

RESEARCH

Promoting Commodities through Comic Books: A Framing Analysis of the Captain Citrus Campaign

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ABSTRACT

The communication campaign starring Captain Citrus, first released in 2011, was aimed at elementary school students with the goals of encouraging health and agricultural literacy, as well as promoting the consumption of Florida orange juice. This study was designed as a qualitative, inductive framing analysis of the Captain Citrus comic book series featured in the campaign. The goal was to identify the prominent frames along with evidence of agricultural perspective and promotion throughout the series. The first two editions of the series, totaling 38 pages, were evaluated for the study. The results indicated the presence of four predominate frames: "Amazing Inside," health, responsibility, and empowerment. A majority of the agricultural perspective and promotion was found in the form of images, followed by textual mentions, and symbolic references. It was determined that the "Amazing Inside" and health frames contributed to meeting the campaign objective to boost health literacy. The second objective, to promote agricultural literacy, was somewhat endorsed through the agricultural references, however there is an opportunity for this to be strengthened. The presence of all four frames aided in the achievement of the final goal, to promote Florida citrus through the sale of orange juice. It is recommended that further research be conducted to measure the effects of framing on the attitudes and behaviors of elementary school students before and after they are exposed to the campaign materials.

KEY WORDS

Agricultural Literacy, Communication Campaign, Citrus, Content Analysis, Framing

INTRODUCTION

In 2011, the Florida Department of Citrus (FDOC) released an elementary school marketing program that featured its very own superhero, Captain Citrus (Florida Department of Citrus [FDOC], 2011). The program was conducted in three Florida counties, reaching more than 50,000 students during the pilot period. The pilot was comprised of educational materials aimed at conveying the health and nutritional benefits of consuming orange juice. The original intention was for Captain Citrus to serve as an educational tool to aid the struggling citrus industry, specifically targeted toward elementary-aged children (FDOC, 2011).

Five years later, the Florida citrus industry is still facing hardships. Production costs have risen, citrus greening has reduced supply, juice prices have increased, sales have declined due to shifts in American's consumption preferences, and all of this has been intensified by a slow economic recovery (FDOC, 2013). The Florida citrus industry is responsible for

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65% of the total citrus production in the United States, 90% of which is processed into juice (Florida Agricultural Statistics Service, 2013). For this reason, encouraging orange juice consumption remains a primary goal for the FDOC.

According to Wexler (2013), a gallon of orange juice cost approximately \$4.40 ten years ago, in 2014 the average cost was \$6.20 per gallon. When examining the situation through a monetary lens, it would appear that sales have decreased by only 5.2% in the past ten years, with sales totaling \$3.49 billion in 2013 (Wexler, 2013). However, the dollar amount may not be painting a holistic picture, as consumers are now purchasing less juice at a higher cost. When examining sales by volume, it becomes apparent that sales have dropped by approximately one-third over the ten-year time period (Wexler, 2013). Over the past decade, increased competition has developed between orange juice and other beverages. For example, in 2003, carbonated beverage consumption in children outweighed that of 100% orange juice (Rampersaud, Bailey, & Kauwell, 2003).

Amidst the current bleak conditions for the Florida orange juice industry, the Florida Department of Citrus recognizes the importance of sharing the nutritional benefits of orange juice. Specifically, the FDOC acknowledges the need to reach their audience at a young age due to the theories established by Freud, Erikson, and Piaget which state that between the ages of six and 11, children establish habits, opinions, and beliefs that can last throughout their lifetime (Meyer, 1998). The information provided by the FDOC to elementary students promotes science literacy. Its focus is two-fold as it lends itself to both the health and agricultural arenas as students discover the nutritional benefits of drinking orange juice and understand where their juice comes from. These two entities, health and agricultural literacy, mesh well together as found by Trextler, Johnson, and Heinz (2000). It was determined that it is important for "youth to understand the food production and consumption system in order to make well reasoned decisions regarding personal health and the environment" (Trextler et al., 2000, p. 30).

Beyond increasing awareness of the health benefits of orange juice and providing the agricultural context for which it is produced, the goal of the FDOC is to promote the Florida citrus industry through the sale of orange juice. The FDOC aims to increase orange juice sales, making elementary school students a prime target to receive the information. It is typically thought that the parents in a household are the key decision-makers, but the decision-making power is shifting more and more into the hands of their children. Children are viewed in three different lights when it comes to their role as a consumer, first, as their own primary market; second, as influencers of their parents' buying habits; third, as possible future adult consumers (Wilson & Wood, 2004).

With the given current state of the Florida citrus industry and its goals to reach elementary school students to provide health and agricultural knowledge, as well as promote the citrus industry, it was time for the FDOC to assess the Captain Citrus campaign that was released in 2011. It was determined that the 2011 Captain Citrus campaign was not meeting its goals and objectives (FDOC, 2013). Thus, the development of the revamped Captain Citrus campaign was released in 2014. In a million dollar partnership formed with Marvel Entertainment, the FDOC has unveiled John Polk (Captain Citrus' everyday alias). John stars in the Captain Citrus comic books and resides at his family's Central Florida citrus grove. When John morphs into Captain Citrus, he draws his power from pure Florida sunshine. Captain Citrus joins the Avengers to fight off evil, but before he does, he always drinks a glass of orange juice to kick start his day. (For the purposes of this paper, let it be noted that "John Polk" and "Captain Citrus" refer to the same individual. The name "John" will be used to reference the character while in his normal, human form and "Captain Citrus" will be used to address John when he has morphed into his superhero alias).

The evolution of the agricultural industry and consumers have increased the need for agricultural communicators to share relevant, correct, timely, and understandable information to create an agriculturally literate society (National FFA Organization, 2002). The average American is three generations removed from the family farm (American Farm Bureau Federation, 2015). While lacking first hand agricultural experience, consumers have the ability to wield a great deal of power and affect serious change as they are able to make individual choices, influence the choices of others, and cast a vote with their food dollar (Tuckermanty et al., 2002). The need for agricultural communicators to be able to share the

message of the agricultural industry is becoming ever more pressing and to answer this call they have begun utilizing communication campaigns.

Communications campaigns have become commonplace in today's media and public relations. Many industries have invested in these campaigns in hopes of delivering a message designed to achieve specific objectives. More recently, the agricultural industry has begun developing educational and advertising campaigns of their own (Telg & Irani, 2012), Captain Citrus being one example. The hope of these campaigns is to narrow the gap between the industry and consumers, as well as promote their product by "communicating a message, using appropriate tools packaged for specifically targeted audiences and strategically framed messages" (Telg & Irani, 2012, p. 283). Agricultural communicators play a huge role in the development and execution of these campaigns.

Messages and campaigns have been strategically crafted and framed to highlight agriculture and give consumers greater insight. However, there is still a disconnect between even the most well-intentioned campaigns and the perception of the American public (Stevenson, 1997). The agricultural industry is well equipped and adjusted to communicating amongst itself, but it continues to struggle when reaching those outside of industry borders (Boone, Meisenback, & Tucker, 2000). To begin to create a more agriculturally literate and appreciative society, there is a need to understand the intricacies of the communication campaigns that connect the agricultural industry and the public (Boone et al., 2000). This need is expressed as the Informed Choices Priority in the National Research Agenda of the American Association of Agricultural Education (2012). Campaigns can be very costly, as in the case of Captain Citrus, and they are a reflection on the entire agricultural industry, providing additional reasoning for the need to study and evaluate the content and effectiveness of these campaigns.

By specifically considering the frames and agricultural perspective presented throughout the Captain Citrus campaign, specifically the comic book series, an understanding of how information has previously been presented by agricultural communicators will be gained. Clarifying these pieces of the framing process will allow agricultural communicators to be better equipped to craft strategically framed messages that will be well received by the public and as a result create a more agriculturally literate society. This purpose of this study was to uncover the frames and communication lessons presented throughout the Captain Citrus campaign that can be applied to other commodity campaigns.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Frames are often compared, much as the name implies, to a frame placed around a photograph or painting (Reese, Gandy, & Grant, 2001). In this metaphor, a communicator plays the role similar to that of an artist by choosing the frame or boundaries through which to present the scene (Bryant & Zillmann, 2002). The chosen frame allows the audience to see just a "slice" of the overall picture (Reese et al., 2001). The images, symbols, comparisons, arguments, vocabulary, and statistics used to present an issue are all elements combined to form a frame.

Frames are abstract in nature, however they serve to provide a framework to organize and structure social meanings (Bivins, 2007). Frames serve several purposes, they allow for interpretation of the world surrounding an individual, they are cognitive shortcuts to help make sense of complex information, they provide meaning through selective simplification, and they serve as a field of vision for a problem (Bivins, 2007). Through these different purposes, it becomes clear that framing occurs on two different levels, it is both a micro-level and macro-level construct (Scheufele, 1999). On the micro-level, framing portrays how individuals form opinions and impressions of information based on their pre-existing frameworks and schema (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). The macro-level of framing occurs at the hands of communicators as they design messages revolving around issues. As communicators frame a message, the goal is to frame the message in such a way that resonates with the underlying schema and frameworks of their audience members. By doing so, framing allows communicators to convey extremely complex information in a way that the lay public can understand (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

The act of macro-level framing depicts the creation of frames through a deliberative, analytic, and strategic process (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The framing that a communicator designs at the macro-level, has direct implications on the frame interpretation that occurs at the micro-level with individual audience members. Frames carry a great deal of weight in suggesting how people should understand new information. When it comes to an issue or event, such as those related to agriculture, as new frames are introduced, they significantly shape audiences' attitudes, actions, and opinions (Bryant & Zillmann, 2002). These conceptualizations of an issue by individuals or the reorientation or confirmation of their thinking as a result of framing, are known as framing effects. According to Druckman (2001) framing effects occur when "in the course of describing an issue or event, a speaker's emphasis on a subset of potentially relevant considerations causes individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing these opinions" (p. 1042). Chong and Druckman (2007) expand further on framing effects by saying "these occur when (often small) changes in the presentation of an issue or an event produce (sometimes large) changes of opinion" (p. 104). Due to the large influence framing effects can have on the audience, it becomes necessary to understand the frames that are present in agricultural campaign materials and messaging.

To explore the frames presented throughout the Captain Citrus comic book series, a framing analysis was employed. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), discussed the functionality of a framing analysis, highlighting its ability to identify trends in information revolving around an issue and compare variations across different sources. Several issues presented in the media have undergone framing analyses. Issues such as political power, social security, foreign policy, and immigration reform are among this list (Provalis Research, n.d.). Agricultural issues are no exception, they too have also been subjected to these analyses, issues such as bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) (Ashlock, Cartmell, & Kelemen, 2006), salmonella in salsa ingredients (Irlbeck & Akers, 2010), organic food labeling (Klintman & Boström, 2004), and cultured meat (Goodwin & Shoulders, 2013) have been analyzed.

While an extensive number of framing analyses have been conducted on media portrayal of agricultural issues, fewer studies have focused on the framing of the messages put forth by the agricultural industry itself. One such study, conducted by Van Gorp and van der Goot (2012), sought to investigate the frames used by principle stakeholder groups (including those in the agricultural industry) in their campaigns promoting sustainable food and agriculture. Van Gorp and van der Goot (2012) uncovered six interpretive framing packages including responsibility, undermining foundations, natural goodness, and progress, as well as the good mother, and Frankenstein frames. This study provided insight into how frames are deployed and how frames vary based on the sources, including those based in the agricultural industry. Van Gorp and van der Goot (2012) provided an example of how framing can be utilized to relay complex agricultural messages in a digestible way to the public.

Gaining insight into how agricultural messages are framed allows for a greater understanding of consumers and their perceptions toward the agricultural industry and the framing effects that have the potential to influence them. This study sought to add to this knowledge base to create more effective strategically framed messages to promote agricultural commodities and to strengthen communication between industry communicators and the public.

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

This study aimed to understand the frames presented throughout the Captain Citrus campaign. The framing of messages leads to framing effects, which ultimately has the potential to shape the public's beliefs, opinions, and actions toward the agricultural industry. For this reason, this understanding will allow agricultural communicators to communicate more effectively through campaigns with consumers. The research objectives were as follows:

Research Objective 1:

Identify the predominate frames utilized in the Captain Citrus comic book series.

Research Objective 2:

Identify evidence of agricultural perspective/promotion in the Captain Citrus comic book series.

METHODS

The intent of this study was to evaluate the content presented through the Captain Citrus campaign, particularly the utilization of frames. For these reasons, a qualitative, inductive framing analysis was employed to conduct the content analysis of the Captain Citrus comic book series. This analysis addressed both comic book editions within the series ("Choose Wisely" and "Amazing Inside"). The first edition consisted of 20 pages and the second edition was 18 pages in length. All pages were considered in the analysis including front and back covers, advertisements, and comic book pages. A qualitative framing analysis was chosen to analyze this content due to the influence of this theory on audience perceptions when presenting new information and its key role in understanding how messages are received (Entman, 1993). A qualitative analysis was selected for this study because of the attributes of qualitative research. The value lies in its ability to provide in-depth illustrations, rich descriptions, and highlight the interpretation of information from various viewpoints (Sofaer, 1999). The approach of an inductive framing analysis was taken due to its ability to distinguish frames from an open range of possibilities as they emerge (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This design lends itself to manual coding of the materials versus machine coding, this allows for greater flexibility in the process of discovering frames beyond pre-determined frames that would be identified in an initial coding scheme for mechanical coding (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

To view the content in a holistic manner and to maintain the integrity of the material, the comic books were first analyzed in their entirety (Johnston, 2005). According to Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, and Vetter (2000), this allows for further micro-analysis to be put into context and to prevent the meaning from being distorted if first viewed in isolation. The micro-analysis was then performed on individual passages. The intent of the micro-analysis was to examine individual components extracted from, but not disconnected from the greater work. This analysis was then generalized and justification was developed for the presence of frames (Creed, Langstraat, & Scully, 2002). Coding instructions were developed by the researcher to assist in analyzing each page of the comic book series. The instrument recorded various logistic pieces of each page, as well as qualitative data such as images, words, and phrases that contributed to predominate frames. The primary researcher, a master's student in agricultural communications, coded every page. A co-coder, also a master's student in agricultural communications, was selected to code 20% of the pages to ensure inter-rater agreement (Hruschka, Schwartz, St. John, Picone-Decaro, Jenkins, & Carey, 2004). The reason for seeking inter-rater agreement was twofold: first, to ensure quality control throughout the coding process and secondly, for the information "produce[d] from [this] qualitative inquiry to remain useful and credible in applied and multidisciplinary settings" (Hruschka et al., 2004, p. 324). Any discrepancies in coding were solved through discussion.

The process of coding was used to identify initial frames which were then further refined (Saldaña, 2012). As outlined above, the first step was provisional coding and then the data was reread looking for units or variables of meaning and logistical components of each page were recorded. The logistic pieces of information that were transcribed included the edition, title, page number, and type of page. The units of meaning were in the form of sentences, phrases, language choices, and images. To determine the frames that were present, elements of framing were identified. Elements of framing included the present tone, symbols, figurative language, themes, and visual images, as well as those that were excluded. These items along with framing techniques were noted on the physical page. For the purpose of this study, Entman's (1993, p. 52) definition of a frame and framing techniques was utilized, "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." These techniques are defined by the aforementioned elements of framing. The techniques that were utilized were recorded along with the present frames. The final variable that was examined was evidence of agricultural perspective/promotion. The existence of this evidence was determined through mentions of the agricultural industry, terminology reflective of the agricultural industry, facts or statistics that support foundational agriscience knowledge, and symbolism that suggests influence from the agricultural industry.

The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis (Glaser, 1965) was used to analyze the data and reconceptualize the identified frames. This was done through "comparative assignment of incidents to categories, elaboration and refinement of categories, searching for relationships and themes among categories, and simplifying and integrating data into

coherent theoretical structures” (Dominick & Wimmer, 2010, p. 120). To combat researcher bias and reactivity, reflexivity was employed throughout the coding and analysis processes to ensure validity of the study (Kolb, 2012).

Common limitations within qualitative research are the researcher’s interpretation of the data and the sample size that is available to be evaluated (Pauly, 1991). At the time of this study, only two editions of the Captain Citrus comic book series had been released, containing approximately 20 pages each. Due to the small number of pages available to analyze, to address this limitation, all pages were included in the analysis. Ideally as more editions are released, they will be made available for inclusion in this study. Due to the nature of qualitative research, this study has the potential to be limited by researcher bias. This study is also limited in its ability to assess the effectiveness of the campaign as it stands on its own as a framing analysis.

RESULTS

There were 38 pages that made up the sample of content coded for this framing analysis. Of these 38 pages, 20 belonged to the first edition and 18 to the second edition. Each edition consisted of both a front and back cover, one game/puzzle page, and four advertisement pages, the remaining pages were devoted to the actual comic book. All pages within the editions were coded to identify the frames presented by the campaign through the comic book medium.

Research Objective 1:

Identify the predominate frames utilized throughout the Captain Citrus comic book series.

In its entirety, the comic book series relied on the framing technique of utilizing stories. According to Fairhurst and Starr (1996), this is accomplished by framing a subject with an anecdote in a vivid and memorable way. Four primary frames were distinguished during the framing analysis in response to the first research question. The four primary frames included “Amazing Inside,” health, responsibility, and empowerment.

“Amazing Inside” Frame

“There’s Amazing Inside” serves as the tagline for the Florida Department of Citrus and is prominently featured overarching its logo. This logo, with accompanying tagline, graces the front cover of both Captain Citrus comic books. Not only is this phrase incorporated in the branding of Florida citrus but the “Amazing Inside” frame was also the most prevalent of all the frames revealed throughout this study. The FDOC (2013) helps to better understand this frame by digging deeper into this phrase and explaining that it means life’s best stuff is on the inside and it’s not just what’s inside but what you get out of it.

The “Amazing Inside” frame manifested itself throughout the comic books in several ways. As aforementioned, it is first seen as part of the FDOC logo on both covers, it is also seen on several advertisements throughout the series, as well as in the story line of the comic book itself. The first advertisement featured a young boy playing soccer with a glass of orange juice off to the side. The following statement from the advertisement contributed to this frame,

Every serving of 100% Florida orange juice delivers an amazing combination of nutrition and flavor- all with no sugar added. And it gives you just the right kick you need to get in the game and make your own amazing moments happen.

The hashtag on the advertisement also portrayed this frame, “#AmazingInside.” The second advertisement showcasing the “Amazing Inside” frame, was set against the backdrop of an orange grove with a glass of orange juice hovering in the foreground. The word “Amazing” overarches the glass. Inside the glass are the five attributes that contribute to the “amazing-ness” of Florida orange juice: taste, vitamin C, potassium, folate, and no added sugar. This advertisement encouraged readers to find more information at www.FloridaCitrus.org/Amazing5.

The phrase "Amazing Inside" was predominately featured on the cover via the FDOC logo and throughout advertisements in the first edition, however it gained prominence within the second edition as "Amazing Inside" was now spotlighted as the actual title of the edition. Once again, the FDOC and logo were placed on the cover of the edition. The phrase also appeared once more on this cover as a term used to describe Captain Citrus himself. The two previously mentioned advertisements were present within this issue as well.

The "Amazing Inside" frame was also exhibited through the actual storyline of the second edition. This was seen during a conversation between John and his sister, Deb. After inspecting an orange that has been subject to storm damage, Deb hands it to John saying, "Look at this." In response, John peels the orange and says, "You know as well as I that just because something looks a certain way on the outside, doesn't mean what's inside is any less amazing." John continues, "They always say, it's what's on the inside that counts."

Health Frame

The health frame was the second most salient throughout the series. This frame encompassed all aspects of health, taking into account both nutrition and physical activity aspects. The frame was especially prevalent throughout the advertisements within both comic books. One advertisement displayed the My Plate graphic with the accompanying statement "Captain Citrus follows the My Plate guidelines to make smart food choices that keep him healthy and fit." It then described the desired daily requirements in each of the following categories fruits, vegetables, protein, dairy, and grains. This was followed by "Captain Citrus' Physical Challenge: stay powered up with 60 minutes of physical activity every day, and drink 100% Florida orange juice for the energy to stay active!"

A second advertisement also appeared in both editions and was previously mentioned as demonstrating the "Amazing Inside" frame as well, this was the ad of the young boy playing soccer. The statement "every serving of 100% Florida orange juice delivers an amazing combination of nutrition and flavor," speaks to the health frame, in addition to the image of the boy engaging in physical activity.

At the end of the first edition, Captain Citrus reflects on his adventures with the Avengers and states, "And just think, it all started with a glass of orange juice." This is one of several examples throughout the series where orange juice was given credit for Captain Citrus' abilities and experiences. Another example occurred in edition two as John outlines how he is taking care of himself, "Besides I'm eating right...drinking my OJ."

Right from the very beginning, the second edition lent itself to the health frame as the cover depicted an image of Captain Citrus surrounded by health terms to describe his amazing physical attributes. These terms include "femur bone density," "resting heart rate," and "quadriceps muscles."

Responsibility Frame

The responsibility frame played into the idea of a greater purpose or calling. In this frame, thinking goes beyond one's self and begins to consider the needs of others and the difference that one individual can make. Throughout the series, Captain Citrus discusses the duty he feels compelled to fulfill. The responsibility frame boils down to choices, more specifically Captain Citrus' abilities to make the right choices for himself and others. In edition one, the following conversation takes place as John's father warns him to proceed with caution when joining the Avengers in battle. John says, "I have to, Pop. For whatever reason, those solar pods chose our backyard to fall into...and me to bond with...now I have to use them." He continues to say, "I know mom and dad are worried...but lives are at stake and I've been given a gift that could save them." Later in edition two, John shares a similar sentiment, "these solar pods have given me a new power...and responsibility. To our family, our community...to myself."

Empowerment Frame

An investment of power was displayed through the empowerment frame. It shows enablement and ability as Captain Citrus realizes his powers. He becomes more aware of what he is capable of and confident in his abilities. This is

demonstrated in the first edition through the following declarations made by Captain Citrus, "Let's show the world what Captain Citrus can do," and, "The leader wasn't kidding when he said the metal manipulator could defend itself...but so can I."

Edition two holds arguably the best example of empowerment as it illustrated the moment when Captain Citrus realizes what it is exactly that powers him. In that moment he proclaims, "Wait a minute. It wasn't the pods that protected our house from the storm. It was me! I acted to protect and the pods followed. It's not the tools that grant the power...the power is inside!"

Research Objective 2:

Identify evidence of agricultural perspective/promotion throughout the Captain Citrus comic book series.

Much of the agricultural perspective that was provided throughout the series was in the form of images. Numerous pages boasted images of oranges, orange juice, and orange groves in Central Florida within advertisements and through cartoon depictions in the comic. The FDOC logo was placed on the cover of both editions and was also found on advertisements within the comic book.

Textual agricultural references were more seldom, but definitely present. Frequent mentions were made about Florida citrus products such as oranges, tangerines, and grapefruit, as well as 100% Florida orange juice. A portion of the series takes place in an orange grove in Central Florida which receives several acknowledgments. Beyond the general agricultural references, the first specific reference occurs toward the end of the first edition after Captain Citrus has been injured. As he is lying on the ground, Black Widow exclaims "Look! There's some interaction occurring between the pods on his wrists and the soil." After the interaction occurs and Captain Citrus is revitalized he comments, "The feedback from the lightning...it knocked me for a loop. I should've been a goner, but farmers down here...well, we're stronger than anyone knows."

A large portion of the second edition takes place as a flashback that occurred "weeks ago, at the Polk grove in Central Florida." During this time, a storm quickly approaches and items fall from the sky, described as "seeds." Toward the end of the second edition, Captain Citrus reflects over his experiences and shares the largest direct agricultural connection the comic book series has to offer by stating, "You know, I've always felt connected to the land – to the orange grove. The nutrients in the soil, the climate – every element came together in just the right way to create this place."

Throughout the series indirect references are made to issues currently effecting the Florida citrus industry which are personified through the villains that Captain Citrus battles. "Extreme cold and frost" is brought about in the first edition by The Leader – Gamma Enhanced Evil Genius. In the second edition "the climate just isn't what it used to be" according to Blizzard – Cold Hearted Villain who also has the ability to decrease the value of land.

CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this study was to gain greater insight into the frames and the agricultural perspective presented through the Captain Citrus comic book series. The FDOC's objectives in regards to this campaign were as follows 1) convey the health benefits of consuming Florida citrus 2) relay the agricultural practices through which Florida citrus reaches consumers 3) promote the consumption of Florida citrus, specifically orange juice (FDOC, 2013). As this study sought to explore the predominant frames expressed, it can be concluded through a qualitative, inductive framing analysis that the four predominant frames were "Amazing Inside," health, responsibility, and empowerment.

The identified frames were aligned with the objectives of the campaign. The health and "Amazing Inside" frames that were present support with the first objective of the campaign by providing insight to the nutritional and "amazing" ben-

efits of Florida citrus. The “Amazing Inside” frame tended to focus on the nutritional benefits of the juice such as taste, vitamin C, potassium, folate, and no added sugar. The health frame focused more on the benefits to Captain Citrus and the reader from drinking 100% Florida orange juice such as increased energy, good nutrition, and positive physical attributes. These two slightly different frames used to convey the health benefits of citrus may resonate with the underlying schema and frameworks of different audience members (perhaps youth and their parents), thus ensuring that the health benefits are communicated to a broader audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Additionally, the demonstration of these frames through the amazing fruit inside the orange peeled by Captain Citrus and Captain Citrus’ good physical and health attributes allow the nutritional benefits to be communicated in a way that readers of the comic books can easily relate to (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

The second campaign objective, was somewhat met through the evidence of agricultural perspective and references made. While the comic books featured pictures of citrus groves, products, and trees as well as made reference to the challenges that weather introduces and the hardiness of farmers, they failed to highlight practices of the industry such as planting, caring for, harvesting, transporting, and processing citrus. Trestler et al. (2000) said it is important for “youth to understand the food production and consumption system in order to make well reasoned decisions regarding personal health and the environment” (p. 30). Thus, an opportunity exists to creatively highlight these practices in the comic story line and campaign materials, thus meeting objective two of the campaign while furthering reader knowledge of practices associated with citrus production and enabling them to make well-reasoned decisions.

The responsibility and empowerment frames correspond with the third objective of the campaign, by educating consumers about the power of choice and how to exercise that choice to choose Florida orange juice. The health and “Amazing Inside” frames also corresponded with the third objective of the campaign by encouraging the consumption of 100% Florida orange juice to have the energy to stay active, to fulfill good nutrition, and to have the same positive health and “amazing” attributes displayed by Captain Citrus. Similar to objective one of the campaign, these two different approaches to encouraging consumption of 100% Florida orange juice likely appeal to the schema and frameworks of different audience members (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Holistically, the campaign packaged strategically framed messaged tailored to its specific target audience of elementary school students as prescribed by Telg and Irani (2012).

RECOMMENDATIONS

As discussed in the conclusions, the Captain Citrus campaign features four primary frames, “Amazing Inside,” health, responsibility, and empowerment. It should be ensured that these frames fashioned at the macro-level are crafted strategically and deliberately (Chong & Druckman, 2007). This practice should be embraced to guarantee that campaign messages are framed in a way that will resonate with the existing schema of the intended audience, in this case elementary school students (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). The campaign has an opportunity to further highlight agricultural practices related to citrus production. It is recommended that the campaign consider ways to strengthen the agricultural perspective/promotion, perhaps through additional comic books in the series or through teaching or promotional materials. Campaign organizers should consider creative ways to present the complexities of agricultural practices in a way that is understandable to the target audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Strategies such as using Captain Citrus to demonstrate the practices or using villains to demonstrate the need for a practice may be beneficial. Frames should also be utilized in campaigns to present a field of vision for consumers to better understand the problems (Bivins, 2007) facing the agriculture industry. Renewed efforts to strengthen the agricultural components of the campaign should be tested with the target audience during development to ensure that the desired influence on attitudes, perceptions, and actions is being achieved (Bryant & Zillmann, 2002). For children to make informed choices in terms of their health and the environment, an understanding of food systems is necessary (Trexler et al., 2000), therefore campaigns should focus on the promotion of both agricultural and health literacy through framing.

Further research is recommended to analyze the content and effectiveness of the Captain Citrus campaign. While this study served as an in-depth qualitative analysis of framing of the Captain Citrus comic books, it is recommended that

further research be conducted with a quantitative approach. Additional content analysis should be performed, considering the different appeals presented throughout the comic book series. To measure the ability of the Captain Citrus campaign to meet its objectives, it is also recommended that research be conducted to gauge its influence on attitude and behavior changes in audience members before and after being exposed to the material, thus measuring micro-level framing and framing effects (Druckman, 2001). It is recommended that further research be conducted as a summative evaluation of the campaign's objectives, as well as assess the impact of the campaign using McGuire's model of attitude change. It is also suggested that research be conducted testing the effectiveness of comic books as a means to communicate agricultural messages versus other mediums. This study's focus was placed on the comic book series, further research should aim to examine other materials within the Captain Citrus campaign including the website and teaching resources. It is also recommended that this research be replicated in different contexts with other agricultural commodity campaigns. Through the continued study of message frames, the disconnect between agricultural messages and the perception of the American public can be further understood.

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