא המחיר על הרצח המתועב

סוכל פיגוע דקירה בשומרון; המחבל חוסל

29 הרוגים וכ-290 פצועים בגל הטרור

התחזית: היום צפויה ירידה משמעותית בטמפרטורות; אובך וסופות חול • עמ' 12

תגלית דרמטית: פוטנציאל למאגרי גז גדולים מול חופי אשקלון • עמ' 10

לצערנו, עקב שיבושי הדואר לא הגיעו הזמנות רבות ליעדן. נא לדאוג להזמנה זו כאישית

מייקת: 052-5111111
 מעבר את ירושלים על ראש ששחזנו
 ובמסל סוב
 במסגרת סוב
 משכן ובחידודי למורא תש"ס
 הנו סומכדים לחזמיים לחשתתף
 במסגרת סלפית בבית היקיים
 כמשה יי עיני לבי יי
 שיתקיים בס"ד בשבועות"ם ביום שני
 ח' שבט ה'תשע"ו (18.01.2016) למוכרים,
 באולם "שירת ירושלים",
 רח' כנפי טורים 44 ירושלים
 החתים בשעה 6:00
 משום לראותם משתתפים במסגרתנו
 חזירי חתונת
 אליעזר זקיש
 חזירי חתונת
 נתן זאב גרוסקין
 ורעיהו

לקיים בנו חכמי ישראל
הציבור נקרא להעתיק בתפילה ובתחנונים
 לרפואתו השלמה של הגאון הגדול
רבי רפאל בן חיה מרים
 שמואלבין שליט"א
 והן ק-ל כביר לא ימאס את תפילת הרבים

קרון עזרה וחסד
 אנו מתנצלים
 בפני מאות הפונים שלא הצליחו
 ליצור קשר עקב תקלה במערכת,
 ניתן להזמין עד היום
 בשעה 22:00 בכל המוקדים
077-921-9009

המשבד במגה: הוצא צו ארעי להקפאת הליכים
 ועד העובדים ישבית היום את כל 126 סניפי הרשת על מנת לאפשר לעובדים להגיע ולהפגין בדיון בביהמ"ש • עמ' 10

איבד 130 אלף שקל בתחנת אוטובוס - ונדהם לפגוש בן ישיבה שהמתין כדי להשיב האבידה לבעליה • עמ' 12

להקשיב
 מפעל ייעוץ והכוונה
 לשינוי תודעה וגישה
 052-71-75-75-8
 אילנה סורג, מנהלת
 לתיאום אולפן: 02-5864392

רפאל הרציג
 בח"ר ידידה שליט"א
 ישיבת כנסת צחק-קיס
 בני ברק
 מאורסים
 בס"ד, אור לח' בשבט תשע"ו

Figure XXI. Front Page of Hapeles (January 18, 2016)

האדמו"ר התבטל: "אני חסיד סקווירא"
כשהוא מלווה במאות חסידים, הגיע כ"ק האדמו"ר מסקווירא לביקור היסטורי בארץ • התמלילים והסיפורים הקטנים מאחורי הקלעים, עמ' 10

משפחה
החדשות של הציבור החרדי
בס"ד יום ה' כ"ו בטבת תשע"ו | 17.1.2016 | גליון 1239

המבצע של אלשיך
הוא מנהל את המבצע אישית, ממדר את אמצעי התקשורת ואת השבת האחרונה הוא לא ישכח זמן רב • אליעזר שולמן עם כל מה שאפשר לספר על המרדף הדרמטי אחרי נשאת מלחם, הרוצח מתל אביב • עמ' 18
גוט שאבעס, תל אביב רבני העיר ותושביה בשורת מונולוגים על השבוע המטלטל ועל הפחד שעדיין מנשב ברחובות • עמ' 2

תוכנית החנינה
בשקט בשקט, מנהלים הח"כים פרוש וגפני מגעים עם צה"ל ומשרד המשפטים להענקת חנינה גורפת לבחורי 'הפלג הירושלמי' שלא התייצבו בלשכות הגיוס
שמעון ברייטקופף המזנון • עמ' 20

מנגנון מגוייס
יוסי אליטוב עשה שעות ארוכות באולמו של השופט נוריאל עם עצורי דומא - וחזר עם שאלות קשות על התנהלות השב"כ והמערכת המשפטית בפרשייה שמסרבת לרדת מסדר היום
עמוד 16

תופעה מטרידה
מאות נערים חרדיים מסתובבים בגבעות ועושים דין לעצמם • שלומי גיל, עמ' 8

משליכים לעת זקנה
משרד האוצר החליט להפקיר את כספי החיסכון הפנסיוני לחסדי הבורסה • ומה יקרה אם היא תרד? עדיף שלא תשאלו • כל הפרטים על התוכנית שתשפיע על כל אחד מאיתנו • עמ' 12

בזכותכם
בתשעה יבנו 13 מקוואות

בעזרתכם
בתשעה יבנו 14 מקוואות

גדולי ישראל הנהיגו את ימי השובבי"ם למגבית השנתית להצלחת הטהרה ברחבי ארה"ק.
גם השנה בינו בזכותכם, ועוד יבנו בזכותכם, עשרות מקוואות ברחבי ארה"ק.
רכשו "אבן טהרה" וזכות זו תעמוד לכם לנצח

למטה אישור מסד ציבורי לניכוי תרומות לפי סעיף 46

מרכז האגודות לטען טהרת המשפחה אגודות, למטה ישראל, *3046

אבן טהרה שלך לנצח!

Figure XXII. Front Page of Mishpahah (January 17, 2016)

יום ליום

רבי רפאל איננו

תלמידיו של הגאון הגדול רבי רפאל שמואלביץ זצ"ל ראש ישיבת מיר, נפרדים בכאב ובדמעה מרבם הגדול | עם 7-6

בסי"ד, גיליון: 1462 פרשת בשלה, י"א בשבט תשע"ו (21.1.16) מחיר: 12.00 ש"ח בחו"ל; ניו-יורק \$ 3.80; אירופה: € 3.80; לונדון: £ 2.80; טל' מערכת: 03-9236216, פקס: 03-9236218

האזרח ירגיש את ההטבות בכיס



רמ"ס את הסיירת לאוויר, ש"ר השם יריב אחיו רובי, בביקורת מלג מילכת קרית האמיליוס בירמת, ארבל

'חוק דרעי' להפחתת מעריפי התחבורה הציבורית יוצא השבוע לדרך | השר הרב אריה דרעי: 'זו ההנחה הכי משמעותית לכלל האוכלוסייה, כעת האזרחים ישלמו פחות על התחבורה הציבורית לכל סוגיה' | בשבוע הבא: החלה בתעריפי המים לאוכלוסייה החלשה | הקץ לסחבת ולטרטורים: הממשלה אישרה את יחמתו המהפכנית של יו"ר ש"ם לקבלת רישיון עסק בקלות ובמהירות | עם 3-2

האיוס של החיזבאללה



המחבל לוכד בכיתו באמצע הלילה, כוחות צה"ל ליר קניגאל, תשע"ו // צילום: יוטיוב דובר, פלאש 90

אתמול הותר לפרסום: השב"כ, צה"ל והמשטרה, חשפו את תשתית הטרור שהקים בנו של וסאללה בשטחים | השב"כ: "חיזבאללה מנסה לרכוב על גל הטרור, ומנסה לבצע פיגועים בישראל" | בפעילותם של צה"ל והשב"כ נלכד המחבל בן-ה-16 שביצע את הרצח האכזרי של דפנה מאיר הי"ד בביתה בעתניאל לעיני ילדיה | עם 5 ומוסף אקטואלי

פצעה מתקתקת

יצחק קהן

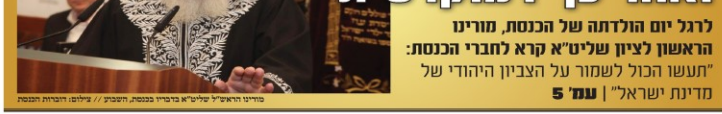
בכיר ביטחוני פרס השבוע את המבצע הביטחוני של ירדן כיום. הוא קולטת הכי הרבה פליטים מסוריה, דאקש וישב לול על הגדר, היא מנסה ככוכבי הכי רבים, ורשיל את הפצצה: או אחד לא יכול להפגיש סילא תחיה בסוף מוסמכת בירדן, או אסמ"ל לרשת מות ילד וים. הבודי סתור, וישאל ניימה לקחת הכול במשבו, התסריט הבא אינו רחוק מהמציאות: ראשע פותח במלחמת ארוכים בירדן, שחולט לאט על חלקים במלכות. התוצאה: מה שחיזבאללה עומק לנו לבנון, דאקש עוקר עלול, הלילה וחס. ליעשות לנו בירדן, זה הפחד הגדול של ישראל (י"אמאר פותח) מוסף טעיני

נס גדול בטהרן



בית כנסת קרס על המתפללים | עד ראייה: מדובר בנס בחור נס, בעיצומה של הפילת שחריח בקומה התחתונה של בית הכנסת, שמענו כנסה אדירה וזית הכנסת כולו קרס, המתפללים ביקשו לדימלט החוצה, אולם בעקבות ההורס נעלה הרולת על המתפללים והם לא יכלו לצאת | עם 4

"מדינת ישראל קודם יהודית ואחר כך דמוקרטית"



מדינת ישראל קודם יהודית ואחר כך דמוקרטית // צילום: דוברות הכנסת

לרגל יום הולדתה של הכנסת, מוריני הראשון לציון שליט"א קרא לחברי הכנסת: "תעשו הכול לשמור על הצביון היהודי של מדינת ישראל" | עם 5

אין דין ואין דין

בעקבות פרישתם של הרב אלטובי והרב' בארון לנולאות, ארגוני השיים הצעירים בפסיקה נבצ, חנרו לר'ליים כדי למנות רבנים 'מעטעם' | חיים טריק, מוסף אקטואלי

שבת שלום!

רית	ציאה	כניסה
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ב-8 למהיום 40 דקי
פרשת בשלה

סיעת ש"ס מיישמת את החוק הנורווגי



על פי החלטת מועצת חכמי הגורו, טנו ושטר הר' משולם נהרי המפטר אתמול ברוצנייה מונכסת, ובכך אפשר את בניסתו של ר' יסאל גואטם, כדי לחוק את כוחה של סיעה | עם 4

חיים טריק את המסקנות לירי הכנסת ארמילי // צילום: דוברות הכנסת

הילולא דצדיקיא



בשירת ארבעים בשבת, בחילולא בנולאת ר'וב עשים ליסודותיהם הבבא מאלו ירמ"ו | "שירינתו הרבנים" מוסף טעיני // צילום: יריבוב ברו

נסגר התיק נגד אשכנזי, כתב אישום נגד הרפז | עם 5

תוגש תוכנית אב ממשלתית לתקצוב המקומות הקדושים | עם 8

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Figure XXIII. Front Page of Yom Leyom (January 21, 2016)



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גיליון מס' 941 • ד' שבט תשע"ו • 14/1/2016

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נכנס בפנים
 לאחר 22 שנים, אריה דרעי סוגר מעגל ושב למשרד הפנים • יעקב ריבלין בשורה של טיפים לשר החדש-ישן: שמור על פרופיל נמוך ולמד מהשר ליצמן
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