

**The Black Travel Movement: Unpacking the roles of framing and social symbolic work
in the development of meaning in institutional fields**

Track - Organisational Studies Track

Richard Amadi

Nottingham Business School, Nottingham Trent University

richard.amadi@ntu.ac.uk

Stéphanie Giamporcaro

Nottingham Business School, Nottingham Trent University

Graduate School of Business, University of Cape Town

stephanie.giamporcaro@ntu.ac.uk

George Kuk

Nottingham Business School, Nottingham Trent University

george.kuk@ntu.ac.uk

Ofelia Palermo

Nottingham Business School, Nottingham Trent University

ofelia.palermo@ntu.ac.uk

Abstract

This paper explores the interplay between framing and social-symbolic work, specifically emotion and identity work, in shaping meaning within the Black Travel Movement (BTM) on social media. Drawing from archival data and 16 semi-structured interviews, we apply a qualitative processual approach to analyse the social construction of the BTM, a social movement, that aims to address the underrepresentation of black travellers within the travel industry.

Our findings reveal three main phases in the development of the BTM frame over social media: framing of the BTM as a social-symbolic object, followed by fostering emotional resonance, and resolving identity tensions within the BTM. We also observe a combination of emotion work and remedial identity work practices are performed to respectively generate emotional energy and address emergent identity threats.

This study contributes to framing literature by applying a meaning-making approach and theorizing how framing combined with emotion and identity work on social media, shapes meaning within a specific cultural context.

Word count- 6,884 (excluding tables and references)

Goffman (1974) provides an apt description of the interpretative nature of frames, positing that, “Given their understanding of what it is that is going on, individuals fit their actions to this understanding and ordinarily find that the on-going world supports this fitting. These organizational premises sustained both in the mind and in activity, I call the frame of the activity.” (p.247). This quote implies that frames constitute a collection of beliefs, values and meaning interpretations through which a reality event, occurrence or situation could be perceived. Boland (1989), in his paper focused on investigating the dichotomy between the increasing subjectivist interpretation of accounting over the traditional objectivist interpretation, argues that “...the processes through which participants frame and reframe a situation is an important part of understanding the making of meanings” (Boland, 1989, p. 602).

The meaning interpretations which emerge as an outcome of framing activities are not always homogenous and are instead frequently contested through series of micro-interactions prior to the crystallization and amplification of shared frames that lead to institutionalization (Gray, Purdy, & Ansari, 2015). Such meaning conflicts are further exacerbated by the emergence of social networking sites and other digital media through which meaning interpretations could be instantly diffused to global audiences. Kuk, Faik and Janssen (2022) , in their editorial that focuses on the application of a technological perspective to addressing grand societal challenges, highlight the paradoxical effect of technology where it serves as both an enabler of, and hindrance to, the future endeavours of people globally due to its democratisation of public discourse and the instant dissemination of information.

Therefore, the process of framing and counterframing occurs almost instantly on social media as content creators and audiences instantly and continually interact and engage in real time contestation of frames (Mattoni & Teune, 2014). In the context of social movements, such contestation of meaning interpretations on social media often leads to disputes and meaning contests that weaken collective identification, which refers to a feeling of allegiance to a collective ‘self’ (Polletta & Jasper, 2001), to a collective action frame, defined as a shared set of beliefs and values to attain a common goal (Benford & Snow, 2000). Hence, this situation requires movement actors to take purposeful action to enhance the emotional resonance of their preferred frame and enhance the salience of identification to their cause to support target mobilization efforts.

Emotion and identity are two crucial elements that are central to movement target mobilization in social movements, and it is difficult to divorce the two elements. This is because they are both deeply interwoven aspects of the collective self (Polletta & Jasper, 2001) that intersect in diverse ways. For instance, actions that are conducted with the purpose of escalating emotions have a greater efficacy when the target audience identifies with the object of those actions. Similarly, Winkler (2018) opines that most empirical research on identity work, defined as the intentional method of identity construction (Brown, 2015), describe it in emotional terms such as an emotional laden event triggering identity work or the emotional impact of the outcome of identity work. The paper goes further to suggest that future research should investigate the role of emotion in the experience of identity work (Winkler, 2018). Despite this apparent relationship between emotion and identity, there exists limited literature that delves into the relationship between emotional escalation and the consequent collective identification in target mobilization within social movements.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to provide insights into the role played by the intentional deployment of emotion generating and identity reinforcing practices on social

media with the purpose of influencing meaning within the specific cultural context of the Black Travel Movement (BTM). To this end, the main research question is articulated as follows: How does framing activities enacted by BTM field actors interact with their emotion and identity work practices on Instagram?

Theoretical rationale

This paper is situated at the intersection of framing and social symbolic work theoretical perspectives. The purpose of this study is to provide insights into the role played by combinations of social-symbolic work practices on social media, performed at the nexus of framing activities, on the development of meaning within the specific cultural context of the Black Travel Movement (BTM). The Black Travel Movement (BTM) serves as the research context and could be described as a boundary-agnostic social movement of Black travelers which coalesced primarily on social media to counter the narrative that Black travelers do not engage in leisure travel (Benjamin and Dillette, 2021).

A framing perspective is considered suitable for this study given its focus on microlevel individual interactions, which allows for variegated cultural contexts to be investigated without the unintentional prejudices inherent in prevailing Western meaning constructs such as institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Purdy, Ansari & Gray, 2019). This suggests that a framing theoretical perspective has analytical utility when investigating phenomena within a specific cultural context as is the case in this study with its focus on the Black Travel Movement. Furthermore, the framing perspective is regarded as uniquely suited to investigate grand challenges and a wide range of societal issues across varied cultural registers (Friedland et al., 1991; Thornton et al., 2012; Purdy, Ansari & Gray, 2019). This implies that a framing approach suits this research's historical and cultural context of the Black Travel Movement, a social movement which coalesced to address the perceived racial injustice of the lack of representation of Black travelers in the travel and tourism industry.

Furthermore, a social symbolic work perspective presents a useful lens to gain an understanding of how the purposeful practices of BTM field actors on social media lead to the advancement of new meanings. Lawrence and Philips (2019) in their book on the role of social-symbolic work in the social construction of selves, organizations, and institutions, defines the social-symbolic work concept as 'purposeful, reflexive efforts' that are performed with the intent of influencing and maintaining of social-symbolic objects in organizational life (Lawrence & Philips, 2019). This definition implies that the essence of social-symbolic work is to ensure that a social-symbolic object embodies the meaning systems intended by the actor who is conducting the work. On a similar note, social-symbolic objects are "...the combinations of discursive, relational and material elements that constitute meaningful patterns in social systems" (Lawrence & Philips, 2019, p.5).

Karakulak and Lawrence (2023) in their recent article on the role social-symbolic work performs in the construction of social problems, opines that the social-symbolic work perspective has analytical utility due to its capacity to consider diverse pathways through which purposeful action can influence meaning making in organizational life. Furthermore, Karakulak and Lawrence (2023) opine that the importance of social-symbolic work is enhanced through its ability to consider several forms of work which help explain the 'how' in how meanings are socially constructed whether it be with respect to multi-actor projects (Barberá-Tomás et al., 2019; Pradies et al., 2021) or tackling social issues (Kouamé et al.

2020). Hence, this study's adoption of social-symbolic work perspective addresses this gap as it allows for a multifaceted approach to understanding the meaning making at a microlevel as it allows for the researcher to combine different forms of self work, i.e. the intentional and reflexive efforts of actors are aimed at effecting the different elements of one's 'self' (Lawrence and Philips, 2019).

The argument for the presence of an embeddedness of social-symbolic work in framing processes is not farfetched given that both theoretical areas are considered to have their roots in the study of the development of meaning. The development of meaning is the broad area of theoretical concern for this study and adopting a meaning making perspective means a focus on the "...collective processes of ascribing meanings to experienced social situations" (Lorino, Mourey, & Schmidt, 2017, p.32). Several researchers (Mitnick & Ryan, 2015; Purdy, Ansari & Gray, 2019) have called for more research using meaning making approaches with Mason (2014) postulating of the centrality of meaning making to knowledge construction and Castelli Dransart (2013) positing that meaning making was the third and final process of the development of meaning after sensemaking and memory-building and meaning making (Castelli Dransart, 2013). In this paper, our focus on gaining insights into the bottom-up, social construction of meaning within specific cultural contexts, lent itself to the use of both a framing and social symbolic work theoretical perspective.

To this end, emotion and identity work have been selected for this study to gain richer insights into the motivations and practices of the BTM actors as they try to shape the accepted collective meaning of the Black Travel Movement frame as the focus social-symbolic object and in doing so contribute to the limited literature on how different forms of social-symbolic work combine within specific case studies has been undertheorized in the literature (Lawrence & Philips, 2019). Emotion work is defined as the actions of agentic actors with the purpose of the intentional deployment of emotions and 'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1979) to influence others (Lok et al., 2017; Zietsma et al., 2019). Barbera-Tomas et al (2019) extends emotion work literature by investigating the deployment of multimodal resources, usually text and visuals, with the intention to "...affect emotions in efforts to influence target actors to enact a cause" (Barbera-Tomas et al, 2019: p.2). They refer to this phenomenon as 'emotion-symbolic work' and it involves a process whereby multimodal resources, usually text and visuals, are deployed to trigger emotional resonance in target audiences (Giorgi, 2017). This concept of the emotion-generating characteristics of visuals and text is particularly useful in understanding the capability of content on social media to generate emotional energy in its audience.

The ability of social media content to arouse emotions in its audience is impacted by the extent to which the audience identifies with the message. To this end, identity work was deemed a complementary theoretical tool to gain insights into the relationship between emotional attachment and identity maintenance in the salience of collective action frames. Identity work is defined as the intentional method of identity construction (Brown, 2015) whereby individuals, or groups of individuals, perform actions that are motivated by a desire to construct a specific perception of their selves with a view to achieving a particular outcome. In this paper, we were interested in how the conduct of identity work by situated BTM actors maintained the salience of the BTM frame as it transitioned from a localized, mainly American injustice frame to a globalized frame through the affordances of social media. In this instance, the remediating effects of identity work became relevant with Alvesson and Willmott (2002) positing the concept of intensive remedial identity work as the agentic actions of actors aimed at regulation and maintenance of identities.

Research context and Methods

The Black Travel Movement (BTM) serves as this research's context given its roots in the extreme context of race relations in tourism which, along with the micro-interactions and meaning making processes among its actors (challengers) and target audience. Dillette Benjamin and Carpenter (2018) describe the Black Travel Movement as "a grouping of organizations with the goal of connecting Black and people of colour to travel and leisure experiences outside their normal home environment" (Dillette, Benjamin, and Carpenter 2019: Cited by Dillette and Benjamin, 2021: p. 465). The BTM arose from a diverse community of Black travellers as a social movement with a shared desire to propagate authentic counter narratives around Black travel (Dillette, 2021), mobilize collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000). Given the absence of a defined hierarchy or universally accepted set of norms and practices, the emergence of the Black Travel Movement (BTM) on social media has been nebulous as global Black traveller audiences sought to impose other meaning interpretations of perceived injustices and attributions of cause viewed through their diverse lived experiences. For example, African American travellers would be more susceptible to storytelling around their shared history of racial prejudice and police brutality in the United States.

We apply a qualitative processual approach to examine the bottom-up development of meaning over an eleven-year period. This study focuses on the agentic actions of BTM actors on Instagram, recognizing the platform as a primary space for the movement's evolution. Archival data, with a significant emphasis on Instagram content, serves as the primary data source, complemented by 16 semi-structured interviews with key BTM actors. Details of data sources utilized and their use in analysis are illustrated in Table 1 below:

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Table 1 above illustrates the data sources through which the research question for this study were addressed. The primary data source for this study is archival data drawn from diverse sources, such as Instagram, online web sources and industry publications. These data sources were utilized for the data analysis in three ways: Firstly, online web sources, podcasts and industry publications were examined to gain insights into the descriptive characteristics of the Black Travel Movement collective action frame and to determine whether it meets the threshold to qualify as a collective action frame, using collective action frame descriptors from Snow et al (2000) as an indicative benchmark. The second means of utilizing archival data was the collection of Instagram posts of 10 leading BTM actors posted over the corresponding timeline to support temporal mapping of the development of the Black Travel Movement

Finally, the third purpose behind this study's use of archival data is to gain insights into how the BTM actors' target audience interpret the actors' emotion and identity work practices and to determine if the meanings are being understood within the desired cultural context.

In this study, it was important to gain insights into the audience's interpretation of the emotion and identity work practices of BTM actors' practices on social media. The understanding of movement-target interactional dynamics informed the conduct of interpretative work at three key sites of meaning making which are: the site of the image, the site of circulation and the site of audiencing (Rose, 2022). However, rather than seek to rigidly follow any one specific visual analytical technique, we opted for an iterative method of close multimodal reading (Karsgaard & Macdonald, 2020; Hautea et al., 2021; Rose, 2022). This approach allowed for interpretative work on the emotion and identity work practices of BTM actors evident in the comprehensive site of the image, the unique characteristics of the Instagram platform (e.g., post captions, likes and comments) and the target audience interpretations of the purposeful actions of the BTM actors.

The findings from the visual analytical process were coded thematically leading to groupings of Instagram posts from across the 10 actor timelines that evidenced similar patterns of practices being open coded as first order codes and labelled according to the interpretation of the activity being undertaken. Subsequently, axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) was conducted to group the relevant first order codes into emotion or identity work micro practices and, finally, aggregate emotion and identity work macropractices. The next step, which often ran concurrently, was the analysis of interview data to address the knowledge gaps from the analysis of the Instagram data with rich contextual insights from the BTM actors regarding their posting behaviour on social media. To achieve this, interview transcripts from semi-structured interviews with 16 participants, five of which were part of the sample of 10 BTM actors whose Instagram profiles were analysed, were openly coded (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013) using NVivo Software. Finally, the emergent theoretical codes were considered alongside those from the visual analysis of the Instagram data, following which common codes were combined and grouped into aggregate dimensions of emotion and identity work macropractices.

Figures 1 below presents the outcomes of this analytical process, highlighting the aggregate and micro-practices of the emotion and identity work observed to have been conducted by BTM actors on Instagram that were intended to generate moral emotions that foster collective identification with the movement and its social agenda.

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Emerging findings

Preliminary findings have enabled the development of the data structure table in Figure 1 above. To present a snapshot of the emergent findings, we will first illuminate the contextual timeline by introducing a temporal map that establishing linkages between temporal chunks (Berend & Deken, 2021) within the BTM timeline. Subsequently, we will unpack one emotion work micro-practice 'Building communities and safe spaces' – to demonstrate how BTM actors utilized social media to generate moral emotions among Black travellers and to foster collective identification with their social agenda.

Temporal bracketing of the Black Travel Movement timeline

The emergent findings from the triangulation of archival data and primary data representing retrospective accounts obtained from participant interviews provided strong evidence that supports the existence of the development of the BTM collective action frame. The focus was on providing a chronological account of the development of the frame using contextual markers to denote temporal fault lines that marked periods where meaning interpretations were altered or changed through the social construction of reality on social media.

Preliminary analysis revealed that the development of the movement was interspersed with five significant temporal markers: the launch of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in 2013; the ‘Year of Return’ influencer-led marketing campaign in 2019; the onset of the COVID pandemic-induced lockdown in 2020; the George Floyd murder and subsequent global Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests in the same year, and; the launch of the Black Travel Alliance (BTA), also in 2020. These contextual markers are each discussed below.

Figure 2 below represents the temporal map of the development of the Black Travel Movement collective action frame:

INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

The temporal map in Figure 2 above illustrates the key contextual events and micromobilization tasks that informed the development trajectory over the indicative period. Furthermore, the framing processes that provide theoretical relevance to the conceptual chunks of occurrences are also detailed within the map. The map shows how the Black Travel Movement emerged through the spotlighting of Black travellers in tourism destinations and the sensemaking around the Black traveller experience on social media. These nascent online communities of Black travellers validated their claims of racial prejudice by anchoring onto the popular Black Lives Matter frame. Subsequently the BTM frame amplified as successful target mobilization grew the community leading to speedy growth beyond the United States and thus transitioning from a local to a global collective action frame.

Despite the growth of the frame facing some roadblocks due to the misframing of the BTM by the mainstream media following the Reggie Cummings scandal, the onset of the COVID 19 global lockdown provided a fertile ground for the murder of George Floyd to instigate global protests against racial injustice and to provide a new head of steam for the BTM. However, the heterogeneity of the new audience and the diversity in its grievance interpretations and hierarchy of needs required BTM actors to be less rigid in their problem definition and more flexible in their prognostic framing by incorporating other issues into their visual storytelling.

Ultimately, a new iteration of the Black Travel Movement emerged in 2020 following Blackout Tuesday and shepherded by the Black Travel Alliance who realigned the movement under the mission statement of ‘alliance, amplification and accountability’ and provided an inclusive platform for the new target audience of BIPOC travellers. In a sense, the BTM no longer referred to ‘Black Travel Movement’ but had realigned into the ‘BIPOC Travel Movement’ as represented by the Black Travel Alliance.

Illustrative example of Emotion work micropractice

In this section, we consider one emotion work micro-practice – ‘Building communities and safe spaces’ – to illustrate how BTM actors engaged in social symbolic work practice using social media to generate moral emotions among Black travellers and to foster collective identification to movement objectives. One of the primary objectives of BTM actors for curating repositories of images and text that are dispersed globally via social media channels is to build visible communities of Black travellers that together form the Black Travel Movement. The usage of hashtags on Instagram are configured to enable community building and the inclusion of geotags, that facilitate location mapping, provide a veritable visual platform for BTM content creators to journal Black travel lifestyles and experiences and share this content globally through regular posting of images and text. Through this medium, BTM actors can facilitate the identification of the Black travel community by maintaining an emotional connection through the aggregation and diffusion of travel-related content. To communicate this need for solidarity and collaboration within the community, BTM actors sometimes deployed images that symbolized unity and community to trigger emotions of happiness or pride with the purpose of strengthening the emotional connection and facilitating collective identification.

INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

Figure 3 above from Travelnoire epitomizes this type of emotion work with its image depicting four young Black women huddled together on a balcony and bounded by a sense of peace and the caption refers to searching for where Black women could “...relax, connect and heal in a safe community...”. The entire architecture of the post is meant to arouse emotions of love, joy and contentment which are in turn intended to underline the importance of the collective identification that is represented by the Black Travel Movement. The post received 4,624 likes which implies that the message resonated with the target audience.

Within this emotion work practice of building communities and safe spaces, the findings from the Instagram feeds of the BTM actors can be categorized into three main themes: Emphasizing credibility of movement actors, highlighting collaboration within Black travel community and reminiscing of shared historical and cultural roots.

Discussion

In this section, we focus on discussing the findings as they relate to this study’s primary objective of this research which is to investigate the roles of framing and social symbolic work in the development of meaning in institutional fields. To achieve this, we will first discuss the emotion and identity work practices performed by BTM actors on social media to support their propagation of the BTM collective action frame. Subsequently, we theorise on

the interplay between framing and social symbolic work practices which unfold across three macro-phases of meaning making.

Emotion and identity work practices conducted by BTM actors on Instagram

The three main emotion work practices conducted by BTM actors were facilitating energetic arousal, triggering collective emotions and enabling collective identification. In facilitating energetic arousal, the motivation was to generate an emotional energy around travelling and inspire the target audience to engage in travel. To achieve this aim, BTM actors selected images of Black people having fun travelling and constructed narratives around the empowering effect of travel. The primary emotions generated by these practices as joy, happiness, pride and desire that was expected to lead to individual motivation and collective excitement for travel.

Barbera-Tomas et al (2019) published an academic paper that studied how anti-plastic pollution social entrepreneurs employed emotion-symbolic work deployed multimodally to induce the enactment of their cause. In this paper, they advance that visual images trigger an emotional response in the viewer of the image and instigate a state of reflexivity (Barbera-Tomas et al., 2019). They further opine that images display complex relationships and signify meaning instantly and wholistically in a way that is difficult where using only text. Similarly, Meyers et al. (2018) and Christensen (2018) concur in their assessment of images being able to reframe issues and establish an emotional connection with the audience.

They achieved this by leveraging on images and text that expressed anger or sadness at racial injustice as was the case following the murder of George Floyd. During the aftermath of this emotional escalatory event, BTM actors used images and stories around George Floyd to create associations to the racial injustice against Black travelers and Black travel by the mainstream travel and tourism industry. The purpose of this practice was to generate moral shock through the triggering of moral emotions that facilitated emotional attachment and identification to the BTM. This statement resonates with the position of organization researchers (Wright, Zammuto, & Liesch, 2017; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018) who opine that the generation of moral emotions can translate to moral judgements as to that rights and wrongs of one's social reality and legitimize the claims of movement actors. Still other researchers (Friedland, Mohr, Roose, & Gardinali, 2014; Gray et al., 2015) posit that collective experience of emotions serves to bind people together irrespective of their location.

BTM actors also performed emotion work practices that were intentionally designed to channel these generated moral emotions towards enactment of and identification with their cause. The motivation for this practice was to provide morally outraged target audiences with a diagnosis of an issue, the attribution of causality and a prognosis for the solution of which the latter was for collective action against the gatekeepers of the travel industry. Also, as a complementary practice, movement actors diffused images and stories of Black travelers who were enacting the cause which is meant to trigger both positive emotions of happiness and excitement that the movement achieving its objectives but also potentially guilt at not having already demonstrated allegiance to the cause. Bacq and Alt (2018) suggest that channeling moral emotions towards intended enactments requires the target audience to have belief in the potential success of the objective. Hence, the emotion work practice of BTM actors to link morally outraged targets to supporting the objective requires their acceptance of their

prognostic framing of the potential solution and the ability of movement actors to implement that solution.

The final emotion practice conducted by BTM actors was enabling collective identification as a natural progression of arousing emotional energy and channeling moral emotions towards collective action. To maintain the emotional attachment to the collective identity of the BTM, movement actors engaged in three micro-practices which were articulating on credibility of actor, building communities and safe spaces and highlighting economic power of the group. These practices involved constructing narratives through deployment of images and text that reinforce the credibility of the actor, and by extension the legitimization of the actor's status and message; signaling the need for collaboration and community to achieve amplification of the collective identity and ,finally, to facilitate belief in the eventual success of the objective that comes through the increasing economic power of the collective movement.

With respect to identity work practices, we focus on the identity work that BTM actors noticeably engaged in to maintain collective identification amid a diverse community with ethnic, cultural, religious, national, geographical and generational differences alongside an everchanging landscape of grievance interpretations, hierarchy of needs and interpretations of the future. As mentioned previously, the audience is likely to be more receptive to the emotion work practices of BTM actors on social media where there exists a pre-existing emotional attachment of the audience to the articulator of the message. However, this emotional attachment is negatively affected where identification of the target audience to the cause is diminished by identity gaps arising from differing grievance interpretations, hierarchy of needs and interpretations of the future. This is supported by Zietsma et al (2019) where they state that emotional attachment is "...conditioned by one's place in the social world and one's relationship with others, especially the groups to which one belongs" (p.4). Furthermore, Klein and Amis (2021) opine that emotions are "...the mechanisms that generate commitment to social and cultural structures (Turner & Stets, 2006)." (p.1326).

Hence, the two main identity work practices performed by BTM actors to maintain emotional attachment to the collective identity were articulating emergent identity threats and recognizing and addressing identity salience. While the extant localized BTM frame had focused primarily on travelers of solely Black ethnicity, the globalized frame now targeted BIPOC (i.e., Black and Indigenous People of Colour) travelers and victims of different forms of discrimination such as gender and religious discrimination. The other form of identity work practice is recognizing and addressing identity salience. This practice is rooted in the knowledge that the prominence of the collective identity of the BTM would not always be constant and should not be taken for granted. There is also the effect of emotional fatigue whereby extant emotion work practices have a diminished effect over time in generating and channeling moral emotions due to the waning of the emotional resonance of the message. This development was noticeable around field configuring events that are both emotionally escalatory and identity-heightening in scope. The first is the Year of the Return in 2019. In the build up to the event that culminated in a series of music carnivals, there was high level of collective excitement and identification noticeable from the volume of likes and comments that Instagram posts on this subject matter attracted. Subsequently, there was a significant drop off in likes and comments over the weeks and months that followed, suggesting audience disengagement and potentially emotional fatigue.

Therefore, movement actors are compelled to employ identity work to capture the attention of the target audience in other ways that maintained the salience of the collective identity. Three

micropractices were noticed within this form of identity work which involve the diffusion of images and text that celebrate Blackness, i.e., the excellence of Black achievements and the uniqueness of Black people, embrace the plurality of the movement and highlight the benefits of community membership through exclusive job opportunities and giveaways.

Macro-phases of meaning making

In this section, this study subsumes framing and social symbolic work theories to proffer a processual model that enables this study to unravel the fundamental phases of the development of meaning in institutional fields over digital media within a specific cultural context. This model is illustrated in Figure 4 below:

INSERT FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

In the processual model in Figure 4 above, we postulate that meaning unfolds temporally over three macro-phases of meaning development through with a social symbolic object is first framed, resonates emotionally with target audiences and then undergoes remedial identity work (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008, Winkler, 2018) to bridge identity threats arising from a shifting geographical, demographical; and sociocultural meaning landscape. Each macro-phase of meaning is discussed below:

Framing of the social symbolic object

The framing of a social reality is conducted with the intention to advance a specific way of interpreting and ascribing meaning to an event. Therefore, proponents of a frame are required to first articulate the description, scope and boundary of the frame. This is done through the performance of diagnostic framing tasks, i.e., problem definition, prognostic framing tasks, i.e., articulation of solution and attribution of causality, and motivational framing tasks, i.e., where movement actors use their agency to articulate the severity and urgency of the frame alongside the efficacy and propriety of the proffered solution (Benford and Snow, 2000; Gamson, 2013). The combination of these activities leads to the emergence of the collective action frame.

The rise of social media has had a transformational impact on framing efforts through its ability to support multimodal framing, i.e., the use of images, text, video etc, for meaning making and construction. Instagram has specifically been a useful tool for multimodal framing given its emphasis on aesthetically pleasing and emotive visuals. Grady (1996) views images as stores of meaning that facilitate cultural understanding and believability through its “fact-like character” (Hollerer et al, 2013) and Helmers (2010) advances that the audience to an image participate actively in the development of meaning around its object due to emotional cues that facilitate a spectator-image-creator relationship. Therefore, in the case of the Black Travel Movement, the movement actors co-create meaning with their target audiences through emotionally charged imagery disseminated via social media.

This phenomenon was particularly effective in the aftermath of launch of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in 2013 that had arisen in response to a series of extrajudicial killings of Black people by police in the United States. This process of anchoring to the BLM frame generated and intensified negative emotions of anger which led to collective identification to the emergent BTM frame and amplification of target mobilization efforts. Therefore, this study agrees with the theorization of Klein & Amis (2021) that the intensity of emotions generated from images is dependent on "...the perceived temporal, geographic, and emotional proximity of the framing agent." (p.1345). This is supported by Tilly (2005) who posits that the effectiveness of framing efforts is contingent on the distinct cultural repertoires of the target audience who would also imbibe specific ways of demonstrating dissent.

Hence, in this first marcophase of meaning development, BTM actors facilitate frame emergence through diagnostic and prognostic framing of the movement's objectives that articulate the intended meaning, scope and boundary of the new frame. Subsequently, movement actors sought to enhance target mobilization efforts and collective identification to their frame by validating its legitimacy through anchoring to the more popular Black Lives Matter movement injustice frame. This frame validation process ultimately resulted in the adoption of the term 'The Black Travel Movement' to increase mental associations and connect emotionally to the Black travel community. The success of this process was dependent on the arousal of moral emotions among the target audience to foster collective identification to the BTM. Therefore, movement actors leverage on their agency to intentionally deploy multimodal framing activities through the deployment of emotion work practices that facilitate energetic arousal that supports identification to cause.

Generating emotional resonance to social symbolic object

The arousal of moral emotions through emotion work practices helps movement proponents to gain a better reception for their motivational framing efforts due to the emotional resonance of the frame with the target audience. Hence, to support this framing process, movement actors purposefully and reflexively perform emotion work practices via social media to maintain emotional attachment and facilitate collective identification to collective action frame.

Collins (2004) opines that when people identify or converge around a common symbol it can lead to the generation of social emotions which are emotions that are experienced collectively. Furthermore, while emotions are felt by individuals, it exists within a relational social context (Jasper & Polletta, 2018; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018) that modulates the intensity of the emotion and potential identification with the resolution of an issue. Therefore, in a similar vein, symbols and artefacts such as slogans or iconic photographs can generate moral emotions in onlookers (Klein and Amis, 2021). In this respect, this study theorises that where the object or artefact is associated with field configuring reality events that are highly emotive and are utilized in online storytelling, they are found to enable emotional resonance and collective identification to global collective action frames. In this study, both the use of the acronym of BTM, which is similar to the emotive BLM, and the wide dissemination of George Floyd's image following his murder both provide examples of how emotionally charged artefacts can lead to emotional intensification and resonance. Movement actors leveraged on social symbolic work practices to infuse Instagram posts with emotion through the selection of emotive imagery that were associated with emotive events.

Furthermore, Instagram posts are contested social symbolic objects, that become scenes of continual interactive and discursive practices through which meaning is refined through feedback loops and emotional cues towards achieving collective identification among global audiences with shared cultural and historical repertoires. This assertion echoes Klein and Amis (2021) where they link changes in emotional arrays to shared emotional experiences. For instance, the shared experiences of racial injustice amongst Black travellers provides a fertile ground for the resonance of images and text with a similar context.

So, while a lot of emphasis has been placed on the negative moral emotions of anger that arose around the George Floyd murder and engendered collective identification, there were also field events that were experienced socially as emotionally uplifting and generated positive emotions. A case in point was the Year of Return, a successful media campaign in 2019 that encouraged thousands of Blacks in the diaspora to visit Ghana to commemorate the 400th year anniversary of the commencement of slavery. The build up to December 2019, centrepiece of the celebration, was dominated by narratives and images of social media that inspired collective excitement, pride and happiness which led more Black travellers to identify with the BTM. Therefore, it is evident that moral emotions that enable collective identification could arise out of both negative and positive field events.

Bridging identity tensions within social symbolic object

However, images on their own are not sufficient to maintain emotional attachment or to trigger enactment of objectives. The fleeting nature of generated emotions is touched on by Huy, Corley, & Kraatz (2014) with Ekman (1999) measuring the duration as in “...in the realm of minutes and seconds.” (p.54). Mattoni and Teune (2014) and Dencik and Allan (2017) echo this sentiment, opining that while emotive images may bring about instant intensification of emotions, those images become normalized over time which diminishes their emotional resonance.

This situation was evident in the months and years following the George Floyd murder whereby the rhetoric of anger in response to dissemination of content around the event began to diminish over time in terms of the volume of likes, comments and general engagement. As a consequence, this gave room for frame contestation and frame disputes that were exacerbated by the misframing of the BTM by mainstream media organisations following Reggie Cummings’s legal problems due to a failed yacht cruise carried out by his company which was also called the Black Travel Movement.

Therefore, BTM actors had to conduct other practices to strengthen the emotional attachment to their cause and maintain collective identification. This is because the dilution of the emotional resonance of the frame could result in identity drift with mobilization efforts stalling as internal and external contests and disputes over meaning interpretations prevail. For instance, the influencing activities of the Black Travel Movement on social media were designed to engage with a global target audience of Black travellers with a view to converting them to advocates of their objective. However, the diversity of the global Black audience led to the dilution of motivational framing activities as the message gets filtered through the lens of diverse, and sometimes conflicting, ethnic, national, cultural, geographical and generational meaning interpretations and lived experiences.

To address this collective identity slippage, Movement actors are obliged to extend the boundaries of the target audience through the conduct identity work practices that articulate emergent identity threats and address identity salience. In this study, identity threats arose from the identity conflict with Reggie Cummings corporate iteration of BTM and its misrepresentation in the mainstream media, conflicting imaginations of the future between increased representation within mainstream travel industry and establishing a Black-only travel industry and changing hierarchy of grievances with a growing Generation Z segment of the community demanding more focus on social and environmental issues.

Therefore, by deploying remedial identity work practices, BTM actors were able to realign the frame to address meaning disputes and articulate a collective action frame which accommodated different segments of an extended Black and indigenous People of Colour (BIPOC) travel community and their differing objectives, grievance interpretations and differing interpretations of future outcomes.

In conclusion, this study theorizes that underpinning the development of collective action frames on social media is emotion work aimed at facilitating emotional arousal and attachment to the frame which is sequentially followed by remedial identity work to manage identity tensions arising from the transition from a local to a global collective action frame enabled through the ubiquity of social media.

Expected contribution

Our primary contribution of this study is that it addresses calls for research using meaning making approaches (Mitnick & Ryan, 2015) and for more empirical research on the framing of societal issues (Klein & Amis, 2021) in theorizing on how framing efforts and the combination of emotion and identity work practices performed on social media facilitate the phased development of meaning in institutional fields within a specific cultural context of the Black Travel Movement.

A related aspect of this contribution is it contributes to the wider area of social-symbolic work whereby this study provides insights into how different forms of social-symbolic work are combined within a specific case study (Lawrence and Philips, 2019) and exposes important and previously neglected influences of grievance interpretation and differing future imaginaries on the collective identity of the Black Travel Movement.

References

- Alvesson, M. and Willmott, H., 2002. Identity regulation as organizational control: Producing the appropriate individual. *Journal of management studies*, 39(5), pp.619-644.
- Anderson, M. and Hitlin, P., 2016. The hashtag# BlackLivesMatter emerges: Social activism on Twitter. *Pew Research Center*, 15, pp.1-34.
- Atewologun, D., Sealy, R. and Vinnicombe, S., 2016. Revealing intersectional dynamics in organizations: Introducing 'intersectional identity work'. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 23(3), pp.223-247.

- Barberá-Tomás, D., Castelló, I., De Bakker, F.G. and Zietsma, C., 2019. Energizing through visuals: How social entrepreneurs use emotion-symbolic work for social change. *Academy of Management Journal*, 62(6), pp.1789-1817.
- Benford, R.D. and Snow, D.A., 2000. Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual review of sociology*, 26(1), pp.611-639.
- Benjamin, S. and Dillette, A.K., 2021. Black travel movement: Systemic racism informing tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 88, p.103169.
- Berends, H. and Deken, F., 2021. Composing qualitative process research. *Strategic Organization*, 19(1), pp.134-146.
- Blumer, H., 2012. Symbolic interactionism [1969]. *Contemporary sociological theory*, 62.
- Boland Jr, R.J., 1989. Beyond the objectivist and the subjectivist: learning to read accounting as text. *Accounting, organizations and society*, 14(5-6), pp.591-604.
- Brown, A.D., 2015. Identities and identity work in organizations. *International journal of management reviews*, 17(1), pp.20-40.
- Castelli Dransart, D.A., 2013. From sense-making to meaning-making: Understanding and supporting survivors of suicide. *British Journal of Social Work*, 43(2), pp.317-335.
- Collins, S., 2004. Framing the complexity of a participatory democracy in a public primary classroom. *The Journal of Research for Educational Leaders*, 2(2), pp.4-34.
- Cornelissen, J.P., Mantere, S. and Vaara, E., 2014. The contraction of meaning: The combined effect of communication, emotions, and materiality on sensemaking in the Stockwell shooting. *Journal of Management Studies*, 51(5), pp.699-736.
- Dencik, L. and Allan, S., 2017. In/visible conflicts: NGOs and the visual politics of humanitarian photography. *Media, Culture & Society*, 39(8), pp.1178-1193.
- Dillette, A. K., Benjamin, S., & Carpenter, C., 2019. Tweeting the black travel experience: Social media counternarrative stories as innovative insight on#TravelingWhileBlack. *Journal of Travel Research*, 58(8), 1357-1372.
- Ekman, P., 1999. Basic emotions. *Handbook of cognition and emotion*, 98(45-60), p.16.
- Entman, R.M., 1993. Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication*, 43(4), pp.51-58.
- Entman, R.M., 2007. Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), pp.163-173.
- Friedland, R., Alford, R.R., Powell, W.W. and DiMaggio, P.J., 1991. The new institutionalism in organizational analysis. *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*, pp.232-263.

- Gamson, W.A., 2013. Injustice frames. *The Wiley-Blackwell encyclopedia of social and political movements*.
- Gioia, D.A., Corley, K.G. and Hamilton, A.L., 2013. Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research: Notes on the Gioia methodology. *Organizational research methods*, 16(1), pp.15-31.
- Giorgi, S., 2017. The mind and heart of resonance: The role of cognition and emotions in frame effectiveness. *Journal of Management Studies*, 54(5), pp.711-738.
- Goffman, E., 1974. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Harvard University Press.
- Grady, J., 1996. The scope of visual sociology. *Visual Studies*, 11(2), pp.10-24.
- Gray, B., Purdy, J.M. and Ansari, S., 2015. From interactions to institutions: Microprocesses of framing and mechanisms for the structuring of institutional fields. *Academy of management review*, 40(1), pp.115-143.
- Hautea, S., Parks, P., Takahashi, B. and Zeng, J., 2021. Showing they care (or don't): Affective publics and ambivalent climate activism on TikTok. *Social media+ society*, 7(2), p.20563051211012344.
- Helmets, M., 2010. Iconic images of wounded soldiers by Henry Tonks. *Journal of War & Culture Studies*, 3(2), pp.181-199.
- Hochschild, A.R., 1979. Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American journal of sociology*, 85(3), pp.551-575.
- Höllerer, M.A., Jancsary, D., Meyer, R.E. and Vettori, O., 2013. Imageries of corporate social responsibility: Visual recontextualization and field-level meaning. In *Institutional Logics in Action, Part B* (pp. 139-174). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Huy, Q.N., Corley, K.G. and Kraatz, M.S., 2014. From support to mutiny: Shifting legitimacy judgments and emotional reactions impacting the implementation of radical change. *Academy of Management Journal*, 57(6), pp.1650-1680.
- Jasper, J.M. and Polletta, F., 2018. The cultural context of social movements. *The Wiley Blackwell companion to social movements*, pp.63-78.
- Jasper, J.M. and J. D. Poulson, 1995. Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests. *Social Problems*. 42 (4): 493-512
- Jones, C., Hine, D. W., & Marks, A. D. (2017). The future is now: reducing psychological distance to increase public engagement with climate change.
- Karakulak, Ö. and Lawrence, T.B., 2023. Social-Symbolic Work in the Construction of Social Problems: Constructing Gender Inequality in Turkish Social Partnerships. *Journal of Business Ethics*, pp.1-26.
- Karsgaard, C. and MacDonald, M., 2020. Picturing the pipeline: Mapping settler colonialism on Instagram. *new media & society*, 22(7), pp.1206-1226.

- Klein, J. and Amis, J.M., 2021. The dynamics of framing: Image, emotion, and the European migration crisis. *Academy of Management Journal*, 64(5), pp.1324-1354.
- Kouamé, S., 2020. How Emotional Resources Shape Strategy Making on Social Issues. In *Academy of Management Proceedings* (Vol. 2020, No. 1, p. 15073). Briarcliff Manor, NY 10510: Academy of Management.
- Kuk, G., Faik, I. and Janssen, M., 2022. Technology assessment for addressing grand societal challenges. *IEEE Transactions on Engineering Management*.
- Lawrence, T. B., & Phillips, N. (2019). *Constructing organizational life: How social-symbolic work shapes selves, organizations, and institutions*. Oxford University Press.
- Lok, J., Creed, W.D., DeJordy, R. and Voronov, M., 2017. Living institutions: Bringing emotions into organizational institutionalism. *The Sage handbook of organizational institutionalism*, pp.591-620.
- Lorino, P., Mourey, D., Schmidt, G. Goffman's theory of frames and situated meaning-making in performance reviews. The case of a category management approach in the French retail sector, *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, Volume 58, 2017, Pages 32-49, ISSN 0361-3682, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.aos.2017.03.004>.
- Lutgen-Sandvik, P., 2008. Intensive remedial identity work: Responses to workplace bullying trauma and stigmatization. *Organization*, 15(1), pp.97-119.
- Mason, J., 2014, November. 'Does it Make Sense' or 'What Does it Mean'?. In *Proceedings of the 22nd International Conference on Computers in Education*. Japan: Asia-Pacific Society for Computers in Education (pp. 206-211).
- Mattoni, A. and Teune, S., 2014. Visions of protest. A media-historic perspective on images in social movements. *Sociology Compass*, 8(6), pp.876-887.
- Mitnick, B.M. and Ryan, R.C., 2015. On making meanings: Curators, social assembly, and mashups. *Strategic Organization*, 13(2), pp.141-152.
- Polletta, F. and Jasper, J.M., 2001. Collective identity and social movements. *Annual review of Sociology*, 27(1), pp.283-305.
- Pradies, C., Aust, I., Bednarek, R., Brandl, J., Carmine, S., Cheal, J., Pina e Cunha, M., Gaim, M., Keegan, A., Lê, J.K. and Miron-Spektor, E., 2021. The lived experience of paradox: How individuals navigate tensions during the pandemic crisis. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 30(2), pp.154-167.
- Pratt, M.G. and Rafaeli, A., 2001. 3. Symbols as a language of organizational relationships. *Research in organizational behavior*, 23, pp.93-132.
- Purdy, J., Ansari, S., & Gray, B. (2019). Are Logics Enough? Framing as an Alternative Tool for Understanding Institutional Meaning Making. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 28(4), 409-419. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1056492617724233>
- Rafaeli, A. and Vilnai-Yavetz, I., 2004. Emotion as a connection of physical artifacts and organizations. *Organization science*, 15(6), pp.671-686.
- Rose, G., 2022. Visual methodologies: An introduction to researching with visual materials. *Visual methodologies*, pp.1-100.

- Stigliani, I. and Ravasi, D., 2012. Organizing thoughts and connecting brains: Material practices and the transition from individual to group-level prospective sensemaking. *Academy of Management journal*, 55(5), pp.1232-1259.
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J., 1998. *Basics of qualitative research techniques*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.
- Thornton, P.H. and Ocasio, W., 1999. Institutional logics and the historical contingency of power in organizations: Executive succession in the higher education publishing industry, 1958–1990. *American journal of Sociology*, 105(3), pp.801-843.
- Thornton, P.H., Ocasio, W. and Lounsbury, M., 2012. *The institutional logics perspective: A new approach to culture, structure and process*. OUP Oxford.
- Tilly, C., 2005. Introduction to Part II: Invention, diffusion, and transformation of the social movement repertoire. *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 12(2), pp.307-320.
- Toubiana, M. and Zietsma, C., 2017. The message is on the wall? Emotions, social media and the dynamics of institutional complexity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 60(3), pp.922-953.
- Tracey, P., 2016. Spreading the word: The microfoundations of institutional persuasion and conversion. *Organization Science*, 27(4), pp.989-1009.
- Winkler, I., 2018. Identity work and emotions: A review. *International journal of management reviews*, 20(1), pp.120-133.
- Zietsma, C., Toubiana, M., Voronov, M. and Roberts, A., 2019. *Emotions in organization theory*. Cambridge University Press.

Appendices

Table 1- Data sources and use

Data Source	Type of Data	Use in Analysis
Archival data	<i>Instagram data-</i> Spooled from the Instagram profiles of 10 key BTM actors spanning a 11-year period (2011-2022) [n = 710 images]	To support temporal mapping of the development of the Black Travel Movement; To investigate role of BTM actors in meaning construction around contextual markers; To assess audience interpretation of BTM actors' meaning making actions and decoding of their messages on Instagram; To identify, describe and categorise patterns of emotion and identity work practices evident in the meaning making actions of BTM actors.
	<i>Black travel-related websites-</i> e.g., historyofblacktravel.com, tourismreset.com, travelnoire.com	To support a 'preliminary soak' (Hall, 1975) of the descriptive characteristics of the Black Travel Movement collective action frame;
	<i>Black travel-related journal articles-</i> e.g., Benjamin & Carpenter (2019), Dillette & Benjamin (2020), Dillette, Menze (2020), Benjamin & Dillette (2021)	To familiarize with organisational context and support temporal mapping of the Black Travel Movement; To investigate framing processes in the build up to, during and after contextual markers in the development of the BTM.
	<i>Ted Talks</i> by Evita Robinson, Gabby Beckford, and Jessica Nabongo	To gain insights into the motivations, practices, and objectives of key BTM actors through their retrospective storytelling
	<i>Travel industry-related government publications-</i> white papers, policy documents and other publications from United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), US state tourism boards, VisitBritain, European Travel Commission (ETC), Dubai Department of Economy and Tourism and various ministries of tourism in African and Caribbean countries. <i>Mainstream media publications-</i> mainly online web sources such as CNN, Conde Nast, ABC news	To assess the level of representation, recognition and understanding of the Black Travel Movement in the mainstream travel and tourism industry.
Interviews	<i>Semi-structured interviews (16)</i> Including BTM content creators (6), BTM entrepreneurs (6) Black travellers (2), regulatory officer (1) and travel consultant (1). Each interviewee was interviewed once with each interview lasting between 45 minutes to 1 hour.	To gain insights into the motivations, practices, and objectives of key BTM actors through their retrospective storytelling;

The Black Travel Movement: Unpacking the roles of framing and social symbolic work in the development of meaning in institutional fields

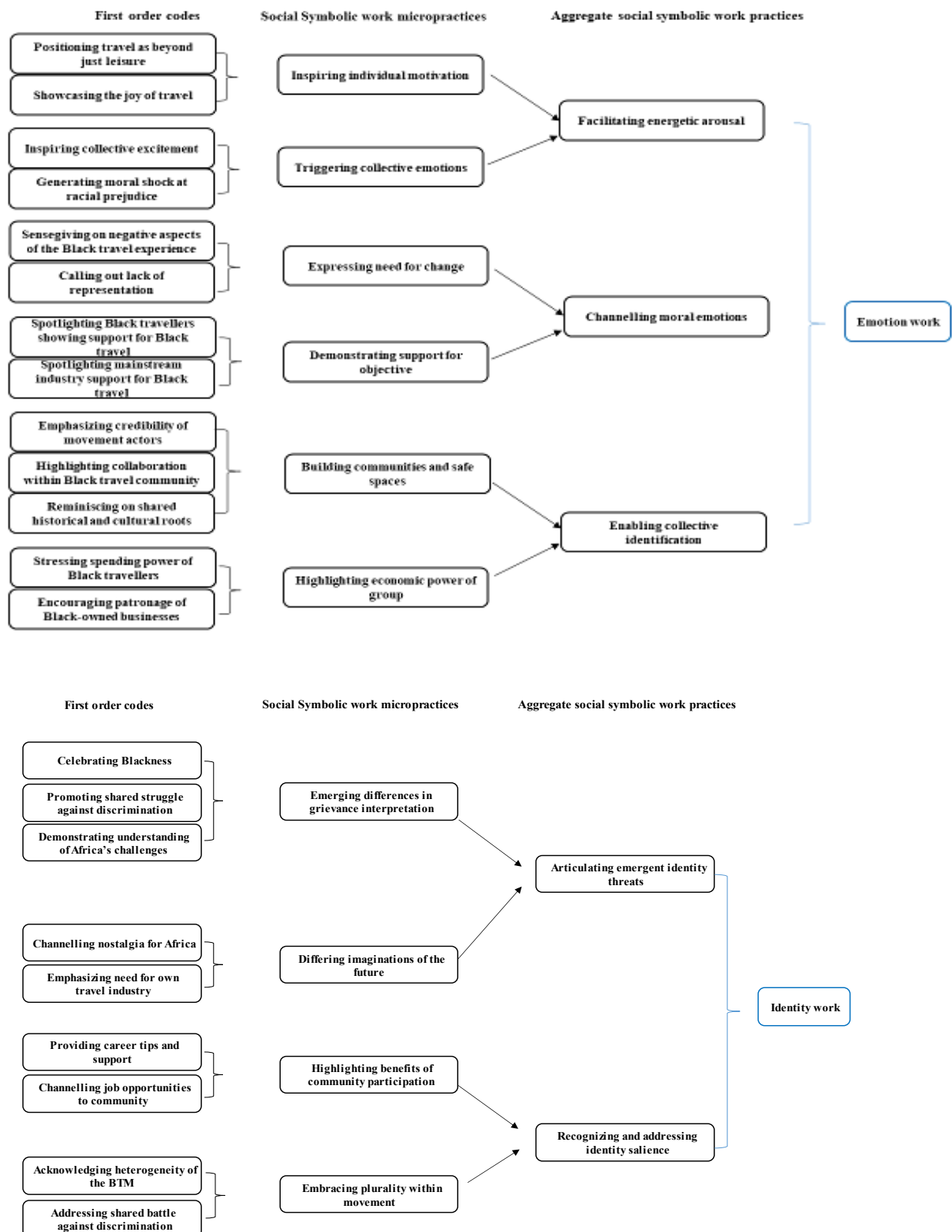


Figure 1- Data coding structure of emotion and identity work

The Black Travel Movement: Unpacking the roles of framing and social symbolic work in the development of meaning in institutional fields



Figure 2- Emotion work micropractice-Building communities and safe spaces (Source- Instagram @travelnoire, 2019)

The Black Travel Movement: Unpacking the roles of framing and social symbolic work in the development of meaning in institutional fields

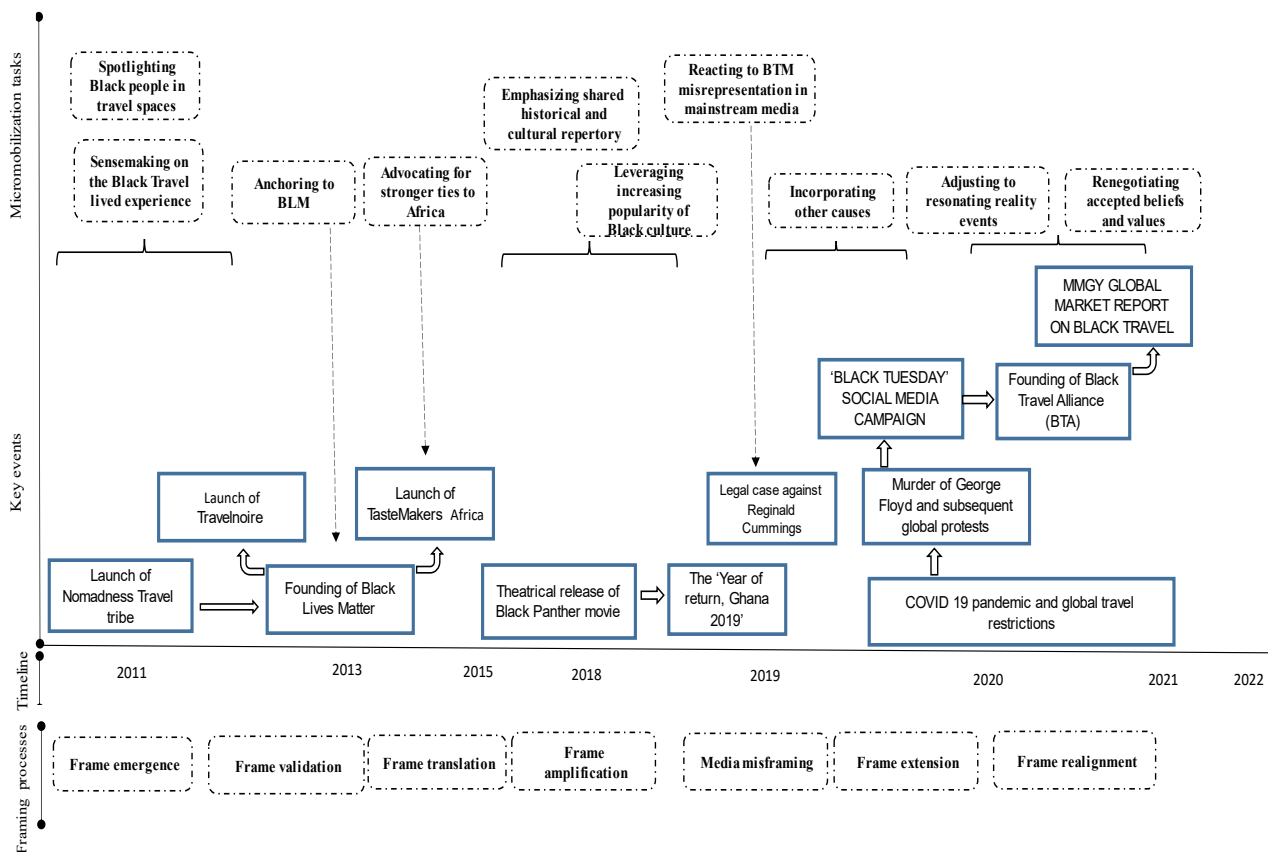


Figure 3- Temporal map of the development of the Black Travel Movement collective action frame

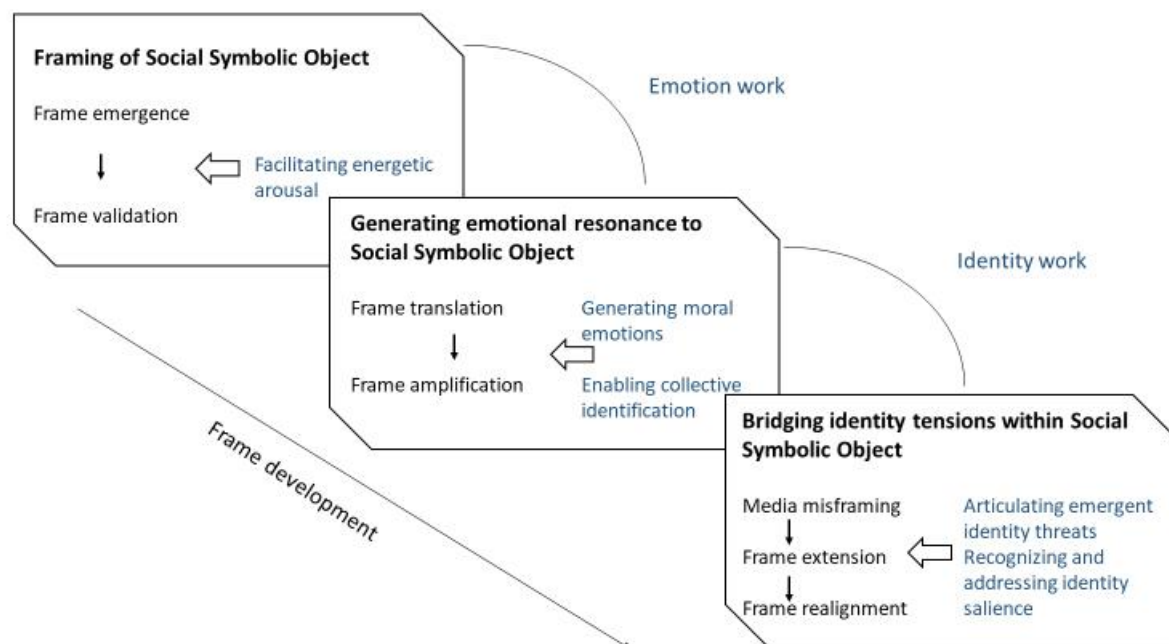


Figure 4- Macrophases of meaning making in the Black Travel Movement