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Key Characteristics of African Tourism GVCs

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Abstract

Africa's tourism GVCs are notable for many features, including the durability of package booking channels, low domestic demand for tourism, the presence of global—rather than regional—lead firms and the corresponding implications for leakages from the local economy as well as the importance of business travel. This paper examines some of the most significant aspects of African tourism that influence the economic upgrading that is available to local stakeholders. It then concludes by identifying policy initiatives that may facilitate those upgrading trajectories.

JEL Codes: F02, F13, F18, H23, Q22

Keywords: Tourism, GVCs, Africa, Economic Upgrading

Contents

Abbreviations and acronyms

DMC	destination management company
EAC	East African Community
FDI	foreign direct investment
GVC	global value chain
ICCA	International Congress and Convention Association
MICE	meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions
NGO	non-governmental organisation
PCO	professional conference organiser
PPP	public-private partnership
RCB	Rwanda Convention Bureau
RDB	Rwanda Development Board

1. Introduction

Tourism is a dynamic source of economic growth throughout the world. The industry indirectly supported an estimated 292 million jobs in 2015 and indirectly accounted for 10.2 per cent of global gross domestic product (GDP).[1] Its direct contribution to global GDP was estimated at 3.1 per cent, and tourism's growth rate (also 3.1%) was higher than those of healthcare (2.8% growth rate), construction (2.8%), agriculture, forestry and fisheries (2.7%), financial services (2.5%), manufacturing (2.4%) and retail (2.3%). Because of this expansion, tourism generated close to 7 per cent of the world's total exports in 2015 (UNWTO 2016). Moreover, the vitality of the industry is not confined to any one region; while Europe remains the most visited continent in the world, accounting for 51 per cent of all international tourist arrivals in 2014, Asia Pacific and Africa had the highest growth rates in terms of visitors over the decade from 2005 to 2014.

Africa affords international visitors a diverse array of potential attractions. While the continent is perhaps best known for its opportunities to see flora and fauna, there is an increasing variety of experiences to be had, from beach packages to urban explorations to cultural connections. Although visitor arrivals decreased from a historical apex of 55.7 million in 2014 to 53 million in 2015, tourism remains a significant component of economic growth. Visitor spending as a proportion of total exports is higher in Africa than in any region in the world, and tourism investments as a proportion of total investments exceed the global average (Table 1 presents key data points).

Tourism's economic profile is not uniform across Africa. South Africa has the largest national industry of anywhere on the continent, with nearly US$19 billion in total tourism spending in 2016. Egypt (US$12.4 billion), Nigeria (US$12.2 billion), Morocco (US$11.7 billion), Algeria (US$8 billion) and Kenya (US$4.3 billion) have the next largest economic footprints. At a regional level, East African tourism is driven by foreign visitor spending to a degree that is not replicated elsewhere on the continent – 56 per cent of its tourism receipts were generated by international arrivals in 2016, compared with the global average of 28 per cent.[2] West Africa, on the other hand, is locally oriented, with domestic visitors generating 83 per cent of tourism receipts in 2016. West Africa is also unusually reliant on business tourism (50 per cent of all tourism spending, the highest proportion of any region in the world), while North Africa is geared towards leisure tourism (80 per cent of total receipts).

While tourism will continue to be an economic engine, there are characteristics of the global industry that may impede Africa's development if policy-makers do not recognise them and design strategies to alleviate constraints on firms and other stakeholders. This paper explores the overall landscape of the tourism industry and how it influences Africa's competitiveness. It uses the global value chain (GVC) framework to highlight important global regional dynamics. It then identifies upgrading trajectories that have been observed in tourism GVCs on the continent. The paper concludes by outlining policy interventions that can be taken to eliminate the barriers that countries frequently face when attempting to improve their position in the tourism value chain.[3]

2. Tourism GVCs and Africa

While different types of travel have been described by GVC researchers, this paper concentrates on two broad categories of tourism that have distinct actors and defining characteristics: leisure and business tourism.[4] Leisure tourism can be defined as any trip where the tourist travels internationally for recreation. Although there are many different types of leisure tourism (sun, sand and surf; cruise trips; environmental or eco-tourism; adventure tourism; cultural tourism; etc.), the term does not describe travel to visit friends or relatives.

Table 1. Global economic impact of tourism in 2015

	World	Africa	Americas	Asia Pacific	Europe	Middle East
International arrivals (millions)	1,186	53	193	279	608	53
International receipts (billions)	1,260	33	304	418	451	54
Direct contribution to GDP (%)	3.1	3.1	3.0	2.8	3.5	3.3
Total contribution to GDP (%)	10.2	7.8	8.5	9.0	9.9	9.1
Direct contribution to employment (%)	3.6	2.6	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.1
Total contribution to employment (%)	9.6	6.5	9.6	8.7	9.7	7.6
Visitor spending as a proportion of total exports of goods and services (%)	6.6	9.2	8.4	6.1	6.1	8.0
Tourism investments as a proportion of total investments (%)	4.4	6.2	4.6	3.7	4.9	7.2

Sources: UNWTO 2016; WTTC 2017

Business tourism involves travel internationally for professional reasons. It includes visits to see clients, scouting trips for potential investment opportunities, and travel for conferences. The emerging conferences segment – meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions (MICE) – is included in the business tourism GVC.

Certain features of the leisure and business tourism GVCs have special relevance for African stakeholders. This section briefly introduces some of the characteristics that help to differentiate Africa from its peers. The most prominent include the following:

1. The traditional package booking distribution channel has proven to be more durable in Africa than elsewhere.
2. Low domestic demand elevates the position of global lead firms.
3. The pre-eminence of global lead firms influences the linkages versus leakages dynamics.
4. Business tourism accounts for a greater proportion of overall tourism receipts in Africa than in other locations.

2.1 Package booking

Building on distinctions outlined by Christian and Nathan (2013), the leisure tourism GVC can be divided into three categories of actors: consumers (or end markets), distribution intermediaries and service providers. Lead firms in the leisure tourism GVC have the ability to assemble and package individual services into cohesive tourism experiences. Their power derives from their ability to draw on the capabilities of large global networks of service providers while also having direct access to consumers or travel agents (Christian 2013). Most often, these actors are distribution intermediaries, with online portals, tour operators and destination management companies (DMCs) being among the most prominent.[5] In some cases, powerful individual service providers such as international airlines and hotels may act as lead firms by bundling and selling tourism products. The specific identities of, power wielded by and linkages among these actors depend on the distribution channels that consumers use to access the product. The three primary ones are:

1. **Direct booking:** consumers choose to bypass distribution intermediaries and book directly with service providers.
2. **Online packages:** the online package distribution channel accounts for the industry's most dynamic expansion in the last decade, with Expedia and Priceline posting the highest growth rates of all distribution intermediaries in the last five years (Euromonitor International 2015a, 2015b).
3. **Package booking:** the package booking distribution channel includes the traditional network of travel agents, global tour operators, inbound tour operators and DMCs. Beyond questions of physical infrastructure and in-person communication, a key differentiator between online agencies and the traditional network is the latter's ability to sell itinerary-based tour packages; thus far, online agencies have largely been unable to replicate this practice. Travel agents, tour operators and DMCs can further distinguish themselves by assisting with visa applications and the acquisition of permits for visiting national parks.

It is this final distribution channel that remains an entrenched feature of African leisure tourism, with foreign visitors often accessing safari, eco-tourism, and surf and sand products through entrenched networks of actors with strong ties to one another. Data on the experiences of travellers in a cluster of East African Community (EAC) countries highlight this feature. A survey of visitors to Uganda reported that 21 per cent of leisure tourists were on package tours, with nearly 80 per cent of those package tourists indicating that they preferred to travel independently when outside Uganda (World Bank Group 2013). In Tanzania, a recent study of leisure visitors reported that 75 per cent were on package tours (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics 2015). In Kenya, package holidays accounted for 39 per cent of leisure travel retail sales in 2013, which was the highest proportion of any single category (Euromonitor International 2015c). The package booking distribution channel continues to be popular for multiple reasons (Daly and Guinn 2016). These include: (1) the appeal of itinerary-based travel in a region where wildlife and parks are attractive products; (2) the general unfamiliarity of international tourists with the continent; (3) concerns about the ability of inbound operators to deliver quality products; and (4) the difficulties associated with organising domestic transport and other services independently.

2.2 Global lead firms

A striking similarity between African tourism and the Caribbean markets is the reliance of both on international arrivals. While foreign spending represented roughly 28 per cent of tourism receipts around the world in 2016, it accounted for roughly 36 per cent of total tourism spending in Africa. The figures for individual regions were much higher, although all were lower than those for the Caribbean, which had the highest percentage of foreign visitor spending of anywhere in the world (Table 2). In individual countries where there is a strong base of domestic tourism – nations such as China, Japan, Germany, Mexico, the USA, the United

Table 2. Percentage of foreign visitor spending in total tourism revenue, 2016

Region	Foreign visitor spending as a proportion of total tourism spending (%)	Total tourism spending (US$, millions)	Foreign visitor spending (US$, millions)
TOTAL	**28**	**4,961,403**	**1,389,430**
Caribbean	71.6	37,960	27,164
Eastern Europe	63.9	81,175	51,873
Central America	63.2	22,559	14,249
East Africa	*55.7*	*17,691*	*9,850*
Middle East	54.1	154,129	83,339
Southern Africa	*44.7*	*23,221*	*10,388*
Southern Europe	42.9	361,604	154,981
Nordic countries	37.8	95,000	35,900
Central Asia	36.4	7,510	2,730
North Africa	*34.2*	*42,222*	*14,455*
Caucasus	32.5	53,928	17,532
East Asia	29.1	1,306,516	380,590
Central Africa	*27.7*	*6,639*	*1,839*
Oceania	26.7	117,676	31,382
Western Europe	24.9	958,948	238,701
North America	20.2	1,225,800	247,700
West Africa	*17.4*	*20,706*	*3,602*
South America	15.3	206,129	31,543
South Asia	14.2	221,983	31,604

Source: WTTC 2017

Kingdom, France and Italy – foreign spending represents 10–30 per cent of total tourism revenue.

With lead firms earning their position partly through their access to consumers, the source of demand has implications for the composition and characteristics of tourism value chains. Domestic consumers allow national or regional businesses to improve their position by eliminating the need to network and share profits with global distribution intermediaries. In a study comparing Asian and Africa markets, Christian and Nathan (2013) noted that tourists tend to use tour operators based in their home region because of trust issues.

As is the case in the Caribbean, local tour operators in many African locations are constrained by low levels of domestic demand for tourism. East Africa is among the global regions most dependent on foreign visitor spending (see Table 2). Countries such as Kenya and Tanzania have long been prominent destinations in safari circuits, with national parks such as the Maasai Mara in Kenya and the Serengeti in Tanzania receiving high numbers of North American and European visitors. More recently, locations in Rwanda have become mainstays on the itineraries of tourists on high-end, luxury holidays; they consider a trip to see the country's mountain gorillas a 'bucket list' experience. However, most of these Western visitors use lead firms, such as Abercrombie & Kent, Cox & Kings or Wilderness Safaris, that are based outside the region.

2.3 Linkages versus leakages

The pre-eminence of global lead firms in both Africa and the Caribbean has implications for the value captured by domestic actors that participate in the chain. With foreign tour operators, hotel companies, cruise ships and other actors often controlling supply chain decisions and procurement opportunities, linkages between tourism and supporting industries are sometimes underdeveloped. The pro-poor tourism literature investigates linkages in extensive detail. Mitchell and Ashley (2010) conducted a broad literature review and estimated that the empirical evidence suggests that roughly 25–33 per cent of total tourism revenue is captured by the poor in developing countries through direct earnings and indirect multipliers in the supply chain.

While agricultural industries often have strong ties to the tourism industry in many locations, African countries have some advantages over small Caribbean nations, which often struggle with scale issues while trying to sell to hotels and other businesses in the hospitality sector (Jansen et al. 2015). Mitchell and Ashley (2009) mapped the flow of tourism expenditures through the Ethiopian economy and found that Ethiopian tourists spend roughly US$55 million on food and beverages, while hotels purchased US$16 million in goods from 6,300 domestic producers to support an estimated 25,000 farm jobs. Many South African safari lodges also have relatively entrenched linkages with the domestic food supply chain. Rogerson (2012) surveyed eighty lodges in six distinct regional clusters to examine local sourcing of eight food categories. He found that the average sourcing distance was the shortest for fruit, eggs and vegetables, at less than 80 km.

Although 78 per cent of the lodges considered in the Rogerson study were owned by South African companies, backward linkages between tourism and agribusiness persist in markets with foreign lead firms. Spray and Agarwal (2016) studied ties in the tourism industry in Rwanda, which is characterised by high degrees of foreign visitor spending and foreign ownership (Daly and Guinn 2016). Only 3 per cent of total imports resulting from tourism were from the agriculture, forestry and fishing sectors, which suggests that local sourcing suffices to some degree (prepared foodstuffs, including beverages and tobacco, were the largest single food import category).

2.4 Business travel

Globally, 23 per cent of the roughly US$4.9 trillion spent on tourism in 2016 was for business travel. However, the proportion was higher in Africa than in any other region in the world, with business travel accounting for 31 per cent of total tourism spending in Africa, compared with 28 per cent in North America, 23 per cent in Europe, 20 per cent in Asia Pacific and 20 per cent in the Middle East. The significance of business travel becomes more apparent if one analyses individual country data. Sixteen of the top seventeen countries in the world with the largest proportions of business travel in their overall tourism portfolio are African nations. Table 3 lists the top 20.

The demand demographics associated with business travel are generally domestically or regionally oriented. This promotes the opposite dynamic from that found in leisure tourism GVCs; whereas in leisure tourism the lack of local demand inhibits the development of domestic businesses, in business tourism high local spending promotes the development of local and regional companies that offer inbound and outbound services to business clients. Satguru is one of the more prominent examples. The company, which began in Kigali, Rwanda, in 1989, has expanded its services to 43 African countries, with a total of more than 800 employees, and has moved its world headquarters to Dubai. Satguru serves as a Carlson Wagonlit Travel partner in 19 countries in Africa and accounts for more than 50 per cent of airline bookings in multiple markets (Daly and Guinn 2016).

It should be noted that in some cases a high proportion of business travel reflects low demand for leisure tourism. The potential for boosting business travel can also be limited. An exception is the emerging MICE segment, which presents opportunities to increase arrivals and drive spillovers into the leisure chain. Within Africa, South Africa is the leading provider of international association meetings, hosting 108 in 2015. South Africa's success is partly driven by its network of public and private actors that have an International Congress and Convention Association (ICCA) membership. The industry association provides more than 1,000 public and private sector actors with access to the marketplace for worldwide MICE events. South Africa has 24 ICCA members and hosted 531 ICCA meetings in the period from 2011 to 2015.[6] Morocco (36), Egypt (22), Kenya (19), Tunisia (17), Tanzania (16), Ghana (13), Rwanda (13), Ethiopia (12) and Nigeria (9) hosted the next largest numbers of ICCA meetings in 2015.

Table 3. Largest proportions of business tourism spending in 2016

Rank	Country	Business tourism as a proportion of total tourism (%)	Total business tourism revenue (US$, millions)	Continent
1	Lesotho	89.7	181	Africa
2	Swaziland	88.6	184	Africa
3	Burundi	81.3	100	Africa
4	Guinea	80.2	210	Africa
5	Mali	79.8	670	Africa
6	Republic of the Congo	77.1	199	Africa
7	Niger	76.7	230	Africa
8	Central African Republic	75.0	60	Africa
9	Tonga	73.0	36	Asia Pacific
10	Malawi	72.9	245	Africa
11	Sierra Leone	70.0	70	Africa
12	Mozambique	65.8	452	Africa
13	Ivory Coast	65.5	1,500	Africa
14	Rwanda	64.6	420	Africa
15	Zambia	58.3	700	Africa
16	Cameroon	57.1	1,200	Africa
17	Benin	57.1	200	Africa
18	Sweden	56.8	21,200	Europe
19	Togo	56.7	170	Africa
20	Senegal	52.8	650	Africa

Source: WTTC 2017.

3. Economic upgrading in African tourism GVCs

In the GVC literature, *upgrading* describes how actors can improve competitiveness and increase benefits from participating in global industries. There are four primary forms of economic upgrading that have been observed:

1. **Product upgrading:** describes the shift in production to higher value products or services.
2. **Process upgrading:** includes improvements in the efficiency of production systems, for example by incorporating more sophisticated technology.
3. **Functional upgrading:** when actors acquire new functions or abandon existing ones to increase overall competitiveness.
4. **Chain upgrading:** when firms or countries move into new – but often related – production activities by leveraging existing capabilities (an example would be automotive parts manufacturers generating aerospace material).[7]

The concept of upgrading provides a useful foundation as African stakeholders consider how to encourage the development of the tourism industry. The following section outlines some of the more prominent examples that have been observed on the continent.

3.1 Product upgrading

Improvements to leisure tourism products that appeal to local and regional customers can help empower domestic distribution intermediaries by providing access to customers without having to rely on subcontractual relationships with global lead firms. An example can be found in Rwanda, where in 2009 the Rwanda Development Board (RDB) formed a public–private partnership (PPP) with African Parks, which is a conservation NGO based in South Africa, to manage Akagera National Park. Since taking over, African Parks has implemented several product upgrades, which have boosted visitor traffic by 130 per cent, mostly by increasing the number of Rwandans travelling to the park (Daly and Guinn 2016). Specific strategies and upgrades have included improving road infrastructure to ensure that visitors can see wildlife from their car, keeping the entry fee low for Rwandans and EAC members, and implementing an extensive local marketing campaign.

3.2 Process upgrading

Given the durability of the package booking distribution channel in Africa, domestic distribution intermediaries must forge relationships with global tour operators to access customers. An important process upgrade for leisure tourism business is to either outsource marketing efforts to external firms or improve internal communications skills. These marketing firms can be based inside the inbound country or in the external market where consumers are based. While there are only a handful of companies outside major African markets such as South Africa or Egypt that have the financial resources to outsource marketing to companies based in North America or Europe, there are alternative strategies. Five lodges in Uganda have banded together and formed the Uganda Lodge Collection to market their properties via a website and using social media. Additionally, tourism boards regularly assist by contracting outside marketing firms to create location-specific marketing products.

3.3 Functional upgrading

Steps taken by the Rwandan Government illustrate how countries can attract foreign direct investment (FDI) that can facilitate functional upgrading, which can have the dual effect of increasing the value captured by domestic businesses while also increasing the supply of key inputs. Wilderness Safaris, a Botswana-based tour operator that specialises in luxury safaris, entered a joint venture agreement with Albizia, which is the parent company of Thousand Hills and Amber Expeditions, two DMCs based in East Africa. Together, Wilderness Safaris and Albizia approached Horizon Group, an equity firm based in Kigali that is wholly owned by the Rwandan Government, to provide financing for investments in Rwanda. Those conversations led to the formation of Imizi, a lodge holding company whose shareholders are Albizia, Wilderness Rwanda and Horizon Group. Wilderness Safaris then built two properties in Rwanda, which opened in 2016. As part of the arrangement, Wilderness Safaris provides sales and marketing assistance for Albizia's tour operations (Daly and Guinn 2016).

3.4 Chain upgrading

The MICE s ector also provides opportunities for diversification. Conference tourism has its own unique characteristics, with networks of conference specialists, conference associations and professional conference organisers (PCOs) serving as the primary distribution intermediaries. PCOs and DMCs overlap in their activities; however, PCOs use skills that require additional training. One of the reasons for the divergence is the scale of conference events. Whereas distribution intermediaries in the leisure and business value chains rarely deal with large groups, MICE events can attract hundreds or thousands of delegates, which presents logistical challenges that are on a scale that is generally not encountered in the leisure tourism GVC.

4. Policy recommendations

The tourism industry has been a popular topic among international organisations and academics, which has led to a wide range of recommendations for policy interventions that focus on various areas. Employing a GVC perspective in an analysis provides insights that both reinforce the traditional orthodoxies and offer unique perspectives. Holistic approaches that improve the position of distribution intermediaries and service providers can be prioritised. Although service providers frequently offer the greatest opportunities for employment in each chain, it is the distribution intermediaries that often control the sector's upgrading potential, as they can facilitate links with end markets. Policy-makers can play a role in helping to overcome barriers that inhibit the kind of upgrading described in the previous section. Broad categories of constraints include the following:

- **Access to consumers:** distribution intermediaries in many regions in Africa are dependent on foreign consumers; travellers in these regions are likely to use global tour operators to arrange packages in the region. This obstacle can be partly mitigated by facilitating product upgrades that appeal to African travellers, such as those employed by African Parks at Akagera National Park, and by reaching out directly to consumers in critical markets. Tourism boards can also play a role in boosting the communication skills of domestic tour operators or travel agents through professional development events and other training.
- **Skills training:** management, organisation, communication and computer skills are critical for distribution intermediaries and service providers that seek to upgrade their position in the chain. There are international programmes designed to teach these skills to students, with the UNWTO.TedQual certification programme being perhaps the most prominent example. However, Africa has only two institutions that have earned certification: Utalii College in Kenya and the Hotel and Tourism Training Institute Trust in Zambia. Governments can play a role in either exploring the creation of hospitality programmes at existing institutions or providing funding mechanisms such as scholarships to enable domestic students to study in Kenya or Zambia.
- **Concession, investment and management policies:** as Christian (2015) noted in her study of Kenyan and Ugandan tourism investment regimes, government policies can allow for varying governance models to take root. Minimal investment regulation has been observed in Kenya; this has encouraged overdevelopment in certain locations, thereby weakening the negotiating position of domestic service providers with distribution intermediaries. Kenya's approach to tourism investments and concession areas contrasts with those of EAC peers such as Uganda and Rwanda. In Uganda, the Uganda Wildlife Authority exerts significant control over development in and around national parks, limiting the number of concession agreements that are disbursed.

While this reduces overall employment, it empowers service providers that are active in the country. In Rwanda, the government takes an aggressive approach to cultivating PPPs with conservation-focused organisations that have allowed Rwandan distribution intermediaries to functionally upgrade through agreements with global lead firms.

- **Institutionalisation:** formal institutions such as ministries of tourism and tourism boards can encourage co-ordination that ensures that stakeholder interests are aligned. Rwanda provides an illustrative example of the benefits of formalising institutions to attract large-scale meetings. The RDB used a loan from the World Bank to enter into a contract with the Business Tourism Company, a firm based in South Africa, and develop a MICE strategy, which was completed in 2014. That document led to the creation of the Rwanda Convention Bureau (RCB). The RCB has helped attract more events by joining ICCA, the industry association that provides public and private sector actors with access to the marketplace for worldwide MICE events.

5. Conclusion

This chapter identified some of the most prominent features of African tourism, using the GVC framework. While the traditional package booking distribution channel remains strong, the limited domestic demand for tourism in Africa requires domestic actors to rely on global tour operators to provide customers, which provides those companies with a high degree of market power. It also poses the risk that weak backward linkages with supporting industries will cause the economic gains associated with tourism to accrue to foreign actors.

Business tourism is also a significant component of travel to Africa: business tourism revenue as a percentage of overall tourism revenue is greater in Africa than it is in any region in the world. While the high proportion of business tourism in some cases reflects low demand for leisure products, business tourism provides at least two opportunities for African nations: (1) the demand demographics associated with business travel are generally domestically or regionally oriented, which allows for the emergence of domestic companies; and (2) the emerging MICE segment of business can be targeted to increase arrivals and drive spillovers into the leisure chain.

Policy interventions can be used to increase efficiency and facilitate economic upgrading. Four areas were highlighted here: (1) access to consumers; (2) skills training; (3) concession, investment and management policies; and (4) institutionalisation. Although these challenges cut across Africa, nations and regions should prioritise prescriptions that align with individual profiles. With tourism likely to remain a critical source of African exports and FDI, understanding these characteristics, as well as the dynamics associated with the global industry and how it links with local actors, will be critical for improving overall competitiveness on the continent.

Notes

1 Unless otherwise specified, the global and regional statistics cited in this section are compiled by the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC). The WTTC data can be accessed through its website, http://www.wttc.org/datagateway/.

2 For this chapter, East Africa encompasses Burundi, Comoros, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Reunion, Rwanda, Seychelles, Tanzania and Uganda. North Africa includes Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Niger, Sudan and Tunisia. Central Africa covers Angola, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon and the Republic of the Congo. Southern Africa includes Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Finally, West Africa contains Benin, Burkina Faso,

Cape Verde, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.

3 For an extended discussion on many of the topics covered in this chapter, please see Daly and Gereffi (2017) and Daly and Guinn (2016).

4 Michelle Christian has also published many research papers on the tourism industry through a GVC lens. See Christian (2013), Christian (2015), Christian and Nathan (2013) and Christian et al. (2011).

5 Both inbound tour operators and DMCs can aggregate domestic services and sell to foreign distribution intermediaries. They are distinguished by their customers: companies where the majority of sales are directly to consumers are inbound tour operators; DMCs rely on global tour operators to provide clients and serve as ground handlers.

6 Only ICCA meetings that rotate among at least three countries and attracted a minimum of fifty participants are included.

7 For longer discussions of upgrading, see Gereffi and Fernandez-Stark (2016), and Humphrey and Schmitz (2002).

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