



Uluslararası Sosyal Arařtırmalar Dergisi

The Journal of International Social Research

Cilt: 7 Sayı: 33 Volume: 7 Issue: 33

www.sosyalarastirmalar.com Issn: 1307-9581

IDEOLOGICAL MEDIA BIAS AND ADVERTISING: DIFFERENTIATION OF ADVERTISING APPEAL USAGE BETWEEN MAINSTREAM AND CONSERVATIVE ISLAMIC PRINT MEDIA IN TURKEY*

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Abstract

This study has the aim of determining whether there is a distinction in advertisements and their message appeal between those in the conservative Islamic media which have recently gained much popularity in Turkey and those in what can be thought of as the mainstream media. The research was carried out on 180 editions of the six different newspapers with the highest circulations in Turkey, three of which are conservative Islamic media and three represent the mainstream media. Content analysis was made of the advertisements in these newspapers and the appeal of the messages which they contained. In this way an answer was sought to the question of what kind of a connection there is between the ideological bias of the conservative Islamic and mainstream newspapers and the content of the advertisements which they include. 2793 advertisements are analyzed in the study and results of the content analysis showed that the advertising appeals preferred by advertisers varied according to the ideological bias of the newspaper in which the advertisement appeared. Advertisements with appeals more expressive of collective values were prevalent in newspapers with a conservative Islamic ideological bias, while the mainstream newspapers contained more advertisements with appeals which expressed individualistic values.

Keywords: Ideological Media Bias, Print Media, Conservative Islamic Media, Mainstream Media, Advertising Appeal, Advertising Media.

I. Introduction

People generally see advertising as just messages to consumers regarding the sale of goods or services, but this is not in fact the case. This is a superficial view which ignores the profound effect which advertising has on social life and on individuals. Advertising is a cultural product which on the one hand reflects our dreams, fears, ideals, values, lifestyles, loves and hates – in other words all of our feelings and thoughts – and on the other hand shapes these feelings and thoughts. Advertisements in various kinds of communication channels use different appeals to attract our attention according to the goals of the advertisement, the target

*This study was presented at ICORIA 2014 organized by European Advertising Academy at University of Amsterdam (June 26 - 28, 2014)

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group, the characteristics of the product, or many other variables. Appeal is a concept which has occupied our minds for thousands of years in every field where the persuasion is examined. At the same time it is the essence of the advertising message, and that which appeals to the mind and the heart of the consumer. Choosing the message appeal to be used in an advertisement means giving the advertisement a soul, a personality. Seen this way, the message appeal of an advertisement is closely connected to the brand which is being advertised, to the target population, and to the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the medium where the advertisement appears. The ideological bias of the mass media channel – such as newspaper or television – where the advertisements appear, is one of the qualitative characteristic of the advertising media may affect advertising appeal usage.

II. Literature Review

Ideological Media Bias and Advertising Media

Marshall McLuhan (1970,7) characterized advertisements as “the cave art of the twentieth century”, and his famous words “the medium is the message” have been perhaps the best guide to advertisers choosing the medium in which their advertisements will take place. These words show well that advertising, which can be described as the art of creating an idea in the minds of consumers and thereby persuading them, cannot be independent of the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the environment in which the advertisement meet with consumers. Whether traditional or new, all advertising media, by category (TV, newspaper, internet, etc.) or specifically (BBC, New York Post, Amazon, etc.), carry various meanings to their target audience. In particular, these meanings may have been shaped deeply beyond daily topics as a result of long-enduring institutional policies, target audience’s experiences and various factors in their environments such as reference groups or socio-cultural characteristics. Therefore, everything relating to the media (news, advertising, personnel, etc.) is evaluated by the viewer or reader along with these meanings. In this way, the process occurring between the viewer or reader and the media can be seen as a process of transfer of meaning.

The meanings which are carried to the target audience by the media where advertisements take place have close relationship with ideological media bias. This ideological bias, which is reflected in the content of the mass media, is known by the term “media bias”. Media bias can be defined as “any form of preferential and unbalanced treatment, or favoritism, toward a political or social issue or political party” (Lee, 2005:45). The inconsistency between this concept and the impartiality which is felt to be necessary in the media and its possible effects on the political attitudes of the general public are reasons why it is permanently a topic of discussion.

Media exhibit a liberal or conservative (or left-right) bias due to their corporate ownership, profit orientation, and dependence on government, corporations, employees and other elite sources of information (Covert and Wasburn 2007). It is for this reason that many people think that television or the newspapers operate according to a predetermined ideological standpoint when dealing with people or events (Gunther 1992; Goldberg 2002; Eveland and Shah 2003; Lee 2005). However it is also true that this bias at the same time defines the profile of the reader or viewer of the media organization. It is this point which is of great importance from the point of view of the advertiser and the brand. This is because advertising is carried on above all to establish communication with the target audience, and the effectiveness of this communication is dependent on the match between the target audience of the strategies defined and the products advertised.

From the point of view of advertising, the media is an important area of decision making in which the accord with the target audience must be observed. When advertisements are produced, many marketing factors are taken into account with the aim of persuading the target audience, and it is not a desirable situation that the target audience should be unaware of the product or that it should not react to the advertisement in the way or to the extent intended.

From this aspect, decisions relating to the media in all processes including the interaction of the target audience and the advertisement starting before the production of the advertisement are made in accordance with all other decisions relating to the advertisement. This is because it is the only way in which the effectiveness of the advertisement can be assured.

Researches about the effectiveness of advertisements show that the perceptions relating to the advertisement environment in which consumers encounter the advertisement are related to the success of an advertisement, that is, its effectiveness. Thus, the way an advertisement environment is perceived by consumers in relation to a category or a specific medium (reliability, reputability, etc.) and its relevance to the product advertised can increase or decrease the effectiveness of the advertisement (Appel 1987; Murry, Lastovicka, and Singh 1992; Stafford and Day 1995; Moore and Rodgers 2005). For example, a study of magazine advertisements by Appel (1987) showed that there was a positive relationship between the level of credibility of a magazine's editorial content and the credibility of the advertisements published in the magazine.

A further dimension in the relationship between the media and advertisement credibility is that of the profiles of the readers or viewers of the media organization. This is closely related to the content of the media, the politics of the publication and its ideological bias. Approaching the topic from an ideological perspective, researchers have shown the results of observed congruence between the ideologies of individuals and their media choices. From this angle, it is to be expected that the content of the message of advertisements should match with the ideological biases of the media organization, or its target audience. At the same time, the type of product advertised may be related to the ideological bias. According to Gal-Or, Geylani, and Yildirim (2012) advertising effectiveness, for some products, may depend on the political opinions of readers of the advertisements, because products reflect a person's self-concept. They provide a way for a person to express his or her self-image, which may be strongly correlated with his or her political opinions. For example, while "green" products (e.g., Toyota Prius, Apple Mac computers) may appeal more to liberals, "American" products (e.g., Chevy truck) may appeal more to conservative consumers.

In the literature there are various studies showing how the content presented by the mass communications media is directed by the organizations which give advertisements to these media (Price 2003; Reuter and Zitzewitz 2006; Rinallo and Basuroy 2009). However, this is only one side of the coin. There is also a relationship between the ideological bias of the media and the advertisements published there, and the appeal used in these advertisements.

Advertising Appeals

Appeal is one of the most used concepts in the literature of advertising and persuasive communication, and is used in such phrases as persuasion appeals, message appeals, and advertising appeals. As a word, the concept signifies any content or characteristic which is designed to attract attention to any message, object or person, or to create interest and in this way to affect people (Elden and Bakir 2010). In the context of advertising, it can be characterized as meaning "general tone and nature of the commercial or message" (Clow and Baack 2005) "any message designed to motivate consumer behavior" (Mueller 1987), or "the tangible advantages which will be gained when a consumer buys a product or a service, such as more delicious food or cleaner clothes, or the intangible advantages of approbation or envy" (Gulsoy 1999).

As can be seen from these definitions, it is possible to see the concept of advertising appeal from various perspectives. Thus the characteristics of the concept can be ranked in the following way, in order to better understand its limits and various dimensions (Elden and Bakir 2010):

- Advertising appeals are based on the physical, psychological and social needs of the consumer.

- The aim of advertising appeals is to attract attention to the product or service advertised or even to the advertisement itself, to create interest and desire, and to affect the opinions and behavior of consumers.
- Appeals follow the processes of rational and/or emotional way of persuasion.
- Advertising appeal operates on the basis of the tangible or intangible benefits to be gained by the consumer's buying or not buying a product.
- Appeals help the advertisement and the product or service advertised to be differentiated from those of rivals.
- Advertising appeals reflect the essence of the advertisement and the adopted approach.
- Advertising appeal forms the basis of the implementation of an advertisement. Creative advertisement applications are formed according to the appeals of a previously determined message. More than one appeal can be used in any given advertisement.
- Advertising appeals should accord with the characteristics of the target population, the orientation decisions taken for the product or service advertised, the policies of the company, the aims of marketing and advertising, creative strategies, media strategies and the various advertising media.

In studies relating to advertising appeals, these have generally been examined in two categories. These are rational (utilitarian / informational / cognitive) and emotional (value-expressive / transformational / feeling) appeals (Aaker and Norris 1982; Puto and Wells 1984; Laskey, Day, and Crask 1989; Johar and Sirgy 1991; Albers-Miller and Stafford 1999). In these studies, the concept of appeal has been examined from such points of view as its relationship with advertising effectiveness (Barry and Gunst 1982; Liu and Stout 1987; Loroz 2006), types of appeal and how much they are used (Cosse and Swan 1981; Schuhwerk and Lefkoff-Hagius 1995; Huang 1997), and the cultural dimensions of the use and effectiveness of appeal (Mueller 1987; Wang et al., 2000, Chiou 2002; Teng and Laroche 2006). The results of all or nearly all of these studies indicate that there is a close relationship between advertising appeal and advertising effectiveness.

The ad creators, by giving form to people's deep-lying desires, and picturing states of being that individuals privately yearn for, have the best chance of arresting attention and affecting communication (Fowles 2007). Possibly the most important goals of advertising are to catch attention of the consumers by means of words and images, and shape consumer's attitudes and behaviors. The most effective way to do these is choosing correct appeals and using these appeals in correct ways.

In choosing the appeal of an advertisement, the environment where the advertisement is to appear is also important, along with such factors as the characteristics of the product advertised, the profile of the target group, the policies of the organization and marketing strategies. Each advertising environment presents the creators of the advertisement with a variety of reader and viewer profiles, reach levels and technical characteristics. The environment where these advertisements are take place has a direct effect on determining the appeal of the advertisement. For example, the technical potential which radio and television present are different. On radio, it is only possible to make use of sound, creating disadvantages for the use of such appeals such as sex appeal, which are largely visual in nature (Elden and Bakir 2010).

A similar situation is also valid in the case of broadcasting policies and ideological biases in the advertising environment. As mentioned previously, the broadcasting policies of media organizations and their ideological biases are closely related to reader/viewer profiles. In this way, it may be thought that the choice of message appeal, which forms the heart of an advertisement, and the ideological bias of the media in which it appears will be related. It is

necessary therefore when deciding on what appeal to use in an advertisement to pay attention to the ideological standpoint of the media organization which will publish/broadcast ad.

III. Research Questions and Hypothesis

Mass communications take their form from the history of their social, cultural and political environment and the current relations of the actors who represent these features. In Turkey, the view which emerges from the publication and distribution policies of the media organizations, their ideological biases, their relationship with the government and the profiles of their readers and viewers is a fair reflection of the past of these social, cultural, political and economic features and their current relationships.

However much the country is said to be run according to a secular-democratic constitution, strong Islamic trends can be observed in many economic and social areas in Turkey, and the media sector is not independent of this. While on the one hand there are media organizations which make their living by appealing to those who have adopted a modern, secular lifestyle, there are others which follow a conservative Islamic line and provide a strong alternative, and which are preferred by those with strong Islamic sensibilities. In particular, in the time since 2002 in which the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which claims to follow a Muslim-Democrat line, has been the sole party of government; the conservative Islamic media has been gaining in strength in parallel with the ruling politics. These media organizations have begun to differentiate themselves from what may be termed the mainstream media, particularly with regard to their target groups. This differentiation in target groups also raises the question of whether different persuasion tactics and different appeals are used in the advertisements carried by the mainstream and conservative Islamic sections of the media. Thus:

Research Question 1: Is there a relationship between the ideological bias of a newspaper and the appeals used in the advertisements which it carries?

Hypothesis 1: The frequency of use of an advertising appeal will be affected by the ideological bias of the newspaper in which it appears.

There is a close relationship between the adopted values of a target group and the products and advertisements which appeal to that group (Pollay 1983). Target groups which form in parallel with the ideological biases of media organizations differentiate themselves from one another in terms of values, and these values are reflected in advertisements. When cultural dynamics are taken into account, it can be seen that the values group around collective and individual values. This is because the conservative section of society, unlike the liberal section, took a more distant stance to the process of westernization and modernization which began in the last days of the Ottoman Empire and gained momentum after the declaration of the Republic in 1923. "It is possible to see the formation of Turkey as in essence a reaction of conservatism to modernism" (Yucebas 2012).

According to conservative ideology, tradition is the main important principle in ordering society. This is because tradition provides for the transfer of customs, habits, knowledge and behavior from one generation to another (Sezik 2012). In this way, groups who have adopted this ideology will identify more with collective values and see them as more traditional than the individualist values provided by westernization and modernism. Thus:

Research Question 2: Are the advertisements carried by the mainstream and conservative Islamic newspapers differentiated in their reflection of individualistic or collective values?

Hypothesis 2a: Advertisements carried by the mainstream newspapers will contain more individualistic values than those carried by the conservative Islamic newspapers.

Hypothesis 2b: Advertisements carried by the conservative Islamic newspapers will contain more collective values than those carried by the mainstream newspapers.

IV. Method

In this study, advertisements carried in mainstream newspapers and those with a conservative Islamic publication policy were examined by content analysis to find an answer to the research questions and to test the research hypotheses. The advertisements examined were classified according to the ideological bias of the newspaper in which they took place and the appeal which they contained, and in this way it was determined whether or not there was a difference in the use of message appeal in the advertisements of the two groups of newspapers. Data obtained in the study was analyzed in IBM SPSS Statistics Version 20 with the use of various statistical tests.

Sampling

The advertising medium used in this analysis was print. The research was carried out on 180 editions of the six different newspapers with the highest circulations in Turkey. Six national daily newspapers, three representing the mainstream media and three representing the conservative Islamic media were collected between 1 and 31 October 2013. The newspapers representing the mainstream media were *Hurriyet*, *Sabah* and *Posta*, and those representing the conservative Islamic media were *Zaman*, *YeniSafak* and *Turkiye*. These are the three newspapers with the highest circulations in each group.

After the advertisements were collected, they were scanned individually and transferred to computer. In determining the advertisements in the sample, attention was paid to whether the advertisement had elements such as a heading, visual elements (photographs or illustrations), or a logo. Death announcements, public announcements, local ads, ads which contained only a logo or a slogan, and banner advertisements at the head and foot of the page were excluded from the sample. A total of 2793 advertisements were examined in the study, 1754 from the mainstream press and 1039 from the conservative Islamic newspapers (See Table 1). Various categories of products and services were promoted in these ads (See Table 2). List of product & service categories is adapted from Suher and Ispir (2008).

Coding Procedure

Two judges coded all ads in the sample. These judges were all advertising graduate students. During the coding process each judge examined individually the advertisements assigned to him or her, and each advertisement was coded for classification by dominant appeal type. Both visual information (pictures, photographs and illustrations) and verbal information (headlines, subheadlines and body copy) were examined for appeal type like Okazaki and Muller (2008) did for their study.

The judges evaluated each advertisement according to the appeal type. Before starting the work, the judges were all given written tables for use in coding, and information on the appeal types by which they were to classify the advertisements. Following this, they carried out some practice coding in order to understand the task better. The appeal types used at the coding stage were taken from Hetsroni (2000). (See Table 3).

Reliability

In the coding process, the judges first independently coded the advertisements which were given to them, then compared each other's coding. Disagreements were resolved by discussion. Cohen's Kappa coefficient was used as a test of reliability between judges. Kassarian (1977) stated that reliability between coders should be above 85 %, and in the present study reliability between judges was 95.8 %.

Table 1: Sample distribution by newspaper

<i>Ideological Bias</i>					
<i>Mainstream</i>			<i>Conservative Islamic</i>		
<i>Posta</i>	<i>Hurriyet</i>	<i>Sabah</i>	<i>Zaman</i>	<i>Turkiye</i>	<i>YeniSafak</i>
438	739	577	494	243	302
1774			1039		
2793					

Table 2: Sample distribution by product & service categories

<i>Product & Service Categories</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Clothing (Swimsuit, Shoe etc.)	58	2,1
Personal Care and Beauty (Parfume, Face Cream etc.)	5	,2
Print Publishing (Book, Magazine, Newspaper etc.)	198	7,1
Personal Accessories	19	,7
Home Appliances (Refrigerator, Shaver, TV etc.)	86	3,1
Tourism (Hotels, Resorts etc.)	164	5,9
Financial Services	340	12,2
Real Estate and Decoration (Kitchen, Bathroom etc.)	399	14,3
Food	87	3,1
TV Channels, Radio Channels and Programs	81	2,9
Electronics	49	1,8
Automotive and Automotive Sub-Industry	525	18,8
Health and Hospital	67	2,4
Non-Alcoholic Beverages	3	,1
Furniture and Home Textile	44	1,6
Retail	313	11,2
Entertainment, Art and Sport Activities	5	,2
Social campaigns	35	1,3
Education	46	1,6
Telecommunication	87	3,1
Logistic	33	1,2
E-Commerce	92	3,3
Others	57	2,0
Total	2793	100,0

Table 3: Appeal Coding Description

<i>Appeal</i>	<i>Description</i>
Adventure	Using the product is clearly associated with exceptional boldness, bravery or taking risks more than in everyday life.
Beauty	The ad asserts that using the product enhances the beauty of its user, or suggests that the people in the ad are handsome because they use the product.
Collectivism	The people in the ad, who are typical users of the product, are depicted as a group whose members spend time together and help each other. It is the product that brings these people together.
Competition	Distinguishing the product from its counterparts in one characteristic or more than one characteristic (but counting is necessary), and comparing the product with alternative brands.
Excellence	Stressing that the product excels in one or more characteristics (but counting is necessary) without referring to alternative brands.
Convenience	Stressing that the product is easy to use.
Courtesy	Politeness and friendship towards the consumer are associated with the product.
Saving	Stressing the low price of the product, mentioning discounts, free bonuses, gifts or special paying arrangements.
Efficiency	Emphasizing the product's capacity to accomplish the goal for which it is used.
Joy/happiness	Suggesting that the use of the product makes one happy or causes joy, by showing happy people and contending that they are happy because they use the product.
Family	Showing family life in a positive manner and stressing that the product can be used by all the family

	members or is intended for family use.
Health	Claiming that the product enhances the strength of the body, increases vitality or improves other health aspects.
Individualism	Stressing that the product can help its user to become self-reliant or free him of his dependence on others,
Leisure	Showing that using the product leads to relaxation, or depicting scenes of leisure that are clearly the result of using the product.
Modernization	Stressing that the product is innovative based on a new technology.
Charity	Suggesting that helping other people without seeking a reward is an indispensable positive virtue of the product, or showing that helping other people without seeking a reward is a result—clearly desirable—of using the product.
Patriotism	Suggesting that love for the homeland, loyalty to the state, sacrificing oneself for the country, and so forth, is a positive virtue that is clearly related to the product.
Popularity	Emphasizing the large number of people who use the product, mentioning that some brand is very heavily consumed (perhaps more heavily than other brands).
Quality	Stressing the overall superb and durable character of the product without referring to any specific virtue.
Safety	Asserting that the product is safe to use and using it does not carry any harmful short-term or long-term effects.
Sex	Suggesting that using the product is either related to or enhances sexual activity in the broadest sense of the word (from flirting through petting and erotic body contact to full intercourse), or saying that the product enhances its user's sexual attractiveness.
Tradition	Stating that the product enjoys a long impressive history or suggesting that using the product helps to transmit values and beliefs from generation to generation.
Wealth	Suggesting that using the product can make one rich.
Wisdom	Explaining that it can help one to become smarter or showing that the product is needed for academic learning.
Youthful spirit	Emphasizing that the product can help one feel younger or look younger.

Source: Hetsroni 2000.

V. Results and Discussion

Hypotheses presented in this study were tested using the chi-square test, and Table 4 shows the results of this analysis. Results from the chi-square test indicate that ideological media bias had an effect on appeal type selection ($\chi^2(23, n=2793) = 187.01, p = .00$). In other words, the proportion in which an advertising appeal was used in the advertisements of a newspaper significantly differentiated the newspapers according to ideological bias. Thus, the chi-square test supported H1.

The ten advertising appeals that were most used in advertisements in the mainstream and conservative Islamic press in terms of the differences between them were, in order, sex, adventure, wealth, beauty, health, wisdom, individualism, family, convenience and charity. Looking at the results more closely, it can be seen that the most used of these ten appeal types in the mainstream media were the appeals of sex 100%, adventure 95.8%, wealth 94.7%, beauty 91.7%, individualism 81.1%, convenience 76.7%, and charity 70.7%. In contrast to this, the most-used advertising appeal types in the conservative Islamic press were those of health 88.2%, wisdom 86.8% and family 79.4%.

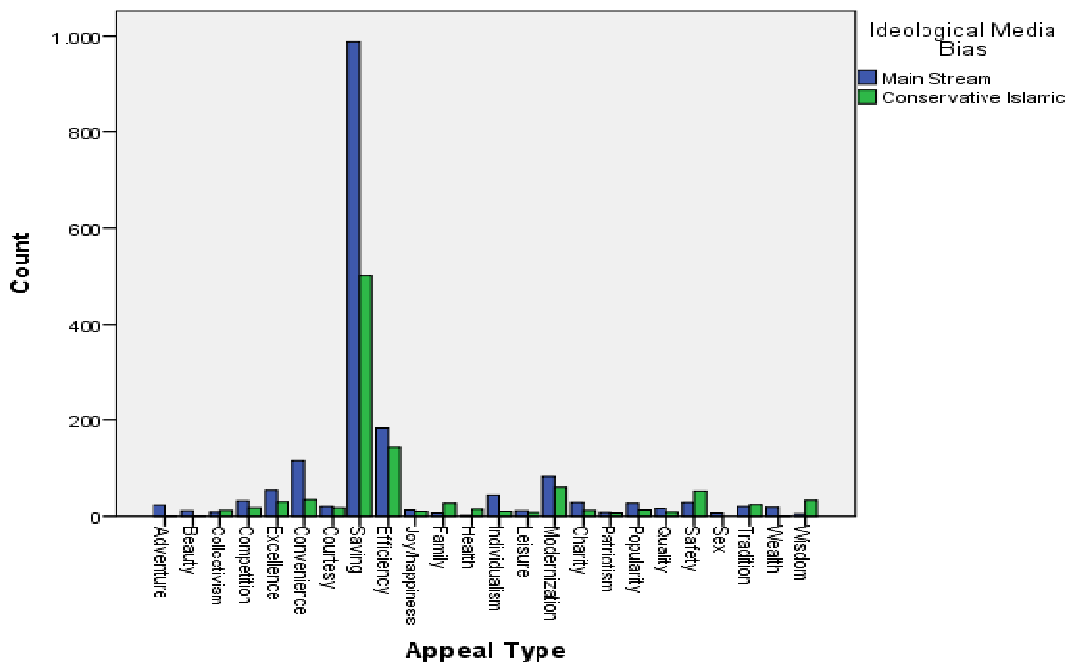
In order to test the second research hypothesis, the advertisements in the sample were examined for whether their appeals reflected individualistic (individualism, popularity, wealth, competition, modernization) or collective (collectivism, tradition, family, wisdom, patriotism) values. It was found that when the relationship was considered between the amount by which appeals in the two groups were used and the ideological bias of the newspaper, H2a and H2b were supported. All advertising appeals reflecting individualistic values (wealth 94.7%, individualism 81.1%, popularity 67.5%, competition 65.3% and modernization 58.0%) were used more in the mainstream media, and it was seen that this set it off from the conservative Islamic media. In contrast, it was found that all but one (patriotism) of the advertising appeals reflecting collective values (wisdom 86.8%, family 79.4%, collectivism 57.1%, tradition 54.5%, and patriotism 46.7%) were more used in the conservative Islamic newspapers, and that this characteristic distinguished them from the mainstream press (see Table 4 and Figure 1).

Table 4: Sample distribution by apple type

	Ideological Media Bias				Total	
	Main Stream		Conservative Islamic		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Adventure	23	95,8%	1	4,2%	24	100,0%
Beauty	11	91,7%	1	8,3%	12	100,0%
Collectivism	9	42,9%	12	57,1%	21	100,0%
Competition	32	65,3%	17	34,7%	49	100,0%
Excellence	54	64,3%	30	35,7%	84	100,0%
Convenience	115	76,7%	35	23,3%	150	100,0%
Courtesy	20	54,1%	17	45,9%	37	100,0%
Saving	989	66,3%	502	33,7%	1491	100,0%
Efficiency	183	56,1%	143	43,9%	326	100,0%
Joy/happiness	13	56,5%	10	43,5%	23	100,0%
Family	7	20,6%	27	79,4%	34	100,0%
Health	2	11,8%	15	88,2%	17	100,0%
Individualism	43	81,1%	10	18,9%	53	100,0%
Leisure	11	57,9%	8	42,1%	19	100,0%
Modernization	83	58,0%	60	42,0%	143	100,0%
Charity	29	70,7%	12	29,3%	41	100,0%
Patriotism	8	53,3%	7	46,7%	15	100,0%
Popularity	27	67,5%	13	32,5%	40	100,0%
Quality	16	64,0%	9	36,0%	25	100,0%
Safety	29	35,8%	52	64,2%	81	100,0%
Sex	7	100,0%	0	0,0%	7	100,0%
Tradition	20	45,5%	24	54,5%	44	100,0%
Wealth	18	94,7%	1	5,3%	19	100,0%
Wisdom	5	13,2%	33	86,8%	38	100,0%
Youthful spirit	0	0,0%	0	0,0%	0	100,0%
Total	1754	100,0%	1039	100,0%	2793	100,0%

Chi-square= 187.01, df= 23, p= 0

Figure 1: Comparison of appeal types



As a result, it can be seen that the ideological bias of the mainstream press and the conservative Islamic newspapers affects the advertising appeals which their advertisers prefer to use. In the mainstream press, appeals such as individualism, competition, modernization, popularity, beauty, sex or wealth which are more modern and individualistic in quality are more used. In the conservative Islamic press on the other hand advertising appeals such as collectivism, family, health, tradition or wisdom which have a more traditional or collective quality are more used.

Another point which is worthy of note in the research findings concerns the appeals of sex and beauty. The mainstream press used these appeals frequently, but the conservative Islamic press used the appeal of sex not at all, and that of beauty in only one advertisement. This can be said to be a reflection of the Islamic teaching that covering the body, spiritual maturity and commitment to God are more important than external beauty. It is for the same reason that a greater use is made in the mainstream press of advertisements with an individualistic mindset containing the thought of not depending on others, while advertisements in the conservative Islamic press reflect more the family values which are recommended and encouraged in Islamic teaching.

It can be seen in connection with these results that the differing values held by the target groups of these newspapers and the ideological biases of the media organizations give rise to differences in the use of advertising appeals. Advertisements in the conservative Islamic press make greater use of appeals of a traditional and collective nature, while the use of advertising appeals which have a modern and individualistic quality is greater in the advertisements of the mainstream newspapers.

VI. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

This study has various limitations, the main one being in terms of the method itself, and which stems from the content analysis method which was adopted. "Content analysis is subject to a number of typical research problems, including sampling and measurement difficulties" (Cosse and Swan 1981). "By definition, it is an observational technique, and although it enables the detection of changes in manifest content, it does not allow the researcher to identify the 'true' causes of such change" (Okazaki and Muller 2008). Another limitation relates to the time when the research sampling was carried out. It is to be expected that appeals such as sex and beauty which were used in samples collected in the winter would be used more in advertisements collected in another season. A third limitation of the study is that the advertisements which formed the sample were only newspaper advertisements. It would be of benefit to examine advertisements appearing in media such as television, radio or magazines.

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