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Jewish television: prospects and possibilities

This paper makes a case for seriously considering television as a catalyst for reinvigorating contemporary Jewish culture.

It argues that changes in media technology provide a unique opportunity for creating a Jewish presence on television—a presence which should reflect, express and enhance Jewish culture as an active and creative force within society.

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The **Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR)**, an independent think-tank, informs and influences policy, opinion and decision-making on issues affecting Jewish life worldwide by conducting and commissioning research, developing and disseminating policy proposals, and promoting public debate.

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Introduction[1]

In this paper a case is made for the serious consideration of creating a Jewish presence on British television. It argues that the conjunction of a number of factors, both cultural and technological, provide a unique opportunity for British Jewry to grasp the nettle of the electronic age. This is a case for a secular presence on British television, a presence which should reflect, express and enhance Jewish culture as an active and creative force within British society.

In a world of increasing cultural fragmentation and at the same time increasing visibility of minority groups, British Jews have tended to remain in the shadows, visible, mostly, only to themselves and then through a fractured lens. Yet there appears among many Jews, across the generations, a desire to stop the rot, to reclaim a Jewish identity, to reinvent Jewishness for the contemporary world.

That world, for better or worse, is a world in which meanings and images are constructed and communicated through the media. All of us learn from the media. We depend on the media for our information about the world. We are pleased, enchanted, dismayed by media representations and performances. Yet in this intensely pervasive media space Jews have no substantial or significant presence and few opportunities, other than in print, to appear on their own terms, in their own ways: wisdom, worries, warts and all.

This media space is itself changing. The arrival of digital television will increase the number of channels available for broadcasting, and as a result access will become easier and the cost of access will fall. Alongside the continuing domination of our airwaves by the major global broadcasters places will be claimed by and found for minority interests, groups and cultures. This is the space that Jews should be occupying—to speak to themselves and to speak to others.

The emergence recently of a number of initiatives around the world which involve the establishment of Jewish television indicates that the time is right. But it is important that the distinct character and quality of British Jewry should find a presence on television, for it has much to offer and certainly, always, much to say. The number of British Jews may be small, but they are a significant minority audience likely to be attractive to advertisers in what will increasingly become a niche broadcasting market. There is an immensely strong tradition of professionalism within British television upon which to draw and from whose standards Jewish television should not depart. There is equally an immensely strong tradition of Jewish culture, both within the Diaspora and in Israel.

Nevertheless, as ever, making the case is only the beginning. Many challenges need to be faced before such a project can be realized, not least the recognition by the Jewish community itself that television, and other electronic media, can actually be a force for good, unifying and not dividing, liberating and not constraining, and at once both popular and challenging. There are also financial, technical and organizational challenges. However, none of these need prove insuperable. This paper will attempt to lay out the ground.

1 I am grateful to the following for their specific help in preparing this report: Gloria Abramoff, David Beraja, David Elstein, Roma Filstein, David Jacobs, Ruth Kaitiff, Anne Karpf, Marcel Knobil, Elena Lappin, Daniel Marks, Paul Morrison, Jay Sanderson, Jeremy Silver and Anne Webber. Only I, of course, bear full responsibility for its failings.

1 Culture, community and identity

Anglo-Jewish history is distinctive and different from that of other communities in the Diaspora, even the English-speaking ones. It is a history of assimilation, and as such much of what has passed for Jewish life and culture, both religious and secular, has passed by privately, disguised, dissembled and for the most part intensely withdrawn. Tracing that history, numerous writers have pointed to the particular reaction of the established nineteenth century Jewish community, both in London and in the regions, to the arrival of the large numbers of shtetl Jews from Eastern Europe at the end of that century and at the beginning of the present one. It was, evidently and as ever, a complex reaction, but one which was marked by a concern that the arrivistes should not upset what was seen as the frail acceptance of Jews within British society, and should not be allowed to undermine the achievements of the community, recently won but still and always vulnerable.[2]

The result of assimilation was also active participation in the intellectual, cultural and political life of the nation by Jews who did not declare their Jewishness, and for whom, their Jewishness was a loss leader, if not a lost cause.

Assimilation meant for the earlier migrants an acceptance of Britishness, and a middle class, not to say a patrician Britishness at that. The barely concealed dismay that their arrival generated was fed by anxieties grounded in difference: differences of class—most of the immigrants were low level traders and craftsmen; and differences of culture—they brought with them Yiddish culture which spoke of otherness and worse, a kind of retrograde identification with a pre-modern world, entirely unacceptable to the assimilating Jews of liberal England. As Bill Williams has impressively documented in the case of Manchester,[3] the immigrants from the East were educated and socialized out of their Jewishness in schools, youth and community groups, all of which were modelled on the institutions of British society, themselves the product of the reforming zeal of the middle classes desperate to ensure both their position and their safety in an increasingly complex and challenging world. These new arrivals were encouraged to leave the past behind, and albeit perhaps with some sense of shame, and not without inevitable conflict between the generations, that is exactly what happened.

There is little dissent in the literature when it comes to analyzing the consequences of such a response. Caught between the need to hide and the only gradually perceived need to protect what was rapidly disappearing, British Jewry began, between the wars, to establish institutions to educate and to encourage a sense of belonging and participation in, principally, Jewish religious culture.

Nevertheless the core dilemmas remained and were even intensified. To be visible or invisible. To take a public position or to refuse it. To appear as a Jew in public life or to appear in public life, despite one's Jewishness. These were indeed the dilemmas of the generations that created and continued to sustain British Jewish culture, as well as of those who rejected some or all of it, in the years before and even those following the Holocaust. The result was a Jewish culture that was alive, albeit declining, but invisible to all but Jews; and not necessarily either entirely visible or acceptable to even all of them. The result was also active participation in the intellectual, cultural and political life of the nation by Jews who did not declare their Jewishness, and for whom, like Jonathan Miller, their Jewishness was a loss leader, if not a lost cause.[4]

The result too was an intense parochialism, and an aping of the often noted Philistinism of their host culture, a version of the world which eschewed the intellectual in favour of the professional, aesthetic production in favour of consumption, and for those that could afford it, in favour of patronage.

The result, finally and inevitably, was a distancing of Anglo-Jewish culture from the affairs of the nation: a hesitancy, if not a refusal to engage in the issues of the day, unless of course Jewish

2 '. . . they form a community within a community. They come mostly from Poland; they as it were, bring Poland with them, and they retain Poland while they stop here. This is most undesirable: it is more than a misfortune, it is a calamity. We cannot afford to "let them slide". Our outside world is not capable of making minute discrimination between Jew and Jew and forms its opinion of Jews in general as much, if not more, from them than from the anglicised portion of the community (*Jewish Chronicle*, 12 August 1881), cited in Rosalind Livshin (1990), 'The acculturation of the children of immigrant Jews in Manchester, 1890-1930' in David Cesarani (ed.), *The Making of Modern Anglo-Jewry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell), 79-96.

3 Bill Williams, 'Heritage and community: the rescue of Manchester's Jewish past', in Tony Kushner (ed.) *The Jewish Heritage in British History: Englishness and Jewishness* (London: Frank Cass 1992), 128-46.

4 'In fact, I'm not really a Jew. Just Jew-*ish*. Not the whole hog, you know', Jonathan Miller in Alan Bennett, Peter Cook, Jonathan Miller and Dudley Moore, *Beyond the Fringe* (London: Methuen 1987), 84 cited in Michael Krausz, 'On being Jewish', in Theo Goldberg and Michael Krausz (eds.), *Jewish Identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1993), 264-78).

interests were directly at stake (and not always even then). This was something that the *Jewish Quarterly*, in an editorial of 1987, made very clear:

> Perhaps the most unsavoury aspect [of the deliberate policy of acculturation] has been the tendency, with few exceptions, to opt out of national debates, in which Jewish thought and experience could make a valuable contribution, and to participate only on questions of Jewish interest. [5]

In such an environment what was a Jew to do? What was a Jew to be? What chance could there be for a distinctive Jewish culture to survive, let alone prosper in an increasingly secular world? What institutions, what media, would emerge to guarantee both heritage and renewal? Where was a Jewish intellectual culture to be found? Where a popular?

Culture, as we approach the Millenium, is a cacophany of voices, as different groups and interests—gendered, sexual, ethnic, minority, majority—stake their claims for a public voice.

Any idea of Jewish television, of course, presupposes a notion of Jewish culture, something distinct upon which, at the very least, it can draw. Yet Jewish culture is an intensely difficult and slippery thing, always contested, always disputed, and perhaps nowhere more so than in Britain. So not for British Jews the visibility and confidence, even the stridency, of North American Jewishness, itself the product of the scale (and some would also say the quality) of the immigration, but perhaps even more significantly the product of a welcoming environment culturally plastic and linguistically polyglot.

Any idea of Jewish television, equally, presupposes a sense of identity, a willingness amongst British Jews to connect, to identify with their Jewishness even in the way, perhaps, that Gabriel Josipovici does in his frank but recognizable reflection on his own position in the world:

> I have often asked myself what it is that makes me a Jew. Since I am not circumcised, have not taken my bar mitzvah, do not attend synagogue or celebrate any of the feasts (unless as the guests of friends who do), the answer ought to be simple: nothing. Yet all my ancestors were Jews, and, as I grow older, I feel more and more affinity with Jews and their (our) past. I may not be much of a Jew, but I am more of a Jew than anything else. [6]

The irony in all of this, of course, is that the world has changed. No more the pressures of modernism blithely to conform to the norms of industrial society. No more the apparently uncomplicated demands to accept the values of a national culture, shared, unchallenged, supposedly inoffensive. Invisibility is no longer seen as a virtue. Culture, as we approach the Millennium, is neither a melting pot, nor even a battle ground, but a cacophony of voices, as different groups and interests—gendered, sexual, ethnic, minority, majority—stake their claims for a share of public space, public attention and for a public voice in which they can hear and recognize themselves.

Jewish culture is beset by paradox (so what's new?), and also by irony. A tiny minority of the religiously orthodox define and sustain the stereotypical image. On the one hand these ultra-religious Jews are a minority group which does not appear to want attention but cannot but attract it. On the other hand the modernist majority *must* claim attention if they are to survive, but do not seem to have either the resources or the imagination to do so. The wide gap between religious and secular is noted and documented in the JPR report, *Social and Political Attitudes of British Jews: Some Key Findings of the JPR Survey*. But notwithstanding this gap, which is profound, it is still the case that the Jewish community is itself a misnomer.[7] Differences of class, generation, gender and origin, never mind belief, undermine any pretensions to unity, let alone uniformity. However, rather than trying to hide or deny all the differences mentioned above it becomes increasingly imperative that they are acknowledged and addressed.

Reviewing attitudes to community and identity amongst British Jews the authors of the JPR report note the clear water that separates the orthodox from the secular Jew in almost all areas of belief and practice, yet nevertheless unearth significant support for, and identification with, the 'Jewish community' both amongst secular Jews and even among those who are described as uninvolved.

This is the social and demographic context in which recent attempts at mobilization and revival within the Jewish community have had their mixed fortunes. Jewish Continuity, a programme launched in 1993 by the Chief Rabbi, Dr Jonathan

5 Editorial, *Jewish Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 4, 1987, 2, cited in Stephen Brook, *The Club: The Jews of Modern Britain* (London: Constable 1989), 413.

6 Gabriel Josipovici (1993) 'Going and resting' in Goldberg and Kraus (eds.), 309-21.

7 'In fact, the notion of community is extremely problematic and its careless usage promotes a false impression of homogeneity, shared values and accepted sources of authority for a social collectivity in which none of these things actually obtained', Cesarani, 4-5.

Sacks, to support Jewish culture and especially education, has had a troubled time precisely over whether and how to support the non-orthodox. While the *Jewish Chronicle* sustains both its circulation of around 47,000[8] and its readership (and *Limmud*, an annual conference on Jewish education and culture is currently in its seventeenth year), few other Jewish newspapers and magazines achieve much more than local circulation, and Jewish radio is confined to one hour a week on the BBC's *Greater London Radio*, and half an hour a week on the BBC's *Greater Manchester Radio*. *Spectrum Radio*, which hosts a Jewish presence, also has a small and local audience. The single outlet for Jewish intellectual life in this country, the *Jewish Quarterly*, has just lost its successful editor of the last three years. *New Moon*, a magazine aimed at the young and lively in the Jewish community, is still—after 79 monthly issues and subscriptions of around 10,000 a month—not covering its costs.

Can Jewish television—through sensitive attention to the diversity of Jewish voices and values in Britain as well as through connections to a global Jewish experience—act as a catalyst for renewal and discovery?

The baseline question is whether there is enough vitality from within Anglo-Jewish secular culture to create and sustain an agenda that is in touch with a changing world and that at the same time explores and expands, as well as transcends, its distinctive character and history. The baseline issue is whether television, Jewish television, can act as a catalyst; whether, through sensitive attention to the diversity of Jewish voices and values in Britain as well as through connections to a global Jewish experience, it can genuinely provide a positive framework for renewal and discovery. Can *television* do all *that*?

2 Television as a cultural force

The twentieth century has been, give or take a few years, the century of broadcasting. It has been a century in which all the nations of the industrialized world have seen broadcasting, first radio and then television, provide a framework for the construction of a national culture, a culture that is, at least potentially, shareable by every citizen. Public service and universal access have been principles that have guided its emergence, and sustained it when under threat. Such principles, at least in the British context, have even underpinned commercial broadcasting until very recently. Indeed it is only in recent times that they have been compromised by the arrival of various forms of narrow-casting (video, cable, satellite) which have to be paid for directly, and by a new kind of politics insisting on weaker government regulation in favour of the rule of the market and the so-called freedom of consumer choice.

The social and cultural work effected by broadcasting should, however, not be underestimated. Whole populations have been offered a national culture of news, entertainment and edification, which have provided for many, if not for all, a core component of what it is, for example, to be British. A shareable political agenda set by broadcast news and current affairs, a shareable popular culture set by soap operas and situation comedies, as well as the diversity of more singular programming, have together provided the stuff of everyday ideas and everyday talk, providing, in the words of Sir Michael Swann, 'social cement'.

The pervasiveness of television as a cultural force is undeniable, though there is little agreement as to its value. Arguments about its power, its negative influence on the moral and intellectual fabric of the nation, its intrusion into personal privacy and its sheer banality are entirely familiar and consistently replayed. They are not without substance.

Yet television, for all that, has turned our sitting room into, in Walter Benjamin's prescient phrase, 'a box in a world theatre'. From our positions in front of the small screen we can survey the world and, for better or ill, find our place in it. Global and national events, moments of pleasure, fragments of information, the regular appearance of characters in soap operas, together provide both the raw material for our participation in everyday life and points of reference in the construction of our own pasts and our present identities. Few events in the history of broadcasting have matched the scale and power of the funeral of the Princess of Wales, but the public participation, above all the massively shared and sharing participation which it generated, is indicative of the millions of minor interactions, stimulated and informed by television and other media, which pervade, enable and enrich (as well as perhaps distort) our daily lives.

The first director of the BBC, John Reith, had a vision of, and for, his institution which was at one with this. He wished the BBC to be a force for collective good in the public and private lives of

8 Average circulation figures for January to June 1997 were 46,770, more or less stable over the last few years. The newspaper estimates its readership, however, as around 200,000, claiming to reach 80 per cent of the Jewish population of the UK.

the citizens of the nation, and its history has been one of a concerted and consistent attempt to include, and to provide space for, majorities and minorities in British society. It was an aim which presumed both the possibility and desirability of creating a national culture. It was a worthy aim, but never fully fulfilled and almost certainly, even during and after the Second World War when the BBC was at its most effective, unfulfillable. The arrival of independent television in 1956 was the first signal, perhaps, of the failing dream, and in recent times, with increasing force, that dream has become ever more remote.

Increasingly minorities are claiming, and progressively gaining, rights to speak through, and to share some part of, media space.

Yet there are other dreams. These have emerged with both cultural and technical changes: changes which are fundamentally affecting all societies at the end of the twentieth century, and not just Britain; changes which involve both increasing globalization and the increasing intensity of local or minority feelings.

We are witnessing a series of global changes, in which the power of the nation state is progressively declining: its power to insist on social and political integration is on the wane (Scotland's devolution being only one example close to home) as is its power to control its own operating environment (financial markets are global, politics are European, the media are 'American'). The globe is replacing the nation as the site for connection, integration and uniformity. But in a world which creates the impossibility of exile, there has emerged a reactive response, one which involves the assertion of group identities, through regional, ethnic, gender and sexual cultural politics, and of course through various expressions of religious fundamentalism, not least amongst Jews.

The media, especially until now television, have had a central role to play in all of this, and they continue to do so. This media game, both globally and locally, involves a struggle over access, participation and control. Revolutions in Eastern Europe, it is sometimes claimed, have been won on television.[9] Increasingly minorities are claiming, and progressively gaining, rights to speak through, and to share some part of, media space. They recognize, as now indeed must Jews, that it is within our electronic media that public and even private meanings are both made or muddled, where identities are both forged or forgotten, and where battles for public recognition are both won and lost.

In the UK at the present time, a number of non-domestic satellite services and licensable programme services produced by, or on behalf of, both ethnic and religious minorities have been either proposed or are already transmitting.[10] The currently operational non-domestic satellite services include: Asianet, The Chinese Channel, The Christian Channel Europe, EDTV (Arabic Services from Dubai), Japansat, MED TV (General Entertainment for Turkish Kurdish communities), Middle East Broadcasting (General Arabic entertainment service), Muslim Television Ahmadiyya, Namaste (Asian Programming) and *Zee TV* (Asian Programming). The currently operational licensable programme services include: BET International (Black Entertainment Television, carried on London Interconnect), BVTV (general entertainment aimed at the Black community, also on London Interconnect), and Hellenic Television.[11] Many other services are planned and indeed licensed, but not yet operational. This will change significantly as television transmission becomes digital.

It is of course possible to suggest that Jews are not, and cannot be considered as, an ethnic minority (though some might think of themselves as a religious one), and that the arguments for the creation of television channels for recent immigrant or distinct minority cultures within the UK do not apply. Yet before dismissing the parallel it is worth pausing to consider what role such channels serve for the communities that produce and consume them. They are an opportunity to receive television in a language and through a cultural framework that is both shared and comforting. News and programming will be received by satellite from abroad, and programming expressive of their lives in their host society will be available too, on cable as well as on radio and through the local press. These various expressions of media culture provide links within diasporic cultures. They offer the possibility for members of those cultures to connect with each other but also to recognize themselves in the reflecting images of media.

9 This is particularly believed to be the case in the fall of President Ceauşescu in Romania.

10 Non-Domestic Satellite Services consist of services which are uplinked from the UK for reception via individual dishes or cable systems, whether in the UK or in any other country. Licensable Programme Services consist of programme services provided by any person in the UK to be carried over a cable system. This category applies to services provided nationally to cable systems other than by satellite delivery and also to community television services unique to a particular cable system (ITC, *Factfile,* 1997).

11 Independent Television Commission, *Factfile,* 1997, 30-58.

Jewish television must do this, but it must also do more, because Jewish culture has for so many lost its apparent distinctiveness, and has therefore to be reinvented. This is a task grounded both in the need to recover a disappearing heritage and the need to create, for all members of the community as well as for those who surround it, a new culture which is both appropriate and responsive to Jewish life in the twenty-first century.

3 Going digital

The possibilities for a Jewish presence on British screens are likely to be substantially enhanced with the imminent arrival of digital television.[12] Digital television involves the turning of picture and sound into digits, the language of computers. It offers a number of distinct advantages, not least the capacity simultaneously to transmit large numbers of discrete channels to television sets, which will only need the provision of a set-top box to decode the signal to receive them. Digital television can and will be received in a number of different ways. Essentially, however, there will be two competing systems: terrestrial digital television and digital television transmitted and received via satellite or cable.

The possibilities for a Jewish presence on British screens are likely to be substantially enhanced with the imminent arrival of digital television.

Six bundles of channels called multiplexes have been created for the transmission of terrestrial digital television—transmissions that can be received directly through existing aerials: one for the BBC, one for ITV (Channels 3 and 4), one for Channel 5 and Welsh and Gaelic programming, and three which have recently been franchised to commercial television production companies.

Digital television will also be provided by satellite and cable companies, and in all cases what is on offer, and what is being trumpeted so loudly from the rooftops, is a revolution in television, in which viewers will be offered not just a near infinity of choice of conventional entertainment and information programming, but a range of interactive and near-interactive services. These will enable subscribers (for there will be charges) to choose when to watch a favourite movie, to bank or shop or buy airline tickets from home, to download and interact with educational material from schools and colleges, and to send and receive e-mail, all through the television set. And of course to choose to watch any one of hundreds of channels (digital terrestrial television will provide between 30 and 50, and satellite as many as 200 channels).

The BBC has announced a twenty-four hour news channel, and is working on a number of subscription channels to complement those (BBC1 and BBC2) that are currently supported through the license (these will continue to be broadcast in analogue as well as digital modes). British Sky Broadcasting has created a new company, British Interactive Broadcasting, intending to offer interactive services via satellite as well as leading the way in the digital transmission of its existing programming. A new consortium, British Digital Broadcasting (with Carlton and Granada playing key roles) has been formed to provide programming and interactive services to homes without cable or satellite receivers. The two major cable companies in the UK, Telewest and Cable and Wireless, are undertaking trials designed to enable them too to launch digital services some time during 1998.

What does all this mean for Jewish television? It is easy to be seduced by the hyperbole. Indeed, in the rush to go digital British television is ahead of the game and as a result taking the greatest risks. There is no hard evidence of the scale of public demand for such a massive rise in the number of programmes and services necessary to match the huge investments. And even if this has never been a problem before (there was no massive *demand* for radio in 1922), some analysts are being more cautious, citing the slower pace, at least, of European states in this area.[13] Nevertheless, increased choice is the name of the game, and that choice will not just depend on what the major programme providers decide to produce, for both cable and satellite operators, especially, will need programming to fill the airspace. Increasingly that programming will be able to be produced and transmitted, *economically*, to small or minority audiences.

Jewish television will then be able to occupy a space, a niche, on a cable or satellite channel, maybe transmitting only a few hours a day in the first instance. It will be received by households who are already subscribers to what is called narrowcasting, who will pay a subscription, much as they might pay a subscription to a magazine or

12 At the time of writing no precise dates have been publicly announced for the launch of digital broadcasting beyond vague commitments by terrestrial, satellite and cable broadcasters to spring, summer or autumn 1998.

13 On the other hand the US has made a commitment to cease analogue television transmission by the year 2007, a commitment which the British government is almost certainly wise not to have made.

a newspaper for the right to receive the signal. So far 3.5 million households in the UK receive satellite transmissions and around 2 million receive cable.[14] How many of those are Jewish households currently is anyone's guess, though a recent estimate suggests that there might be as many as 28,000.[15]

There is one additional media space on which we might one day expect to see Jewish television: the Internet. The Internet is a global electronic network of information resources which anyone with a computer, the appropriate software and a modem to connect a computer to an ordinary telephone line can access. It has been, over the last few years, simply a sensation, with users and sites (where information or messages are placed and read) growing at phenomenal rates. This electronic and significantly interactive network is relevant to the project on Jewish television in two ways.

The first is that in its current, still embryonic, stage of development the Internet acts as host to over a thousand different sites of direct Jewish relevance across the globe (though it matters not much where in fact they happen to be). A recent survey[16] of such sites includes subjects as diverse as archaeology, art, Chasidic Judaism, dance, gays and lesbians, Holocaust and antisemitism, Israel (business), Jewish museums, kashrut, music, mysticism, singles, video and film, and Yiddish. It indicates, if nothing else, that there is a huge reservoir of Jewish cultural activity taking place globally, activity that can be accessed, responded to and developed by Jews in Britain.

Both television and Internet technology together make the realization of a global Jewish culture for the first time ever in its history a distinct possibility.

The second point of relevance lies in the confident expectation that the Internet will be able soon to transmit effective full-motion video and stereo sound, in other words turning the computer into a television, and a television neither bound to a national distribution network nor one dependent on the prior scheduling of anything by programme makers and providers. While these developments are unlikely to have much impact in the short term, they provide a timely reminder that whatever Jewish programming emerges on television in the UK over the next few years, it will need to take into account both the accessibility of a global Jewish culture and a technology that allows different forms of interaction. Indeed, this could perhaps be stated even more strongly: that both television and Internet technology together make the realization of a global Jewish culture for the first time ever in its history a distinct possibility. Judaism is, indeed, a distributed network.[17]

4 Jewish television so far

Jewish television already exists. Both Buenos Aires and Los Angeles are home to Jewish television that extends beyond the occasional programme or even a regular weekly slot on a PBS Channel. Plans also exist for other initiatives to begin over the next few months and years. The Jews have already begun to claim their share of global media space.[18]

The Alef Network (Buenos Aires)

The Alef Network broadcasts twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week to a Jewish population in Argentina of some 225,000. It has been broadcasting for ten years. Alef estimate that they reach around 100,000 viewers, 75 per cent of whom are Jewish. Alef also broadcasts in Peru to a Jewish population of 5,000 and has plans to expand the network to Chile, Brazil and Uruguay; 25-30 per cent of their programmes are from Israel, 40 per cent are what they describe as international (Jewish themes and documentaries), and 30 per cent are their own productions, including coverage of the Judeo-Argentine community's most important events. Alef is transmitted by satellite and then via cable to viewer's homes. Programming includes Israeli music, video-clips, recitals, film, educational programmes, documentaries, magazines, local and Israeli news, entertainment, religion, including weekly *Parashah* (Torah reading) commentaries. The channel has a small number of sponsors, for certain programmes in particular.

14 ITC figures. The figure for 1 April 1997 of homes receiving cable TV was 1,968,342; 2,676,929 received both television and/or phone. Penetration rates, that is the percentage of homes subscribing relative to the total number of homes passed by cable, is currently fluctuating at around 22 per cent. The direct to home satellite figure for 1996 was 3,551,000 (source, ITC). Figures announced in November 1997 suggest that some 27 per cent of British households with television now receive either cable or satellite (*Guardian,* 25 November 1997, reporting on figures released by the Office of National Statistics for April-May 1997)

15 *JTV Jewish Television: Business Plan*, Draft, April 1997.

16 Michael Levin, *The Guide to the Jewish Internet* (San Francisco: No Starch Press 1997).

17 I am indebted to Jeremy Silver for this rather challenging notion.

18 One, British, initiative for JTV Jewish Television will not be discussed in detail in this report, since at the time of writing it has yet to announce a firm commitment to begin transmission.

JTN: Jewish Television Network (Los Angeles)

JTN is a not-for-profit organization, founded in 1981, that describes its mission as to 'enrich Jewish life through an exposure to Jewish culture, the Jewish religion, opportunities for Jewish communal involvement, and Jewish socio-political issues in one's own home; to appeal to a broad audience; to promote Jewish continuity; and to create connections and foster a better understanding between the Jews in the Diaspora and Jews in the State of Israel'. It is committed to avoiding political, religious, ethnic or institutional bias. JTN distributes between six and ten hours of weekly programming to public broadcasting stations and cable companies throughout the United States, 90 per cent of which is original to the station. Currently these include Long Beach, Los Angeles and San Diego, Miami and Palm Beach, with starts planned for 1998 in Connecticut, New Jersey, New York and Washington. They have global ambitions.

Shalom Channel is a model for Jewish television which is uncompromising in its ambition and exhaustive in its intent to represent, in both senses of the word, Jewish culture.

Programming includes a range of news and public affairs programming, including *JTN News*; *Jewish World View* (a one-to one interview programme); and *J-Span* (a programme featuring lectures, speeches and debates from the US and Israel on key Jewish political and social issues). Educational programming includes *Alef . . . Bet . . . Blastoff* (a Muppet style show for 3 -9 year olds costing around $75,000 an hour to make) as well as *Dr Dale's Life Issues* (for adults) and *Talkworks with Rabbi David Wolpe* (for the 12-17 year olds). Entertainment includes a magazine programme for 'Generation X' and a chat show, as well as cookery programme.

JTN's annual operating budget is approximately $800,000 and they believe they are reaching a weekly national audience of around 800,000 homes, principally among the middle to upper middle class 35-70 year olds. They are active in merchandising, seeking to develop, through licensing, a number of products which will extend the range and income of the channel, and they are also active in building links with the major US Jewish organizations. They have signed a deal with Virtual Jerusalem, possibly the largest Jewish content provider on the Internet, to provide—albeit at some time in the future—on-line video or television on demand.

Shalom Channel (France)

Shalom Channel is planned to launch in 1998. It has ambitious plans for a European presence, broadcast on both satellite and cable throughout France and across the continent. It nails its flag to what it describes as a Maimonidean happy medium between the religious and the secular. It promises programming in French and English that leaves little unrepresented, ranging from news, information and debate, both European and Israeli, to talk shows, documentaries and programmes educating its viewers in the Jewish Diaspora languages as well as in the *sidra* of the week. Shalom Channel intends to include programmes on Jewish music and Jewish musicians as well as those on tourist advice, programmes on how to prepare for *aliyah* as well as how to access the Jewish Internet. It intends to broadcast major cultural and sporting events from Israel and run extensive seasons of the great films with Jewish themes from Hollywood, Europe and Israel. It also intends to establish a series of what it describes as complementary services, such as Teletext information, an Internet presence, and a monthly magazine, in order to create and sustain contact and deepen relationships with its viewers.

These three projects exhibit three quite different models for the construction of a Jewish channel, differences of course which are expressive of the different broadcast operating environments in which they find themselves.

Alef broadcasts within a single channel. Its programming is primarily bought in, with large contributions from Israel. It also seems to have a strong commitment to religion and religious education. JTN, on the other hand, claims its distinctiveness through its own programming geared to distinct audiences within the Jewish communities in the US, and at least aiming for high production values. It too has a strong commitment to education. Its programming is distributed across local television channels where there is a possibility of reaching a significant Jewish audience. The financing of such arrangements seems to require, on occasion, imaginative solutions, so that not only are the programmes themselves used as showcases for fundraising for the channel, but, for example in the deal struck with WXEL in South Florida, the local station intends to exchange its own footage for local broadcast rights for JTN.

It is too early to say how far and how fast Shalom's vision for a pan-European presence will mature, confronted, as it will be, by the problem of multiple languages and especially the structural weakness of the French language in broadcast

culture, as well as the considerable difficulties in raising the necessary funding. Nevertheless this is a model for Jewish television which is uncompromising in its ambition and exhaustive in its intent to represent, in both senses of the word, Jewish culture. Perhaps above all, and not merely in the acknowledgement of the presence of some 200,000 Israelis among its possible European audience, it frames its project as an expansive, outward-looking one, sensitive to, but uncompromised by, the particularities and the parochialism of national and regional Jewish cultures.

5 What's to be done?

The case for Jewish television rests on a number of different arguments. Some of these arguments converge around the issue of the need for an invigoration, if not a reinvention, of British Jewish secular culture. This culture which has, historically, been inward looking, now finds itself at a crossroads. Jewish television could provide a framework for finding a way forward. It could force Anglo-Jewry to look beyond the limits of its past and the narrow bounds of its own perception of itself. It could force Anglo-Jewry to confront its own position in both British and global cultures, to learn from those cultures and to learn how to contribute to them.

Opportunities now exist for Anglo-Jewry to find a voice and, drawing on the substantial technical and creative experience which is part of the British television tradition, to make its presence felt in electronic space.

Other arguments converge around the particular technical and wider cultural changes which make the project of Jewish television both possible and timely. The media environment is changing, and even if it is still not certain how rapid and radical the change will be, its direction is clear. Opportunities now exist for Anglo-Jewry to find a voice and, drawing on the substantial technical and creative experience which is part of the British television tradition, to make its presence felt in electronic space. The benefits could be substantial. The obstacles, however, are significant. So how might it be done?

Audiences

Who would watch it?

A very substantial proportion of the 300,000 or so Jews currently resident in the UK watch television (some 10 per cent, or 30,000, would be members of the ultra-orthodox community and so are unlikely to be viewers).[19] Not many of them, however, are at this moment clamouring to watch Jewish television. Many of them indeed, if they are like other members of similar socio-demographic status, will probably watch television rather less than the average. And it is far from clear how rapidly they will invest in digital television, that is how rapidly they will buy the set-top boxes which will enable them to receive Jewish television once it is transmitting.[20] However, many will already be subscribers to cable and satellite services, and many more will be tempted by the digital broadcasting generated by the established broadcasters as well as by British Digital Broadcasting, as this gathers pace over the next eighteen months.

But the potential audience for Jewish television, arguably, is not confined only to those who might, albeit only on their deathbed, declare their Jewish identity. It is possible to identify at least three other groups of audiences which could easily double, and perhaps more than double, that basic core number. The first group can be called the British *semi-demi* Jews, that is those who have strong connections with Jewish culture, by virtue of marriage, origin or conviction, but who are not in a strict or even halachically defensible sense, Jewish. The second group would be the wider Jewish communities in Europe (reachable by satellite transmission, though not automatically by cable if it was the sole means of distribution). The third group would be those within the non-Jewish population, who could be attracted by, or could be attracted to, high quality relevant or entertaining programming from whatever source.

Two things follow from this. The first is that any Jewish television channel would have to be outward looking. It would need to address an identifiable, but still quite diverse, audience. The second is that its programming would have to be of the highest quality. Local, community programming will only attract, and even then in no great measure, a local and community audience. Central to the success of Jewish television will be a programming strategy which, from the very beginning, can be seen to be as good as or better than programming being offered by other channels. The audience for Jewish television will

19 Of these 300,000, 215,000 live in London, 27,000 in Manchester, 9,000 in Leeds, 8,000 in Brighton and Hove, 6,700 in Glasgow, 4,500 in Southend and Westcliff and 4,000 in Liverpool. The remaining 25,800 are dispersed throughout the length and breadth of the land.

20 One general possible inhibitor to the take up of digital television, the lack of an agreed technological standard for the desk-top boxes which would enable signals to be decoded, looks like being resolved (*Guardian*, 27 September 1997). Such agreement, together with open access to an Electronic Programme Guide, is a precondition for the survival of such small channels as Jewish television.

have to be created. It will need to be persuaded, attracted, seduced into watching and subscribing, and marketing will be crucial. However, that audience will be created from among a social group of above average income, education and literacy. And in the new media age this is likely to be of extreme importance, since present trends, especially in the US, suggest that it is becoming increasingly difficult to attract advertising to general television programming, unless it is massively successful. Advertisers will increasingly be looking for niche markets and niche channels in order for them to be able to target their wares more accurately. Jewish television, and the Jewish television audience, would be just such a market.

The programme strategy will need to construct a vision of Jewish television that is inclusive rather than exclusive, involving Jews as producers and presenters, thinking about issues and ideas that have relevance to a reviving Jewish culture in the UK.

Programming

What kinds of programming would they want?

It is not difficult to imagine a range of programming that would, if expertly and professionally produced, attract substantial audiences. It would have to appeal to a diverse Jewish population in such a way as to persuade them to watch Jewish television instead of something else. But it would have to have an even wider appeal, drawing in the semi-demi and non-Jewish audiences, initially perhaps through high profile and widely marketed productions. The possibility of making outstanding television would depend on the participation of a committed group of programme makers, but it would also require enlightened scheduling and the imaginative purchasing and packaging of existing programming.

The programme strategy must be free from ties to specific groups within the community, and indeed, hard though this may be to achieve, it must be constructed as being for, but not of—at least not at the beck and call of—the community. This implies a willingness to address difficult and contentious issues within its factual programming, as well as a willingness to take aesthetic and intellectual risks in its entertainment and educational programming. It will need to serve discrete sub-groups: the young as well as the elderly, the provincial as well as the metropolitan, the gay as well as the straight, those exhausted after a long day at the office as well as those eager to engage, through television, with new ideas. It will need to make links with the rest of Diaspora Jewish culture as well as with Israel. It will need, therefore, to provide popular entertainment—quizzes, chat shows, soap opera, movies—as well as news, information and education. It will need to seduce as well as to provoke.

It will also need to construct a vision of Jewish television that is inclusive rather than exclusive, involving Jews as producers and presenters, thinking about issues and ideas that have relevance to a reviving Jewish culture in the UK; and doing all of these things in a way which is outward looking, rejecting the stereotypes, insisting on the Jewish right to speak and to be heard in all of contemporary culture's polymorphous diversity. It will need to create a dialogue with its viewers, and take full advantage of other media forms—magazine publishing, links with existing Jewish publications, the Internet—to construct a supporting culture, a culture in which Jewish television becomes increasingly taken for granted both as stimulus and mirror of Jewish everyday life in contemporary Britain.

Such a vision will depend on something which the channel itself will expect to encourage. It will depend on the willingness of many Jews in public life, in show business and in cultural production, to declare their Jewishness, a declaration which will be, by definition, the result of the very act of participation *on* Jewish television. In many ways this is crucial. Jewish television needs to be able to say, both explicitly and implicitly: 'Here are the Jews. They own their Jewishness. They have things to say. Listen to them. Learn from them. Enjoy.' There is evidence that this will happen; that there are, in Britain at the end of this millennium, increasing numbers of Jews who are declaring their Jewishness. They are, it might be said, 'coming out'.[21]

Within this framework it is possible to envisage a channel which begins by transmitting four or five hours of programming a night, in which news, analysis and discussion plays a central role. Such factual programming, which need not be expensive to produce, would need to provide a Jewish response to the world of events in two ways. It would need to focus, of course, on events that involved Jews, but also to focus on a wider set of events in which a Jewish view, a Jewish voice, might make a contribution. Such factual programming could include direct feeds from Israeli television, but it would also have to engage with national politics and affairs as well as with those of the more local Jewish communities within the UK. It would also need to be global in

21 This is difficult to quantify, and difficult to prove. Evidence is circumstantial, and much of it is based on interviews conducted in the preparation of this paper. Nevertheless there is an increasing sense, hard though it may be to believe, that Jewishness maybe becoming not a little chic.

its reach, tying in with the news activities of other Jewish stations around the world, on a programme by programme or item by item exchange.

Entertainment programming would need to be provided by a judicious mix of the rerun and the repackaged, as well as by new production. Here cost constraints are likely to be at their most intense. While quiz and talk shows, intensely and multiply pre-recorded, can be produced relatively cheaply, situation comedies or soap operas cannot. Nevertheless, as television culture as a whole has matured, it has become increasingly possible to run revival and repeat seasons. Indeed whole channels now exist (including the BBC's UKGold) only on that basis. So reruns of US sitcoms with Jewish characters, of BBC plays by Jewish authors, of Hollywood movies with Jewish stars or directors, especially if they are well packaged through intelligent continuity, will be both financially viable and attractive.

The channel should provide an extensive range of education programming. This too could be, and indeed should be, broadly based, and addressed to a diverse audience—so not just religious education, but series that address Jewish culture historically and from the point of view of its daily management; programme series on learning Yiddish, Ladino and Hebrew; and programme series on music, cookery, sex, bridge, and golf (now there's a thought!).

The dominating assumption is that Jewish television must be economically viable, and independent of any vested or community interest that might compromise its integrity.

Jewish cultural and intellectual life should also be represented, both through original productions in which ideas and cultural activities are discussed and argued over late into the night, as well as through transmissions from major cultural (and sporting) events and reflective or investigative documentary accounts (though these too would almost certainly have to be either co-productions or repeats). Here, as elsewhere in its programming, the channel will need to be creative in its use of existing material as well as imaginative in its use of the almost inevitably limited financial resources. But it is in this area of programming, perhaps above all, that its greatest asset will be most in evidence: the presence both on and behind the screen of some of the most creative people in and around British television.

Finance and distribution

It is easy to dream. But dreams can be turned into realities. How might this one be so turned? What are the realities of finance and distribution?

There would seem to be two alternative ways of proceeding. Both depend on the emergence of digital television which promises to enable increased access for minority programming as well as reducing the overall costs of transmission and distribution. The assessment of both these models depends on an assessment of revenues as well as costs. Inevitably both are extremely difficult to estimate, since digital television is still an unknown quantity, and the real costs of digital production and transmission, as well as the possible demand for digital receivers, cannot be known with any certainty.

Nevertheless it is possible at least to sketch a framework, and a framework in which the dominating assumption is that Jewish television must be economically viable, and independent of any vested or community interest that might compromise its integrity. In other words it has to compete in the marketplace, even if it is structured as a not-for-profit undertaking.

Revenue is likely to come from three sources. The first is through individual subscription to the channel. While this need not be insubstantial it is highly unlikely to generate more than a fraction of the operating costs of even a four to five hour daily service, at least in its first few years.[22] Advertising revenue is, likewise, something of an unknown quantity, since advertisers will be wary of small audience channels. However, the distinctive audience profile of Jewish television, given the changing media environment already in evidence, might be seen as an attractive site for niche marketing. Here, as elsewhere, there would need to be creative selling to entice major global (as well as local) advertisers. The final revenue stream should be provided through sponsorship, which could come in two forms. The first, perhaps, would be disinterested sponsorship from within the Jewish community for the channel as a whole. The second would involve corporate sponsorship for individual programming or programme streams, for example, the news or a movie season. Occasional additional revenue could be provided by programme sales.

22 It is possible to envisage, say, a monthly subscription for a cable or satellite service of £10 per household. On the conservative assumption that 20 per cent of Jewish homes (i.e. some 22,000 households) in the UK subscribe within three years, then revenue, depending on the proportion claimed by cable or satellite distribution, would be between £1.3 million and £2.6 million. For a more detailed analysis of possible revenue, see *JTV Jewish Television: Business Plan*, Draft, April 1997.

The costs of production and distribution could vary enormously. While it is perfectly possible to produce an hour's transmissible television from a rented studio for £1,000, the cost of producing an original and fully funded fifty-minute documentary could easily exceed £250,000, and drama knows few limits. There is little doubt that programme budgets will have to be limited, and that ways will have to be found to create programming streams on a value-added basis through the imaginative repackaging of bought-in series in addition to any commitments to original programming. Deals will need to be struck with other Jewish and Israeli television channels as well as other programme suppliers for programming that will be either pure acquisition (that is programmes with strong Jewish interest from whatever source) or correlated acquisition (that is programming from Jewish sources which fit the needs of the Jewish channel).[23]

The channel will need, minimally, its own continuity studio or at least guaranteed access to one. It will need to invest heavily in marketing. It will have staffing costs, though these need not, in the first instance, be high. Indeed the business could be structured to enable low (or no) cost participation by those just beginning their careers in television.

The key choices involve judgements on the approach to distribution. The low-cost choice would involve an initial commitment to cable only distribution in which key areas and franchises in the UK would be targeted as possible sites for onward transmission to identifiable and quantifiable Jewish populations. Assuming the availability of cable capacity, then such a transmission route would involve the provision of pre-recorded material, say, for transmission the following day. In this model distribution costs would be extremely low and the Jewish channel could expect to build up an audience with relatively small initial investment. The disadvantage of such an approach would be the restriction to a localized and predefined target audience. It would be extremely difficult to reach more dispersed or differentiated audiences and the channel as a whole might have a hard time breaking free from a familiar and disabling parochialism. It would also make it very difficult, not to say impossible, to provide a news service that was remotely responsive to events as they were happening.

The second choice involves a combination of satellite and cable transmission. Time would be rented from a satellite transmitter on the basis of a share of a digital channel. Current estimates of the cost range from around £300,000 to £500,000 per year depending on the amount of time required for transmission.[24] Such a distribution strategy, again depending on how it was structured (whether to use Sky, and whether to aim for *à la carte* status or seek to be part of a bundle of targeted programming) would enable the channel to reach a much wider range of possible subscribers both in the UK and Europe. It would also signal, from the very beginning, an international and anti-parochial presence and make it possible to provide real-time and responsive programming with global input and global links.

However, neither of these two alternatives is remotely conceivable without significant initial investment. This investment could come in the form of either venture capital or as part of an informed and motivated investment by figures within the community who would not be seeking a commercial return. Were the latter to emerge, then Jewish television could be run as a commercial, albeit subsidized, operation. It would, in every other meaningful respect, be run as a business, and as such would need to take its chances in the increasingly challenging world of broad- and narrowcast television.

Another route?

There is, of course, another route to an identifiable Jewish presence on British television. It is one that does not depend on the creation of a self-contained and self-sustaining cable and satellite presence, but restricts its activities and ambitions to the production of programming of Jewish interest or representing various aspects of Jewish culture. The intention here would be to establish, say, a production company whose remit would be to produce and sell programming to the established mainstream broad and narrow casters, but would not itself own or control a distribution network. This is, in many ways, how JTN in Los Angeles operates within the US broadcasting system.

The advantages of such an approach are in the scale of investment required, and the capacity to direct what investment there might be into substantive programme making of various kinds. Within such a framework the production company

23 I am indebted to David Elstein, Managing Director of Channel 5, for this distinction, and for his help in understanding something of the financial issues relevant to the creation of a Jewish television presence in Britain.

24 There might be additional costs of subscription to the Electronic Programme Guide, without which the new channel could well find itself invisible in electronic space.

would be in the business of selling its wares in the widest broadcast and narrowcast market, where one would expect there to be a premium on high quality programming likely to attract significant audiences. However, it would also be in a position to create programming for distribution in other forms, for example in video cassette or CD-ROM. Indeed educational programming, which could well be a significant component of any Jewish television, could be distributed, for example, to Jewish schools perfectly effectively in this way.

The disadvantages are already implied. Such a strategy would depend on the willingness of broadcasters with no *a priori* commitment to either Jewish or even minority television being willing to make their air time available to Jewish productions. In a European media space where, unlike in the US, there is no strong tradition of independent local networks, the creation of a significant Jewish presence is likely to be an uphill struggle. One further consequence would be the likely maintenance of a low profile for Jewish programming in such a media space, since the opportunities for distribution are likely to be both quite restricted and vulnerable to transmission at unsocial hours. The capacity of Jewish television to enhance the presence of Jewish voices in the wider public sphere will, as a result, be severely limited.

Of course these two approaches are not in conflict. One could lead quite logically to the other, and the presence of a Jewish production company, or indeed more than one, could only enhance the capacity of a Jewish channel to distribute Jewish programming. There are many ways to think the future of Jewish television. The thing is to begin thinking about them.

6 Is Jewish television needed? Will it work?

This paper is an argument for seriously considering Jewish television as a project to reinvigorate contemporary Anglo-Jewish culture. It has argued that it is now high time that Jews were participating in electronic media space, for doing so will enable them to confront, and engage with, their distinctiveness and their differences; to recover their heritage, redefine their identity and their social and cultural contribution and make their presence felt in the wider public sphere. Television is hardly going to do this on its own, but without television it is unlikely to be possible at all. The paper has also argued that the timing is good. Changes in media technology which are about to change media culture radically will provide an opportunity for minority programming of the kind proposed in a way that is currently almost inconceivable.

Grasping the nettle will bring rewards as well as dangers. The rewards are in the enhanced visibility and presence of Jewish culture in the wider society. Some would argue that therein also lies its danger. Such visibility needs to be open and generous in its public face. It also needs to be intensely professional. It needs to break free of the nervous parochialism that has clouded the history of Anglo-Jewish culture throughout the century.

Jewish television in Britain, if it is to succeed, will also need substantial commitment from Jewish media professionals as well as Jewish financiers. Given the active involvement of both, there is every possibility that Jewish television could make a deep, lasting and continuous impression on the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jews and others both in Britain and elsewhere.

Appendix: participants at JPR policy seminars on Jewish television

Guest speaker: Roger Silverstone, Professor of Media Studies and Director of the Graduate Research Centre in Culture and Communication, University of Sussex

Chaired by Michael Green, Chairman, Carlton Communications PLC; Patron, JPR

Maria Balinska, Editor, Radio World Programme, BBC News *(February 1998)*

Russell Barash, Jewish TV Project *(May 1997)*

Stephen Barclay, Member, JPR Board of Directors; Managing Director, Clifton Financial Associates PLC *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Rex Bloomstein, Director, Nucleus Productions and TV Producer *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Dr Sidney Brichto, Member, JPR Board of Directors, Chairman, Advisory Board, Israel Diaspora Trust *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Sarah Caplin, Editor, Factual Development, Granada Television *(May 1997)*

Shimon Cohen, Member, JPR Board of Directors; Senior Consultant, Lowe Bell Communications *(February 1998)*

Helen Davis, Director, Britain-Israel Public Affairs Centre *(May 1997 February 1998)*

David Elstein, Chief Executive, Channel 5 Broadcasting *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Roma Felstein, Producer, *Jewish London*, BBC GLR *(February 1998)*

Ivor Gaber, Professor of Broadcast Journalism, Goldsmith College; Senior Political Producer, ITN *(February 1998)*

Harvey Goldsmith, Vice-Chairman, Allied Entertainments Group PLC *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Louise Greenberg, former Chief Producer, Arts, Sciences and Features, BBC Radio *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Mira Hamermesh, Producer/Director, SERED Films *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Jeff Henry, Managing Director, London News Network *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Sir Jeremy Isaacs, Jeremy Isaacs Productions *(February 1998)*

Richard Kalms, Union Media Holdings Ltd *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Anne Karpf, journalist; sociologist; radio critic, *The Guardian (February 1998)*

Marcel Knobil, Member, JPR Board of Directors; Director, Creative and Commercial Communications Ltd *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Elena Lappin, writer; former Editor, *Jewish Quarterly (February 1998)*

Peter L Levy OBE, Chairman, JPR; Chairman, Shaftesbury PLC *(February 1998)*

Matthew Lewin, Editor, *Hampstead & Highgate Express (February 1998)*

Sara Nathan, former Editor, *Channel Four News (February 1998)*

Harold Paisner, Member, JPR Board of Directors; Senior Partner, Paisner & Co *(February 1998)*

Nick Ross, Presenter, BBC Television *(February 1998)*

Rick Senat, Senior Vice-President, Warner Brothers *(February 1998)*

Geraldine Sharpe-Newton, Senior Vice-President, Public Relations, CNN International *(February 1998)*

Jeremy Silver, Vice-President, Interactive Media, EMI Music; founding member of *New Moon (February 1998)*

Jon Silverman, Home Affairs Correspondent, BBC *(February 1998)*

Gary Sinyor, film maker *(February 1998)*

Ned Temko, Editor, *Jewish Chronicle (May 1997 February 1998)*

Dr Howard Tumber, Head, Department of Sociology, City University *(May 1997 February 1998)*

Mark Urban, Diplomatic Correspondent, BBC *Newsnight (February 1998)*

Stephen Walker, freelance producer *(May 1997)*

Anne Webber, independent producer; Director, Legend Films

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The Israeli general election of 1996
No. 3, May 1998

Jacqueline Goldberg and Barry A. Kosmin
The social attitudes of unmarried young Jews in contemporary Britain
No.4, June 1997

Fred Halliday
Does Islamic fundamentalism pose a threat to the West?
No. 2, March 1996

Barry Kosmin, Tony Lerman and Jacqueline Goldberg
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Martin Kramer
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Stephen Miller, Marlena Schmool and Antony Lerman
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No. 1, February 1996

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Paul Wilkinson
*Combating international terrorism**
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