The Black Travel Movement- The Roles of Framing and Social Symbolic Work in the Development of Meaning in Institutional Fields

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Copyright Statement

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'It takes a village' is an often-quoted phrase used to acknowledge the collective effort that underlines the achievement of an individual's set objectives. This adage was no less true in my case, as completing my doctoral thesis would have been impossible without the significant contributions of others who formed my support network and to whom I wish to express my profound gratitude. I am deeply aware that this achievement is not just mine but a shared accomplishment with the academic community, including my supervisory team, faculty, and fellow researchers, who have all played a crucial role in shaping my journey.

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Abstract

This study 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. In doing so, it aims to unpack the micro-interactional patterns of emotion and identity work practices that underpin the framing processes that shape the development of collective action frames within the travel and tourism industry. The BTM, which emerged in 2011 with the aim to address the underrepresentation of Black travellers within the travel industry, was chosen as the research case study being a relatively new phenomena addressing the grand challenge of racism, which could be studied comprehensively with a granular longitudinal study given the relatively small population of its actors and scope of activities.

Drawing from a rich base of Instagram social media posts and BTM archival data (January 2011-December 2022) and 16 semi-structured interviews (2022) with knowledgeable actors within the movement, consisting of Black travel influencers, entrepreneurs, and travel enthusiasts, I apply a qualitative longitudinal approach that spanned eleven years to analyse the bottom-up social construction of the BTM. My first findings unpack the growth trajectory of the Black Travel Movement over the focus period and reveal that the meaning of Black travel developed around five significant contextual or temporal markers that introduced new interpretations of reality events.

These ascribed meanings informed the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame to address the underrepresentation of Black travel within the global travel industry. Situated BTM actors incorporated the contextual markers into their multimodal framing activities on social media to advance their preferred meaning interpretations and drive target mobilisation initially towards the Black travel injustice collective action frame and subsequently to the refined BIPOC travel injustice frame, a prognostic realignment of the initial frame to accommodate a global and heterogeneous target audience.

My second findings expose the combination of purposefully constructed emotion and identity work practices conducted at the nexus of framing activities on social media. These practices are designed to foster an emotional connection to the BTM and manage identity threats resulting from variances in grievance interpretations and imaginations of the future among an increasingly global target audience. Furthermore, the findings reveal three main phases in developing the Black travel injustice frame over social media and these are:

framing the BTM as a social-symbolic object, fostering emotional resonance, and resolving identity tensions within the BTM.

This study contributes to framing literature by theorising how framing, combined with emotion and identity work on social media, shapes meaning within a specific case study. It also contributes to the literature on emotion and identity work, extending its impact to the broader domain of social-symbolic work. Insights from the specific case study shed light on the combination of different social-symbolic work practices within a specific empirical case study.

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List of Abbreviations

Approx.	Approximate
BTM	Black Travel Movement
BTA	Black Travel Alliance
BLM	Black Lives Matter
BIPOC	Black and Indigenous People Of Colour
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease 2019
D & I	Diversity & Inclusion
e.g.	For example
ibid	'In the same place' means that the relevant quotation is from the last cited publication.
i.e.	That is
NBS	Nottingham Business School
NTU	Nottingham Trent University
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SSW	Social-Symbolic Work
SSO	Social-Symbolic Object
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
UN	United Nations
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1. Background to the study

The purpose of this study is to gain insights into the microlevel activities that underpin the development of meaning in institutional fields. I seek to extend the literature on framing (Goffman, 1974; Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993; Benford & Snow, 2000; Creed, Langstraat & Scully, 2002; Purdy, Ansari & Gray, 2017; Iverson, 2020; Klein & Amis, 2021), and social-symbolic work (Atewologun, 2014; Hampel et al., 2017; Winkler, 2018; Lawrence & Philips, 2019; Langley et al., 2019; Barberá-Tomás et al., 2019; Karakulak & Lawrence, 2023), both being theoretical areas rooted in the bottom-up development of meaning (Purdy, Ansari & Gray, 2017; Lawrence & Philips, 2019) . I saw analytical utility in the intersection of framing and social-symbolic work as the latter addresses a criticism of the framing perspective in that it does not reveal the intrinsic drivers that motivate situated actors to engage in framing activities (Lorino et al., 2017).To accomplish this objective, I sought to induce the patterns of social-symbolic work practices purposefully performed at a microlevel by situated actors at the nexus of frame development and alignment processes to shape meanings within a specific case study.

Given my decision to adopt a framing and social-symbolic work theoretical perspective to understand the bottom-up development of meaning within institutional fields, I had to identify an empirical phenomenon which I could study through a longitudinal, process study. Such an approach would allow for a triangulation of social media, archival and interview data to gain nuanced and granular insights into the theoretical phenomena I was seeking to study, i.e. the development of meaning in institutional fields. This led me to consider the institutional field of the global travel industry and the Black Travel Movement due to it being a new phenomenon and understudied case which could be studied comprehensively in a granular longitudinal study given its relatively small size and scope.

The lived experience of Black travellers globally is underscored by fears of racial stereotyping, discrimination and microaggressions. Dillette et al (2019), in a quantitative analysis of over three hundred tweets by Black travellers using the #Travellingwhileblack hashtag, reveal that occurrences of racism were among the critical emergent themes from their study. Furthermore, Benjamin and Dillette (2021) postulate that such fears are rooted in a legacy of historical institutional injustices, such as the ruling of the US Supreme Court in 1986 that segregated public accommodations by race. Additionally, Alderman (2013) argues that the travel industry segregates its tourism marketing with separate advertisements that utilise Black faces for specific ethnic demographics and thus fuel the lack of representation of Black

travellers in broader travel industry marketing. These negative trends in global tourism served as a disincentive for travel and fed the narrative, among sections of the travel industry, that Black people were less engaged in leisure travel than White people (Washburne, 1978; Philipp, 1994).

However, despite these institutional and sociocultural obstacles, Black travellers have significantly contributed to the global travel and tourism market. For example, MMGY Global, an international integrated marketing firm with a focus on travel, hospitality, and entertainment, conducted a study into Black travel and estimates that Black travellers in the United States and United Kingdom/Ireland spent $129.6 billion and $9 billion respectively on domestic and international leisure travel in 2019 (MMGY, 2020). To put this into perspective, the US figures account for approximately ten percent of the total US travel and tourism market valued at US$1.6 trillion as of 2020 (UNWTO, 2022).

Furthermore, given that African Americans were estimated to make up fourteen percent of the population of the United States in 2019 (Tamir et al., 2021), this suggests that there is significant leisure travel activity among Black people despite their negative experiences and that their lack of visibility in tourism marketing could present a lost opportunity for travel and tourism practitioners. For example, the 2024 World Metrics report projects that more representation and diversity in the travel and tourism industry in the United States could lead to a $675 billion increase in industry revenues (World metrics, 2024). This same report estimates that companies that implement diversity and inclusion strategies within the global hotel industry achieved a 2.3x higher cash flow per employee over three years when compared to those companies that do not undertake such activities (ibid). These metrics present a significant economic case for a better representation of Black travellers within travel industry marketing, recruitment, and product/service offerings.

The lack of representation of Black travel within the global travel industry becomes more evident where consideration is given to media publications and advertisements of mainstream travel industry where, over the years, there has existed a distinct bias towards White tourists. For example, Buzinde et al. (2006) opine that the 'White-washed' nature of tourism marketing serves to marginalise Black travellers within the travel industry. Additionally, Burton and Klemm (2011), following their analysis of 37 travel brochures from British tour operators, point out the tendency for travel and tourism agencies and brands to use

primarily White faces in their advertising of tourism destinations, reinforcing the lack of visibility of Black travel.

Similarly, Pritchard and Morgan (2001) highlight the representative bias by the media against non-White tourists where they posit that ethnic representation in contemporary travel marketing by the global travel industry is laden with 'cultural narratives' (p.167) with tourism destinations thought to be socio-cultural constructs with negotiated meanings (McCarthy, 2012) rather than merely physical destinations. This implies that the attractiveness of tourist destinations is shaped by both the physical characteristics and media narratives surrounding the destination. Davis (2018) supports this position in his research into racism in marketing, where he argues that systemic racism is "…embedded in the fabric of marketing organisational cultures" (Davis, 2018: p. 157).

It is therefore of no surprise that despite the scrapping of Jim Crow racial segregation legislation in the United States, which severely restricted access of Black people to tourist destinations in the country, Black representation in travel media advertising has remained disproportionately low when compared to that of White travellers. This suggests that the legacy of the invisibility of Black travellers from travel marketing advertisements in the 1950s and 1960s has reinforced racial stereotypes that still influence editorial choices in modern travel marketing. This reality has compelled Black travel content creators and entrepreneurs to come together to form the Black Travel Movement (BTM) as a veritable platform for introducing a counter-narrative to address the negative perceptions of Black travel within the global travel industry and to enhance the visibility of Black travel (Benjamin & Dillette, 2021).

The Black Travel Movement (BTM), the chosen empirical phenomena that supports the longitudinal study and serves as the research case study, can be described as a boundary-agnostic social movement of Black travellers, which coalesced to counter the narrative that Black travellers do not engage in leisure travel (Benjamin & Dillette, 2021). Dillette and Benjamin (2021), trace the emergence of the movement to 2011, following the launch of Nomadness Travel Tribe, a niche travel company, which pioneered the curation of travel and lifestyle content tailored to the Black ethnic demographic in the United States. Evita Robinson, the founder of the Nomadness Travel tribe and an avid traveller, was motivated by her lived travel experiences to engage in narrative storytelling on Facebook and Instagram aimed at changing perceptions of Black travel and enhancing diversity and inclusion within the travel and tourism industry (Dillette & Benjamin, 2021).

Subsequently, other Black influencers (e.g. Travelnoire and Tastemakers Africa), entrepreneurs and travellers joined Nomadness in propagating the message of Black travel and creating online communities aimed at enhancing Black travel's visibility and its representation within the travel industry (Dillette & Benjamin, 2021). Following the significant popularity of the viral #BlackLivesMatter hashtag on social media, Black travel influencers and content creators, recognising the commonalities in the underlying message of racial injustice, created and shared hashtags ,such as #travellingwhileblack and #Blacktravelmovement, on Instagram, alongside the viral #BlackLivesMatter hashtag, and began referring to themselves as the Black Travel Movement. As a result, the Black Travel Movement enhanced target mobilisation, as demonstrated by increasing followers across their social media platforms, e.g. Facebook and Twitter. For example, a Facebook group called 'Black Travel Movement' has almost 500,000 followers.

Social media platforms provide a veritable channel for the multimodal dispersion of visuals and texts to further different narratives. Both online and mainstream media could be viewed as both gatekeepers of collective memories but as active participants in the framing and understanding prevailing social situations (Bail, 2012; Klein & Amis, 2021). In the case of social media, the framing of micro-interactions is impacted by the unacknowledged editorial role that technological companies such as Meta (owners of Facebook, WhatsApp, and Instagram) and Twitter play in policing their social media platforms.

However, social media's democratisation of public discourse is not without its unintended consequences, as seen in Cambridge Analytica's manipulation of Facebook interactions to allegedly gain supporters for Donald Trump in the 2016 United States Presidential elections. Hence, this opportunity to investigate how micro-interactions on social media could generate either positive or negative emotions (Zietsma et al., 2019) points to a fascinating area for further research into framing societal issues (Klein & Amis, 2021).

The Instagram platform is deemed most helpful for this study because it is primarily a visual medium whereby emotive images could be selected and disseminated to shape perceptions of travel experiences and destinations. This popular social media platform was founded by Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger in 2010 to facilitate the instant sharing of images and videos among users (Instagram, 2018). Instagram data has a unique arrangement of text, image/video, geo-tagging and likes, providing a rich data source where meanings can be inferred from a post's location, content, and interactions (Rose, 2012). Furthermore, these

characteristics make the platform attractive to younger demographics of Gen Zs and Millennials (Sloan & Quan-Haase, 2017) and to visually express the emotive and visual nature of travel and tourism.

The choice of Facebook and Instagram, especially the latter, by Black travel influencers for their online storytelling, is attributable to the highly visual nature of these platforms as opposed to a social media platform like Twitter, which is more text-based. Therefore, through visual storytelling, Black travel influencers can validate the participation of Black people in travel and use the geo-location capabilities of Instagram to pinpoint the locations where Black travel is taking place. Therefore, given the motivation of Black travel influencers to change global perceptions of Black travel and build online communities of Black travellers, I found analytical utility in studying publicly available Instagram data that helped to retrace the emergence of the BTM over eleven years and to complement this with data from in vivo interviews with key Black travel influencers to gain their retrospective insights on the evolution of the BTM and capture their interpretation of their practices as BTM influencers, content-creators and entrepreneurs. The above assertion that social media influencers can change opinions in social settings is well documented in the literature. For example, Vrontis et al. (2021), in their systematic review of social media influencer marketing, posit that social media influencers utilise their platforms to amass large followings, build loyal fan bases and shape their audience's perceptions of reality. Opinion leaders can be described as individuals who exert substantial influence over people, typically due to factors such as their social prestige and personal appeal (Godey et al., 2016; Xiong et al., 2018). Hence, this is why influencer marketing has emerged as a significant communication channel as corporate organisations and brands patronise influencers and provide them with a veritable source of income. For example, O'Connor (2017) highlights the case of Chiara Ferragni, an Instagram influencer, who built a following of twenty million people and leveraged this follower base to gain collaborations with several global brands. Based on the above, I deemed it conceivable that BTM actors' actions can influence their target audience's opinions and perceptions of reality.

Therefore, to gain deeper insights into the micro-level dynamics within the BTM, this study applies a qualitative, longitudinal approach to the analysis of digital archives and semi-structured interviews with crucial BTM actors to investigate the framing processes and social-symbolic work practices that support the development of meaning in the travel industry as an institutional field. In doing so, this study contributes towards the literature on meaning-making as 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 theorising 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 the specific cultural case of the Black Travel Movement. A related aspect of this contribution is its contribution to the broader area of social-symbolic work whereby this study provides insights into how different forms of social-symbolic work, such as emotion and identity work, are combined within a specific case study (Lawrence & Philips, 2019) and exposes essential and previously neglected influences of grievance interpretation and differing future imaginaries on the collective identity of the Black Travel Movement.

1.2. Theoretical rationale

This research lies at the intersection between framing and social-symbolic work theoretical fields. It aims to investigate the roles of emotion and identity work practices in the micro-interactional processes that shape the development of collective action frames in the travel and tourism industry. In this study, I outline a frame development process using various framing constructs to shed light on meaning creation in the Black Travel Movement from a social-interactionist perspective (Snow et al., 2018). The examination of framing micro-processes is crucial for understanding the creation of meanings (Boland, 1989), with frames defined as interpretive resources that are constantly evolving in response to their context (Goffman, 1974; Ricœur, 1990; as cited by Lorino et al., 2017). On the other hand, Phillips and Lawrence (2012) define social-symbolic work as the use of language and symbols in constructing meaning and focus on the purposeful and reflexive actions of agentic actors in shaping the meanings of objects and reality events. Therefore, I aim to gain insights into how BTM actors exercise their agency through influencing activities on social media to affect accepted meanings of Black travel within the global travel industry.

A prominent criticism of the framing approach is that it does not delve sufficiently into what motivates interactants to seek to create new frames or modify existing frames (Lorino et al., 2017). For example, Snow et al. (1986) unpacks the micro-mobilization tasks that underpin frame alignment processes without dwelling extensively on the motivations and reflexivity involved for situated actors who exercise the agency to conduct these tasks. Additionally, Snow et al. (1986) does not consider the intentional agentic practices inherent in collective identity creation despite alluding to the importance of identity work practices where they state that:

> While movements for the liberation or integration of negatively privileged status groups
> have considerably broader and more far-reaching goals, the success of their mobilisation

efforts also rests in part on effecting changes in the way their potential constituents view not only their life situation but also themselves (Snow et al., 1986: p. 475)

In the above quote, Snow et al. (1986) ascribes the successful outcomes of movement mobilisation efforts to the ability of situated actors to create a shared collective identity. However, the motivations and underlying patterns of practices that actors need to undertake to achieve this altered view of themselves, or collective identity, are not addressed at significant length.

Similarly, Gray, Purdy and Ansari (2015), in their journal article delving into the development and amplification of micro-level interactional frames into 'macro-level meaning structures' within institutional fields, do not implicitly address the micro-level activities of situated actors that operate within those frames. However, according to Lawrence and Philips (2019), the social construction of meaning systems consists of discursive, relational, and material dimensions to the purposeful actions of situated actors to advance their preferred reality interpretations. This implies that a multidimensional understanding of the intentional actions of situated actors to influence meaning development is essential in gaining insights into the micro-interactional development of collective action frames.

For instance, Gray, Purdy and Ansari (2015) posit that there are three processes that facilitate the amplification of collective action frames and the institutionalisation of micro-level interactions: scope, regularity/frequency, and emotional intensification (Gray et al., 2015). However, while accepting that emotional intensification is required to catalyse meaning structures, the authors do not unpack the actual discursive and relational work that underpins the generation of emotional resonance to a specific meaning structure.

Hence, this study addresses this limitation by including a social-symbolic work perspective through which movement actors' purposeful and reflexive actions could be investigated for evidence of patterns of social-symbolic work practices. Within the theoretical field of social-symbolic work, this study restricts its scope to emotion and identity work, given that emotion is intrinsically involved in collective identification (Polletta & Jasper, 2001).

The role of emotion in developing collective action frames has become widely accepted within management and organisational research (Cornelissen et al., 2014; Giorgi, 2017). However, limited research exists into the purposeful and reflexive practices undertaken by agentic actors underpinning the emotional resonance of collective identification with collective

action frames. For example, in their study of the dynamics of the framing of the European migration crisis, Klein and Amis (2021) argue that "…the pivotal event that precipitated a change in the framing of the European migration crisis was the publication of the photograph of three-year-old Alan Kurdi lying dead on a Turkish beach" (p.1325). While at the time, a majority of European public opinion on the plight of Middle Eastern and African migrants was decidedly lukewarm, Klein and Amis (2021) posit that the occurrence of this extreme event, and particularly it's framing in the media using that famous photograph, struck an emotional chord and led to growing calls for a more considerate approach to the treatment of migrants.

It is evident from the above review of the publications of Snow, Vliegenthart and Ketelaars (2018), Gray, Purdy, and Ansari (2015) and Klein and Amis (2021), that collective identification and emotional intensification are essential for the alignment and amplification of frames. However, there is less clarity on situated actors' purposeful and reflexive actions, i.e., the social-symbolic work practices, which govern the social construction of these framing constructs from a micro interactional level. Examining these actions is essential as it enables insights into how identification and emotional resonance are negotiated and socially constructed at an individual level of analysis.

1.3. Rationale for study

This research extends the extant theoretical and empirical literature on framing, social-symbolic work and emotion studies. It seeks to understand the combination of social-symbolic work practices at the nexus of frame development and alignment processes. This argument for the presence of embeddedness of social-symbolic work practices in framing processes is not far fetched, given that both theoretical areas have their roots in studying the development of meaning.

Therefore, to understand this phenomenon empirically, this study explores how the quest for increased representation of Black travel within the global travel industry was framed and constructed through the 'purposeful and reflexive' (Lawrence & Philips, 2019) actions of situated Black Travel Movement (BTM) actors. The development of meaning is this study's main area of theoretical concern and adopting a meaning-making perspective facilitates a focus on the "…collective processes of ascribing meanings to experienced social situations" (Lorino et al., 2017, p.32).

Several researchers (Mitnick & Ryan, 2015; Purdy et al., 2019) have called for more research using meaning-making approaches, with Mason (2014) postulating 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).

Klein and Amis (2021), in their study of the framing of the European migration crisis by mainstream media, opine on the embodiment of meanings in artefacts, such as photographs, while Cornelissen, Mantere, and Vaara (2014) argue for the implicating role of the materiality of memories, generated via different mediums, on individual sensemaking in extreme contexts. However, limited research exists into the influence of images on the multimodal framing efforts undertaken via social media in an environment of instant dissemination of frames and counter-frames.

Anderson and Hitlin (2016) argue that social media's rise has been consequential for the ability of disparate groups with shared values to connect irrespective of geographical distances. Similarly, Toubiana and Zietsma (2017) refer to Facebook as "an emotional echo chamber" where emotions are intensified, and the same can be said of all social media platforms to varying degrees. Social media presents a particularly potent medium for multimodal framing where social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter (now known as X) and TikTok, enable content creators and influencers to use multimodal, i.e. text and visual interactions to mobilise target audiences against taken-for-granted field conditions to enable a modification of existing institutional arrangements.

Therefore, this qualitative process study allows me to leverage longitudinal digital data from social media and triangulate with participant semi-structured interviews with key actors to investigate the development trajectory of the meaning of the Black Travel Movement within the travel industry.

1.4.Research contributions

My review of extant empirical and theoretical literature on framing and social-symbolic work, alongside existing publications on Black travel, reveal noticeable knowledge gaps and tensions which this thesis seeks to address with its findings. Firstly, Lorino et al (2017) asserts that the framing theoretical perspective does not adequately illuminate the motivations of situated actors who conduct framing activities. This was evident in Snow et al's (1986) discussion on the patterns of micromobilization tasks which underpin frame development which did not address the motivations of the interactants who conduct these tasks. Similarly, Gray, Purdy and Ansari (2015), do not provide insights into the motivations of situated actors

who instigate the amplification of micro-level interactional frames into 'macro-level meaning structures' within institutional fields.

This knowledge gap present within framing literature makes our multidimensional understanding of bottom-up development to be incomplete and misses out on vital insights into the intentional actions of situated actors behind the micro-interactional development of collective action frames. Therefore, there is an opportunity to conduct a unique study of framing that addresses this knowledge gap by infusing a social-symbolic work lens into our understanding of the bottom-up development of collective action frames. The choice of social-symbolic work is due to its primary focus on the discursive, relational, and material dimensions to the purposeful actions of situated actors to advance their preferred reality interpretations (Lawrence and Philips, 2019). Hence, this study addresses this limitation by including a social-symbolic work perspective through which the purposeful and reflexive actions of framing actors could be investigated.

Furthermore, the focus of this study on the motivations of interactants allows for the consideration of the roles of emotion and identity in the efficacy of framing processes and the valence of collective action frames. Several researchers opine on the conditioning effect of emotions on reasoning (Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017) where targeted at a receptive audience (Massa et al, 2017, Klein & Amis, 2021). This assertion infers that framing efforts are likely to be more successful where audiences feel an emotional connection to the frame arising from shared identity characteristics to frame proponents.

There is support in the literature for the effects of emotion and identity on frames. For instance, framing theorists (Cornelissen et al.,2014; Giorgi, 2017; Jones et al., 2017), have emphasized on the importance of understanding the role of emotion in the development of collective action frames. Similarly, Polletta and Jasper (2001) highlight the role of emotion in collective identification with Winkler (2018) observing that most empirical research on identity work describes it in emotional terms.

This study aims to contribute to the literature on meaning-making as 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 theorising 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 case of the Black Travel Movement. Additionally, in bringing a framing and social-symbolic

work lens to the empirical case study of the Black Travel Movement (BTM), this study departs from existing literature on the Black Travel Movement that have been explored through the lens of critical race theory (Dillette et al., 2019; Dillette, 2021) and thus serves to glean further insights into the micro interactional elements underpinning the development of the BTM.

Another contribution of this study is that it intends to respond to calls for more research on emotion work (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995; Tracey, 2016) and contribute to the limited research on how emotional responses influence framing efforts (Jones et al., 2017; Giorgi,2017) by investigating how BTM actors conducted emotion work to facilitate energetic arousal of emotions and the channelling of these emotions towards enactment of stated objectives.

The third contribution of this study is that it addresses calls for research that provides insights into how different forms of social-symbolic work are combined within a specific case study (Lawrence & Philips, 2019) and exposes essential and previously neglected influences of grievance interpretation and differing future imaginaries on the collective identity of the Black Travel Movement.

1.5.Research aims and objectives

This study aims to gain an in-depth understanding of how framing activities and social-symbolic work by BTM field actors lead to the advancement of new meanings within the institutional field of the travel industry. To achieve this, this study has one main research question, which is articulated as follows:

How do the framing activities of the Black Travel Movement (BTM) field actors lead to the emergence of new collective action frames within the travel industry?

This primary research question is further unpacked into two sub-questions as articulated below:

(a) What type of framing activities and field-level processes are undertaken by the BTM in the travel industry?
(b) How does emotion work and identity work interact with the framing activities enacted by BTM field actors?

1.6. Research method

In this study, I combine an interpretivist epistemological stance (Saunders et al., 2019) with a qualitative processual approach to enable interpretative work on longitudinal digital

archival data employing a reflexive approach. By utilising this approach, I could factor in my position as a Black researcher and the specific cultural case of the Black Travel Movement in advancing theoretical explanations of the phenomena under study.

As mentioned in the last paragraph, the primary data source is digital archival data, precisely a sample of 710 Instagram posts drawn from the Instagram profiles of 10 key BTM actors made over eleven years representing the movement timeline. The Instagram data was triangulated with interview data from 16 semi-structured interviews with knowledgeable actors within the movement.

Close multimodal reading (Karsgaard & Macdonald, 2020; Hautea et al., 2021) and Gioia methodology (Gioia et al., 2013) were utilised as analytical techniques to perform the visual and thematic analysis, respectively. The choice of visual analytical technique was fundamental to this study, given the reliance on the visual analysis of Instagram data to gain insights into the micro-interactional development of new meanings within the Black Travel Movement. Hence, the iterative method of close multimodal reading was chosen as it allowed for interpretative work to be conducted on each Instagram post at all the relevant 'sites of meaning' (Rose, 2022), namely the site of the image, the site of circulation (i.e. the Instagram post as a whole including the post reactions and caption) and, lastly, the site of the audience (i.e. the comments and likes).

Through the application of this technique, this study navigates the topical issues of heterogeneity and abundance (Grodal et al., 2022) in the qualitative analysis of social media data. Furthermore, Patton (2002) advocates for a reflexive approach to qualitative research that relies on the development of apriori criteria based on the research questions. I apply this reflexive approach by constructing a code book to guide the selection of the sample of 710 Instagram images on which interpretative work would be performed to investigate patterns of social-symbolic work practices within the Black Travel Movement.

On the whole, the data analytical process incorporated the following steps : (1) Describing and temporal bracketing of the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame in line with process research (Langley, 1999); (2) Conducting visual analysis of Instagram data from BTM key actors over an 11-year timeline to guide the identification and categorisation of emotion and identity work micro- and macro-practices within the BTM; (3) Open and axial coding of primary data from semi-structured interviews employing Gioia methodology (Gioia et al., 2013); and, lastly, (4) Triangulation of findings from analysis of

archival and interview data to inform the building a grounded theoretical framework that defines the role of emotion and identity social-symbolic work practices in the Black Travel Movement.

The emergent findings from this analytical process provide clear evidence of a combination of social-symbolic work, precisely a combination of emotion work and identity work practices and underscores their crucial role at the nexus of framing processes. This phased meaning development in the specific cultural setting of the Black Travel Movement is a significant contribution to our understanding of collective action frames in the travel and tourism industry.

1.7. Thesis outline

The rest of this thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter Two—This chapter reviews the empirical literature and theoretical frameworks and concludes with a conceptual framework.

Chapter Three- This chapter sets out the methodological foundations and research design based on this research.

Chapter Four is the first empirical chapter that unpacks the emergence of the Black travel injustice collective action frame and temporally maps its development.

Chapter Five—This is the second empirical chapter, investigating the emotion work and identity work practices within the BTM.

Chapter Six—In this chapter, the emergent theory is developed by proffering a theoretical framework that enables the understanding of the roles of framing and combinations of emotion and identity work in the phased meaning development of the BTM.

Chapter Seven—This is the conclusion chapter, where the limitations of the study and areas for further research are outlined.

1.8. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a background to the research case study and present a rationale for the study and the chosen theoretical perspectives through which the research phenomena is to be investigated. To understand how prevalent meanings are socially

constructed through the agentic actions of situated actors, this study utilises framing and social symbolic work theoretical lenses to gain insights into the bottom-up interactions that underpin the meaning-making process within the cultural context of the selected case study of the Black Travel Movement (BTM).

Within the global travel industry, the BTM emerged organically in 2011 through the activities of Black travel influencers and content creators who sought to push back against the prevalent narrative that Black people do not engage in leisure travel. To achieve this, Black travel influencers and content creators utilised images and stories disseminated online via social media to mobilise Black travellers' communities and advocate for more representation within the global travel and tourism industry.

This study adopts a qualitative longitudinal approach to address the research's central objective to gain an in-depth understanding of how framing activities and social-symbolic work by BTM field actors lead to the advancement of new meanings within the institutional field of the global travel industry. In doing so, this study reveals the combinations of social symbolic work practices, particularly emotion and identity work, conducted at the nexus of framing activities within the Black Travel Movement.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1. Chapter introduction

In this chapter, I review the empirical and theoretical literature that represents extant knowledge around the broad subject area of meaning-making, to which this study seeks to contribute. Commencing by distinguishing between sensemaking and meaning-making, this chapter unpacks the literature on the top-down and bottom-up approaches to understanding meaning development. Subsequently, framing and social symbolic work are identified as theoretical areas that align with the social constructionist characteristics of bottom-up approaches to meaning-making. This chapter then evaluates the empirical and theoretical literature around framing and social symbolic work, evaluating current debates and highlighting gaps and tensions.

Specific attention is given to the roles of emotion and identity work, subcategories of social symbolic work, in the development of meaning and how the concepts of emotion and identity have been incorporated into framing and social symbolic work literature. This chapter concludes with a conceptual framework illustrating linkages between key emergent concepts. Additionally, a literature review matrix is included that highlights the critical literature reviewed, taking cognisance of the research methods used, key emergent findings and contributions to knowledge, and providing clarity on the gap in the literature that the findings of this study intend to address.

2.2. Understanding the process of meaning-making

2.2.1. Distinguishing between sensemaking and meaning-making perspective

The term 'meaning' is subject to several definitions, often depending on the theoretical perspective through which the meaning is being defined. For instance, from an anthropological perspective, Aron and Aron (1996) describe meaning as a purposive sense of central motivation and goal orientation that transcends mere survival. Similarly, Mason (2017), in his paper studying the sense of meaning and academic performance, approaches meaning from a psychological perspective, describing the concept as the ability to identify order, coherence and purpose in life while having the efficacy to strive to attain essential goals (see also Frankl, 2008). Both definitions of meaning highlight a processual characteristic to achieving a prescribed outcome or goal of enhanced knowledge of an object or phenomenon. Hence, several researchers (e.g. Hein, 1999; Howland et al., 2003; Kovbasyuk & Blessinger, 2013) refer to the concept of meaning-making as the process of knowledge construction.

Additionally, meaning making is a fundamental concept in constructivist theoretical literature (Whiteside, 2007; Kovbasyuk & Blessinger, 2013), given its role in the socially situated construction of knowledge (Mason, 2014).

Similarly, Sensemaking has emerged as a theoretical lens for understanding meaning development within organisation and management literature and several other disciplines. Maitlis and Christianson (2014) define sensemaking as a collective process of interpreting reality events or issues that are unique, vague, or deviate from normative expectations. Nardon and Hari (2022) echo this definition, defining sensemaking as '…the process through which individuals and organisations give meaning to events or situations' (p.15). Still, other researchers (Weick et al., 2005; Voronov, 2008) have defined sensemaking as meaning construction and reconstruction processes to shape the interpretation of one's experiences to be congruent with extant individual or organisational realities. Weick and Roberts (1993) build on the exploratory aspects of sensemaking in describing it as an individual and social process of configuring what is unknown.

From the above definitions, it could be inferred that sensemaking is both an intersubjective and intrasubjective means of interpreting events. This assertion is supported by Nardon and Hari (2022), who argue that sensemaking takes place at multiple levels of subjectivity, including intersubjective (interactional) and intrasubjective (individual). These statements imply that sensemaking is not merely an individual-centred process of 'making sense' of events but involves relational elements through which social groups collectively interpret the meaning of events.

Nardon and Hari (2022) go further to argue that sensemaking starts with the 'sense maker' whose identity the process is rooted in. They further explain that "Our identity is in flux, continuously being reworked to accommodate our individual experiences as well as our experiences with others. How we see ourselves in a particular situation influences how we make sense of these situations and the information we learn in connection with our interactions with others" (Nardon & Hari, 2022: p.19). Hence, this quote suggests that the efficacy of sense giving, i.e. the practice of endeavouring to influence the sensemaking processes of others (Filstad, 2014), is stronger where shared identities enable the use of extracted cues, i.e. recognisable, shared configurations of artefacts that facilitate sensemaking (Weick, 1995), to influence meaning interpretations.

These definitions of sensemaking above appear not to distinguish between the concepts of sensemaking and meaning making. Mason (2014), in his conceptual paper on the distinctions between sensemaking and meaning making, argues that attempts to distinguish between the two concepts are problematic and that both terms are often used interchangeably. He ascribes the distinctions to semantics, positing that "…the semantics of meaning-making suggest the formation of concepts and conceptual relationships. The semantics of sense-making suggest connection, causation, process, analysis, and probing. In learning, both activities are complementary." (Mason, 2014: p.10). Therefore, the quote above from Mason (2014) suggests sensemaking and meaning making as complementary approaches to knowledge creation.

Additionally, Mason (2014) alludes to the symbiotic relationship between sensemaking and meaning-making and states that "…while meaning-making has a pivotal role in knowledge construction…it is argued that sense-making often precedes it" (Mason, 2014: p206). This assertion that sensemaking is the first stage has support from Weick et al. (2007), who posit that the process of sensemaking involves "…turning circumstances into a situation that is comprehended explicitly in words and that serves as a springboard into action" (Weick et al., 2007: p409). Therefore, it could be argued that sensemaking starts as being intra-subjective, i.e., individually centred, as individuals seek to make sense of past events. Subsequently, individuals educate or articulate their understanding of an event to others.

Similarly, other researchers advocate for the complementary nature of sensemaking and meaning making as elements of the same continuum. For example, Castelli Dransart (2013), in a qualitative study of sensemaking among family members who had lost loved ones to suicide, concludes that the search for meaning follows three processes: sensemaking, memory-building and meaning-making (Castelli Dransart, 2013). Castelli Dransart (2013) situates sensemaking as the start of the process through which an individual seeks to understand an event's occurrence. Castelli Dransart (2013) further opines that, following the process of seeking comprehensibility and historical preservation of the event (i.e., memory building), the next stage establishes an existential explanation or meaning behind the event's occurrence. This form of extrapolation or abstraction brings closure as to how such an event fits within a broader schema of occurrences. Castelli Dransart (2013) finds that several family members felt motivated to act towards suicide prevention because of the event; some felt an increased appreciation of life, and still others drew no existential inferences and ascribed it as a tragic

event. This situation implies that collective sensemaking may not, on its own, result in collective meaning interpretations.

There also exists a connection between sensemaking, sensegiving, and the utilization of artifacts which is underscored by Gioia and Chittipeddi (1991) in their ethnographic examination of the dynamics encompassing the implementation of a strategic change initiative in a public educational institution. Gioia and Chittipeddi (1991) propose in their paper that, as part of efforts to comprehend a planned change initiative within an organization, senior management endeavours to develop a "...revised interpretive framework or system of meaning" (p.434) rooted in their understanding of the organization's internal and external operational landscape. The authors suggest that the initial interpretative work by executive management refers to sensemaking, while the latter process of proffering a revised conceptualisation of the situation is sensegiving. Furthermore, Gioia and Chittipeddi (1991) advance that "…symbols and symbolic action are used to communicate that the existing interpretive scheme is no longer appropriate" (p.434). Therefore, from this perspective, it is evident that situated actors seek to effect extant institutional arrangements by first 'making sense' of the current situation and then deploying artefacts and symbols to communicate their preferred interpretation.

Whereas an individual can go through the sensemaking process alone and then involve others through a process of sensegiving, it is also possible for a group of individuals to socially experience an event and go through a collective sensemaking process (Zietsma et al., 2019). Therefore, deliberate influencing actions by situated actors are required through sensegiving to achieve the desired "… meanings to experienced social situations" (Lorino et al., 2017, p.32).

The evidence above suggests that knowledge construction commences primarily as individual-based sensemaking, after which meaning interpretations are extended to others through sensegiving. However, a meaning-making perspective provides a broader understanding of knowledge construction, allowing for understanding the full scope of knowledge construction from the intra-subjective (individual) level to the inter-subjective (interactional) level.

2.2.2. The two schools of meaning-making.

There are broadly two schools of thought in meaning-making, with one school viewing it as a top-down process dictated by isomorphic powers (e.g., institutional logics) and the second school viewing it as more of a bottom-up interactive process (e.g., framing). Institutional logics has its roots in institutional theory whereby organisational theorists, such

as Meyer and Rowan (1977), acknowledge the role of culture and cognition in institutional analysis and discourse on how 'the role of modernisation in rationalising taken-for-granted rules' enables isomorphism, which conditions organisational structures towards conformity to external norms (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) extend this thinking, theorising on the coercive, normative, and mimetic sources of isomorphism and emphasising the impact of cultural rationalisation on meaning-making in organisations and limiting the role of cognition. This theory went through several other iterations before Friedland and Alford (1991), and subsequently, others such as Thornton and Ocasio (1999) and Scott (2005), advanced the concept of institutional logics whereby the development of meaning in institutions occurs through the effects of a range of institutional logics which are predominantly handed down by isomorphic powers. However, situated actors have limited agency in determining these logics (Thornton, 2004).

However, over time, some consensus began to emerge that the agency of situated actors was more significant than previously imagined and that it was these same agentic actors who, interacting collectively, created, modified, or changed meanings within an institutional field. Purdy, Ansari and Gray (2019) posit that extant studies attempt to present institutional logics as "…fully formed and stable social facts that are either imposed by higher orders of social organisation or "pulled down" by organisational members to interpret events or effect change at the local level" (p.409). However, Purdy, Ansari, and Gray (2019) posit that bidirectionality exists in the development of meaning within institutions and that institutional processes influence and are influenced by situated actors. Hence, the implication is that the agency of situated actors is not limited to the choice of logics but actively contributes to the social construction of the elements of these logics.

The bottom-up social constructionist approach to meaning-making supported by Purdy, Ansari and Gray (2019), and other framing proponents, is more suited to this study given that it seeks to unpack how the key actors within the Black Travel Movement sought to change institutional processes within the global travel and tourism industry. Furthermore, there is already an implied assumption of a degree of agency in my interpretivist epistemological position which acknowledges the mediating role of human actors on the construction of social realities (Cunliffe, 2020).

2.3. Reviewing the framing concept in management literature

Frames are described as schemata of interpretation (Goffman, 1974) or interpretive resources (Lorino et al., 2017) that are in a continuous flux of context production (Scheff, 2005). Entman (1993) defines the process of framing as choosing "…some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation." (p52). Boland (1989), in his paper on investigating the dichotomy between the increasing subjectivist interpretation of accounting and 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). This understanding of framing as a process of meaning-making is echoed by Cornelissen, Mantere, and Vaara (2014), who states that people individually and collectively interpret circumstances and experiences of the social world as cognitive frames which subsequently inform their actions.

The framing process connotes how individuals collectively ascribe meanings to their experiences, identify events of note and inform future actions (Benford & Snow, 2000). Blumer (2012) alludes to this when he states that people's actions are influenced by their interpretation of the circumstances where they have been prompted to perform these situated actions (Blumer, 2012). The framing approach is also seen as a valuable mechanism for understanding the construction of meanings (Purdy et al., 2019). These emergent meanings are not always homogenous and are frequently contested through micro-interactions before the crystallisation and amplification of shared frames that lead to institutionalisation (Gray et al., 2015).

Therefore, the process of negotiated meaning-making is often fraught with "ambiguities and errors" (Manning, 1977, p.1363) and mismatches in meaning development, with the potential to lead to unintended consequences. For example, Iverson (2020), in his study of the mismatched meanings of the management staff and recyclers working at a redemption centre, contends that such mismatches create conflicts within "ambiguously constructed relationships" (p.608) where there may exist competing interpretations of interactional relationships (ibid, 2020). Such situations could lead to frame breaks, frame-shifting or frame plurality (Lorino et al., 2017) as internal (i.e. situated actors) and external (i.e. media, regulators, etc.) actors engage in a continuing process of framing and counter-framing to establish the dominant meaning interpretation for an event or series of events.

Importantly, framing, given its focus on micro-level individual interactions, allows for variegated cultural contexts to be investigated without the unintentional prejudices inherent in prevailing Western meaning constructs such as institutional logic (Purdy et al., 2019). This suggests that a framing theoretical perspective has analytical utility when investigating phenomena within a specific cultural context. Furthermore, the framing perspective is uniquely suited to investigate grand challenges and various societal issues across varied cultural registers (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012; Purdy et al., 2019). This implies that a framing approach suits this research's research case of the Black Travel Movement and the movement's objective to address the perceived racial injustice of the lack of representation of Black travellers in the travel industry.

However, the framing approach is not without its criticisms. For example, Stigliani and Ravasi (2012) point out that the materiality level of interpreting meanings from micro-interactions remains undetermined. Several management researchers (Pratt & Rafaeli, 2001; Rafaeli & Vilnai-Yavetz, 2004) highlight the critical role played by the 'symbolic properties of material items' (Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012) on the processes of collective sensemaking and sensegiving in social interactions. Stigliani and Ravasi (2012) assert that individuals intentionally use both visual and textual artefacts in meaning construction and note that the role of material artefacts and symbols in framing events is still ambiguous. Similarly, Goffman's (1974) interactional framing model has also attracted criticism, with Manning (2008) pointing out that the model's structural rigidity does not consider the implications on meaning-making of the diversity of experiences that underpin social interactions (Manning, 2008).

However, despite these criticisms, the focus of framing theory on authentic micro-level interactions, along with its rich repertoire of constructs, such as frame laminations, frameshifting and amplification (Purdy et al., 2019), provide a rich source of mechanisms to analyse how meanings unfold within specific cultural contexts such as the case of the Black Travel Movement (BTM). Such framing mechanisms allow for understanding frame-changing events that impact meaning development. These are frequently instantiated by specific temporal occurrences that signal the displacement of extant dominant frames (Lorino et al., 2017).

2.3.1. Collective action frames

According to framing theorists, cultural belief systems are interpreted through 'schemata of interpretation', otherwise known as frames, through which people make sense of

their social world (Goffman, 1974). Goffman (1974) describes the nature of frames, stating, "Given their understanding of what it is that is going on, individuals fit their actions to this understanding and ordinarily find that the ongoing world supports this fitting. These organisational premises sustained both in the mind and in activity, I call the frame of the activity." (p.247). Therefore, based on this quote, frames constitute a collection of beliefs, values and meaning interpretations through which a reality event, occurrence or situation could be viewed.

Interestingly, there are some noticeable similarities between institutional logics and collective action frames as they both rely on an interpretive scheme to assign meaning to social reality. However, the divergence exists in the attributed source whereby, in the case of logics, it is predominantly pulled down from prevailing isomorphic power structures (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008), while in the case of framing, it is largely socially constructed through bottom-up micro-level interactions of agentic actors. This implies that framing theory prioritises the study of the micro-interactions of situated actors who, through their agency, make and give 'sense' to their social reality until such reality interpretations become the accepted meanings within that institutional field.

Interestingly, the predominant thinking in the past among framing researchers was that the creation of collective action frames involved mainly cognitive processes (Fillmore, 1982; Cornelissen & Werner, 2014). This viewpoint has support amongst other framing theorists who adopt a cognitive lens to explain the bottom-up interactional social construction of frames (Goffman, 1974; Collins, 2004; Dewulf et al., 2009) and extend it to enable the mobilisation efforts of social movements (Benford & Snow, 2000; Creed et al., 2002). From the preceding literature, it could be suggested that the prevailing view among framing theorists was that interpreting social situations and ascribing meanings to patterns of interpretation labelled as frames was a rational and cognitive process.

Furthermore, although the social-constructionist underpinnings of the framing approach advance the dynamic view of individual and collective interactants as "Meaning entrepreneurs" (Purdy et al., 2019; p.415), it does not always explicitly provide insights into the motivations of the interactants at a micro-level (Lorino et al., 2017). Therefore, an opportunity was potentially missed to investigate the critical intrinsic drivers of framing at an individual level. This could have offered insights into the roles of other factors, such as emotion, in constructing and propagating collective action frames.

2.3.2. Injustice frames

Gamson (1992), one of the key researchers on injustice frames, advances that all collective action frames are typically made up of three elements- Injustice, agency and identity. He goes further to describe the injustice element as an expression of 'moral indignation characterised by political agitation (Rijshouwer, Leclercq & van Zoonen, 2022). Therefore, people who feel a sense of injustice due to perceived 'violation of expectations' (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017) equally feel as sense of affinity to other people going through similar experiences and have that belief that , as a collective, they can exercise their agency to address the specific social problem.

Gamson (1992) goes further to argue that 'Ideas emerge and change and are subjected to scrutiny and negotiation as events and conditions are interpreted and reinterpreted' (1992: p.110). Hence, this author agrees with other framing researchers (Snow et al., 2018; Benford & Snow, 2000; Mattoni & Trere, 2014) who view frames as scenes of contested meanings and negotiated meaning-making. Therefore, researchers into frames and framing are expected to consider the 'discursive interpretations' and 'subjective construction' of reality events by movement actors and target audiences, paying attention to the mediating effect of the senses of injustice, agency and identity (Rijshouwer, Leclercq & van Zoonen, 2022).

Gamson (2022), in his recent study on injustice frames, asserts that while there is wide agreement among social movement theorists with respect to the significance of the injustice component of frames, there is less agreement around the ability of researchers to empirically define the impact of a sense of grievance on the efficacy of frames. However, the ubiquity of social media, and its permeation in modern society, has provided a public platform where the impact of the grievances of audiences regarding social problems could be studied empirically.

For example, Zhou, Qiu & Yang (2022), in their study of menstrual activism in China during the COVID-19 pandemic, argue that the perceived refusal of Chinese medical institutions to donate menstrual products led to a wave of moral indignation that resulted in agitation via social media. As a result of this online activism, Zhou, Qiu & Yang (2022) find that injustice frames of menstrual stigma and public invisibility of menstruation were dominant among pro-feminist audiences while frames of efficiency and respect were found among online audiences with anti-feminist attitudes. The findings of this study suggest that order of importance, or hierarchy, of a grievance could impact on the efficacy of framing efforts.

Similarly, asides from the potential diluting effect of hierarchy of grievances on the efficacy of injustice frames, framing efforts, another area of significant theoretical inquiry is the conditioning effect of intersectional identities on the ability of the identity element of collective action frames to lead to increased target mobilization.

2.3.3. Benford and Snow's (2000) frame analytical model

This study relies on Benford and Snow's (2000) frame analytical model to provide an analytical foundation of framing as it presents easily understood constructs and concepts which could be extended inductively based on insights from the study's specific research case of the Black Travel Movement. Benford and Snow's (2000) frame analytical model builds on the frame alignment analysis that Snow et al. (1986) conducted to provide a comprehensive means of defining a collective action frame and mapping the central processes behind the development of collective action frames.

Benford and Snow (2000) conduct a systematic review of extant framing literature on the dynamics of framing to determine the necessary contextual field conditions that demonstrate the presence of a collective action frame. For this reason, Benford and Snow (2000) first separate the tasks and activities behind the conceptualisation of collective action frames into two broad headings: core framing tasks and variable framing tasks. The core framing tasks constitute three tasks that are segregated on a functional basis, with the first task being the diagnostic framing task, which refers to how the problem and the locus of causality are articulated and defined; prognostic framing tasks, the proffering of a solution and lastly; motivational framing tasks, which is how movement targets are engaged on the urgency and severity of the issue and the efficacy and proprietary nature of the solution (Benford & Snow, 2000). Therefore, understanding the core framing tasks provides a means through which a social movement's primary objectives and activities could be evaluated to determine if it meets the criteria to be classified as a collective action frame.

Once the configuration of the collective action frame had been conceptualised, Benford and Snow (2000) focused on understanding the 'interactive and discursive' processes that map the development trajectory of collective action frames over time. These interactive and discursive processes were based on the understanding that framing rested on interactional, bottom-up meaning construction (Gray et al., 2015). Therefore, the outcomes of these negotiated and contested reality interpretation episodes between movement actors and targets yielded outcomes that affected the perception of the frame over time. This process mirrors the

frame alignment processes, such as frame bridging and frame amplification, which was earlier theorised by Snow et al. (1986).

Therefore, Benford and Snow's (2000) model provides a theoretical foundation to unpack the core and variable framing tasks typical of collective action frames and provides a reliable means of evaluating the micro-mobilization tasks by movement actors within the Black Travel Movement. Having gained an understanding of framing and the constituent characteristics of collective action frames, I will briefly review some topical debates and tensions within the framing literature relevant to this study.

2.3.4. Tensions between localised and globalised frames

There is a debate about transnational activism and how well local frames diffuse to become globalised (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). For instance, Pong's (2021) study of the local and global framing of the discourse around food waste examines the literature surrounding climate change communication to gain insights into the differences between the local message framing and the global framing of the issue. In the paper, Pong (2021) argues that the perception of climate change as 'geographically and temporally distant' undermines mitigation efforts in certain countries. This implies that while the issue of food waste is an established global problem, framing the problem still must consider contextual local nuances to enhance the salience of motivational framing efforts.

In some quarters, the reduction of psychological distance has been advanced as a potential solution to this framing dissonance. Scannell and Gifford (2013) found that local mobilisation was easier when messages were framed locally than when global messages were imposed abroad. Similarly, Jones et al. (2017), in their study on mitigating the effects of psychological distance on public engagement with the climate change debate, suggest that an Australian-framed climate change video will resonate more with an Australian audience than comparable videos from Greece and the Philippines. This evidence suggests that due to factors such as psychological distance, local frames do not perform as well outside their national boundaries.

2.3.5. Impact of digital media on frames and framing

A related debate within the framing literature is the impact of modern technologies, such as digital platforms, on framing. Analogously, the technological affordances of social networking sites, such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter, have democratised access to information, decentralised social movements and enabled the instant dissemination of

collective action frames, thereby facilitating global mobilisation efforts. Conversely, academic researchers (Gayo-Avello, 2015; Cooley & Parks-Yancy, 2019; Cosentino, 2020) also point out that social media has also led to the rapid diffusion of disinformation globally, such as in the infamous case of Cambridge Analytica's effect on the 2016 United States presidential elections, and enabled the real-time contestation of meanings through instant framing and counter framing of meaning interpretations without the caveats of veracity, fact-checking, and editorial oversight usually provided by editorial function of traditional news media outlets.

However, the possibilities that digital media portend for the future of framing effects cannot easily be discountenanced. For example, digital technology has inherent characteristics, such as instant communication, network effects and ease of accessibility, which have the ability "…to appraise, plan, order, network, socialise, stream, transact and rate" (Gössling, S., 2021: p. 733) consumer data that "…is used to determine product/service marketability, and to predict and manipulate consumer choices" (ibid: p.733). Such capabilities make unique social experiences, such as tourism, accessible to a broader market and allow specific locations to gain popularity as desirable tourism destinations.

Also, with respect to tourism, the context where this study's research case is situated, social media platforms have distinct characteristics that make the marketability of tourism destinations and the manipulation of consumer choices far more pervasive, given their ubiquity and penetration across all strata of society. For instance, Sloan and Quan-Haase (2017) assert that the Instagram platform's digital functionalities benefit the travel and tourism industry. They cite the importance of Instagram's unique configuration of visuals and text, use of hashtags, process of posting inclusive of likes, emoticons and geotagging and its target demographic of Gen Zs and Millennials (Sloan & Quan-Haase, 2017), which makes it uniquely desirable for the emotive, visual and spontaneous world of travel and tourism.

Prior to the social media era, advocates for social change were subject to the vagaries of traditional media gatekeepers, who determined and controlled the storytelling around their causes in the mainstream media (Entman & Rojecki, 1993; Baylor, 1996; McCarthy et al., 2014; Entman, 2007). However, the network effects of social media ensure that diverse perspectives and arguments are allowed to diffuse rapidly, thus allowing for the effective democratisation of public discourse.

2.3.6. Counter framing, frame disputes and frame contestation

As mentioned in the previous section, social media platforms produce a 'town hall' effect where issues are continuously contested or negotiated through framing and counter-

framing. Counter-framing happens when movement detractors introduce new meaning interpretations to oppose extant reality interpretations (Benford, 1987; Ryan & Gamson, 2009). On the other hand, frame disputes are internal differences within movements concerning the prevailing framing decisions and interpretations of reality (Benford, 1993), while frame transformation relates to a fundamental change in the structure of the frame to cater to new meaning interpretations (Snow et al., 2018; Benford & Snow, 2000). In a digital era with instant dissemination of information, viral disinformation and attritional politics, gaining insights into the motivations, processes and implications of adverse framing outcomes and how they affect meaning-making trajectory within social movements is crucial.

In the same way that contestation ensues in public spaces, such as between pro- and anti-vaccination protesters during the coronavirus pandemic, this also happens in the digital space with real-time contestation of frames (Mattoni & Trere, 2014), which leads to an instant and continuous negotiated process of framing and counter framing. This means that where opposing meaning interpretations of a particular social reality exist, a frame dispute arises whereby opponents seek to change or modify the frame by putting forth a counter-frame that is more reflective of their interpretation of the event.

While several frame disputes are resolved amicably through extensions to the existing frame, which involve modifications to the problem definition and proposed solution (Benford & Snow, 2000), there are instances where such extensions alter the very nature of the frame. This process, known as frame transformation, is a significant development in the framing process (Benford & Snow, 2000). With the advent of social media, these framing processes of counter-framing, frame disputes, and frame transformations now occur instantaneously. This rapid pace of framing necessitates movement actors to be adaptable to instant feedback in their multimodal, digital framing efforts.

In their study of the framing of global health priorities, Shiffman and Shawar (2022) posit that the framing process is typically a 'contested and iterative process' and cite the example of the Abortion rights movement whereby pro-choice and pro-life activists are in a constant state of framing and counter framing towards aiding their mobilisation efforts. Shiffman and Shawar (2022) advance that tensions arising from internal disaffection could potentially cause frame contestation between local and global actors within a movement that may have differences about prognostic framing, i.e., articulating the preferred solution and proving its efficacy. This assertion buttresses the tensions between localised and globalised frames and the need for situated actors to ensure that diagnostic and prognostic framing efforts reflect the nuances of meaning interpretations within its target audience.

For instance, in a participant observation study of an African American feminist collective's counter-framing efforts against racist and sexist fallacies on rape, White (1999) observes that movement actors responded to framing contests around the issue of rape by modifying its diagnostic framing around the issue with empirical statistics and academic research to give an empirical basis for the frame transformation efforts. Hence, this implies that by articulating the efficacy and credibility of their framing efforts, movement actors can modify injustice frames to address framing disputes.

However, while there exists evidence in the literature on counter-framing (Benford, 1987; Benford & Hunt, 1994; Freudenberg & Gramling, 1994), framing contests (Coles, 1998; Davies, 1999) and frame transformation (White, 1999), there is limited focus on the underlying dynamics and factors that lead to these framing processes (Benford & Snow, 2000) especially from a micro level perspective using different empirical cases. Such a micro-level investigation would allow for the underlying motivations and processes behind frame contestation to be understood within specific contexts with their sociocultural realities.

2.3.7. Emotions in Framing

As discussed earlier in this chapter, a purely cognitive approach to understanding frames ignores other essential elements, such as emotions. Frames do not necessarily occur solely as rational and cognitive processes but could be influenced by emotion, both intentionally and unintentionally. This viewpoint has recently begun to gain credence among organisational theorists and sociologists, with the emotion lens into framing beginning to emerge from the more dominant cognitive (Fillmore, 1982; Cornelissen & Werner, 2014) strategic (Benford & Snow, 2000; Creed et al., 2002), and interactional (Goffman, 1974; Collins, 2004) schools of framing thought (Gray et al., 2015).

Rafaeli and Vilnai-Yavetz (2004), exploring the role of emotion in connecting physical symbols to organisations, advances that emotions are crucial in the individual sensemaking process and that their response to certain artefacts generates emotions that inform meaning interpretations. Based on interviews with several stakeholders regarding their reaction to an artefact from a public transportation organisation, Rafaeli and Vilnai-Yavetz (2004) conclude that audiences make sense of artefacts across three dimensions of the artefact – instrumentality (i.e. functionality of the artefact), aesthetics (i.e. corporeal response to the artefact) and symbolism (i.e. what the artefact represents). These three dimensions of the artefact lead to the generation of unsolicited emotions towards the artefact and the organisation (Rafaeli & Vilnai-Yavetz, 2004). Therefore, this assertion implies that artefacts are embodied with emotions that

can affect an individual's interpretation of a specific artefact, event or situation and its understanding of a social entity, such as an organisation or social movement.

Klein and Amis (2021), in their paper on the framing of societal issues, investigate how the mainstream media framed public perceptions of the European migration crisis. The authors posit that the image and context of the famous photograph of Alan Kurdi, a three-year-old Syrian refugee, lying dead on a Turkish beach during the European migration crisis changed emotional arrays among members of the public, which influenced their perception of the migration crises. Klein and Amis (2021) opine that the emotive image of the young Syrian child generated emotional energy that shifted public opinion in Europe in favour of a more empathetic approach towards illegal migration. They assert, "It is the shared emotional experience that is particularly important in not only filtering information but in potentially shifting legitimacy in framing an issue" (Klein & Amis, 2021: p.1345). They further state that where the underlying emotion is significantly intensified, it can lead to "…a shift in the emotional array of a frame that can be retained even beyond a shift in frame preference." (Klein & Amis, 2021: p.1345). Therefore, the authors' positions cited above align with the perspective that human beings are inherently emotional, and social events are experienced emotionally and cognitively. A comprehensive understanding of bottom-up framing processes needs to consider the concept of emotion.

2.3.8. Identity and Intersectionality in Framing

The final framing debate to be considered here is the relationship between identity and framing. The relationship between the two concepts becomes apparent when one considers that people who share a similar identity and have shared historical and cultural repertoires are more likely to experience and interpret social realities more congruently. Furthermore, identity-related frames are a construct related to collective action frames that emphasise social identity and shared norms in their problem specification (Habermas, 2022; Helbling & Tresch, 2011). These identity-related frames include assimilation and multiculturalism (Mitterer et al., 2013). They are typically deployed by politicians and the media in political discourse and debates around identity-driven topics such as nationalism, migration, populism, etc. (Helbling, 2012, 2014; Abadi et al., 2016; Bogado et al., 2023).

For instance, in their quantitative study of the impact of identity-related frames on the salience of national identity representations, Bogado, Bytzek, and Steffens (2023) investigated the hypothesis that identity-related frames introduce prejudice into admission policies by enhancing the prominence of certain national identity representations. The research findings

led to the acceptance of the hypothesis and offered inferences that suggested that a significant element of national identity salience was positively correlated to frame perception (Bogado et al., 2023). Therefore, it can be inferred from this study that a relationship exists between identity and framing.

The debate surrounding intersectionality in framing and how intersecting identities affect the resonance of frame mobilisation activities is interesting given the socio-cultural context of this research. Crenshaw (2013) defines intersectionality as the "compoundness" of subordinating one defining characteristic because of factors such as gender, race, sex, etc. She further advocates for these identity intersections to be considered by social movements such as the feminist and racial injustice movements (Crenshaw, 2013).

Similarly, Bahri (2009), in her investigation of feminist and post-colonialist frames, acknowledges that while both frames share issues in common, such as marginalisation and representation, tensions exist between both frames despite this overlap. This is due to feminists questioning the male-centred analysis of post-colonial texts that serve to marginalise women and draw attention to the parallels between colonialism, patriarchy, and capitalism (Bahri, 2009).

The above evidence shows that affiliations, real or perceived, to certain identities affect efforts at framing an issue and impact its salience. This suggests that research is needed to gain insights into how people's perception of their identity can affect the motivational framing activities (Benford & Snow, 2000) of movement actors who operate under certain assumptions of the identity of their target population.

2.4. Role of Social-symbolic work in understanding the influencing actions of situated actors

The emerging importance of identity and emotion as substantive elements of the framing process underlines the increasing realisation of the transformative impact of the influencing effects of embedded, agentic actors on the substance of organisational fields. In their call for papers on emergent directions in social-symbolic work studies, Caza et al. (2021) observe that there has been growing interest in the purposeful actions of actors aimed at shaping critical elements of organisational life such as emotions, identities, and institutions.

Furthermore, Lawrence and Philips (2019),) in their book on social-symbolic work and how it socially constructed selves, organisations, and institutions, posit that both emotion and identity work are elements of 'self-work', which is a reference to the intentional and reflexive efforts of actors aimed at "…not only evidently malleable elements of self, such as friendships,

career choices, and economic and social success, but less obviously malleable dimensions of self, such as sex, gender, and race" (Lawrence & Philips, 2019, p. 79). Based on this assertion, a social symbolic work perspective is relevant for this study, given its focus on investigating the purposeful and reflexive actions of situated movement actors, which helps illuminate the enigma surrounding how, and in what settings, collective action by social movement actors can induce change in extant organisational dynamics (Bertels et al., 2014). In the following paragraphs, I further explore the social symbolic work perspective.

Lawrence and Philips (2019) define social-symbolic work as the '…purposeful, reflexive efforts to change social arrangements' (p.15) and set out to shift the focus of organisational research efforts away from the person or entity conducting a change action to the multidimensional dimensions and patterns of activities which underpin those actions (Geiger & Stendahl, 2023). This focus on patterns of action is useful for this study as it aims to provide insights into the repertoire of social-symbolic work practices that are conducted at the node of framing processes within a specific cultural context.

Lawrence and Philips (2019) highlight three dimensions to social-symbolic work- i.e. material, discursive and relational- with the material dimension focused on the tangible elements of the physical environment which are configured towards shaping meanings of focus 'objects'. Several researchers have observed the paucity of literature focused on the material element of social change (Raviola & Norbäck, 2013; Monteiro & Nicolini, 2015; Geiger & Stendahl, 2023) which is important for this study given its exploration of the embodiment of meanings in digital images. The other dimensions of social-symbolic work are the discursive and relational dimensions which respectively refer to the narratives and interactions through which alternative interpretations of social arrangements could be advanced (Lawrence & Philips, 2019). These multidimensional actions are performed with the objective of influencing and maintaining of social-symbolic objects in organizational life (ibid) such that they embody the meaning interpretations intended by the actors conducting the 'work'.

The concept of 'social-symbolic objects' is central to understanding the practice of social-symbolic work with Lawrence and Philips (2019) defining social symbolic objects as "…the combinations of discursive, relational and material elements that constitute meaningful patterns in social systems" (Lawrence & Philips, 2019, p.5). Despite the dimension of materiality in the definition above, social-symbolic objects can be both clearly defined and tangible, e.g., technologies and strategies, and also less defined and intangible such as beliefs, identities and emotions (Lawrence & Philips, 2019). This concept is important for this study

as it conducts interpretative work on Instagram posts, which I posit are social-symbolic objects whose meanings are contested at the site of the audience (Rose, 2022) i.e. the comment section. Therefore, an examination of a longitudinal sample of Instagram posts could provide insights into the micro-interactional development of meaning of social systems.

Karakulak and Lawrence (2023), in their recent article on the role social-symbolic work performs in the construction of social problems, similarly 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) posit 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). This ability to connect several disparate social symbolic work practices and social symbolic objects could be seen through the perspective of agentic actors' efforts to construct selves (i.e., self work) or organizations (i.e., organizational work) which in both instances involve different streams of social-symbolic work and several types of social-symbolic objects (Karakulak & Lawrence, 2023).

The social-symbolic work perspective is not in itself a novel field of theoretical inquiry but an amalgam of different theoretical work that share commonalities in terms of the effect of agentic actors on social systems (Lawrence & Philips, 2019). Other disparate streams of social-symbolic work literature include emotion work (Hochschild, 1979; Bolton & Boyd, 2003;), identity work (Brown, 2015; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; Winkler, 2018), boundary work (Gieryn, 1983; Langley et al., 2019), and institutional work (Hampel et al., 2017; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006). More recently, there have also been more specialised iterations of social-symbolic work literature, such as intersectional identity work (Atewologun, 2014; Atewologun et al., 2016); emotion-symbolic work (Barberá-Tomás et al., 2019) and deliberative boundary work (Giamporcaro et al., 2023).

However, there remain calls from organizational researchers for further research into how situated actors combine distinct types of social symbolic work practice within specific empirical contexts (Lawrence and Philips, 2019; Geiger and Stendahl, 2023). Lawrence and Philips (2019) propose that combinations of social-symbolic work could be conducted in three

main forms which are through sequencing, i.e. performed one after the other; aligning, i.e. done concurrently; and, lastly, integrating, i.e. conducted symbiotically without a clear delineation.

This study seeks to contribute to the field of social-symbolic work in focusing on the combination of emotion and identity work practices within a specific case study. Given that the central phenomenon that this study seeks to address is the development of meaning, it is vital to gain an understanding of the drivers that underpin the reality perceptions of situated actors who conduct framing activities in order to gain adherence to their preferred meaning interpretation among the target population.

However, the lack of focus of framing theory on the motivations of individual actors meant that the study of influencing factors such as emotion and identity is largely absent from framing literature, thus leaving a gap in our understanding of the bottom-up development of meaning structures such as collective action frames. Organisation researchers (Wright, Zammuto, & Liesch, 2017; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018) posit that moral emotions lead to moral judgements around one's social reality and support the legitimization of frame claims. Additionally, researchers such as Friedland et al (2014) and Gray et al. (2015) argue that the collective experience of emotions facilitates the fostering of a shared, collective identity.

Therefore, the scope of social-symbolic work for this study is emotion and identity work given that they are both branches of the 'work' theoretical literature that provide granular insights into the influencing roles of emotion and identity on the reality perceptions of situated actors which in turn inform their purposeful and reflexive actions targeted towards the social-construction of collective action frames. Furthermore, emotion and identity work are both intrinsically interwoven aspects of self work, i.e. the intentional actions of actors aimed at the construction of the 'self', which intersect in diverse ways. Therefore, given the aim of this study to gain deeper insights into meaning-making of movement actors at both an intrasubjective and intersubjective level, the process of induction led to emotion and identity becoming salient

For instance, Winkler (2018), in his article titled, 'Identity work and emotions: a review', conducts a systematic review of the empirical literature on identity work and its intersection with emotions. Winkler (2018) finds that most empirical research on identity work describes it in emotional terms, such as an emotionally laden event triggering identity work or the emotional impact of the outcome of identity work. The author goes further to suggest that future research should investigate the role of emotion in the experience of identity work.

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Limited literature delves into the relationship between emotional escalation and the consequent collective identification following target mobilisation. Therefore, complementing the study of emotion work with insights into the work underpinning collective identification allows for an investigation into how different forms of social-symbolic work combine within specific case studies and has been undertheorised in the literature (Lawrence & Philips, 2019).

2.4.1. Emotion work

Emotion work can be described as the purposeful and reflexive 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). Smith (2014) defines emotion work as the intentional actions designed to affect the feelings of others. Since Hochschild's seminal study on emotion work, there has been a paucity of literature on the purposeful actions by social actors aimed at triggering emotional responses, especially from an organisational perspective.

Zietsma et al. (2019), in their systematic review of literature on emotions in the organisational study, echo this point where they observe that the study of emotion has been historically under-theorised in management and organisational literature despite emotions being at the centre of social interactions (Zietsma et al., 2019). This development has led to calls for further research applying emotion work to management and organisation studies (Giorgi, 2017; Hambrick & Lovelace, 2018) and to the investigation of the exploitation of emotions (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995; Eyerman, 2005; Tracey, 2016).

Hochschild's initial conceptualisation of emotion work focused primarily on individual manifestations of emotional and feeling cues that were performed to elicit specific responses from the audience. The author referred to this practice as the invisible and personal management of emotions and categorised it as emotional labour, defined as the commercial '… management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display' (Hochschild, 2022: p. 7). Therefore, the author implies that emotional labour involves individuals' internal management of emotions within commercial settings, which manifests outwardly as observable emotion and feeling cues.

Dashper (2019) supports Hochschild's definition of emotional labour, stating that it is "… the commercial imperative to accomplish [tasks] in line with corporate 'feeling rules'" (p.26) that distinguishes emotional labour from emotion work. For instance, in her study on the use of emotional labour in organisations, Mann (1997) states that expectations of certain

emotional displays within work environments result in workers suppressing their genuine feelings and expressing inauthentic feelings deemed appropriate for the work setting. This suggests that there are two aspects to emotional labour – one part internal and another external. Gabriel et al. (2015) describes the former as 'deep acting' and the latter as 'surface acting', classifying both actions as emotion regulation strategies practised in the workplace.

In both instances, individuals engage in emotional labour that involves the internal suppression of genuine emotions and the outward performance of the expected feeling rules. Feeling rules, defined as moral perspectives on desired behaviours (Smith, 2011), could be seen as the foundation of emotional labour (Kirk et al., 2021) given that they determine the organizational benchmark for accepted feeling displays that employees are expected to adhere to.

However, more recently, several researchers have expanded the concept of emotion work beyond what was envisioned by Hochschild by arguing that emotion work goes beyond the emotional labour of individuals in commercial settings. Dashper (2019), in her study of multi-species emotional labour in the tourism industry, acknowledges this viewpoint and advances that Hochschild's early iterations of emotion work and emotional labour have undergone refinement to address several tensions, such as its bias towards negative emotions and the blurring of the boundaries between emotion work and emotional labour.

Several other researchers have voiced criticisms of Hochschild's concepts of emotion work and emotional labour. For instance, Bolton (2009) argues that Hochschild's concept of emotion work does not adequately consider the complex configurations of emotions in an emotion-laden work environment. Brook (2009) agrees with this argument and suggests further theorisation on the application of emotion work in organisational settings. In line with the above, Pantti and Wahl-Jorgensen (2021) have refined the concept of emotion work to encompass the full spectrum of emotion-related practices that actors intentionally practice with the purpose of achieving specific aims.

Therefore, in line with the theoretical refinements of the emotion work concept and the blurring of the distinction between emotion work and emotional labour, the theoretical framework of social symbolic work presents a unique perspective on emotion work as the purposeful and reflexive efforts aimed at generating emotional energy to influence and maintain social-symbolic objects in organisational life (Lawrence & Philips, 2019).

Furthermore, Zietsma and her colleagues (2019) attribute the recent renaissance in emotion studies to the emergence of new strands of organisational research, such as institutional work, an aspect of social-symbolic work- which acknowledges the agency of actors. While an institutional work perspective had potential analytical utility for this study, the potential to gain insights at an individual level of analysis on the emotion and identity work practices of the BTM actors better served the research's objectives.

One of the critical approaches to the intentional generation of emotion is the selection and dissemination of multimodal artefacts, such as images that embody meanings within specific sociocultural and historical contexts. The use of artefacts to generate emotion has support in the literature where Zietsma and her colleagues (2019) postulate on the strategic approach to emotion (Zietsma et al., 2019), which involves the intentional deployment of emotions and 'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1979) as devices to affect others (Lok et al.,2017; Zietsma et al., 2019). Such 'devices' include material artefacts such as images and video which, when combined with text, can create narratives that affect extant emotional registers. This occurrence was made evident in the work of Klein and Amis (2021) and Barberá-Tomás et al., (2019) where emotion-laden photos, respectively of a dead three-year old refugee lying on a beach following a failed migrant crossing and a dead albatross with an open stomach full of plastic, triggered moral emotions and calls for social change.

Images have the intrinsic ability to transmit and create emotional connections (Meyer et al., 2013) that transcend their normal cognitive characteristics (Konstantinidou, 2008; Meyer et al., 2018). The continual propagation of images of significant emotional intensity help generate emotional contagion and encourage others to participate (Gray, Purdy & Ansari, 2015) and the embodiment of symbols and artefacts with memories that represent contexts that are regarded as unfair and create emotional attachment among people (Klein & Amis, 2021).

Interestingly, textual representations are also seen to be embodied with emotion and can serve to generate emotional arousal. Goss (2008) posits that narrated stories are significant sources of symbols and artefacts that convey emotions (Goss, 2008) and the higher the emotional register, the more it serves to connect audiences to a sense of shared identity (Zietsma et al., 2019). These texts and stories provide the contextual backdrop to the visuals and are fundamental in situating the visuals within the activist's desired emotional frame. Klein and Amis (2021) support this assertion in stating that "photographs in and of themselves are not inherently disruptive—(re)framing requires the appropriation and articulation of images."

(Klein & Amis, 2021: p.1345). However, while acknowledging the importance of textual representations, Klein & Amis (2021) posit that still photographs generate a level of emotional resonance that are not matched by other forms of media.

This growing acceptance of this material dimension to emotional arousal led Barbera-Tomas et al (2019) to put forward the concept of emotion-symbolic work, described as a hybrid of emotion work, such as defined by Hochschild (1979), and symbolic work, which is the application of language and symbols to the development of meaning (Phillips & Lawrence, 2012). Emotion-symbolic work involves an "emotional transformation process" (Barbera-Tomas et al, 2019) whereby multimodal resources, usually text and visuals, serve as inputs with the intention to "…affect emotions in efforts to influence target actors to enact a cause" (Barbera-Tomas et al, 2019: p.2). Emotion-symbolic work focuses on how symbols, such as images and videos, are deployed by agentic actors to generate higher emotional registers among their target audience that induces enactment of the actor's cause (Tracy, 2016; Barbera Tomas et al, 2019).

Barbera Tomas et al. (2019) explores how social entrepreneurs utilize emotion-symbolic work to achieve social change through a longitudinal study that delved into the emotion-symbolic practices of anti-plastic pollution social entrepreneurs who used multimodal actions to engage target audiences and convert them to their cause. Their approach put forward a framework through which patterns of practices were categorized to map the various phases of connecting the audience to the cause by triggering moral shock and then transformation of moral emotions into emotional energy to induce enactment. This study relies on Barbera Tomas et al.'s (2019) framework as a theoretical foundation to its investigation of emotion work within the chosen case study with the intention to inductively extend this framework where applicable in line with the research's theory building approach.

2.4.2. Identity work

Identity work is another element of the body of social-symbolic work referred to as self work (Lawrence & Philips, 2019) as these streams of social-symbolic work are all aimed at shaping one's 'self' as a social-symbolic object. Identity work is defined as the intentional method of identity construction (Brown, 2015) whereby individuals or groups of individuals perform purposeful and reflexive actions that are motivated by a desire to construct a specific perception of their selves, or the collective 'self'.

In the previous section on emotion work, it was mentioned that one of the criticisms of Hochschild's (1979) interpretation of emotion work was that it does not consider the effects of emotion work conducted within a workplace setting (Bolton, 2009; Brook, 2009). Hamilton and McCabe (2016) agree with this observation and emphasise the significance of gaining insights into the organizational context of emotion work and also recommend more research into the role of emotion in identity work, as they link emotion work to collective identification.

Hamilton and McCabe (2016) state that the diversity in the range of emotional displays suggests that human beings are not homogenous individuals divorced from social and organizational realities. This statement implies that showing emotions is more effective and is likely to evoke stronger emotions among people who are in similar social environments, such as a family, workplace, or religious group. Additionally, in their influential paper on collective identity and social movements, Polletta and Jasper (2001) argue that collective identification has not received enough attention on its own and has often been considered a byproduct of the development of social movements or has been loosely included in discussions about resource mobilization."

The performance of identity work is inherently processual as it involves patterns of discursive and interactive practices targeted at minimizing 'identity gaps' (Ashforth et al., 2016; Pratt et al., 2006) to maintain identification. This implies that the success of identity work in target mobilization relies on maintaining emotional resonance with the collective identity during identity-heightening episodes to facilitate identity construction and maintenance.

Atewologun, Sealy and Vinnicombe (2016) revealed this concept of identity-heightening episodes in their study of intersectional identity work where they find that, identity-heightening episodes facilitate meaning-making of intersecting identities among senior British Asian and Black female and male professionals in Britain. Atewologun, Sealy and Vinnicombe's (2016), in their qualitative study involving 27 respondents completing diaries, followed by retrospective interviews that recorded daily experiences of identity-heightening episodes, advance that identity-heightening episodes are also experienced at field-level due to the occurrence of emotionally escalatory field-configuring events that change the trajectory of the development of collective identities. Therefore, this temporal element to identity construction is suited to the design of this study given its qualitative process research

approach to investigating identity maintenance through identity work practices conducted on Instagram by BTM content creators.

Ibarra and Barbulescu (2016) unpack the effects of narrative identity work in macro work role transitions, observing that individuals and collectives engage in narrative storytelling to construct and reconstruct identities. They go further to argue that the identity construction process is not linear but involves constant revision based on feedback until a lasting and consistent interpretation of the identity emerges (Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2016). This presence of a feedback loop following interactions is escalated on social media whereby feedback is instantaneous via post likes, comments, and shares.

One important means of identity construction practiced by social media influencers is self-representation. Self -representation is one of the key elements of identity work as it "…is acknowledged that the main emphasis of the identity work theory is that people do not only form, but also maintain, strengthen or revise their identities as they self-present to external audiences" (Chatzopoulou & Navazhylava, 2022, p.976). This quote implies that authentic self-representation is essential for identity work practices to gain traction and resonate emotionally with the target audience. This is because movement targets could view identity work practices as performative if the actor is perceived to lack credibility with respect to the characteristics of the collective identity. This claim of influencer behaviours being viewed as an unauthentic performance has been termed as 'performative allyship' by Wellman (2022).

In her article examining performative allyship as credibility maintenance for social media influencers on Instagram, Wellman (2022) investigates the events surrounding #BlackoutTuesday, which occurred on June 2,2020, where millions of people and organisations posted only plain black squares on their social media pages as a sign of solidarity with the global Black Lives Matter protests following the murder of George Floyd. Based on findings from interviews with 20 social media influencers involved in the discourse on Instagram, Wellman (2022) opines that posting the black squares was a form of performative allyship intentionally used to build credibility with followers.

Similarly, Chatzopoulou and Navazhylava (2022), in their paper utilizing ethnic brand identity work to understand the use of celebrity endorsements to address authenticity tensions in brand digital self-presentation, conducts a qualitative exploratory study that reveals that authenticity tensions undermine the brand marketing value of celebrity endorsements where the audience's perception of the brand's identity conflicts with their perception of the celebrity.

This theorization around identity work is echoed by Atewologun, Sealy and Vinnicombe (2016) in their article on intersectional dynamics in organizations, they introduce 'intersectional identity work' as a mechanism for understanding how people's experiences are filtered through intersectional identities. This concept is useful for this study as it allows for insights to be gained into the conditioning effect of intersectional identities on the valence and emotional resonance of collective action frames.

2.5. Historical context to Black travel

2.5.1. Impact of racial discrimination on Black travel

There is limited literature available on Black travel with most of the authorship having a distinctly American focus (Washburne, 1978; Philipp, 1994; Floyd, 1998; Foster, 1999; Carter, 2008; Dillette et al., 2019; Dillette, 2021). This predominant focus on the United States of America is attributable to the historical context of the slave trade and the subsequent societal upheavals that followed attempts to achieve racial integration in America after the abolishment of slavery.

The influence of adversarial race relations in the United States on the travel behaviour of Black travellers has been extensively studied in academic research (Philipp, 1994; Foster, 1998; Carter, 2008; Dillette et al., 2018), online sources, and social media. During the Jim Crow era, tourism destinations were racially segregated, and Black individuals faced the threat of physical harm if they tried to visit these places. "Jim Crow" refers to a compendium of state and local laws that codified racial segregation across all spheres of American life (Foster, 1999) and this had knock-on effects for the travel and tourism sector as most travel destinations and marketing were delineated along racial lines (Alderman, 2013). Consequently, Black people in the United States found that participation in travel and leisure activities, access to which is often taken for granted, presented negative connotations for their well-being. This fear of institutional retribution hence served as a disincentive to leisure travel among those of Black ethnicity in the United States.

Consequently, Victor Hugo Green, an African American postal worker and travel writer from Harlem, New York City, authored 'the Negro Motorists' Green Book', a travel guide that detailed the safe places where African Americans could stop over on their journeys within the country (Dillette & Benjamin, 2021). This book became one of the infamous symbols of the Jim Crow era and was required reading for Black Americans in the 1950s who desired to navigate existing restrictions and participate in leisure travel more safely.

Away from the United States, African and Afro-Caribbean travellers have also traditionally faced institutional restrictions to travel such as the prohibitive cost of air travel and stringent visa conditions along with micro aggressions and racial prejudice while at tourist destinations. Such travel restrictions have functioned as a disincentive for leisure travel among Black people. This phenomenon would have contributed to the narrative that Black people did not indulge in leisure travel.

Several researchers have sought to proffer explanations that purport to explain the limited visibility of Black travellers in leisure activities and at tourism destinations. For example, Washburne (1978), in his study of the lack of representation of Black people in wildland recreation, put forward the Marginality-Ethnicity principle which posits that marginality and ethnicity are key causal factors for the lack of participation of Black people in leisure travel activities. Marginality refers to the historical socio-economic constraints due to the lower living standards of Black people. At the same time, the ethnicity concept alludes to normative value systems among certain ethnicities, such as Black people, which create a predisposition against participation in leisure activities (Washburne, 1978). Therefore, this principle infers that the lower economic spending power prevalent among Black people in comparison with other races suggests that less disposable income could be channelled towards non-essential expenditure such as engaging in leisure travel. Furthermore, even in places or situations where Black people were more affluent, the author points to an ethnic predisposition against leisure travel which would push it further down the pecking order where disposable income was being allocated.

This viewpoint suggests that certain ethnic peculiarities are unique and inherent in Black people that makes them not to prioritize travelling for leisure or engaging in tourist activities. Furthermore, research conducted into differences in the travel behaviours of White and Black travellers (Philipp, 1994; Carter, 2008) find that Black travellers tended to travel in large groups and be less daring in the leisure travel choices compared to White travellers which could be interpreted to lend support to the ethnicity concept of Washburne's (1978) hypothesis.

However, a later study by Tucker and Deale (2018) on a sample of African American tourists revealed that fears of racial discrimination were a significant consideration in their travel choices. Therefore, the assertion here is that it was fear of racial prejudice, rather than an inherent ethnic aversion to leisure activities, which impacted the participation of Black travellers in more leisure activities.

Therefore, an equally plausible interpretation of the tendency of Black people to travel in large groups was to seek safety in numbers due to fears for their safety and racial prejudice, which have been hardwired into the African American psyche since the eras of slavery and the civil rights movement. Similarly, Lee and Scott (2017) term these anxieties as the "social reproduction of the fear of racism" (Lee and Scott, 2017: Cited by Benjamin and Dillette, 2021: p.3) whereby extrinsic, rather than intrinsic, factors alter the travel behaviours of Black people who would ordinarily have wished to participate in leisure travel. The phenomenon of Black travellers mainly travelling in large groups suggests that the urge to engage in leisure travel is present. Travelling in groups has been devised to navigate this travel experience.

2.5.2. Factors that are altering Black leisure travel behaviour

Despite these unfortunate historical realities of the average Black traveller's lived travel experience, this issue had yet to permeate into the forefront of Black people's consciousness and assume the spectre of a problem that needed to be addressed collectively. This was potentially due to travel being previously deemed a luxurious undertaking among a and the exclusive preserve of the wealthy segments of the population, but also attributable to the myriad of other societal issues facing Black people, it is understandable that the travel constraints of the wealthy Black minority would struggle to gain social currency. This perspective is supported in a 2000 Battelle report commissioned by the United States Department of Transportation and Federal Highway Administration on the travel behaviours of people of colour. The report posits that the racial segregation policies prevalent in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s, meant that African Americans faced longer travel times than other ethnicities and also had less options for travel to locations reserved for Black people.

Nonetheless, a change in this trend has become evident in recent years as Black people have begun to prioritize leisure travel. This trend is borne out by 2019 pre-COVID travel statistics where the leisure travel expenditure of Black travellers in the United States was estimated at $129.6 billion which is over 16% of the total US leisure travel market valued at $792 billion as at 2019 (MMGY, 2020). This new development is attributable to range of factors such as growing diaspora populations which brought about more intercultural exchanges that demystified the presence of Black people in foreign countries. Other factors include increased spending power as the stronger economic positions of Black people have meant that more Black people can better afford travel and are experiencing leisure travel.

Still another crucial factor is the transgenerational shifts in travel behaviours as younger generations of Black people, usually more cosmopolitan and openminded than their parents, increasingly prioritise their wellbeing with leisure travel being seen as an essential component of it. For instance, a 2022 Mintel marketing report on the lifestyles of the Generation Z (i.e., those born between 1997 to 2010) finds that this generation are the most socially and environmentally conscious generation (Mintel, 2022). Furthermore, they regard their defining characteristic as being adventurous and ethical (ibid, 2022). This suggests that this changing disposition of the current generation of Black people are more invested in social issues and willing to challenge the status quo.

However, the principal factor that has brought about a consolidated focus on Black travel is changes in technology, specifically the increased adoption of social media. The ubiquity of social media has been particularly important for the increasing engagement on Black travel as information shared on Black traveller experiences within the travel and tourism space were instantly diffused around the world and destinations that had hitherto seemed inaccessible to Black travellers became more realistic and attainable. This sentiment is echoed by Benjamin and Dillette (2021), asserting that social media provided a 'level playing field' (p.7) that democratized access to global public spaces.

This is because imagery shared by Black travellers on social media platforms like Instagram and Facebook allowed audiences to experience these destinations vicariously and through the people who posted such content. Additionally, given that Generation Z are most likely to rely on social media as their primary source of information, this sparked the emergence of a nascent global movement of Black travellers on social media who followed the social media profiles of prominent Black travellers and engaged with their content by liking, commenting and sharing their posts within the Black community.

2.6. Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed the academic literature and theoretical frameworks that reinforce the subject area of meaning development. I began by contrasting the mainly top-down process of meaning making dictated by isomorphic powers (e.g., institutional logics) with the bottom-up, social constructionist school (e.g., framing) that acknowledges the agentic power of situated actors in the meaning-making process.

Subsequently, framing theory was reviewed, and it was revealed how tensions emerge when localized frames diffuse to become globalized frames (Keck & Sikkink, 1998) leading to framing disputes and counterframing (Benford, 1987; Benford & Hunt, 1994) as movement actors and target audiences social construct the negotiated process of meaning-making.

However, a criticism of framing theory is the limited consideration of the implications of the motivations and actions of movement actors on the development and valence of collective action frames. For instance, Rafaeli and Vilnai-Yavetz (2004) argue that the framing perspective does not address the critical role of 'symbolic properties of material items' (Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012) on frame resonance and how agentic actors deploy these symbolic properties in processes of collective sensemaking and sensegiving in social interactions. Stigliani and Ravasi (2012) support this argument where they agree that individuals intentionally use both visual and textual artefacts in meaning construction but note that the role of material artefacts and symbols in framing events is still unclear. Similarly, Gamson (2022), in his recent study on injustice frames, approach this lack of granular detail on framing microprocesses from a different perspective where he observes that despite wide agreement on the significance of the injustice component of frames, it remains uncertain to what extent researchers could empirically define the impact of a sense of grievance on the efficacy of frames.

Therefore, this gap in the framing literature meant that framing theorists miss insights that could be derived on the conditioning effects of emotions and identity on the motivations and interactions inherent in movement-target relationships with regards to symbol production and diffusion and the effect of grievance interpretations on emotional attachment to frames. Therefore, the infusion of a social-symbolic work theoretical lens, specifically emotion and identity work, into the framing theoretical perspective allows for the illumination of the material, discursive and relational dimensions of the purposeful actions of situated actors that are behind the enactment of framing processes. For example, purposefully disseminated images embodied with emotion reveal the potential of images to generate emotions that facilitate target mobilization and how the diluting effect of grievance interpretation could moderate emotive qualities of images.

This assertion of the impact of emotions on the material dimension has consequences for frame valence. For instance, Klein and Amis (2021) found that the emotional resonance of the famous photograph of Alan Kurdi lying dead on a Turkish beach with European audiences

affected the way the mainstream media framed the European migration crisis. This suggests that the emotive qualities of the photography changed the resonance of the framing of the European migration crisis by mainstream media. This perspective is useful for this study as it seeks to understand how the intentional propagation of images and text via social media help generate emotional contagion and encourage others to action (Barberá-Tomás et al., 2019).

Hence, the combination of a social-symbolic work and framing theoretical perspectives allows for the motivations and actions underpinning the work of movement actors to be better illuminated. This intersection of both theories would provide more insights into our understanding of the materiality dimension and grievance effect in framing processes that have hitherto been vague.

Therefore, this research intends to add to the literature around the strategic agency of activists and their ability to create new, or change existing, institutional arrangements using emotion-symbolism through its investigation of the Black Travel Movement. Through this investigation, I seek to gain insights into how activists deploy visual imagery and supporting text to generate reflexive, affective and moral emotions (Haid, 2003; Zietsma et al.,2019) that are then translated "…into emotional energy for enactment" (Barbera-Tomas et al., 2017, p.2).

Another facet of the symbiotic relationship between emotion work and framing emerged as framing processes such as frame amplification typically involve the arousal of emotions, such as anger and shame, which facilitate the legitimization and credibility of the frame with target audiences (Jasper, 2011; Gray, Purdy & Ansari, 2015). Furthermore, Blumer's (1971) social interactionist theory, from which emotion work draws its theoretical foundations, mirrors Gray, Purdy and Ansari's (2015) interactional approach to framing with both theoretical frameworks sharing an emphasis on negotiated meaning making borne out of micro-interactions around meaningful symbols and artefacts (Gray, Purdy & Ansari, 2015).

Framing contests (Davies 1999; Mattoni & Trere, 2014) and incidents of framing and counterframing were also found weaken collective identification (Polletta and Jasper, 2001) to the collective action frame and requires movement actors to take purposeful action to maintain identity salience (Atewologun, Sealy and Vinnicombe, 2016) through what is known as identity work. Therefore, identity work is a useful theoretical lens for this study as it presents a means through which the actions of agentic actors within the Black Travel Movement identity to enhance frame salience and maintain collective identification among a target audience rife with intersectional identities.

Such identity reinforcement activities have been found to include practices that address 'identity gaps' (Ashforth et al., 2016; Pratt, Rockmann, & Kaufmann, 2006) and recognize national identity salience (Bogado, Bytzek and Steffens, 2023). This conclusion suggests that articulating one's credibility is a pattern of identity work conducted by social media influencers such as those in the Black Travel Movement. Hence, BTM actors create Instagram posts that disseminate information on recognitions received from mainstream travel industry or their coverage in mainstream media. Through this practice of identity work, these actors can gain legitimization which then lends credence to subsequent identity work which they engage in.

In conclusion, a conceptual framework and literature review matrix are included below to illustrate the interconnectedness of key concepts explored in the literature and to summarize the key literature that underpin this study.

2.7. Conceptual framework

The understanding of the interconnectedness of the emergent concepts are illustrated in the conceptual framework in Figure 1 below:
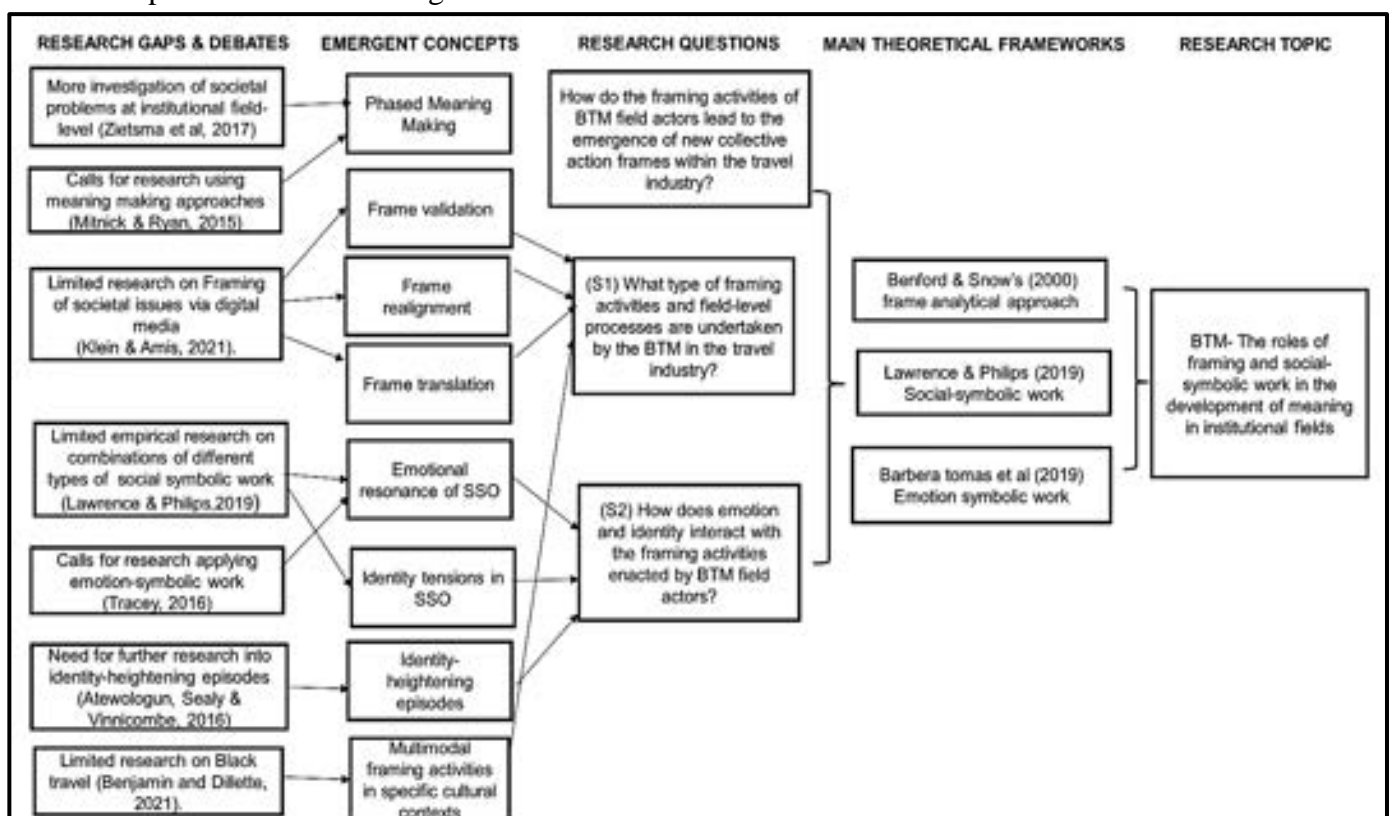
Figure 1-Conceptual framework (Author's own, 2023)

Figure 1 above illustrates the current debates and areas of limited research in the empirical literature and the key emergent themes and concepts focused on during the research.

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Additionally, the diagram depicts the research topic and questions designed to gain insights into the highlighted concepts through an examination of the Black Travel Movement, this study's generative case. It concludes with the main theoretical frameworks that laid the foundation upon which emergent theory development would be performed following the findings from the analysis of the data.

Table 1 below presents a tabular summary of some of the critical literature reviewed, the research methods employed in these papers, relevant findings, and the areas this study seeks to focus on.

Table 1-Key literature for this study

Author(s)/ Year of publication	Title	Method	Relevant findings	Area of focus for this study
Meaning making				
Castelli Dransart (2013)	From sense-making to meaning-making: Understanding and supporting survivors of suicide	A qualitative study with interviews of 48 survivors	The process of meaning-making consists of 3 stages- sensemaking, memory building and meaning-making	Unpack the micro-processes that underpin collective meaning-making via digital media
Gioia and Chittipeddi (1991)	Sensemaking and sensegiving in strategic change initiation	An ethnographic study using participant observation of company employees in the first year of planned change	Strategic change in a corporate environment involves top-down sensemaking and sensegiving over four phases- envisioning, signalling, re-visioning, and energising.	Study the sensemaking and sensegiving actions of Instagram influencers towards facilitating and enhancing audience identification and engagement.
Framing				
Goffman (1974)	Frame analysis: An essay on the organisation of experience	A systematic examination of the use of framing analysis in sociological study	Sets out a repertoire of interactional framing concepts and processes that conceptualize the development of collective action frames	Gain understanding of interactional framing processes experienced during multimodal framing activities on digital media within the cultural context of a specific case study

Benford & Snow (2000)	Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment	A systematic review of the framing literature for understanding social movement dynamics	Articulates an analytical toolkit of framing concepts and processes and that are relevant to the study of social movements	Provide empirical insights into the framing concepts and processes that informed the development of a predominantly online-based social movement situated within a specific cultural context
Klein & Amis (2021)	The dynamics of framing: Image, emotion, and the European migration crisis	Combination of content analysis of archival data and thematic analysis of interview data (17 semi-structured interviews) to gain insights into the role of images and media in the framing of societal issues	Iconic images have powerful effects that can alter emotional arrays which impact on the efficacy of framing efforts	To investigate the intentional selection and diffusion of images on social media to facilitate emotional arousal to achieve collective identification
Purdy, Ansari, and Gray (2019)	Are Logics Enough? Framing as an Alternative Tool for Understanding Institutional Meaning Making	Theoretical paper on the framing theory	Promotes the application of framing as analytical tools to reveal meaning making activities and to gain understanding into how meaning amplifies to become taken-for-granted in institutional fields	Gain empirical knowledge of the use of frame analysis to understand the development of meaning in a specific institutional field
Social symbolic work				
Lawrence & Philips (2019)	Constructing organizational life: How social-symbolic work shapes	Theoretical study of social symbolic work research	Combinations of different social symbolic work practices can be conducted on the same social symbolic object within a specific case	Investigate the combinations of emotion and identity work

	selves, organizations, and institutions			practices on a social symbolic object within a particular case
Karakulak and Lawrence (2023)	Social-Symbolic Work in the Construction of Social Problems: Constructing Gender Inequality in Turkish Social Partnership	A comparative case study approach focusing on two social partnership cases in Turkey	Find that two forms of social-symbolic work—relational work and practice work-were conducted simultaneously by two separate social partnerships to construct the social problem of gender inequality in Turkey	Examine how the combination of emotion and identity work construct the meaning of an online social movement within a specific cultural setting
		Emotion work		
Zietsma et al, (2019)	Emotions in organization theory	Systematic literature review of the study of emotions in organizational theory	Categorization of emotion studies in organization research into 3 broad categories: structuralist, people-centred; and strategic approaches	Provide empirical insights into the purposeful use of multimodal artefacts on social media to generate emotional arousal to achieve the strategic objectives of situated actors.
Hochschild (2022)	The Managed Heart	A theoretical study of the role of emotional labour and feeling rules in the management of emotion in society	Originally introduced the concepts of emotion work and emotional labour	Application of an amalgam of emotion work and emotional labour to the understanding of meaning making on social media

Barbera-Tomas et al (2019)	Energizing through visuals: How social entrepreneurs use emotion-symbolic work for social change	Longitudinal study using archival data to gain insight into how anti-plastic social entrepreneurs used multimodal interactions to generate emotional arousal to advance their cause	Find that social entrepreneurs employed emotion-symbolic work to generate negative moral emotions that were transformed into emotional energy for enactment	Explore how social media influencers utilize visual artefacts and text to elicit both positive and negative emotions to generate emotional energy that would facilitate collective identification with their objective
Identity work				
Winkler (2018)	Identity work and emotions	Empirical literature review of identity work literature	Highlights the emerging literature that supports the reciprocal constitution of emotions and identity work	Investigates the relationship between emotion and identity work practices observed in the influencing activities of social media influencers.
Atewologun, Sealy, and Vinnicombe (2016)	Revealing intersectional dynamics in organizations: Introducing 'intersectional identity work'	Qualitative analysis of archival data and interviews to study identity-heightening episodes among the British Asian population	Find that intersectional identities are leveraged on during interactions at intersectional locations. These locations provide scenes of resources and cues that shape identity configuration.	Gain insights into remedial identity work practices aimed at maintaining identity salience in a heterogenous Black and Indigenous People of Colour (BIPOC) travel community

| Wellman (2022) | Black Squares for Black Lives? Performative Allyship as Credibility Maintenance for Social Media Influencers on Instagram | Qualitative study with interview data from 20 interviews with social media influencers | Finds that the posting of black squares on social media by corporate organisations to show support for Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement constituted performative allyship deployed strategically to build and maintain credibility with followers. | Exploring similar concepts directly related to the same empirical field, this study investigates the microlevel emotion and identity work practices conducted by Black Travel Movement (BTM) influencers to undermine the travel industry's performative allyship. |

Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.1. Research Methodology

This chapter sets out the methodological foundations and assumptions underpinning this study. It sets out the research philosophy, strategy and methods applied to investigate the framing processes and social-symbolic work practices that underpinned the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame by BTM actors within the global travel and tourism industry.

To achieve this, this chapter includes a discussion on the ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions underpinning this research and provide justifications and rationalizations of the reflexive choices underpinning the research design. Subsequently, data collection methods and analytical techniques are presented and, in doing this, I seek to explain the thinking behind the data analytical techniques employed. In concluding, I consider issues around validity and reliability, data management and ethics.

3.2. Research philosophy, approach and strategy

3.2.1 Research philosophy

Every academic researcher should have a value system through which they view the world, which affects how they analyse and theorize their data. Given that academic research hinges on abstraction, which bridges data to theory (Lee & Lings, 2008), a researcher's way of seeing and interpreting the world becomes important as they afford the audience a lens through which the findings and conclusions from the consequent research are to be viewed and understood. Research philosophy broadly refers to this underlying foundation of the perception of reality and how knowledge is created (Crotty, 1998; Bahari, 2010).

Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2019) explain that research philosophy governs the development and nature of knowledge and can be unpacked into three forms of thinking: epistemology, ontology and axiology. Each of these aspects of philosophy influence the researcher's approach to the study. This implies that the epistemological, ontological and axiological assumptions that the researcher choses to adopt influences the way the research is designed, data is collected, and strategic choices are made concerning analysing the data.

Epistemology refers to the assumptions around how knowledge is created, disseminated and what is deemed conventional within that knowledge area (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Lee & Lings, 2008; Bahari, 2010; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). There are several types of epistemological positions such as positivism, constructivism and interpretivism (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019). For example, constructivism epistemology holds that knowledge

is established through the activity of people and constructed according to the situated social and cultural context (Ernest, 1999; Green & Gredler, 2002). Therefore, according to this epistemology, the meaning of a phenomena cannot be divorced from its social and cultural context (Derry, 2007; Bahari, 2010; McMahon, 2013).

However, this study is more concerned about the social and cultural aspects fundamental to the process of meaning construction rather than the individual-oriented sensemaking which is more the preserve of a constructivist epistemologist perspective (Andrews, 2012). This research looked at how meaning is negotiated and socially constructed through the storytelling and narratives of situated actors within the Black Travel Movement (BTM). It seeks to understand the embodied meanings represented by the actors' social media posts and how these posts were intentionally deployed to generate emotional energy.

The subjectivity of these meaning interpretations alludes to an interpretivist epistemology given its consideration of the influence of social actors on the phenomena under investigation (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). Furthermore, an interpretivist epistemological position aligns with the tradition of symbolic interactionism, which involves a continuous process of ascribing meanings to social phenomena (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019), which in turn aligns with social-symbolic work, one of this study's theoretical pillars.

Ontology is the overarching assumptions that provide the framework for the research process, given the appropriate research methods (Easterby-Smith et al. ,2021). Furthermore, Lee and Lings (2008) describe ontology as the belief system through which knowledge is interpreted based on given perceptions and experiences. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2019) expand on these definitions, stating that ontology raises questions of the researchers' assumptions about the way the world operates and their adherence to certain viewpoints.

Research ontology could be split into two broad categories – objectivism and subjectivism- depending on views on the perceived relationship between the data and its social context. This study adopted a subjectivist ontological position which aligns to its interpretivist epistemological stance which places value on the unique observations and actions of situated social actors on the phenomena being studied. Furthermore, this ontological position aligns with this study's focus on social constructionism and how meanings are built from situated actors' bottom-up interactions. Additionally, given my position as a Black researcher investigating a Black ethnic research case study, the subjectivist ontology accounts for 'radical

reflectivity' (Cunliffe, 2020) whereby a researcher adopts a reflexive stance to understand the effect personal values and beliefs have on the research process.

The final aspect of research philosophy to be considered is axiology. This term arises from combining the Greek words for axios, meaning 'worth' and 'logos' which means reason (Hart, 1971). This implies that axiology considers the researcher's perception of the worth, or value, in the research phenomena being studied (Wahyuni, 2012). This assertion is important because the actions of human beings are informed by their values (Heron, 2001). For this study, the author's lived experience of travel and beliefs around diversity and inclusion had a clear role in the choice of research topic. Also, the author's axiological position is borne out in the design of the interview protocol to engage Black interview participants and to tease out the cultural nuances of the social world inhabited by the BTM actors.

3.2.2. Research paradigm

Embedded in each philosophical stance is a research paradigm which can be defined as a set of fundamental principles through which a person makes sense of the world, their role in it and the spectrum of relationships (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that the importance of selecting the appropriate research paradigm supersedes considerations around research questions and methods. This is because "…both qualitative and quantitative methods may be used appropriately with any research paradigm" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: p. 105).

However, this study found the definition of Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2019) most useful where it defines research paradigms as a lens through which social realities could be investigated through which specific meaning interpretations can be made. Furthermore, these authors identify four paradigms which apply to different research philosophies. These are the functionalist, interpretive, radical humanist; and radical structuralist paradigms (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). Based on this categorization, this study adopts an interpretivist paradigm as it acknowledges the role of situated actors in co-creating phenomena under observation (Segre, 2016; Garud & Gehman, 2019). Therefore, adopting this paradigm implies a level of subjectivity in the research that could be attributable to the characteristics of the specific context, or the people involved within that context.

This approach aligns with the objective of this research, which is to unpack the micro interactions that underpin the development of meaning at an individual unit of analysis. Additionally, this paradigm is aligned to this study's axiological, ontological, and

epistemological assumptions, as enumerated earlier. Therefore, this paradigm allows for a unique understanding of the context of meaning making within the Black Travel Movement by exploring it through the prism of the lived experiences of its knowledgeable actors and how they interact with the social world.

3.2.3. Research case study: The Black Travel Movement

Given my decision to utilize a framing and social-symbolic theoretical perspective to understand the bottom-up development of meaning within institutional fields, I looked for a generative case which would yield the relevant data that aligned to a data analytical approach to which these theoretical lenses could be applied to gain insights into the research findings.

Hence, the choice of the Black Travel Movement (BTM) fit this criterion given its roots in the extreme context of race relations in tourism, along with the micro-interactions and meaning making processes among its actors (challengers) and target audience. The highly emotive elements around race relations suggested that the BTM case study would reveal insights on how such emotions were being manipulated within the movement. Furthermore, with the BTM being a recent movement, with most of the key actors still alive, alongside being a social media-based movement, it would allow for both digital archival and interview data to be collected, analysed and triangulated through a qualitative, longitudinal study to tease out insights into extant framing processes and patterns of social symbolic work.

The Black Travel Movement could be referred to as a boundary-agnostic social movement of Black travellers, which coalesced to counter the narrative that Black travellers do not engage in leisure travel (Benjamin and Dillette, 2021). Dillette Benjamin and Carpenter (2018) describe the Black Travel Movement as "a grouping of organizations to connect 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). While most BTM actors and advocates would subscribe to this description of the movement, the form this 'connection' takes is subject to different interpretations.

Therefore, the ambiguity of meaning within the Black Travel Movement has a level of novelty that I deemed suitable for this study. The bounded context of the case are the foundational and key actors of the movement, consisting of Black travel entrepreneurs, content creators and travel enthusiasts located primarily in the United States and the United Kingdom. The boundaries to the case study also extend to the movement targets who were initially predominantly Black travellers globally, but subsequently extended to travellers who can be

characterized as Black, Indigenous and People of Colour (BIPOC), who engage with the social media accounts of the key BTM actors.

3.2.4. Reflecting on shifting insider-outsider focus: role as a Black researcher

One reason for using the Black Travel Movement as the research case study was the affinity this author felt for the movement's objectives. This author identifies as a Black person and an avid traveller whose lived travel experiences reflect the grievances espoused by BTM actors regarding addressing issues such as microaggressions at tourist destinations and concerns around safety.

However, in selecting the Black Travel Movement as the empirical canvas through which the theoretical mechanisms of framing and social-symbolic work would be studied, this author was conscious of the potential impact of his positionality on the research. Carling, Erdal and Ezzati (2014) define positionality as the effect that a researcher's attributes could have on the 'substantive and practical aspects of the research process'. This concept comprises aspects such as the effect of the researcher's lived experiences on analysis of data, the formulation of interview/survey questions and interactions with interview respondents.

Kusow (2003) argues that there are benefits and drawbacks to a researcher for having similar characteristics to the research sample but also adopting the outsider stance of an academic researcher. The obvious drawbacks of having similar features to the study sample include potential bias and cognitive dissonance. On the other hand, having an insider lens also includes positives such as having easier access to knowledgeable actors and having an innate understanding of the situated context which could be assets during the data collection and analysis phases.

In their study of the Black Travel Movement, Dillette and Benjamin (2021) acknowledge that their positionality and reflexivity enabled them to accept their position as Black researchers and that it helped them "…to understand and be forthcoming about our 'place' and potential biases we may bring to the culture being studied (Dillette and Benjamin, 2021: p.467: Citing Creswell and Creswell 2017). This was also the case for this author who leveraged his identity as a Black traveller and researcher to gain access to key actors within the Black Travel Movement and understand taken-for-granted and implicit cultural nuances that may not be apparent to a researcher from a different ethnicity. For instance, it was common for

participants to make comments that implied that the author understood the meaning they had alluded to in a statement or to assume that the author had had similar experiences.

However, to address the drawbacks of positionality, there were also instances where specific processes were put in place to mitigate its potential negative effect on the integrity of the research findings. This was primarily during the data analysis stage as there was a need to maintain a pragmatic balance between the potential nuanced insights into the data due to insider characteristics and the need for the codes to reflect the data collected. To ensure this was the case, this author selected a sample of interview transcripts coded independently by the author and a member of the doctoral supervision team. The emergent codes were then compared and discussed to ensure that the codes were consistent with the applicable data extracts. This process allowed for unintentional biases and assumptions extraneous to the data to be filtered out.

3.2.5. Understanding the research design

This study utilizes an interpretivist epistemological perspective (Garud & Gehman, 2019, Saunders et al, 2019,) to construct a qualitative process design incorporating digital archival data and participant semi-structured interviews to derive insights into the Black travel injustice collective action frame. It utilizes a reflexive approach to mapping the temporal data to advance theoretical explanations (Berends and Deken, 2021) of meaning development within BTM.

Zilber and Meyer (2022), in their paper investigating the decision making process guiding methodological choices for qualitative research design, opines that qualitative research is even more dependent than quantitative research on reflexive research choices due to its underpinning constructivist epistemology that allows researchers to build out a prism through which the social world could be understood. Furthermore, Reichertz (2004) observes that qualitative researchers are obliged to undertake mental leaps and abstraction, which implies subjectivity in linking empirical phenomena to theoretical constructs. Therefore, from the standpoint of this study, a qualitative approach makes sense given the research aim of understanding the development of meaning within an institutional field.

3.2.6. Inductive research approach

Due to the nature of my research objective, one of the reflexive methodological decisions that I was required to take for this study was to choose between adopting an abductive, inductive or hybrid research approach situated somewhere within the spectrum

between both approaches. Abductive research relates to extending new hypotheses and fresh explanations for a specific set of facts or evidence (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012) while inductive research is exploratory research that involves inferring generalizations based on a particular data set (Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2013).

On the other hand, hybridized approaches of combining abductive and inductive research approaches are beginning to gain credence in organization and management research (Hitchcock & Onwuegbuzie, 2020; Cornelissen, & Viney, 2021; Lê & Schmid, 2022). Additionally, such approaches address calls for unconventional research approaches with Hatta et al.'s (2020) advocating for more "…dynamic analytical possibilities in convergent designs" (p.105). Furthermore, Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), in their paper that employs a hybrid of inductive and abductive approached to study the role of performance feedback in the self-assessment of nursing practice, argue that researchers can achieve greater rigor in thematic analysis where the advantages of different approaches were combined and harnessed.

While the three sets of research approaches involve observations from a specific set of data and the generation of explanations and inferences from the data (Creswell & Creswell, 2017), an inductive research approach was seen as more reflective of this study's exploratory nature in investigating the development of the meaning of the Black Travel Movement and the absence of pre-existing , apriori theoretical constructs being set to frame the analysis.

While abductive research incorporates expected levels of certainty and seeks to provide a plausible, alternative explanations that best fits the evidence (Creswell £ Creswell, 2017), inductive research seeks to generalize from specific evidence. It avoids the strictures placed by insistence on theoretical validity. Therefore, the latter fits more with the research objective to theorize around the emergent social-symbolic work practices which lay at the nexus of framing activities of Black Travel Movement actors.

Another reason for the choice of an inductive approach is to address the research objective of theorizing around the emergent social-symbolic work practices which lay at the nexus of framing activities within a specific empirical case. Gioia, Corley and Hamilton (2013) seemingly agree with the importance of inductive research in revealing rich theoretical insights where they argue that fixating on existing constructs alone leads researchers to hone 'the wrong tools' and lean towards providing 'bona fide understandings' arising from pre-ordinate themes.

For this reason, in order to aid the discovery and development of theoretical concepts that act as a bridge between the framing and social-symbolic work theories, I deferred to

applying induction in seeking to tease out nuanced emergent insights from the data that are representative of the meaning interpretations of the social actors and could also plausibly rise to the level of generalisation and theorisation (Gioia et al., 2013).

3.3. Case study research strategy

According to Creswell and Poth (2016), case study research involves a study of a single or multiple cases over time applying data from multiple sources to arrive at a description of the case and case-based themes. Creswell and Poth (2016) categorize qualitative case study research into three types: single instrumental case study, multiple-case study, and the intrinsic case study. This study aligns with a single instrumental case study as it allows for the study of the development of meaning on digital media within a specific sociocultural and historical context.

A case study research strategy is appropriate for this study for various reasons. Firstly, Eisenhardt (1989) argues that "theory developed from case study research is likely to have important strengths like novelty, testability, and empirical validity, which arise from the intimate linkage with empirical evidence" (p. 548). Although Eisenhardt (1989) primary preoccupation was with multi-case studies, this statement still applies to this study given its aim to rely on insights from the single case of the Black Travel Movement to extend existing framing theory by infusing social-symbolic work at the nexus of framing activities to shed light on the intentional and reflexive practices of movement actors engaged in framing activity within the focus case study.

Furthermore, my approach of applying an interpretivist epistemological perspective to a single case allows for an in-depth description of the empirical case along with a rich repertoire of unique contextual conditions in which the case is situated (Yin, 2003). This approach serves to facilitate theory development through the emergence of additional framing and social-symbolic work concepts that extend the existing theoretical literature in these subject areas.

Yin (2003) further affirms that case study research is ideally suited to studies where contextual conditions are important to the study phenomenon. This is the case with this study, whereby the situated racial, cultural, and historical context of the Black Travel Movement is fundamental to understanding the development of meaning within the movement.

Case studies are also critical for investigating and gaining insights that help address a study's research question (Farquhar, 2012). Unlike narrative research, which was a potential alternative, case study research concentrates less on the individual's narrative and more on the

phenomenon, with the individual case only serving to understand the phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

Another reason for using case studies is that the uniqueness and independence of each case study allows for a departure from previous academic literature and theorizing to provide fresh perspectives into that theoretical area (Eisenhardt, 1989). Thie chosen case study's cultural and racial overtones required that the framing processes and social-symbolic work practices evident within the BTM timeline accounted for these nuances and considered their effects on the phenomena under observations and their implications on previously established theoretical constructs and explanations.

Despite the above reasons, there exist criticisms for using a case study research strategy. For instance, Rowley (2002) argues that this approach has a significant degree of subjectivity and suffers from a deficit in rigor. Additionally, the very attribute of independence that is seen as a positive for case study-based research also has the drawbacks of lack of generalizability of research findings (Farquhar, 2012). Gummesson (2007) agrees with this viewpoint and postulates that the anecdotal evidence provided by case studies was insufficient evidence to prove the presence, or otherwise, of any phenomena.

However, both Eisenhardt (1989) and Yin (2003) counter these claims positing that the use of multiple case studies addresses concerns surrounding generalizability and lack of methodological rigor (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003). Nonetheless, this study justifies using a single case study for this research because it is "…a research strategy which focuses on understanding the dynamics present within single setting" (Eisenhardt, 1989: p. 534). Given the study's ontological and epistemological positions of subjectivism and interpretivism, it seeks to understand the dynamics surrounding the specific racial and cultural context of the Black Travel Movement and to use this knowledge to gain a contextual understanding of the theoretical concepts of framing and social-symbolic work. Furthermore, Gustafsson (2017), in his comparative study of single and multiple case studies, postulates that single case studies are preferable where the study seeks to gain a more nuanced understanding of phenomena and where the objective is to investigate a specific individual or group of individuals. Both these conditions are satisfied in this study as it seeks to investigate a phenomenon within a specific cultural and racial context.

3.4. Time horizon

The time orientation of a research study refers to the timeline through which the phenomenon being studied will be investigated (Zilber & Meyer, 2022) and it informs choices regarding which, where and how data is collected. For instance, if the phenomenon being studied occurred during the 1970s and seeks to understand the current recollections of that phenomena, then this suggests sampling of, and interviews with, people who lived during it to assess their recollections of it.

This study seeks to investigate the development of meaning within the Black Travel Movement over an eleven-year period (January 2011- December 2022). Therefore, it conducted a longitudinal, processual study. The methodological choices made with respect to the data are further discussed in the data collection and analysis sections of this chapter.

3.5. Data collection and Sampling

Data plays a vital role in research and the data collection for this study was guided by the study's interpretivist epistemological underpinnings and qualitative process research method. Yin (2003) opines that case study research requires multiple data sources and articulates six types: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observations, and physical artefacts. Therefore, this study strongly relied on collecting digital archival data as the primary data source and subsequently on semi-structured interviews with knowledgeable BTM actors to gain richer insights and contextual understanding of the archival data.

Before examining the data collection and sampling methods in detail, this study incorporates the matrix proffered by Zilber and Meyer (2022) to illustrate how the research choices align with the type of data and data sources selected for this study. Zilber and Meyer (2022) have proffered a matrix that maps out the various dimensions of qualitative research resign to help qualitative researchers with their choices. Despite my acknowledgement of the need not to become excessively regimented as a qualitative researcher (Amis & Silk, 2008, Kohler et al., 2022), I found that having a proforma structure does have presentational utility given the heterogeneity that is inherent in qualitative research. Therefore, Figure 2 below shows an example of this matrix.
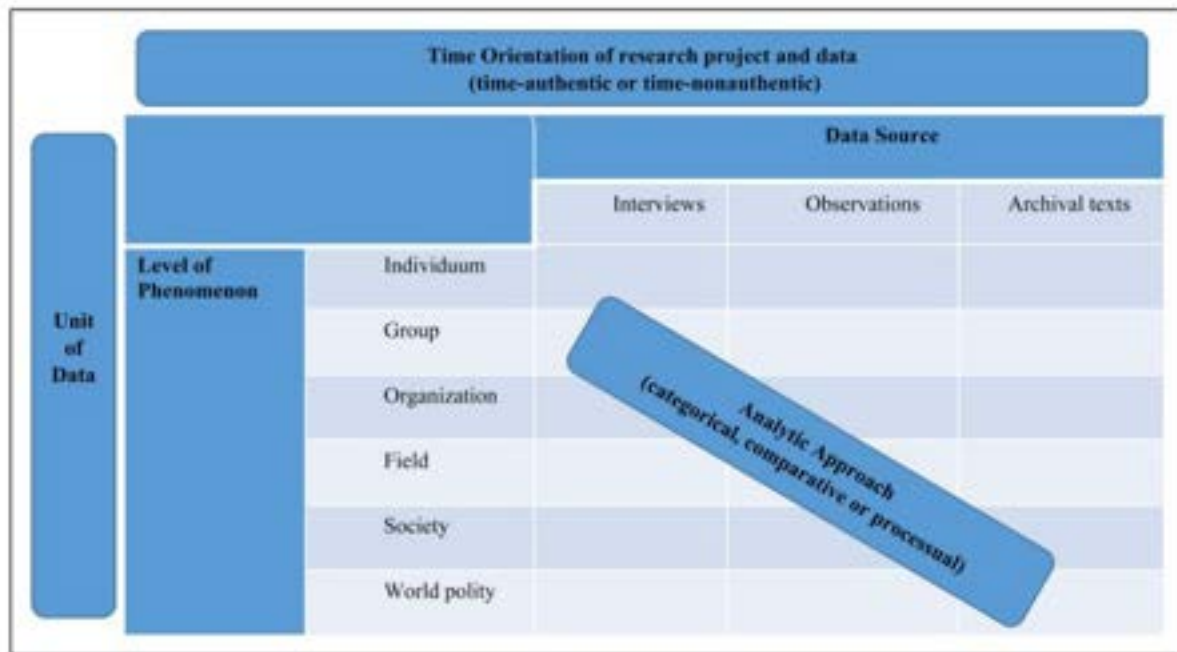
Figure 2-Mapping the terrain of choices in qualitative research (Source- Zilber and Meyer, 2022)

Figure 2 above maps the terrain of qualitative research choices by superimposing two related matrices and the inner matrix informing the outer matrix. In the inner matrix, the level of the phenomenon is matched with the potential sources of data collection and links to the analytical approach (Zilber & Meyer, 2022). On the other hand, the outer matrix juxtaposes the data's time orientation with the data's unit.

Zilber and Meyer (2022) argue that the fit between the level of the phenomenon (Scott, 2014) and the data source is significant as regards to quantity, i.e., the possibility of assessing sufficient data to yield insights at the required level of analysis, and degree of representation, i.e., generalizability of findings (Small, 2009, Lamont & Swidler, 2014). Therefore, Zilber and Meyer (2022) advise qualitative researchers to design their research such that there is alignment between the research question, level of the phenomenon, analytical approach, and data sources and not the other way around.

The main aim of this research study is to investigate the roles of situated actors in framing a movement and to gain insights into the patterns of social-symbolic work practices that underpinned the frame development process. From this aim, it can be inferred that the phenomenon is at an individual level since the study seeks to utilize a case study where it investigates the agentic activities of BTM actors within the institutional field of the travel and tourism industry. Therefore, this study's design aligns the individual level of analysis to its

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process analytical approach and use of digital archival data and interview data as its main data sources. Hence, there is alignment in these research choices, as the research question fits the level of the phenomenon, which in turn fits the analytical approach and data source.

Concerning the outer matrix of their framework, Zilber and Meyer (2022) suggest that fit should also be established between the analytical approach, the time orientation of the research and the unit of data. Again, this study shows alignment as the process analytical approach aligns with the Instagram data as it allows for time-authentic longitudinal data to map the unfolding of the field-level process and is complemented by the retrospective interview data that enables a rich contextual understanding of the process data with a view to the social construction of meaning in line with the best practices of qualitative research methods (Zilber, 2006).

3.5.1. Data sources

Digital archival data was obtained from Instagram, journal articles, government reports, and other publicly available information to gain valuable insights into BTM activities and to aid temporal bracketing of development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame over time. The collection of digital archival data was done in tandem with the collection of primary data via semi-structured interviews with knowledgeable actors within the movement. Given the nascency of the Black Travel Movement, with key actors still active, this allowed this study to access a rich trove of primary data via semi-structured interviews that provided a retrospective perspective on the development of the Black Travel Movement and enabled the determination of the motivations, situated contexts and intended 0effects of the patterns of social-symbolic work practices that were observed from the Instagram data.

Table 2 below illustrates the various data sources and how they will be used.

Table 2-Data sources and use (Source- Author's own, 2023)

Data Source	Type of Data	Use in Analysis
Archival data	*Instagram data-* Spooled from the Instagram profiles of 10 key BTM actors spanning 11 years (2011-2022) [n = 710 images]	To support temporal mapping of the development of the Black travel injustice frame. 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.
	Black travel-related websites- e.g., historyofblacktravel.com, tourismreset.com, travelnoire.com	To support a 'preliminary soak' (Hall, 1975) of the descriptive characteristics of the Black travel injustice collective action frame. To familiarize with organisational context and support temporal mapping of the Black Travel Movement.
	Black travel-related journal articles- e.g., Benjamin & Carpenter (2019), Dillette & Benjamin (2020), Dillette, Menze (2020), Benjamin & Dillette (2021)	To investigate framing processes in the build up to, during and after contextual markers in the development of the BTM.
	Ted Talks 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

	Travel industry-related government publications- 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. *Mainstream media publications-* 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	*Semi-structured interviews (16)* Including BTM content creators (6), BTM entrepreneurs (6) Black travellers (2), regulatory officer (1) and travel consultant (1). Each interviewee was interviewed once, lasting between 45 minutes to 1 hour.	To gain insights into the motivations, practices, and objectives of key BTM actors through their retrospective storytelling. To investigate role of BTM actors in meaning construction around contextual markers. To identify, describe, and categorize patterns of emotion and identity work practices evident in the meaning-making actions of BTM actors.

Table 2 above illustrates the data sources through which the research questions 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 injustice 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 way in which archival data was analysed was to support temporal mapping of the development of the Black travel injustice frame and investigate the role of BTM actors in constructing meaning around contextual markers. Preliminary perusal of journal articles, online web sources and mainstream media publications reveal that the development trajectory of the collective action frame could be observed in the growth of the Black Travel Movement over time that was underpinned by 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.

Hence, archival data sources, including Instagram posts of 10 leading BTM actors posted over the corresponding timeline, were examined to investigate BTM actors' meaning-making activities around the identified contextual markers. This process serves the dual purpose of illuminating how framing processes within the BTM unfold over time and also aid the identification of emotion and identity work practices that were performed by leading BTM actors before, during and following these emotionally escalatory temporal markers to advance the objectives of the BTM.

The third purpose behind this study's use of archival data is to gain insights into how the BTM actors' target audience interprets their emotion and identity work practices and to determine if the meanings are being understood within the desired cultural context. For this purpose, reliance was placed on the collection of Instagram posts (n = 710) posted by 10 BTM actors over eleven years, from January 2011 to December 2022.

The secondary data source was interview transcripts from 16 semi-structured interviews. The purpose for collecting this data to gain insights into the motivations, practices, and objectives of key BTM actors through their retrospective accounts of their intentional actions and contextualized understanding of the development of the BTM. I found there to be analytical utility in triangulating such rich data with the archival data to yield a more comprehensive insight into the Black Travel Movement, the development of the Black travel injustice frame and how its meaning was constructed within the travel and tourism industry. I will provide more insights into the Instagram and interview data used in the section below.

Hence, in summary, the multimodal visual analysis of Instagram posts enables insights to be obtained on patterns of emotion and identity work practices that were purposefully conducted by BTM actors with the purpose of generating emotional resonance of the Black travel injustice frame among the target audience. These insights from the visual analysis were complemented with insights from the coding of interview data which served the dual purpose spotlighting the motivations and objectives behind the performance of social-symbolic work practices and the motivational framing tasks (Benford & Snow, 2000) of key movement actors.

3.5.2. Use of Instagram data

The digital platform in focus for this study is Instagram as it allows for its platform-specific characteristics, such as conscious attention to image aesthetics and hashtag-sharing functionalities, to enable the conveyance of meanings through the sharing of images, videos, and text (Quan-Haase & Sloan, 2017). However, this same richness of data usually demands an arduous and time-consuming process that lends itself to smaller data sets. This is because small data sets allow for the "granularity of detail" (Losh, 2015: p 1650) to be captured.

Several researchers (Smith & Sanderson, 2015; Ferrara et al., 2016; Zappavigna, 2016; Djafarova and Rushworth, 2017) have used Instagram data for qualitative research and have had to make reflexive decisions to navigate the novel challenges of heterogeneity of sources and abundance of data that have hitherto not been associated with qualitative research (Grodal et al., 2022).

For instance, Smith and Sanderson (2015) employed a mixed methods approach to examine the Instagram feeds of 27 professional athletes to ascertain how athletes utilize visual social media for self-presentation (Smith and Sanderson ,2015). Similarly, Zappavigna (2017) opted to rely on the entire Instagram feed (416 posts) of a single Instagram user and a judgmental selection of 500 images from the hashtag #motherhood to explore interpersonal

meaning making of motherhood (Zappavigna ,2017). In both instances, it was not feasible for the researchers to review the Instagram feeds of a statistical representation of all professional athletes or to handle the entire volume of images spooled from the hashtag #motherhood. Hence, reflexivity was required to chart a practical methodological path given the limitations.

3.5.3. Interviews

In this study, semi-structured interviews were chosen to enable the researcher to ask follow-up questions that provide more in-depth insights into the subject matter being discussed (Fox, 2009). This position has support from Robson (2002) who states that such interviews help researchers to 'find out what is happening' (Robson, 2002: p.59).Therefore, this characteristic of the semi-structured interview method gives the interviewer the flexibility to prompt the participant to elaborate further on any elements of the interview that are deemed important to effectively answering the research question. Similarly, the interviewer is allowed to exercise judgment in deciding the order with which the interview questions are asked from one interview to another, or to omit some questions all together, based on the flow of the discussion (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019).

The interviews were all conducted using Microsoft Teams application and entirely as audio recordings only (see Appendix 1 for the interview protocol). With a view to gaining contextual and unique insights into the focus case study, the interview questions were derived to fill knowledge gaps that emerged following a 'preliminary soak' (Hall, 1975) of extant published literature on the Black Travel Movement, travel industry websites and databases, social media and travel media publications. Specifically, the interview questions were derived with a view to gaining insights into the motivations and contextual conditions of knowledgeable actors who were active in the development of the Black Travel Movement and to gain richer data from exemplars of the target audience of Black travellers from within and beyond the United States.

In line with the study's exploratory approach, the interview protocol was designed such that interview participants could share information on their career background and understanding of the meaning of the Black Travel Movement and its objectives. Additionally, interview participants were probed on their impressions of what the future held for the Black Travel Movement and were also shown four Instagram images containing elements of social-symbolic work for which they were prompted to discuss their understanding of the implied

meaning of the image, together with the accompanying reactions and caption, and whether it generated any emotional reaction.

The inclusion of snapshots of Instagram photos as part of the interview protocol was an innovation that was deemed necessary in order to gauge whether target audiences of Black travellers were understanding and reacting to the purposeful actions of BTM content creators in the selection and diffusion of images on the social media profiles to generate emotional energy. Rose (2022) posits that images are difficult to interpret without considering its social context. She suggests that the audience of an image is a vital and discrete site for the contextualization and re-contextualization of meanings.

This position has support in extant literature whereby Hall (1980) holds forth that audiences encode and decode messages through preferred, positional and negotiated reading, and Moores (1993), in his book focusing on audience interpretations of media, opines that audiences "…as are the possessors of cultural knowledge and competencies that have been acquired in previous social experiences and which are drawn on in the act of interpretation" (Moores, 1993, p.16).

These stated perspectives on the interpretive capacity of audiences lend credence to my use of the interview participants' meaning interpretations of selected Instagram posts to evaluate my interpretations of the meanings of those same images, given that I am from a similar cultural background, to test the wider reliability and validity of my reflexive interpretive work on the full sample of Instagram posts collected for this study.

However, the use of Instagram images is not the only means through which the interview protocol is designed to investigate the role of emotion in the Black Travel Movement and the emotional resonance of motivational framing tasks designed to foster identification with the Black travel injustice frame. Additionally, this study seeks to identify and examine words within the interview transcripts that indicate positive or negative emotions, such as happiness or anger. In such instances, it is important for the context within which the words were used to be considered as well, such that it reflects the participant's intended meaning of the word.

Manning and Kunkel (2014) support this viewpoint and emphasize the importance of considering the social setting in which language is used to fully understand the expressed emotion. This study opted to adopt Klein and Amis's (2021) three types of emotional expression which include "…specific emotional utterances, …descriptions of emotional

encounters, and … accounts of activities expressing emotions" (Klein & Amis, 2021: p.1332). For example, the interview protocol included the following question: "As a response to BLM/George Floyd protests, some sectors of the economy have responded with various acts to show their solidarity (for instance, the Black boxes on social media as part of Black Tuesday). How would you describe the response of the travel and tourism industry to BTM?". This question had a follow up question that asked: "How do you feel the travel and tourism industry have responded?". This study found that these questions around the emotive subject of the murder of George Floyd generated reactions from participants that were loaded with language filled with moral emotions and these were coded accordingly. However, understanding the emotive properties of these questions, participants were informed of their right to opt out of answering any question without providing a reason or to retrospectively ask for some or all of their responses to be redacted if they were to inform the author of their intention within seven days of the date of the interview.

3.5.4. Sampling

The research choices regarding the sampling method pertained to the collection of Instagram data and interview data. It was important to collect the Instagram data chronologically so that theoretical explanations could be advanced as the phenomenon developed over time (Berends & Deken, 2021). However, when we attempted to spool a dataset of Instagram posts using the hashtag #BlackTravelMovement, we yielded over 400,000 posts, presenting an unmanageable amount of data to analyse qualitatively.

Therefore, to navigate the topical issues of heterogeneity and abundance of social media data (Grodal, Krabbe and Rajunov, 2022), I made a reflexive decision to apply a purposive sampling method with a focus on selecting a sample of images that met apriori criteria established based on the research questions (Patton, 2002). Hence, this study focused only on Instagram posts from January 2011 – December 2022 made by ten key BTM influencers and content creators deemed to drive the framing activities of the movement. This came up to a universal set of 31,484 posts that were each individually inspected and assessed against criteria of a code book that I developed to guide the sample selection for the visual analysis as illustrated in Table 3 below.

S/N	CODE NAME	CRITERIA	DESCRIPTION/EXAMPLES
1	Post date	Instagram posts made between January, 2011 to December, 2022	"12/02/2022"
2	Format of content in post	Images only	
3	Chronology	Qualifying posts are coded in chronological order from the earliest to the most recent	
4	Caption	Only posts with captions longer than one sentence (the caption is to be coded to the image for ease of reference)	"The play provided a beautiful escape from reality. I will return to Milan again next year 🌇 🌇 "
5	How many reactions?	Minimum of 200 reactions	+ 200 Likes
6	How many comments	Minimum of 100 comments	+ 100 comments
7	Context	Excluding posts with images and/or caption clearly depicting a personal context, depicting family members or landscapes.	A photo of the author with family members celebrating Father's day; a photo of the author with friends at a park celebrating a birthday; a photo of the view from an airplane
8	Description	First code to be a description of what is happening and who are the actors in the image (without any interpretation)	" This image shows a Black woman smiling as she poses for a photo with two White ladies. The photo is set in a dimly lit patio with a bar visible at the top right corner of the image "
9	Interpretation	Second code to be interpretation of what is going on in the photo using the caption to provide context (There can be as many codes here as there are different interpretations)	" It appears that this image is meant to evoke sympathy for the plight of Black travelers who are dealing with airport security. For instance, the caption has the comment 'Airports as safe spaces?' "
10	Give a summary of the interactions in the comments	Another code is a summary of the interactions on the post including the number of interactions and an overview of what is discussed, including evidence by way of excerpts of comments	"The interactions on the whole seemed supportive of the sentiment expressed in the post and the number of likes also supports this premise. One commenter says that …"
11	What emotions are evident in the post	Another code is to be a description of any apparent emotions being shown, if any. This includes visible emotions and those represented by emojis and comments	" The man in the photo is smiling and seems in a happy, relaxed mood. The interactions reflect this with some comments using happy emojis and one commenter stating 'Now, this brings a warm feeling in my stomach ' "

Further to the sieving of the data using the codebook, the sample size was reduced to 710 images, which were then visually analysed. This process of identification, selection, and collection of the Instagram posts was done using an Instagram API called 4K Stogram. The extracted data was then visually analysed according to the study's unit of data and coded using NVivo software.

Zilber and Meyer (2022) define a unit of data as the basic piece of text, interview or observation that informs the analysis of the data. The unit of data for the Instagram data was each single Instagram post as a whole, i.e., including the image, embedded text, post captions, likes and comments. This multimodal approach to 'seeing' the Instagram data aligns with Appadurai (1986) in his anthropological study of meaning making where he posits that , while any subjective meaning could theoretically be assigned to any artefact by its audience, the spectrum of potential meanings were in reality determined by the place, time and cultural context where the artefact is situated. Therefore, the data units were subsequently visually analysed to identify, define and categorize observed patterns of emotion and identity work practices. This data unit guided the code book's design and informed the analysis of the Instagram data.

Concerning the interview data, interview participants for this study were selected using a combination of convenience and snowball sampling (Saldaña 2015) to gain access to knowledgeable actors within the Black Travel Movement to shed light into the dynamics of the movement. The initial plan for primary data collection involved 40-50 semi-structured interviews with participants drawn from representatives of the four communities who were identified as involved in this field- BTM actors (content creators and Black travel entrepreneurs), regulators (Government agencies and tourism boards), incumbents (traditional tourism operators, travel agencies, travel brands and mainstream media); and target audience (travellers who identify as Black travellers both from Africa and the diaspora). These participants were to be drawn from the United States, United Kingdom and a selection of countries from Africa and the Caribbean to investigate the prevalence and amplification of the Black Travel Movement and to determine and classify the different meanings of BTM across geographies. The selection of participants from these countries was governed by the boundaries of the study.

However, due to challenges arising from accessibility and constraints as to time and cost, the election was made to interview 16 participants drawn mainly from BTM content creators, Black travel entrepreneurs and Black travellers from the United States, United Kingdom and Nigeria. This reduced number of participants has not diminished the value of the interview data as those interviewed included key BTM actors identified from the literature as significant leaders within the movement. Additionally, by the time the sixteenth interview had been completed, no further themes or constructs emerged from the data that had not already been touched on in previous interviews. Therefore, it is argued that a point of theoretical

saturation has been reached and this position is supported by Hennink, Kaiser, and Marconi (2017) who, in their comparative study of code saturation and meaning saturation as two approaches to assessing saturation in qualitative research, find that nine interviews and between 16 -24 interviews are sufficient to reach code and meaning saturation respectively.

Table 4 below shows the profiles of the participants that were interviewed as part of this study:

Table 4-Interview Participant profiles (Source- Author's own, 2023)

SN	ANNONYMIZER	CATEGORIZATION	SEX	ETHNICITY	NATIONALITY
1	Participant #1	Traveller	Female	Black	United States
2	Participant #2	Content creator	Male	Black	United States/Nigeria
3	Participant #3	Content creator	Female	Black	United States
4	Participant #4	Content creator	Female	Black	United States
5	Participant #5	Entrepreneur	Female	Black	United States/Liberia
6	Participant #7	Traveller	Female	Black	Nigeria/Canada
7	Participant #8	Entrepreneur	Male	Black	Nigeria
8	Participant #9	Content creator	Female	Black	United States
9	Participant #10	Entrepreneur	Female	Black	Nigeria
10	Participant #11	Regulatory officer	Female	Black	Nigeria
11	Participant #12	Entrepreneur	Male	Black	Nigeria/United Kingdom
12	Participant #13	Entrepreneur	Female	Black	United Kingdom
13	Participant #14	Entrepreneur	Female	Black	United States
14	Participant #15	Travel consultant	Female	Black	Nigeria
15	Participant #16	Content creator	Female	Black	United States
16	Participant #17	Content creator	Female	Black	United States

3.6. Data analysis

Zilber and Meyer (2022) opine that there exist three "big tent" approaches to analysing qualitative data: categorical, comparative, and process analysis. Categorical analysis aims to thematically investigate meanings, practices and mechanisms within a particular data set. Gioia methodology (Gioia et al., 2013) is an example of categorical analysis that seeks to provide an understanding of a phenomenon by iteratively moving between first order and second order thematic units (Lieblich et al., 1998). Other examples of categorical analysis include qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2015) and hermeneutic analysis (Lueger & Vettori, 2014.). On the

other hand, comparative analysis involves comparing two or more cases with some commonalities to understand how any differences amongst the cases could yield any insights into the phenomenon under study (Eisenhardt, 1989, 2021; Zilber & Meyer ,2022).

The final analytical method is process studies, which seek to understand the temporal subtleties of meaning making over time (Langley, 1999; Langley et al., 2013). Langley's (1999) process method is representative of this methodology, which seeks to illuminate theoretical constructs that underline or explain the unfolding of actions and events in a linear, parallel, or conjunctive style (Cloutier & Langley, 2020).

This study employed a processual analytical approach where a conceptualized composition method of presenting theoretical interpretations (Berend & Deken, 2021) whereby "…concepts are introduced first and used as theoretical signposts in narratives that follow and later connected in a theoretical process model" (Berend & Deken, 2021; p.140). This was achieved by commencing with a detailed review of the key concepts surrounding framing and social-symbolic work which were then used to illuminate the timeline by using them link temporal chunks and connect occurrences within the BTM timeline (Berend & Deken, 2021).

Furthermore, Berends and Deken (2021) posit that "The purpose of qualitative process papers is to advance theoretical explanations of how empirical phenomena unfold over time" (p.135) and the framing mechanism particularly lends itself to process studies given its inherent ability to examine at a microlevel "how institutions undergo stasis and change over time" (Purdy, Ansari & Gray, 2017; p.417).

Furthermore, a processual perspective allows for context, visuals, and text to be understood in a manner that facilitates "…a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993: 52).This quality is especially important given this study's objective to investigate meanings that emanate through the occurrence of key events during the BTM timeline, and this understanding is facilitated by the ability to develop a contextual understanding of the social scene, in which the phenomenon is embedded, before and after each event.

To demonstrate temporal coherence and interconnectedness of the data, this study sought to address three aspects of qualitative process research, as enumerated by Berends and Deken (2021), which consists of first offering a narrative drawn from the historical case study data, then introducing concepts to explain 'temporal chunks' of the narrative, then finally

proffering an explanatory theoretical model that uses the concepts to illuminate the phenomena within the case study.

Therefore, this study provides a temporal narrative of frame development throughout the BTM timeline of 11 years (2011-2022), introduce theoretical concepts drawn from the framing and social-symbolic literature and use these concepts to explain the framing processes and social-symbolic work practices that illuminate the meanings ascribed to key events identified within the timeline; and then eventually theorize about the roles played by framing and social-symbolic work in the social construction of meaning within the social context of the Black Travel Movement. Additionally, the use of time-authentic longitudinal data provides a more authentic interpretation of the data's temporal meaning devoid of dilutions through either retrospective or prospective sensemaking (Barley & Tolbert, 1997).

Zilber and Meyer (2022) do not infer any existing hierarchy among the three types of analytical methods and even suggest that combinations of two or more methods can also be integrated within a single research design. This assertion reflects the approach taken in this study as I have combined process and categorical (i.e. Gioia methodology) methods as elements of the analytical toolkit with which the data collected was analysed.

Firstly, process method was employed to temporally bracket the timeline of the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame and to investigate the role of BTM actors in meaning construction around identified temporal markers. Five temporal markers were identified from a preliminary analysis of archival data, such as the 'Year of Return' influencer-led marketing campaign in 2019 and the George Floyd murder and subsequent global Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests in 2020, and archival data sources, such as online web sources and Instagram posts, were triangulated with interview data, representing the retrospective recollections of knowledgeable BTM actors of BTM's development, to investigate the meaning making activities of BTM actors around the identified contextual markers. This processual analysis aimed to gain insights into the framing processes that underpinned the development of the Black travel injustice frame (sRQ1).

Alongside the use of process methods, this study also employed visual analytical techniques whereby close multimodal analysis (Hautea et al, 2021) of a sample of 710 Instagram posts to identify 'significant clusters of meaning' (Moores,1993) that were indicative of the purposeful and reflexive actions of BTM content creators creating and circulating content designed to resonate emotionally within the specific cultural context of the Black travel

experience to foster collective identification with the Black Travel Movement. The identified emotion and identity work practices were subsequently categorized into macro-practices and micro-practices, i.e., recurring themes within each macro-practice, and served as aggregate dimensions and second-order theoretical constructs (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013).

Our study takes a unique methodological approach, where interview transcripts are coded, and emergent themes are triangulated with Instagram data-based aggregate dimensions and second-order theoretical constructs. This approach allows us to identify convergence of patterns of emotion and identity work practices within the collective action frame (sRQ2). The 'Data analytical steps' section of this chapter provides a more detailed description of this analytical process.

3.6.1. Visual analysis

Rose (2022), in her book focusing on visual methodologies, asserts that images "… are never transparent windows onto the world. They interpret the world; they display it in very particular ways; they represent it." (Rose, 2022: p.17). This statement implies that analytical utility exists in including examining images to understand the social construction of meaning. Rose (2022) further argues that the understanding of an image cannot be divorced from the context where it is produced, stating that the social production of images serves to mobilize specific social and/or political identities (Rose, 2022).

Given this contextual backdrop, this study incorporated visual analysis to investigate the patterns of emotion and identity work observable in the 710 images collected from the Instagram pages of 10 prominent actors within the Black Travel Movement (see appendix 4 for details on these actors). While textual analysis of social media data has been covered extensively in the literature (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan 2013; Dehghani, et al. 2017; Lee et al. 2018), the analysis of visual data, such as images, videos, memes etc., has had more limited application (Klein & Amis, 2021; Liu et al., 2022) especially from a qualitative perspective. While there have been studies of visuals in traditional media, such as television, magazine adverts etc., (Kim & Lennon 2008; Pieters et al. 2010; Wu et al. 2016), these have focused mainly on small sample sizes due to the qualitative methodological challenges of heterogeneity of sources and abundancy of data (Grodal, Krabbe & Rajunov, 2022). This has led to concerns around the empirical validity and reliability of these findings due to concerns around generalizability and scalability issues.

Beyond issues around empirical validity, other debates that have arisen around the use of visual analytical techniques in qualitative research pertain to the degree of subjectivity of visual interpretations (Rose, 2022), ethical considerations around representation, misrepresentation, and appropriation (Pain, 2012), and the potential for analytical rigor (Banks et al., 2018).

These debates indicate the immense potential of visual analysis, especially with the ethnographic potential of social media data, and reflect its inherent complexities and challenges. Hence, qualitative researchers choosing to incorporate visual methods must apply a reflexive perspective that incorporates philosophical, methodological, and ethical considerations in ascribing meanings to visual data.

This study hopes to make a methodological contribution to the literature around visual analysis of social media data by incorporating multimodality which allows for the images to be analysed simultaneously with the post captions, likes and comments to obtain a holistic meaning interpretation of the social realities represented by the Instagram post as a social-symbolic object. This is because the application of a visual analysis component enables the investigation of embodied meanings and social realities embedded in the arrangement of visual artefacts and text (Bell & Davison, 2013) and this approach addresses calls for the consideration of visual research that complement textual data (Pink, 2007; Banks et al., 2018). Furthermore, the Instagram platform has intrinsic characteristics that enable the co-creation of meaning through the triangulation of rich multimodal data with textual data collected through interviews (Rose, 2016).

There are several visual analysis methods such as digital, visual content, social semiotic, and photovoice methods. Rose (2022), in her quest to develop a comprehensive framework for a critical visual methodology to guide visual researchers, posits that there are four sites where meaning can be interpreted in visual analysis, "…the site of production, which is where an image is made; the site of the image itself, which is its visual content; the site(s) of its circulation, which is where it travels; and the site where the image encounters its spectators or users, or what this book will call its audiencing" (Rose, 2022: p.46).

Given that this study is concerned with emotion and identity work practices of BTM actors and the audience's interpretation and contextual understanding of them as circulated via social media, it follows that this study is interested in three sites of meaning making which are: the site of the image, the site of circulation and the site of audiencing. Therefore, selecting the

appropriate visual analytical technique was guided by the method's capability to facilitate interpretative work on the image, consider audience reactions to the image and factor in the affordances offered by Instagram, which is the site of circulation.

The term 'Digital methods' does not refer to the wider use of digital platforms in visual research but is to be considered within the context of Rogers' (2013; 2019) definition of digital methods. Also known as internet methods (Perriam, Birkbak and Freeman, 2020), digital methods allude to the means through which digital objects are organized and analysed online (Rose, 2022). An example of digital or internet methods is Critical Techno-cultural Discourse Analysis or CTDA (Brock, 2018; Williams, 2020) where researchers engage with digital media to "interrogates their material and semiotic complexities, framed by the extant offline cultural and social practices its users engage in as they use these digital artefacts' (Brock, 2018: p. 1013).

Hence, digital methods are useful for gaining insights into how the affordances of the internet enable the contextual understanding of how audiences interpret symbols within specific cultural contexts. For instance, Williams (2020) applied CTDA to investigate how Black audiences interpreted "BBQ Becky" and "Karen" memes, a reference to Black people's lived experiences of harassment in public spaces. However, the use of CTDA, and other digital methods, requires access to large data sets and some proficiency with data-scraping software applications. For instance, in her research mentioned above, Williams (2020) collected tweets and memes using the hashtag #LivingWhileBlack over a period spanning from July 2018 to March 2019 (Williams, 2020). Therefore, digital methods were not considered as suitable for this study given prevalent third-party API restrictions on access to Instagram data (Rose, 2022) along with this study's interpretivist epistemological perspective and qualitative process method.

Another visual analysis method is content analysis, a systematic, observational examination and quantification of the media representation of symbols, events, people, and situations (van Leeuwen, 2001; Bell, 2004). However, visual content analysis does not focus primarily on analysing individual images or visual artefacts but more on a wider canvas of 'fields of visual representation' (Bell, 2004).

On the other hand, social semiotic analysis of visual data involves the integrated creation of meaning using a combination of all three types of social semiotic work 'metafunctions' (Halliday, 1978) which are ideational , i.e. creating representations, inter-

personal , i.e. based on interactions between the creator and audience, and textual metafunctions, i.e. use of language to synthesize individual pockets of representation and interactions into a holistic meaning (van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001; Bell, 2004).

Furthermore, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) has distilled visual semiotic analysis to a specific application to images whereby Halliday's (1978) three semiotic work metafunctions are recalibrated instead as representational, interactive, and compositional metafunctions. The central theme of this approach is that every image constitutes both a holistic world of meaning and an element of a wider interactive meaning which, with or without complementary text, can represent a form of text (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). Nonetheless, this method's primary focus on the representational meanings of the images, through a visual analysis of its metafunctions, suggests that a similar level of detail would not be applied to the cultural context of audience interpretations of the images. For this reason, a visual social semiotic analysis was deemed unsuitable for this study given it seeks to investigate the emotion and identity work practices of BTM actors and the audience interpretation of such practices.

The photovoice method was established in the 1990s and aligns with a participatory action research strategy in which participants play an active role in the creation/collection of images and the subsequent interpretative work (Sutton-Brown, 2014). The use of this visual analytical method is particularly prevalent in education and public health research that seeks to present the perspective of marginalized populations and places reliance on ethnographic techniques that triangulate images with the 'critical dialogue and experiential knowledge' (Sutton-Brown, 2014; p.169) of situated participants.

Photovoice method has also been applied to Instagram images in Yi-Frazier et al's (2015) study of the storytelling of adolescents with Type 1 diabetes. In this study, the authors asked twenty adolescents within a specific age range to post any diabetes-related photographs over three weeks and to share them using a specific hashtag (Yi-Frazier et al.,2015). This visual data was supported by interviews and focus groups from the same population of adolescents to gain insights into the reasons behind their photo selections (Yi-Frazier et al.,2015). However, given that the key actors of the Black Travel Movement were widely dispersed geographically, and were busy most times with limited availability, using a participatory action research strategy and a photovoice method would not have suited this study. Furthermore, the processual and longitudinal nature of my study, i.e., seeking to investigate the framing processes that

occurred over eleven years, using a photovoice method was also deemed incompatible with the research objectives.

From the above discussion in the preceding paragraphs, various visual analytical methods, such as digital methods, visual content analysis, social semiotic analysis and photovoice method, were reviewed and ultimately seen as unsuitable for this study. Therefore, rather than seek to rigidly follow any one specific visual analytical technique, I opted for an approach that was best suited to my epistemological position, research objectives and intended sites of meaning making (i.e., sites of the image, circulation and audiencing). Hence, I chose an iterative method of close multimodal reading (Karsgaard & Macdonald, 2020; Hautea et al., 2021; Rose, 2022) which 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 of this visual analysis would be triangulated with those from the analysis of the participant interviews to establish a comprehensive repertory of the emotion and identity work practices conducted within the Black Travel Movement.

To assess the reliability and validity of this method, I sought to determine whether other visual researchers had adopted a similar approach. Hautea et al. (2021) adopted close multimodal reading as part of their multimodal discourse analytical approach to analysing a sample of viral, climate change-related hashtagged TikTok videos with the purpose of investigating how affordances of visibility, editability, and association enable the formation of affective publics on TikTok. In this qualitative study, Hautea et al (2021) justified this reflexive choice of visual analysis, stating that the approach is "…based in social semiotics (Rose, 2016), concentrates on complex meaning-making processes achievable only through close attention to the interaction among the combination of communicative affordances available through the TikTok platform" (Hautea et al., 2021: p.4). Similarly, this study's focus on the social symbolic work practices conducted through the Instagram platform requires close attention to the patterns of meaning making actions that unfold on social media within a particular cultural context. Furthermore, Rose (2022) opines that a researcher's choice of visual methodology must align with the research's theoretical framework (Rose, 2022) and the semiotic underpinnings of close multimodal reading align with this study's social symbolic work theoretical framework.

3.6.2. Data analytical steps

This study follows a qualitative process approach which enabled the application of reflexivity to the research design whereby choices are made to circumnavigate the challenges posed by the abundance of social media data, which is this research's primary data source. The data analysis and data collection stages of the research were done concomitantly as, for example, developments from the analysis of interview transcripts necessitated going back to collect further digital archival data or insights from the visual analysis of Instagram images informing the introduction of new follow up questions during the participant interviews. This iterative process allows for recalibrations and pivots to account for emerging new themes (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

Similarly, the analytical steps that governed the data analysis were an iterative process that did not run parallel to each other but were frequently done concurrently with frequent back and forth between the steps and between data analysis and collection. The data analytical steps that were followed are set out below:

Step 1: Describing and temporal bracketing of the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame

Process researchers (Feldman, 2007; Lok & De Rond, 2013; Langley et al., 2013; Garud et al., 2020) emphasise the importance of using chronological narratives, which are unencumbered by theoretical concepts, to provide clarity on the temporal interconnectedness of the data. Nonaka and Yamaguchi (2022) allude to this when they support the concept of 'phenomenological reduction', which refers to laying out the flow of events in a narrative devoid of any prejudices, preconceptions or intellectual judgements. Similarly, Langley et al. (2013) underline "the critical importance and inescapability of time and timing in human affairs in general and in the lives of organisations in particular" (p. 4) and recommend that management scholarship pay more attention to process and temporality in their research.

Consequently, the priority for the data analytical stage for this study was to gain insights into the descriptive characteristics of the Black travel injustice collective action frame and to subsequently map the chronology of events that underpinned its development over time. To achieve this understanding, I perused through archival data such as media publications, published interviews, Ted Talk videos, black travel websites, journal articles and social media data were carefully examined to build a case history that covered the emergence and development of the movement over 11 years (2011 – 2022).

Different archival data sources were triangulated to confirm the significance of key events during the timeline, which enabled the identification of the five contextual markers that occurred during the movement timeline. For example, one of the main contextual markers was the murder of George Floyd by white police officers in America on May 25, 2020. This represented a temporal faultline that led to global Black lives matter (BLM) protests against police brutality and for racial justice which generated a heightened level of emotional energy within the BTM.

The field-configurative impact of such temporal markers on the movement were assessed further through analysing the social commentary and audience interactions that overlapped these temporal markers in real time as observed via social media. Furthermore, screenshots of Instagram posts taken during or after such events were included as part of the interview protocol to incorporate the retrospective accounts of interview participants as knowledgeable actors who could provide further contextual understanding. For example, preliminary examination of mainstream media articles on the Black Travel Movement revealed the importance of the 'Year of Return', a marketing campaign organized by the Ghanaian government to attract Black travellers to visit Ghana in 2019 to mark the 400th anniversary of the commencement of slavery. The marketing for the 'Year of Return' was championed by Black travel content creators and entrepreneurs who used their social media platforms to make the event go viral. I deemed it useful to understand the motivations behind the participation of BTM actors in this event and to unpack how they engaged the audience through social media. Therefore, a screenshot of an Instagram post that publicized the Year of Return, posted by one of the BTM actors, was included as part of the interview protocol. Interview participants were prompted to discuss their feelings about the event and their actions to support its diffusion.

Once I had gotten to a point in my analysis of the archival data where new information was not gained from the collection of further data, Subsequently, I reviewed and reflected on the case history from a framing viewpoint as, according to Berends and Deken (2021), "the presentation of a theoretical interpretation needs to show how concepts—the building blocks of theory—are linked to temporal units in the data (events, phases, episodes, or periods" (p.135). Benford and Snow (2000) opine on the processual nature of framing when they describe the framing process as "…an active, processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction" (p.614). Therefore, utilizing a framing perspective to explain occurrences during the BTM timeline was made more seamless.

In summary, the temporal bracketing of the development of the Black travel injustice frame over an 11-year period helped highlight the five temporal markers or key events which scaffolds the development of the frame within the focus time period. This temporal bracketing approach also allows for a framing perspective to be applied to provide theoretical explanations of the underly framing processes that unfolded within that timeline using the 5 conceptual markers to delineate the frame development process into distinct but connected phases. Through this approach, our understanding of the bottom-up development of the BTM, and by extension the development of the Black travel injustice frame, is enhanced.

My review of Benford and Snow's (2000) and Snow et al.'s (1986) respective collective action frame and frame alignment analytical frameworks were useful in providing a foundational scaffolding of necessary field conditions and theoretical concepts through which the development of collective action frames could be understood. However, in line with this study's aim of theory-building through a single case study, I did not try to force the findings from the case to fit extant conceptual frameworks but I was open to extend existing theory by introducing new concepts based on insights that emerged from the generative case of the Black Travel Movement.

For example, the archival evidence highlight that the Black Travel Movement initially started as the disconnected and disparate activities of Black travellers who used social media to discuss about their lived experience of travel. Due to Instagram's network effects, Black travellers began to see content shared by other Black travellers and gradually an online community of Black travellers began to coalesce on Instagram. However, these Black travellers only began to use the moniker of the Black Travel Movement in 2013 following the launch of the popular Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement.

This process of anchoring on a similar, but more established, collective action frame is known as lamination in framing literature (Benford & Snow, 2000). However, because within the specific cultural context of the Black Travel Movement case, this laminating process was intended to validate or legitimize the need for collective action against racial injustice within the travel and tourism industry, I described this process instead as 'frame validation', therefore introducing this new framing concept into the literature.

Therefore, this inductive study aims to extend the typology of framing processes set out by Benford and Snow (2000) in their systematic review of the framing processes to cater to the specific cultural context of the Black Travel Movement case study and its digital site of

meaning circulation and extend existing theories on frames and framing. Through a similar iterative process of moving between the archival data and framing literature, I could provide conceptual and theoretical interpretations of the case history of the BTM over the 11 years under review.

The findings from this analysis would be illustrated in a tabular format to conceptually construct a repertory of the key descriptors of the Black travel injustice collective action frame.

Step 2: Identification and categorization of emotion and identity work practices within BTM

Following my preliminary analysis of the archival data, I induced recurring patterns of micro and aggregate actions in the social media posting behaviours of BTM actors while conducting multimodal framing activities on the Instagram platform. Upon further engagement with theoretical literature, these recurrent patterns of actions of BTM content creators on Instagram, which were central to their motivational framing activities, were revealed to constitute emotion and identity work practices. This realization reinforced the importance of Instagram as a research site for this study. It required using an appropriate visual analytical technique to reveal the emotion and identity work practices that informed the construction of meaning within the BTM over the movement timeline.

The use of visual analysis has been extensively discussed earlier in this chapter. However, this method was deemed important for this study as it enables the generation of insights into how images are embodied with meanings and infused with emotional energy and how these images are understood by the target populations to whom they have been diffused. According to Bell (2004), visual analysis allows delving into nuanced meanings, belief systems and implicit sociocultural dynamics inherent in images.

The choice of close multimodal reading as the desired visual analytical technique enabled interpretive work to be conducted on all the relevant meaning-making sites and triangulate these meanings to arrive at contextualized interpretations of Instagram posts relating to the BTM. Furthermore, this method aligns with this study's interpretivist epistemological position and primary data source of Instagram data which have the potential to unveil meanings at the required level of the phenomenon under study.

In the BTM, there are bound to be differences in ethnicity, geography, gender and a diverse variety of factors that could introduce differences in meaning perceptions and image

interpretations within the target audience. Corley and Gioia (2004) state that identity ambiguity results in diverse permutations of possible meanings and the use of close multimodal reading enabled the interpretation of the content of the Instagram images and accompanying caption, likes and comments, within the social and cultural context in which they were situated.

At the commencement of the study, the original choice was to spool Instagram images using the predetermined hashtags of #Blacktravelmovement that mirrored the 11-year BTM timeline (January 2011 – December 2022) and to use purposive sampling to identify and select the images to be visually analysed based on a priori themes and theoretical constructs that help address the research question (Patton, 2002). However, the study faced challenges with managing the abundance of the visual data as the spool of Instagram posts using the hashtag #BlackTravelMovement resulted in a data set of over 400, 000 posts. Hence, the reflexive decision was made to focus only on posts from ten key BTM actors whose actions informed those of other actors within the wider movement. This judgmental selection of the sample of focus actors was made through a process of engagement with the academic literature on Black travel, published media, social media and a snowball effect arising from referrals from BTM actors who had already indicated their willingness to participate in the round of interviews for this study.

Subsequently, the identification, selection, and collection of the Instagram posts from the 10 actors using a third-party Instagram API called 4K Stogram. The collected data represented images from all the Instagram posts made by the 10 actors during the BTM timeline of January 2011 to December 2022 (n = 31,484). This 'source list' (Rose, 2022) of collected data was then whittled down to a more manageable data set using a priori criteria from a visual analysis codebook I developed. This codebook contained reflexive decisions made to ensure that all ethical conditions were met, and only relevant data was collected and retained. Therefore, criteria included removing images of a personal nature and excluding Instagram stories, reels or other forms of Instagram content.

As a result of this process, the data set was reduced to 710 images extracted and subjected to close multimodal reading to gain interpretations of the meanings of the image and accompanying captions, likes and comments, within the specific cultural context. Specific attention was given to Instagram posts that were posted before, during and after the five temporal markers of the BTM timeline to gain insights into any changes to emotional resonance and of audience identification.

The visual analytical process of close multimodal reading has similarities with visual semiotic analysis as both visual analytical techniques focus on the symbolic meanings of visual artefacts and acknowledge the affordance of such artefacts to embody both holistic meaning repertoires and elements of broader interactive meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). However, visual semiotic analysis is primarily concerned with gaining insights into representational meanings emergent from Halliday's (1978) three semiotic work metafunctions - representational, interactive and compositional metafunctions. Hence, visual semiotic analysis deemphasizes the cultural characteristics of the image's audience and how such cultural contexts may influence audience meaning perceptions.

Therefore, to achieve the objectives of this study to illuminate the emotion and identity work practices of BTM actors and the audience interpretation of such practices, close multimodal analytical technique was deemed more useful. This is because this visual analytical method allows for a narrow focus on "…complex meaning-making processes achievable only through close attention to the interaction among the combination of communicative affordances …" (Hautea et al, 2021 :p4) and is suited to the analysis of multifaceted visual forms and metaphorical content (Hakoköngäs et al., 2020). The application of close multimodal analysis to this study followed the following steps: First, the source list of 31,484 Instagram posts (inclusive of image and accompanying captions, post reactions and a section of audience comments), extracted from the Instagram accounts of 10 BTM actors over the defined timeline of January 1, 2011 to December 31, 2022, was inspected in line with a priori selection criteria and 710 Instagram posts were singled out for closer inspection as representative exemplars of Black travel-related content with emotion-generating and/or identity-constructing content.

Secondly, interpretive analysis commences with each Instagram post closely and individually inspected and analysed multimodally, paying specific attention to "the interaction of affordances" (Hautea et al, 2021 : p.5) such as image content, image text, screen text, caption text, image reactions (i.e. emoticons), number of likes, geo-tags, postdate, and post comments. The third step was to triangulate the findings from the close analysis of the Instagram posts, again considered individually and thematically (i.e. collective grouping of Instagram posts with similar meanings), with the broader temporal and cultural contexts prevalent at the time of posting to inform a more nuanced and meaningful reading of the visual content.

In following the approach detailed in the preceding step, there was reflexive consideration of the wider symbolic meanings of images and texts used in the Instagram posts given the scaffolding of extant cultural and historical environments that are particularly relevant to Black people from a geography-agnostic perspective. This required that I incorporate my reflexive lens as a Black traveller and researcher, and knowledge gleaned from existing published literature, mainstream media publications and general digital discourse around Black travel experiences and behaviours from key Black travel content creators. The final step was to synthesize the various visual and textual evidence from the close multimodal reading of each Instagram and the wider cultural and historical context to infer on the "dominant" reading of each Instagram post (Hautea et al, 2021: p.5). This inferred meaning was compared against an evaluation of the audience interpretation of the posts through a judgemental consideration of early responses to the post in the comment section. Figure 3 below presents an illustrative example.

Figure 3- Illustrative example of emotion work practice

Figure 3 is an image from the Instagram handle of Tastemakers Africa, one of the leading BTM actors. The image depicts a Black artist posing beside his portrait of George Floyd. The caption explains that a Ghanian artist had drawn the portrait to illustrate how the events in the United States had impacted him, and the poster thanks him for his solidarity. The post is geotagged to Accra, Ghana and the date of the post is May 30, 2020, which is 5 days after the event occurred and the post received 1,350 likes. Given the prevalent emotion of anger

that was prevalent among African Americans during this period, this post is ostensibly meant to reiterate the emotional connection that African Americans has to the African motherland and to signal that that emotion was being reciprocated. Therefore, the "dominant" reading of this Instagram post is that it clearly intends to foster collective identification to the African motherland both with the use of symbolism related to George Floyd but also the mention of Ghana, given that it is a country often associated with African Americans who came in their thousands to partake in the Year of Return festivities of 2019.

This example illustrates the importance of triangulating meanings from the image, site of circulation (i.e., Instagram) and the audience interpretation in order to gain a full contextual interpretation of the intended meaning of the image. Hence, following a similar process used on Figure 3 above, close multimodal reading was applied to all 710 Instagram Images and posts through which emergent themes and categories of emotion and identity work practices began to emerge from the data and were repeated amongst a majority of the 10 Instagram profiles examined.

However, given the sheer volume of Instagram posts, it was not feasible to consider all the comments for each post to be able to investigate audience interpretation and reception of the emotion and identity work practices of the BTM actors. Therefore, the only comments considered were the first couple of comments and this would not present a comprehensive picture of the audience interactions. However, the consideration of the number of likes was used instead as a barometer to gauge how well a post's message resonated with the audience while the small sample of comments considered were used to investigate whether the audience decoded the message with the same meanings intended by the poster of the image.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that there exist inherent risks of unconscious bias in inferring meanings from the volume of post likes and reactions given the moderating effect of algorithmic influences which determine the circulation of social media posts. For instance, Gillespie (2014) posits that algorithms perform a crucial role in the determination of which information is deemed relevant and to whom it is circulated. He further asserts that algorithms act as a sieve of "seemingly boundless chatter" and influences what is regarded as "hot" or "trending" (Gillespie, 2014). This sentiment has support from Langlois (2013) who opines that algorithms play a mediating role in the direction of information flows and the management of audience perceptions on the meaningfulness of information.

However, Gillespie (2014) also concedes that algorithms help to reinforce and prioritize audience preferences ahead of other information and helps in "…highlighting the news of one friend while excluding another's" (Gillespie, 2014). Therefore post comments and reactions could represent positive reception of the post's content since the audience would be seeing the message precisely because they are deemed to be a receptive audience through a questionably benign process of "algorithmic serendipity" (Hautea et al, 2021) or "algorithmic arbitrage" (Reviglio, 2019).

This application of a close multimodal visual analytical process yielded insights which were coded thematically leading to the emergence of 'significant clusters of meaning' (Moores, 1993) whereby groupings of Instagram posts from across the 10 actor timelines that evidenced similar patterns of practices where open coded as first order codes and labelled according to the interpretation of the activity being undertaken.

In conducting this process of open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) of visual data described above, Barbera Tomas et al's (2019) framework of emotion-symbolic work practices was initially used as a point of reference to identify emotion work micro- (second order theme) and macro- (aggregate dimensions) practices to inform a Gioia-based thematic analytical approach (Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013). This choice was due to the similar focus of the authors on the intentional generation of emotional arousal using visual artefacts whereby anti-plastic social entrepreneurs deployed multimodal cues to influence the behaviour of their target audience towards generating allegiance to their cause.

However, in keeping with this study's interpretative philosophy and theory-building approach, I did not constrain myself to only use the emotion-symbolic work practices identified by Barbera Tomas et al's (2019) model, but I included other emerging emotion-symbolic work practices that arose based on unique insights from the focus case study of the Black Travel Movement. In an example of convergence between my study and that of Barbera Tomas et al (2019), a grouping of images depicting Black travellers displaying happy faces as they have fun in tourism destinations was coded as "Showcasing the joy of travel" and this first order code, along with other similar first order codes, where categorised as 'Inspiring individual motivation' . This second order code represents an emotion work micro-practice and it was grouped with other similar micro-practices under the emotion work macro-practice of Facilitating energetic arousal.'

In the above example, both 'inspiring individual motivation' and ' facilitating energetic arousal' are put forward as examples of emotion work micro- and macro-practices respectively whereby 'showcasing the joy of travel' was the empirical theme which served as the first order code in line with Gioia methodology (Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012; Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013). Similarly, in Barbera Tomas et al's (2019) framework, 'Individual motivation' and 'Energetic arousal' were both classified as first order constructs and aggregate themes respectively but with different case-specific empirical themes (Barbera Tomas et al., 2019).

On the other hand, in an example of introducing emergent concepts into existing emotion work theory, under Barbera Tomas et al's (2019) framework, the aggregate dimension of 'Moral Emotions' consisted of two emotion work practices of 'Internalizing the cause' and 'Feeling indignation'. However, in this study, the aggregate dimension of 'Channelling moral emotions' consisted of two different emotion work practices of 'Expressing need for change' and 'Demonstrating support for objective' based off insights from the empirical evidence from my focus case study of the Black Travel Movement.

To conclude this stage of the analysis, the open coding process was subsequently followed by axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2013) whereby connections are established between the first order codes through a process of comparing and combining codes into broader, theory-based categories (Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012) which align to emotion or identity work micro practices.

Step 3: Coding of semi-structured interviews

The third step of the data analysis stage is intended to address the knowledge gaps in in the preceding analysis of archival data in providing a rich trove of contextual insights to delve further into their motivations of the Black Travel Movement actors for posting on social media about BTM and to provide more granular detail on what constituted their day-to-day activities with respect to engaging audiences on their social media platforms. For instance, the close multimodal reading of the Instagram posts does not allow for interpretative work to be done on the motivations and intentions of the poster of the images while semi-structured interviews with Black travellers of different nationalities and genders allowed for target audience interpretations of the emotion and identity work practices of BTM actors via social media.

Additionally, the nascent nature of the Black Travel Movement allows for access to most of the key actors who can layer archival data with narrative recollections that help flesh out the understanding of the development of the movement over time. I was able to gain access

to five of the targets 10 BTM actors but those actors who could not be reached for, or declined to give, interviews, reliance was placed instead on their published interviews and Ted talk videos where available.

Therefore, similar to the preceding step of visual analysis, this analytical step involved open coding (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013) of the transcripts of the semi-structured interviews using NVivo Software seeking out 'phrases and passages' (Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012) where some interview participants (i.e., the BTM actors) opine on the motivations and objectives of the BTM and their audience engagement activities on social media. Also, interviews with other participants (e.g., Black travellers) are expected to yield text that describes their emotive responses (Klein & Amins, 2021) and interpretations of the Instagram activities of BTM actors. This approach has support from Zilber and Meyer (2022) who posit that the Gioia method is typically applied to analyse interview or archival data from a particular organizational context bounded by time and place. These phrases and passages of text were initially labelled with "in vivo" terms to ensure that they remained true to the voice of the participants.

Subsequently, multiple readings of the transcripts and going back and forth with the academic literature, informed the grouping of relevant first order themes from the interview transcripts into theoretical codes corresponding to emotion and identity work micro-practices identified from the preceding visual analysis stage. For example, 'Being Black and travelling' was a vivo code from the interviews that was alluded to by 12 out of 16 participants and referenced 54 times across all 16 interview transcripts (see Appendix 2 for the full list of in vivo codes). This code was mapped to the theoretical code/emotion work micro-practice of 'inspiring individual motivation' as it demonstrated the importance of authentic Black travel. These comprehensive theoretical codes or social-symbolic work micro-practices were combined and grouped into the existing aggregate dimensions of social-symbolic work macro-practices.

In order to ensure that the emergent findings broadly aligned to extant understandings of the Black Travel Movement , previous studies, such as Dillette, Benjamin and Carpenter (2019), Dillette and Benjamin (2020) and Wellman (2022) were examined and there is alignment on the impact of the agency of BTM actors on the development of the BTM, although investigated using different theoretical perspectives. Table 5 below presents the resulting data structure table that emerged from the triangulation of the findings from the Instagram and

interview data which lays out the emergent themes from the data and connects them to the theoretical constructs and aggregate dimensions which would inform the development of a grounded theoretical model. Emergent aggregate dimensions (social-symbolic work macro-practices) and second order (social-symbolic work micro-practices) induced from this study are highlighted in bold font to distinguish from those drawn from existing literature.

Table 5-Data structure table of Social symbolic work practices in the BTM

Aggregate social symbolic work practices	Social symbolic work micro practices	First order codes
Facilitating energetic arousal	Inspiring individual motivation	• *Positioning travel as beyond just leisure* • *Showcasing the joy of travel*
	Triggering collective emotions	• *Inspiring collective excitement* • *Generating Moral shock at racial prejudice*
Channelling moral emotions	**Expressing need for change**	• *Sensegiving on negative aspects of the Black travel experience* • *Calling out lack of representation*
	Demonstrating support for objective	• *Spotlighting Black travellers showing support for Black travel* • *Spotlighting mainstream industry support for Black travel*
Enabling collective identification	**Building communities and safe spaces**	• *Emphasizing credibility of movement actors* • *Highlighting collaboration within Black travel community* • *Reminiscing on shared historical and cultural roots*
	Highlighting economic power of the Black travel community	• *Stressing spending power of Black travellers* • *Encouraging patronage of Black-owned businesses*
Articulating emergent identity threats	**Emerging differences in grievance interpretation**	• *Celebrating Blackness* • *Promoting shared struggle against discrimination* • *Demonstrating understanding of Africa's challenges*
	Differing imaginations of the future	• *Channelling nostalgia for Africa* • *Emphasizing need for own travel industry*
Reinforcing identity salience	**Highlighting benefits of community membership**	• *Providing career tips and support* • *Channelling job opportunities to community*
	Embracing plurality within movement	• *Acknowledging heterogeneity of the BTM* • *Addressing shared battle against discrimination*

Step 4: Building a grounded theoretical framework that defines the role of emotion and identity social-symbolic work practices in collective action frame development.

As core themes emerged from the preceding analytical steps that empirically and theoretically reveal the development of framing processes through a process approach and provide classifications of the categories and sub-categories of emotion and identity work practices, These emerging interpretations from this process would result in a 'multiphase, multilevel process model' (Stigliani and Ravasi, 2012) which seeks to explain how and why sequences of events evolve over time (Van de Ven & Huber, 1990; Cited by Langley, 1999) and how combinations of emotion and identity work enable the development of collective action frames within the Black Travel Movement.

3.7. Validity and Reliability

Creswell and Miller (2000) in their book examining the determination of validity in qualitative research, observe that writing on validity in qualitative research was a challenging task. There are several perspectives on validity in qualitative research (e.g., Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Merriam, 1998) and also several typologies, such as Lather's four frames and Schwandt's four positions, that aim to unpack how qualitative research can demonstrate validity and reliability amidst concerns around adequacy, credibility and validation of a research format that is devoid of the deterministic templates of quantitative research.

In this study, academic rigor and considerations of reliability and validity are implicit in the design of this study and the underlying methodological choices. For instance, semi-interviews allow this study to explore lines of inquiry that emerge during an interview without the constraints of rigid uniformity imposed by structured interviews. However, the utilization of semi-structured interviews is not without its drawbacks. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2019) highlight lack of standardization and response bias as potential risks to the validity of data collected via this method. The lack of standardization refers to the inherent variability in the questions asked from one interview to another that introduces risks with regards to the reliability of the output data (Easterby-Smith et al., 2021)

There is also the concern around potential response bias which is as a result of any biases the interviewee may have due to any perceptions of either the interviewer or of the interview process itself (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019). This bias could be due also to

response to perceived non-verbal cues from the interviewer or a desire to take charge of the direction of the discussion (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019).

Despite these risks surrounding the use of semi-structured interviews in qualitative research, this study is of the belief that there are sufficient mitigations to accommodate the aforementioned risks to data reliability. For example, Marshall and Rossman (2014) argue that standardization is less of an issue where the research objective is to reveal nuanced insights that are peculiar to a specific context and setting. This is the case with this research where the purpose is to unpack the framing processes and social-symbolic work practices within the specific cultural context of a sole case study. Furthermore, concerns surrounding potential interviewee biases are mitigated by ensuring clarity surrounding the interview process guidelines and the interviewee's rights as an interview participant. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007) suggest that researchers use the first few minutes at the start of the interview to build rapport with the interview and manage expectations surrounding the process. Robson (2002) goes further to recommend that researchers ensure that their attires mirror those of their interviewees in terms of the degree of formality or informality to mitigate negative non-verbal question.

Another area of my research that could bring concerns around viability and reliability lay in my choice of an inductive research method and concerns around the reliability and generalisability of the findings. This concern is addressed as this study does not infer that the findings have general applicability but that they provide rich insights into the phenomena under study within the specific cultural context of the Black Travel Movement case. Additionally, the emergent findings of this study were considered alongside other academic literature on the Black Travel Movement and found to be broadly aligned with regards to the main site of target mobilization (social media) and the effects of the agency of its situated actors. Furthermore, empirical validity is demonstrated in the correct sequencing of the analytical approach through the inclusion of a written 'step-by-step' application of the approach provides the veneer of a template to what remains a useful 'iterative and reflexive process' (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

Other means through which this study has sought to address considerations around validity and reliability, is by having the supervision team check the veracity of first order codes on NVivo by having them code the same samples of data in parallel. After this process, we compared notes and provided explanations and justifications in instances of material

divergence. Furthermore, through the triangulation of data from time- authentic digital archival data and interview transcripts, this study was able to ensure the consistency of the meaning interpretations inferred from the separate sets of data.

3.8. Data management and research ethics

3.8.1. Data management

Data collected during this research project included primary data, such as MP4 interview videos and Microsoft Word-based interview transcripts and secondary data made up of archival data, such as documentary data and social media data. All data was collated and stored according to the following policies:

- The NTU RDM Policy
- Data Security- Portable Devices and Media Policy
- Information Classification Policy
- NTU Records Retention Policy
- NTU Research Ethics Policy
- General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)

Additionally, access to the data was restricted to the researcher and the project supervisors during the project and all the data that underlies the published results will be kept for at least ten years. Additionally, as the research involves some personal, sensitive, and confidential data, safeguards were put in place to protect the participants' privacy and secure the data. Data minimisation was also applied whereby only small amounts of personal data were collected – for example participant name, age, type of business activity and contact details. Names will be pseudo-anonymised at the point of data collection, and personal data coded accordingly.

Informed consent was explicitly requested in the form of a Participant Information Sheet (PIS)/Consent form and was also sought at the start of each recorded interview. The Participant Information Sheet (PIS)/Consent form asked for consent for the session documentation to be included in the finalised dataset. It was also made clear that these were reproduced with the permission of the participants involved, but unfortunately it will not be possible to credit them since it would reveal their involvement in the project. Once the signed consent was received from the participant, the consent form was retained as part of data storage, retention and sharing.

The participants were also offered the right to withdraw consent with a cut-off date of seven days following the interview date. Additionally, consent was be sought and gained from participants during interview sessions and also data that underpins the final thesis, and any associated publications, was be made accessible to the participants on request.

3.8.2. Anonymity

Any names of participants that appear in the transcripts were redacted and anonymized to ensure confidentiality. Additionally, to further mitigate the risk of identification, controlled access will be implemented which restricts data access only to approved researchers for ethical research purposes. To guard against threats to anonymity, while the names of the BTM actors were not removed from the Instagram posts included in the visual analysis to ensure authenticity, the interview data was anonymized such that the responses could not be directly linked to any of the Instagram posts used.

3.8.3. Informed consent

All interviews were only recorded with the participant's consent. This allowed me to accurately reflect what was said and to retain the authenticity of the participant's voice. The recording was transcribed, with any names or identifying information removed. Where appropriate, pseudonymisation, i.e., use of anonymized keys, was employed whereby participants were each accorded a designated unique identifier as a point of reference. For example, Participant P#1 was used for the first participant.

Data was stored only on NTU secure servers and only research team members had access to recordings, transcripts and observation notes during the project using their NTU login details. In my thesis, any quotes used were anonymised, meaning they cannot be linked to the participant. Confidentiality would only be broken in circumstances where the researcher is concerned that there is a risk of harm to you or someone else. In this instance, the researcher will report this information to the relevant agency that can assist.

Given that there would be full disclosure to the participants of the reason for their participation. What said participation would entail (including their right to withdraw at any stage), there was no reason to engage in any misrepresentation or deceit with our participants.

3.8.4. Online and Internet Research

I collected archival data from several sources, such as travel industry databases, company websites, government reports, podcasts, videos, and social media posts. With these data sources, I could understand how the Black Travel Movement developed over time and

how different actors retrospectively interpreted the significance and effect of the movement over time. Additionally, I recorded semi-structured Interviews with participants using video conferencing via Microsoft Teams applications and, in one instance, recorded audio recording in response to interview questions. Microsoft Teams application is the preferred video conferencing platform for NTU due to its strong security features. However, I acknowledge that some participants may prefer Zoom for the video interviews. These measures taken to ensure participant confidentiality were detailed in the Participant Information Sheet and Consent form shared and signed off by the participants before each interview.

Data was also obtained via social media using publicly available data on user responses and reactions from Instagram. Data collection from Instagram was done using alternative Instagram accounts to ensure that all Instagram pages assessed were public and not in private mode. Furthermore, all 710 images were rechecked against their respective Instagram posts three months after the end of the data collection process to confirm that they had not subsequently been deleted or made private in which case they would have been backed out of the sample.

3.9. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to outline the research method used to answer the research questions. A discussion of the research philosophy, approach, and strategy was undertaken alongside a detailed explanation of the data collection method and data analytical techniques was also included. Finally, it presented empirical validity and reliability considerations, data management, and ethics. In summary, qualitative longitudinal research was designed to provide comprehensive insights into the roles of framing and social-symbolic work on the development of meaning in institutional fields.

Chapter 4 - Development of Black Travel injustice collective action frame

4.1. Chapter Introduction

In this chapter, the empirical findings regarding the framing processes underpinning the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame are presented chronologically to provide a temporally coherent narrative. This approach provides a window into the social construction of meaning in the BTM by situated actors over eleven years (2011-2022). The year 2011 was selected as the start point as it was during this year that Nomadness Travel tribe, deemed the pioneer organization of the Black Travel Movement (Benjamin & Dillette, 2021), was founded. Similarly, December 31,2022 was selected as the end period to provide a definitive date when the data collection phase would cease.

The rest of this chapter will be structured as follows: first, a chronological account of the development of the Black travel injustice frame around identified temporal markers is presented. This narrative account would form the basis for conducting a temporal mapping of the BTM timeline over the stated 11-year period under review (January 2011 to December 2022). For purposes of reliability and validity, the chapter concludes with a brief section that reflects on the Twitter analytics of the #Blacktravelmovement hashtag that a digital media analytics company conducted. I commissioned this secondary analysis to check whether a quantitative analysis of the hashtag, on another social media platform but covering a similar period, would reveal any useful insights that support the existence of a globalized Black travel injustice collective action frame.

4.2. Emergence of the Black Travel Movement

In this section, I triangulated Instagram data with participant interviews, to investigate how Black travellers socially constructed the Black travel injustice frame over eleven years. I have also embedded theoretical constructs into the narrative that help interpret the underlying temporal context and serve to inform emergent theory development. This approach to process research is called the 'conceptualized composition' method. It was used to illuminate the contextual timeline by establishing linkages between temporal chunks (Berend & Deken, 2021) within the BTM timeline.

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.

4.2.1. 2011- 2013- The launch of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement

Prominent among the early Black travel pioneers of the social media era is Evita Robinson who established Nomadness Travel tribe, as a mostly online Black travel lifestyle brand and community of Black travellers in 2011. The launch of Nomadness Travel Tribe is widely regarded as being the start of what is now known as the Black Travel Movement. Stephanie Benjamin and Alana Dillette, two of the leading authors on Black travel, explicitly confirm this in their article where they state that "Following the birth of NOMADNESS, the larger Black Travel Movement began to emerge…" (Benjamin and Dillette, 2021: p.2). Additionally, this perspective is also widely accepted among the key players within the Black travel content creation space as demonstrated by the Instagram posts from @Chubbydiaries

and @travelturnup in Figure 4 below:
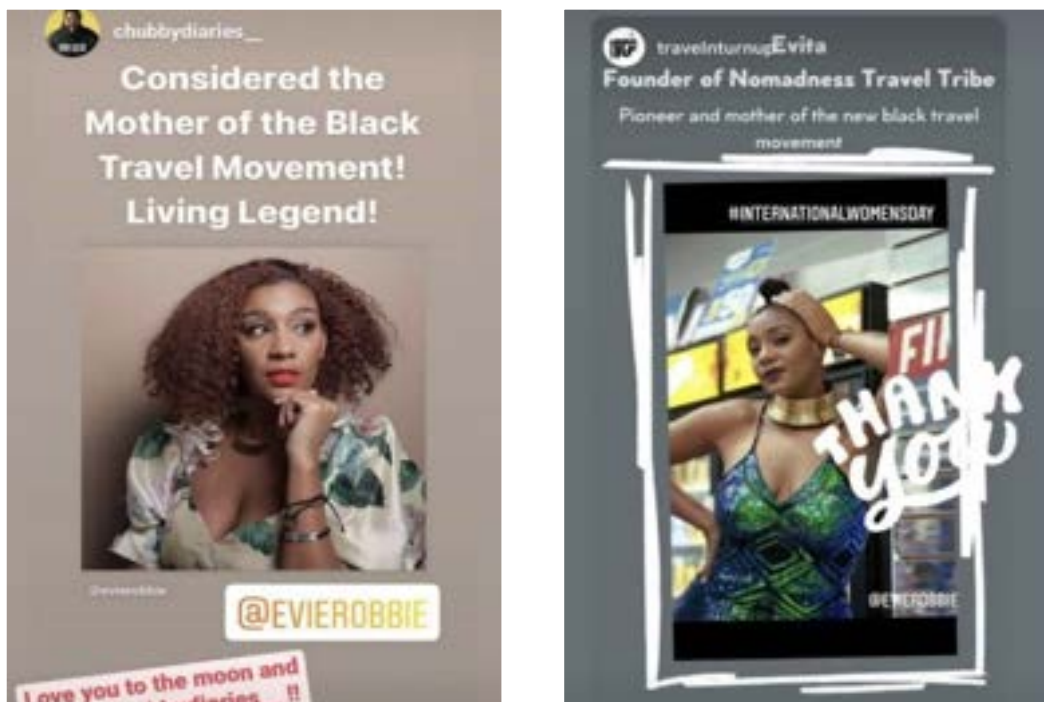
Figure 4-Recognition of Evita Robinson as founder of the Black Travel Movement

Similar to other Black travel content creators and entrepreneurs on social media, Evita Robinson initially began posting about her travel experiences by diarising her experiences on her travels on social networking sites. In 2011, the term 'Black Travel Movement' was not visible in the images, captions or hashtags shared by Black travellers. Rather, the emergence of the Black Travel Movement started as an organic online community of Black travellers who recognised the problem around the lack of visibility of Black people in travel and the need to

counter the narrative that Black people do not engage in leisure travel. For example, during the participant interviews for this study, Participant #16 spoke about on motivated her to join the movement:

> I got into my line of work by accident. I was in the travel industry for 10 years and I understood that I was an avid traveller. However, I literally was on a flight to the Caribbean, got fed up because the inflight entertainment was not reflective of myself or people who were on the plane. And I was like, who's going to do something about this? Why would I see Jamaica or when I see St. Lucia, when I see Barbados, there's only white people in the advertisements and I'm looking around on my plane and all I see is black people. Do they think that Black people aren't traveling here? I've been to all of these places. Why is it never reflective of me? So, I started in my journey in the 2017and yeah, it has brought me all the way to this point. (P#16)

The quote above underscores the common theme that unites BTM actors, and the Black travel audience in general, which is the need for increased representation of Black travellers in global travel spaces which they believe will translate into a more authentic travel experience. This theme informed the motivation for the Black travellers to seek to expose the lack of Black people represented in executive management positions and board rooms of travel companies, in media advertisements for tourism destinations and at tourism destinations globally. This situation has potentially contributed to racial discrimination experienced by Black travellers at tourism destinations and the disincentivizing of leisure travel amongst Black travellers.

Hence, the Nomadness Travel tribe and other such Black travel content creators engaged primarily in spotlighting Black travellers in tourism destinations to improve Black travel's visibility and counter widely shared narratives about Black people's aversion to leisure travel. These Black travel content creators selected images that depicted either themselves or other Black people engaging in leisure activities. They dispersed them via Instagram, using hashtags like #travellingwhileblack, to gain wider reach among audiences interested in Black travel hashtags.
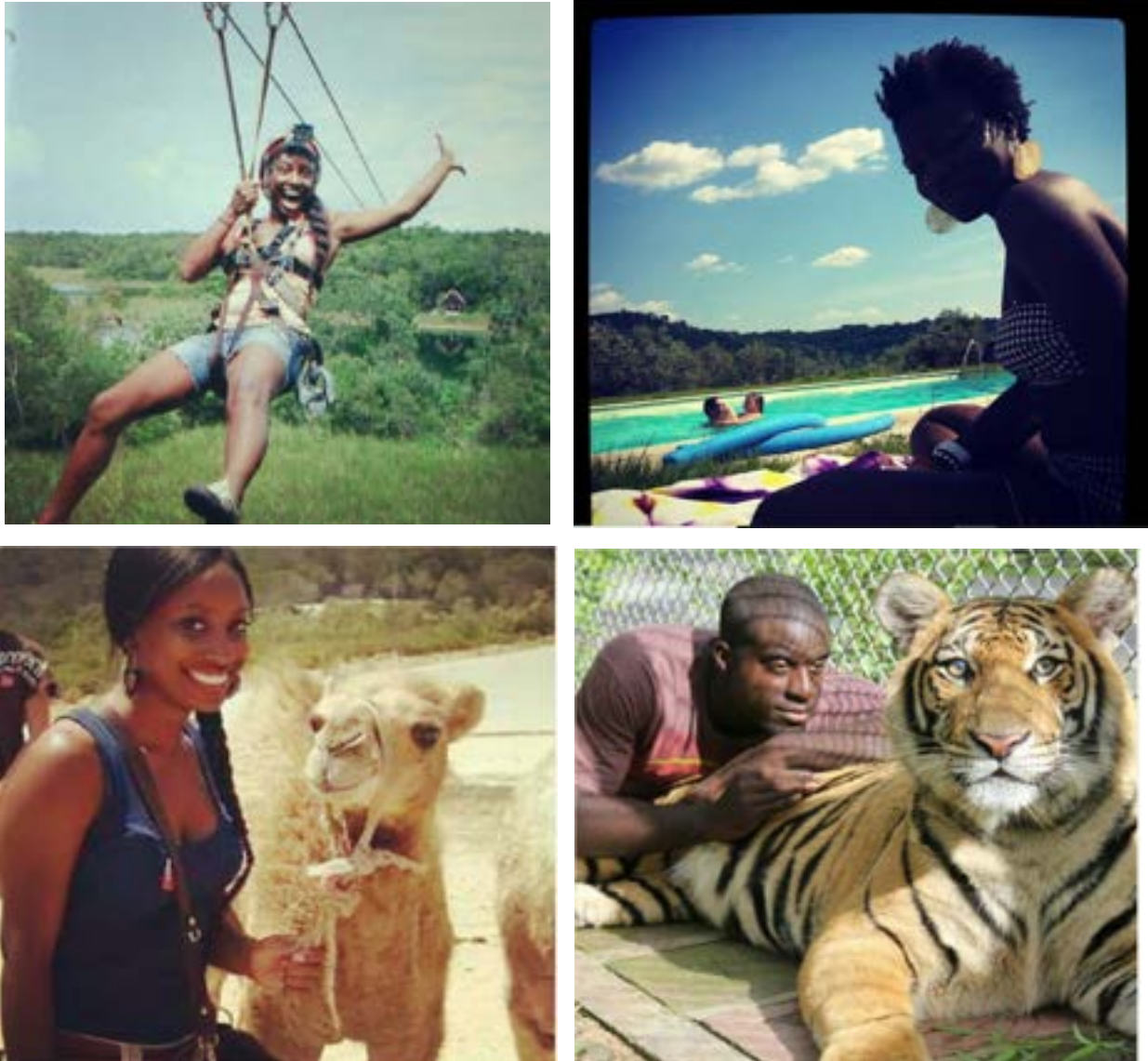
Figure 5- Spotlighting Black travellers on Instagram

Figure 5 above presents a montage of Instagram photos posted by key BTM actors between May and October 2012. These photos are notable for being amateurish, i.e. not professionally retouched, which support the organic nature of the activity whereby Black travellers engaged in leisure activities and document their experiences of travel destinations without necessarily having any professional experience in photography. These photos represented the key prevalent themes in the social media posting behaviours of Black travellers during this period, mainly consisting of sensemaking on the Black travel experience and spotlighting Black people in travel spaces.

However, this accepted meaning around the Black travel community began to morph into something more purposeful and intentional in 2013. This was a year of increased activity

around the fight against racial injustice in America following a series of well-publicized aggressions carried out by white police officers on Black people in the United States. The founding of the anti-discrimination movement epitomized this blossoming of Black racial consciousness called the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. BLM was founded by three Black women- Opal Tometi, Alicia Garza and Patrisse Cullors- specifically in response to the acquittal of the policeman allegedly involved in the killing of the Black youth, Trayvon Martin, but subsequently became a viral campaign against police brutality and racial discrimination against blacks, with the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter trending heavily across the main social media platforms- Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter.

Following this event, the fledging online community of Black travellers recognized commonalities in the narratives of the BLM movement and their Black travel agenda in the sense that both were against the exclusion of Black people and the societal issue of racial prejudice. Specifically, Black travellers recognized the shared message of increased representation of Black people in all spheres of activity and its link to their objective of increasing the visibility of Black people in the travel and tourism industry. Therefore, it became the accepted practice for Black travel content creators to emphasize and amplify this objective and infuse it into their narrative storytelling and imagery to benefit from the viral popularity of the BLM.

It was not immediately the case that Black travel content creators began to explicitly refer to themselves as the Black Travel Movement in 2013 even though this was already in use in pockets due to the growing importance that BLM had assumed among African Americans in particular and Black people globally. So, while the term "Black Travel Movement" had yet to gain significant amplification amongst Black travellers on Instagram as at 2013, the Black travel community was infused with the general excitement and pride that followed the establishment of the BLM and BTM actors sought to establish goal congruence between the objectives of both movements.

Evidence that Black Lives Matter (BLM) facilitated a period of increased activity around black consciousness in America that impacted the nascent Black Travel Movement is seen in the emergence of several Black travel-focused content creators on social media and the emergence of a more focused and entrepreneurial objective around content creation on Black travel.

The pioneer Black travel social media platforms was launched by Travelnoire, an online media company targeted at millennials and Gen Z of the African Diaspora, and Tastemakers Africa, an online experiences platform. All three organizations- Nomadness Travel Tribe, Travelnoire and Tastemakers Africa- leveraged on the accessibility of social media, predominantly Instagram and Facebook, to inspire Black travel content creators, entrepreneurs, and activists to promote authentic counter narratives of the Black travel experience and to exploit entrepreneurial opportunities arising within the Black travel community. These BTM actors also began to consciously infuse social justice messaging into their visual storytelling on their platforms. The aesthetic quality of the images also improved given their understanding that the algorithmic processes of Instagram meant that aesthetically pleasing pictures gained more reach.

Figure 6 below is a collection of Instagram images from Travelnoire's Instagram account, posted in October 2013.
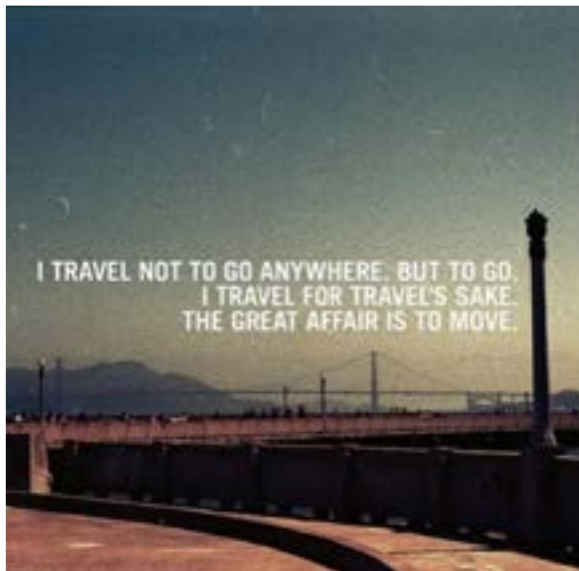
Figure 6--Images from Travelnoire's Instagram account that seek to inspire travel

The aesthetic quality and overt messaging represented by the images in Figure 6 are in stark contrast to the more organic and amateur images that have been previously shared by Black travellers seeking to highlight their authentic black travel experiences.

Instagram is found to be particularly pivotal in the sensegiving practices of BTM actors due to its emphasis on aesthetically attractive visuals which lend itself well to travel given its visual nature. The images from Travelnoire clearly have a sense of intentionality with a clear objective to inspire increased visibility of Black travellers in tourism spaces to address the underrepresentation of Black travellers in the travel and tourism industry.

Black travel content creators position this underrepresentation of Black travellers as a microcosm for the general atmosphere of racial prejudice experienced by Black people. In so doing, these content creators seek to tap into the popularity of the Black Lives Matter movement which advocate for Black people taking a firmer hold on their development and to exercise their agency to address their objectives. Therefore, Black travel content creators and entrepreneurs exercised their own agency to change the negative narrative on Black travel by curating safe spaces online for Black travellers to share their lived experiences of leisure travel.

This development led to the forming of online communities and the establishment of travel businesses that cater to the authentic Black travel experience. Benjamin and Dillette (2021) echo this sentiment, positing that Black travellers "have created companies and organizations 'for us, by us' – a collective of Black travellers now known in the industry as 'The Black Travel Movement'" (Benjamin and Dillette, 2021: p 1). Similarly, Dillette, Benjamin and Carpenter (2018) also note that, as a response to negative travel experiences, Black travellers have resorted to establishing "…a space and community for themselves." (p.1358).

This observed process of BTM actors anchoring on the similar, but more established, Black Lives Matter (BLM) injustice frame is known as lamination in framing literature (Benford & Snow, 2000). Goffman (1974) describes this process as a reconstitution of already meaningful activities and events such that participant's perceptions of those events are infused with a new meaning that results in a different interpretation of what is going on. However, within the specific cultural context of the BTM, the emphasis was less on the reconfiguration of existing activities and infusing them with new meanings but intended to validate or legitimize the already existing activities of BTM actors towards addressing the lack of visibility and representation of Black people within the travel and tourism industry.

Therefore, in anchoring on the BLM, the actors sought to validate their travel industry injustice frame by likening it to a similar injustice frame, i.e. the BLM, which has advocated for collective action against racial injustice. The Black Travel Movement has characteristics that are associated with injustice frames, such as the adoption of the moniker of 'Black Travel Movement' implies an intention to draw parallels between the movement's objectives and the racial injustice frame adopted by the Black Lives Matter movement. This injustice has its roots in the negative experiences that Black travellers experience in tourism destinations, such as

micro aggressions and racial prejudice, and the lack of visibility of Black travel in the media publications and advertisements of global travel brands and tourism destinations.

Hence, I have termed this unfolding process as '**frame validation**' whereby an existing, but nascent, frame anchors onto a more prevalent frame in order to validate its own objectives amongst its target audience in order to drive mobilization efforts. The frame validation process ultimately resulted in the adoption of the term 'The Black Travel Movement' to increase mental associations and identification, and also to inspire Black travel content creators, entrepreneurs, and activists to address this social problem of racial injustice by promoting authentic counter narratives of the Black travel experience and exploiting entrepreneurial opportunities arising within the Black travel community.

The frame validating process of anchoring onto the Black Lives Matter (BLM) injustice frame had the positive influence of amplifying the Black travel injustice frame, however, deviations began to emerge amongst early BTM actors regarding the prevailing prognostic framing of the collective action frame. While the overarching objective of the BTM could be articulated to be a focus on enhancing the representation of Black people in the travel and tourism industry and addressing perceived injustices surrounding the lived travel experience of Black travellers. However, there was an emergent meaning of the BTM that instead desired a focus on attracting more travel to African and Afro-Caribbean travel destinations. This is because travel and tourism media placed undue preference towards western travel destinations in travel industry marketing and this had the effect of starving African and Afro-Caribbean travel destinations of much needed tourism revenue.

A key driver in the emergence of this new movement of Black travellers over the past decade has been the invention and wide adoption of social media. Anderson and Hitlin (2016) argue that the rise of social media has been consequential for the ability of disparate groups with shared values to connect irrespective of geographical distances. In the case of the BTM, the adoption of social media mobilized Black audiences both in America but farther afield in Europe, Africa and other continents through the instant diffusive characteristics and network effects of social media. Furthermore, even within the United States, where the BTM first gained traction, Black people are not a single, homogenous ethnic entity but have various ethnic, cultural, generational and geographical differences which in turn effect the degree of frame resonance and grievance interpretation. This sentiment was supported by Participant #4 stating that

I think it's also substantiated what I said earlier like we're not a monolith, right? You can be a black person in America. But just because you're black doesn't even mean you're American, right? Like it's like you have Caribbean, you have African West African, East African, like, we're just we're all over and none of us are a monolith. So, I think what it's done is it's promoted the hell out of the continent, which I'm a super fan of. (P#4)

Thus, in a process which I have called **frame translation**, Tastemakers Africa came on to the scene with the objective to highlight travel experiences in Africa and to create a counter narrative in the travel industry where incumbents promoted travel to the usual tourism locations such as Spain and Greece. Figure 7 below represents a montage of images taken from Tastemakers Africa's Instagram profile that were posted between August to December 2014.

Figure 7--Montage of Instagram images from Tastemakers Africa showing a focus on Africa

The images in Figure 7 above from Tastemakers Africa's Instagram account have a similar professional feel and overt messaging to those of Travelnoire that were seen earlier. Both BTM actors aim to get Black audiences to prioritize travel and enhance their visibility within travel and tourism spaces. However, the deviation is also obvious as in the case of

Tastemakers Africa, the emphasis is on showcasing African travel destinations, music and culture to make Africa, and Afro-Caribbean destinations more attractive to travel audiences. It is also notable that the mobilization efforts of Tastemakers Africa are not restricted to solely Black traveller audiences but on all travellers as symbolized by image which depicts a white female tourist on a pristine beach at the edges of what appears to be an African mangrove forest.

Tastemakers Africa's advocacy for roots tourism gained amplification through other events along similar themes that took place over the same period, such as the United Nation's declaration in 2013 instituting the 'International Decade for the People of African Descent'. Additionally, the then President Barrack Obama's historical trip to Senegal's Goree Island, a recognized take-off point for slave ships to America at the height of the slave trade (Dillette, 2021), brought increased visibility to Black travel and tourism.

Therefore, the combined efforts of situated BTM actors, pioneered by Nomadness Travel tribe, Travelnoire and Tastemakers Africa, served to amplify the target mobilization efforts of the movement and increased the popularity of the BTM amongst Black travellers especially from 2014 to 2016. The **frame amplification** process could be described as a process of underscoring and emphasizing certain perspectives, events and values deemed more salient to movement targets (Benford and Snow, 2000). This serves as a rallying cry that energises its base of support and fuel mobilization activities within the collective action frame.

In the Black Travel Movement, the main target mobilization activities observed to be performed by movement actors centred around drawing on shared cultural and historical experiences to provide a novel perspective on the Black travel experience, advocacy for stronger ties between Black travellers and the African motherland; and lastly, leveraging on the increasing permeation of Black culture into mainstream global recognition.

These actors performed this sensemaking on the lived Black travel experience by drawing parallels between the racial prejudice experienced by Black travellers in the travel industry and the historical antecedents of racial bigotry such as slavery, colonization and the civil rights movement. Therefore, it was not unusual for movement actors to use imagery of important Black historical actors and accounts of historical racial events to construct narratives around why and how Black travellers continue to be excluded in the travel industry. With a combination of the images and use of hashtags, movement actors were able to visually debunk assertions that Black people do not engage in leisure travel. Furthermore, posting and sharing

these images catalysed movement target mobilization as it inspires more Black people to travel to exotic locations and share their photos using the trending hashtags created by the BTM actors, thus growing the Black travel community.
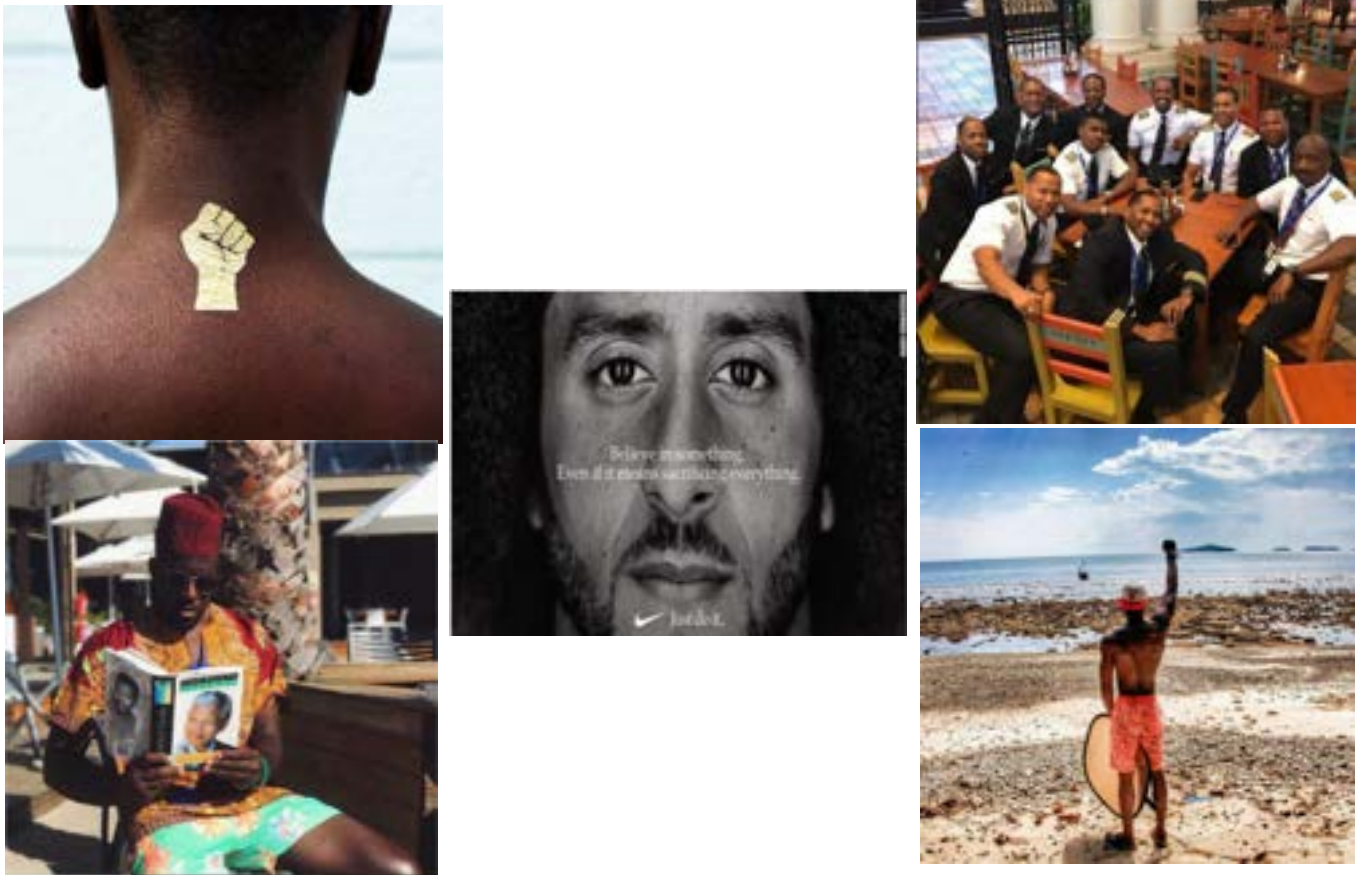
Figure 8-Collection of Instagram images from BTM actors that emphasizing shared cultural and historical heritage of Black travellers

Figure 8 above depicts images from Instagram posts by BTM actors during the period mentioned above that emphasise Black travellers shared cultural and historical heritage. The first couple of images feature a raised clenched fist a popular symbol of Black solidarity made popular by three defiant Black Olympians on the podium after the 200m race at the 1968 Summer Olympics while the US national anthem was being played to show their support for the then ongoing civil rights movement. The clenched fist symbol has also been co-opted by the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement and features prominently during their rallies. Therefore, the permeation of such symbolism into the visual storytelling of BTM actors is meant to signal unity with the wider fight against racial prejudice.

Similarly, the next image denotes a Nike Advert with a monochrome image of Colin Kapernik, an African American basketball superstar stripped of most of his accolades due to his persistent refusal to acknowledge the US anthem played before games. The last two images demonstrate the different, but related, objectives of the BTM to increase the representation of Black people in travel spaces and to foster a focus on the African motherland. One image depicts a group of Black pilots and is meant to highlight the lack of representation of Black pilots in airlines and celebrate Black people's presence in these exclusive places. On a different note, the last image serves a dual purpose of denoting both links to historical past, i.e., the image of Nelson Mandela on the book cover, and links to the African motherland evidenced by the Black man in the picture dressed in African native attire.

The linkage to the African motherland has been a popular target mobilization strategy for BTM actors. Such themes resonate deeply among African Americans and Africans in the diaspora who have nostalgia for their home continent. Already steeped in structural inequalities and institutional racism because of the legacies of slavery, Jim Crow, and the civil rights movement of the 1960s, African Americans became even more disillusioned with American exceptionalism following President Donald Trump's racially divisive administration. This has led to a desire for an alternative home in Africa and contributed to the popularity of Hollywood movies such as Black Panther in 2018.

The Black Panther is a Hollywood movie premised on a fictional African kingdom that was highly sophisticated and the envy of other countries around the world. This concept became a metaphor of Africa's potential to be a developed paradise, rather than the projected image of Africa as a continent steeped in corruption and poverty. This movie played to the heightened nostalgia for Africa at the time, prompting BTM actors to infuse this message into their narrative storytelling across their media channels, thus creating an emotional resonance with African American travellers and Black travellers globally. For example, Travelnoire published an article on their website on February 2018 called 'Where in the world was Black Panther filmed?'. A section of the article reads as follows:

> Millions of people from around the world want to book a one-way ticket to Wakanda thanks to the success of Marvel's hit *Black Panther*, but while you can't pay a visit to the futuristic land, we'll tell you where the crew behind the film did go to create the fictional, utopian African nation (Horne, 2018)

The quote above demonstrates how Travelnoire, a pioneer advocate of the Black Travel Movement, sought to link the narrative around Wakanda, the fictional African kingdom in the

Black Panther movie to the emerging trend of increased travel to the African motherland. Figure 9 below presents some Instagram images where BTM actors infused a pro-African narrative into their visual storytelling on Instagram.

Figure 9-xamples of the practice of BTM actors embedding a pro-Africa narrative in their content

This intentional action of linking visual storytelling to themes around shared Black cultural and historical repositories and linkages to the African motherland, was validated during the participant interviews. In one of such interviews, Participant p#4, a pioneer BTM actor, explained the motivation behind referencing shared socio-cultural connections, saying that:

> I think it's about correlating how we're connected to our past. Again, [the organization] stands on the heels and we're very vocal about the idea that we come from, you know, the Jim Crow movement, the Green Book, our leaders traveling around the world. And, you know, the generations before us and allowing what they learned and experienced there to shape them. We are doing that to our way and but it it's really to pay homage. It's to show respect, pay homage, but to make that connectivity of powerful leaders in the in the past and how they're affecting and the powerful leaders of today. (P#4)

Similarly, when responding to an interview question that sought her reaction to an Instagram image which depicted Malcom X, a popular African American civil rights activist, posing for a photograph in Egypt, Participant #14, a British Black travel entrepreneur, expresses similar sentiments, observing that:

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I feel like this is a really great homage to.yes, the year of Malcolm X. You know, we know that that Malcolm X was So prominent and such a prominent figure about brotherhood, equality, unity, as it says in in this and I think the idea of, you know, he went on his own journey. Malcolm X going back to Africa, seeing the pyramids, UM, which we widely as a society accept where built by Egyptians who were more than one black and seeing something that's so such a such a feat. We don't know how they build these structures, but it's, you know, we know that we take pride in knowing that it's in Egypt. Egypt is in Africa. And there were more than likely black, so I feel like this is like a beautiful homage. (P#14)

Therefore, these two quotes affirm the motivations of BTM content creators when selecting images for the visual storytelling on social media and suggests that images that have connotations of shared socio-cultural backgrounds and links to the African motherland are intentionally disseminated to generate an emotional resonance to the BTM frame among the target audience and thus serve as a mobilisation tool that fosters collective identification with the movement's objectives.

4.2.2. 2019- The 'Year of Return'

As previously mentioned, the focus on Africa formed part of the range of micro-mobilization tasks deployed by BTM actors to amplify the Black travel injustice collective action frame and this frame amplification process peaked during the 'Year of Return' media campaign. The 'Year of Return' media campaign was launched by the Ghanian Ministry of Tourism in 2019 to coincide with remembrance activities marking the 400th anniversary of the landing in Africa of the first slave ship in Virginia, United States (Dillette et al., 2018). The marketing event was championed by BTM content creators a means to further spread their BTM agenda and the event was widely deemed to have been remarkably successful and further cemented Ghana's position as the leading destination in Africa for Black travellers (Benton & Shabazz, 2009) and attracted travel to other African destinations as well.

One of the factors that made the Year of Return campaign attractive to Black travellers was its incorporation of various cultural and musical events, such as the famous Afro Chella music festival in Figure 10 below, to encourage travel to Ghana. Incorporating music and other cultural elements, such as food and fashion, into travel marketing was a crucial element of the

BTM amplification strategy to increase the visibility of Black travel to the mainstream travel industry.

Figure 10-An Instagram post promoting the Afro Chella event

The existence of strands of tourism such as urban tourism and music tourism demonstrate that arts and culture are crucial factors for tourists. Quinn (2013) in her article posits that "Arts festivals, framed within an array of neo-liberal, culture-led urban regeneration strategies, are now a mainstay of urban tourism and urban policymaking." (p. 264). Additionally, Krüger Bridge (2019) gives a historical context, pointing out that "Since the nineteenth century, forms of music tourism emerged around live performances and festivals of classical music, and popular songs performed in music halls." (p.1).

Therefore, this underscores why BTM actors leveraged on the increased popularity of Black culture- their food, music, fashion etc.- and crafted narratives to suggest a symbiotic relationship between travel and the increasing acceptance of Black culture. For instance, people who have rarely ever met a Black person and have had their conception of Black people constructed through media representations that are often inaccurate, can reimagine their narratives as their interactions with Black people, food, music and fashion increase.

This theme of black travel enabling the expansion of Black culture and vice versa was one of the key emergent themes from the participant interviews with BTM actors and travellers. For instance, Participant #14 observes that:

Because the fact that Afrobeats has also gone over to places like Korea, you know where they've got Kpop and they're playing a lot of them. Uh, you know that black? I don't wanna say black looks, but, you know, …, it's like that. But Urban looks urban…Yes…it has sort of reduced barriers in the sense that other cultures and other places are loving the music, and we would hope like OK you love the music [so] you [should] love [our]looks, you know. (P#14)

Participant #13, a British BTM content creator, agrees on the impact of Black culture on racial misconceptions saying:

Popularity of Africa as well, coming from, as you mentioned, afrobeats on the rise. You have Black Panther, you have just black being cool. You have like just stars like Issa Rae and like Big Hollywood star just rising up and pushing blackness like easy races. I'm rooting for everyone, really black, like. And it goes viral. And the people like oh, who is she? What is this and just blackness be, and you know, blackness is has always been cool. (P#13)

It can therefore be surmised from these quotes that the increased popularity and acceptance of Black culture has helped change narratives around Black people so by engaging in travel, Black people could view themselves as changemakers and participants in the fight against racial prejudice. This sentiment becomes an attractive pull factor for Black people to engage with and share Black travel content and thus become adherents and advocates who help amplify the BTM frame. The successful amplification of the Black Travel Movement following the Year of Return is evident in the consequent increased engagement experienced by BTM actors on social media. For instance, during this period CNN, a global mainstream news network, reported that Travelnoire reached one million people on social media as of 2019 alongside a readership for its newsletter of more than 150,000 people per day (Yiga, 2019). Figure 11 below features a collection of Instagram images posted on Instagram by BTM actors in the build up to the Year of Return event in December 2019.

Figure 11- Instagram images posted by various BTM actors around the Year of Return

The images above provide insights into what the Year of Return meant for the BTM actors and how the event was being framed to target audiences towards achieving emotional resonance and collective identification with their cause. One image presents an overt message showing young Black people on a yacht that has the flags of Ghana and Liberia flying on its mast. The photo's message is clearly to encourage travel to Ghana, and indeed Africa, to join in the Year of Return festivities.

On the other hand, another image has a more nuanced message where it depicts a young, athletic Black man towering over an older woman, perhaps his mother, who holds on to his waist. In the image's backdrop are lush green fields of what appears to be an African rain forest. This image could be interpreted to encourage Blacks in the diaspora to return to a protective African motherland where they will thrive in a natural habitat.

Other images in the collage in Figure 11 depict the beauty of African culture and express connections to symbols of Africa, such as the pyramids of Egypt and the geographical map of Africa. Interestingly, one image harks back to the impact as mentioned above of the Trump residency on African Americans and how this served as a push factor for Blacks to seek

another place to call home. Therefore, in this image, the popular red Trumpian baseball cap with the popular logo of 'Make America Great Again' is seen worn by a Black male but depicting the words "Make Africa Great Again". Therefore, it can be observed from these Instagram posts that the BTM content creators are seeking to speak to Black people's different grievances or desires and connect them to the message of returning to Africa as a potential solution to their grievances and/or desires.

The Year of Return was widely acknowledged as a critical success by attendees and evidence of the successful amplification of the Black Travel Movement frame given the thousands of Black travellers that participated. However, the seeds for a frame dispute were also sown because of the frame amplification. This is because of the controversy surrounding Reginald 'Reggie' Cummings, an African American travel entrepreneur, who trademarked the Black Travel Movement name in 2016 and established a Facebook community of over 500,000 people. Black travellers who had been mobilized through the BTM's motivational framing activities had joined the group seeking to demonstrate their adherence to the movement's objectives.

Given that the Black Travel Movement developed organically via the dispersed actions of several Black travel content creators, there was a lack of formality or a defined hierarchy within the movement. The instant and organic diffusion of the movement globally over social media meant that there was no means through which the amplification from local to globalized frame could be managed such that all adherents followed the same diagnostic and prognostic framing constructs. This dichotomy was already apparent in the internal translation of the BTM objective from enhancing the visibility and representation of Black travellers, within the tourism industry to enhancing travel to predominantly Black destinations such as in Africa and the Caribbean.

Nonetheless, the abovementioned frame translation process positively increased target mobilization through existing emotional connection to and collective identification with the African Motherland, culminating with the 'Year of Return' media event. This is because, whether the target audience aligned with the increased representation or Africa-focused prognostic framing of the various BTM actors, the diagnostic framing still remains the social problem of racial injustice towards Black people.

However, in the case of Reggie Cummings and his Black Travel Movement organization, the effect was mixed as while it had the positive effect of validating the

mobilization efforts towards the Black travel injustice frame garnering over 500,000 Black travellers to sign up to his Facebook group , Reggie's subsequent actions and legal problems cast a shadow over the BTM leading to a framing process which I have categorized as **media misframing** for the entire BTM.

One of the major externalities detracting from social movement framing efforts is their framing on mainstream media (Scheufele, 1999; Bail, 2012). The literature is replete with instances of how media framing impacts on how the narrative around social movements is presented to the wider public (Matthes & Kohring, 2008, Steidley & Colen, 2017, Roulet & Clemente, 2018, Klein & Amis, 2021). Klein and Amis (2021) posit that the media do not simply report information but take an active part in shaping how the information is framed. They go further to say "…this is evidenced by considering how the media engage with similar issues in different ways with the ideology of media owners, editors, and journalists often influencing content" (p.1327).

This assertion was evident within the Black Travel Movement in how the mainstream media framed the controversy surrounding Reginald 'Reggie' Cummings and the Black Travel Movement Facebook community that he created and how the BTM movement actors reacted to the misrepresentation of the movement in the mainstream media. Reggie Cummings was not regarded as a key actor by any of the BTM actors interviewed during the participant interviews or in academic and trade publications on Black travel. However, this distinction was not made by mainstream media in their reporting on the issue so when Reggie Cummings became embroiled in a legal case that led to a warrant being issued for his arrest, the scandal equally impacted on the wider Black travel movement and introduced contested meanings to the Black travel injustice collective action frame.

The controversy centred around the legal case, and subsequent arrest warrant issued, against Reginald 'Reggie' cummings. This stemmed from a luxury yacht trip organized by Reggie's company for Black travellers in 2018 which was deemed to have defrauded the participants by delivering an experience that was significantly inferior to what was advertised. Consequently, the participants demanded a refund leading to a legal tussle the resulted in an arrest warrant being issued for Reggie Cummings in 2019.

This event was covered by the mainstream media at the time with the agenda being to discredit the Black Travel Movement by ascribing a false equivalence between the wider social movement and Reggie's company. For example, coverage of the event by ABC news, a major American media company appears to conflate Reggie's BTM company with the wider movement as seen in Figure 12 below:

Figure 12-Screenshot of ABC news article on the Reggie Cumming's case (abcnews, 2019)

A section of the article reads:

Reginald "Reggie" Cummings, the owner of Black Travel Movement (BTM), is already facing questions about "Black Yacht Week" – billed as the "vacation of a lifetime" for Black travellers --- after guests complained of "disgusting" conditions aboard the vessels, hot dogs and peanut butter and jelly instead of gourmet meals and last-minute itinerary changes. (abcnews.go.com, 2019)

In Figure 12, the language used in the headline, "Purely disgusting," the labelling of Reginald Cummings as the head of the Black Travel Movement in the inscription, and the above quote would obviously give less informed audiences the impression that BTM as Reggie Cummings ran a whole and that the organization engaged in unwholesome practices.

Interestingly, this event was not covered by any of the established BTM actors' social media channels. Additionally, when the question was asked about this subject during participant interviews with these key BTM actors, every participant omitted Reggie

Cummings's name. The controversy around Reggie Cummings and its effect on the BTM generated a universal reaction of regret that the event had occurred and anger at how mainstream media covered it.

For instance, Participant 4 observes that:

Uh, now this has always been very, very tricky and I would say a bit unfortunate to me. I had no issue with Reggie naming BTM the Black travel movement for his group. I mean, I was like, alright, it's to the point. It's obvious. It's the community that he wants. It is what it is. However, because that became kind of like the moniker for the entire thing. It's like where does this separation lead right? It made me very, very glad that my you know my company's name and my communities name was very distinct. And you know, kind of separated from the fray because at the time that all that stuff was going down, like nobody wanted to be affiliated with him. (P#4)

The quote above clearly demonstrates that BTM actors were aware of the potential negative ramifications of being associated with Reggie Cummings and his BTM company. This is because delegitimization of the BTM by the media could have the effect of diluting the efficacy of their target mobilization efforts towards adoption the Black travel injustice frame. However, they could not do anything to stop Reggie since he had trademarked the BTM name and had the legal right to it. They could only attempt to distance themselves from the event and minimize the potential for any association between Reggie's BTM and their social movement.

The effect of the media misframing of the Black travel Movement on the activities of BTM content creators and entrepreneurs was evident in the absence of any coverage of the events or reference to the Reggie Cummings' scandal on the social media channels of BTM actors and the subsequent absence of the hashtag of #Blacktravelmovement on their social media posts suggests an intentional strategy of seeking not to dilute their preferred meaning of the Black Travel Movement with the target audience by amplifying the Reggie Cummings' issue which suggests an acknowledgment of the power of social media to amplify meanings.

However, amongst themselves, many BTM actors still ascribe their work to be part of the Black Travel Movement, as was obvious in the frequent references to it in the interviews. However, the focus on BTM as a moniker in their engagements with the target audience have been completely absent since the emergence of the Reggie Cummings debacle.
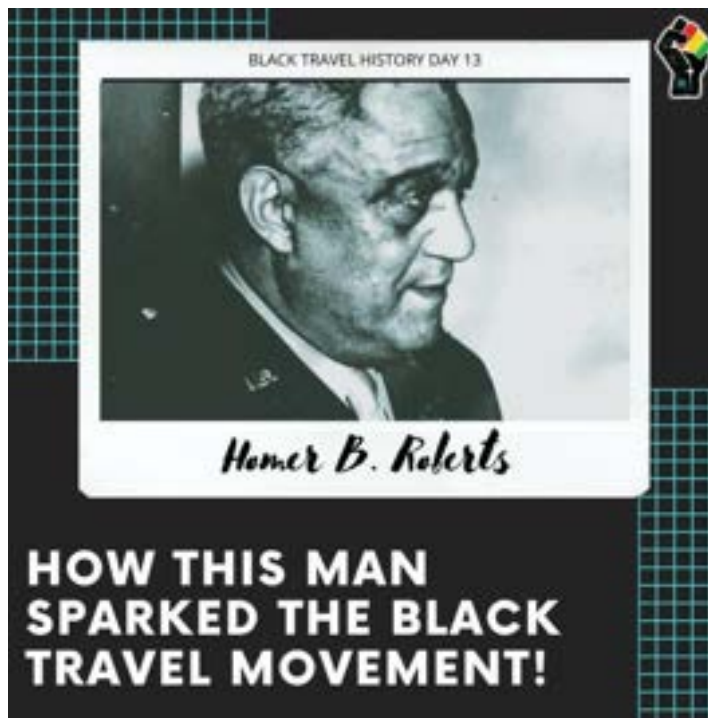
Figure 13-An Instagram image from a BTM actor seeking to influence the meaning of BTM

For example, the image in Figure 13 above was taken from an Instagram post by a pioneer BTM actor dated February 2020. The image depicts a Black man, Homer B Roberts who was the first Black man to attain the rank of Lieutenant in the United States Army and is also known as the first Black man to establish a car dealership in the United States. Through this action, Homer made cars more accessible to Black people, who were more comfortable coming to buy cars from him than his White counterparts. Therefore, the Instagram post is giving the message that by giving Black people access to cars, Homer gave them access to travel and thus kickstarted the Black Travel Movement. The more nuanced message from this Instagram image is that the Black Travel Movement represented more than any one person and should instead be regarded as part of Black people's shared cultural and historical heritage and a collective agitation to address racial injustices within the global travel industry.

4.2.3. 2020- The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic

Any planned activities for reimagining the Black Travel Movement in order to move past the negative press occasioned by media misframing of the Reggie Cummings' debacle, was halted by the onset of the coronavirus pandemic, otherwise referred to as COVID-19, in December 2019. Initially, the COVID-19 pandemic was primarily ignored in early 2020 among

BTM content creators as it was irrelevant to their storytelling and objectives. However, the subsequent global lockdown that followed in March 2020 seized global attention as, for the first time in recorded history, people around the world were required to sequester themselves in their homes and minimise social contact to combat the spread of a disease which at the time had no medical solution. This lack of movement had a direct bearing on BTM content creators who previously relied on travel-related content, and these were now hard to come by as travel ceased and country after country issued their lockdown measures.

Therefore, this enforced isolation forced many people to be stationary, increase time spent on social media and reflect on their life trajectories and wider social issues including Black travel. During the participant interviews, BTM actors widely acknowledged the impact of COVID 19 on the Black Travel Movement. For example, Participant #13 opines that

> Just on the black life, man, I think it was just like Trump during that whole time. I don't think travel was people, but there's a lot of trauma. I don't think travel was people weren't as itching to travel. Let's be honest, like during that. And that was also during COVID. So, it was like a double trauma so there were just people went, obviously that itching to travel at that time and there was more. So, trauma people were trying to heal at home... So, I think it's more as mentally, not just that whole being anxious to travel, but it was that mental state that people were in. I think it was just different. It was a different atmosphere than just for black people in in general. (P#13)

In the quote above, the participant acknowledges the impact of events surrounding the Trump presidency and COVID on Black travellers and how they led them into a period of retrospection. Participant #14 goes further to describe the influence the Covid lockdown had on Black people in the vignette below:

> What I've seen in terms of travelling, I don't think there has been a disparity in terms of the amount or level of black travellers compared to white or Hispanic or UM.[..] I think in general there was a foreboding a lot of hesitation, especially when the borders were just reopening but now things are leveling off and I would say that there's across the board. It's not something I've noticed specifically like an uptick in black travellers but. You know, people have got that, that yearning, that's social restriction and that [lack of] freedom of movement really, really, really impacted people. And I think we sometimes forget that as human beings and homo sapiens like we, we are quite nomadic. We are we come from a long, our ancestors were nomadic. And to fill that restriction and not be able to spread your wings, whether it is within your country or abroad and has given people that like yearning. (P#14)

Also, BTM actors incorporated COVID-related content into their narrative storylines on social media as, especially in the early months, the impact of the lockdown on movement, and hence on travel, had the potential to bring issues surrounding Black travel to the fore. For

example, Figure 14 depicts a montage of Instagram posts by key BTM actors following the economic lockdown declared by then President Donald Trump on March 11, 2020.

Figure 14- Instagram images from BTM actors demonstrating how COVID 19 theme was infused into their content

The first image depicts a promotion for an online event hosted by the Nomadness Travel Tribe, focusing on how COVID had impacted Black travel. Hence, this demonstrates how Nomadness Travel Tribe, and other BTM actors, set out to social construct the discourse around the pivotal event of COVID as it related to the Black Travel Movement. The second image represents a more light-hearted take on the pandemic and features a screengrab of a Twitter post that shows a young White man cowering in an airplane after hearing someone cough. This post plays to the then prevailing fears of the contagious nature of COVID 19 and it crafted to resonate emotionally with the target audience.

The final Instagram image from Figure 14 shows six Black female medical professionals holding up signs that emphasize their commitment to keeping the public safe. The post's overt message was to signal support for the prevailing positive attitude towards essential workers, such as doctors and nurses, who were at the forefront of the fight against the coronavirus. However, the underlying message was to underscore the presence of Black medical professionals and link this to the BTM's call for increased representation for Black people within the travel industry.

4.2.4. 2020- The murder of George Floyd murder and subsequent global Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests

The pent-up emotions following the introspective early months of COVID-19 found an outlet in the events following the murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor by white police officers in May 2020. While the United States has experienced a long history of extrajudicial

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killings of Black people by the US police, the case of George Floyd , a 46-year-old African American, at the hands of a white Minneapolis police officer, and the cold blooded nature of it where a white police office knelt on his neck while he shouted out the iconic words' "I can't breathe", captured the imaginations of Black people and fuelled a visceral response. This is because, in the aftermath of extreme events, there is usually a sense of "violation of expectation" (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017) which is ripe for manipulation, and potentially weaponization, by challengers within fields. The example of the murder of George Floyd was viewed as the antithesis of the motto of the police which is "to serve and protect" and this consequently created a sense of violated expectations that led to the emotional intensification and contagion that fuelled 'Black Lives Matter' protests globally.

The extreme event of murder of George Floyd in May 2020 and the global 'Black Lives Matter' protests for racial justice also prompted organizations across the world to reassess their approach to race relations and led to 'Blackout Tuesday' where, on June 2, 2020, many companies across diverse sectors globally chose to post nothing aside from a plain black square on their social media handles as a collective action against police brutality and racial justice. Participant #14 articulates the near universal groundswell of support for the protests, in this interview extract below:

> I think one thing that helped for better or for worse was the fact that with the murder of George Floyd, there was a sort of transcended it's just black people being offended or black people hurting. It really struck at many levels, different races were involved in the protest demonstrations, the Black lives, travel, Black Lives Matter movement. So, I think that sort of helped because there was almost like a global recognition that what we know has always been there is now out in the open. And I think that sort of has translated to a lot more companies being conscious about what they're putting out there and what they're trying to portray, appointing more people of colour black people to sit on their boards, into hospitality and tourism roles and then they've been more, there's been more of an uptick. There is a long way to go, but more of an uptick of representation on these press trips and things that you see on social media. And I think that's also related to as a as a collective. (P#14)

Despite acknowledging the positivity around the new apparent support for racial justice, the participant equally recognizes that a lot more needed to be done to improve the lot of Black travellers and to address the underrepresentation of Black people in the travel and tourism industry.

On the part of the BTM actors, they infused their visual storytelling on Instagram with images on George Floyd that were designed to generate moral emotions of collective anger. Images have the intrinsic ability to transmit and create emotional connections (Meyer et al., 2013) so BTM content creators, having already benefited from the powerful emotive

characteristics of images following the successful 'Year of Return' event of 2019, tapped into the groundswell of anger following the event that manifested as global Black Lives Matter protests. Images of, and content surrounding, George Floyd were widely circulated on social media following his murder and used as a medium to propagate different messages and embody different memories.

Specifically, the multiple sharing on social media of the viral video of George Floyd, where he was gasping for breath on the ground with the knee of a policeman pressed suffocatingly against his neck, which triggered negative emotions of anger and disgust that permeated beyond the boundaries of the event and resonated with millions of people around the world. This lends credence to the assertion by Klein and Amis (2021) that "… emotions are socially experienced by people coalescing around a common symbolic event or artifact" (Klein & Amis, 2021: p.1345). Figures 15 and 16 below show a collection of images from the Instagram profiles from several BTM actors that were posted between May-June 2020 and evidence the rise of an emergent activist and emotionally charged narrative in the social construction of meaning within BTM.
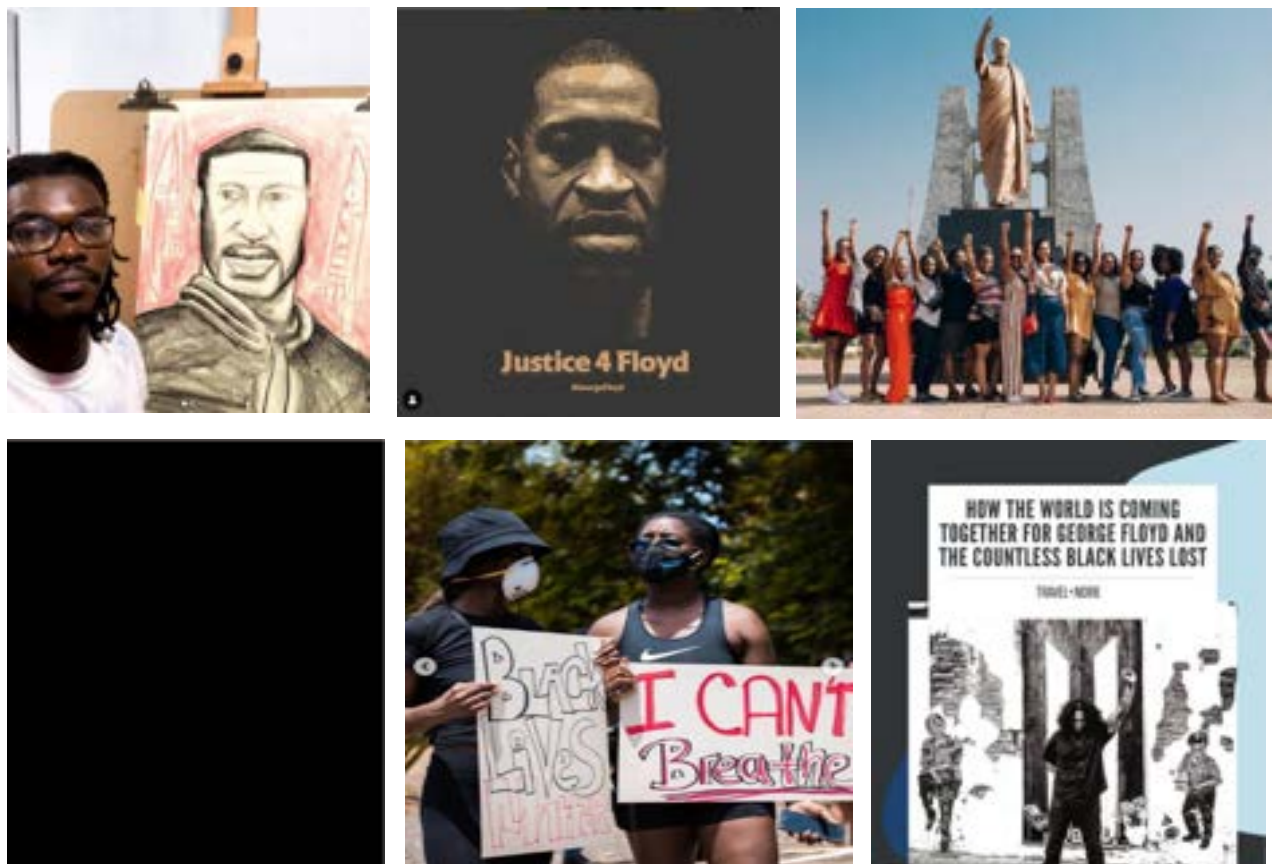
Figure 15- Instagram images depicting symbols relating to George Floyd to generate moral emotions

The images in Figure 15 all contain symbols associated with George Floyd and the Black Lives Matter movement and BTM content creators explicitly embedded them into their visual narrative on Instagram. The images feature symbols such as the likeness of George Floyd, the "I can't breathe" slogan, the plain black box of 'Blackout Tuesday' and the raised clenched fist, the latter of which has long been associated with Black solidarity and resistance.

Similarly, Figure 16 includes a collage of images from Instagram that overtly weave the theme of collective resistance against racial injustice into narratives that align with the BTM objectives.
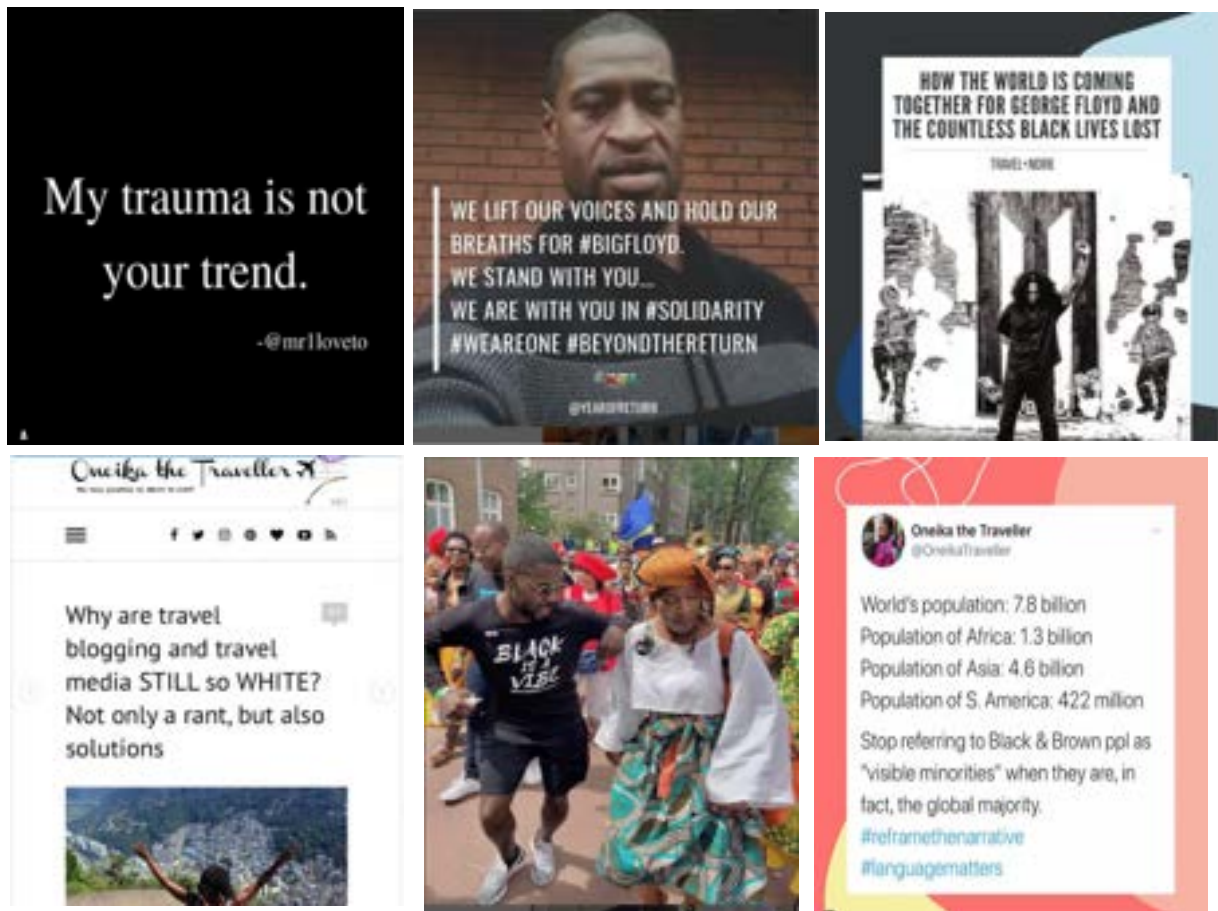
Figure 16- Images posted by BTM actors that leveraged on the George Floyd situation to further their agenda

In Figure 16, BTM actors, rather than leverage only on symbols related to George Floyd and the BLM protests to generate moral emotions and collective identification to their cause, they sought to creatively use the event to further their movement objectives. For example, the first image has the text 'My trauma is not your trend' and was posted after Blackout Tuesday to push against the performativity of travel and tourism companies who posted plain black boxes on their social media pages as an apparent show of support for BLM. Another image depicts an African woman carrying a placard that reads "Africa, arise for your children" and

includes the hashtag #Blacklivesmatter. This image advances BTM's advocacy for a return to Africa by signalling that the African motherland was supporting their cause to address the social problem of racial injustice towards Black people. Also, another image features the cover page of an article that explores the lack of representation of Black travel writers in the travel logging and travel media space.

The aftermath of the death of George Floyd also provides evidence of this sentiment as BTM actors derided the perceived unauthentic and 'performative' responses of global travel and tourism brands to the global outcry that followed the event. 'Blackout Tuesday' was a social media event on June 2, 2020, just a few days after George Floyd's murder, where organizations were prompted to post nothing but plain black squares on their social media timelines throughout the day to signify support for BLM's fight for racial justice and their Black travel injustice frame. This action was significantly adopted across the corporate world with many recognizable brands using black squares as their single Instagram post on the day. Organisations must have felt the need to do this because social media represents the attention of millions of socially conscious millennial and Generation Z customers who they determine to be sensitive around egalitarian issues such as social justice and racial equality.

However, the apparent changing stance of travel industry gatekeepers towards Black travellers was not well received by sections of the Black traveller audience. In fact, when the question was put to several of them during this study's participant interviews, the prevalent sentiment amongst BTM actors interviewed was that the engagement was more 'performative' than being any genuine attempt to address imbalances in the representation of Black travellers. For example, in the interview extract below, Participant P#1 describes the reaction of Black travel content creators and entrepreneurs to the increase in engagement from travel industry incumbents:

> But I do know that like a lot of the Black community was like get, you know, excuse my French, but like, get this ******** out of here. Like, this is this is there's a there's a word for it. And I'm this. I'm not remembering it right now. But it's, you know, it's essentially that like. Demonstrative or perform, that's what it is. Performative allegiance where you're not actually out to make real change. But you're, you know, you're just kind of like, I'm gonna raise my fist and keep going about business because it's gonna be really uncomfortable to actually have to make any real change. So, for me this it seems like this company is trying to hold the travel industry accountable for any way that they've kind of done any performative allyship and really call them out on, you know, yeah, maybe it's the number of black captains or I'm not exactly sure (P#1)

Therefore, it is apparent that the BTM actors view travel industry mainstream actors as the antagonists within the collective action frame and they seek to galvanize movement targets to join them in protesting these injustices.

The global Black Lives Matter protests following the murder of George Floyd in May 2020 had thrust the lived experiences of Black people onto the centre stage of global consciousness and had grabbed the attention of mainstream media. By extension, the Black Travel Movement, leveraging on its frame translation process, had again anchored unto the BLM frame and enhanced its mobilization efforts. However, the BTM actors were conscious of not repeating the same mistakes of the past that led to media reframing of the movement and the subsequent dilution of its mobilization efforts. Interestingly, several social movement researchers (Gerhards & Rucht 1992; Nepstad, 2013) suggest a correlation between the problem identified in the diagnostic framing task and the solution proffered in the subsequent prognostic framing task. This is because there would exist a relationship between the problem, the source of the problem and the solution. Hence, the articulation of a problem and attribution of its source ought to directly impact the proposed solution (Benford & Snow, 2000).

This apparent relationship between diagnostic and prognostic framing was not made evident in the past iteration of the Black Travel Movement where problems were identified to be both the lack of representation of Black travellers in the tourism industry and the lack of patronage of 'Black' tourism destinations. Similarly, the proposed solutions were both increasing representation of Black travellers on global travel media and tourism spaces but also increasing the marketing of African and Caribbean tourism destinations. With such lack of goal congruence or established hierarchy within the BTM, it was possible for Reggie Cummings to trademark the name and establish a company around it that further diluted the meaning and objective of the movement.

Furthermore, the treatment of Black people as a single, homogenous monolith further impacted on the target mobilization capability of the diagnostic and prognostic framing of BTM actors. For example, following the murder of George Floyd, BTM actors actively sought to leverage on the heightened emotion of anger among Black people following the event to mobilize Black travellers to force a volte-face from the travel industry in their treatment of Black travellers. While the movement is focused on addressing issues surrounding racial prejudice in the travel and tourism industry, they also needed to be open to addressing other related issues that resonate with Black people for whom racial prejudice may not be the most

prominent issue. If these other issues were not considered, this could lead to emotional fatigue and a waning of mobilization success in different parts of the target audience.

For instance, Black people in Africa would require a different problem identification and vocabulary of motive than African Americans. Additionally, there is also the belief that Black Americans do not truly understand about the lived experiences of Black travellers from Africa and the Caribbean. For example, while issues surrounding Jim Crow, slavery and police brutality resonate deeply with Black Americans, people in Africa and Caribbean may be more concerned about poverty, corruption and weak institutions. So, while Black travellers have similar experiences in travel and tourism spaces such a lack of representation, discrimination and concerns around safety, the ranking of these issues in order of priority varies across different geographies.

Additionally, the 2000s brought about generational shifts with millennials and Generation Z more likely to prioritize leisure than the generation of their parents. This trend, along with increased economic power and the rise in internet access, made issues surrounding Black travel more salient. However, values of racial justice and diversity and inclusion are beliefs and values that resonate particularly well with the Generation Z who are more socially conscious (Mintel, 2022) and most active on social media where the BTM conduct most of its motivational framing activities. Therefore, addressing a wider spectrum of grievances may serve to strengthen the identification of millennials and gen Z with the Black Travel Movement objectives

This perspective comes through in the quote below with Participant #15, a Black traveller from Nigeria, deducing that:

> I absolutely think there's so much that can be done for me beyond just again because I think viewing things from just a lens is reductionist. So, beyond George Floyd beyond all that has happened in the United States because again, let's you know, I mean Nigeria, pretty Nigeria, we have majority black people. We don't have the issue of racial police violence. We have police injustice period. You know what I mean? And so, for me it's that sense of what else we need to do. I think we need to really, really be more take more responsibility for safety and security and also communicate. (P#15)

The quote above states that while George Floyd's murder resonates among all Black travellers, there are also the specific concerns of Black travellers in Africa that may resonate more with them. For instance, issues around lack of direct flights between African countries and strong visa restrictions to travel would immediately resonate with African travellers as that is part of their lived experience as Black travellers.

For instance, Participant P#13 recalls the gratitude of Black travellers who had been assisted with obtaining visas for travel.

> So, it's even the visa thing like just supporting them and they're so grateful because that's actually it's technically we're just doing it cuz we don't actually have an add on service for that. (P#13)

Therefore, this suggests that it is essential that BTM actors to consider the specific peculiarities of African and Caribbean peoples' lived travel experiences in the diagnostic and motivational framing activities to build stronger ties and obtain more sustained engagement from these dispersed Black traveller communities.

In a similar vein, several BTM actors began to realize the benefits of expanding the pool of potential members to include not just Black people but Black, Indigenous and People of colour (BIPOC) as these are all segments of the population that had a shared experience of racial injustice. This perspective is promoted by Participant #4 who opines that:

> We're very big on amplifying the black and brown voices, but also holding the industry accountable through data and providing an olive branch to the larger bipac community. So, we're talking about Latin X Asian, you know, Muslim travellers, you know, indigenous travellers, we and that olive branch out and give our stage over to them so they can amplify their stories through our festival through no madness fest. We say that we service our community services Black and brown travellers and for no madness fest we took on the bipac black indigenous people of colour that acronym as saying that our festival is an extension for the Bipac traveller. (P#4)

The quote above signifies the respondent's support for participation from all people of colour in the shared objective of addressing racial prejudice in the global travel industry.

Based on the above realisations around the lack of goal congruence, the need for less rigidity in membership and for more flexibility around grievance interpretation, BTM actors found the need to extend the Black travel injustice frame to accommodate a wider spectrum of needs. A frame extension occurs when the boundaries of a collective action frame's primary focus is extended to accommodate other significant issues that are seen to be connected or congruent to the beliefs and values of the movement target population (Benford & Snow,

2000). Such frame extension activities are conducted to enhance the reach and potency of mobilization activities. However, such activities also have the potential to lead to frame disputes and conflicts (Benford, 1993; Carroll, & Ratner,1996). This outcome may occur where the extension of the frame waters down the frame's central message and leads to contested meanings among movement participants and between movement participants and external actors.

If a frame's salience is negligible then it has a negative impact on the mobilization efforts of movement actors and vice versa. The resonance of a frame can be impacted by the degree of prominence that a movement's beliefs and claims have in the lives of the target audience. Rokeach (1973) alludes to the hierarchical nature that values and beliefs are held by different populations. Therefore, this means that the more important or central the espoused values of a frame are to its target audience, the more successful their mobilization efforts would be. The Black Travel Movement actors engaged in the extension of their injustice frame by increasing the scope of the target audience from only Black travellers to a wider designation of Black, Indigenous, People of Colour (BIPOC). The motivation behind this action was to accommodate a larger audience that had been attracted by the anchoring of BTM to the globally diverse BLM movement and its potential to amplify the frame to attain greater bargaining power against the travel and tourism industry gatekeepers.

This new approach was incorporated into the visual storytelling and narratives of BTM content creators in 2020, as seen in Figures 17 below, which features a collection of images taken from the Instagram profiles of several key BTM actors and posted during this period showcasing support for issues that are not traditionally among the issues that formed the centrality of BTM storytelling:

Figure 17-Images from the Instagram posts of BTM actors seeking to accommodate a wider spectrum of grievances

The above evidence demonstrates some of the frame extension activities being undertaken by BTM actors by including issues under discussion to include hate directed towards Asians and on travel tailored to Black LGBTQ+ travellers. Tapping into these audiences works towards extending the primary interests of the BTM frame to increase resonance with movement target populations and facilitate frame diffusion and target mobilization.

Hence, a review of the Instagram page timelines of some BTM actors witness a subtle shift in the imagery used from solely Black travellers to other travellers of colour such as Asians, Hispanics etc. Furthermore, the scope of the diagnostic framing has been expanded to cater to other issues that are relevant to the wider BIPOC community such as discrimination against Asians and Latinos. In fact, the incorporation of other societal issues that have an

undertone of exclusion, such as discrimination against LGBTQ+ and ableism, have begun to permeate the storytelling in some sections of the BTM.

For example, Participant #4 observes that

We're very big on amplifying the black and brown voices, but also holding the industry accountable through data and providing an olive branch to the larger bipoc community. So we're talking about Latin X Asian, you know, Muslim travellers, you know, indigenous travellers, we and that olive branch out and give our stage over to them so they can amplify their stories through our festival…We say our community services black and brown travellers and we took on the bipoc black indigenous people of colour that acronym as saying that our festival is an extension for the Bipac traveller. (P#4)

The quote above noticeably departs from referencing BTM's focus on the Black traveller to considering a wider spectrum of BIPOC travellers.

4.2.5. 2020- The founding of the Black Travel Alliance (BTA)

On 'Blackout Tuesday', i.e. June 2, 2020, many companies across diverse sectors globally chose to post nothing aside from a plain black square on their social media handles as a collective action against police brutality and racial justice following the shocking murder of George Floyd and the subsequent global outpouring of moral emotions.

However, BTM actors were keen to point out that travel and tourism companies' mere posting of plain black boxes on social media while not doing anything to address the underrepresentation of Black people in the industry was merely playing to the gallery. In a bid to counter the impression that this 'performative' act by corporate organizations within the travel and tourism industry was an adequate response to the George Floyd murder, a group of Black travel content creators and key BTM actors established the Black Travel Alliance (BTA).

The BTA leveraged on the change in the prevalent emotional arrays within the travel industry, occasioned by the George Floyd murder/BLM protests, and the increasing anger and frustration among Black people, to formalize its operations and simplify its objective into three-word tagline 'Alliance, Amplification and Accountability'. This fledgling alliance of BTM actors sought to promote alliances throughout the BIPOC travel community, seek amplification of its mission and pursue accountability within the travel and tourism industry so as to shine a light into the underrepresentation of Black travellers within all strata of the industry (Menze, 2020).

The emergence of the Black Travel Alliance ushered in a change into how BTM actors conceptualized its prognostic framing activities post-George Floyd. This event presented a

temporal faultline within the BTM that necessitated a new way of doing things. This was echoed by Participant #14 who explains that:

> You also have the Black Travel Alliance now they were made in. They were created in 2020 just after the murder of George Floyd. And there was a lot of sentiment on some of these travel companies are very performative, with what they're doing. They're putting these black squares on social media and denouncing the murder. But then on your press trip campaigns on your in your media, in your journalistic trips, you don't have black people. You're it's. So, it seemed very performative. So, the Black Travel Alliance was founded. (P#14)

The posters of the Instagram image seek to emphasize that such performative actions are inadequate and real change in terms of increase accountability and representation is demanded in the travel and tourism industry. This sentiment is echoed by participant P#16, a key BTM actor and content creator who is at the forefront of the demand for accountability and diversity reporting by the tourism sector, who says that:

> Well, the Black Travel Alliance was specifically started for black travel professionals, and it was to ensure that black travel professionals had a level playing field to be as successful in the travel industry as their white, Asian, Mexican and in general as their counterparts. Because what we were seeing was that we weren't getting hired for the corporate jobs, we weren't getting hired for the campaigns. And if we were being hired, we weren't given the same amount of money or we weren't treated the same. (P#16)

Therefore, the objective of these BTM actors is to get the global travel and tourism industry to come to an epiphany and change its attitudes towards Black travellers to deliver a more inclusive and diverse future for the travel and tourism industry. This new strategy of BTM actors to transform their frame into the BIPOC travel injustice frame by engaging on advocacy efforts through the aegis of the Black travel Alliance that include narrative storytelling through their Instagram page and hosting of offline festivals. Additionally, the BTA commissioned the groundbreaking research by MMGY Global in 2020 that highlighted the economic power of the Black travel market and gave BTM activists the requisite legitimacy to challenge the industry incumbents. Figures 18 below are a selection of Instagram images from the Black Travel Alliance Instagram channel posted in June 2020 following Blackout Tuesday
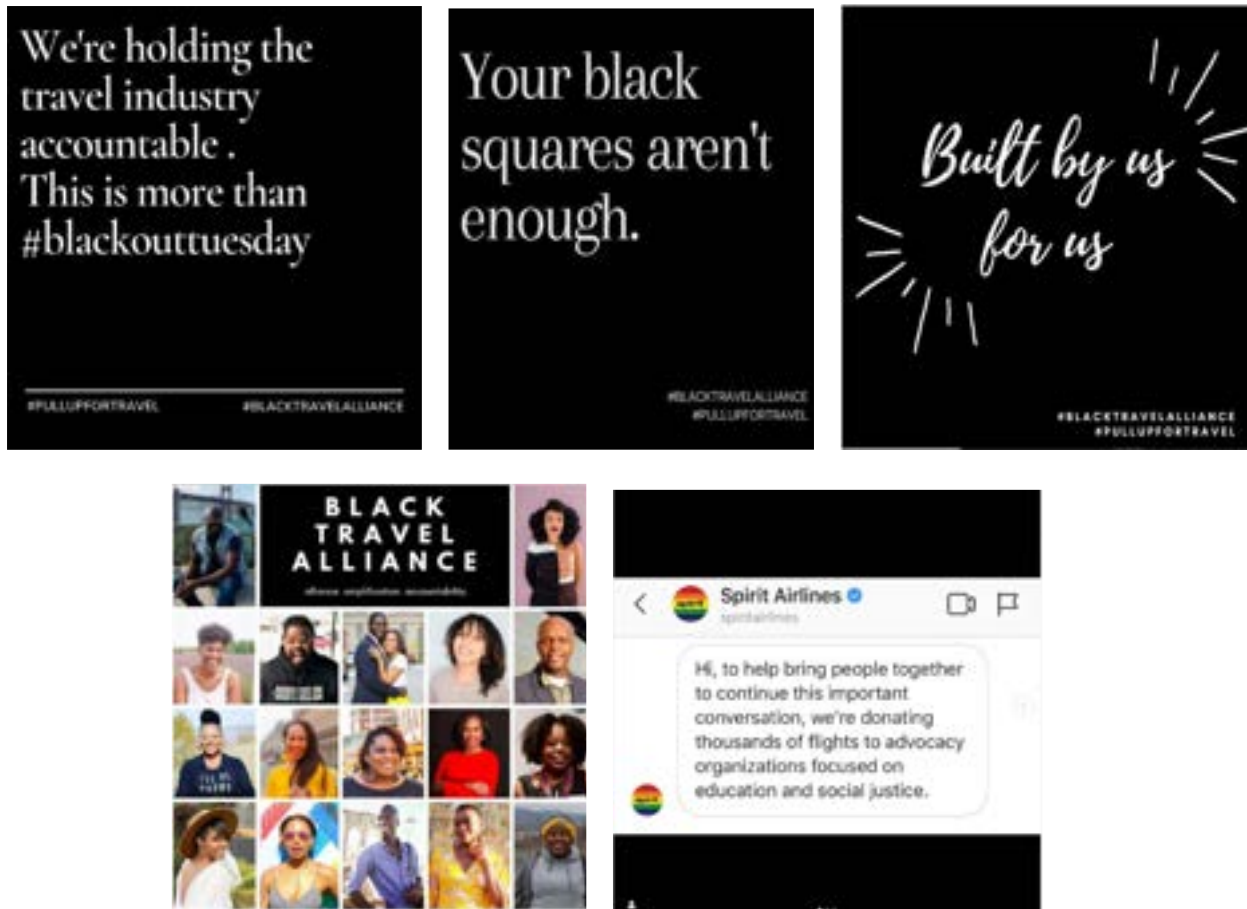
Figure 18-mages from Instagram posts that document the emergence of the Black Travel Alliance

The images show the clarity in which the Black Travel Alliance sets out its mission statement and aligning its new objective under the tagline of alliance, amplification and accountability. The BTA called out travel and tourism companies and demanded that they publicly report their diversity statistics to show the concrete steps they take to address racial inequality in their organisations. Figure 18 includes an image which shows one such response in the form of a screengrab of a tweet through which Spirit Airlines, a United States-based airline, reported on what they do to foster inclusion in their organization.

The emergence of the Black Travel Alliance following Blackout Tuesday and its repositioning of the visual storytelling and discourse around the Black travel injustice frame and demonstrates how a collective action frame can be affected by a collective action event and subsequently alter what beliefs and values are deemed most important within the frame (Benford and Snow, 2000). Prior to the murder of George Floyd and the subsequent global BLM protests, racial injustice had been at the fore of BTM actors' diagnostic framing with the

travel and tourism industry being its main focus of causality. However, the proffered solution, or prognosis, was less confrontational and more about elevating the visibility of Black travel to the extent that it could no longer be ignored or underrepresented by mainstream media and the travel industry. However, following the George Floyd murder and the global outpouring of anger evident in the Black Lives Matter protests that took place all over the world, the attritional emotional atmosphere necessitated a fresh solution to the problem.

Consequently, the Black Travel Alliance (BTA) was formed as an organization and the trade name was also registered, thereby avoiding the past mistake whereby the Black travel Movement name was commandeered and appropriated by Reggie Cummings once he trademarked the name to his organization. Furthermore, the BTA set out its agenda clearly through its simple message of seeking alliances, amplification, and accountability. Therefore, following the event of the George Floyd murder, the BTA set out to reconstruct the meaning of the Black Travel Movement with a new objective of building alliances with the Black travel community, amplification of the Black traveller and demanding accountability from the wider travel industry.

The BTA engage in advocacy through the deployment of text and visuals via social media to generate emotional resonance and intensification within their target audience. However, there also exists the risk that the moral emotions generated could not be maintained as emotional fatigue sets in. The potential for the narrative storytelling on social media to generate emotional fatigue is supported by Dillette and Benjamin (2021) who posits that:

> This is not a new narrative or novel concept; however, with the ease and accessibility of tools like social media, marginalized groups have created vibrant counternarratives to help promote their own "human capital" and, simultaneously, bring awareness in educating audiences who may be oblivious of their struggles. However, this may add another layer of emotional labour to their cause and fatigue from reliving their own traumatic experiences of persecution, while continuously acting as educators of Black history and the Black American experience." (Dillette and Benjamin, 2021: p.473)

The findings from this study revealed that divergent objectives, ethnic heterogeneity and geography-specific peculiarities tend to dilute the emotional impact of the narrative and impede on the degree of frame resonance with the target audience. These tensions within the movement have led to ambiguity around the BTM frame as divergent objectives lead to different meaning patterns within the movement resulting in counter-framing and frame disputes.

Therefore, it was important for BTM actors to control the dialectic between their framing activities and the pivotal event of the George Floyd murder. They did this by deploying previously successful motivational framing around shared cultural and historical ties but also underlining the importance of collaboration to unlock the economic power of Black and Brown travellers. For example, under the ambit of the Black travel Alliance, they commissioned a market research agency, MMGY Global to validate the global Black traveller market. The report found that Black travellers spent $109 billion on vacations in 2019 just in the United States alone (Yiga, 2019).

The MMGY report on Black Travel received wide coverage in the mainstream media and highlighted the economic power of the Black travel market and gave BTM activists the requisite legitimacy to challenge the industry incumbents. The BTM actors leveraged on the report's findings to further challenge misconceptions around Black travel and amplify the economic power of Black travel through their social media pages. For instance, Figures 19 shows a couple of images taken from the Instagram pages of BTM actors that publicize the report's findings:

Figure 19- Images from Instagram posts by BTM actors that publicize the MMGY report findings

This entrepreneurial perspective to the Black Travel Movement frame follows naturally from the BTA's spotlighting of the economic power of Black travellers and the contribution of Black travel to the global travel and tourism industry. Staying true to its message of representation, the BTA actively advocates for more of those Black traveller tourism dollars to be spent on Black-owned travel and tourism business which not only further amplifies the Black travel economy but channels the money back into the Black community.

Therefore, BTA encourages the creation of more Black-owned businesses to exploit opportunities around the concept of BTM with a view to catering specifically to the niche market of Black travellers. For example, Noirbnb is an online marketplace for home stays catering to Black travellers, many of whom say they have experienced racism while seeking to book stays through the more established Airbnb (Grier, Johnson & Scott, 2022). This position was noted by Dillette and Benjamin (2021) where they opine that "The BTM also has the added layer of being an umbrella for social entrepreneurs seeking to run successful businesses while affecting change in the travel sphere." (Dillette and Benjamin, 2021: p. 465).

From the above, it is evident that the Black Travel Alliance was established to infuse urgency and purpose into the Black Travel Movement through the diffusion of a realigned BIPOC travel injustice frame and address any mission drift that had arisen over the years since its inception due to differing grievance interpretations and the consequent frame extensions conducted to accommodate a global target audience . Frame extension is sometimes viewed as a stepping stone or hooking (Lofland,1977: Cited by Snow et. al, 1986) to a more concrete alignment that is represented by frame transformation (Snow et. al, 1986). This is because while frame extension is a tactical expansion of the problem definition to accommodate related causes, a frame transformation represents a more wholesale, fundamental change in the structure of the frame (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow, Vliegenthart and Ketelaars, 2018).

However, the findings of this study suggest the existence of a midpoint between frame extension and frame transformation whereby the emergent frame is not transformed through the introduction of new meaning interpretations and the consequent changes to its diagnostic and prognostic framing. Instead, the emergent frame is essentially recalibrated to bring the extensions and tweaks to its diagnostic and prognostic framing in alignment with the movement's foundational objectives while formalizing the nuances occasioned by the extensions to the original frame.

I have termed the above process as **frame realignment** and it is particularly important for local frames in the process of transitioning into globalized frames over social media as the instant diffusion of messaging over social media platforms means that the agentic actions of key actors are required to retrospectively ensure congruence in order to maintain frame salience given the heterogeneity of the target audience. Thus, by leveraging on the global attention occasioned by the George Floyd murder and the BLM protests, the emergent BIPOC travel injustice frame was able to reposition and reimagine the original Black travel injustice frame

by making it less rigid in terms of its diagnostic and prognostic framing and more flexible in terms of the target audiences for its mobilization efforts.

4.3. Summary table of Black travel injustice frame activities

The findings above from the investigation of the development of meaning within the Black Travel Movement over eleven years have revealed the presence of diagnostic and prognostic framing activities of agentic BTM actors with the expressed objective to address the representation of Black travel within the mainstream travel and tourism industry. The framing processes that were identified, along with their empirical illustrations, have been summarized in Table 6 below. The new framing processes that have been induced from this study are written in bold italic font to distinguish them from the existing framing processes from the existing literature.

Table 6-Summary of framing processes and their empirical illustrations

Collective action frame	Frame processes	Definition	Empirical illustration
Black Travel injustice frame *An injustice frame (Gamson, 2022) put forward by Black Travel Movement actors to mobilise Black travellers against the social problem of racial injustice with the specific context of the lack of representation of Black travel within the global travel industry.*	Frame emergence	Articulation and identification of, and attribution for, the issue and source of causality	• Sensemaking by Black travellers on lack of representation of Black travellers in travel and tourism industry • Black travellers sharing photos of themselves undertaking leisure travel with the hashtag #travellingwhileblack
	Frame validation	Anchoring onto a similar frame to validate the objectives of an emergent frame	• The changing tone in Black travel content which became more intentional in its messaging about authentic travel and use more professional imagery following launch of BLM in 2013 • Launch of Travelnoire and other Black travel content creators in 2013 • Referencing of Black Lives Matter symbols, e.g. raised clenched fist, in social media posts
	Frame translation	The re-interpretation of a frame's problem definition to align to a similar but alternative prognosis or solution	• Sensemaking on social media around lack of promotion of Africa and Afro-Caribbeans tourism • Launch of Tastemakers Africa in 2013 • Increase in sharing of social media content around roots tourism and connecting to African motherland
	Frame amplification	When frame resonance and target mobilization are at its peak.	• Success of Year of Return in December 2019 where thousands of Black travellers came to Ghana to celebrate the 400th year

			anniversary of slavery
			● Increased resonance of BTM following murder of George Floyd in 2020
	Media misframing	Misrepresentation of frame by external actors in mainstream media	● Characterization of Reggie Cummings as head of the global Black travel Movement
	Frame extension	The extension of the diagnostic and prognostic parameters of a collective action frame's primary focus to accommodate other issues deemed congruent to the beliefs and values of the movement target population	● BTM actors sharing content relating to specific issues of concern to Black people in different geographies ● The inclusion of other injustices, such as ableism, discrimination against LGBTQIA+, into visual storytelling on Black travel ● Increased use of the term BIPOC (Black, Indigenous People of Colour) travel instead of Black travel
BIPOC travel injustice frame *A realignment of the Black travel injustice frame towards the diagnostic framing of racial injustice but broadening the spectrum of issues and prescribed solutions to attract BIPOC travellers*	*Frame realignment*	Where dilutions to a frame's primary diagnostic and prognostic framing, due to accommodations as it speedily transitions into a global frame over social media, are recalibrated to align with a new iteration of the original frame	● The launch of Black travel Alliance in June 2020 that consists of BTM content creators ● Shared social media content on responses on mainstream media and tourism sector to BTA demands for diversity reporting ● The setting out of a clear mission statement of "alliance, amplification and accountability" ● The sponsoring by BTA of the MMGY report on the Black travel market that showcased its economic value

4.4. Temporal bracketing of the Black Travel Movement timeline

The findings from the previous section provided compelling evidence that supports the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame and its realignment to become the BIPOC travel injustice frame. The focus was on providing a chronological account of the frame's development, using contextual markets to denote temporal faultlines that marked periods when meaning interpretations were altered or changed through the social construction of reality on social media.

However, it is deemed also important further to illustrate the temporal connectedness of the frame development processes since frame development does not happen in a vacuum but is underscored by events that impact reality construction and meaning making by movement actors. De Bakker et al., (2013) emphasizes on the importance of linking "social domains and action repertoires" (p. 580) echoing Entman (1993, 2007), who supports a processual approach to frames stating that aspects of reality perception help illuminate the discourse in such a way as to effect "…particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (1993,p. 52). Therefore, in this section, this study engages in temporal bracketing of the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame.

Figure 20 below represents the temporal map of the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame:
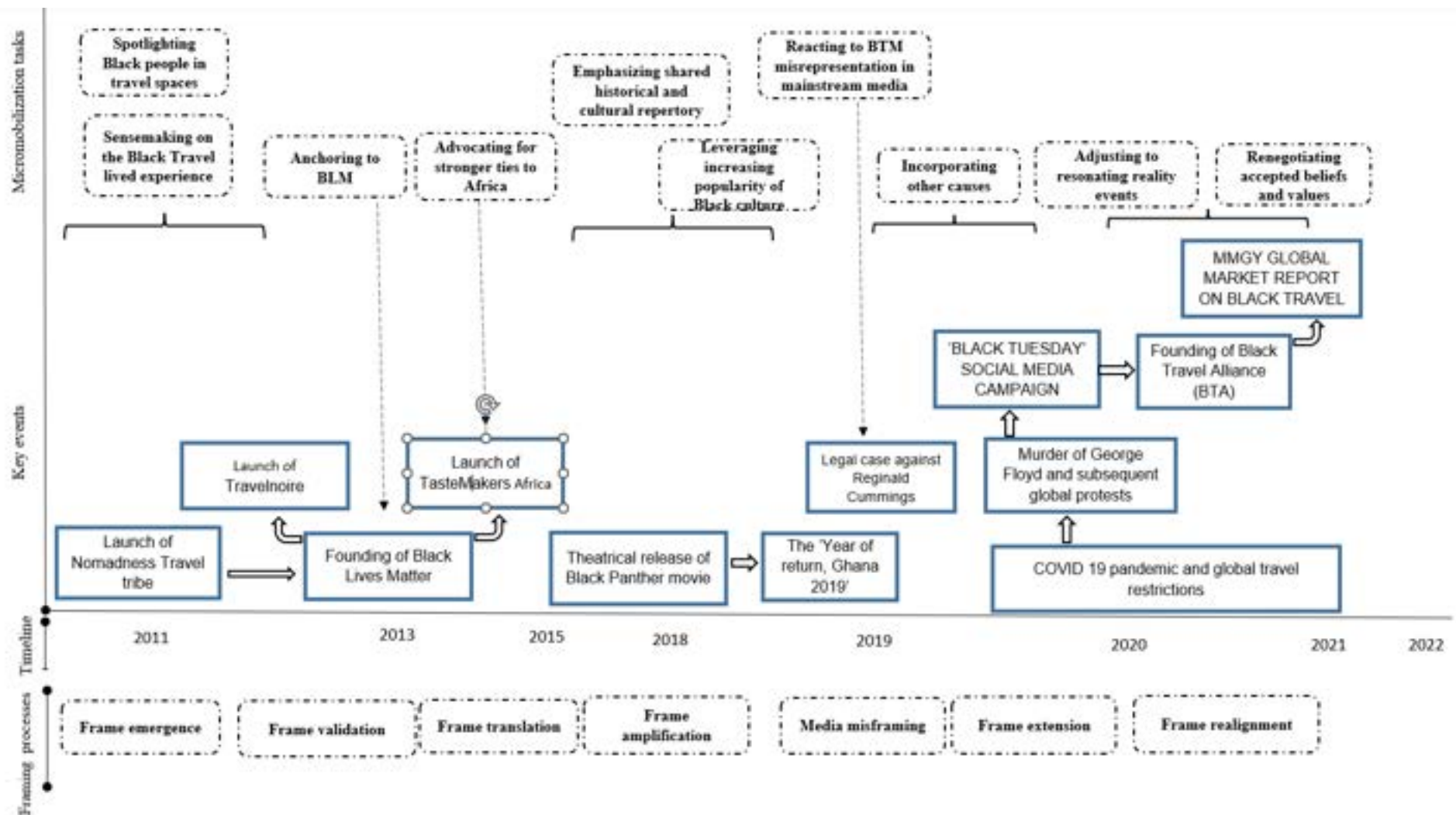
Figure 20- Temporal map of the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame

The temporal map in Figure 20 above illustrates the key contextual events and micromobilization tasks that informed the development trajectory over the indicative period. Furthermore, the map details the framing processes that provide theoretical relevance to the conceptual chunks of occurrences.

The temporal map shows how the Black Travel Movement, and by extension the Black travel injustice frame, emerged by spotlighting 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 injustice by anchoring onto the popular Black Lives Matter injustice frame. Subsequently, the Black travel injustice 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 and increased target mobilization towards the Black travel injustice frame. 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 frame emerged in 2020 following Blackout Tuesday and was shepherded by the Black Travel Alliance 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 Black travel injustice frame, as promoted by BTM actors, was realigned into the BIPOC travel injustice frame as represented by the new Black Travel Alliance.

4.5. Analysis of the #Blacktravelmovement hashtag

Although this study is conducted as qualitative process research, I decided there was potentially some analytical utility in providing a secondary, quantitative overlay to the qualitative analysis of the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame. Such quantitative statistics could provide a more retrospective and potentially projective view

into the emergence of the action frames over the focus period of eleven years (i.e. January 1, 2011, to December 31, 2022).

In order to generate this quantitative data, a graphical depiction of the performance of the #Blacktravelmovement hashtag on Instagram would provide further insights on the impact of key events on the frame's development. However, due to API restrictions for the Instagram platform, there were no sources for Instagram data on hashtag performance over this study's January 1, 2011, to December 31st, 2022, timeline. Therefore, this study elected to examine Twitter data for a similar period and commissioned Keyhole, a Canada-based social media analytics company, analyse the #Blacklivesmatter hashtag from January 1, 2015, to December 31st, 2022, which was the maximum which its API configuration allowed.

Given the different characteristics and affordances of Twitter and Instagram highlighted earlier in this study, I did not expect there to be a direct equivalence or comparability between the hashtag analytics of Twitter and Instagram as hashtags are used differently for each platform. For instance, on Twitter, according to Bruns and Burgess (2011), hashtags are interpreted as a means of stringing together continuous text on similar subject matter. However, in the case of Instagram, hashtags are perceived to represent "…participation in a community or provide context for an image" (Sloan and Quan-Haase, 2017: p4). Therefore, it can be surmised that the affordances of Instagram being focused on visuals and incorporating hashtags help expand the reach and engagement with Black travel content given the highly visual nature of travel.

However, the sample of graphical illustrations below demonstrate that the performance of the #Blacktravelmovement hashtag on Twitter across a range of metrices do provide some interesting retrospective insights on the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame. These insights are especially relevant where juxtaposed around the five key temporal or contextual markers identified in the BTM timeline, which are : 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. Figures 21-24 below depict graphical illustrations of the performance of the #Blacktravelmovent hashtag on Twitter from January 1, 2015, to December 31st, 2022

Figure 21--Performance of #Blacktravelmovement on Twitter from January 2015 - December 2022 (Source- Keynote, 2023)

Figure 21 above provides an overview of how the movement's hashtag performed over the focus timeline, looking at metrices such as posts, users and reach while the graph in the figure plots the growth trend of tweets (posts) including, and engagement with, the hashtag over time. The graph is calibrated on the X axis indicating the January 1st (start point) and July 1st (mid-point) of each of the 8 years examined (i.e. January 1, 2015; July 1, 2015; January 1, 2016….to July 1, 2022) and this represents the 16 points on the X axis. In the graph, the engagement and posts are plotted as a trend line and histogram respectively to distinguish between the two variables.

From the figure above, it is evident that the number of posts or tweets that included the hashtag was highest in 2019 while the level of engagement with the hashtag peaked in mid-2020 and the early months of 2021. This corresponds with the contextual markers of the Year of Return and the post-George Floyd murder protests which have been observed to be periods where emotions were heightened among the target population of Black travellers. Interestingly, the heightened engagement between 2020-2021 could also be attributable to another contextual

marker which was the commencement of the COVID-19 global economic lockdown in March 2020 and how this enforced period of solitude and inaction resulted in increased engagement with social media content. Lastly, the use of the #blacktravelmovement hashtag tapers off from mid-2021 which supports the findings from the qualitative research where the realignment of the Black travel injustice frame towards a wider BIPOC audience reduced emphasis on just Black travellers.

Sentiment

- Positive   39 %
- Neutral   57 %
- Negative   4 %

Sentiment Score   90.21

Figure 22--Sentiment analysis of #Blacktravelmovement on Twitter from January 2015 - December 2022 (Source- Keynote,

Figure 22 focuses on the sentiment analysis of the tweets that futured the hashtag. Interestingly, the sentiment score is high at 90.21, with positive and neutral posts having 39% and 47% shares, respectively. This suggests that the use of the hashtag has not necessarily been for community building and meaning-making activity but to categorise and maintain conversations with the topic of the Black travel movement. This observation aligns with how hashtags are used on Twitter (Bruns & Burgess, 2011) as a textual-based enabler of extended conversations, while it is used to foster community engagement on Instagram (Quan-Haase & Sloan, 2017).

Social Media Post Types

- Original   77 %
- Reply   1 %
- Retweet   22 %

Figure 23-Social media post types of #Blacktravelmovement on Twitter from January 2015 - December 2022 (Source Keynote, 2023)

The specific differences in the characteristics of Twitter are also evident in Figure 23 above which depicts the type of tweets that occurred over the period. Only 1% were replies, while 77% and 22% were original posts and retweets, which supports the assertion that hashtags on Twitter are meant to facilitate conversations and discourse. However, the significant volume of retweets indicates the success of the motivational framing activities of BTM actors where movement targets were encouraged to share their content across their social media to expand its reach and level of engagement to enhance target mobilization.

Location

Figure 24-Locations where #Blacktravelmovement was most used on Twitter from January 2015 - December 2022

Finally, Figure 24 depicts the countries where people engaged with the #Blacktravelmovement hashtag. Countries where engagement with the hashtag was most prevalent are represented by a dark, cobalt blue colour while the countries with lesser engagement are indicated with a sky-blue colour. The countries that have a grey colour template are those where engagement with the hashtag were minimal or zero.

As expected, the United States was the main country where the hashtag was used the most given that the Black Travel Movement started out in the United States and the Black travel injustice frame initially emerged as a localized collective action frame. However, the evidence of engagement with the hashtag across most continents supports this study's findings that the frame is a boundary-agnostic and global collective action frame given the identification with the #Blacktravelmovement hashtag across different continents.

4.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter set out to investigate the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame through providing a chronological account of the contextual markers and framing processes that shaped the Black Travel Movement, whose growth trajectory mirrored the evolution of the frame's diagnostic and prognostic positioning. Through the analysis of archival data, Instagram data and transcripts of participant interviews, this

chapter identified the key framing concepts and micro-mobilization tasks that charted the development of the Black travel injustice frame within its specific cultural context. As a way of summarizing the findings, a summary table of the key framing processes and their empirical illustrations along with a temporal map were provided. The chapter concluded with a brief analysis of the #Blacktravelmovement hashtag using data from Twitter to serve as a reliability check on the development of the BTM over time.

Chapter 5 - Social-symbolic work practices within the Black Travel Movement

5.1. Introduction

Following the analysis of the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame in the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on unpacking the social-symbolic work (SSW) practices underpinning the development of the Black Travel Movement (BTM) and , by extension, the Black travel injustice frame which was articulated by the key actors behind the BTM. Following initial analysis of the archival data, recurring patterns of social symbolic work, specifically emotion and identity work, were induced to be evident and embedded in the multimodal framing activities conducted by BTM actors on their Instagram platforms. The Black Travel Movement content creators and entrepreneurs are found to view themselves as influencers and approach the selection of images for content creation with the intention to generate specific emotions that induce emotional resonance to their objective and engender collective identification to their cause.

To explore this emergent point of theoretical inquiry, 710 Instagram posts were visually analysed adopting an iterative method of close multimodal reading (Karsgaard & Macdonald, 2020; Hautea et al., 2021; Rose, 2022) which allowed for interpretative work to be conducted at 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, so as to identify and map patterns of emotion and identity work practices. The findings from the visual analytical process were coded thematically as described in section 3.6.2.

In the following sections, this chapter would start with a discussion on how the audience engagement activities of BTM content creators could be understood as social-symbolic work practices and subsequently present a table that details the emotion and identity work micro and macro-practices which emerged through the triangulation of the findings from the Instagram and interview data. Several of these practices have already been covered in the literature (e.g. Barbera-Tomas et al., 2019) while others have been induced from the case study and serve to extend existing literature in line with this study's theory building approach.

5.2. Macro and micro practices of emotion and identity work in the Black Travel Movement

From the findings from the audience engagement activities of BTM actors on social media (See Appendix 5), it is evident that a level of intentionality exists behind the posting behaviour of BTM content creators. Furthermore, their audience engagement activities were

designed to generate emotional energy amongst their target audience and to foster collective identification that leads to the growth of the online community of followers. These observations emerged from a preliminary analysis of the Instagram data set and led to the choice of a theoretical perspective on social-symbolic work. This theoretical lens explains the purposeful and reflexive practices of the BTM actors towards maximising their target mobilisation efforts.

The findings on the observed emotion and identity work aggregate practices, micro practices, and first-order themes are illustrated in Table 7 (repeated from Section 3.6.2) and the data coding structure is depicted in Figures 25 and 26 below. The social-symbolic work practices highlighted in purple font in Table 7 are the emergent emotion and identity work practices induced from this study and included in existing repertoires of practices.

Table 7-Data structure table of Social symbolic work practices in the BTM

Aggregate social symbolic work practices	Social symbolic work micro practices	First order codes
Facilitating energetic arousal	Inspiring individual motivation	● *Positioning travel as beyond just leisure* ● *Showcasing the joy of travel*
	Triggering collective emotions	● *Inspiring collective excitement* ● *Generating Moral shock at racial prejudice*
Channelling moral emotions	**Expressing need for change**	● *Sensegiving on negative aspects of the Black travel experience* ● *Calling out lack of representation*
	Demonstrating support for objective	● *Spotlighting Black travellers showing support for Black travel* ● *Spotlighting mainstream industry support for Black travel*
Enabling collective identification	**Building communities and safe spaces**	● *Emphasizing credibility of movement actors* ● *Highlighting collaboration within Black travel community* ● *Reminiscing on shared historical and cultural roots*
	Highlighting economic power of the Black travel community	● *Stressing spending power of Black travellers* ● *Encouraging patronage of Black-owned businesses*
Articulating emergent identity threats	**Emerging differences in grievance interpretation**	● *Celebrating Blackness* ● *Promoting shared struggle against discrimination* ● *Demonstrating understanding of Africa's challenges*
	Differing imaginations of the future	● *Channelling nostalgia for Africa* ● *Emphasizing need for own travel industry*
Reinforcing identity salience	**Highlighting benefits of community membership**	● *Providing career tips and support* ● *Channelling job opportunities to community*
	Embracing plurality within movement	● *Acknowledging heterogeneity of the BTM* ● *Addressing shared battle against discrimination*

Figure 25-Data coding structure of emotion work micro-and macro-practices

First order codes

- Celebrating Blackness
- Promoting shared struggle against discrimination
- Demonstrating understanding of Africa's challenges

- Channelling nostalgia for Africa
- Emphasizing need for own travel industry

- Providing career tips and support
- Channelling job opportunities to community

- Acknowledging heterogeneity of the BTM
- Addressing shared battle against discrimination

Social Symbolic work micropractices

- Emerging differences in grievance interpretation
- Differing imaginations of the future
- Highlighting benefits of community participation
- Embracing plurality within movement

Aggregate social symbolic work practices

- Articulating emergent identity threats
- Recognizing and addressing identity salience

Identity work

Figure 26--Data coding structure of identity work micro-and macro-practices

Each of the practices and themes in the diagrams above are discussed in further detail below.

Emotion work practices

5.3. Facilitating Energetic arousal

Under this aggregate emotion work practice, the actor intends to instigate an intensification of emotion that prompts the target to be more amenable to the BTM actor's objective of collective identification with the movement's tenets. The Black Travel Movement is an online movement that uses a variety of social networking sites (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, TikTok etc.) to engage with its target audience. However, the Instagram platform is its primary social media platform because travel and tourism are regarded as a visual experience. Also, the characteristics of Instagram enable audiences to vicariously experience the travels through journaling on Instagram and use of geotags and hashtags to drive audience engagement.

The importance of the visual characteristics of Instagram to BTM content creators was well articulated by Participant #8, a Nigeria-based Black travel entrepreneur who runs a travel agency focused on bringing increased visibility to Nigerian tourist destinations, where he says:

> You can't just describe a destination like Obudu [cattle ranch] without showing somebody the image. So, it is like selling half of the destination just with the content without the pictures …that's what social media has done…It's like 100%. That's the real push nowadays because half of the time we just read about some of these destinations. See two pictures of Great Wall of China. But now that you have technology with virtual reality, artificial intelligence, you have augmented reality in travels and tourism, you can virtually take a 360 tour of the museum. Though the power over the social media with the image that you've seen every day. (P#8)

The quote above reveals how visually engaging content disseminated via Instagram help illuminate tourism destinations, such as Obudu cattle ranch, one of Nigeria's premier tourist attractions, and facilitate more patronage from tourists. This is due to the photo editing features of the Instagram application and its algorithm, which enable the creation and wide dissemination of aesthetically pleasing visuals to gain the most engagement from audiences.

Another important feature that drives the typical user experience on Instagram is the continuous vertical scrolling function. Given the volume of images scrolled through at any time on Instagram's photo feed, users are more likely to be drawn to pause their scrolling at posts with images that either contain material of interest to them or are simply visually attractive.

Therefore, BTM content creators pay attention to the aesthetics of the photos in the selection and dissemination of images to ensure that their content attains wider reach and engagement.

Therefore, to establish an emotional connection with potential targets, BTM actors chose certain aesthetically pleasing and visually attractive images that embody meanings that are expected to resonate with audiences of a shared lived experience that are expected to interpret reality through similar cultural and historical contexts. One of the practices through which BTM actors seek to connect with target audiences individually and collectively is by selecting images that demonstrate the transcendent nature of travel that evoke emotions of love and desire to inspire the target audience to prioritize travel. These images are intended to trigger emotions such as pride in those who are already traveling and desire in those that do not to inspire them to travel.

Beyond these individual inspirations, these images are also meant to also generate collective inspiration in inspiring not just a single person but groups of people to seek to travel such as families, corporate organizations and clubs etc. This was the case in 2013, during the early years of the emergence of BTM, and in 2019, during the Year of Return, where images of Black travellers engaging in leisure travel were disseminated with the aim of generating emotions of pride in what Black travellers were able to achieve, and also a desire for leisure travel.

However, it is not necessarily always positive emotions that are the target but sometimes the intention of BTM actors is to facilitate the arousal of negative emotions such as anger. This is because such negative emotions could generate feelings of moral outrage that prompt adherence to the actor's cause and a feeling of an obligation to enact the objectives of the movement. Such a generation of moral emotions was evident in the audience engagement with Instagram posts by various BTM actors during the days, weeks and even months following the murder of George Floyd on May 25th, 2020.

These emergent micro-practices of individual motivation for travel and triggering collective emotions are further discussed below, including supporting empirical evidence.

5.3.1. Inspiring individual motivation

This practice refers to how images and text were circulated by BTM content creators to purposefully generate emotions of love, joy, pride and desire that are intended to motivate audiences to seek out travel opportunities actively. These images are meant to position travel as being emancipating and freeing from the monotony of daily life and to showcase the joy

experienced when travelling. The findings on this practice can be grouped under two main empirical themes which are: <u>positioning travel as beyond just leisure</u> and <u>showcasing the joy of travel.</u>

Positioning travel as beyond just leisure

Travel was once viewed as the exclusive preserve of the wealthy segments of society and was hence inaccessible to large sections of society. However, in recent years it is becoming more accessible with increases in disposable income, diverse range of budget flights and holiday packages, along with an increasing demographic of millennials and Generation Z that are prioritizing travel. One of the Black travel movement's main objectives is to improve Black travellers' visibility in tourism and travel spaces to compel industry gatekeepers to prioritize Black people in their travel products, destination marketing and recruitment.

So, to achieve this, BTM movement actors first seek to intensify emotions around the importance of travel and the need to engage with it. This theme was a constant across all the 10 BTM actors, with each actor aligning their selection of images to fit their audience. For example, Figure 27 below is a picture taken from Tastemakers Africa's Instagram feed that depicts a monochrome image of a Black man with a travelling bag slung across his shoulder and standing outside what appears to be the door of his house.

Figure 27-Emotion work theme-positioning travel as beyond leisure (Source-Instagram @tstmkrsafrica, 2015)

The text in the image states, "He who takes no risk does nothing, has nothing as is nothing" and the caption just has the words "Just saying…" along with tags of the person pictured and other hashtags. The post's message is essentially that while travel to Africa is deemed as dangerous, life is risky so one can either stay at home or leave their house and experience the endless possibilities of travel. This message appears to have resonated with 116 people liking the message, including Nomadness Travel Tribe, another key BTM actor, and one commenter saying "Gotta rp that" which is a colloquial way of saying "You have to respect that". This suggests an emotion of pride in what the man in the post had done and other commenters have shared the post by tagging others who they feel would benefit from the message.

Showcasing the joy of travel

On a related note, beyond looking at the more philosophical and existential aspects of travel, people would be more likely to gravitate towards activities which they find pleasurable. Travel represents a joyful experience where one can see unfamiliar places, rediscover themselves and build shared experiences with friends and family. This joyful and fun angle to

travel is important for inspiring others who do not travel to begin to consider engaging in leisure travel. Also, by sharing evidence of having these joyful experiences on Instagram and getting followers to do the same, this in turn inspires people not just to travel, but to seek to share these travel experiences with others via sharing using the travel hashtags popularized by the BTM content creators. This serves to achieve the objective of increasing the visibility of Black travellers in travel spaces. Participant #17, a leading BTM actor with a focus on millennials and Generation Z travellers, puts it this way:

> The black travel movement is the movement of the black diaspora. Two different places around the world with the intent of growth, joy and building community. (P#17)

In the quote above, the participant describes BTM's priorities as ensuring community growth and spreading the joy of travel among Black travellers. Interestingly, it affirms that collective identification is a core aim of BTM's audience mobilization efforts.

Therefore, to this end, BTM actors select images and construct narratives that showcase the joy inherent in travelling with the purpose of generating emotions of joy and excitement or travel. An illustrative example of this theme is seen in Figures 28 from Travelnoire's Instagram feed:

Figure 28-Emotion work theme- Showcasing the joy of travel (Source-@travelnoire, 2020)

The image above depicts a young and happy Black man leaping up in the air 😍 with colourful wood houses on stilts in the background. The caption reads "Black Boy Joy a radical act of resistance and commitment to self-care". In the comments, one commenter responds saying "Great shot…" in reference to the photo's aesthetics while another says "Yes!!!" in apparent agreement with the post's message. The post also garnered 4,302 likes including from @Jubril8, another prominent BTM actor.

The post in Figure 28 was made on June 7, 2020, while the furore around the murder of George Floyd was still at its peak. There, it has been purposefully arranged to both display the joy of travel, in order to generate emotions of joy and desire for travel in line with BTM's objectives, but also remain consistent with the prevailing mood of anger among Black travellers by positioning the joy of travel as a form of resistance against racial prejudice.

Figure 29 below also provides an example of an Instagram post posted post-George Floyd and designed to generate emotions of joy and desire for travel.

Figure 29--Showcasing the joy of travel (Source- @kelleesetgo, 2020)

This Instagram post is by Kellee Edwards and was posted on July 5, 2020. The image portrays her smiling at the curb of a road leading to a destination out of sight. The caption extols the joy of the outdoors and being "…a bit windblown and sun kissed" and the message appears to signal the joy of travelling and seeking to inspire a desire for travel among her audience.

It is noticeable that even though, this post was made following the George Floyd murder, the longer time difference allows the poster to focus more on the primary objective of enhancing the visibility of Black travel through inspiring joy and desire for travel rather than having the requirement to pay homage to an underlying contextual event.

5.3.2. Triggering collective emotions

Due to historical legacies of racial prejudice, incidences of microaggressions experienced at tourism destinations and their communal cultural characteristic, Black travel behaviour is observed to involve a group dynamic (Philipp, 1994; Carter, 2008). Therefore, to achieve their objective of increasing the visibility of Black travel, BTM actors diffuse, select and share images that show groups of people, such as family units, corporate organizations, etc., experiencing travel. The purpose of this practice is to get the target audience of Black

travellers to engage with the content and share with others to amplify the emotional reach of their message and enhance the visibility of Black travellers in tourist destinations through increased engagement in travel.

Two key themes emerged within this emergent code of triggering collective emotions: <u>inspiring collective excitement</u> and <u>generating moral shock at racial prejudice</u>.

Inspiring collective excitement

BTM actors sought to induce emotions of collective excitement given that their focus is on energizing the Black travel community. This intent towards emotional arousal is captured by Participant #2, an African American Black travel entrepreneur who owns a travel agency, podcast and room-rental app focused on the Black travel community, where he observes that:

> That's why you see black travel now on commercials and other, you know, different kind of things. And it's exciting for me and I think it's exciting because as a child, I don't remember seeing or feeling having the actual visceral feeling of a movement behind what it is that we were doing, whereas I see that a lot more now, so you know the description of it is it's, you know, when I say it's new people kind of bristle because they say oh, it's not new. (P#2)

This quote reveals the participant's excitement about viewing content created by BTM actors about the Black Travel Movement.

This intention to generate collective excitement was most notably prevalent during the build up to and aftermath of the Year of Return media campaign in December 2019 to commemorate the 400th year anniversary of the commencement of slavery. The topic of slavery is highly emotive among African Americans, and BTM content creators played on these emotions by designing and disseminating multimodal content via social media to galvanize African Americans and Blacks in the diaspora to come to Ghana in 2019 for the Year of Return event. For instance, Figures 35 and 36 below illustrate different ways through which BTM content creators used imagery to generate emotions of joy and excitement towards achieving their primary objective of increasing the representation of Black travel within the travel industry through both the increased visibility of Black travellers in tourist destinations and promoting African travel destinations.

Figure 30-Emotion work theme of triggering collective excitement (Source-@oneikaraymond, 2019)

Figure 30 above was posted during the Year of Return event in December 2019 by Oneika Raymond and the image depicts her and her friends reclining on an orange wall as they posed for a photograph. The caption amplifies the happiness of the women in the throwback picture where the poster expresses nostalgia for not being in Ghana to participate in the Year of Return and strives to generate excitement for the event by asking the audience if they were also preparing for the event. The audience response to the post is positive, receiving almost 2,000 likes and with one commenter putting up 5 heart emojis representing an expression of love for the message.

Figure 31--Emotion work theme of triggering collective excitement (Source- @tstmkrsafrica, 2020)

On the other hand, Figure 31 was posted by Tastemakers Africa on January 7th, 2020, about a week after the Year of Return month-long event in December 2019 and the image portrays a group of young Black men posing in front of a popular monument in Accra, Ghana, with their fists raised in the universal symbol of Black power, solidarity and resistance. The caption recaps the experience of the event and signals the importance of community with its mention of having over one thousand of its members flying to Ghana for the event. The message of the post seeks to relive the excitement of the event while buttressing the serious undertone of slavery and racial injustice which is at the root of the meaning of the event. The post was liked by 2,132 people suggesting that the message resonated with the target audience.

Generating moral shock at racial prejudice

Figure 31 displayed above echoes this empirical theme as it emphasizes how shared historical and cultural repertoires enhance the salience of the messaging from BTM content creators. This theme of generating moral shock against racial prejudice refers to the use of imagery and text that is geared towards triggering moral shock in the target audience with the aim of converting and directing this collective emotional energy towards the objectives of the proponent. Such moral shock could generate negative emotions such as anger, guilt, sadness and despair that would make the actor's call to action resonate more strongly with the target audience. For example, the period following the murder of George Floyd ushered in a narrative

anchor that was present in the narrative storytelling of all BTM actors on Instagram. This was a period of heightened emotional arousal which, combined with the COVID-19 induced global lockdown, provided BTM actors with a captive audience of Black people on whom to target with their emotion work practices aimed attributing responsibility to travel industry gatekeepers for the underrepresentation of Black travel.

Participant #14, a United Kingdom-based Black travel entrepreneur with a primary focus on Wellness travel, agrees on the transformational effect that the Goerge Floyd murder had on the BTM, stating that:

> You also have the Black Travel Alliance [that] were made in 2020 just after the murder of George Floyd. And there was a lot of sentiment on some of these travel companies are very performative, with what they're doing. They're putting these black squares on social media and denouncing the murder. But then on [their] press trip campaigns, on [their] media, in your journalistic trips, you don't have black people. You're it's. So, it seemed very performative. (P#14)

The quote above highlights the prevalent feeling amongst BTM actors that the travel industry was not genuine about its stance on racial justice. Therefore, the aim of the social constructed representations of real events by BTM actors through Instagram around this time was to infuse a different meaning register into the spectrum of meaning embodied by people's recollections of the event. In other words, although the prevalent anger in the Black community was directed at the police departments and general government apparatus, BTM actors sought to shift the nexus of causation to the Travel and tourism industry to achieve their agenda.

This practice is illustrated in Figure 32 below which features an image posted on Gabby Beckford's Instagram timeline that lists names of Black people murdered by police officers over the years.
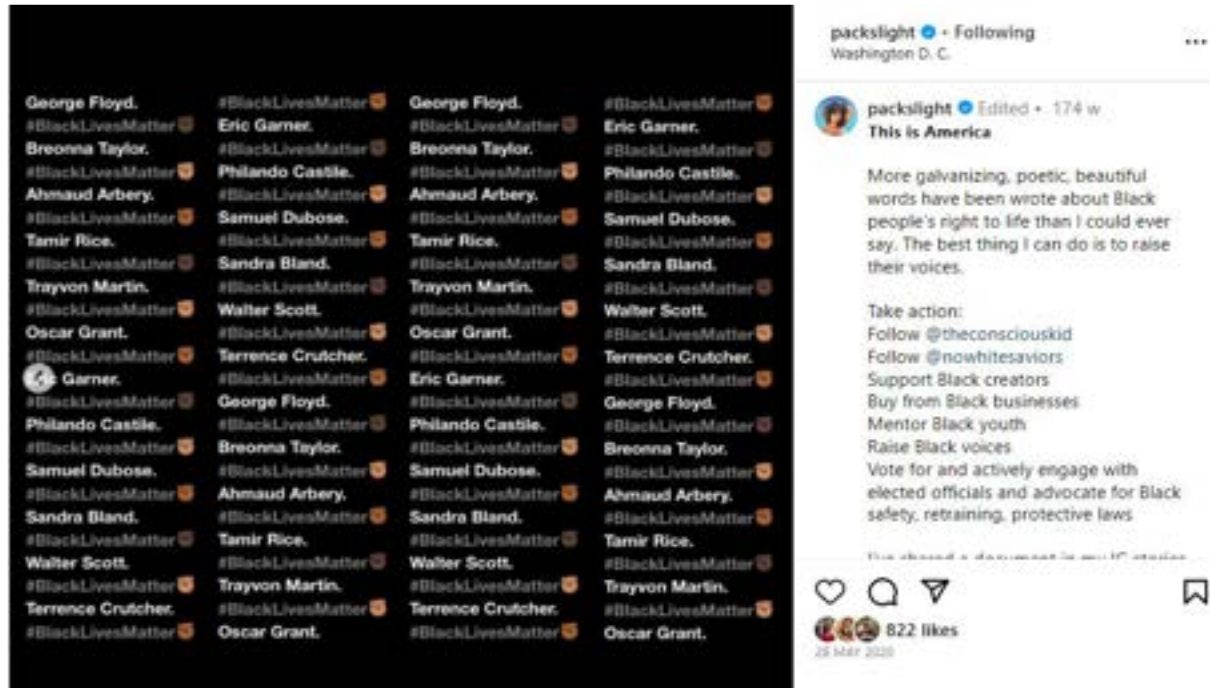
Figure 32-Emotion work theme-Generating moral shock at racial prejudice (Source-Instagram @packslight, 2020)

The caption interestingly then includes a call to action to support Black creators and buy from Black businesses alongside amplifying their voices. So, the emotion of anger generated is being repurposed and redirected away from government institutions towards building community which refers to 'Alliance', which is one of the three pillars of the Black Travel Alliance, alongside Accountability and Amplification, of which the poster, Gabby Beckford, is a founding member.

5.4. Channelling moral emotions

This practice of emotion-symbolic work involves actors seeking to deploy moral emotions instigated by the emotion work practice of energetic arousal and directing them at encouraging the target audience to enact their objectives. The two micro-practices identified under this aggregate practice were expressing the need for change and demonstrating support for the objective, and these are discussed further below.

5.4.1. Expressing need for change

Expressing the need for change is a form of emotion work practice observed in the Instagram posting behaviour of BTM actors whereby they seek to articulate and demonstrate the reasons why the change that they advocate is needed. The findings from the Instagram feeds of the 10 BTM actors analysed reveal that evidence of this practice can be categorized under

two main empirical themes: <u>Sensegiving on negative aspects of the Black travel experience</u> and <u>calling out lack of representation in the travel and tourism industry</u>.

Sensegiving on negative aspects of the Black travel experience

This empirical theme describes intentional practices aimed at educating Black travellers on the negative aspects of the lived experiences of Black travellers. This practice was one of the earliest emotion work practices performed by BTM actors at the movement's inception to frame the problem and attribute responsibility for its cause. This practice continues to be widely conducted given that BTM actors seek to educate audiences on the lived experience of Black travellers with the period following the George Floyd murder and the launch of the Black travel Alliance being periods where this practice was particularly prevalent. Participant #4, a pioneer BTM actor and leading BTM content creator, elaborates on the educating role of the Black Travel Alliance, stating that

> I know these people personally, they're not combative, but I would say that they are…Yeah… they're definitely aligned with the activism portion of the agenda. And also, I would say that they have also found it's interesting because they actually function as kind of like an agency. Like they're using dollars and cents and data as a way to tell the story, which I think is really important and they're doing in a way that it hasn't been done yet in the black travel movement. (P#4)

The education of audiences on Black travel was one of the central themes that emerged from the participant interviews with Participant #4 further observing that:

> You know, there has been a rush towards. Not just having black American travellers get back to the mother continent, but also to be educated while there, right? This isn't just I'm gonna show up and turn up. This is also like, OK, these are my people. This is where my people come from. (P#4)

This quote alludes to the aim not being to merely get Black travellers to travel and visit African destinations, but also to be educated while there on their real lived experience and to and to share this alternative narrative with others. Participant #13 echoes this viewpoint saying that.

> Because people, I think there was someone, you know, I'm not a scientist…But there is movement in terms of people. I've been educating and now they're educating their kids…you're seeing African Americans doing their DNA tests and they're more inclined. They're like, OK, I actually want to know about where I'm from. I wanna go back to the motherland. (P#13)

Therefore, BTM actors use combinations of images and text on Instagram to construct narratives around the Black travel experience to make people more intentional in their travel choices. This emotion work practice of sensegiving was uniformly applied on the Instagram feeds of all 10 BTM actors analysed. Figure 38 below provides an illustrative example of this practice as its was performed on Instagram:

Figure 33-Emotion work theme of sensegiving on negative aspects of the Black travel

Figure 33 above features a post from Gabby Beckford that features a screengrab of her tweet where she bemoans the lack of inclusion of Black travel creatives in tourism boards and the caption signals that issues such as these are the reason behind the launch of the Black travel Alliance, of which she is one of the founding members. The message from this content is meant not just to generate moral emotions but to advocate the need for change as represented by the actions of the Black Travel Alliance.

Calling out lack of representation in the travel and tourism industry

The image and text of Gabby Beckford's Instagram post featured in Figure 33 has the underlying theme of lack of representation which is at the heart of the motivation behind the Black Travel Movement. Therefore, this theme refers to how BTM actors use images to illuminate underrepresentation on Black people within the global travel and tourism industry.

One of the move obvious symptoms of the impact of this underrepresentation on the travel behaviour of Black people is the evidence of how destination marketing is done on the mainstream media. It is more likely for a white person or family to be the subject tourist of a destination marketing advertisement than a Black person. Where a Black person is included, it is often in a service role of a waiter, bar tender and hotel assistant which perpetuates racial narratives of white supremacy.

The consequence of such advertisements is that Black people do not see themselves represented in the adverts or destinations and are less inclined to respond to the marketing or brand message. This in turn would result in less Black people visiting those destinations and further fuel the self-fulfilling narrative that Black people do not engage in leisure travel.

Therefore, BTM actors demand more representation in the boardrooms of the travel industry as more Black people in decision making positions would help decolonize the travel and tourism marketing landscape. Participant #13, a British Black travel content creator and notable BTM actor, opines that:

> Yeah, I think there's two ways. It starts from the top. So, you've got like the on the influencer side. And I think that's like the marketing side, let's be honest. And that is actually representing bringing black influencers, travellers of colour, whatever. It's not just black, but what's my blackness here? So black travel colour, black experts, people like every people like, feel people like my team. And bringing these people to the table. (P#13)

In the quote above, the participant is emphasizing the importance of having Black people being part of the decision-making process which would allow the Black traveller perspective filter into decisions regarding product development and marketing.

Hence, BTM actors embed this message in their content creation process on social media and deploy images and text that call out the lack of representation in the travel and tourism industry in such a way that it generates moral emotions of anger and determination that are channelled towards demanding change from the travel industry gatekeepers.

Figure 34-Emotion work theme- Calling out lack of representation in the travel and tourism industry (Source-Instagram @theblacktravelalliance,2020)

Figure 34 above features a Black Travel Alliance Instagram post with a plain black image with the text, "BTA goal Eliminate Tokenism". The caption contextualises the message, explaining how the travel industry engages minimally with Black creatives and thus leaving them out from having an input on storytelling related to travel. This image and text are crafted to generate emotions of anger and feelings of frustration towards the travel industry who maintain the status quo and the need for change is explicitly expressed in the caption with the words "…we will no longer accept 'we cannot identify Black travel creators' because we are right here".

5.4.2. Demonstrating support for objective

Another way in which BTM actors seek to drive home the importance of the Black travel movement objectives and the need for the target audience to participate in the movement is by demonstrating how they live and reflect these ideals and objectives in their own lives. Because the movement actors realize that their social media platforms are not enough on their own to gain the amplification, and change, that they seek. Therefore, they push out Instagram posts that are meant to move the target audience to feel a need to enact the objective and amplify

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the message, either through their offline activities or on social media. Participant #5, a Black American BTM destination travel agency operator, had the following to say on the role of audience activities on social media for amplification of the BTM message:

> And then of course, social media played a huge role as well because…As these young people would go out into other parts of the world and post on social media, that was the lens that people were able to see through rather than just the television, where you're seeing only lions and giraffes and Africans babies. (P#5)

In the quote above, the participant refers to how images of travellers visiting Africa are gradually changing long held misconceptions of life in Africa. Therefore, there is the implication that real change in the travel industry could only be attained where all Black travellers collaborate and collectively identify with the movement to amplify the message of racial justice in the travel industry.

The findings on this emotion work practice revealed two themes: spotlighting Black travellers' support for Black travel and spotlighting mainstream industry support for Black travel.

Spotlighting Black travellers showing support for Black travel

As mentioned, BTM actors are keen to demonstrate that Black travellers support their movement objectives and are enacting these objectives by embarking on leisure travel. The movement actors pass on this image in several ways, such as by reposting images of Black travellers engaging in leisure travel or creating screengrabs of community feedback on their other social media platforms, such as Twitter, or direct messages on Instagram that show the audience understanding of the objective and intent to carry it out.

Another practice through which BTM actors sought to demonstrate audience allegiance to their cause was by singling out community members and spotlighting how they adhere to the objective in a post. For example, Figure 40 below is a post from Travelnoire's Instagram feed:

Figure 35-Emotion work theme- Spotlighting Black travellers showing support for Black travel (Source-Instagram @travelnoire,2020)

In the image in Figure 35 above, a Black woman in African native attire standing beside a Black man dressed in African warrior attire against the backdrop of a rural African setting. The caption explains that the Black woman is being featured as a Black traveller who understands the transformational impact of travel, has travelled solo to over fifty countries and is committed to educating other Black people on how they can enact the objective as well. The post is meant to arouse feelings of joy at what other Black people were doing and a desire for a similar experience. This message appears to resonate well with the audience of whom 1,576 people had liked the post.

Spotlighting mainstream industry support for Black travel

Asides from demonstrating support amongst the Black traveller community, some BTM actors strived to demonstrate that the movement's objective was beginning to achieve the desired impact through gradual changes observed in the way the mainstream travel industry engaged with Black travel. This was done to lay emphasis on their success in amplifying their message and to present an enticing opportunity to the target audience to join a winning team. The perceived efficacy of target mobilization efforts is an important factor for attracting future adherents to a social movement as the degree with which motivational framing activities

resonate or gain traction with the target audience reflects the credibility of the frame claim and the salience of the frame (Snow & Benford 1988; Benford & Snow,2000).

In the Black Travel Movement, the credibility of their objectives and the salience of their message in the mainstream travel industry is demonstrated through recognition for BTM actors in the form of brand endorsements with mainstream corporate organizations, coverage by mainstream media and increased representation in travel and tourism industry events.

For example, Participant P#4 provides this vignette that recounts her experience accessing an exclusive industry event that had hitherto been inaccessible prior to the global BLM protests following the murder of George Floyd:

> There's this one event that is big in the world of media, right? You can come in as an influencer community organizer, business, whatever. And you essentially, it's a co pitching and ultimately the goal is to get clients right. So, what was so crazy is that there are so many of us influencers and community leaders of colour and the travel industry who have been denied access to this event for years, years on end to the point where it was just like, this is like a joke…all of a sudden, last year, the month leading up to this event, not only did people get accepted, but they were also getting private invites and didn't even have to apply…and they were so like almost like aggressive at making sure that like we were there and try to fill up your schedule…it was so interesting to see the difference, right. (P#4)

This account above is revealing in that it supports the narrative around the extreme event of the George Floyd murder being an important field configuring event that spurred mainstream organizations to seek to signal their alignment with the Black Lives Matter cause. For example, Blackout Tuesday was a social media event on June 2, 2020, just a few days after George Floyd's murder, where organizations were prompted to post nothing but plain black squares on their social media timelines throughout the day to signify support for BLM's fight for racial justice.

This action was significantly adopted across the corporate world with many recognizable brands using black squares as their single Instagram post on the day. Organizations must have felt the need to do this because social media represents the attention of millions of socially conscious millennial and Gen Z customers who they determine to be sensitive around egalitarian issues such as social justice and racial equality.

Some organizations went forward to officially announce their diversity characteristics to signal that they were serious about increasing the representation of Black people within their organizations and this information was in turn diffused by BTM actors to their audience to

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generate an emotion of happiness that the community were achieving their goals. The Black Travel Alliance deplored this practice the most which is not surprising given that one of their main objectives is to demand accountability from the travel industry through self-reporting of their diversity statistics. Figure 36 below is an example of such practice on the Black Travel Alliance's Instagram feed:

Figure 36-Emotion work theme-Spotlighting mainstream industry support for Black travel (Source-Instagram @theblacktravelalliance, 2020)

The post above celebrates Stay the Night, a small US-based travel company, for participating in their #pullupfortravel campaign and the caption reports the diversity statistics shared by the company. The post garnered 331 likes, including from Gabby Beckford and Oneika Raymond, and a commenter posts a response thanking the brand for feeding back. Therefore, the message from the post is meant to signal that the travel and tourism industry was impacted by the advocacy efforts of the Black Travel Alliance and therefore demonstrate the credibility and efficacy of their goal.

5.5. Enabling collective identification

The primary aim of BTM content creators' purposeful actions on social media is to generate emotional resonance with their cause and foster collective identification with the movement. Collective identification is a desired goal as it serves to amplify the movement and,

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therefore, present a stronger prerogative to travel and tourism industry gatekeepers for positive engagement with the movement.

The link between emotion and identification is evident as the generation of moral emotions against a perceived injustice is likely more successful when the target audience feels an emotional connection to the person or issue. This could be likened to a football game whereby a player observes another member of his or her team being fouled by a player from the opposing team. The observing player in question has a high likelihood to feel a sense of moral outrage and feel a compulsion to revenge due to his or her identification with the team.

Similarly, BTM actors seek to generate an emotional connection between them and the target audience. They feel compelled to act in support of their objective due to their collective identification with the movement. These movement actors present the Black Travel Movement as a refuge and a safe space where Black travellers can find authentic and genuine collaborators and support systems. This recognition of the power of numbers and the need for collective identification within the BTM actors was one of the main themes in the participant interviews. For instance, Participant P#13 states that:

I feel like just a Black Travel Movement, everyone's just trying to help other people out for the better in the space of travel, which I just find inspiring. (P#13)

Similarly, Participant P#12, a Nigerian travel enthusiast living in the United Kingdom, adds that:

And the most important in having said that is collaborations and partnerships. That's the way the Black travel Movement can become bigger because …we need to start having more Black people, you know, [in high] positions and [with] authority to do bigger things. (P#12)

These quotes suggest an alignment between the movement actors and the target audience of Black travellers as they both share the understanding that collaboration would help amplify their voices on social media to gain the attention of the gatekeepers of the mainstream travel and tourism industry.

The emotion works micro-practices which underpin this practice within the BTM are building communities and safe spaces and highlighting the economic power of the Black travel community.

5.5.1. Building communities and safe spaces

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 engagement (Sloan & Quan-Haase, 2017) 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 collective identification of the Black travel community by maintaining an emotional connection through the aggregation and diffusion of Black 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, strengthening the emotional connection and facilitating collective identification.

Figure 37-Emotion work theme-Building communities and safe spaces (Source- Instagram @travelnoire, 2019)

The Instagram post in Figure 37 above from Travelnoire was posted on December 14, 2019, demonstrating this type of emotion work practice. The image depicts 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…". Also, the date of the post is relevant as it was posted in the same month that featured the culmination of the Year of Return media campaign which sort to enhance the identification of Black travellers with the African motherland.

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 emotional 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 the credibility of movement actors, highlighting collaboration within the Black travel community, and reminiscing of shared historical and cultural roots.

Emphasizing credibility of movement actors

The likelihood of movement actors enabling collective identification with their target audience and attaining emotional resonance with their objectives is increased if the legitimacy of the movement actor could be reasonably established. This is so because the proffered narrative of a movement actor is sometimes taken for granted where prospective targets have the assumption of belief due to the speaker's perceived credibility, which in turn legitimizes their claim. This is because people tend to believe others deemed more credible and seen to speak from a position of knowledge (Aronson & Golden, 1962). Furthermore, there is ample evidence that consumers are more likely to trust endorsements from those with whom there exists a personal connection (Cooley & Parks-Yancy, 2019).

Therefore, movement actors in the BTM leverage on the visual features of social media platforms like Instagram to regularly engage audiences with narratives that signify their legitimate position within the movement and establish a personal connection that enhances the salience of their message.

This emotion work practice involves the regular selection of images and use of captions that emphasize and enhance their status to the target audience and hence lend stronger credence

and authority to their story. Therefore, movement actors share content that either shows them living out what they preach or evidence their recognition by the mainstream industry.

Figure 38 below from Gabby Beckford's Instagram page provides one example of how she seeks to demonstrate her credibility.

Figure 38-Emotion work theme-articulating on credibility of actor (Instagram @packslight, 2019)

The above image depicts Gabby standing smiling behind a large red sign of TEDx. In the caption, she expresses her shock and pleasure at receiving this recognition of speaking on this highly reputable platform. The post is designed to signal her status as a recognized thought leader on Black travel to her community and therefore associate her image with that of this reputable brand. This serves to strengthen the identification her community have with her and enhances the importance of remaining part of her community.

Highlighting collaboration within Black travel community

Beyond enhancing the visibility of Black travellers through audience participation, BTM actors also sought grow collaboration amongst themselves to consolidate their online audiences towards generating greater visibility for their cause into the broader travel and tourism industry. This theme consists of the pattern of posting images that signify collaboration

among key actors in the Black travel space and show evidence of them supporting themselves in their influencing activities. This presents the sense of the movement having a shared goal and elicits emotions of pride and happiness among those who identify as Black travellers.

This collaboration within the movement is evident from the way the movement actors support each other's content through likes and reposts and through their participation in the Black Travel Alliance, an amalgam of BTM content creators who aim to amplify the representation of Black travel and Black travellers within the global travel and tourism industry.

Participant #16 captured this sentiment, a leading African American BTM actor, where she explains the motivation behind the Black Travel Alliance:

> Well, the Black Travel Alliance was specifically started for black travel professionals, and it was to ensure that black travel professionals had a level playing field to be as successful in the travel industry as their white, Asian, Mexican and in general as their counterparts. Because what we were seeing was that we weren't getting hired for the corporate jobs, we weren't getting hired for the campaigns. And if we were being hired, we weren't given the same amount of money or we weren't treated the same. (P#16)

Therefore, this quote suggests that collaboration among Black travel creatives improves their bargaining position and lends more credence to their advocacy for equal treatment.

Reminiscing of shared historical and cultural roots

In line with their objective to maintain emotional connections between the target audience and their cause, BTM actors seek to induce a sense of community by emphasizing Black people's shared historical and cultural heritage. The deployment of narratives around the shared historical and cultural bonds of Black people has been a common feature of the meaning making efforts of BTM actors since the emergence of the movement. Hence, BTM content creators actively use narrative storytelling around shared history or cultural connections, sharing of images of a historical or cultural nature that are intended to resonate with their audiences and arouse emotions of pride in the collective identity.

Such images often represent notable civil rights leaders, Pan-Africanists, and cultural icons that are easily recognisable to the target audience. The findings of this study reveal that images of Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana and prominent Pan-Africanist, Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first Black president, and famous African American civil rights leaders Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcom X were among the icons most featured.

Participant #4 explains the reason behind the use of historical figures in Black travel content

> We are doing that to our way and but it it's really to pay homage. It's to show respect, pay homage, but to make that connectivity of powerful leaders in the in the past and how they're affecting and the powerful leaders of today. (P#4)

The quote above signifies the intentionality behind the selection of these images as they are meant to create an association between the behaviour of past leaders and the expected behaviours of Black people today. Hence to drive this point home, these historical icons are captured in narratives within the context of travel such that it serves the purpose of making travel aspirational in the same way in which the audience are assumed to aspire to be like these historical icons.

Figure 39-Emotion work theme- reminiscing on shared historical and cultural roots (Source-Instagram @nomadnesstribe, 2020)

In Figure 39 above from @Nomadnesstribe, the image depicts an aerial photograph of thousands of people gathered in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC as part of the famous million-man civil rights march in August 1963. While addressing this gathering, Martin Luther King Jnr said the famous words, "I have a dream", which has gone down in history as one of the definitive speeches at one of the definitive moments of the history of the civil rights movement in the United States. The caption contextualises the image by saying that

57 years on the fight against racial injustice continues. This image was posted in August 2020, two months after the murder of George Floyd in May 2020, and Black Lives Matter protests were still being conducted around the world. The post is intended to arouse moral emotions of anger against racial injustice and express the need for unity among Black people. The poster seeks to translate this call for unity to building a collective of Black travellers to amplify the BTM's fight against racial injustice in the travel industry. A commenter responds with three black heart emojis suggesting the message resonated with the audience.

5.5.2. Highlighting the economic power of the Black travel community

Given that the Black Travel Movement aims to increase the recognition given to Black travel and Black travellers within the travel industry, they do this by pushing the argument that it made economic sense to engage more with Black travel. According to Participant #13:

> The Caribbean normally don't really target travellers of colour or black travellers in especially the more luxury or high-end space. They are targeting, you know, your white middle-class traveller, because that's kind of who they think is their audience. But look, there is a growing middle class of Black people who just want to travel and experience something. So why don't you tweak it and mark it and make the experience tailored to this type of travellers? …There's money to be made, but it's OK. We're around and the black travel movement can collectively we can collectively build that economy and keep going as we're doing. It's hard out, but we're doing it. (P#13)

The quote above highlights the importance of having travel and tourism products that address the authentic Black travel experience. However, mainstream travel brands would not be incentivised to do this without a robust economic imperative. It would be a more straightforward pitch for movement actors to tell travel and tourism brands to include Black people as the subject of their marketing if these organisations felt that there was an economically viable market segment to be served that is worth the investment.

Furthermore, target audiences are more likely to view the Black Travel Movement as an endeavour worthy of their time, if they had the sense that the BTM had the requisite wherewithal to achieve the change they seek. Black travellers would also feel emotions of pride and feeling of belonging where there are positive affirmations of the economic power of the movement which would incentivize them to identify with the movement. The two ways in which BTM actors were observed to conduct this practice on Instagram was by stressing on the spending power of Black travellers and encouraging the patronage of Black-owned Businesses.

Stressing spending power of Black travellers

The BTM actors aim to counter the narrative that Black people do not engage in leisure travel which is believed to be one of the precepts on which the underrepresentation of Black travellers in the travel and tourism industry has been based. Therefore, BTM actors are keen to disseminate content that portray evidence of the economic viability of the Black travel segment.

This objective to amplify and educate the purchasing power of Black travellers was one of the founding tenets of the Black Travel Alliance (BTA). Therefore, in 2019, the BTA commissioned MMGY global, a market research company, to research the Black travel segment. This research was published in 2020 and provided revealing statistics of the economic power of the Black travel sector and the BTA and other BTM content creators widely diffused this. This practice of emotion work was meant to arouse emotions of joy and pride amongst Black travellers, underline the efficacy of the movement's objective and foster collective identification with the BTM.
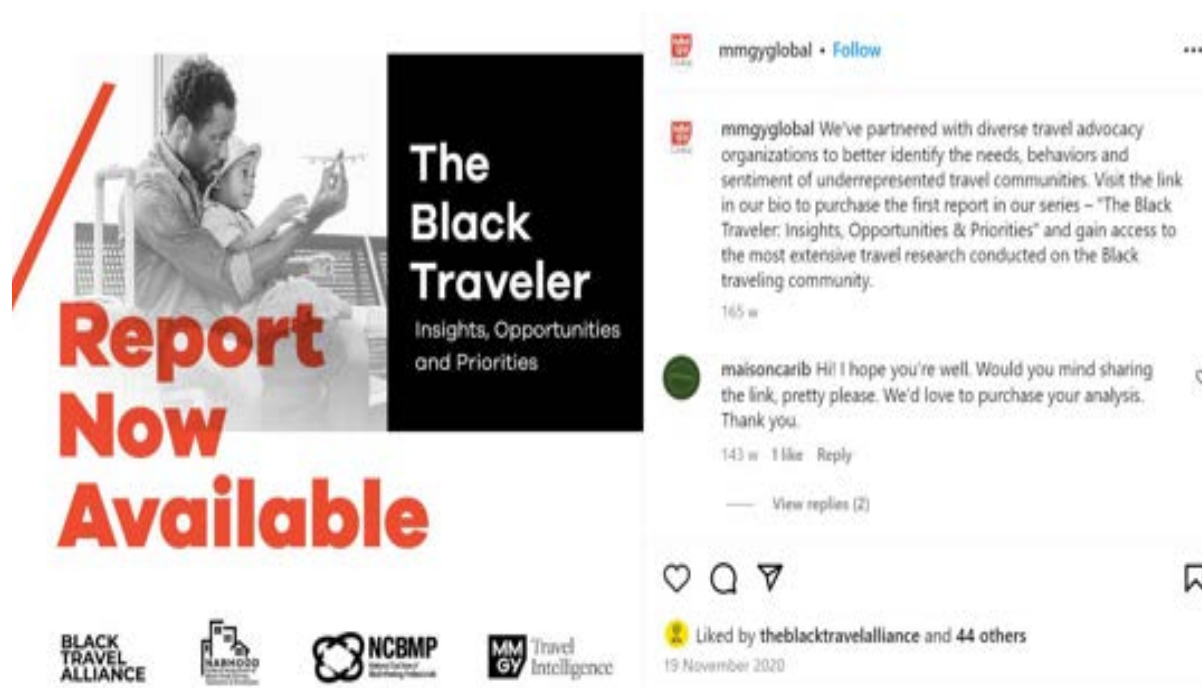
Figure 40- Promotion of the Black Traveller report by MMGY (Source- @mmgyglobal,2020)

Figure 41-Emotion work theme- Stressing spending power of Black travellers (Source-Instagram @theblacktravelalliance, 2021

Figures 40 and 41 both feature Instagram posts promoting the MMGY report on the Black Traveler. Figure 40 shows an Instagram post from the publisher, MMGY Global promoting their published report and the post was liked by BTA amongst other followers. Figure 41 shows an Instagram post from the Black Travel Alliance and includes an image of a group of Black women overlayed by text stating that Black travellers spend $129 billion annually on travel in the United States alone. This post is meant to arouse pride among Black travellers in being part of this booming Black travel economy, strengthen their emotional connection to the collective identity of the Black travel Movement, and to incentivize more engagement from the mainstream travel industry with the movement to achieve its goals.

As mentioned above, the target audience for the post is also the wider travel industry who are being provided an economic rationale, asides from the moral imperative of tackling racial discrimination, to pay attention to the Black travel market. Participant #3, an African American and pioneer BTM actor, echoes this sentiment when she was asked for her thoughts on whether the mainstream travel and tourism industry would eventually engage with BTM, to which she tersely responded:

"Yes…because Black people are spending money." (P#3)

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Encouraging patronage of Black-owned businesses

Another theme which emerged from the findings concerning highlighting the economic power of Black travellers is to encourage patronage of Black-owned businesses. This practice is meant to complement the other as while in the one hand you are increasing recognition of the spending power of Black travellers, BTM actors also wish to direct more of this spending towards the Black community so that it acts as a force multiplier that further amplifies the size of the Black travel market.

So, in purely economic terms, the first theme on stressing the spending power of Black travellers could be said to emphasize the demand side, while encouraging patronage of Black-owned travel businesses is propping up the supply side of the Black travel sector. BTM content creators engaged in this form of emotion work practice by selecting and posting images and text that spotlight or profile Black-owned brand and encourage the audience to patronize them out of emotion of pride and a sense of collective identification.
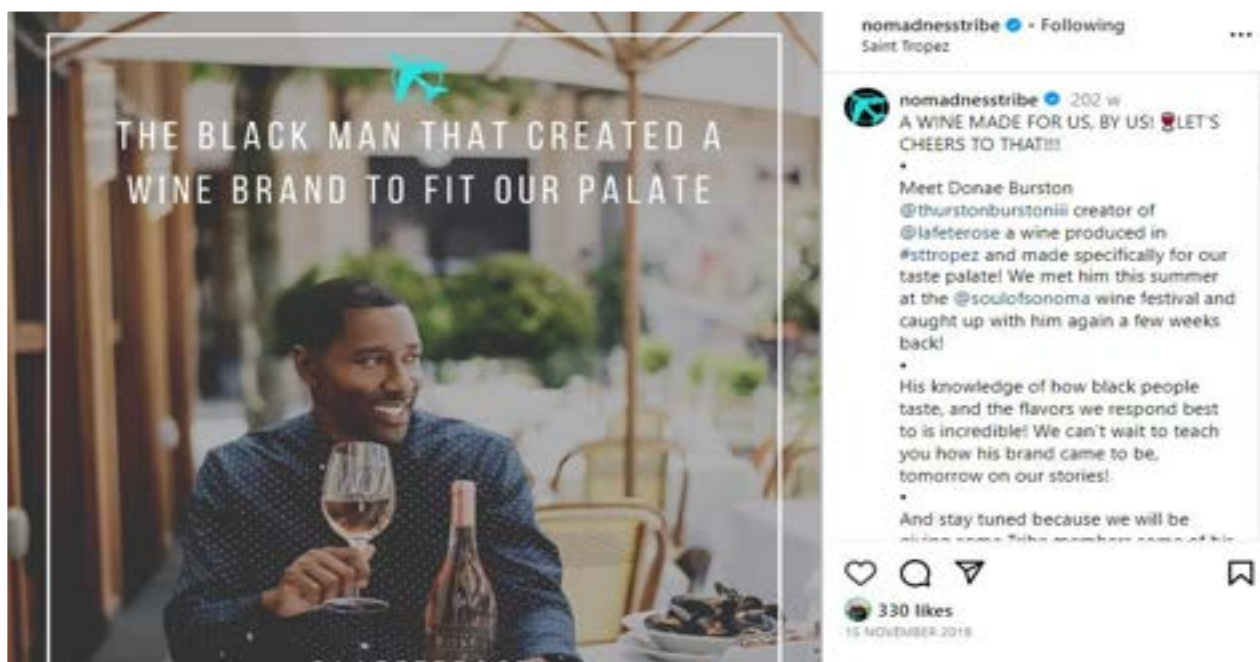
Figure 42-Emotion work theme-Encouraging patronage of Black-owned businesses (Source-Instagram @nomadnesstribe, 2019)

Figure 42 above is taken from the Nomadness tribe Instagram feed and depicts a Black man holding up a wine glass and has text saying, "The Black man that created a wine brand to fit our palate". The caption starts with the phrase, "A wine made for us by us…" and profiles the company. This post is meant to arouse emotions of pride and to encourage patronage due

to having a shared emotional connection to the brand based off both being part of the collective identity of Black people in the leisure and travel space. This agenda aligned with the prevalent mood at the time of posting as it was posted during the Year of Return media campaign that advocated a return to Africa and patronage of African tourist destinations, specifically Ghana.

In conclusion, the findings above have provided evidence that support the conclusion that BTM content creators engaged in emotion work practices through their construction of narratives and selection of images that are posted on their Instagram feed. Such purposeful and reflexive actions were conducted to facilitate the arousal of both positive - such as joy, pride and desire for travel during the Year of Return media campaign-, and negative emotions- such as anger which was the case following the murder of George Floyd.

The generation of emotional energy was observed to be heightened around key temporal markets during the BTM timeline, particularly the Year of Return media campaign of December 2019 and the aftermath of the George Floyd murder in May 2020. During such periods, elevated emotional resonance was observed to drive increased target mobilization as establishing and strengthening the emotional connection between the movement actors and targets was seen to facilitate collective identification with the movement.

However, given the expansion of the Black Travel Movement across national, geographical, ethnic and generational lines, it was also observed that over time the emotional attachment could waiver due to changes hierarchy of needs, meaning interpretations or sociocultural nuances. Furthermore, the efficacy of emotion work practices could also be impacted by emotional fatigue due to dilution of the message due to any of the causes highlighted previously or simply due to the passage of time.

This concept of potential emotional fatigue in response to the meaning making work of movement actors in the BTM was highlighted by Dillette and Benjamin (2021), the leading researchers in the field of Black travel, who posit as follows:

> This is not a new narrative or novel concept; however, with the ease and accessibility of tools like social media, marginalized groups have created vibrant counternarratives to help promote their own "human capital" and, simultaneously, bring awareness in educating audiences who may be oblivious of their struggles. However, this may add another layer of emotional labour to their cause and fatigue from reliving their own traumatic experiences of persecution, while continuously acting as educators of Black history and the Black American experience." (Dillette and Benjamin, 2021: p.473)

This quote implies that the downsides of fatigue from emotional labour expended by these BTM actors as they socially construct their story presents a challenge as the moral emotions generated through linkages to historical and cultural roots and extant struggles for civil rights are difficult to maintain through the conduct of further emotion work practices in perpetuity.

Furthermore, as local collective action frames amplify rapidly across geographies to become global collective action frames through social media, maintaining the emotional resonance of the frame across divergent objectives, ethnic heterogeneity, and geography-specific peculiarities tend to dilute the emotional impact of the narrative with the target audience over time.

For instance, Participant #17, a leading African American BTM actor, reflects that:

I think that [the Black Travel Movement] is still such a vague amalgam… I like the concept of a black travel movement, like in general, it's getting black people to travel the world more. But I think that if there was more definition to it, and more of a mission behind it a collective mission that a story told that everyone can get behind, I think it would be stronger (P#17)

This quote suggests that over time the Black Travel Movement has come to have different meaning interpretations which have diluted the potential impact of the movement and leading to a level of disillusionment among the key actors. This has led to differing interpretations of what the Black travel Movement represents and resulted in the emergence of the Black Travel Alliance which aims to address mission drift and clearly articulate the movement's diagnostic and prognostic framing priorities. These tensions within the movement have led to ambiguity around the Black travel frame as divergent objectives lead to different meaning patterns within the movement.

Hence, to address these risks, other purposeful actions are required to maintain the credence of the BTM frame in an increasingly globalized and diversified Black traveller population. Such practices represent remedial identity work conducted by BTM content creators to maintain the emotional connection and collective identification with the movement. These practices of identity work observed within the Black Travel Movement are discussed further in the next section.

Identity work practices

As mentioned in the previous section, addressing the dilution of the emotional resonance of the BTM frame among the target audience requires a different form of social-symbolic work, known as identity work. Within the specific cultural context of the BTM case, this practice involved performing a series of purposeful and reflexive actions by BTM content creators aimed at articulating emergent identity threats and reinforcing identity salience. These practices are discussed further below:

5.6. Articulating emergent identity threats

The success of remedial identity work conducted by BTM actors on social media to maintain collective identification to the movement objectives relies on identifying and articulating emergent identity threats. These threats can, where left unchecked, dilute the emotional connection of target audiences to the emotion work practices of BTM content creators and could result in the diminishing of the credibility of the Black travel injustice collective action frame. The maintenance of the collective identity of the BTM can be impacted when the emotional resonance of the Black Travel Movement frame is threatened by cultural, ethnic, geographical and ideological differences amongst movement adherents.

Such differences in interpretations of reality give rise to identity threats such as differences in grievance interpretation and differing imaginations of the movement's future. To this end, BTM actors engage in patterns of identity work practices using images on Instagram to both seek to articulate these differences to provide comfort to existing and potential adherents that their diverse concerns were both recognized and acknowledged.

Two main identity work micro-practices are observed to occur within this practice, and these are emerging differences in grievance interpretation and differing imaginations of the movement's future.

5.6.1. Emerging differences in grievance interpretation

Snow et al. (1986) emphasizes on how the tendency to assume uniformity in the way movement adherents ascribe meanings to events and situations means that less attention is paid to how "differential interpretation, and the fact that variations in their interpretation across individuals, social movement organizations, and time can affect whether and how they are acted upon" (p.465). Therefore, to the extent that the success of collective identification is contingent on an established emotional connection between movement actors and target audience, then maintaining that emotional connection is necessary to avoid dilution due to

differences in the interpretations of grievances.

For example, there are sections of the Black traveller audience that dismissed the Black Travel Movement as more of a concern of African Americans and not directly applicable to other Blacks, say, in Africa or the Caribbean. For instance, Participant #1, an African American traveller, asserts that

> As someone who's in the United States, for me, Black Travel movement is I'm thinking about it primarily in the context of Black Americans, but I imagine there's things that can apply for, you know, people in in Europe and really across the nation. But I only feel like I have the perspective on the United States that being said. (P#1)

Such dichotomies in meaning interpretation have the potential to water down the emotional resonance of the BTM identity with Black people in different geographical areas or of different ethnic origins.

Therefore, BTM actors engage in remedial identity work to emphasize that the concept of Blackness goes beyond skin tone but is something that represents the shared Black culture. They emphasize how Black culture, such as its food, music and fashion, is increasingly being accepted globally and celebrate the shared heritage of Black excellence. Participant #13, a second generation British BTM actor with Nigeria heritage, states that

> Blackness has become a normal…I feel like, yeah, people are really stirring towards blackness and black cultures because when I say blackness, I don't want to cancel me. But, you know, there's. It's not just one race. But when I say blackness, the cultures that exude blackness, and that's done predominantly, of course, the Caribbean and Africa. So, it comes from the Caribbean and Africa. So that's where people kind of wanna manoeuvre to and get a feel of it and experience it. (P#13)

This quote is revealing as it touches on both the defined problem and the proffered solution. In the first part, the participant celebrates how Blackness has become 'normal' given the increasing exposure of other cultures to Black culture through social media platforms like Instagram and TikTok. Nevertheless, it also shows signs of the underlying dichotomy where the participant ascribes true Blackness to Africa and the Caribbean. However, the overwhelming sentiment among BTM actors is "…to celebrate Black excellence and travel, to show that Black people are out here," (P#16). Hence, to maintain collective identification, BTM actors conduct identity work to reassure movement adherents that their meaning interpretations are acknowledged and signal that the BTM provides a large enough umbrella to incorporate these differences.

BTM actors seek to achieve this by incorporating these views in their content creation and through their support signal to devotees of the requisite persuasion that they all form part of the same whole that is the Black Travel Movement. These purposeful efforts are grouped under three themes: Celebrating Blackness, promoting a shared struggle against discrimination and demonstrating an understanding of Africa's challenges. These three themes are discussed below.

Celebrating Blackness

As the BTM frame rapidly amplified and transitioned from a local, mainly US-based, collective action frame to a globalised frame following key events such as the Year of Return media campaign and the George Floyd murder, movement actors sought to make their objectives more representative of their diverse target audience. For instance, BTM influencers incorporate images into their content that are intended to generate an emotion of pride and a sense of shared identity among Black people of all hues and other people of colour.

This practice is conducted on Instagram through the selection and diffusion of images that celebrate Blackness, normally signified by images of Black people with dark complexions, and trying to infuse the meaning that while other races may see such a picture and have a negative reaction, the 'Blackness' reflects the shared heritage and collective identity of Black people.

Figure 43-Identity work theme- Celebrating Blackness (Source- Instagram @tstmkrsafrica, 2020)

Figure 43 above posted by Tastemakers Africa provides an illustrative example. The post includes an image of a Black woman with very dark skin tone and wearing native attire, smiling as she poses for a photograph in an outdoor setting. The caption reads "This is also us" and is passing on the message that Black people should be unapologetically Black and proud of their identity. The message here is targeted at everyone with a trace of Black ethnicity. It addresses the grievances of mixed-race ethnicities and Blacks of fairer complexions who are sometimes subject to discrimination from other Black people which could have the effect of limiting their emotional connection to the BTM. This message resonates with the audience with 1,736 people liking the post and commenters putting up messages demonstrating expressed emotions of love and pride.

Promoting shared struggle against discrimination

To support the objective of the BTM to grow its alliances and amplify its message, there was a need to address the grievances of communities that the BTM actors were seeking to attract or mobilize to their movement. These include other communities of colour and those faced with non-racial discrimination such as those that face sexual discrimination, ageism and ableism. This objective intends that by fostering a general climate against discrimination, their

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objective to address racial prejudice in the travel and tourism industry would also be achieved. Furthermore, with the socially conscious Generation Z segment of the community now maturing to enter the workplace and flex their spending power, BTM actors are compelled to cater to a wider scope of grievances to present an inclusive space for all members.

Figure 44-Identity work theme-promoting shared struggle against discrimination (Source-Instagram @nomadnesstribe, 2019)

Figure 44 above from @Nomadnesstribe depicts a young Black woman seemingly touching the tip of an Egyptian pyramid. The caption addresses the feminist cause for gender equality, which resonates with the black travel community, of which the majority are female. Through this post, the poster signals recognition of this grievance and, by using a Black woman at a tourism spot, also signals that this grievance was not divorced from the broader objective of the BTM to promote Black travel. This post received 2,221 likes, which indicates a resonance of the message.

Demonstrating an understanding of Africa's challenges

Due to shared cultural and historical roots, Africa has always been a subject that resonates with most Black people globally. BTM actors have always emphasised this connection to Africa in its emotion work practices associating the shared historical link to Africa with the collective identity of the Black Travel Movement. However, the approach of

several BTM actors is to try to facilitate the arousal of moral emotions through imagery of slavery and the civil rights movement would not necessarily generate emotional energy in Black people who do not share the lived experiences and collective memories of African Americans.

This is because these issues of the legacy of slavery and the civil rights movement are not issues that make the top echelons of the hierarchy of problems facing Africans. Regarding emotional arousal, the average African traveller would be more aroused by issues surrounding corruption, poor government institutions and economic realities. This sentiment is captured by Participant #10, a Nigerian Black travel tour operator, who opines on the cultural impact of the Black Panther movie:

> Black Panther was timely. It came out at a time where people were ready of acceptance of Africa and for me, I will think the acceptance of Africa is the fancy part of Africa…It's not a case whereby you would find them properly doing stuff for Africa, like the African countries or them going all out to the villages other than follow-ups, obviously. So, for me…this doesn't show the poverty, the poverty in in Africa, it doesn't show it. It shows the fancy life. It shows a nice life. (P#10)

The quote above alludes that Africa is romanticized by African Americans who do not have a real understanding of the African lived experience. Therefore, to maintain the emotional connection with Black travellers from Africa and maintain their sense of collective identity with the wider Black travel population, BTM actors actively deploy images and messages via their social media channels that demonstrate understanding and support for these causes.

Figure 45-Identity work theme-demonstrating understanding of Africa's challenges (Source-Instagram @tstmkrsafrica, 2015)

For example, Figure 45 above from Tastemakers Africa shows the map of Africa on a plain green background with text saying "I am Africa. No to Xenophobia". The caption indicates this is a repost from a South African content creator. The poster, of African American origin, has supported the person in growing their reach and engagement. South Africa is known to have a major issue with xenophobia against Black Africans from other African countries. Black people in South Africa, who are already economically disenfranchised and impoverished, were keen to take out their frustrations on other typically more affluent African immigrants who they view as competing with them for resources. This sometimes sparks into wide-scale violence, especially in the townships, and is a major social issue that is well known on the African continent.

However, xenophobia in South Africa is not as well-known as other more publicized issues, so Tastemakers Africa is indicating with this post that they understand the trauma of their South African members and that all members should seek to be educated on the topic as they are all 'Africa' and part of the same collective identity.

5.6.2. Differing imaginations of the future

While the Black Travel Movement is centred on improving the visibility of Black people within the travel and tourism industry, there is less agreement amongst BTM actors concerning what the movement's future would look like. There is a section of the BTM that

seek a future where the Black traveller is more recognised and represented within the mainstream travel industry in terms of better representation in the boardrooms, media advertising and product development.

For example, Participant #4 states that

I think the whole movement really is about amplifying the representation of black and brown voices around the world in the tourism industry. It's about letting people know that we belong everywhere (P#4)

Similarly, Participant #15 observes that

I'm being careful here because what you don't want is to set another black travel movement, another black travel alliance and other, you know, I think it's important to look at institutions. I think existing institutions are quite powerful and they are places where we can have more influence. And so just like Edward [Enninful] is the editor of Vogue, right. And because he is editor of Vogue UK, he's been able to do a lot for the black people. Right. I think he has been [able] to do a lot more than if he set up his own black vogue, for example, or black competitor to vogue. So, I think it's important that we don't compete with existing institutions, but we look at how we can change them and how we can help them to evolve. (P#15)

The two quotes from different participants agree that the movement's objective should be to secure a larger slice of the travel industry for Black travel rather than set up a parallel travel industry to cater to Black people.

There are however other BTM actors that desire a future Black travel sector that is run by Black people for Black people and exists as a separate entity from the mainstream travel sector. They foresee a future where the Black Travel Movement leads to establishing a Black travel market populated by Black travellers and serviced by Black-own airlines and travel businesses. This viewpoint is related to longstanding thinking and longing, particularly among African Americans, for a return to the African motherland where Black people dealt with other Black people.

For example, Participant #14 states that

I feel positive and buoyed by the fact that we are no longer accepting to be left out of conversations and as a as a people we are like OK. We don't need your table, or we will create our own, you know, especially with Umm. As I said, the travel groups and Africa Tourism Club, you know, myself trying to make safe spaces for Black travellers, to feel included, and that they are seen. (P#14)

Similarly, Participant #5 argues that

I mean, for me personally, I follow all of the major black travel influencers that I mentioned… But I also think that they should put themselves in the position where …we can start creating our own airlines… You know. What does that look like? What does a black airline look like? A black international airline. The establishment of more black owned hotels,

restaurants, cruise ships. You know, I feel like there's so much room and there's so much to be taken advantage of in the travel industry that black people haven't really tapped into yet. It's like, yeah, we've been doing a lot of the traveling, but a lot of us need to be more like [Noir BNB] and create our own. (P#5)

The above quotes from Participants #14 and #5 indicate that they are not averse to Black travel having its own travel industry that is separate from the mainstream industry and provides an authentic travel experience designed by and for Black travellers.

While the predominant view within the BTM is to aim for increased representation within the travel industry, those sections of audience with differing imaginations of the future could potentially feel alienated, resulting in them distancing themselves from the BTM. Therefore, BTM actors perform remedial identity work practices through the posting of images and text on Instagram that accommodate this alternative perspective of the future of the BTM by channelling the shared nostalgia for Africa and emphasising the need for their own travel industry. These two themes are explored below:

Channelling nostalgia for Africa

African Americans have a longstanding yearning for closer relations with the African motherland. This has its roots in the social movements of Marcus Garvey who founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League and promoted the narrative of African Americans eventual return to their motherland. During the era of President Trump, this sentiment was gathered more adherents as African Americans felt excluded from the status quo.

Therefore, some BTM actors aim to address emergent identity threats by sharing images that emphasize this historical link to Africa and advocating for closer ties to the African continent, which is the home of all Black people. This is because, despite potential differences in imaginations of the future of the BTM, there exists the shared identification with Africa as the original home of all Black people.

This sentiment is supported by Participant #2 who states that

[Africa] has to be the overall goal, because otherwise, what are we talking about, right? Otherwise, it's not necessarily black travel, it's just American travel that some black people happen to be Americans who are traveling or it's just UK travel. That's something people happen to be black UK people traveling. But this specific thing that we're talking about, right, black travel where, you know, we have people going to destinations like Year of Return in West Africa or like the Trinidad Carnival, which is a big black travel destination every year. (P#2)

This quote urges a focus on Africa as a form of authentic travel for Black people and this viewpoint is widely shared by African Americans and culminated in the momentous success of the Year of Return media campaign by the Ghana Tourism Authority. The participation of African Americans in this event was lauded by Participant #4, who says, "…That's really been like, the coolest thing to witness is like Africa is a priority now for Black American dollars." (P#4).

On a similar note, BTM actors deploy imagery on their Instagram feeds that generate nostalgia for Africa and strengthen the emotional connection to the continent and, hence, to the collective identity of the BTM.

Figure 46-Identity work themes-channelling nostalgia for Africa (Source-Instagram @oneikaraymond, 2019)

This practice of identity work is illustrated in Figure 46 above from Oneika Raymond, which features an image that depicts her in an embrace with an elderly Black woman with both smiling. The caption starts with a quote that says, "The only man that I envy is the man that has not been to Africa – for he has so much to look forward to…". The post presents a message of fulfilment and tranquillity that one can experience on the African continent. The post is meant to arouse emotions of love and joy that strengthen the emotional connection to Africa being representative of the Black collective identity. The post received 1,728 likes, suggesting that the message resonated with the audience.

Emphasizing need for own travel industry

As mentioned previously, an imaginary of the future that has gained credence among Black people is the need for Black people to have their own travel industry that offers authentic travel experiences provided by Black people for Black people. This imagination of having a Black-only travel industry helps enforce the collective identity of Black travellers represented by the Black travel Movement and so BTM content creators construct narratives on Instagram that allude to this alternative future which serves the dual purpose of recognizing elements of the Black travel audience that share this view and also reinforcing the collective identity that a separate travel industry represents.

Figure 47-Identity work theme-Emphasizing need for own travel industry (Source-Instagram @nomadnesstribe, 2020)

Figure 47 above from Nomadness Travel Tribe illustrates this practice. In the image is a monochrome picture of a Black couple with the text "When they didn't want us, they created their own" and the clenched fist symbol of Black solidarity/resistance placed at the top left-hand corner of the image. The caption recalls how a Black couple started their own cattle ranch for Black people after Black people had been excluded from owning ranches in Los Angeles. There are obvious parallels between this situation and the current situation where Black travel remains underrepresented within the mainstream travel and tourism industry. So, the message here is that Blacks travellers should unite to create the change they want to see.

5.7. Recognizing and addressing identity salience

The emergent identity threats analysed in the previous section risk impairing the emotional resonance of the BTM actors' emotion work activities. This development could lead to a diminished salience of the Black traveller identity due to the dilution of the emotional connection between the movement actor and the target audience. Therefore, BTM actors must complement their emotion work with remedial identity work to maintain the identity salience or prominence of the BTM among its target audience. The micro-practices that support this identity work practice are the highlighting the benefits of community membership and embracing plurality within the movement.

5.7.1. Highlighting benefits of community membership

This identity work practice involves selecting and sharing images on Instagram that reinforce to the target audience the gains of being part of the Black travel community. In this instance, the BTM actors seek to generate extrinsic motivation from the target audience to maintain their allegiance and identification with the community. This micro-practice of identity work has been observed to take place in two forms: <u>Providing career tips and support</u> and <u>channelling job opportunities to the community</u>.

Providing career tips and support

To incentivize the target audience to identify with the movement and keep engaging with their content, BTM actors needed to enhance the salience of the BTM identity by promoting the empowerment benefits that are the exclusive preserve of community members. This could be in the form of career tips, exposure to their businesses, and even giveaways, which are a way of giving back to the community.

Figure 48-Identity work theme-Providing career tips and support (Source-Instagram @jessicanabongo, 2017)

Figure 48 above from Jessica Nabongo shows an image of her on the beach and the caption announces a giveaway in collaboration with a travel brand, where the audience stand to win certain items for performing a range of tasks. This practice of giveaways is quite common on social media and has become one of the standard ways through which content creators reward their followers for their attention. It usually involves the audience performing certain actions that help further the reach and engagement of the poster's page. In the BTM, this practice is conducted from the entrepreneurial angle of increasing engagement with the content and enhancing audience identification with the Black travel movement.

Channelling job opportunities to community

Yet another way of reinforcing the Black traveller identity was to provide employment opportunities that were targeted at the community and not to the public, either initially or permanently. Therefore, given that the demographics of the Black Travel Movement are predominantly millennial and Generation Z, the potential of exclusive access to employment opportunities from BTM actors and related organisations presents a compelling value proposition to engage with the content continuously.

Figure 49-Identity work theme- Channelling job opportunities to community (Source-Instagram @theblacktravelalliance,2020)

Figure 49 above is from the Instagram feed of the Black Travel Alliance and depicts the text "Weekly Opps" against a plain black background. The caption prompts the audience to review the week's job opportunities. The post represents to the target audience a weekly opportunity to have timely access to job opportunities given their position as community members. Therefore, by continuing to follow and engage with the page, the audience have the benefit of potentially accessing a paid job opportunity because of their status as members of the Black Travel alliance.

5.7.2. Embracing plurality within movement

While the last theme, i.e. channelling job opportunities to the community, was tailored towards generating extrinsic motivation in movement adherents to foster collective identification with the BTM and its objectives, the BTM actors also sought to trigger intrinsic motivation by embracing plurality within the movement. As mentioned earlier, through the expansion of its scope of membership and the passage of time, the Black travel movement now had a wider spectrum of adherents. Therefore, remedial identity work was required by BTM actors to ensure that, irrespective of any differences, all those who identify as members of the movement felt included and part of the community.

To this end, BTM actors engaged in practices that emphasised the central purpose of the movement which is to address a perceived injustice which is the lack of representation of Black travellers within the travel and tourism industry. Such a message is intended to maintain emotional connection and collective identification to the BTM because the common theme among the different populations within the movement was a shared desire to address an injustice. Therefore, BTM content creators incorporate diverse injustices in their visual storytelling on Instagram to reinforce the salience of the BTM identity as a collective identity assembled to fight against injustice. They do this by acknowledging that the BTM was not a monolith and by addressing a shared fight against discrimination.

Acknowledging BTM is not a monolith

While the emphasis of the Black Travel Movement initially solely focused on Black travellers and their challenges within the travel and tourism industry, BTM actors have acknowledged the need for the BTM to be seen to be inclusive of all strata of Black society such as mixed race, African, Afro-Caribbean etc. Participant #4 lends support to this perspective

> Yeah, I. But I think it's also substantiated what I said earlier like we're not a monolith, right? You can be a black person in America. But just because you're black doesn't even mean you're American, right? Like it's like you have Caribbean, you have African West African, East African, like, we're just we're all over and none of us are a monolith. (P#4)

Therefore, BTM actors seek to deploy images that include Black people of all hues, ethnicities and nationalities in order to signify that they are all identified under the umbrella of Black travellers.

Participant #14, a British BTM actor of Nigerian heritage, agrees with this viewpoint, suggesting that the Year of Return brought about a sense of oneness for Black people

> I think it felt like a calling home, and I think especially for, you know, as British people more most of us would identify. We know our roots, but there are people in the Caribbean and in America who just, you know, they don't, they're just American, they don't know where they're from and there's that discontent with that because there are others in America that African American, they're not seen as American, but then they don't know where they've come from. So, I think, like, this was such an amazing campaign, it gave me a lot of pride. Like, I've been to Africa [before] myself, but I wanted to go specifically to Ghana for this, but I love the idea of this and of Afro nation it. It's just so beautiful. (P#14)

From the above quote, it is evident that the gathering of Black travellers from all over the world as part of the festivities surrounding the Year of Return in Ghana aroused pride

at Black people's being united and together as a collective identity. In the quote, the participant acknowledges that although in Ghana they were all a collective, she also acknowledges that those of different ethnicities had different lived experiences.

This sentiment of understanding and acceptance of unity in diversity is the message that BTM actors seek to convey in their identity work to achieve identity salience.

Figure 50 -Identity work theme-acknowledging BTM is not a monolith (Source-Instagram @theblacktravelalliance, 2020)

For instance, Figure 50 above from the Black Travel Alliance contains text that advocate for the audience to educate themselves of the histories of Black people in Africa and in the Caribbean. The message of the post is that Blacks in Africa and Caribbean are also members of the same family so the audience should seek to know them and make them feel understood and heard. This post is meant to signal to the African and Caribbean segments that their unique histories form an important part of the beautiful tapestry of the collective identity of the Black Travel Movement.

Addressing shared battle against discrimination

As the BTM expanded its scope of membership from Black travellers only to Black, Indigenous and People of Colour (BIPOC), the movement actors recognized the potential of identity drift due to different segments of the movement having differences in their lived travel experiences. Therefore, BTM influencers performed purposeful actions that were

meant to ensure that the salience of the BTM identity was maintained through given recognition to different struggles against injustice within its movement. Participant #4, a pioneer BTM actor, notes that

> We're very big on amplifying the black and brown voices, but also holding the industry accountable through data and providing an olive branch to the larger BIPOC community. So, we're talking about Latin X Asian, you know, Muslim travellers, you know, indigenous travellers, we and that olive branch out and give our stage over to them (P#4)

This quote implies a decision to open the Black Travel Movement to new members who all share the common denominator of being discriminated against.

Figure 51-Identity work theme-addressing shared battle against discrimination (Source-Instagram @oneikaraymond, 2019)

Figure 51 above provides an example of this identity work practice designed to convey a shared struggle against discrimination. The image is from an Instagram post by Oneika Raymond on Instagram where she, a Christian, stands looking upwards with an Arabic mural in the background. The caption delves into the topic of islamophobia in Paris and seeks to educate the audience on the size of the Muslim population in France. As is typical with social-symbolic work practices in the BTM, the caption maintains the context of travel and touches on the beauty of the Grand Mosque in Paris. Therefore, this post is infused with meaning

regarding a beautiful landmark to visit in Paris, the social issue of islamophobia and the inclusiveness of the movement that accounts for all faiths, ethnicities and sexual persuasions. The post received 3,240 likes, demonstrating a strong resonance of the message of inclusion and plurality as other audience members express support for their Islamic brethren.

5.8. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to convey the revelations from the Instagram data analysed on the emotion and identity work practices that BTM actors conduct with the objective of arousing moral emotions that are channelled towards enabling collective identification of the movement and its objectives. Insights were also obtained from the remedial identity work that BTM actors conducted to address emergent identity threats and maintain identity salience in a shifting landscape of grievance interpretations, demographic characteristics, and imaginations of the future. These social-symbolic work practices were observed to be conducted sequentially to support the development of meaning within the Black travel injustice collective action frame.

Chapter 6 - Discussion

6.1. Chapter introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical and empirical contributions of the findings of this research and the implications for practitioners in the travel and tourism industry in the ever growing, global attention economy. In doing this, the chapter would address this research's objectives and provide insights that address the research questions, which are designed to unpack the meaning-making processes that underpinned the growth trajectory of the Black Travel Movement which mirrors the development of the Black travel injustice frame of which the BTM actors where the primary proponents.

To conceptualise this, I weave together the findings from the investigation of the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame across five contextual markers and the examination of the emotion and identity work practices performed by movement actors on Instagram. The outcome of this analysis is discussed with a view to theorizing on a processual model that investigates how combinations of social symbolic work practices underpin frame development processes within the specific cultural context of the Black Travel Movement case study.

To achieve this objective, and in line with this study's theory building approach, I develop a theoretical framework that illuminates how emotion and identity work practices, which were conducted at the nexus of multimodal framing processes, socially construct the meaning of the Black Travel Movement globally via social media.

This chapter will first discuss the theoretical and empirical contributions and then conclude with the practical implications.

6.2. Theoretical contribution

My primary contribution of this study is towards the framing processes behind societal issues whereby it responds to calls for more research into the framing of societal issues on social media (Klein & Amis, 2021) and addresses calls for more mechanism-based theory building (Davis & Marquis, 2005). Societal frictions and grand challenges, such as racial inequality and extreme poverty, remain in the fore of public discourse and the onset of social media has democratised access to information and allowed for hitherto excluded voices to be heard. The Black travel injustice frame emerged predominantly via social networking sites such as Facebook and Instagram when Black travel influencers, content creators and

enthusiasts began to agitate online to mobilize support among Black travellers to address perceived racial injustices inherent in the global travel and tourism industry.

Social media is recognized in the literature as being fundamental to the instant dissemination of framing efforts with the purpose of influencing the meanings ascribed to real events by movement targets. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) assert that the successful mobilisation to a frame relies heavily on its portrayal in the media, which is influenced by rooted cultural preferences and biases. Furthermore, in the SAGE handbook of digital journalism, Witschge et al (2016) opine that digital media enables the real time framing of real events that, where resonance occurs, attains global virality in hours.

Hence, this study set out to gain insights into how the key proponents of BTM were able to mobilise support for the Black travel injustice frame on social media. One criticism of the framing approach is that it does not delve sufficiently into what motivates interactants to seek to create new frames or modify existing frames (Lorino et al., 2017). This study addresses this gap by utilising a qualitative processual approach to investigate the framing processes that underlie the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame.

6.2.1 The framing processes underpinning the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame

The findings from this study suggest that the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame was constructed across five contextual markers, which are: 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. This claim that reality events impact on the development trajectory of collective is supported by Lorino et al. (2017) who assert that specific temporal occurrences signal the displacement of extant dominant frames (Lorino et al., 2017).

The primary proponents of the Black travel injustice frame are the Black travel influencers, content creators and travel entrepreneurs who are the key actors behind the Black travel Movement (BTM). The BTM initially emerged out of the disparate and organic influencing actions of Black travellers on social media who sought to address the social problem of racial injustice, specifically the lack of visibility of Black travellers in travel and tourism destinations and media marketing. Following on from this diagnosis, these actors set

out to present a counter narrative that better represented the authentic lived experiences of Black travellers and to demonstrate that Black people do engage in leisure travel. However, the sensemaking of the early Black travel influencers struggled to amplify beyond a small niche as leisure travel did not sufficiently resonate with a Black population as a strong enough issue like other popular grievances such as police brutality, institutional racism and civil rights. Therefore, this initial apathy amongst Black travellers for the diagnostic and prognostic framing activities of BTM actors negatively affected the valence of the nascent Black travel injustice frame.

This assertion that variances in grievance interpretation can impact on the target mobilization actions of movement actors has support in the literature as Snow et al (1986) bemoans the theoretical blind spot of focusing only on grievances and their 'social psychological manifestations' (p.465) while ignoring the variations in the subjective interpretations of those grievances across different populations. Furthermore, Klandermans (1989) posits that mobilization is based more of one's interpretations of grievances than the actual reality of them.

More recently, Simmons (2014) draws on evidence gathered on the 2000 Bolivian water wars to conclude that grievance interpretation is laden with meaning so social movements need to understand that certain claims may resonate more than others based on the meaning ascribed to them by a population. Also, Gamson (2022), in his recent study on injustice frames, postulates that there does not exist universal agreement among social movement scholars around the ability of researchers to empirically define the impact of a sense of grievance on the efficacy of frames.

However, the launch of the popular Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in 2013, targeted at fighting against police brutality and racial injustice in the United States, demonstrates how the affordances of social media platforms support the instant diffusion of political agitation and consciousness where there exists a 'violation of expectations' which generates a ground swell of moral indignation. The viral nature of the messaging of BLM proponents and the increased audience engagement with the emerging BLM injustice frame provided movement actors with a platform to articulate the diagnosis of the problem as around the fight against racial injustice in the travel and tourism industry to get more traction for their agenda. This process of frame validation enabled BTM actors to articulate and anchor their nascent collective action frame onto the more popular Black Lives Matter (BLM) injustice

frame, thereby leveraging on the groundswell of emotional anger among Black people to aid target mobilization.

To enhance and maintain the emotional resonance of, and collective identification to, the new Black travel injustice frame, movement actors sought to deepen associations with Africa and leverage of the extant nostalgia for the African motherland. The resonance of Africa with African Americans has always been significant ever since the times of Marcus Garvey jnr's Universal Negro Improvement Association of the early 20th century and reemerged during the reign of US President Donald Trump. Therefore, several BTM actors, led by Tastemakers Africa, translated the diagnostic framing of the BTM to include attracting more travel to African and Afro-Caribbean destinations, thereby carrying out a process which I have referred to as 'Frame translation'.

This frame translation process of promoting Africa as the preferred destination for Black travellers, was supported by purposeful micro-mobilization tasks, such as emphasizing shared cultural and historical heritage and leveraging on the mainstreaming of Black culture, to amplify the collective action frame and enable target mobilization. There exists support in the literature of the notion that shared historical and cultural heritage enhance the success of framing efforts. Snow and Benford (1992) posit that target mobilization is more successful when there exists a cultural resonance between the frame objectives and the accepted cultural value system. Similarly, the same authors, in a subsequent paper, write that symbols, narratives and symbols that resonate culturally improve the effectiveness of framing efforts (Benford and Snow, 2000). Lastly, Polleta (2006) posits that the historical context of framing efforts enhances the salience of the collective action frame among movement targets.

Consequently, the frame amplification process culminated in the successful Year of Return media campaign in 2019 that experienced a record number of African American and other Black people from the diaspora travelling to Ghana to commemorate the 400th year anniversary of the commencement of slavery. However, 2019 would also be remembered as an ignominious period for BTM actors as their intentional actions towards target mobilization to the Black travel injustice frame became a scene of contestation with the legal scandal around Reginald 'Reggie' Cummings.

Reggie Cummings, founder of a company and Facebook group both called the Black Travel Movement, faced legal scrutiny in 2019 due to the alleged defrauding of Black travellers over a sub-par luxury yacht trip organized by Reggie's company. This led to misframing of

the wider Black Travel Movement by the mainstream media at the time as it largely associated Reggie Cumming's BTM with the entire BTM. As a consequence, this external counterframing of the BTM served to dilute its efficacy as BTM actors sought to distance themselves from the negative publicity.

This process of framing and counterframing described above has been discussed in the literature with Benford and Snow (2000) arguing that the prognostic framing activities of movement actors often involve "…refutations of the logic or efficacy of solutions advocated by opponents as well as a rationale for its own remedies" (p.617). Furthermore, the digital media space provides real time visibility of the framing efforts of opponents and thus enable instant counterframing through the positing of content that refutes the opposing claim and provides rationale for the superiority of their counter claim. This assertion receives support from Mattoni and Trere (2014) who posits that the affordances of digital platforms enable the real time contestation of frames and allow for opponents to instantly engage in framing and counterframing efforts to achieve the prominence of their preferred meaning interpretation.

Coincidentally, the emergence of the coronavirus pandemic and the subsequent global economic lockdown in March 2020, presented an opportunity for BTM actors to engage in the reframing of the Black travel injustice frame to inject more potency and urgency among its target audience. This was due to the fact that the lack of mobility afforded many people the opportunity to pause and reflect on aspects of their daily lives that may not have received a lot of attention had they been usefully engaged in their normal work lives. This allowed BTM influencers to construct narratives and produce content that reframe the meaning of the BTM, and by extension the Black travel injustice frame.

This situation was helped immeasurably by the extreme event of the murder of George Floyd, an African American, by a white policeman in May 2020. Although police brutality and extrajudicial killings had long been an unfortunate aspect of the lived experience of Black people in the United States, the introspection and reflection occasioned by the lockdown, along with an undercurrent of anger at being sequestered in their homes, propelled the case of George Floyd to become a global protest against racial injustice and police brutality against Black people. This development led to global Black Lives Matter protests which were, again, utilized by BTM actors to recentre their framing activities around its essential diagnostic framing around racial injustice.

Post-George Floyd, there was a noticeable increase in the amplification of the BTM frame and target mobilization efforts had led to a diverse, global audience which extended beyond only Black travellers. This reflected the trajectory of the global BLM protests, which were attended by young people from several ethnicities. Zucker (1977) defined frame amplification as the process whereby frames socially constructed through bottom-up micro interactions grow to become the accepted meanings within an institutional field. One of the ways through which frames amplify is through the intensification of emotions which move the target audience to adopt the emergent frame. This view is supported by Gray, Purdy & Ansari (2015) who advanced emotional intensification as one of the three pathways to achieving frame amplification. Additionally, Klein & Amis (2021) state that "It is the shared emotional experience that is particularly important in not only filtering information but in potentially shifting legitimacy in the framing of an issue" (Klein & Amis, 2021: p.1345). Furthermore, while many framing theorists insist that framing is essentially cognitive (Bateson, 1972; Fillmore, 1982; Cornelissen & Werner, 2014), Creed (2004) points out that the presence of emotional associations enhance the interaction of target audiences with emergent frames.

Therefore, BTM actors set out to enhance and maintain the emotional attachment of their motivational framing activities to a more diverse audience, by becoming flexible in defining the boundaries of the movement to include other marginalized populations and to by extension broaden the diagnostic and prognostic framing activities to incorporate other grievances and causes that resonate more with this more diverse population.

Furthermore, there was also a generational prerogative to this change as Generation Z, those born between 1997 to 2012, were beginning to join the workforce and constitute the larger population of young Black travellers. Hence, to be able to engage the attention of this demographic, who are known to be more socially and environmentally conscious, BTM actors had to engage in influencing activities that extended the Black travel injustice frame to incorporate other injustice causes and perceived grievances.

This aforementioned tension inherent in the process of frame extension is echoed by Keck and Sikkink (1999) where they explain that localized frames are subject to different meaning interpretations were extended beyond specific cultural contexts. Furthermore, Williams (2002) assert that frames that align with prevailing religious and ethical norms have a higher likelihood of successful target mobilization. Therefore, this supports BTM actors'

modification of their diagnostic and prognostic framing activities to align with the peculiarities of a more diverse scope of movement targets

Therefore, the murder of George Floyd at the hands of a white Minneapolis police officer in May 2020 proved to be a major field-configuring event in the development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame that was made all the more potent due to the situated context of occurring during the COVID-19 global lockdown and its enforced period of isolation, boredom and consequent self-introspection. As a result, the "violation of expectation" (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017) resulting from George Floyd's murder, coupled with the emotional echo chamber effect of social media (ibid), created an atmosphere of anger and moral shock that led to emotional intensification among the Black population globally. BTM actors latched onto this opportunity to enhance emotional resonance of the Black travel injustice frame through the construction and dissemination of narratives on social media that weaved the theme of George Floyd into their narrative around racial injustice in the Black Travel Movement.

This amplification of the BTM frame was significantly successful as the global Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests against racial prejudice, and the wide support shown for the campaign as evidenced by the #Blackout Tuesday social media campaign, made the BTM acronym, given its similarity to BLM, more acceptable for readoption by movement actors. However, the movement actors took considered actions not to repeat the previous mistakes where the BTM was left without leadership and highly decentralized, leading to its subsequent misframing and appropriation by Reginald Cummings in the form of registering a company of the same name.

Therefore, BTM actors, most of whom are content creators and influencers, engaged in what I have termed a frame realignment process through the launch of the Black Travel Alliance (BTA) on June 8, 2020, following #Blackout Tuesday, that promoted the BIPOC travel injustice frame with a clear prognostic framing of seeking alliances, amplification and accountability. The group also incorporated their trade name, and Martinique Lewis, a key BTM actor and content creator, became the titular president of the BTA. This development was essentially a realignment of the Black travel injustice collective action frame to encompass other causes of injustice while ensuring a re-articulation of the movement's core diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing.

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In summary, this study into the Black Travel Movement (BTM) and development of the Black travel injustice collective action frame contributes to the extant framing literature by extending Benford and Snow's (2000) frame analytical framework with the introduction of four new framing processes- Frame validation , Frame translation, Media misframing, and Frame realignment. In doing so, this study addresses (RQs1)

6.2.2. Emotion and identity work practices conducted by BTM actors on Instagram

The second contribution of this study is to social symbolic work literature where it responds to calls for more research on emotion work (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995; Tracey, 2016). By doing this, I add to the limited research on how emotional responses influence framing efforts (Jones et al., 2017; Giorgi ,2017) by investigating how emotion work was conducted by BTM actors to facilitate the energetic arousal of emotions and the channelling of these emotions towards the enactment of stated objectives.

The preliminary findings for analysing the multimodal framing tasks by BTM influencers revealed the role of emotion in the mobilisation of target audiences. It was previously common practice for organisational researchers to treat collective action frames as purely cognitive constructs (Fillmore, 1982; Sitkin, & Barden, 2006; Kennedy & Fiss, 2009; Cornelissen & Werner, 2014) despite emotions being at the centre of social interactions (Zietsma et al, 2019). However, in recent years, there is an emerging acceptance that the framing process is both emotive and cognitive (Collins, 2004; Purdy et al., 2017; Klein & Amis, 2021). Collins (2004) posits that strong emotional connections enhance the level of adoption by target audiences while Klein and Amis (2021) support this position, arguing that a shared emotional experience enhances the legitimacy of a frame to the target audience.

Additionally, it became increasingly problematic to divorce the emotion and identity work practices as they are both deeply interwoven aspects of self work that intersect in diverse ways. For instance, Winkler (2018) opines that most empirical research on identity work describe it in emotional terms and suggest that future research should investigate the role of emotion in the experience of identity work.

In our generative case of the Black Travel Movement, actors were observed to intentionally select and diffuse multimodal content via Instagram that were designed to emotionally resonate with Black travellers to foster collective identification to their brands and to the movement. However, as movement actors and target audiences social construct the negotiated process of meaning making there often arose disputes and meaning contests that

weaken collective identification (Polletta & Jasper, 2001) and require movement actors to take purposeful action employing identity work to maintain identity salience (Atewologun, Sealy & Vinnicombe, 2016). Such remedial identity work is an important concept for this study as we seek to understand how BTM actors managed emergent identity conflicts and conflicting meaning interpretations within a globalized movement using content creation and dissemination on Instagram.

Therefore, in this section, I discuss the emergent theoretical insights into the roles of emotion and identity work practices in the development of meaning in the Black Travel Movement. 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, Meyer 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.

However, the focus emotions were not always positive emotions for movement actors sometimes purposefully aroused negative emotions like anger for the purposes of increasing emotional resonance to Black travel. 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 travellers and Black travel by the mainstream travel and tourism industry. These micro-interactions between movement actors and target audiences resulted in the amplification of the Black travel

injustice collective action frame due to the fertile ground represented by the heighten emotional arrays among Black travel audiences during this period.

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 et al, 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. This practice consisted of two micro-practices of expressing the need for change and demonstrating support for the objective. The motivation for this practice was to provide morally outraged targets with a diagnosis of the issue, the attribution of causality and a prognosis for the solution of which the latter was for collective action. Also, as a complementary practice, movement actors diffused images and stories of Black travellers 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. However, during the aftermath of the George Floyd murder, the Black Travel Alliance expanded the scope of the practice of demonstrating support for objective to provide affirmation for mainstream travel and tourism brands that had responded to their calls for accountability by self-reporting on their diversity statistics.

Bacq and Alt (2018) suggest that channelling moral emotions towards intended enactments requires the target audience to have belief in the potential success of the objective. Hence, the emotion-symbolic 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. Barbera-Tomas et al (2019) articulates this dilemma as the 'efficacy problem' and posits the solution to be convincing the audience that collaboration as a community is the key to achieving the desired objective. Therefore, BTM actors are more likely to induce enactment of their cause by

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deploying multimodal interactions to influence the connection of targets to the BTM collective identity.

Hence, the final emotion practice conducted by BTM actors was enabling collective identification as a natural progression of arousing emotional energy and channelling 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; signalling 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.

There were elements of identity work practices that were observed in the process of identification and around the identity-heightening episode (Atewologun, 2014, Atewologun, Sealy, & Vinnicombe, 2016) of the George Floyd murder. However, for the purposes of this study, I 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.

Researchers have established that emotional energy can facilitate changes in reasoning (Fan & Zietsma, 2017; Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017) where channelled towards a receptive audience (Massa et al, 2017, Klein & Amis, 2021). The audience is likely to be more receptive to the emotions generated if there is 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. As previously mentioned, the extensions to the Black travel injustice collective action frame required less rigidity more inclusivity in the scope of its problem selection, range of solutions and target audience. Therefore, while the extant BTM frame had focused only on Black travellers, the wider frame now targeted BIPOC travellers and victims of different forms of discrimination such as gender and religious discrimination. Furthermore, the intersectionality of the Black traveller identity necessitated different interpretations of the future of the BTM frame which differed in terms of its emotional resonance and identification. For example, narratives constructed around shared history of slavery and the civil rights movement, would resonate more with African Americans who were descendants of slaves than a second generation African American, or naturalized migrant. Similarly, narratives curated around a return to the African motherland would resonate different emotionally with an African American and an African.

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 channelling 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.

Similarly, in the period following the murder of George Floyd, there was also a noticeably prevalent emotion of anger that translated to a large volume of likes and comments on Instagram posts around this subject matter. In both cases, there was a significant drop off in likes and comments over the weeks and months that followed, suggesting audience disengagement and potentially emotional fatigue. Another potential causal factor would be that, as a consequence of the declining engagement, the Instagram algorithms would seek to prioritize other content that were trending higher which means that less of the audience view the posts which in turn further reduces audience engagement.

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 micro-practices 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.

A related aspect of this contribution lies in 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 & Philips, 2019) and exposes important and previously neglected influences of grievance interpretation and re-imagining a different future on the collective identity of the Black Travel Movement. To this end, I address the second research sub-question (RQs2) in theorizing that emotion work and identity work are combined sequentially for the purposes of facilitating emotional attachment and reinforcement against identity threats respectively towards the advancement of the realigned Black travel injustice frame i.e. the BIPOC travel injustice frame.

6.2.3. How the intersection between framing and the combination of emotion and identity work support meaning development in the Black Travel Movement

The third contribution of this study is that it addresses calls for research using meaning-making approaches (Mitnick & Ryan, 2015) and addresses this study's main research question which is *'How do the framing activities of the Black Travel Movement (BTM) field actors lead to the emergence of new collective action frames within the travel industry?'*. In this study, I theorise that the development of meaning on digital media takes place over three macro-phases and that meaning is constructed at the intersection of framing processes and combinations of emotion and identity work practices at each phase. In doing this, I address the main objective of this research, which is to investigate the roles of framing and social symbolic work in the development of meaning in institutional fields.

The development of meaning, or meaning making, involves how individuals and social groups construct and interpret their social world based on the situated context. Several meaning-making theories, such as framing, symbolic interactionism and narrative theories, recognize the agency of the actors involved in meaning construction and the social dynamic whereby meaning-making necessitates an interactive and discursive aspect. Despite these

similarities, there exists limited research that seeks to uncover overlaps among these meaning making theories to gain potential insights into complementary areas or areas of tension at their intersections. Such research is necessary to expand the analytical toolkit available to management and organization researchers as digital media increases the velocity and scope of social interactions, decentralizes movement-target relationships and illuminates previously obscured scenes of contestation and negotiated 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 52 below:
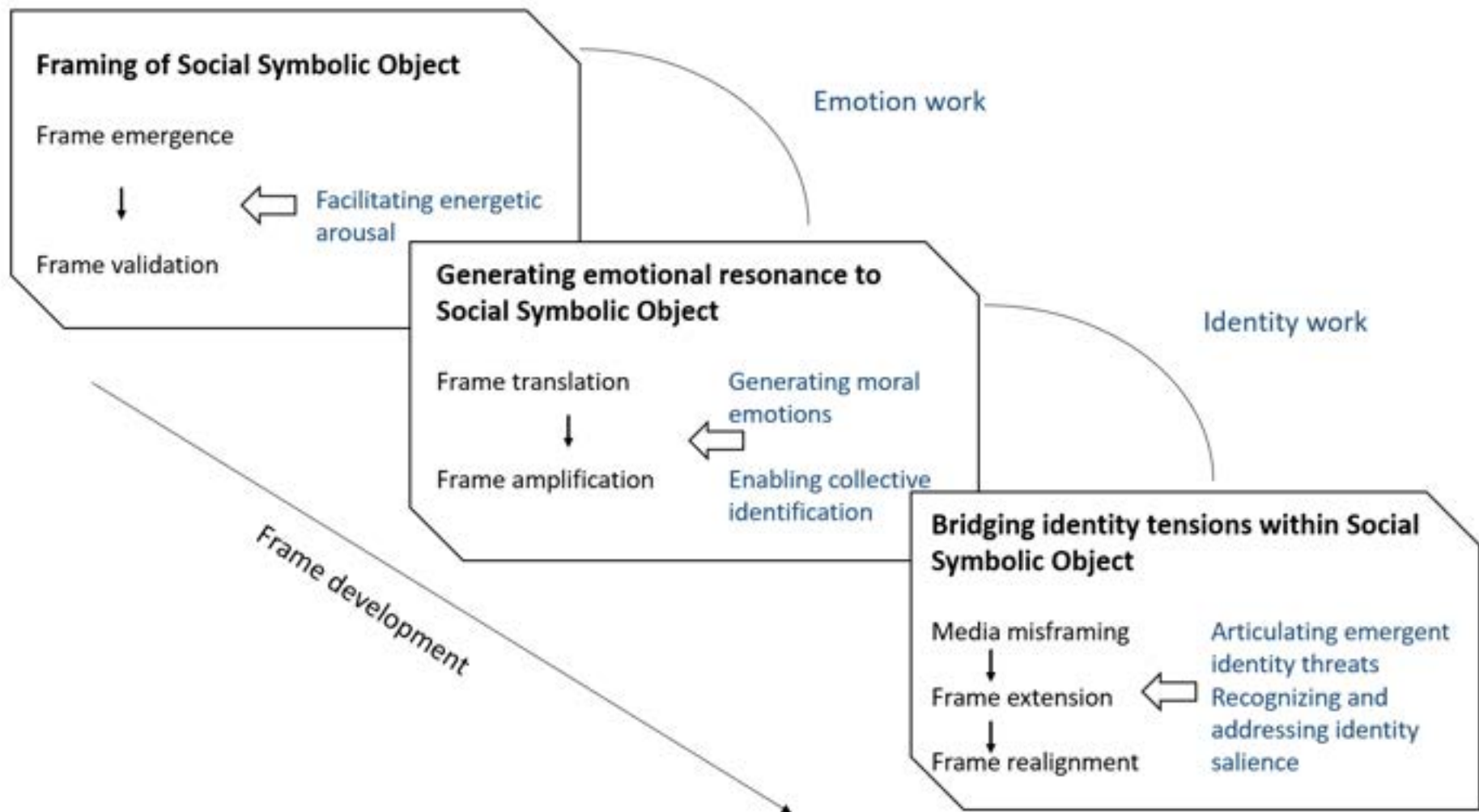
Framing of Social Symbolic Object

Frame emergence

↓

Facilitating energetic arousal

Frame validation

Generating emotional resonance to Social Symbolic Object

Frame translation

Generating moral emotions

↓

Frame amplification

Enabling collective identification

Bridging identity tensions within Social Symbolic Object

Media misframing

↓

Frame extension

↓

Frame realignment

Articulating emergent identity threats

Recognizing and addressing identity salience

Emotion work

Identity work

Frame development

Figure 52- Macro-phases of meaning making in the Black Travel Movement

The processual model in Figure 52 above suggests that meaning unfolds temporally over three macro-phases of meaning development through 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 to advance a specific way of interpreting the event and ascribing meaning to the event. Therefore, proponents of a frame are required first to articulate the frame's description, scope and boundary. 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 proprietary of the proffered solution (Gamson, 1995; Benford & Snow, 2000). The combination of these activities le to the emergence of the collective action frame.

The rise of social media has created a new platform through which meanings are socially constructed and institutionalised (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017, Manley & Williams, 2022). Its ubiquitous use 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. Social media facilitates symbol production and instant diffusion, and the affordances of continuous scrolling and use of hashtags enable the continuous framing, counterframing and even misframing of meaning through the triangulation of image, caption and comments.

Instagram has 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). Despite the reemergence of 'deep fakes and a plethora of applications that can retrospectively alter photographs, images still retain that ability to be perceived as factual by the onlooker while verbal text is seen as subject to contextual manipulation. Interestingly, Helmers (2010) advances that the audience to an image participate actively in the

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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 to foster identification with their proposed Black travel injustice frame. This phenomenon was particularly effective in the aftermath of the launch of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in 2013 that had come about due 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 that led to collective identification to the Black travel injustice frame. 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 (2006) 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 Marco-phase of meaning development, BTM actors facilitate frame emergence through diagnostic and prognostic framing of the movement's objectives that articulate the new frame's intended meaning, scope and boundary. Subsequently, movement sought to enhance target mobilization efforts and collective identification to their frame by validating its legitimacy through anchoring to the more famous Black Lives Matter movement injustice frame. This frame validation process ultimately resulted in adopting the term 'The Black Travel Movement' to increase mental associations and connect emotionally to the Black travel community. This process's success depended on the arousal of moral emotions among the target audience to foster collective identification with 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 of cause.

The success of these emotion work practices is enabled by the characteristics of social media which support multimodal framing. This includes feedback loops through audience likes, comments and re-posts that support continual frame refinement (Tufekci, 2017) via framing and counterframing woven into subsequent social media posts. Additionally , social media decentralizes digital media which reduces the influence of traditional gatekeepers to

shape emergent frames (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993) and its algorithms prioritize content based on user engagement metrices which can support the establishment of social media echo chambers (Toubiana & Zietsma, 2017) that amplify meanings within target audiences.

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 that are experienced collectively. Furthermore, while individuals feel emotions, it exists within a relational social context (Jasper & Polletta, 2019; Zietsma & Toubiana, 2018) that modulates the intensity of the emotion and potential identification with the resolution of an issue. For instance, images of Malcom X, the famous American civil rights activist, would resonate more in the emotional arrays of African Americans than in those of Africans on the continent who do not share the same lived historical realities of racial segregation.

Therefore, similarly, symbols and artefacts such as slogans or iconic photographs can generate moral emotions in onlookers (Klein & 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 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.

Instagram posts are contested social symbolic objects, which become scenes of continual interactive and discursive practices. 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), linking

emotional arrays changes 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 much 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 anniversary of the commencement of slavery. The build-up to December 2019, the 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 alone are insufficient to maintain emotional attachment or trigger enactment of objectives. This is because, over time, the impact of the emotions on the target audience would dwindle in a case of diminishing returns as emotional fatigue sets in and the social media algorithms begin to prioritize other types of content to maintain audience engagement. The fleeting nature of generated emotions is touched on by Huy, Corley, and 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, diminishing 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 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 were 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 summary, this study theorizes that emotion work aimed at facilitating emotional arousal and attachment to the frame underpins the development of collective action frames on social media. This 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.

6.3. Empirical contribution

The final contribution of this study is the method through which I utilise a qualitative data analytical technique to analyse contemporaneous social media data in a way that considers the challenges of heterogeneity and abundance inherent in digital archival data. In this process, I theorise that each Instagram post represents a social symbolic object through which a cross-

sectional analysis of social symbolic practices could be investigated individually and cumulatively to map patterns of social-symbolic work conducted over time. In this inductive process study, I triangulated digital archives and semi-structured interviews to investigate the symbolic work's motivations and effects that support the development of meaning within the Black Travel Movement.

While textual analysis of social media data has been covered extensively in the literature (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan 2013; Dehghani, et al. 2017; Lee et al. 2018), the analysis of visual data, such as images, videos, memes etc., has had more limited application (Klein & Amis, 2021; Liu et al., 2022). While there have been studies of visuals in traditional media, such as television, magazine adverts etc., (Kim & Lennon, 2008; Pieters et al. 2010; Wu et al. 2016), these have focused mainly on small sample sizes with limited research done on the analysis of qualitative data collected from social media.

In this study, archival data from Instagram serve as the primary source of data. The choice of Instagram for this study allows for its unique arrangement of text, image/video, geo-tagging and likes to serve as a rich data source where meanings can be inferred from a post's location, content, and interactions (Rose, 2012). Several researchers (Smith & Sanderson, 2015; Ferrara et al., 2016; Zappavigna, 2016; Djafarova & Rushworth, 2017; Grodal, Krabbe & Rajunov, 2022) have used Instagram data for qualitative research and have navigated the issues of heterogeneity of sources and abundance of data in several ways.

For example, Smith and Sanderson (2015) employed a mixed methods approach to examine the Instagram feeds of 27 professional athletes to ascertain how athletes utilize visual social media for self-presentation (Smith & Sanderson ,2015). Similarly, Zappavigna (2017) opted to rely on the entire Instagram feed (416 posts) of a single Instagram user and a judgmental selection of 500 images from the hashtag #motherhood to explore the interpersonal meaning-making of motherhood (Zappavigna ,2017). In both instances, it is evident that the researchers had to make reflexive decisions to reduce the sample to smaller and more manageable data set to allow for the "granularity of detail" (Losh, 2015: p 1650) to be captured.

In this study, similar reflexive choices were made to reduce the initial data set of all the Instagram posts made within eleven years (January 2011 – December 2022), which numbered over 30,000 posts, to a more manageable data set of 710 images. This was made possible by developing a code book that ensured that relevant posts were limited to those related to Black

travel and included evidence of emotion and identity work practices. Subsequently, close multimodal reading of this sample enabled the examination of images to understand the social construction of meaning within the specific cultural context of the Black Travel Movement case study.

Rose (2022), in her book focusing on visual methodologies, postulates that the understanding of an image cannot be divorced from the context where it is produced, stating that the social production of images serves to mobilise specific social and political identities (Rose, 2022). Therefore, by applying close multimodal reading as the visual analytical technique to investigate the patterns of emotion and identity work practices observable in the sample of 710 images, I was able to identify and categorise these practices from the Instagram pages of 10 prominent actors within the Black Travel Movement.

While there are several methods of engaging in visual analysis, such as digital methods, visual content analysis, social semiotic analysis and photovoice method, my choice of analytical method was contingent on its ability to enable interpretative work to be done at all the required sites of meaning.

Rose (2022) identifies four sites where meaning can be interpreted in visual analysis-… "the site of production, the site of the image itself, the site(s) of its circulation, and the site where the image encounters its spectators or users, or what this book will call its audiencing" (Rose, 2022: p.46). In order to enhance the understanding of the emotion and identity work practices of BTM actors and the audience's interpretation and contextual understanding of them on social media, I deemed three sites of meaning making to be vital which were which are: the site of the image, the site of circulation and the site of audiencing.

Asides from the visual analytical method adopted, another empirical contribution from this study was the revelatory insight that each Instagram posts represent a social symbolic object. This social symbolic object that social constructed through a purposeful selection images and text with the purpose of reality construction and meaning making that is instantly diffused to a global audience via social media.

I arrived at this conclusion as each Instagram post embodies the strategies, practices, beliefs, and emotions of its authors (Lawrence and Philips, 2019). Furthermore, these posts are the loci for the 'purposeful and reflexive' (Lawrence and Philips, 2019) emotion and identity work of movement actors seeking to frame and construct its meaning in a process of meaning making and meaning giving. This process of meaning negotiation is repeated continuously and

regularly every time a new Instagram post is disseminated thereby enabling a process of multimodal framing and counterframing towards achieving the objective of an established meaning representation of the Black Travel Movement as main social symbolic object.

This assertion that social media enables multimodal framing is supported by Papacharissi (2015) who affirms that characteristics of visual platforms such as Instagram and TikTok have enabled the diffusion of visual frames that are infused with emotion. This visual characteristic of Instagram complements the visual nature of travel as travellers and tourists can post photographs taken on their journeys. Each post would represent a multimodal representation of the message they intended the post to present. Interestingly, Burgin (1992) posits that objects embedded in images must be interpreted through a pattern of relationships and a specific ideological lens. This is necessary to ensure that a particular meaning could be inferred that is in alignment with the intentions of the photographer, the audience and the object of the image (Klein & Amis, 2021). For the purposes of this study, the theoretical lens employed is social symbolic work with a focus on the practices that are purposefully and reflexively performed to infuse and maintain intended meaning interpretation of the BTM as a social symbolic object.

In their definitive study on Social Symbolic Work, Lawrence and Phillips (2019) define a social-symbolic object as "…a combination of discursive, relational and material elements that constitute a meaningful pattern in a social system" (p.24). Furthermore, the authors explain that SSOs are defined by their being representations of patterns of meaning that, firstly, are embedded in daily life and motivate social symbolic and, secondly, require maintenance through purposeful and reflexive efforts that sometimes lead to contestation (Lawrence and Phillips, 2019). On the basis of this definition, both individual Instagram posts and the Black travel injustice collective action frame meet the characteristics of SSO given their discursive, relational and material elements and for their being scenes of social symbolic work through the purposive and reflexive efforts of movement actors.

It was noteworthy that BTM content creators do not engage in extensive responses to comments or responses to their Instagram posts but would instead construct a fresh post that either continued the same theme or pivoted according to prevalent meaning interpretations from previous posts. This lends credence to the argument that each Instagram post requires the combinations of image and text to frame its full meaning within a situated context. This assertion has support in the literature with Klein and Amis (2021) opining that frames are

'rhetorical devices' that help persuade others of the veracity of a claim by establishing a context for what constitutes acceptable activity. Gray, Purdy and Ansari (2015) also argue that 'symbolic aspects of meaning' are subject to contestation through continual interactions. Therefore, each Instagram post constitutes a combination of images and text that together represent a rhetorical device through which meaning is contested through framing and counterframing until an acceptable meaning position emerges.

Therefore, by analysing every single Instagram post made by the 10 leading BTM actors from the movement's accepted inception until data collection ended in December 2022 (11 years), this study was able to gain both conceptual and processual understanding of the social symbolic practices purposefully and reflexively conducted by BTM actors.

6.4. Practical implications

The findings of this study have practical implications for the field of business management, specifically with regards to change management and organisational culture. Moran and Brightman (2001) define change management as 'the process of continually renewing an organization's direction, structure, and capabilities to serve the ever-changing needs of external and internal customers' (Moran and Brightman ,2001). However, By (2005) notes the detrimental effect of the paucity of empirical evidence on modern practices of organisational change management and the inconsistencies in the practice of current theories and approaches to change management. The application of this study's phased approach to meaning making would support insights into the framing of organisations, especially multinational corporations (MNOs) as a social-symbolic objects and provides an analytical toolkit of patterns of emotion and identity work practices that could provide deeper insights into how executive management can generate an emotional resonance to the organisation and conduct remedial identity work to bridge identity tensions within a heterogenous, multinational employee base.

The second practical contribution to business management practice is to the field of organisational culture. Given that both the framing and social-symbolic work theoretical perspectives are concerned with shaping the perceptions of extant reality events, executive management could promote symbols, rituals and narratives in a form of corporate storytelling to diffuse and/or reinforce the desired organisational culture both within and outside the organisation. For example, in a process of frame validation, management could repurpose artefacts and narratives from successful organizational cultures that reinforce desired

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normative behaviours within their own organisations. Furthermore, emotion work practices can be employed by management through text and artefacts to support and embed the organisations vision, mission and core values amongst its employees.

This study also has practical implications for the travel and tourism industry with regards to the field of Black travel and for the wider attention economy. The insights from this study on the intentional actions of BTM actors to advance the mobilization of its target audience on social media through the performance of emotion and identity work practices could inform how Black travel influencers, and indeed social media influencers generally, approach content creation on social media. Given that the findings from the BTM demonstrate that meaning is continuously negotiated, changed and/or maintained with the construction and dissemination of each post, influencers could benefit from understanding how emotion and identity construction is infused into the content selection process in order to amplify their brand message and grow their audience engagement.

Furthermore, given that the emotional resonance of a message with the target audience enhances collective identification with the brand, the three-phased meaning development processual model advanced by this study has analytical utility for Black travel content creators to enable them build emotional attachment to their brand and brand message and deliver the economic benefits of increased audience engagement.

The second practical implication is that this study provides insights that provide a better understanding of how social media is decentralising the communication space and decumulating the power vested in traditional gatekeepers of the media. The consequence of this phenomenon is an open marketplace where information is instantly diffused, and the veracity of information is difficult to ascertain. A case in point is the offering up of the blue tick for subscription on X, formerly known as Twitter. Whereas before the blue tick as seen to legitimise a source of information, this has now been negated by making it available to anyone willing to subscribe. This study explored how BTM actors conducted emotion work to articulate their credibility as frame articulators and thus legitimise their message. Therefore, businesses which rely on social media as a primary element of their corporate communication strategy could gain insights from how these social symbolic work practices can be incorporated into their brand communication strategy within the social media space to lend credence to their corporate storytelling online.

The final practical implication is to how social movement actors manage their engagement with audiences on social media in a way that avoids the dilution of the credibility or efficacy of their message. As seen in the study of the Black Travel Movement, its rapid transition from a local America-based injustice frame to a global collective action frame, due to the ubiquity of social media, meant that it faced both internal and external meaning contests.

Firstly, from an internal perspective there was the translation by Tastemakers Africa, a pioneer BTM actor, of the diagnostic framing, or problem definition, of the BTM to be lack of travel to African travel destinations rather than lack of representation of Black travellers in the travel and tourism industry. From an external standpoint, there was the association by some mainstream media publications of the wider Black Travel Movement with Reginald Cummings' Black Travel Movement company when it was going through legal tussles. The result was a misframing of the BTM which had a negative impact on target mobilization efforts.

One of the findings of this study is that the emotional resonance of a frame supports the frame's legitimacy and credibility. Hence, social movement actors, similar to BTM actors, ought to take purposeful and reflexive actions to construct narratives and embed images in their content that demonstrate acknowledgment of potential identity tensions and emphasize the important identity features that attracted the audiences in the first instance. This has the potential to help social movements to maintain the valence of their diagnostic and prognostic framing efforts across a global audience with inherent heterogeneity due to geographical, generational and social differences.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

7.1. Chapter introduction

This chapter concludes the study with an overview of its limitations and potential areas for further intellectual inquiry.

7.2. Limitations of the research

The limitations of this research come from the potential biases inherent in the reflexive decisions that underpinned the research choices with respect to data collection and analytical techniques. As mentioned previously, this limitation was mitigated through member checking and data triangulation. Another limitation includes the small sample size of participant interviews which runs the risk of not being fully representative of the views of the Black Travel Movement. This was also mitigated by have successfully selected and interviewed knowledgeable actors and by reaching a point of theoretical saturation after having conducted 16 interviews.

Another related limitation was the relatively small sample size of Instagram posts that were analysed which could have biases inherent in self-reported data. This limitation was addressed through the application of visual semiotic analysis and social-symbolic work theory where each individual image, along with the corresponding likes and text, represented a complete meaning construct as a social-symbolic object.

Other limitations include the boundaries and scope of the research where the Black Travel Movement served as the single case and the social media data collected as longitudinal data was mainly Instagram data which could impact on the generalizability of the findings. This limitation is addressed in the considerations incorporated in the research design to address empirical validity and reliability and set out in a previous section.

7.3. Areas for further research

Despite limitations around the sample size and use of a single case study, the findings from this study still have broad implications for research on meaning-making and, more specifically, in the areas of framing and social-symbolic work theories. For example, this study revealed insights into how differences in grievance interpretation and differing imaginations of the future were threaten the collective identity of the Black Travel Movement. This was ascribed to the heterogenous nature of the enlarged BIPOC travel community which movement actors targeted through their motivational framing activities and social-symbolic work practices. Furthermore, it touches on how the socially and environmentally conscious

Generation Z's entrance into working life required BTM actors to be more expansive in their diagnostic and prognostic framing.

It would be useful to gain further insights into the impact of this generational effect on Black travel and for more nuanced consideration of the impact of intersectionality on the hierarchy of grievances adopted by BTM actors targeting such communities. Furthermore, this study narrowed its focus two just two social-symbolic work practices, emotion and identity work, while acknowledging that there was evidence of the existence of other SSW practices within the development of collective action frames. It would be useful to investigate the presence of other practices such as career and boundary work not just in the specific context of the Black Travel Movement but in other injustice frames.

From a methodological perspective, while the research design allowed for a creative way to circumnavigate the methodological issues around abundance of qualitative data on social media, there would potentially be more generalizability if a wider sample of Instagram data was analysed by a research team and triangulated against semi-structured interviews with all of the ten key actors in the Black Travel Movement. This would allow for samples of data to be exchanged among team members and be coded a second time to guard against unconscious biases and positionality in what is a highly reflexive process. Nonetheless, the consistency of the visual analysis technique adopted for this study along with its processual approach where every single photo within the eleven-year timeline had an opportunity to be considered for inclusion in the final sample, suggests that the findings of this study will still be useful for management and organizational theorists.

It would also be of analytical utility for quantitative methods to be applied to the Black travel Movement case study to identify and validate dependent and independent variables that positively or inversely affect the diffusion of multimodal framing activities before and after a field configuring event. While this study was able to gain qualitative insights from examining individual but sequential Instagram posts into how the framing of the George Floyd murder by BTM actors led to emotional intensification, collective identification and frame amplification, it would be interesting to gain a quantitative insight into this phenomenon.

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Appendices

The Black Travel Movement- the roles of framing and emotion-symbolic work on the development of meaning in institutional fields

Interview protocol –

Date: XX – XX – 2XXX

Interviewer: Richard Amadi

Archival #: Interview mode: Microsoft Teams Audio interview

Start Time: End Time:

REMEMBER TO START RECORDING!

Opening - We are inviting you to take part in a research study exploring the roles that emotions and symbols played in the rise of the Black Travel Movement (BTM) over the past decade. The study is being conducted by me as a component of my doctoral thesis at Nottingham Trent University and is a self-funded project.

You have been approached about this study because you have been identified as a valuable contributor who can provide key insights into the phenomena under study and could contribute significantly in helping to achieve the research's objectives.

Taking part in this research is purely voluntary and **if you would prefer not to take part, you do not have to give any reason. If you change your mind you should contact me up to 7 days after the interview date. If you withdraw after this point** your personal information will be deleted, but **the research data may be retained as part of the study.**

The interview will take place virtually via Microsoft Teams application and should last approximately 45 – 60 minutes. We will explore your involvement in, and / or opinions on, the Black Travel Movement (BTM).

Ahead of this interview, you were sent a Disclosive data and consent form that covers your rights as a research subject, including matters pertaining to data privacy, consent and

confidentiality. Please confirm that you have read and signed this document and that you are happy both to proceed with the interview and for the interview to be recorded?

Interview questions

Origins of BTM

1. Tell me briefly about yourself and what inspired you to enter your current line of work?

2. Tell me about your key business activities?

3. Can you walk me through how you plan and implement your marketing strategies for customer acquisition, specifically relating to marketing activities on social media?

4. How would you describe the Black Travel Movement (BTM)?

5. Has the way you choose your travel destinations been affected by the advent of BTM? And if so, in what ways?

6. In your opinion, how did the BTM come about?

7. What in your opinion, are the goals and objectives of BTM?

8. In your opinion, who are the key players behind BTM? Is there a defined hierarchy?

9. Which, if any, of these key players do you identify with the most, and why?

10. How would you describe the level of collaboration , if any, among the key players in the movement?

11. Would you say there are any objectives, activities or elements that are commonly adopted by BTM adherents?

12. In your view, how has the movement responded and adapted to global events and trends since inception?

13. Do you feel that the growing popularity of black African and Caribbean culture, art and music have contributed to the rise of BTM?

14. Would you say that you identify as a proponent of BTM and ,if so, how does this affiliation make you feel?

15. Can you walk me through how you engage with people and/or organisations who identify with the BTM?

I want to get your view on these Instagram posts that are related to the subject of BTM

Image 1(BTM business frame)- This is a screenshot of a post from Noirbnb, a black-owned business enterprise focused on providing black travelers with an alternative to Airbnb

16. Can you tell me what you understand is the main message being passed across here?

Tell me about how the image makes you feel?

Image 2 (BTM Africa keying frame) Here is a post from @Yearofreturn, which is a Ghanian project focused on encouraging more travel to Africa.

17. Can you tell me what you understand the main message was that the author was trying to pass across with that image?
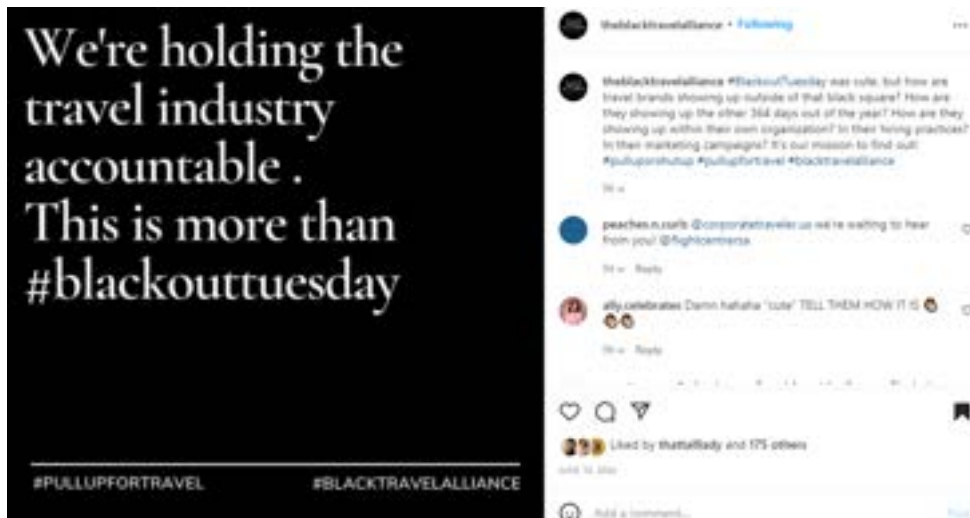
Tell me about how the image makes you feel?

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Image 3 (BTM travel experience frame)- This is a post from Nomadness travel tribe, which was founded by Evita Robinson, a prominent BTM activist.

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18. Can you tell me what you understand the main message was that the author was trying to pass across with that image?

Tell me about how the image makes you feel?

Image 4 (BTM justice frame)- Here is a post from @theBlackTravelalliance after #blackout Tuesday, which was the social media blackout that took place after the protests following the murder of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor

19. Can you tell me what you understand the main message was that the author was trying to pass across with that image?

Tell me about how the image makes you feel?

20. How does the representation of this story on Reginald Cummings in this mainstream media publication make you feel?

21. How do you feel the attribution of BTM to Reggie Cummings and his legal controversies could impact on the movement?

BTM relations with travel industry

22. As a response to BLM/George Floyd protests, some sectors of the economy have responded with various acts to show their solidarity (for instance, the black boxes on social media as part of Black Tuesday).

23. In a similar vein, how would you describe the response of the travel and tourism industry to BTM?

 (Target audience) How do you feel the travel and tourism industry have responded?

24. In your opinion, how could the travel and tourism industry do more to engage the black traveler?

25. How could the travel and tourism industry benefit from the rise of BTM?

Future of BTM

26. Please share your reflection on how you think BTM should position themselves for the future?

General follow-up questions

27. Any additional thoughts you would like to share?

Appendix 2- In vivo codes from participant interviews

Codes

Name	Files	References
BTM entrepreneurial opportunity	14	110
goal to be a representation,inspiration and education	28	81
Being black and travelling	12	54
BTM has the intent of growth, joy and building community	12	53
Ambiguity of meanings of Black travel	11	48
BTM Back to Africa frame	12	44
we use social media as an outlet	13	42
Support for BTM Activism	17	41
Importance of cultural influence	12	40
travel is rooted in my identity	12	37
the relevance of George Floyd case to Black travel	12	36
yes there is collaboration within BTM	8	35
social media as a marketing tool	12	35
Career background	13	32
Impact of Covid 19 on black travel	9	32
Instagram is the most important tool	11	30
Legitimization of position with black travel	7	29
They benefit because we are spending money	11	25

odes

Name	Files	References
BTM is about breaking stereotypes	10	25
Key players in BTM	10	25
Futuremaking of Black travel	11	25
Negative emotional display	10	24
BTM is about ibcreasing visibility of black travelers	10	23
Finding a safe space	7	22
impact of shared history of slavery on Black American's approach to travel	9	21
Three pillars of alliance, amplification and accountability	10	18
Content creation within Black travel	4	18
BTM is not a monolith	12	16
BTM as a movement of millienials and young professionals	8	16
BTM is just a social media movement showing black people travelling	9	15
role of travel industry gate keepers	5	15
just being black became cool	6	14
Its about the narratives around destinations and they are marketed	9	13
we pride ourselves in doing authentic experiences	6	12
safety is an important consideration for Black travelers	6	12
Distancing from BTM	5	12

Name		Files	References
⊕			
○ Positive emotional display		5	12
○ BTM BIPOC frame		4	11
○ People are thinking they are referring to the whole BTM and not Reggie		5	10
○ We are also active offline		4	9
○ Performance of mainstream		3	8
○ it is growing because of that collective effort	∞	3	7
○ BTM is an American thing		6	7
○ Each platform has different roles		4	6
○ funneling from engagement to discourse to convergence		3	5
○ Resources		2	5
○ Travel is a visual experience		3	4
○ Celebrating blackness		2	4
○ Empowerment of black travellers		3	3
○ BTM is global		2	2
○ Demonstrating adherence to cause		2	2
○ Sold out more towards summer		1	1
○ We try to solve three problems		1	1
○ some of them know its animal cruelty		1	1

Codes

Name		Files	References
⊕			
○ this should be done all the time and not just once a year		1	1
○ but sometimes people do a little too much		1	1
○ I posted that		1	1

Appendix 3- Data structure table of Social symbolic work practices in the BTM
(including NVivo codes from participant interviews)

Aggregate social symbolic work practices	Social symbolic work micro practices	First order codes
Facilitating energetic arousal	**Inspiring individual motivation**	***Instagram data empirical theme*** ● *Positioning travel as beyond just leisure* ● *Showcasing the joy of travel* ***Interview NVivo codes*** ● *Being Black and travelling* ● *Just being Black became cool* ● *we pride ourselves in doing authentic experiences*
	Triggering collective emotions	***Instagram data empirical theme*** ● *Inspiring collective excitement* ● *Generating Moral shock at racial prejudice* ***Interview NVivo codes*** ● *Negative emotional displays* ● *Positive emotional displays*
Channelling moral emotions	**Expressing need for change**	***Instagram data empirical theme*** ● *Sensegiving on negative aspects of the Black travel experience* ● *Calling out lack of representation* ***Interview Nvivo codes*** ● *BTM is about increasing visibility of black travellers* ● *The relevance of George Floyd case to Black travel*
	Demonstrating support for objective	***Instagram data empirical theme*** ● *Spotlighting Black travellers showing support for Black travel* ● *Spotlighting mainstream industry support for Black travel* ***Interview Nvivo codes*** ● *Support for BTM Activism* ● *Legitimization of position with black travel*

	Building communities and safe spaces	*Instagram data empirical theme* • *Emphasizing credibility of movement actors* • *Highlighting collaboration within Black travel community* • *Reminiscing on shared historical and cultural roots* *Interview Nvivo codes* • *Travel is rooted in my identity* • *Finding a safe space* • *BTM has the intent of growth, joy and building community* • *safety is an important consideration for Black travellers*
Enabling collective identification		
	Highlighting economic power of the Black travel community	*Instagram data empirical theme* • *Stressing spending power of Black travellers* • *Encouraging patronage of Black-owned businesses* *Interview Nvivo codes* • *BTM entrepreneurial opportunity* • *They benefit because we are spending money*
Articulating emergent identity threats	**Emerging differences in grievance interpretation**	*Instagram data empirical theme* • *Celebrating Blackness* • *Promoting shared struggle against discrimination* • *Demonstrating understanding of Africa's challenges* *Interview Nvivo codes* • *Ambiguity of meanings of Black travel* • *Impact of shared history of slavery on Black American's approach to travel* • *Distancing from BTM*
	Differing imaginations of the future	*Instagram data empirical theme* • *Channelling nostalgia for Africa* • *Emphasizing need for own travel industry* *Interview Nvivo codes* • *BTM Back to Africa frame* • *Futuremaking of Black travel*
Reinforcing identity salience	**Highlighting benefits of community membership**	*Instagram data empirical theme* • *Providing career tips and support* • *Channelling job opportunities to community* *Interview Nvivo codes* • *Goal to be a representation, inspiration and education* • *Yes there is collaboration within BTM*

Embracing plurality within movement	***Instagram data empirical** theme* ● *Acknowledging heterogeneity of the BTM* ● *Addressing shared battle against discrimination* ***Interview Nvivo codes*** ● *Importance of cultural influence* ● *Three pillars of alliance, amplification and accountability* ● *BTM is not a monolith*

Appendix 4- The Black Travel Movement actors performing influencing activities on Instagram

The main actors within the Black Travel Movement were predominantly African American, female social media content creators and entrepreneurs who shared love for travelling but did not see their lived experiences reflected in the destinations they travelled to or in the travel and tourism products that were available at the time. This lack of representation prompted them to utilize social media, especially Instagram due to its visual storytelling characteristics, to present a counter-narrative of the authentic Black travel experience to attract and build online communities of like-minded travellers. This commonality in the early motivations of BTM actors was evident in the responses from the participant interviews for this study in which key BTM actors participated. For instance, Participant #2, a BTM actor and Black travel entrepreneur, spoke on his early start into this industry stating that,

> I have a passion for traveling that is really what the inspiration was to get me into this space and really, it's one of those things where a hobby turned into a passion. So, from a young age, I've always been traveling because of my family…" (P#2)

Participant #17, a key BTM content creator and one of the main champions of the Black Travel Alliance, goes into more detail, commenting that,

> I have always had an interest in travel since I was a little girl. But as I grew up into middle school and high school, I realized that travelling often was expensive and out of reach for most people. So, I started [my organization] to journal personally about my experience wanting to travel and to remind myself that it was important to myself just to keep it a priority in my life…(P#17)

The above statements affirm that the early motivations for BTM actors in starting the movement was an inherent love for travel and a desire to engage others who were of a similar persuasion given the rarity of Black people in the travel and tourism spaces where they interacted.

Preliminary perusal of digital archival data and recommendations from knowledgeable actors interviewed for this study helped establish a list of ten content creators and entrepreneurs who are at the forefront of the narrative storytelling surrounding Black travel on social media. Reliability checks were carried out by checking the names on the list against those identified in academic journal articles on the Black Travel Movement. Furthermore, a check of the 10 actors' Instagram accounts showed that several of the actors follow each other's Instagram

accounts, liked each other's posts and were sometimes featured in each other's social media content.

A brief description for each of the ten actors selected is provided below.

Actor 1: Gabby Beckford (@packslight)

Gabby Beckford is a Black travel content creator and digital nomad with a specific focus on educating and inspiring Generation Z Black travellers. Being an African American and Generation Z herself, she travels around the world, journaling her travel experiences via Instagram with the purpose of motivating other millennials and 'Gen Zs' to prioritize travel. Gabby does not only target Black travellers but often aims her content at the wider BIPOC (Black, Indigenous and People of Colour) audience in line with Generation Z being deemed one of the more socially and ethically conscious generations and hence more geared towards inclusivity than earlier generations were.

Gabby is also a social media content creator through her Instagram page. @ Packslight, through which she earns revenue through the reach and audience engagement on her platform and promoting brands that align with her own brand message. Gabby launched her Instagram page in 2015, and she is continually active within the Black Travel Movement with speaking engagements, content creation and other advocacy efforts. She is also one of the founding members of Black Travel Alliance, an organization of BTM content creators that came about following the Blackout Tuesday social media campaign and seeks to foster alliance and amplification of the Black Travel Movement and accountability from the travel and tourism industry. The total number of Instagram posts over the BTM timeline for this study (January 1, 2011 – December 31, 2022) was 1,013 posts of which 52 posts were selected for visual analysis for evidence of patterns of emotion and identity work practices.

Actor 2: Jubril Agoro (@jubril8)

Jubril is one of the pioneer Black travellers to break into the travel content creation scene on social media. His target audience is mainly Black male travellers, and his strategy is mainly the selection of images that depict him having fun while on his travels. Jubril's main objective is to publicize the presence of Black people at tourism destinations around the world and since his Instagram profile was opened in 2012, his content has centred on being pictured in scenic travel destinations experiencing the joy of travel as illustrated in images of him at parties, outdoor dining and meeting new people. Jubril always brought an entrepreneurial approach to his work whether it was through seeking to maximize engagement or his

subsequent pirouette into the technology startup space. This career pivot resulted in a reduction in the frequency of his social media posts over the observed timeline as he transitioned into more of travel entrepreneur and established his own business. The total number of Instagram posts he had over the BTM timeline for this study was 904 posts of which 38 posts were selected for visual analysis.

Actor 3: Oneika Raymond (@oneikaraymond)

Oneika Raymond is a New York-based TV host and content creator who is one of the foremost BTM actors and has been at the forefront of promoting Black travel on mainstream media. Oneika is a travel enthusiast who documents her travels around the world and clearly aims to educate global audiences on authentic Black Travel behaviour. Unlike some BTM actors that only became more overtly activist following the murder of George Floyd by a policeman in May 2020, which was a major temporal faultline in the recent history of the Black Travel Movement, Oneika had regularly been challenging stereotypes and negative narratives against Black people through her content on her social media pages. Her status within the BTM is reflected in the support she receives from most of the key BTM actors through collaborations, follows on her social media handles and liking of her content.

Even though Oneika's Instagram page was created in 2017, she has made 1,514 posts during the study period. From this timeline, 83 posts were chosen for visual analysis to identify patterns of emotion and identity work practice.

Actor 4: Travelnoire (@travelnoire)

Travelnoire was founded in 2013 by Zim Ugochukwu, an avid Black travel content creator, as a boutique travel company and online travel blog. Travelnoire is universally accepted as one of the trailblazers of the Black Travel Movement and for publicizing Black travel using hashtags such as #travellingwhileblack and #Blacktravelmovement on Instagram and Facebook to document the travel experiences of Black travellers globally. Travelnoire encourages followers to share photographs depicting their travel experiences using these hashtags which help increase the volume of reach and engagement on the topic of Black travel. Therefore, through these activities, Travelnoire achieves its objectives of enhancing the visibility of Black travel.

Blavity, a Black-owned travel startup focused on Black millennials and culture, purchased Travelnoire in 2017 and gave Zim Ugochukwu a seat on their board, thus growing

its online community and converting this following to participation in tours and other events organized by the offline travel business side of Travelnoire.

Travelnoire's Instagram page was launched in 2013 and the total number of Instagram posts over the BTM timeline are 11,931, by far the most of any of the ten BTM actors reviewed in this study. For the purposes of this study 72 posts were selected for visual analysis for evidence of patterns of emotion and identity work practice.

Actor 5: Evita Robinson (@nomadnesstribe)

Evita Robinson is a Black travel entrepreneur, content creator and Diversity & Inclusion consultant. She is widely acknowledged as the founder of the Black Travel Movement and her company, Nomadness Travel Tribe, is one of the leading Black travel brands globally. The organization is focused on Black, Indigenous; People of Colour (BIPOC) and the Instagram channel targets this audience in its content which focusses on travel inspiration and educating on BIPOC travel and signposting events.

Nomadness Travel Tribe has been posting content via Instagram since 2013 but Evita Robinson has been posting similar content via her personal Instagram page since 2011 which is deemed the date in which the Black Travel Movement started. The total number of Instagram posts by Nomadness travel tribe over the BTM timeline for this study is 4,090 posts of which 120 posts were selected for visual analysis.

Actor 6: The Wind Collective (@windcollective)

The Wind Collective is a Black travel content creation agency that deploys images of a high aesthetic quality to generate interest in leisure and adventure travel. Based in the United Kingdom, the organization defines itself as a creative travel collective visual production agency and it targets all travellers. However, its primary focus is on Black travellers and Black travel destinations. The organization's tour packages are bespoke, with premium pricing and this exclusivity is evident in the quality of the images and the broader scope of its target audience. The Wind Collective Instagram page was launched in 2017, and the total number of Instagram posts over the BTM timeline for this study is 751 images, of which 37 images were chosen.

Actor 7: Tastemakers Africa (@tstmkrafrica)

Tastemakers Africa, a Black travel content creator and destination marketing agency, is a pioneer BTM actor that aims at showcasing travel and tourism destinations in Africa. The company was founded by Cherae Robinson (no relation to Evita Robinson), who is regarded

as one of the three pioneer BTM actors, alongside Evita Robinson and Zim Ugochukwu of Nomadness Travel Tribe and Travelnoire respectively. The aim of the organization is to encourage more travellers to choose travel to the African continent rather than to the more traditional European travel destinations that receive more publicity in mainstream travel media. Tastemakers Africa organizes travel tours to Africa and hence its Instagram page also serves as a marketing medium through which it aims to convert the audience to customers of its services.

Tastemakers Africa's Instagram page was launched in 2013 with over 4,400 images posted over the BTM timeline for this study. Of this sample, 120 images were visually analysed for patterns of emotion and identity work.

Actor 8: Jessica Nabongo (@jessicanabongo)

Jessica Nabongo is a highly reputable Black travel content creator who is regarded as one of the pioneers of the Black Travel Movement. Jessica received global attention after she was recognized as the first Black woman to travel to every country in the world, an event that was widely covered on mainstream media and helped to beam a spotlight on Black travel. Jessica's objectives are to increase the visibility of Black people at tourism destinations, advocate for increased representation in the boardrooms of travel companies and for more coverage of Black travellers by mainstream media. Jessica's Instagram page was launched in 2014 and she has made 3,532 posts from then till December 31st, 2022. A total of 75 posts out of this sample were analysed visually for evidence of patterns of emotion and identity work practices.

Actor 9: Kellee Edwards (@kelleesetgo)

Kellee Edwards is a highly reputable travel media journalist, TV host and Black travel enthusiast. One of the trailblazers of the Black Travel Movement, she was the first Black woman to host a Travel Channel show and is also a trained scuba diver and licensed pilot. Kellee is known for promoting an alternative perspective on Black travellers by sharing content of herself engaged in leisure and adventure travel. Kellee opened her Instagram profile in 2013 and the total number of Instagram posts over the BTM timeline for this study is 1,674 of which 36 posts were deemed relevant and subjected to visual analysis for evidence of patterns of emotion and identity work.

Actor 10: Black Travel Alliance (@theblacktravelalliance)

The Black Travel Alliance is a group of Black travel content creators who came together in 2020 to demand accountability from the global travel and tourism industry following the Blackout Tuesday social media campaign. Blackout Tuesday was a viral social media campaign whereby corporate organizations and individuals put up only plain black squares on their social media throughout the day (Tuesday, June 2, 2020) as a sign of support for the global protests racial prejudice and police brutality that came about in the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd by a white policeman in May 2020. Since then, the organization has sought to change the narrative around Black travel, widening its scope to include Indigenous people and all people of colour (i.e. BIPOC), and educating target audiences on Black travel. The BTA's Instagram page was launched in June 2020 and 1,675 posts were made from inception till December 31st, 2022. Of these,77 posts were selected for visual analysis for evidence of patterns of emotion and identity work practice.

Appendix 5. Audience engagement activities of BTM actors on Instagram

The primary motivation of BTM content creators for setting up their social media profiles and disseminating content is to enhance the visibility of Black travellers through the building visible online communities. Hence, their purposeful activities on the platform are geared towards selecting and diffusing images and text that generate emotional energy and inspire identification with the Black travel community. For instance, Participant #16, a leading BTM actor, explains that the purpose of engaging in content creation is:

> To celebrate black excellence and travel, to show that black people are out here, to understand that black travellers are just as curious as other travellers. (P#16)

However, an entrepreneurial prerogative existed whereby building communities on the social media platform was viewed as potentially lucrative with monetization opportunities. This aspect was alluded to by Participant #10, a Black travel entrepreneur from Nigeria, where she explains her posting behaviour on social media:

> My general travel purpose is to share my personal travel and it was at a time when packaged holidays were becoming [prominent in] Nigeria. So, I spoke with people, answering questions as to where I was going, and I saw a business model behind it, and I went ahead to research, and I went ahead to start sourcing ways to be different and solve problems (P#10)

This sentiment was echoed by Participant #2, an America Black travel entrepreneur, who explains as follows:

> I've always had a passion for traveling, you know, more. Now, as I get older, more leisure travel, more exploring, going to see the world, seeing what was out there and yeah. And it was from that. And also, me being an entrepreneur that I found the opportunity, or I saw an opportunity to start something in the black travel space… (P#2)

This subtle entrepreneurial motivation in the social media posts was also confirmed by Participant #13, a British BTM content creator, who says:

> We'll do a campaign and that's vividly we'll have a campaign and we might have some, you know, some audio or subtitles which is keeps telling to you to do something, then have [a call to] action at the end which is book a trip or find out more or just something. (P#13)

Therefore, the audience engagement activities of BTM actors on Instagram were tailored to cater to both their objective of showcasing authentic Black travel experiences but also signposting to the related travel service that they were providing. The monetization of their

content was mainly through Advert revenue earned from Instagram based on volume of engagement. Other revenue sources were destination tour services (e.g. Tastemakers Africa, Travelnoire), travel photography and coverage (e.g. Wind Collective) and offline travel festivals (e.g. Nomadness travel tribe).

The dual identities of being a social movement and a business could be viewed as conflicting. For instance, Participant #15, a Nigeria-based Black travel consultant, comments that

> I think it's important to be clear on what you're doing. I would say that if you're a movement then you can't also be selling to people, you know, you have to be very different, and it has to be clear. It's like a political party also having [paying] customers…Like, I just feel like that doesn't show independence [as] such, so I think about clarity…(P#15)

However, these different prerogatives complement each other as the social movement's racial injustice objective generates emotional energy and fosters collective identification. Consequently, the collective identification with the brand translates to audience engagement with the content due to the algorithmic characteristics of the Instagram platform which would continue to channel such content to them. Therefore, by always being engaged with the content, the community would be able to see the other services being offered and be more amenable to make a purchasing action due to the emotional connection of being part of the community.

Hence, to achieve their dual social and entrepreneurial objectives, BTM content creators share carefully curated images that depicted Black people in attractive travel spaces and include captions that construct narratives around the Black travel experience to generate emotional energy that facilitates identification with the Black Travel Movement and the brands

of the particular BTM content creator sharing the post. The figures below from @packslight provide some illustrations:

The figure above depicts a screen capture of a tweet from Gabby Beckford that has an inscription that exhorts the audience not to be prisoners of their fears and to go out and explore.

In the caption, she addresses how unconscious biases and diverse experiences act as limiting factors and she encourages the audience not to let them hamper their travels. The post received almost 8,000 likes which suggests the high emotional resonance of the message with the target audience. The post was also liked by other BTM actors, such as @Nomadnesstraveltribe and @Blacktravelalliance in a practice that was observed as quite common as content creators

within the BTM supported each other with likes and shares to increase the reach and engagement of their posts.

Figure 26- BTM actors educating on the negative side of the Black travel experience (Source- @packslight, 2020)
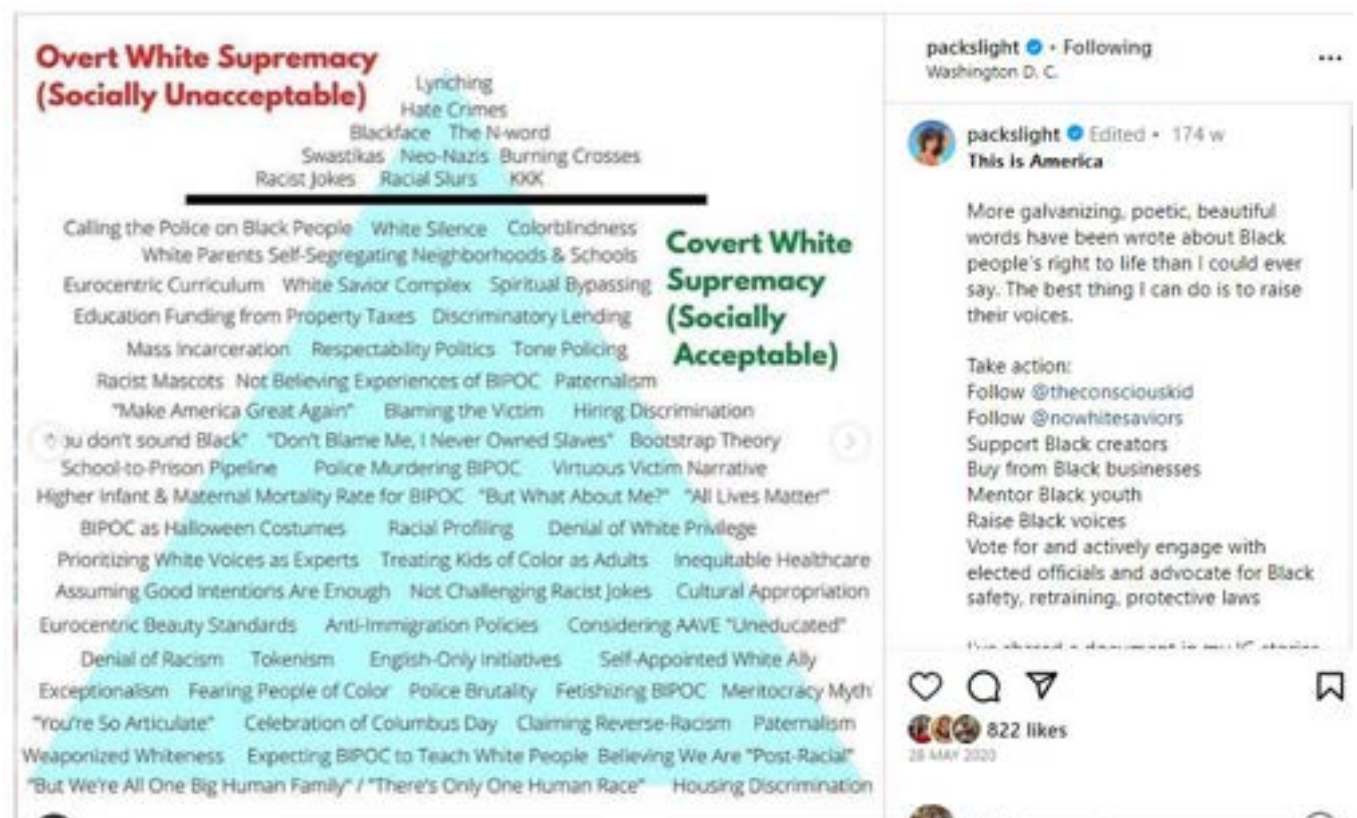
The figure above presents an image that depicts a large violet triangle with a bold black line demarcating the tip of the triangle from the rest of it. This triangle ostensibly represents an iceberg where the portion visible above water is just a microcosm of the true size of the iceberg. The poster applies this analogy to link certain widely condemned human behaviours to other overlooked behavioural traits that the poster deems to be of equivalence to Black people. For instance, the image cites lynching, hate crimes and 'Blackface' above the bold black line as behaviours that most people would widely condemn as racist. On the other hand, she places colour-blindness and white self-segregating neighbourhoods below the black line, i.e. less

apparent to people. She points to them as being behaviours that are equally as harmful to Black people but do not generate the same universal condemnation that the previous traits earlier mentioned. Therefore, this image seeks to illuminate the negative side to the Black traveller's experience and is meant to trigger emotions like anger which leads to alignment to the message and identification with the BTM cause.

Furthermore, this Instagram post was made on May 28th, 2020, which was just three days following the murder of George Floyd by a white police officer in Minneapolis, United States. Therefore, the tone of anger and protest are intentionally designed to resonate with the prevalent emotional register of Black people at the time but also framing the subject matter to align with Black travel. The objective is to intensify the moral emotions of her audience so as to compel them to act and one way of acting was to follow her Instagram page, engage with her content and share her content to those that weren't following her. This enables Gabby to achieve the dual objectives of educating on the Black travel experience but also bring monetization opportunities through the increased reach and engagement with the content.

As alluded to earlier, the audience engagement activities of BTM content creators were also tailored towards creating and maintaining collective identification to the objectives of the Black Travel Movement through the building of online and offline communities of Black travellers. This purpose for community building was a major theme that emerged from the analysis of the interview transcripts as, through social media's echo chamber effect, having a captive audience of followers enables the BTM actors to maintain identification through the sharing of images and text that are designed to resonate with the audience emotionally.

Participant #2 explains the importance of community as follows:

My thing is if we have people doing that and calling that out and bringing in everything around the music and the culture and this and the that, the whole reason we're doing that is so that as a group, we're connecting with each other through the different cultures of the black diaspora globally. (P#2)

Similarly, Participant #13 emphasizes how the entrepreneurial objective reinforces the community effect.

This is kind of how [my organization] came about, we have the travel side, which is, you know, the hosting and creating these amazing group trips and which foster community adventure going off to be interacting. (P#13)

Furthermore, this need for collective identification and community building was also communicated to the target audience, especially following the murder of George Floyd, as seen in figures below.

The figure above from @travelnoire depicts an image of a small close-knit family of a Black man, woman, young daughter and a toddler, having an enjoyable picnic while being serenaded by music from the father's guitar. The caption reads simply "community" suggesting that the message is entirely embodied by the image. Also, the posting of this image during the then ongoing global Black Lives Matter protests against racial injustice seeks to emphasize even more strongly the importance of identifying with one's community where they are respected and feel loved. The post received 3,623 likes and one commenter responds, "This is beautiful!" while another commenter alludes to the fact that everything that was really needed- community, family, love and real music- was already present within the community.

Similarly, the figure below from @Jubril8 depicts a monochromatic image that shows a group of Black men and women of various ages, smiling and posing by an open vehicle.

The image symbolizes unity and Black people coming together to travel. The caption emphasizes this point by pointing out the shared roots to Africa despite the presence of individual differences. This practice of emphasizing the shared historical and cultural repertoires of Black travellers was a recurring theme that was evident from this study's findings.

Lastly, the figure above from @nomadnesstraveltribe shows a multiracial group of BIPOC men and women, all smiling and holding up signs celebrating the city of Memphis where that year's Audacity Fest was holding. The caption reads in part in capital letters "THIS IS NOT ONLY A MOVEMENT, BUT WE ARE ALSO A FAMILY…" By putting this text in capital letters is gives the impression of the words being shouted at the audience as if to make sure that they are listening. The post acknowledges that while they are all part of the Black Travel Movement, they were also a family, specifically the Nomadness family within the BTM. The poster hopes to facilitate a stronger emotional connection to the Nomadness brand and the BTM through this message. Additionally, this post also has contextual relevance as it is dated September 2019 which is during the Year of Return media campaign of 2019 where BTM actors were encouraging Black travellers to visit Ghana to mark the 400th anniversary of the commencement of slavery. Therefore, a similar sense of community and collective identification is being channelled through the image.