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“Ain’t No Mountain High Enough”

*How a consumption community of climbers contributes to
the development of a new market*

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Abstract

Research on market system dynamics reveals that consumers can play an active role in the development of a market. However, most studies cover contexts where existing markets are questioned by consumers who want new taste structures. Adopting an ethnographic inspired approach, this article examines how consumers engage in the formation of a new market fuelled by the desire of a new lifestyle. I address this issue in the context of the climbing tourism market in Bohuslän, Sweden, and its evolution during the last two decades with emphasis on the role of a consumption community. Drawing on the perspective of market system dynamics, I describe the formation of the climbing market with focus on the role of the Bohuslän climbing community as the entrepreneurial force. The article shows how the institutionalisation of the community, the movement of climbers to the area and the embeddedness of the community into the society were important dimensions for the entrepreneurial activities, the market formation and the challenges encountered. It is argued that this type of community, located in the intersection between consumption, production, local society and politics, illustrates how passion and lifestyle issues may count during market development.

Keywords

Market system dynamics, market formation, consumers, consumption community, climbing, climbing market, adventure tourism

Introduction

Most of the citizens of the developed world live in metropolitan areas. Therefore, mountains, cliffs, oceans, forests, desert islands and other wild places indicate get-away locations that offer chances of be in nature. This separation of the self, jumping from the ordinary life right into a stimulating and extraordinary one, appears to provide the pleasant experience that is central to tourism (Rojek and Urry 1997). For this reason, in the last decades we have been witnessing a fast development of what one could define adventure tourism, the type of tourism which involves the practice of adventure sports, such as climbing. The adventure tourism market is today valued at nearly US\$260 billion worldwide and is expected to develop (Williams et al., 2017). In Sweden, the climbing marketplace is constantly growing and it represents an important touristic resource (bergsport.se/klatterforbundet). Today, Sweden is offering 1661 crags (27crags.com), with 7000 climbers registered to more than 80 different climbing clubs (bergsport.se/klatterforbundet).

More than 40 years have passed since Jan Liliemark and Ulf Björnberg in 1975 marked the first climbing route “Häller” in Bohuslän, a region which extends for 4400 km² on the West Coast of Sweden. Since then, the touristic marketplace of Bohuslän has witnessed a dramatic change due to the rapid development of a climbing-related market. Today, the granite rocks battered by years of hard weather coming off the North Atlantic host around 1500 climbing routes on 100 different crags (Restorp and Restorp, 2015). Besides, in addition to the huge number of tourists visiting each year (more than 1000 in 2016), the area currently appears attractive to climbing families and couples, both domestic and international, who now live there permanently or own a second home. Today, the Bohuslän climbing market includes facilities such as accommodation, climbing courses, international events and climbing gyms. According to a manager of the Swedish Climbing Federation, Bohuslän is nowadays the best climbing area in Sweden.

“People were coming here in the 70s to climb. But it was only a few [people]. My husband will probably tell you that when he was 15 years old he could have been here all summer without meeting anyone. But today things have changed. If you go to a cliff on a sunny weekend there could be lines of climbers queuing by the crag. There has been a dramatic change. The impact that the climbing community had on [the development of] Bohuslän has been huge” Janet

What is particularly interesting to observe in the Bohuslän case is that the climbing market in the area has not come alive due to a firm-driven innovation (Day and Kimberly, 1995). On the contrary, the stories above indicate that the development of the climbing destination has been fuelled by a contribution of highly involved consumers, “with a deep-seated interest in the products, producers, and trends” (Dolbec and Fisher, 2015: 1465). It seems that the climbers of a consumption community (Cova, 1997), organised in the Bohuslän Climbing Club, have had a significant role in the development of what today is a popular tourism climbing market that allows people to escape the city and enjoy the passion for traditional climbing.

How does a market develop? Recent research in consumer culture theory (CCT) has revealed that consumers may play an active role in influencing and participating in the dynamics of a market. Some studies on market system dynamics (Giesler and Fisher, 2016) have covered contexts where the consumers contradict the current market characteristics, including ideology, and initiate their own parallel market (Kozinets, 2002; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007; Giesler, 2008). Other studies highlighted circumstances where the consumers alter market dynamics due to their enthusiasm towards certain product categories (Dolbec and Fischer, 2015) or due to their perception that the

market is lacking suitable options (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013). Martin and Schouten (2014) analysed how dedicated consumers act as entrepreneurs while Humphreys (2010) examined how the casino industry was created and sustained in a complex social and political context by the cooperation of multiple stakeholders. However, little research has explored how consumers in a consumption community may work strategically to alter market dynamics (Kjeldgaard et al., 2016), and little attention has been paid to the formation of new markets and the challenges involved when consumers' meaning of everyday life is the driving force.

In this article, the following question was asked: How do consumers contribute to the dynamics and development of a new market through a formally established consumption community? The article describes the climbing in Bohuslän and the development of the Bohuslän Climbing Club (BCC) and how the dynamics of the community played a significant role for how a tourism climbing market was initiated and developed. It is argued that four dimensions were important as related to the linking of the consumption community with structures of society and the social environment during the market formation. Due to the tension involved when market dynamics are initiated by consumers' activities (Giesler and Fisher, 2016), the challenges that are implicated in such market dynamics are studied. At the end of the article the results are discussed related to previous marketing and consumer research that cover the role of the consumers in market dynamics.

Literature Review

Market Formation

The literature on the formation of markets plays a central role in marketing. According to the “old-school” marketing tradition on the topic, a firm-based approach is common (Day and Kimberly, 1995; Hauser, Tellis, and Griffin, 2006; Rogers, 1983; Van de Ven, 1995). In this view, consumers have little role in the innovation that happens in the market. However, the firm-based tradition can be criticised because it ignores the role that consumers may have in actively (re)shaping the market through their practices (Giesler and Fischer, 2016).

Recent research has analysed and focused on the role of the consumers in the dynamics of the market, trying to fill the gap left by the firm-based tradition. In this research, three different streams of theory have been identified. The first stream of research observes contexts where the consumers challenge the current market logics and initiate and develop similar ones (Kozinets, 2002; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007; Giesler, 2008). The second stream emphasises situations where the consumers change market dynamics because of their interest towards certain product categories (Dolbec and Fischer, 2015) or because of the perception that the market was deficient of appropriate options (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013). Represented by Martin and Schouten (2014), the third stream analyses the role of the involved consumer as entrepreneurs.

The first stream of research, called the resistance-based stream (Kjeldgaard et al., 2016), investigates how a market is fuelled by consumers who rebel against certain market dynamics present in society, with the intention of changing them (Giesler, 2008) or forming ideologically counterpoised ones (Kozinets, 2002; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007). Giesler (2008) shows how market formation in the music industry develops almost in a cyclical way through different dramatic stages of instability, where a series of ideological confrontations take place between opposing groups of resilient consumers and producers. As a main contribution, Giesler (2008) argues that markets are staged compromises between sharing and owning. Differently, Kozinets (2002) analyses the anti-

market Burning Man Festival, where consumers resist against institutional market logics and try to escape from them and build a new detached reality. In his study, he discovers how this effort presents huge limits in general applicability, as it can be obtained in a precise setting, with circumscribed time and space (Kozinets, 2002). Likewise, Thompson and Coskuner-Balli (2007) analyse community-supported agriculture, which arose as a reaction to the co-optation of corporates towards the organic food movement. In their study, they discover how co-optation produces a countervailing market response that aggressively promotes the oppositional aspects. In wider terms, one could argue that this stream of research has studied consumers as active participants in market dynamics but without being active players in altering the current market logics.

A second theoretical perspective, the so-called expansion-based stream (Kjeldgaard et al., 2016), analyses how the consumers interact with each other due to shared interests and passion towards a certain product category, and consequently altering the market. Certain consumers start influencing the market because they perceive that the market itself in a certain way fails to meet their needs. This is the case of the unsatisfied “fatshionistas” (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013). Although without being opponents of the overall fashion market logics, the “fatshionistas” consider the mainstream market guilty because it does not provide them with adequately fashionable clothing options. Differently, other consumers change the market involuntarily and with small individual innovations they collectively achieve important changes. This is shown in Dolbec and Fischer's (2015) study, where involved consumers unintentionally change taste regimes and price fairness in the fashion industry due to their online fashion "collections". As a critical argument, one could argue that this type of research has (only) considered expansion in already existing markets, and with suggested alterations among existing products or market structures.

A slightly different version of the expansion-based stream relates to the consumers' role as entrepreneurs in market formation rather than originating in a significant conflict. Martin and Schouten (2014) show how the mini-moto market started from scratch within the motorcycle industry through direct contribution of the consumers who acted as entrepreneurs, adopting innovation processes, new practices and generating new infrastructures. One could argue that this model does not concern the study of how consumers may work intentionally to modify the dynamics of the market through more formally organised activities.

Moreover, further research on market formation analyses in depth the development of a market in relation with external factors; institutions and logics in the surrounding environments (Humphreys, 2010; Kjeldgaard et al, 2016). Drawing on institutional theory in sociology, Humphreys (2010) theorises the process of “megamarketing” defined by Kotler (1986) as the use of strategic efforts by a firm or firms to gain the cooperation of multiple stakeholders to understand how new industries are created and sustained in a complex social and political context. The author uses an analysis of the casino gambling industry to demonstrate the role of normative and regulatory structures in facilitating the adoption and eventual acceptance of an industry through the social process of legitimation. According to Humphreys (2010), the formation of new markets can be influenced by coalitions of actors interested in either promoting or opposing the legitimation of an industry or an innovation. However, whereas Humphreys' (2010) research covers the development of a new market, it does not consider the role played by a consumption community in the market formation process. Kjeldgaard et al. (2016) highlight the combination of both resistance-based and expansion-based streams through the case of the development of the (micro-brewery) beer market in Denmark. The research covers a specific empirical focus on the role of formally organised consumer associations, the Danish beer enthusiasts (DØE), in the process of market formation, focusing also on the role played by technology

and legislation in addition to taste structures for explaining how the micro-beer market emerged. According to Kjeldgaard et al. (2016), the beer enthusiasts who want new types of beer act by adding new technologies and changing the politics in the area.

Consumption Communities

In the last decade, it has been possible to observe an increased interest in the analysis of the significance of community, sub-cultures and collectives in the context of consumer research. According to Bounds (1997), the concept of consumer community suffers from an excessive modernist connotation, since it represents a group of people with something in common, without implying the existence of non-rational and rather archaic bonds. Differently, while not being able to outline consumption communities with a commonly accepted definition, other research provides a different connotation of consumption communities, defining common characteristics such as the sense of belonging among associated members and the shared emotions, lifestyles, moral beliefs and consumption practices (Cova, 1997). In Cova's (1997) view, consumption communities are tied together by a linking value that satisfy their desire for communities and permits and supports social interaction of the communal type. Consequently, postmodern individuals seek products and services less for their use value than for their linking value.

CCT researchers have investigated the collective organising of consumption and it is possible to identify two main streams of research that have been developed. The first stream suggests "subcultures of consumption" as a concept to better understand consumers and the way they organise their lives and identities, acknowledging that consumption activities, product categories and brands may serve as foundation to obtain social cohesion and interaction (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Ulusoy, 2016). The second stream emphasises the manifestation of neo-tribes, societal micro-groups in which individuals share strong emotional bonds, experiences and common passions. In this view, it is assumed that an individual is simultaneously member of numerous micro-groups in which s/he takes parts in various activities and playing different roles each time (Cova 1997, Bennett 1999, Cova and Cova 2002, Cova and Dalli 2010, Cova and Shankar, 2007).

As representatives of the subcultures of consumption stream, Schouten and McAlexander (1995) study consumption community (Harley Davidson bikers) as a distinctive subgroup of society that develops due to a mutual consumer commitment to a specific class of product, brand or activity of consumption. In the case of the Harley Davidson bikers, the community came into existence due to people identifying with the consumption activity in which they identify with other people. Schouten and McAlexander (1995) discover how the relationships, shared meanings and mutual support within the community are governed by ideologies of consumption. Ulusoy (2016), studying (Dionysian) music subcultures, argues that subcultures play a role in revealing present and future consumption patterns by emphasising hypothetical ways through which identities and cultural forms emerge. In this view, subcultures are functional in creating transformative and extraordinary consumer experiences (Ulusoy, 2016).

This first stream of research study consumers within subcultures of consumption as driven by unique ethos and values that make them bend together within the subculture (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995; Ulusoy, 2016). Nonetheless, one could argue that these researches have not considered the possibility of the presence of consumers who are simultaneously members of different consumption communities. Moreover, as "becoming a member of a subculture of consumption generally means entering at the bottom of a status hierarchy and undergoing a process of socialization" (Schouten and

McAlexander, 1995: 56), one could point out that this stream of research does not consider the presence of subcultures of consumption that do not necessarily entail a hierarchical organisation of their members.

The second neo-tribal stream of research partially fills the gaps left open by the subcultures of consumption stream. For example, in his ethnographic study of the urban dance music scene in Newcastle, Bennet (1999) states that the groupings that have traditionally been conceived as subcultures, should instead be understood as “a series of temporal gatherings characterised by fluid boundaries and floating memberships” (Bennet, 1999: 600). In these forms of flexible communities, consumers constantly switch between different neo-tribes which appear to be transitory sets where consumers can live out a specific role or identity (Bennet, 1999). According to Cova (1997) and Bennet (1999), neo-tribalism describes the ever-changing nature of postmodern society in which appears to be composed by a network of societal micro groups where individuals share common emotional bonds, know-hows and passions. In this view, individuals play different roles and wear different "masks" in every specific micro group (Cova, 1997; Cova and Dalli, 2010; Cova and Shankar, 2007). Moreover, as “close geographical proximity is also no longer a prerequisite for tribal affiliation” (Cova and Shankar, 2007: 179), the boundaries of neo-tribes appear to be conceptual. Consequently, postmodern people belonging to multiple tribes are not deprived of the option of living a normal life (Cova and Cova, 2002). According to Cova and Dalli (2010), the collective dimension is a key feature in creating positive consumption experiences. Indeed, the members of neo-tribes identify with each other and engage in collective social actions (Cova and Shankar, 2007). With consumers considered as active agents in the creation of linking value (Cova, 1997; Cova and Dalli, 2010), companies are accordingly not able to generate linking value without the support of the members of the neo-tribes who put effort in the production of it (Cova and Shankar, 2007).

Social Conflicts in Market Dynamics

Prior research has documented challenges and conflicts during market system dynamics (Giesler and Fischer, 2016). Furthermore, it is expected that social conflicts distinguish market development processes that are dominated by consumer organised activities (Kjeldgaard et al., 2016). According to Husemann and Luedicke (2013), social conflict is a significant and unavoidable fragment of social relations. In their view, social conflict also emerges in consumption contexts, and often with considerable consequences. They define consumption-mediated social conflict as an “interaction relationship between two or more (groups of) market participants that have mutually exclusive or incompatible goals regarding certain consumption resources and ideologies” (Husemann and Luedicke, 2013: 356). In their research, Husemann and Luedicke (2013) show how conflict parties, conflict object, and interactive conflict behaviour appear to be the three conceptual markers characterising a relationship as conflictual. In this view, the interactive behaviour must have been provoked by a consumption-mediator, such as a contentious product or a challenging consumption practice. Moreover, their review reveals three distinct patterns of social conflict: emancipatory, ideology-advocating and authenticity-protecting conflicts. *Emancipatory conflicts* emerge when a party feels dominated or exploited by another party, when consumers seek ideological change or strive to regain power. *Ideology-advocating* conflicts arise among consumers embracing discordant ideological views of legitimate consumption practices. *Authenticity-protecting* involve disagreements originating in the way objects, practices or experience are supposed to be consumed (Husemann and Luedicke, 2013).

In contrast to existing studies that highlight the collaborative activities of consumers (Schau et al. 2009), and that neglect “messy and discordant social realities” of consumption communities (Laamanen and Skålén, 2014), an alternative stream of research focuses instead on collective–conflictual standpoints and on incongruities and conflicts within communities (Thomas, Price, Schau, 2013). Laamanen and Skålén (2014: 4) consider social conflict neither positively nor negatively but as a “dynamic and perpetual characteristic of human interaction”. The authors argue that collective–conflictual co-creation can be the main drive to innovation, transformation and repositioning of the field and actors’ positions, which may impact market dynamics. In this view, and beyond collaboration, forms of interaction can indeed include opposition, co-optation, opportunism, coercion, and violence (Laamanen and Skålén, 2014).

Thomas, Price and Schau (2013) analyse how heterogeneous communities function and interrelate in the marketplace. They conducted a multi-method investigation on the distance running consumption communities, studying how it evolved from a small, exclusive, male-dominated group to a mainstream consumption community with mass participation. Considering the running community as heterogeneous and complex, “where members often have multiple and divergent views on authenticity, membership, and consumption” (Thomas, Price, Schau, 2013: 1011), the authors show that the community can retain continuity even with heterogeneity operating as a destabilising force. According to Thomas, Price and Schau (2013), continuity is preserved when social and economic resources make the community members dependent on each other. In this view, resource movements inside the community put heterogeneous actors in dependent relationships with each other, enabling the community to stabilise, restructure, and reform over time. Moreover, the authors advocate that consumption communities can be characterised as composites of dimensions involving community dynamics. The pinpointed dimensions are nine: focus, duration, appeal, access, dispersion, marketplace orientation, structure of resource dependency, collective belonging, and heterogeneity (Thomas, Price, Schau, 2013).

Contextualisation

Contextualisation is important in studies of market system dynamics (Giesler and Fisher, 2016). To understand logics of adventure tourism and the meaning of the climbing culture, I discuss the themes with reference to adventure tourism and sport, especially related to nature-based experiences. Then, I describe the case of the climbing market of Bohuslän and the Bohuslän Climbing Club.

Climbing Culture in Adventure Tourism

Adventure is a term widely used in contemporary society, and it has a broad positive meaning conveying virtue of all sorts of experiences and products. A general feature of adventures is argued to be humans' desire to seek thrills and escape from the ordinary life (Cater, 2003). Adventure sports, also known as alternative sports (Bogardus, 2012), differentiate from common sports due to certain specific characteristics that make them stand out. Primarily, adventure sports are distinguished by the presence of risk (Price, 1978). Moreover, adventure sports take place in exotic venues, usually occurring in unusual, challenging locations, far away from ordinary life settings (Breivik, 2010). Finally, these sports are typically self-governed, self-organised, and do not contemplate competition among the performers (Breivik 2010; Rinehart and Sydnor 2003; Wheaton 2004).

Beedie and Hudson (2013) discuss adventure tourism, defining it as an experience that brings together travel, sport, and outdoor recreation. Cater (2003) affirms that adventure tourism includes definite

features such as specific skills and elements in which the outcome is influenced by people's participation. According to Cloke and Perkins (2002), the novelty, the attainment of cultural capital and the thrill are the objects of desire provided by adventure tourism. Cloke and Perkins (2002) studied the case of Adventure Tourism in New Zealand, discovering how the creation of commodified adventures for tourists has become a crucially important part of contemporary tourism in the country. In their research, the authors show how the tourists looking for explorations in exotic places are almost swindled by the organisers of the holidays. With the landscape becoming stage and the tour operators providing the cast, the tourists only believe to be free when living the adventure.

Part of nature-based tourism (Whitlock, Romer and Becker, 1991), traditional climbing can be considered an Adventure Sport performed in the context of Adventure Tourism. Climbing comprises a physical effort performed in an outdoor context, involving the tourists in a practical engagement (Beedie and Hudson, 2013). When discussing about climbing, with adventure tourism becoming a business enterprise with big companies dominating and commodifying experiences (Cloke and Perkins, 2002; Beedie and Hudson, 2013), it can be important to point out the difference in self-perception that the distinctive climbers have about their role. Do they all consider themselves as tourists?

Even though becoming blurrier in the last couple of years (Beedie and Hudson, 2003), one could argue that it is still possible nowadays to witness a difference between the so-called holiday climbers, which "buy an experience that is usually packaged for maximum efficiency" (Beedie and Hudson, 2003; 626) and the mountaineers, climbers who enthusiastically and individually seek adventure and who do not want to consider themselves and be considered as tourists (Collister, 1984; Scott, 1994). Indeed, the dirtbags or lifestyle climbers (Rickly-Boyd, 2012; Rickly, 2014) share deep enthusiasm towards climbing, passion that drives them to pursue it full-time in their lives. For most mountaineers, rock climbing possesses existential features, for several it involves a meditation-like experience, while for others it is spiritual (Rickly-Boyd, 2012). Nevertheless, the common feature making mountaineering "authentic" appears to be defined around the persistent and continuous performance of the climbing activity (Wheaton and Beal 2003).

The term lifestyle climber, or dirtbags, refers to mountaineers that decide to move between climbing destinations to be able to sustain a continual climbing lifestyle. This phenomenon is also referred to as lifestyle mobility (Rickly-Boyd, 2012; Åkerlund and Sandberg, 2013; Cohen, Duncan and Thulemark, 2013; Rickly, 2014). Lifestyle mobility involves the "mobility practices undertaken by individuals based on their freedom of choice, of a temporal or more permanent duration, with or without any significant 'home base(s)' that are primarily driven by aspirations to increase quality of life and that are primarily related to the individuals' lifestyle values" (Åkerlund and Sandberg, 2013: 353). Some argue that lifestyle climbers can be compared to the mobility of backpackers: an ongoing travelling life characterised by long and frequent journeys with flexible itineraries (Rickly-Boyd, 2012; Cohen, 2011). In Rickly's (2014) study of climbers and lifestyle mobility in North America, he found that the climbers often find employment (temporary, part-time or Internet-based) along their travels to support their hypermobile lifestyles. Furthermore, Rickly (2014) found that most the climbers were in their twenties, non-graduates and non-professionals. Many lifestyle climbers deliberately choose the life of "self-induced poverty" (Rickly-Boyd, 2012: 78) although a majority come from middle and upper-class families.

The development of a Climbing Market: The Bohuslän Case

Climbing in Bohuslän

Well known for its Nordic Bronze Age rock art examples and for its old fishing villages, Bohuslän is a Swedish province in Götaland that extends for 4400 km² on the West Coast of Sweden. In the past, Bohuslän's economy has been based entirely on the stone industry, on the wood industry and on the fish oil extraction business. Nowadays, one of Bohuslän's main economic resources is adventure tourism (vastsverige.com/bohuslan). While outdoor activities linked to the ocean such as Kayaking and Sailing are popular, the region is today internationally known as a first-rate climbing destination (27crag.com/areas/bohuslan).

The earliest evidence of the practice of climbing in Bohuslän dates back from the 70s when two professional climbers Jan Liliemark and Ulf Björnberg marked the first route "Hällertoppen" in 1975. Between the 80s and the early 90s, Bohuslän's crags have been visited and explored by different specialised climbers that developed new routes. Bohuslän started to be acknowledged as a unique climbing area and the first international climbers from the U.S., Germany, Netherlands and Switzerland came in the region. Nonetheless, during those years Bohuslän was a hidden gem, only known by a small circle of specialised mountaineers that could climb undisturbed surrounded by nature. The marketplace did not present any climbing-related commercial activities or accommodation facilities for tourists (Restorp and Restorp, 2015).

From the late 90s to the present time, it has been possible to witness a tremendous change in Bohuslän's attraction as a touristic market partly due to the steady development of a climbing-related market fuelled by the direct contribution of highly involved consumers organised in the Bohuslän Climbing Club (BCC).

"I certainly noticed that climbing is booming in the area [...] compared with 20 years ago we had a major increase in activities related to climbing and in tourism. I know at least 10 different couples that bought houses up there and the region is exploding" Michael

Due to the effort of the climbing community, Bohuslän's climbing market flourished through the years. Since the early 2000s, the BCC and a private company named Klättertopen have been organising specialised climbing courses in the area (e.g., rock climbing, top, top-rope securing). In 2002, the publication of the book Klätterguide Bohuslän (Bohuslän Climbing Guidebook) by Joakim Hermasson advertised Bohuslän and its crags, drawing attention on a larger scale on the area. In the period between the early 2000s and the late 2010s, Bohuslän witnessed the development of several accommodation facilities intended to host climbers. Located in the town of Brodalen, the Bed and Breakfast Villa Bro is today one of the major facilities. As stated by the B&B employee Karl, the facility is fully booked during the summer months, hosting about 30 guests each night. Other notable accommodations are a campsite below the crag of Hällertoppen and a cottage managed by the BCC in Barfändalen, which hosted 1500 climbers in 2016 (bohuskk.se). Between the early 2010s and the late 2010s, the Bohuslän climbing market gained further relevance due to the emergence of events related to climbing, such as Bohusblotet held in Bohuslän and the Bohuslän week organised by the Stockholm Climbing Club. In 2010, two members of the BCC shot a movie called Crackoholic, which tells the story of a group of climbers in Bohuslän, promoting the area and showing off the finest and hardest routes. The area gained additional international significance in 2015 due to the publishing of a new version of the Bohuslän climbing guidebook, which is now sold in the main mountain-related shops in Sweden, both in Swedish and English.



Bohuslän now offers different possibilities of climbing styles: traditional climbing is the most common technique, bouldering is also widespread, while sport climbing with bolts is applied to a lesser extent. The area of the region allocated to the climbing practice is not widespread. Indeed, many cliffs are close to each other and the small town of Brodalen is the centre of the outdoor climbing in Bohuslän, hosting the crags of Haller (Picture 1) and Hallinden. Indoor climbing is feasible in the area in a climbing gym in Uddevalla managed by the BCC and

open all year-round. Moreover, the BCC is currently building a new indoor climbing hall in the town of Brodalen (bohuskk.se).

Today, Bohuslän is considered a World Class climbing, and different international blogs, websites and forums about climbing mention, promote and discuss Bohuslän and its crags (27crags.com; mountain-spirit-guides.com; klatterforum.forum24.se). According to a manager of the Swedish Climbing Federation, Bohuslän is the best climbing area in Sweden. Holding 1500 climbing routes on more than 100 different crags, Bohuslän hosts more than 1000 tourists per year coming in the region to challenge the ageless granite rocks from all over the world (Restorp and Restorp, 2015).

Due to the unique nature of its market formation process, the case of the development of the Bohuslän climbing market was found suitable for answering the research question.

The Bohuslän Climbing Club

The BCC, Bohuslän Climbing Club (Bohusläns Klätterklubb) is a non-profit association for recreational activities, with legal branch at Rimneshallen, Rimnersgatan 13, Uddevalla and based in Bärfendalen, Munkedal. The BCC was founded on the 1st of January 1990 in Uddevalla. The BCC is registered as an association in the Swedish Climbing Federation (bohuskk.se). The BCC includes climbing enthusiasts with the mission of promoting the development of climbing in Bohuslän (bohuskk.se)



and currently its membership is constant at more than 400 members. The annual membership fee is 400 SEK for adults, 300 SEK for youth. BCC main tasks consist in working with public access to the cliffs in Bohuslän, providing insurance to the members, developing routes and making sure no bolts are placed in the crags. Moreover, the BCC keeps an ongoing communication with local landowners, manages an indoor climbing gym in Uddevalla and hosts a clubhouse in Bärfendalen (Picture 2) (bohuskk.se).

Over time, BCC has come to play significant formal and informal role in the development of the climbing market in Sweden. According to a manager of the Swedish Climbing Federation, BCC is considered one of the better functioning climbing clubs in Sweden, due to its tradition and policies.

Method

This study examines how consumers contribute to the dynamics and development of the climbing market in Bohuslän through the formally established BCC consumption community. Due to the complex nature of the research question, the study demanded an exploratory approach (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). In the following, I argue for a multi-method fieldwork inspired by an ethnographic approach and interpreted through hermeneutics.

Multi-Method Fieldwork inspired by Ethnographic Research

Ethnographic research is considered the common approach within the market system dynamic research tradition (Giesler and Fischer, 2016). Ethnography gives predominance to systematic data collection and recording human habits in natural settings (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). The present work asks for descriptive and explanatory evidences of how a consumption community contributes to market formation, for which ethnography's explorative, descriptive and explanatory purposes (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008) are well-suited. However, in the present study ethnography was adopted as a source of inspiration, as the author was not living the context as a climber during the research process.

Arnould and Wallendorf (1994) introduced market-oriented ethnography. Market-oriented ethnography is “an ethnographic focus on the behaviour of people constituting a market” (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994; 484). Its purpose is to provide the researcher with an understanding of the social world of people being studied through immersion in their community (emic) and to produce detailed concentrated description of people, their culture and beliefs (etic). According to Arnould and Wallendorf (1994), this type of study necessitates the researcher to embrace the perspective of the observed subculture and try to view the world through the eyes of an insider of this culture. The research involves incorporating multiple sources of data to generate varying perspectives in the behaviours and context of interests (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994). In accordance, the multi-method fieldwork conducted in this study combined interview methods; informal conversations; participant observations; archival data and other secondary data sources. The research phases and data sources are outlined in Table 1 and described in the following texts.

Preparation Phase	Study about climbing in Sweden and Bohuslän Climbing Club through websites, forums, online articles, social-media, archival data, Bohuslän climbing guidebook; off-site interviews, February
Main Data Collection Phase	Research Trip to Bohuslän: participant observation; visiting crags and climbing routes, grocery store, accommodation facilities; on-site interviews with climbers, members of the club, local stakeholders; informal conversations with locals, 31 March - 2 April
Auxiliary Data Collection Phase	Collection of additional data on websites, forums, visual material (movie, photographs); off-site interviews, April - May

The Research Trip

To get deeper knowledge and awareness about the investigated context, I took part in a three-day research trip to the town of Brodalen, which is considered the centre of climbing in Bohuslän, hosting the main crags Häller and Hallinden and the main climbing-related activities. The purpose of the trip was to conduct in-depth interviews with the climbers who are members of the BCC and the stakeholders, to personally observe the community, to visit the crags, to witness the commercial activities in the area and to document the research with photography. During the trip, I sojourned at the local bed and breakfast Villa Bro in which most of the interviews took place.

Significant time was spent with the climbers of the BCC and I had the chance of participating to an event where the members of the community reunited to listen to a former local climber talking about his experiences travelling around the world. This enabled a deeper insight in the culture of the community beyond the interviews, employing the tools of participant observations common in ethnographic research (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). Moreover, the event gave me the opportunity of conducting informal conversations with the members of the community and get additional insights and contacts for the interviews. During the trip, photographs have been taken and successively used in the analysis as further evidence for illustrating the findings. According to Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008; 114), photographs give true evidence of specific situations, “providing a lot of visual information to support the realist idea of traditional ethnography”.

Furthermore, the research trip provided me with useful information and data regarding the interaction between the members of the local community and the stakeholders and their relationships, as well as supporting the evidence of the presence of commercial activities forming the climbing-related market. The BCC and the local community of Brodalen, from the beginning, showed themselves highly cooperative in enabling the intended field studies. Regarding ethnographical traditions (Arnould and Wallendorf's (1994), this was important as it enabled me with the element of immersion in the sociocultural context. Specifically, this immersion resulted in the formation of a structured contextual background, which aided in making stronger and more informed interpretations of the collected data; a central and advantageous element within the chosen methodological approach (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008).

The Interviews

During this study, 15 in-depth interviews have been carried out. Interviews have been preferred to focus groups because they allow collection of personal experiences through a direct dialogue, facilitating the personal interaction between the interviewer and the interviewees (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008).

According to Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), ethnographic interviews provide a chance to learn how people directly reflect on their own behaviour, surroundings, individualities and they are valuable to gain an insider's perspective. Arnould and Wallendorf (1994; 657) argue that ethnographical interviews are unstructured interviews, which “typically involve individual informants participating in a conversation with the researcher, guided by general rather than specific priori structures controlled by the interviewer”. However, unstructured interviews can be performed by ethnographers that permanently live in the community, as “conversational interview may occur spontaneously in the course of fieldwork”, with “the participant unaware that an interview is taking place” (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008; 102). Due to the ethnographic inspired nature of this study,

with the author not able to live the context, the chosen interview type was semi-structured interviews (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008) that were performed both on-site and off-site. A list of all possible questions was made before starting the interviews, subsequently deciding which ones were most closely related to the research question. To create a conversation-like discourse with the interviewees, the interview guide was organised with open and exploratory questions in the beginning. Afterwards, more direct and factual questions were asked throughout the interviews (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994). When interviewing, genuine interest towards the participants and their activities distinguished the interview situation (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008).

Some of the interviews were carried out face to face during the research trip, while others were conducted at different times with the help of computer-mediated technologies (Skype Video-calls). The technique of conducting online interviews through Skype was chosen because it allowed an easy access to geographically dispersed population. Simultaneously, online interviews allow flexibility, resembling face-to-face conversations where both parts interact as if they were facing each other in a real-life situation (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008).

The selection of informants in the recruiting process has been directed towards people playing a central part in the market dynamics of Bohuslän and towards the climbers living in the area. Consequently, strategic sampling, or information-oriented selection (Flyvbjerg, 2006), was suitable for sampling because it allows that informants are "selected on the basis of expectations about their information content" (Flyvbjerg, 2006; 34). A central criterion for the strategic sampling was critical stakeholder awareness which means that the relevant stakeholders involved in the market system dynamics were chosen. The information and recruitment of the informants were made through access to members of the Bohuslän Climbing Club and stakeholders of the area; through personal connections, contacts gained throughout the research trip and through the BCC webpage.

The selection resulted in the 15 key informants presented in Table 2, all of whom took part in interviews lasting from 30 to 60 minutes.

Table 2. Key Informants.			
Informant	Age	Sex	Role in Bohuslän
Michael	35	M	Climber, BCC
Nadia	32	F	Climber, BCC
Jacob	32	M	Climber, BCC
Henric	38	M	Climber, BCC
Janet	35	F	Climber, BCC
Peter	38	M	Climber, BCC
Bernard	42	M	Climbing Instructor / Writer, BCC
Karl	27	M	Bed and Breakfast employee
Matt	41	M	Head of Bohuslän Climbing Club
Maia	46	F	Supermarket owner
Leonard	50	M	Supermarket owner
Lisa	60	F	Bed and Breakfast owner
Helga	43	F	Climbing guidebook writer, BCC
Philip	46	M	Climbing guidebook writer, BCC
Julia	44	F	Manager at the Swedish Climbing Federation

The interviewees are aged between 27 and 60 years old and are either climbers, members of the community who particularly contributed to the market dynamics, and institutions and persons who held a position related to the climbing community in Bohuslän. All the interviewees but the business stakeholders are registered members of the Bohuslän Climbing Club. The informants have been interviewed after informing them about the research, about its procedures and its academic purpose. The interviewees agreed that the interviews were recorded and transcribed with the purpose of being interpreted as part of the research process. Informed consents have been collected. As agreed with the informants, confidentiality has been kept on the collected material, replacing the informants' real names with pseudonyms (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008).

Secondary data and Visual material

To sustain the ethnographic contents and the material from the interviews, an important phase of the research consisted in gathering information related to climbing, climbing in Sweden and on the Bohuslän Climbing Club through written secondary data, online secondary data and visual materials. This kind of data is also fundamental for enhancing the etic dimension of the study.

As stated by Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), secondary data can offer suitable opportunities for qualitative business research, founding on the idea of data transparency, with the data representing directly what studied. Secondary data can represent and give testimony of micro-history and local habits and be used in the analysis of spaces and places. In this research, written and visual secondary data from websites, books and movies have been treated as a representation of reality and considered as "testimonial, true and objective material" (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008; 113).

The secondary data have been collected from different sources, including different blogs and forums about climbing in Sweden (27crags.com; Sverigeforaren.se; Thecrag.com), the Bohuslän Climbing Club Website (bohuskk.se) and the Bohuslän Climbing Club Facebook Page (facebook.com/bohuskk). Moreover, to get detailed information about the history of Bohuslän and information about the crags, I accessed archived data available on the BCC web page, the book "Klättring i Bohuslän" by Hanna and Petter Restorp and the movie Crackoholic by Paulsson and Widerberg.

Data Analysis

Due to the explanatory nature of the research question and due to the explorative features of the adopted methodology, a hermeneutic interpretive approach (Thompson, 1997) was chosen for conducting the data analysis process. In hermeneutics, knowledge is not fixed or given; rather, it is interpreted (Thompson, 1997). By entering the hermeneutic circle, the researcher is compelled to reflect the research process as a part-to-whole interpretative endeavour throughout the various phases of the research process. This entails a methodological procedure of understanding, constructing and deepening meaning in the analysis (Thompson, 1997). In accordance, the data analysis has been conducted with the application of the technique of meaning condensation, which allows to "analyse extensive and often complex interview texts by looking for natural meaning units in terms of the specific purpose of the study" (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009: 207).

The data analysis process consisted of distinctive steps. Initially, the complete transcribed interviews were interpreted with the intention to understand the logic of the market dynamics. Then, the meaning units were identified and the themes that dominated the units were restated in a simpler form. Next, the meaning units with common themes from all the different interviews were connected, resulting

in four dimensions (see findings), which later have been interpreted in detail. Subsequently, the dimensions have been elaborated by adding further information through dynamically moving back and forth between the data sources, data types and analytical levels (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009).

As suggested by a hermeneutical approach, the data analysis involves a constant circularity, linking empirical analysis to literature review (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). In accordance, a revision of prior research and empirical findings was interwoven throughout the analysis process to further extend and best understand the contribution of the study.

Research Quality

As the intensive multi-method fieldwork has been inspired by ethnographical research traditions, it is of greater interest to evaluate this study in terms of ethnographical quality. However, what constitutes good quality in ethnographical research has long been a contested matter (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). LeCompte and Goetz (1982) argue that reliability as well as the internal and external validity of the study can be two possible criteria for such evaluation. The reliability of a study often refers to the ability of other researchers to replicate the same findings within the same setting as the present study (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982). However, an ethnographic inspired hermeneutic approach partly occurs in natural settings, with the data being co-created between the researcher and the informants. Consequently, as unique situations cannot be reconstructed precisely, the exact replication of the research method may fail to produce identical results. Internal validity is concerned with the accuracy of the scientific findings rather than their potential to be replicated, whereas external validity is more concerned with how the derived theoretical constructs can be relevant for other contexts (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982). However, internal and external validity are criteria mainly used to validate results of quantitative studies (Hair et al., 2014). Hence, one could argue that the criteria of reliability, internal and external validity, as proposed by LeCompte and Goetz (1982), are not optimal for assessing the quality of the present study.

Sandberg (2000) suggests different criteria for evaluating the quality of researches involving an interpretative approach: communicative and pragmatic validity (Kvale, 1989, 1996) and reliability as interpretative awareness (Sandberg, 1994). Establishing communicative validity implicates an ongoing dialogue in which alternative knowledge claims are discussed throughout the research process (Kvale, 1996). Pragmatic validity involves testing knowledge achieved through interviews on real life action (Kvale, 1989). Reliability as interpretative awareness means acknowledging that researchers should be alert of interpreting knowledge across interviews and within interviews as part of the research process (Sandberg, 1994). In this study, these criteria were emphasised throughout the hermeneutic approach searching for relevant meaning units across the interviews and the other data sources. The ways in which I tried to meet the above criteria are elaborated further below.

In the data collection, communicative validity was attained by: (1) informing the interviewees about the aim of the study, to create an initial understanding between the informant and me about the research, (2) using an exploratory question and open-ended questions in the beginning to encourage the informants to identify and describe to me what they perceived as central in the market development process and (3) asking follow-up questions in the interviews to help me ensure that I understood the dynamics of the process. Pragmatic validity was obtained by observing some of the informants in the context of Bohuslän and comparing what I had observed with what they stated in the interviews. Reliability as interpretative awareness was achieved when collecting data by being oriented towards the ways in which the climbers perceived the climbing market development through

the observation and interviews. For example, if a controversy of knowledge claim was encountered during an interview it would be addressed with the interviewee. In the data analysis, communicative validity was achieved by making interpretations of the informants' declarations about the market development process that were coherent with both the context of surrounding statements and with the transcripts as a whole (Sandberg, 2010). Reliability as interpretative awareness was attained by focusing on the ways the climbers conceived the market development. I did so by: (1) holding back my own knowledge about the climbing market current state and constantly ensuring that my interpretations were supported in the informants' descriptions of the market development, (2) initially treating all the statements made by the informants as equally important in my interpretations.

Findings

In the following, I argue that four dimensions employed and combined by the BCC have been central for how the climbing consumers have contributed to the dynamics and development of the climbing tourism market of Bohuslän: Institutionalisation, Movement, Embeddedness and Entrepreneurship. The four dimensions are analysed following a timeline, dynamically examining the path that the BCC pursued in its innovative market-formation effort. Besides, I examine the challenges that arose at the different stages of the market formation process.

First, I show how the institutionalisation of BCC enabled regulative legitimacy to the community as a precondition for initiating and contributing to the formation of a climbing market. Second, I show how the move of new climbers from the city to Bohuslän enriched the community with institutional strength. Third, I argue that BCC received societal justification through building relationships and networking with the local and regional stakeholders. Finally, I explore how the BCC members engaged in several entrepreneurial activities to create a new market offer.

Institutionalising BCC: gaining regulative legitimacy as a community

The BCC was founded in the 1990 by four enthusiast climbers. At the time the BCC was established, very few people were habitually climbing in Bohuslän, with no sign of climbing-related commercial activities. With climbing being merely a recreational practice for locals, the touristic marketplace of Bohuslän was indeed dominated by coastal tourism.

“When the club was created in 1990 [...] at that time it was only four or five people around [...] They bought a cottage in the woods to meet and gather to go climbing. At the time, you could be on the rocks and not meet any climber at all. There were only a few climbers and we used to meet by the fire on the cottage in the evening” Matt

In order to offer better services and attract more climbers, the BCC was formed with the aim of promoting and sustainably developing climbing in Bohuslän.

“Bohuslän climbing club promotes the development of climbing in Bohuslän” BCC Website

“From the start, it was a small club working with area and the climbers wanted to be proactive [sustainably]. There is always been a need for the club” Janet

In the late 1990s, the BCC comprised less than 50 members. Some of them were mountaineers living in Bohuslän, while others were climbers from the surrounding areas. In this stage, the BCC developed into a consumption community, where membership reflected shared ethos, emotions, lifestyle, moral

beliefs related to the practices of rock climbing (Cova, 1997).

When looking at how market development works in a Scandinavian environment, with open markets, egalitarian structures and high welfare state (Østergaard et al., 2014), becoming a new actor is not easy since powerful stakeholders locally and political structures need to be confronted when suggesting a new market. The BCC institutionalised its existence by affiliating with the Swedish Climbing Federation in the early 2000s. By doing that, they gained regulative legitimacy (Scott, 2001), in the meaning of being recognised as an institution in the Swedish Climbing society at national level.

“Bohuslän Climbing Club is one of the members in the Swedish Climbing Federation. Basically, the climbing club is part of the Swedish federation. It is very important, Bohuslän is the best climbing area in Sweden and the club has tradition and it has influence and impacts. It has been well functioning club that has put up good policies” Julia

The Swedish Climbing Federation gathers, regulates and aids the climbing clubs on a national level. To register, the BCC had to first decide on internal rules and organisation, affiliating as a no-profit organisation. Then, it had to agree to the rules that apply to the sport associations in Sweden and pay an annual fee. By affiliating to the main Swedish climbing federation, the BCC earned the possibility of participating to the annual meetings of the climbing clubs, of receiving help from the committees, of getting insurance for its members and of applying for money to be allocated in the development of activities. Moreover, the BCC got its future activities to be promoted through the national climbing webpage and through articles on the climbing federation magazine.

Building on pre-existent structures of the Swedish society, the institutionalisation in the main climbing federation facilitated BCC’s development and growth, granting a formally recognised structure and a network in which enabled them to cultivate their purpose.

However, the findings reveal the presence of internal conflicts in the wake of institutionalising. As a formalised (non-profit) organisation, and according to prior sociocultural tradition of voluntary work, the BCC decided to not remunerate its members when doing work for the club. However, some members did not agree with the decision, complaining about having to spend the weekends doing work for the BCC or going to fairs and promote climbing without receiving compensation.

“I mean it is always the question of: if you are not paid for it and you don’t make any money, will you do it? You have to ask the climbers if they want to be out climbing themselves or doing [voluntary] activities” Matt

Social conflicts among climbers may origin in opposing claims towards consumption, where some climbers tend to pursue their own interests, goal and motivations (Tumbat and Belk, 2011). It is suggested that an “individual performance ideology” may permeate such communities in which climbers assert their boundaries constantly in a “forced companionship” in which “money versus personal skill and experience compete within discourses of deservingness” (Tumbat and Belk, 2011:56).

Advancing institutional strength: the lifestyle movement

The analysis of the data reveals a stream of climbers that move to Bohuslän for permanent living. In addition, several climbers have bought cabins which they use during week-ends and vacations. Due

to the word of mouth between climbers and the competitive price of the houses in the area, the movement has been steady in the last decade.

“Now a lot of my friends moved up there. I know at least 10 different couples that bought houses up there and the region is exploding. Climbing wise, there is a lot of people going up there [...] I would say this movement has been steady at least the last 12 years” Michael

The interviews illustrate that the people moved to Bohuslän driven by an extreme devotion to climbing, love for the nature and social aspects of life, with the aim of making these elements part of their everyday life.

“I would say that the reasons why they are moving here are various. Coming close to climbing, come to live in the nature [...] if you see the guys moving up there, I would call them lifestyle climbers. They don't just climb, they live for climbing [...] they are falling in love with nature and discovering a totally different world in Bohuslän” Nadia

Moreover, the data shows that the decision has been taken due to the frustration felt by the climbers towards the life in the city and the modern society, challenging the society logics that did not allow them to pursue their desired lifestyle.

“In the city people are what we can call “disconnected”. They don't notice anything, and they are like in the box and they have their specific goals. They don't see things around them. At first you don't notice this when you live in the city. [You realise it] when you come out into nature and start climbing” Michael

The climbers who moved to Bohuslän present similar accounts during interviews, such as the unconditional passion for climbing, the spirituality found in the nature and the authenticity theme (Rickly-Boyd, 2012; Rickly, 2014). Nonetheless, in the act of moving permanently to a destination, they decide to leave behind the “dirt bag / backpacker” life to instead adopt a life involving family, career and stability while also climbing. As the data reveals, the climbers are indeed mostly couples from 30 to 40 years old with young children, university education and well-paying jobs. Before moving, they did not have any connection to Bohuslän apart knowing or having visited the area to go climbing.

During this period, the number of the BCC members increased dramatically, reaching 400 members in 2016 (bohuskk.se). The newcomers brought competence and enthusiasm to the club sharing the BCC values and embracing the aim of developing a climbing market. The climbers found a reference point in the BCC and many of the movers have been active and filled positions in the club board. After achieving legitimacy through institutionalisation, the move of climbers to Bohuslän made the climbing club "local" in the sense that they embedded or inhabited the local community.

“Because the climbing community up here [...] everyone knows everyone [...] so it is like coming home” Janet

Along with the increase in club membership, different subgroups within the BCC started to appear. The findings reveal heterogeneity in the way the members perceive the logic of climbing. While most of the climbers are against the use of bolts, others advocate in favour of sport climbing.

“From the very beginning the club wrote down rules on how to develop climbing and on how we should not place bolts in the rock, we should use natural gear [...] but still you always have someone who wants to use them, or other saying: I climbed without a bolt and you shouldn't place it here” Bernard

The social contract of traditional climbing involves two ethical precepts: refrain from harming the rock and leave a route unchanged (Bogardus, 2012). With the appearance of subgroups with different ideologies, the traditional climbing logic is being threatened. This led to a conflict within the consumption community among members who embraced discordant ideological views of consumption practices (Husemann and Luedicke, 2013).

Embeddedness: developing societal justification through networking and relationship building

The findings show the development of a relationship building process between the BCC and the Bohuslän community starting from the early 2000s to the present days. The period coincides with the stream of movement.

“From the small community that it was, we really needed the help of the local communities... like Villa Bro and other organisations that work with that type of activities here [...] we had a good leadership which established a good relationship with the municipality last years [...] also it is such a small community. In one way, it is necessary to have it. There are few people, everyone realises we need to collaborate.” Matt

The climbers started to interact with the local land-owners, farmers, stores and people owning houses nearby the main climbing crags. Consequently, close relationships were developed towards stakeholders that further strengthened the club's legitimacy in the society.



Picture 3.

Since the late 2000s, the BCC formed an "accessibility group", with different members of the club assigned to interact with different landowners, with the aim of establishing an on-going relationship with them and put signs with warnings referred to climbers in the lands (Picture 3). Due to the limited extension of the region and the few inhabitants, the climbers rapidly got to know the stakeholders and locals who played a role in the municipality. Forming friendly relationship with them, the climbers obtained important allies that were significant for developing the climbing market.

Some stakeholders answered positively to the climbers, recognising the potential profitability behind climbing-related market activities and providing enriched societal legitimacy of the climbing community.

“I think it is good for the society that there are climbers around [...] I think also that now that there is this bouldering hall coming [...] It puts the village on the map, it is good for the stakeholders.” Lisa

In the early 2010s, the local supermarket started to retail climbing equipment in addition to the ordinary grocery (Picture 4), and in 2015 it started selling the climbing guidebook of Bohuslän, with 550 copies sold in 2016. The local Bed and Breakfast; Villa Bro, recently began organising events addressing the climbing community. The management of Villa Bro consensually agreed with the BCC to host an indoor bouldering wall in the B&B area. The construction of the climbing hall has been encouraged by the BCC board, with the collaboration of the owner of the local supermarket Tempo, who is working as a consultant. Financed mainly by EU and Swedish funds, the hall is expected to be finished by the end of 2017.



However, not all the stakeholders have been positive towards BCC and their market creation initiative. Due to the small size of the climbing region and the history as a coastal touristic area, the politicians and the local authorities in Bohuslän have demonstrated lack of interest towards the development of a climbing market. The reasons for this are partly lack of competence but also a belief that a climbing market is less profitable than the existing tourism industry. Consequently, the Bohuslän website does not promote any climbing-related activities (vastverige.com/bohuslan).

“It has always been more about Kayaking and sailing, more activities with water and linked to the Ocean [...] The municipality is not much involved. Coastal tourism is the attractive part.”
Karl

Due to an evident lack of interest towards the climbing community, the local politicians represented a challenge to the market formation process. Indeed, the local authorities implicitly obstructed the BCC in their aspiration of market development by not supporting the practice of climbing in the region and by not promoting BCC’s activities.

The community turning entrepreneurial: engaging in innovative activities to create new market choices

The findings reveal that the BCC and its members have been conducting numerous entrepreneurial activities the last 6 years.

“I know a lot of them who moved there and start contributing to the market. One couple they bought a piece of land and started a campsite [...] also there are climbing courses for beginners [...] a couple moved there some years ago and they are working on a climbing guide [book]”
Michael

In the early 2010s, the BCC renovated the clubhouse in Bårfandalen, opening it to tourists. The cabin is now equipped for accommodation with a camping area and a parking lot, and it is rented out to both members and tourists (bohuskk.se). In 2009, two members of the BCC opened a camping ("Klättertörpen") nearby the main crags. The club has also been involved in the writing and publishing of the new version of the Bohuslän climbing guidebook which is sold in the main mountain-related shops in Sweden and on web, both in Swedish and English. Today the BCC organises various climbing courses (e.g., rock climbing, top, top-rope securing), lectures, festivals (e.g., "Bohusblotet") and climbing try-out for businesses and schools. Furthermore, the climbing hall under construction

next to the B&B Villa Bro (bohuskk.se) is expected to boost the climbing market as the facilities enable accommodation, climbing, events and other activities all year round.

Legitimated by the embeddedness in the local community and by the institutional strength gained through the addition of new and competent members, the community was able to start several climbing-related commercial and non-commercial activities. Furthermore, they have been able to attract sponsors (e.g., for renovating the clubhouse) and external funding (e.g., building climbing hall).

The findings show that the main purpose of the entrepreneurial engagement of the BCC has been to create a market for the community members; i.e. so that they are enabled to conduct climbing-related activities in a regular and on an everyday basis. Driven by the love for climbing and by self-interest (Martin and Schouten, 2014), the climbers in Bohuslän developed new infrastructures and innovative business activities to create a market addressed primarily to the community itself and secondary to attract climbing tourists. Despite that creation of commodified adventures for tourists has become a crucially important part of the market development of adventure-touristic areas (Cloke and Perkins, 2002), the data illustrates that the BCC does not want to shape Bohuslän into a destination for mass tourism. Consequently, it avoids the intensive use of commercial tools or advertising outside the scope of web-based representations such as blogs, climbing sites and social media. The BCC intends to maintain the traditional-climbing tradition of the area, with a focus on authenticity and respect for the nature.

“[opening the campsite] It was not to profit from it. It was not to gain money from it. It was for the love of climbing and the community of climbers” Helga

“I know that in some climbing area the guide take you out in groups and promise you a good experience for a weekend [...] we haven't intentionally done anything like that or any commercial for our courses [...] That's what brings the veterans climbers to come here because they know we are working this way” Matt

“Climbing for us has never been a tourist thing [...] I want people to learn climbing, to learn the skills, to climb you responsible for your own safety[...] there's no one else there. I want people to be educated and perform climbing, I don't want it to become something different [...] I'm a bit conservative there one reason is that you wanted it for yourself a bit” Matt

The BCC aimed to create a climbing market for professionally-authenticated climbers, directed to a close-knit group to avoid mass tourism. However, the entrepreneurial activities run by the community became the basis for the development for a much bigger market, which by 2017 is now attractive to international and local tourists and climbers and it is increasingly expanding.

The data shows that the non-profit aim and the narrow consumer target of the BCC activities could have effect on the stakeholders, as it goes against their interests of profiting from tourism. In the case, this could lead to damaging the societal legitimacy previously gained by the community.

“I'm very much aware of the no profit thing and that they are not so commercialised [...] In the sense that the climber lifestyle says that they should be close to the nature [...] I think that there can be conflicts for some stakeholders” Lisa

As the findings indicate, some of the BCC members are frustrated by the rapid development of the

market that is bringing numerous tourists to Bohuslän (more than 1000 in 2016 according to the BCC head) and is endangering the nature. However, the climbers continue to run the entrepreneurial activities motivated by the need of preserving the societal justification previously gained and by the requirement of monetary resources. Nonetheless claiming to be non-commercial and trying to avoid a huge market expansion, the climbers are trapped into what could be defined a Commercial Paradox, as a commercial dimension must be present in the market development.

“I’m working with climbing, I do courses so for me it is kind of important but [...] in the same way I see the problems when a lot of people come to the area” Bernard

“but still they were the ones asking me if I was interested in building the climbing wall next to the B&B. Because there is some kind of dependency there. They are building the wall because they want to train and climb as much as they can [...] and also they want to have a social arena, they want to meet” Lisa

Findings Summary: Consumption Community, Market Formation and challenges

The discussion in the findings has been guided by the following research question:

How do consumers contribute to the dynamics and development of a new market through a formally established consumption community?

Analysing the case of Bohuslän, the present study covers how the BCC consumption community contributed to the development of the climbing market applying and combining over time four dimensions: Institutionalisation, Movement, Embeddedness and Entrepreneurship. The dimensions reflect the different phases of the climbing market formation process.

Figure 1. Dimensions and timeline

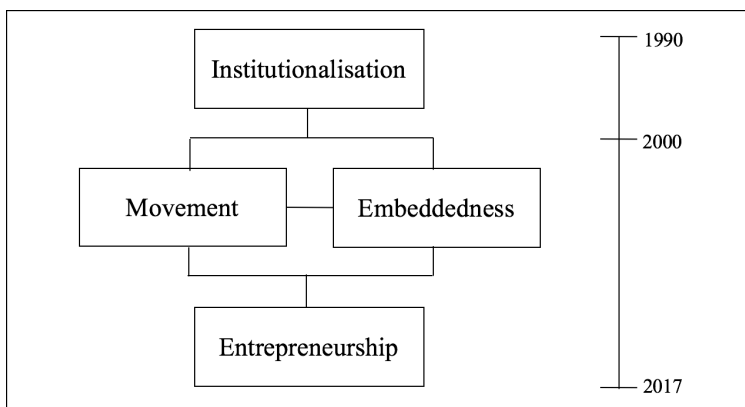


Figure 1 shows how the institutionalisation of the community, the movement of climbers to the area and the embeddedness of the community into the society were important dimensions for the entrepreneurial activities to start. Following the timeline, the institutionalisation is the first and fundamental step towards the engagement of the consumption community in the market formation process. Indeed, institutional logics provide “organizing principles that serve as guidelines for the actors in carrying out their work and hence ideologically and culturally organize” (Kjeldgaard et al., 2016: 3). Enabled by the Institutionalisation dimension, at a second stage, the Movement and the Embeddedness happened simultaneously. The final stage of the market formation process consisted in the Entrepreneurship dimension.

Table 3 presents an overview of the findings, explaining the different dimensions / phases, the actions conducted by the consumption community, the role of the dimension/phase in market development, and finally the challenges that were involved. Table 3 is explained in the following texts.

Table 3.

Dimension/Phase	Action	Role	Challenges
Institutionalisation	Gaining regulative legitimacy as a community through building on pre-existent structures of society	Obtaining a formally recognised structure and a network to start the process of the formation of a climbing market	Internal conflicts in the community regarding opposing claims towards consumption
Movement	Gaining institutional strength as a community due to the movement of new members in Bohuslän	Gaining new competent and enthusiast members in the community willing to contribute to the climbing market formation	Appearance of subgroups in the community with discordant ideologies towards climbing logic
Embeddedness	Networking and relationships building with the locals	Develop societal justification to create the climbing market in a favourable environment	Lack of interest in the climbing market formation process by certain local stakeholders
Entrepreneurship	Engaging in entrepreneurial activities	Create new market choices directed to the community and to professionally-authenticated climbers, to be able to conduct a lifestyle related to climbing	Discordant view with certain stakeholders on the direction the climbing market should take (No-profit vs profit; few climbers vs mass tourism) Commercial Paradox - the climbers are frustrated by the rapid development of the climbing market. Although, they continue to run commercial activities open for tourists motivated by the requirement of monetary resources and by the need of preserving societal justification

In the first phase (Institutionalisation), the BCC as consumption community institutionalised its existence by affiliating with the Swedish Climbing Federation. The institutionalisation of BCC was essential in the market formation process, as it gave regulative legitimacy to the community. With a formally recognised structure and a network around which to cultivate its aim, the BCC gained power in the Swedish and international climbing culture. This phase was characterised by the presence of internal conflicts in the community regarding opposing claims towards consumption, as some members complained about doing unpaid volunteering work. The internal dynamics constituted a challenge in the market formation process as they created arguments and disagreements among the BCC members.

In the second phase (Movement), new climbers moved to Bohuslän with the purpose of changing their lifestyle, driven by the repulsion towards the busy life of the city. The movement of the new members was essential for the community to gain institutional strength. The newcomers brought competence, enthusiasm and they started being active in the BCC, facilitating the climbing market

development process. In this phase, the appearance of subgroups in the community with discordant ideologies towards climbing logic led to disputes among the different subgroups of the community.

In the third phase (Embeddedness), while climbers moved to Bohuslän, the BCC members started becoming involved in networking and relationships building activities with the locals. In doing so, the BCC received the societal justification necessary to influence the climbing market in a favourable direction through gaining embeddedness and positive atmosphere locally. While some stakeholders such as the B&B business and the supermarket owners responded constructively throughout the market formation effort, the local authorities were largely indifferent towards the process. Consequently, the local authorities posed a challenge to the BCC's aspiration of market developments.

Legitimated by institutional strength and societal embeddedness, the BCC engaged in significant entrepreneurial activities during the fourth phase (Entrepreneurship). The BCC aimed to develop new market choices for the community members, i.e. to be able to conduct climbing-related activities in their everyday lives, and for professionally-authenticated climbing tourists. The BCC intention to avoid mass tourism would create conflicts with profit-based stakeholders since they disagree about the profit margins and ideology of a tourism industry. This brought challenges to the market formation process and challenged the social justification of the BCC community among certain stakeholders (e.g., accommodation and shop). The entrepreneurial activities became the basis for the development for a much bigger market, which is today attractive to international and local tourists and climbers. However, some BCC climbers appear frustrated by the huge number of tourists coming in the area. Nevertheless, these climbers still open their commercial activities to tourists to preserve their incomes and avoid problems with profit-based stakeholders. Claiming to be “non-commercial”, the climbers face a Commercial Paradox, as a profit-making dimension must be present in the climbing market.

Discussion

In marketing, research on market formation are dominated by the so-called firm-centric tradition. In this view, businesses are assumed the main actors in market development processes while consumers are primarily potential recipients of firm-driven innovation (Day and Kimberly, 1995). However, the present study shows that the consumers can play a leading role in shaping a market through their collectively innovative practices. Hence, the findings of this study show that the role of the firms in the formation of the climbing market of Bohuslän is secondary. Companies such as the B&B, camping and the grocery shop were involved in later phases of the process, working with BCC in the creation of Bohuslän as an attractive climbing tourism market. Whereas market formation is assumed to emerge from institutional entrepreneurs in the domain of production (Kjeldgaard et al., 2016), the case of BCC shows that the action of the consumption community concerns becoming institutional entrepreneurs and then motivating entrepreneurial activity among producers so that new lifestyle based adventure market may take form.

Whereas several studies on market system dynamics have documented the role of consumers in market formation (Giesler and Fischer, 2016), the *main contribution* of this study is related to *how* consumers contribute to such processes. Previous research has documented consumers' resistance against logics and ideology of existing markets (Giesler, 2008; Kozinets, 2002; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007) and consumers' initiative to modify and expand current logics of a market (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Dolbec and Fischer, 2015) as the main drivers for market formation. However, the Bohuslän case does not show signs of "clashes" between opposing groups of consumers and producers, or desire to expand the variety of products or services of a market, as the reason behind

the development of a climbing tourism market. Rather, the findings show that the market dynamics were initiated by a consumption community which promoted a certain market logic with basis in some unique natural resources that capacitated hosting of a specific consumptive passion. The Bohuslän as a climbing area was regarded so interesting that the consumers formally institutionalised the BCC community, a process which caused increased legitimacy, so that organisational ties could be established with key stakeholders. This legitimised power then attracted competent members to move to the area which significantly affected how relationships between the BCC and relevant stakeholders were structured for the benefit of involved parties. The interviews and the secondary data show how the BCC was able to mobilise entrepreneurial enthusiasm among actors and commercial institutions in Bohuslän, and as such played the driving force in-between consumption, production and societal development for the development of the climbing tourism market. BCC's aim was never to break free from an established market configuration, but rather to shape a market by paying heed to the "voice of desire" of the members of the climbing culture; i.e. to practicing climbing on the best crags in Sweden.

As a *second contribution* to market system dynamics (see Giesler and Fischer, 2016), this research adds to the knowledge of how a *new market* is developed in the midst of stakeholders. Previously I have discussed how the BCC consumption community, during the last decades, institutionalises and structures the society in which fuel the formation of a climbing market in Bohuslän. Furthermore, the study demonstrates how a consumption community ties together other stakeholders; such as when they unite local farmers, local shops and accommodation into market innovative logics and practices. Indeed, the BCC with its actions creates relationships and interacts with other organisations that are essential for the market formation process. To accomplish its innovative market formation effort, the BCC necessitates the inclusion of the association into existing structures of society (e.g., Swedish Climbing federation) and it requires the interaction with the local social environment (e.g., owners of local businesses, retailers, local stakeholders in general). Most studies on consumer driven market development cover contexts where the consumers that initiate market formation processes have a point of departure from existing markets (Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007; Giesler, 2008; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Dolbec and Fischer, 2015; Kjeldgaard et al., 2016). For example, Giesler (2008) describes the troubled evolution of new market choices derived from the music market. Scaraboto and Fischer (2013), investigate "frustrated fatshionistas" who seek to expand the logics of the fashion market. Kjeldgaard et al. (2016) study how the beer enthusiasts altered the logics of the Danish beer market. Differently, the BCC consumption community did not intend to expand any market choices offered by an already existing market and it did not aim to challenge any market logic either. As the findings show, the BCC initiates and contributes to the development of a new climbing market, which first and foremost was intended to develop lifestyle options for the community but which unintendedly developed the place into a climbing destination attractive for climbing tourists. This process has not been much explored in previous literature. Humphreys (2010) examines how the casino industry is created and sustained in a complex social and political context. However, unlike Humphreys (2010), the creation of the climbing market in Bohuslän is mainly driven by a consumption community. Martin and Schouten (2014) study the emergence of a new consumption-driven minimoto market. However, the emergence of the minimoto market occurs within the motorcycle industry. Considering the formation of the climbing market of Bohuslän as a consumption-driven market emergence (Martin and Schouten, 2014), this study extends Martin and Schouten's (2014) notions, as the actions of the BCC are directed to the foundation of a new market without attachment to an existing industry.

Many researches on consumer driven market formation cover contexts where the development of a market is driven by the want of creating new taste structures, influencing institutionalised logics (Dolbec and Fischer, 2015; Kjeldgaard et al., 2016). The fatshionistas studied by Scaraboto and Fischer (2013) act on the fashion market to shape new taste regimes where wearable, affordable clothes are valorised. In a similar way, the beer enthusiasts analysed by Kjeldgaard et al. (2016) alter the logics of the Danish beer market with the aim of modifying the taste structures previously dominated by the standard lager beer offered by the market leaders. As a *third contribution* to market system dynamics, this study investigates consumers who start processes of market dynamics by the desire of a lifestyle. The reasons behind the development of the Bohuslän climbing market are not linked to a refusal of current tastes proposed by a market, but rather by disliking existing modes of living in an urban context. While other studies point to activism against standardisation and mass production of product categories of a market and as inspiration for consumers to act, the present study points at a liberatory ideology (Kozinets, 2002) inherent in the critics of standardisation of living. One could view the BCC initiative as propagating an alternative existential logic of climbing lifestyle of which extended the dirtbag lifestyle (Rickly-Boyd, 2012; Rickly, 2014) into a living-for-climbing lifestyle. Ultimately, what we are witnessing in BCC is a consumption community that address a perceived imbalance between the urban and dirtbag everyday life. The case of the BCC demonstrates how market dynamics can result from the collective action intended to develop internal changes among community members. Consequently, in the case of BCC, the collective action of these consumers is about being institutional entrepreneurs of unavailable taste structures and convincing other actors and institutions to join them in an emphasis of producing alternative activity-based life structures.

As a *fourth contribution* to market system dynamics, this study provides a different picture of market formation as it analyses a market initiated with a non-commercial aim that presents permanent features. Kozinets' (2002) study an anti-market festival that takes place for a limited time. Indeed, the Burning Man participants aim at co-creating an alternative marketplace which is only temporary. According to Kozinets (2002), escaping from society logics, if possible at all, must be conceived of as temporary. Similarly, the BCC climbers decide to challenge the mainstream everyday urban living by moving to Bohuslän and engage in creating a climbing market that first has the aim of being “non-commercial”. This is however not possible, and the market dynamics attracts a lots of international climbing tourists. However, unlike Kozinets' (2002) Burning Man, the Bohuslän climbing market is developed as a permanent touristic market which offers products and services needed for a vacation "in the wall".

As an *additional contribution*, the present study extends knowledge on consumption communities by extending Cova's (1997) notion of linking value. Whereas communities are argued tied together by brands (Schouten and McAlexander, 1995), products (Martin and Schouten, 2014) or product categories (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Kjeldgaard et al., 2016), the BCC community is tied together through the passion for an adventure activity. For example, whereas Scaraboto and Fischer's (2013) “fatshionistas” and Kjeldgaard et al.'s (2016) beer enthusiasts are linked by a product category, the BCC's bonding is grounded in the passion for a lifestyle that is made possible through traditional climbing in nature. Consequently, when the origin of the linking value is outside the commercial sphere (i.e. product or brand), the BCC case shows that the power of the social link may be strong.

Conclusion

This thesis was guided by the question of how consumers contribute to the dynamics and development of a new market through a formally established consumption community. Adopting an ethnographic inspired approach, the present study analyses the case of the formation of the climbing market in Bohuslän, Sweden, and how the market dynamics rendered possible by the Bohuslän Climbing Club (BCC) played a significant role for how a tourism climbing market was initiated and developed. It is argued that four dimensions were important as related to the linking of the consumption community with structures of society and the social environment during the market formation. Furthermore, the study describes the challenges that arose during the process. This article extends knowledge on market system dynamics (see Giesler and Fischer, 2016), and the main contribution of this study is related to how consumers contribute to such processes in which a consumption community initiated and promoted a certain market logic with basis in some unique natural resources that capacitated hosting of a specific consumptive passion. Furthermore, the results add to the knowledge of how a new market is developed through institutionalisation and structuring among both commercial and non-commercial stakeholders of a tourism destination. Indeed, the work outlines how a formally established consumption community can initiate a market formation process from ground up without being attached to any pre-existing industry that consumers resist (Giesler, 2008) or tries to modify and expand (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013). Besides, it indicates how a long-lasting market can expand ideologically, in which main drivers are the refusal of existing modes of living in an urban context and the desire of a new lifestyle. Finally, the research expands knowledge in the research area of consumption communities (Cova, 1997) as it outlines how a consumption community can be a leading institution in market-formation processes when held together by the common passion of its members towards an adventure activity.

This study introduces four dimensions and phases which have been significant in the development of the Bohuslän climbing market: Institutionalisation, Movement, Embeddedness, Entrepreneurship. Whereas these dimensions were important for the BCC case, I suggest that further research investigates relevant dimensions of other adventure tourism contexts. Besides, the thorough multi-method research process adopted in analysing the case can be used as an example for further research on consumer driven market formation.

The present research embraced an ethnographic inspired fieldwork but without "living the context" as a climber. This represented a limitation of the study since an ethnography that was carried out full-time in the field could have generated more in-depth results. Also, because of the restricted time and resources available during the empirical investigations, this study has been limited by a focus on one case of consumption community-driven market development. Further research could benefit from a multi-case approach as related to the same industry.

This article investigates how market development works in a Scandinavian context with relatively open markets, egalitarian structures and high welfare state (Østergaard et al., 2014). One may wonder, however, how a market formation process related to adventure tourism happens in countries in which cultural, social and regulatory environments are dissimilar. Besides, this research focuses on the formation of a new market development in a small region, where the limited extension of the area and few inhabitants facilitated consumers to becoming embedded into the local community through networking activities. How would the market formation process happen in an area presenting different geographical and demographical layouts? Also, the findings show heterogeneity in the community being caused by disputes within the BCC, which may contribute to challenges in developing markets.

This has not been the main focus of present research, but further research may pay attention to emic heterogeneity (Husemann and Luedicke, 2013) of market dynamics. For example, does heterogeneity within a community always lead to challenges in the process of market formation, or can heterogeneity be a precondition for innovation?

Since the role of consumption communities in processes of shaping new markets has been scarcely covered in the literature on market system dynamics, it is my hope that more researchers can dive into the complexity of the processes that evolve when consumption communities initiate new markets or versions of it, and as such involve actors and institutions in the shaping of markets.

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