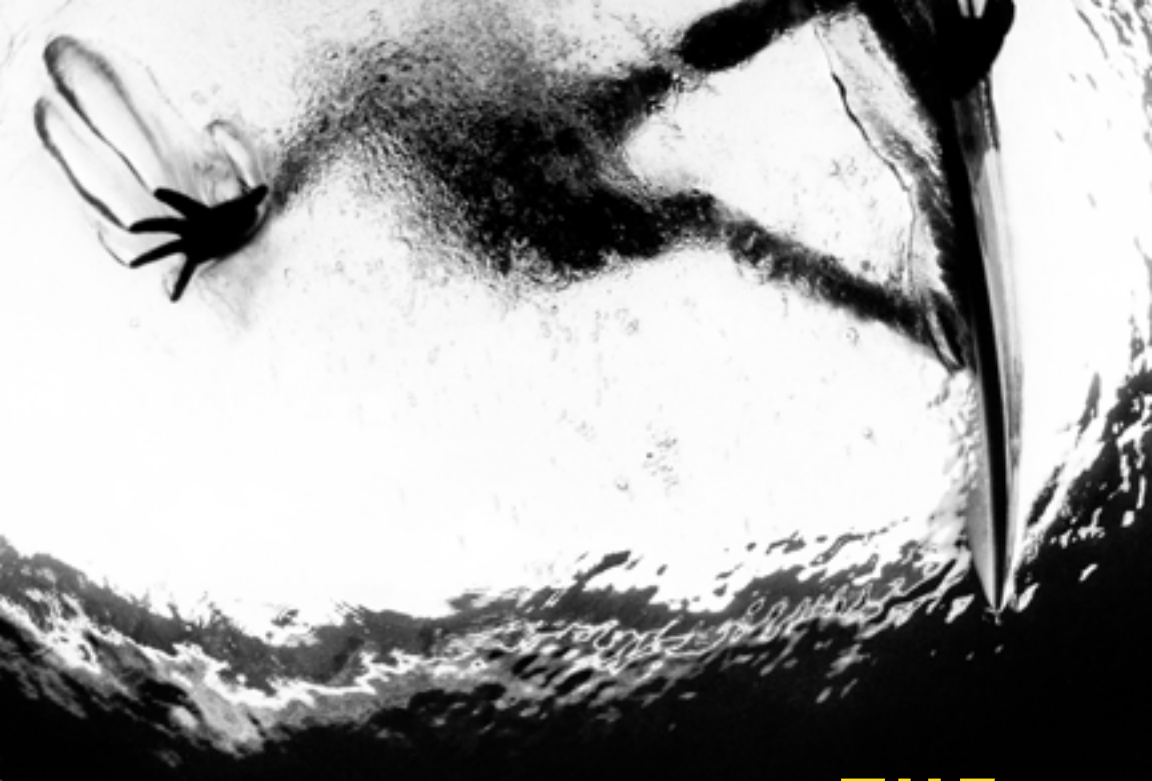

THE CRITICAL SURF STUDIES READER

DEXTER ZAVALZA HOUGH-SNEE and
ALEXANDER SOTELO EASTMAN, editors

The Critical Surf Studies Reader /

DEXTER ZAVALZA HOUGH-SNEE AND ALEXANDER SOTELO EASTMAN, EDITORS

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List of Abbreviations

AAU	American Athletic Union
ALAS	Asociación latinoamericana de surfistas profesionales [Latin American Association of Surfing Professionals] (1998–present)
ASA	American Surfing Association
ASP	Association of Surfing Professionals (1983–2014)
ATP	Association of Tennis Professionals
CT	Championship Tour (under WSL, 2014–present)
ESA	Eastern Surfing Association
HWS	History of Women's Surfing; www.historyofwomensurfing.com
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IPS	International Professional Surfers (1976–1982; precursor to the ASP and WSL)
ISA	International Surfing Association (1976–present; formerly the ISF)
ISF	International Surfing Federation (1964–1972; precursor to the ISA)
IWS	International Women's Surfing (2000–present)
NSSA	National Scholastic Surfing Association (1978–present)

QS	Qualifying Series (under WSL, 2014–present; formerly the WQS under the ASP)
USSF	United States Surfing Federation
WCT	World Championship Tour (under ASP)
WISA	Women's International Surfing Association (1975–1993)
WQS	World Qualifying Series (under ASP)
WSL	World Surf League (prior to 2014, the Association of Surfing Professionals)
WT	World Tour (under WSL; formerly the WCT under the ASP)

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Introduction

DEXTER ZAVALZA HOUGH-SNEE AND
ALEXANDER SOTELO EASTMAN

Surfing is fun! Anyone who has dedicated a lifetime—or even five minutes—to playing in the ocean is quick to acknowledge that, at its most visceral level, riding a wave is a unique thrill. As the push of a wave takes over, the human body cheats gravity ever so briefly, rendering the rider weightless, the body's fitness challenged to harness raw aquatic energy and convert brute natural force into the sensation of gliding across time and space toward no particular destination but the wave's culmination, lapping onto the shore, smashing into the rocks, or folding back into the ocean's currents. To ride a wave is to steal a fleeting glimpse into what it might be like to live as a human intermediary between land, sea, and heavens, to live without resolve and yet embrace some intangible, inexpressibly beautiful purpose. And so, surfing engenders a romantic attraction and emotional entanglement with nature, beauty, performance, the body, and

uninhibited play, further heightened by the surf's apparent distance from earthly concerns.

While many an athlete is a fanatic, few are romantics and even fewer, mystics. But surfers are romantics, their calling mystical, the appeal of riding waves capable of miraculously rousing the young, old, infirm, and overworked in the twilight to convene at the beach or set out overnight in search of distant surf, new experiences, and companionship found only in shared pursuits. As a good day's fishing does not necessarily involve catching fish, a good day surfing is about much more than riding waves. It is the interplay of elements involved that provides relief, however momentary, from the mundane, the predictable, the sedentary, and the purposeless. Nature dictates swell, wind, and tide, each proctoring tests of devotion, patience, knowledge, and skill, aptitudes acquired only with endless hours on the water and relationships forged with individual roads, beaches, footpaths, rocks, sandbars, and skylines. And, after the thrill of the first ride, it is these relationships that form the common bond among the hopelessly addicted, who congregate time and time again to revel in the nuances of conditions braved, waves caught, and boards ridden.

This volume is, at its core, a collection of scholarly essays about surfing and all of its mystical, performative, and communitarian trappings that together make surfing an enchantingly powerful form of good clean fun. And given the intense appreciation for bobbing in the ocean that those who enjoy riding waves share, it is unsurprising that the marriage of this pastime to critical inquiry is not new. After all, wave-riding spans millennia, including the ancient navigational wave-riding of north-central Peru atop Mochica *tup* (reed kayaks; *caballitos de totora* in Spanish), the aquatic cultures of West Africa, and the variants of stand-up and prone surfing that characterized pre-occupation Hawai'i and the precolonial Pacific. Surfing's phenomenological appeal has long proved capable of leading all kinds of people to the water's edge, and the way in which the joys of wave-riding have moved across time and space is infinitely more complex than the simple pleasures of playing in the surf zone. Fundamentally shaped by indigenous, colonial, industrial, and neoliberal histories, surfing—as religion, cultural practice, ludic pursuit, countercultural iconography, competitive sport, multinational industry, and consumer culture—is a profoundly complex global practice, rife with contradictions. And four centuries of writing about surfing has emerged from and reflected on these contradictions, impacting diverse peoples, connecting distant geographies, and linking their constituent cultural, social, economic, and political practices.

At its core, this volume is also an intervention, reflecting on surfing's *longue durée* to further illuminate surfing's relationship to those practices and the ways

that unadulterated wave-riding, fun at its core, can become entwined with the nuances of social life. The essays included here approach surfing from wide-ranging geographic perspectives, as scholars, activists, public intellectuals, and surfers seek to demystify wave-riding cultures' entanglements with social and political life. Many essays posit realities dissonant with mythic rhetorics of an idyllic or monolithic surfing past. Others engage archives and active participant research to identify surfing in unexpected times and places, challenging colonial and patriarchal appropriations and destabilizing hegemonic narratives of surfing as exclusive to white bourgeois beach culture. Yet others imagine and advocate for alternative futures realized through surfing, suggesting the possibility of affecting social change in the microcosm of the surfing world before carrying it outward. But even in light of often-activist intentions, this volume is still, at its core, a collection of scholarly essays about surfing.

And scholarly appropriation of culture is, itself, a form of colonization. Recognizing this maxim cannot reverse such an appropriation. And reification of surfing, scholarly or otherwise, risks rendering wave-riding something inordinately special, independent of the social, political, and economic worlds that have shaped it. With that in mind, this volume emerges in a moment of much thinking about how to render surfing—as culture, iconography, competitive sport, industry, and area of scholarly inquiry—a more egalitarian social space. In opposition to shallowly conceived, surf-centric neoliberal organizations in the private and nonprofit sectors, the last decade has seen the rise of countless activist initiatives pushing to recast surfing—past and present—in restorative feminist, queer, ethnically and racially inclusive, and decolonial modes.[1] And while one might rightfully note that there is a certain irony in attempting to decolonize or "queer" a pastime whose modern cultural legacy is generally (if inaccurately) associated with bourgeois whiteness and coastal affluence, there is much practical value in moving surfing culture and sport—the spoils of two and a half centuries of cultural colonization—toward a recognition and correction of their violent pasts.

These corrections are not easily realized, especially given the entanglement of development initiatives with for-profit entities and superficial denominations of surfing as social good. Under such claims, surfing and its industries are lauded, often uncritically, as capable of correcting profound structural inequalities produced by enduring global North–South disparities inherent to surfing's very popularization across the world. However, by occupying a scholarly position divorced from the profit-driven surfing industry, this collection seeks to take one more step—if, admittedly, largely theoretical—toward such a correction. In its collective interventions, this volume contributes to rethinking

and redeploying surfing outside its long-standing colonial and patriarchal origins and beyond recent neoliberal manifestations.

In recent decades, the emergence of humanities and social sciences scholarship related to surfing has stemmed from the undeniable contradictions of surfing's historical development and its accompanying narratives, those "changing images" that have long enthralled surfing's commentators.[2] Wave-riding was originally a ritual practice and a mechanism of political and social organization in pre-occupation Hawai'i.[3] Upon European arrival to the islands in the eighteenth century, the act of wave-riding was actively opposed by European authorities who, after initial wonder, sought to moderate the "indecency" and "idleness" that missionaries perceived in an indigenous Hawaiian beach culture that revolved around hierarchized modes of surfing.[4] On the eve of the nineteenth-century annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, white settlers, investors, and developers would appropriate the sacred practice as a leisure activity to attract mainland tourism to the islands.[5] Yet surfing was first practiced on the mainland in 1885, not by returning tourists, but by Native Hawaiian royalty studying in Northern California.[6] Introduced across North America and Australia as a recreational novelty during the 1910s by Native Hawaiian Duke Kahanamoku and part-Hawaiian George Freeth, surfing quickly reached elite circles in coastal environs worldwide, taking hold in Peru, Brazil, and South Africa, among other coastal nations, in the 1930s.[7] In these same decades, surfing would be touted alongside sea bathing to attract homebuyers to the California coast and promote aquatic leisure elsewhere in the world.[8] During surfing's first decades as a modern practice, wave-riding appeared more a tool of promotional fun than a sporting culture or stand-alone industry.

Surfing continued during World War II, with a new contingent of American servicemen picking up the practice in the Pacific, although international travel to Hawai'i, still surfing's epicenter, diminished. Upon the war's conclusion, materials developed via military technologies, such as fiberglass and composite foam, became surfboard construction materials. After incipient failures at organizing surfing competitions, surfing's previous promotional value for coastal tourism and development yielded the consolidation of surf-riding exhibitions into formal competitive affairs, laying the groundwork for the organization of competitive surfing and the onset of global surf travel in the 1950s.[9] Consumer airlines simultaneously opened new modes of overseas transportation that enabled nascent surf travel. By the mid-1950s, international competitions became annual events with standardized judging criteria, beginning with the Makaha International Surfing Championships (1954–1971) and the Peru International Surfing Championships (1956–1974).[10] As competitions grew and

the World Surfing Championships (1964–1972) were established, governing bodies quickly emerged to further regulate judging criteria and administer prizes. Surf-specific media arose to cover these events and promote a wide array of new surfing consumer goods and fashions, beginning with California's *Surfer* magazine, founded 1960. With ABC's *Wide World of Sports* covering the Makaha contest for American audiences between 1962 and 1965, surf-specific media exploded. Australia's first publication, *Surfing World*, appeared in 1962, followed by *New Zealand Surf Magazine* in 1965 and California-birthed *International Surfing* in 1962 (abbreviated to *Surfing* in 1974). By the 1970s, the appearance of numerous other global publications—South Africa's *South African Surfer* (1965–1968), *Down the Line* (1976–1977), and *ZigZag* (1976), the Florida quarterly *Wave Rider* (1975–1982), Peru's *Tabla Hawaiiana* (1971) and *Tabla* (1983–1984), and the Brazilian *Brasil Surf* (1975–1978), *Quebra-Mar* (1978), and *Surf Sul* (1979), among others—marked the rise of endemic surf media that would inaugurate dozens of global publications in the 1980s. Anchored by the International Surfing Federation (ISF; 1964–1972) and its successor, the International Olympic Committee (IOC)–recognized International Surfing Association (ISA; 1976–present), competitive surfing became professional surfing with the formation of the International Professional Surfers (IPS; 1976–1982) group, the precursor to the Association of Surfing Professionals (ASP; 1983–2014) and the World Surf League (WSL; 2014–present). The cooperation of surfing media with competitive surfing infrastructure, the rise of surf industry, and continued coastal development in surfing places led to a vast network of twentieth-century institutions centered around promoting and profiting from surfing.

As this network emerged, the contradictions inherent in surfing's cultural makeup intensified. During California's postwar economic boom, surfing in North America came to be associated with Anglo-American leisure and countercultural resistance to the labor demands of capitalism in Southern California, this in spite of the sport's decidedly elite following, especially in the Global South.[11] As postwar technological advances enabled the material evolution of the equipment used to ride waves—surfboards, board shorts, wetsuits, and essential accessories—the cottage industries manufacturing the requisite wares for surfing exploded into a massive commodity-driven global supply chain. The industrialization of surf goods production further rendered surfing a Western—and, eventually, neoliberal—practice.[12] All the while, as commoditized surf culture and its goods and personalities continued circulating in the diverse imaginaries and landscapes of the ever-globalizing world of the last half century, the sport has maintained constant contact with the frontiers of local

and global politics, gender and race relations, and emergent economic practices and ideologies.[13]

Through renewable marketing iconographies, surfing continues to hold connotations of an indigenous ritual practice and a heathen temptation. It enables Westerners both to purportedly "go native" and to recolonize the postcolonial world with blissful ignorance, surfboards under arm. Idle time in the waves implies a surfer's resistance to participation in capitalism, yet the sport's most recognizable brands are publicly traded, multinational entities, and corporate-sponsored professional surfers gross millions of dollars annually. In spite of their self-cultivated identity as feral travelers and countercultural icons, Western surfers are often associated with affluence—or, as one surf journalist put it, "surfing is now perceived as a pastime nestled between golf and yoga, as opposed to a vice favored by coastal juvenile delinquents."[14] Surfing is simultaneously an impetus for tourism, a local economic stimulus, and a source of great socioeconomic disparity in terms of wave-riding destinations. Surfing practice implies phenomenological liberation, while unidirectional tourism from the Global North to the Global South and overseas manufacturing highlight structural and material barriers to any sort of surf-inspired socioeconomic egalitarianism. Women feature prominently in surfing iconography and constitute a major surfing population worldwide. Yet all too frequently, female surfers are relegated to the realm of eroticized beach spectators or emissaries of exotic seduction.

Surfing is rife with contradictions that beg further scholarly inquiry. It is these tensions that this volume seeks to confront.

Critical Surfing Studies: Envisioning Surfing's Radical Potential

Critical surfing studies are, simply enough, the aggregate of scholarly production in which the history, culture, and practice of surfing, its practitioners, and its cumulative media and industry institutions are central to inquiry and analysis. As the below review indicates, surfing scholarship is decades old. However, until recently, many surfing scholars have worked in relative isolation without direct dialogue across disciplinary boundaries or national academic traditions. This volume marks the conversion of a set of once-isolated specialists into a consolidated international community of scholars of surfing culture, history, and politics, coming together to envision the radical potential of surfing studies to dialogue with contemporary issues in the surfing community, to review prevailing academic debates in the humanities and social sciences, and to develop activist networks. This is not the first academic collaboration with surf-

ing as its subject, and it does not purport to mark some new field that is only now emergent. Rather, the present volume constitutes a rigorous, collaborative gesture, uniting scholarly voices from diverse academic disciplines, institutional profiles, and national university systems.

Surfing's historical dissemination globally and its sundry manifestations and discourses have impacted the development of the field in a way that is not the case for many national or regional sporting traditions. The field is unique in that many scholars employ hybrid methodologies marking the intersection of their home disciplines and broader means of leveraging historical archives and giving voice to contemporary surfing practitioners. In doing so, historicizing the surfing world and interrogating its massive popular archive are imperative. So, too, is the need to incorporate fieldwork and active participation research in order to accurately position the voices of surfing's practitioners, from celebrated figures to common beachgoers, commercial enterprises to community activists. Each contributor takes a unique approach informed by his or her disciplinary training and distinct relationships with the surfing world in an attempt to posit critique, allude to programmatic outcomes for the direction of surfing studies, and couple scholarship with the broader surfing world.

While surfing—as indigenous tradition, recreational activity, professional sport, culture, industry, and social act—is the unifying theme, this volume is more concerned with analyzing and theorizing the flow of ideas, bodies, and commodities between beach communities than it is with wave-riding in its strictest sense. The collection features self-reflective, deeply historicized interventions that collectively push to define the limits of surfing's relationship to academia, activism, and development, as well as industry, media, and governance, uniquely plotting the coordinates of contemporary surfing scholarship. Many of the essays strive to transcend critique and allude to programmatic outcomes for surfing, scholarship, and activism to attempt to overcome the modern surfing world's colonizing, commercial, patriarchal, and neoliberal impulses, wherever they may be identified, from the classroom or holiday villa to the factory or the beach.

Within the rapidly rising field of surfing-related studies, the volume has three primary objectives. First, it further consolidates surfing's scholarly legitimacy as a means of analyzing social, cultural, and economic relations. Surfing is not a mere object for theoretical dissection. Instead, it is a practice suggestive of the need for systematic engagement and critique cognizant of the theoretical debates central to cultural studies (including, but not limited to, the theoretical coordinates of gender and women's studies, ethnic studies, postcolonial studies, and indigenous studies). In dialoguing with the paradoxes and plight

of multinational surf industry, international tourism, political activism, and environmentalism, surfing's constitutive global flows of people and capital are the protagonists of these essays, which aim to speak not only to scholarly researchers, but also to the surfing community at large.

Second, this volume forges core disciplinary connections with the humanities and social sciences by providing a small sampling of current global research on surfing taking place across a variety of traditional academic disciplines. Whereas surfing has gained some traction in business, hospitality, and international development schools in the United Kingdom and the United States, much research on surfing exists in a disciplinary and theoretical vacuum. This volume seeks to position surfing scholarship within core humanities and social science disciplines, demonstrating the interdisciplinarity of surfing studies and the theoretical rigor of scholarship taking place outside of revenue-driven inquiry. As such, the volume ultimately questions the appropriation of surfing studies within corporate university models and resists surfing's academic institutionalization in profit-driven fields.

Last, the volume responds to recent trends in competitive surfing, manufacturing, media, tourism, nonprofit sectors, and higher education that champion surfing as an unquestionable, categorical social good. Competitive surfing has gone mass market in its broadcast tactics, crafting an accompanying poetics of philanthropic benevolence. In summer 2016, the IOC added surfing to the 2020 Tokyo Olympics, lauding it for its youth appeal and potential for cross-cultural understanding. In less than a decade, surf-specific nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) with myriad missions and charters have become pervasive in the coastal developing world. In higher education, numerous study-abroad programs have deployed surfing as a pastime resonant with student populations for diverse purposes, including revenue. And while our volume does not share the objectives of these programs—in fact, it contests them—it is a clear supplement to the rising institutionalization of surfing beyond its traditional manufacturing and media boundaries. Through collective reflections on surfing in local and global contexts, this book provides a scholarly anthology to reorient surfing studies as a rigorous, deeply politicized, cultural studies subfield relevant across disciplines.

Like the current surf studies field, this collection is a product of the genesis and maturation of an identifiable critical surfing literature. We turn now to its history, tracing popular surf writing's relationship to the university to plot the present field.

WRITING ABOUT SURFING

While scholarly work on surfing was limited until recent decades, there has never been a shortage of writing about surfing. On the contrary, beginning with the colonial chronicles and missionary accounts accompanying European colonization of the Pacific and spanning practically every literary and nonfiction genre since, there is such an abundance of literature on the practice that it would be impossible to proffer a comprehensive bibliography of surfing publications.[15] Instead, we would like to signal a few trends, pivotal moments, and issues in the development of writing about surfing while paying special attention to the intellectual and critical undercurrents within popular media that gave rise to critical surf studies.

It is difficult to overstate the centrality of popular surf media—including magazines, films, and documentaries—to the history and historiography of surfing. The initial wave of magazines from the 1960s was primarily a regional affair that centralized the visually captivating aspects of surfing. The first issue of what would become the longest-standing surf magazine to date, *The Surfer* (now simply *Surfer*), contained just two articles, one entitled "Surfing for Beginners," and sold 5,000 copies.[16] These early magazines did not approach surfing through a critical lens but aimed to entertain and inform the public through explanations and depictions of what constituted surfing and its related lifestyle. Light-heartedness and carefree tones aside, by offering definitions of surfing—visually or verbally—surf publications and writers limited the possibilities of expression and diversity for surfers and their culture. Magazine directors came to be seen as the authorities of a rapidly spreading activity popular with the coastal, white, middle-upper class.

Surf media's attempt to control the direction and representation of surfing became more explicit and heavy-handed as the riding of waves—and, in particular, the representation of it—proved to be a lucrative commodity. Were surfers countercultural rebels, beach bums, athletes, or everyday citizens? Was surfing a recreational activity, hobby, or sport? Surfing was unquestionably fun, but did it encourage a wholesome lifestyle or usher in idleness and vice? On the whole, editors and directors of surf magazines and films from the 1960s denounced the rebellious manifestations of surfing and set out to promote a "scrubbed up" and decidedly "whitewashed" version of it.[17] These conservative and even repressive publications are far from what we conceptualize as critical surf studies today. Riddled with silences, omissions, and distortions, they embody a foundational moment and stand as an unavoidable source base in

their purposeful recording of modern surfing history. If attempts to control the image and representation of surfing are clearly expressed in the pages of surf magazines, the goal in doing so was less apparent. Much clearer is the trajectory that surfing and surf writing would take in the following decades.

Historically, writing for major surfing publications has been an exclusive affair limited to small circles in specific geographic areas (Southern California and Australia's east coast, for example). Outsiders to these circuits, and particularly women, are noticeably absent from the ranks of mainstream surf media, whose content has long been attached to sponsor agendas. These circuits allude to perhaps the most defining feature of surf writing: proximity to the subject matter. In 1983, world champion (1966 and 1970) Nat Young took on the ambitious endeavor of writing a history of surfing.[18] Following suit, today's most prolific popular surf historians, Matt Warshaw and Drew Kampion, cut their teeth as writers and editors at major surf magazines.[19] Kampion is a prime example of this insider positionality in the surf industry, where writers wore multiple hats as practitioners, competitors, business owners, advertising agents, popular historians, or all of the above. An editor of *Surfer* from 1968 to 1972 and *Surfing* from 1973 to 1982, Kampion then headed the advertising department for apparel brand O'Neill before penning several foundational popular histories.[20] Likewise, former *Surfer* writer and editor (1984–1990) Warshaw's intensively researched print publications have culminated in his curatorship of the History of Surfing (http://Historyofsurfing.net) and the Encyclopedia of Surfing (http://Encyclopediaofsurfing.com/) websites; the latter was sponsored by *Surfer* magazine between 2011 and 2016. Platforms somewhere between "a museum, an archive, and even a theater," alternately described as "a conservation project . . . a digital place where the sport can be presented, stored, celebrated, archived, and accessed," the innovative projects' ties to the legacy publication *Surfer* further highlight the embeddedness of even the most rigorous and self-aware surf writing in long-standing media and industry circles.[21] The surf industry's "revolving door" between publications, advertisers, and competitive governance has hampered investigative journalism and created what critics have called an "incestuous relationship" in which select insiders dominate the pulpit and rebut dissent.[22]

One is hard-pressed to find more exaggerated claims than those of the popular histories celebrating the anniversaries of surf magazines. Take, for example, Warshaw's foreword to *The Perfect Day: 40 Years of Surfer Magazine*, in which he gushed that *Surfer*'s moniker, the "bible of the sport," did not fully recognize the magazine's merit and scope, arguing that it was "surfing's greatest yearbook and archive, forum and marketplace, gallery and parade ground."[23] Hyperbole

aside, Warshaw correctly observed the vast import of magazines for the dissemination and maintenance of surf culture and history, a complex phenomenon that he understands well as surfing's most prominent popular historian. Warshaw then went on to recognize a lack of critical distance as a defining feature of surf publications before shrugging his shoulders and proceeding: "Because I am a former *Surfer* editor, my appraisal of the magazine's literary worth could be biased to the point of worthlessness. Or forget the editorship, I'm a 31-year subscriber. So of course I'm biased."[24] These issues not only plague popular surf history, but also confound scholars engaged in critical surf studies who rely on a limited source base and are often immersed in surf culture themselves. Still, countless academics have referenced *The Perfect Day*'s selection of iconic articles, given that university libraries have not prioritized the acquisition of surf magazines. While scholars from all disciplines must account for bias and subjectivity as they consult primary source material, questions of accessibility, reliability, and distinctions between primary and secondary sources are particularly acute in surfing scholarship.

This is not to say that writers from within the surf industry have not been critical of the subject, nor that popular histories written by entrenched surf personalities are without critical or scholarly merit. Steve Barilotti penned perhaps the first surf magazine article that significantly broke the insularity of surf media. In "Lost Horizons: Surfer Colonialism in the 21st Century," Barilotti indicted modern surf travel as a form of colonialism, effectively challenging a centuries-long mainstay of the surfing imaginary.[25] Though ambiguous and problematic in its concluding gestures, "Lost Horizons" set a new tone for surf writing in the twenty-first century which has witnessed an outpouring of reflective and critical publications acutely aware of surfing's inextricability from broader social, cultural, and political issues.

The heightened critical approach, in which a much more diverse cast of writers and thinkers has voiced hitherto marginalized or silenced perspectives, exists mostly outside of mainstream surf media outlets. Indeed, many of the writers who have denounced surf media's incestuous relationship with corporations turned to independent outlets after growing disgruntled with the lack of journalistic integrity in mainstream media.[26] Digital media has played an essential role in the democratization and critical turn of surf writing. Through blogs, online journals, and open-access documentaries, politically minded writers have forged communities across myriad borders and succeeded in adding much needed nuance to popular historical narratives focused on California, Hawai'i, and Australia and male surf culture therein.[27] Although surf cultures throughout the Global South have produced autonomous writings for decades,

they have only recently, and in piecemeal fashion, been given the critical attention they deserve.[28]

Cultural studies scholar Clifton Evers, writer Stuart Nettle, and anthropologist Alex Leonard broke new ground in the history of critical surf writing in 2008 when they founded *Kurungabaa: A Journal of Literature, History, and Ideas from the Sea*, a surf-specific, biannual academic journal and literary magazine. Featuring an editorial board of international academics, graduate students, and countercultural surf personalities, *Kurungabaa* combined digital and print formats to connect readers and writers across geographic borders. Yet its most innovative contribution was to forge a democratic space for diverse contributors, including university researchers, veteran surf writers, artists, and everyday aficionados, to discuss surf culture and human–ocean interaction in a critical manner, be it in feature articles, editorials, or online comments. *Kurungabaa* adamantly resisted commercialization in order to retain scholarly credibility and, notably for an academic journal, did not require a university-affiliated subscription. Although the project was shuttered in 2014, *Kurungabaa* demonstrated the potential for critical collaborations that challenged divisions between popular and academic surf studies.[29]

Kurungabaa's debut coincided with numerous alternative initiatives that together constituted an explosion of counter-hegemonic texts, films, and publications. For instance, in 2010 a former *Surfer* staffer launched a contributor-built online platform for ideas outside of surf culture's journalistic mainstream. *The Inertia* garnered a fervent following by repeatedly questioning whether the surfing world had ever counted an "honest" investigative journalist among its ranks.[30] By 2016 the site purported a monthly readership of 1.5 million and boasted some 2,000 contributors. However, accompanying such popularity came a commercial overhaul and a softening of any potential political or critical editorial angle. In contraposition to *Kurungabaa*, the decidedly mainstream *Inertia* raises an oft-asked question in the surfing world: is it possible to be countercultural when a critical mass is reached?

If there is a critical approach that can offer insight as to how to sustain a radical politics, it is likely found in what lisahunter identifies in this volume as a "queer wave in new media and social media." Across the globe, women have been among the most systematically exploited, silenced, and ignored surfing demographic. Consequently, they constitute a public, far from singular or homogenous, that has diligently forged outlets with a more critical and rigorous approach to surf writing than traditional, male-dominated surf magazines. In subverting the limitations of Orientalist and heteronormative discourses, many female writers have taken to blogs and created their own outlets for circulating

surf writing.[31] A burgeoning surfeminism "critiques the industry's sexploitation of elite stars and images of women across global surf media, and offers itself as counter-discourse."[32] As further elaborated in part III of this volume, Feminist Critical Geography, surfeminism encompasses more than media platforms; it constitutes an evolving theoretical approach and activist practice that hinges on collaboration across numerous borders, thus presenting a promising future for critical surf studies.

Such media have blurred the lines between popular and academic writing and precipitated the arrival of the first wave of university press books about surf studies. With *The World in the Curl: An Unconventional History of Surfing* (2013), Peter Westwick and Peter Neushul succeeded in veritably erasing the boundaries between popular history and critical scholarship of surfing. The first popular surfing history by career academics, their text retains the rigor, research relevance, and teaching value characteristic of scholarly monographs, although conceived of as a trade publication. Often in dialogue with or in contraposition to popular surf histories, *The World in the Curl* also reflects how popular work has generated lively debates around specific narratives of surfing's dissemination and appropriation, a practice that has intensified with scholarly histories of the sport.[33]

THE RISE OF CRITICAL SURFING STUDIES

The advent of critical surf studies has accompanied the natural evolution of rigorous and increasingly politicized nonacademic prose and scholarly forays into popular surf writing, as well as university presses' embrace of surf culture.[34] And as people passionate about surfing built scholarly careers, it was only a matter of time until critical writing about surfing emerged, accompanied by courses in sociology, literary studies, sports history, and anthropology with surf culture at their center. Surfers will, after all, always be surfers.

But critical surfing inquiry has also had an organic genesis with nonsurfer scholars in a variety of academic disciplines, perhaps because of the intersection of surfing's histories and iconographies with many of the fundamental critical categories of humanistic and social scientific inquiry. Not coincidentally, surfing's arrival to the academy (and relative acceptance therein) accompanied the broadening of the cultural studies field to privilege countercultural practices and marginal identities at the onset of the twenty-first century.

Niche scholarly articles and monographs first register as academic novelties beginning in the 1950s and 1960s with a series of notes and articles by anthropologist Ben Finney in Hawai'i.[35] In the 1970s, sociologists John Keith Irwin and Kent Pearson published the first serious scholarship on surfing in California and

Australia, respectively.[36] Adopting methodologies still relevant today, both sociologists couple analysis of popular surfing books and magazines with ethnographic research. Tanis Thorne published two academic notes historicizing surfing culture in 1976. In 1983, semiotician and media scholar John Fiske contributed another early work, followed by a 1986 article by historian Edwin Jaggard and Pierce Julius Flynn's discussion of surfing as a semiotic system in 1987. In spite of these early contributions, scholarly work on surfing began to gain traction only in the mid-1990s. When articles by Douglas Booth (1991, 1994, 1995, 1996), Jaggard (1997, 1999), Dean Scheibel (1995), Leanne Stedman (1997), and Jeff Lewis (1998) appeared, they too had to depend on an archive of popular material, merging it with contemporary theory and methodologies in their respective fields.[37]

If not a coordinated effort and rarely informed by coherent transnational or cross-disciplinary dialogue, the period of 1995–2010 saw several important—some indeed seminal—short-form contributions to the field from sociology, communications, history, geography, ethnic studies, film studies, and cultural studies more broadly, each allusive to the potential and future of the field. The significance of those essays, authored by Booth (1995, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008), Mark Stranger (1999), Robert Rutsky (1999), Margaret Henderson (2001), Keith Beattie (2001), Eric Ishiwata (2002), Joan Ormrod (2003, 2005, 2008, 2009), Kevin Fisher (2005), Clifton Evers (2004, 2006, 2008, 2009), Kevin Dawson (2006, 2009, 2013), Robin Canniford (2007, 2009), Leslie Heywood (2008), Heywood and Mark Montgomery (2008, 2012), Gary Osmond (2008, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2016), Osmond and Murray Phillips (2004, 2015), Osmond, Phillips, and Mark O'Neill (2006), Gordon Waitt (2008), Waitt and Andrew Warren (2008), Belinda Wheaton (2007, 2008), and David Wood (2009, 2012), cannot be understated in plotting the field's vast critical matrix.[38]

And while hundreds of articles, book chapters, and volumes on so-called action sports more broadly have emerged over the last decade, monographs remain scarce relative to the abundance of popular surf books and scholarly studies of mainstream sport. Commenting on the limited bibliography of long-form surf scholarship available when preparing her 2010 monograph *Surfer Girls in the New World Order*, Krista Comer noted that "as a topic of critical inquiry, . . . surfing has barely registered."[39] If true of scholarly books when Comer was writing, this has quickly changed only a few years later, especially given forthcoming works.[40] Marking the first surfing studies book in American literary and cultural studies, Comer's work built upon a decade of field work focusing on the experiences of women and girls in the surf zone to argue that

female surfers "have brought critical perspective not just to norms of femininity but to understandings of the material places (oceans, beaches) in which counterfemininities are enacted."[41] Embedding her analysis in feminist politics, globalization theory, and critical theory, and driven by activist convictions, Comer's work was quickly accompanied by several monographs that now anchor the surf studies field across the disciplinary spectrum.

Once an isolated case of surf scholarship in the social sciences (and one of the few texts available when Comer was writing), geographer Nick Ford and sociologist David Brown's *Surfing and Social Theory* informed and anticipated subsequent contributions in both fields.[42] Without a doubt, Kristin Lawler's study of the iconographies and rhetorics of the surfer in twentieth-century capitalism, *The American Surfer: Radical Culture and Capitalism*, constitutes the most important contribution to surfing studies from US sociology. In the same year, Australian sociologist Mark Stranger's *Surfing Life: Surface, Substructure, and the Commodification of the Sublime* deployed rigorous ethnographic research to examine surfing as an example of postmodern culture, rife with tensions between commodification and authenticity in surfing experience.[43] Both Lawler's and Stranger's monographs emerged as geographers Andrew Warren and Chris Gibson were engaged in the fieldwork that yielded *Surfing Places, Surfboard Makers* (2014).[44] In their study of surfboard manufacturing practices in Hawai'i, California, and Australia, Warren and Gibson focused on cultural and human geography in the rising tensions between handicraft and mechanization, local and global markets, and personalization versus standardization, all long-standing issues in surfboard construction.

The above studies of surfing have, by necessity, often cited journalism, popular histories, and reference texts in order to compensate for the lack of long-form scholarly source material available to authors. Indeed, popular historiography's dominance as the prevailing mode of surf writing has provided a reliable corpus for scholars to draw from in lieu of scholarly works. Surf culture is rife with contentious debates, and trade surf historiography first pushed these debates toward the type of work that critical surf studies seek to accomplish in revising earlier thinking about the sport embedded in and, at times, sponsored by, media, industry, and surf culture.

And with the argumentative turn in trade surf history taking place somewhere between the work of Finney, Kampion, John Clark, and Warshaw, historical scholarship has also yielded texts that now anchor the field. Isaiah Helekunihi Walker's *Waves of Resistance: Surfing and History in Twentieth-Century Hawai'i* (2011) examines surfing's cultural and political importance in Hawai'i, arguing that Hawaiian surfers have resisted colonial intrusions from

the surf zone, using surfing to develop and articulate coordinated assertions of local indigenous identity and powerful decolonizing critiques.[45] Walker's work is informed by—and contributes to—postcolonial, ethnic, indigenous, and Pacific Studies literatures, which endow his work with a strong political character of particular interest to scholars.

Following Walker's *Waves of Resistance* was Scott Laderman's *Empire in Waves: A Political History of Surfing* (2014), a singular contribution given his background as a historian of foreign policy specializing in Southeast Asia. Laderman's monograph argues that in spite of surfing's rhetoric and iconography of pleasure and leisure, surfing has always necessarily operated within and alongside domestic politics, foreign policy, and political conflict. Surfing, says Laderman, is inseparable from broader political contexts and their local consequences, regardless of the sport's recurrent association with hedonistic ideals. Westwick and Neushul's offering also merits mention here, as it demonstrates precisely the manner in which historiography connects popular and critical histories: as studies across the disciplines have deployed popular histories as a result of the paucity of scholarship, scholarly histories now seek to challenge the wagers of prevailing popular narratives. Westwick and Neushul join Walker and Laderman in revising popular historiography through academic research methods and arguments of not-so-subtle differentiation from their trade history peers and predecessors.

Also published in 2014 was ethnomusicologist Timothy Cooley's *Surfing about Music*. Somewhat of a disciplinary outlier, Cooley's work plotted the diverse modes and means by which music has accompanied surf culture from ancient Hawai'i to the present. Seeing musicality "as an integral part of group imagination and invention," Cooley explores how surfers and their allies and admirers have come to associate the cultural practices of riding waves and making music as intimately connected human practices.[46] While he sees making music and surfing as homologies (they are fundamentally the same phenomenon, he says, as experiencing the surf and experiencing music engender affective responses), Cooley also contends that musical sharing enables surfers engaged in a predominantly solitary practice to form and nurture community. Unique in its disciplinary scope within surf scholarship, Cooley's rigorous and rich work rounds out the corpus of monographs at the center of current critical surf studies.

During and since the elaboration of these monographs, many book chapters have also appeared.[47] Accompanying them was a significant surge in journal publications, as well as a broadening of journals willing to publish about surfing.[48] Interdisciplinary and field-specific collections on sport, regional themes,

and special topics have also yielded significant contributions on surfing, each further relating surfing to critical concepts relevant to specific local and national contexts.[49] With this brief outline of the critical surfing studies field, we turn now to the contents of the present volume.

Volume Outline

The volume is organized into four parts, grouping chapters into categories that have long intersected with surfing's histories and iconographies: coloniality, race and ethnicity, feminisms, and capitalism. As there is much critical overlap between these categories, many chapters transcend the conceptual boundaries of where they are situated, dialoging across the book's contents.

The chapters in the first part, Coloniality and Decolonization, contribute to thinking and working toward the decolonization of surf culture in historical, pedagogical, and theoretical modes. In the opening chapter, Patrick Moser takes up the accounts of Hiram Bingham to resituate the nineteenth-century missionary's rhetoric of surfing's demise. Identifying Bingham's influence on annexationists and, later, modern surf historiography, Moser cogently highlights the destructive stakes of indigenous erasure perpetuated by Bingham's canonization in Western histories of Hawai'i. Moving forward into the twentieth century, Scott Laderman questions surfing's reputation for rebelliousness by interrogating surf travel narratives generated between the 1960s and 1980s. Taking up accounts of the notorious Miki Dora and surfers traversing Latin America, the Caribbean, and much of the developing world, Laderman adroitly shows how surfers' tastes for the exotic and the isolated, masked under the guise of rebellion, manifest a range of dangerous tendencies, from the self-indulgent and hedonistic to the imperial and anti-Semitic. Within the matrix of ongoing debates about Hawaiian autonomy, Isaiah Helekunihi Walker explores how Native Hawaiian professional and competitive surfers understand and broadcast their identity within the context of global sport and Hawaiian political identity. Skillfully building upon active-participant collaborations and media surrounding key Hawaiian competitive surfing successes, he contends that the Hawaiian concept of *kuleana*, roughly translated as responsibility to community and environment, endows surfing with meaning and inspires Native Hawaiian surfers on the world stage.

In chapter 4, Dexter Zavalza Hough-Snee and Alexander Sotelo Eastman demonstrate how surfing institutions—industry, competitive governance, tourism, and media (among others)—shape participation in surfing, arguing that the evolution of a modern surfing state places ever-stricter limits on surfer

creativity.[50] Exploring the career of Mexican-American professional surfer Bobby Martinez and the local reorganization of the Oaxaca surf community of Salina Cruz to suggest how individuals and communities creatively resist the superstructures of professional surfing governance and Global North–South surf tourism, they seek to envision radical creative futures outside of the broader surfing state. Tara Ruttenberg and Pete Brosius also seek to encourage alternative futures by suggesting the possibility of decolonizing the realm of sustainable surf tourism. Writing as coordinators of the University of Georgia's summer program, "Surfing & Sustainability: Political Ecology in Costa Rica," Ruttenberg and Brosius propose that the very foundations of sustainable surfing tourism need rethinking. Recognizing that "income-oriented 'status quo' sustainability" programs perpetuate conventional forms of exploitation, they encourage alternate forms of tourism governance and alternatives to development as a means of decolonizing the surf tourism industry.

Kevin Dawson forcefully opens part II, Race, Ethnicity, and Identity, by interrogating a broad archive of colonial observations of surfing and aquatic culture generated between the 1590s and the 1790s in Atlantic Africa and Oceania. Dawson suggests that Europeans who colonized oceanic landscapes, lacking any identifiable aquatic traditions of their own, had to become native, simultaneously allowing indigenous water cultures and practices to prevail in spaces with traditional meanings. Glen Thompson explores the development of the South African surfing lifestyle during the 1960s, historicizing how local surf culture was raced, gendered, and shaped by transnational surfing trends. Identifying the "whitewashing" of surfing in South Africa as an attempt to institutionalize global surf culture's mythic trope of a tanned whiteness, Thompson analyzes and problematizes how apartheid and lifestyle consumption imported the "California dream" to render surfing a white pastime. In the wake of these discussions of surfing in Africa, Belinda Wheaton collaborates with African American surfers in Southern California to explore the experiences of black surfers around Los Angeles. Debunking the notion of a "white" Californian surfing culture, Wheaton's timely exploration of black surfing participation in California paints a portrait of individuals who actively move surfing beyond its historically racialized connotations and promote "an expanded image of self and black culture." In chapter 9, Colleen McGloin challenges the notion that surfing was "introduced" to Australia, resituating the ocean as a "country"—a cultural and spiritual place of origin—and site of history in aboriginal geographies. With such understandings of the ocean, McGloin argues, indigenous surfing in Australia becomes an act of cultural restoration as well as a form

of epistemic disobedience. Moving from Australian to Hawaiian indigeneity, Dina Gilio-Whitaker examines how concepts of blood quantum prevalent in US Native American relations contributed to the canonization of Duke Kahanamoku as surfing's modern figurehead. She then turns to George Freeth's marginalization in surf history to understand how surfing's notions of cultural authenticity have been equated to racial purity, perpetuating *fin de siècle* racial categories into the present.

The third part, Feminist Critical Geography, begins with an intervention by Krista Comer, who invokes surfeminism, critical regionalism, and public scholarship to narrate an origin story of how current feminist efforts in surfing have evolved and taken on a character of their own in the present wave of feminism. Writing in the wake of recent activist and public humanities work with the Institute of Women Surfers, Comer insightfully reports on initiatives indicative of how "surfeminist, place-based knowledges" might push such collaborations beyond gender equity and into the realm of decolonizing surfing more broadly. Lisahunter playfully weaves together a series of corporeal metaphors to question whether surfing's collective body is metaphorically "screwed" and if it might ever be desexed. She begins by proposing that surfing is indicative of what she terms "patriocolonialism"—patriarchal and colonial practices that further capitalist modes, Western knowledge systems, and heteronormativity—experienced as an illusory semblance of gender equality and feminist victory in the surf. She then asks a fundamental question as to whether surfing could be anything but sexed, responding in the affirmative "by offering several queer lines of flight with pedagogies of possibility." Writer, activist, and world-champion surfer Cori Schumacher provocatively concludes the section by suggesting that instead of limiting themselves to a "stealth feminism" that merely resists heteronormative sexualization and objectification of women, surfers should embrace a surfeminism that challenges the very nature/culture and subject/object divides common to Western understandings of surfing. She figuratively invokes the mermaid as a symbol of women's communion with the ocean, and posits its likeness as an activist icon to rally around in working toward such a surfing future.

The final part, focused on the commodification of surfing, begins with Kristin Lawler's fascinating exploration of the image of the "surf bum," through which surfing was historically deployed in contraposition to work. Lawler resurrects the surf bum from John Rawls's idea of the "Malibu Surfer Problem" in the 1970s, updating the image to what conservative US news media have coined the "Food Stamp Surfer." She then explores how this image, deployed

by the political right to instill divisiveness, can become a symbol of liberation, contributing to "a culture of freedom that inspires workers to resist work" by slowing down, enjoying life, and embracing the omnipresence of the avatars of leisure in their midst. Moving from avatars to industry, Douglas Booth takes a historical materialist approach to trace the evolution of surfing's 1950s cottage industries into the emergence of today's global surfing industry. Booth begins by examining the crises that the industry has recently faced before proceeding to historicize three types of labor—industrial, free-surfing, and competitive labor—and concludes by highlighting the demographic and social trends that have divided surfing culture. Andrew Warren and Chris Gibson draw upon active participant research in pairing labor geography and cultural economy theory to examine the labor experiences of workers in the surfboard industry during major transitions toward mechanization and industry globalization. They commandingly argue that, despite working within a culture of precariousness, these workers contest the conditions of employment, their agency shifting over time and space, corresponding to the ebbs and flows of the industry.

Engaging earlier discussions in the volume, Robin Canniford skillfully tracks the construction of surfing as a pure nature experience for marketing purposes. Capitalizing on surfers' understanding of the idealized surfing experience as "a magical encounter with pure nature," he argues that surf marketing connects nature back to markets by creating a linkage through the image of the primitive, a construction of nature that enables a distinction of surfing-as-pure-nature from modern cultures. Illustrating the pervasiveness of such linkages wherever mass marketing promotes surfing, Clifton Evers takes up the global surfing industry's hyperbolic claims to the profitability of China as surfing's next frontier. Coupling active participant research with a nuanced portrait of surfing's current status in China, Evers strongly concludes the volume by highlighting how Chinese surfing culture finds itself at the intersections of the global and the local. Examining the environmental, economic, cultural, and political conditions of surfing in China, Evers contemplates the antagonistic relationship between the global surfing culture industry and local realities that may not render China the lucrative surf destination that it was once forecast to be.

As critical literatures on surfing continue to expand, the collective contents of this volume serve to mark where the field stands today. In highlighting specific disciplinary and political questions that surfing brings to the fore around the globe, each author employs unique archives and references that provide a starting point for further reading and inquiry. It is our hope that this project

contributes to the field's growth by anchoring critical studies to core disciplinary research and identifying areas for further exploration of surfing through teaching, scholarship, activism, political participation, and, of course, riding waves.

NOTES

1. Women's initiatives are most numerous in this respect, embodying what Krista Comer has identified as "a global contemporary social movement with feminist, environmental, pacifist, and antipoverty commitments" (Comer, *Surfer Girls*, 18). These initiatives include, among others, the History of Women's Surfing (http://www.historyofwomensurfing.com/), curated by Sheri Crummer, Cori Schumacher, and Carla Rowland-Zamora; Crummer and Schumacher's Inspire Initiative (http://www.theinspireinitiative.org/); surfeminism, directed by Nicole Grodesky (http://www.surfeminism.com/); Farhana Huq's Brown Girl Surf group (http://www.browngirlsurf.com/); and the Institute for Women Surfers (http://www.instituteforwomensurfers.org/), organized by Comer. The Black Surfers Collective (http://www.blacksurferscollective.org/) originated in Southern California in 2012. Thomas Castets founded GaySurfers.net in 2010, an online LGBTQIA surfing community "promoting diversity and inclusion in the lineup" that boasts chapters worldwide (http://www.gaysurfers.net/). Sofia Mulanovich's Sofia Proyecto (http://www.sofiaproyecto.com/en/) brings together top Peruvian junior surfers from varied socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds in an attempt to propel local youth from across the social spectrum into elite competition. Anchored by Apish Tshetsha and Bongani Ndlovu, Waves for Change (http://www.waves-for-change.org/) was founded by Tim Conibear in 2011 to provide therapeutic benefits to urban youth in South Africa, simultaneously diversifying Cape Town lineups. Surfing New Zealand's Auahi Kore Aotearoa Maori Titles and Surfing Australia's Australian Indigenous Surfing Titles provide competitive outlets for Maori and aboriginal surfers, respectively, and celebrate indigenous aquatic traditions.

2. Moser, *Pacific Passages*, 1.

3. See Walker, *Waves of Resistance.*

4. See Westwick and Neushul, *The World in the Curl.*

5. See Laderman, *Empire in Waves*, 8–40.

6. See Walker, *Waves of Resistance*, 37.

7. On Kahanamoku and Freeth, see Gilio-Whitaker, this volume; Walker, this volume; and Moser, this volume. See also Walker, *Waves of Resistance*; Laderman, *Empire in Waves*, 3, 25–36; Westwick and Neushul, *World in the Curl*, 44–69.

Surfing was exported from Hawai'i when travelers returned home during the political prelude to World War II. Peruvian Carlos Dogny, for example, returned to Lima from O'ahu during the war's onset, taking surfing with him. On Dogny, see Wood, "On the Crest of a Wave," 228, and Zavalza Hough-Snee, "You Have the Right to Surf," 203–204.

8. See Laderman, *Empire in Waves*, 34; Westwick and Neushul, *World in the Curl*, 65–66.

9. See Warshaw, *Encyclopedia* (2005), 132.

10. See Warshaw, "Makaha International Surfing Championships," and "Peru International Surfing Championships," http://encyclopediaofsurfing.com/.

11. See Lawler, *The American Surfer*. On surfing's white-collar foundations, see Westwick and Neushul, *World in the Curl*; Wood, "On the Crest of a Wave"; and Warshaw, *History of Surfing*.

12. See Warren and Gibson, *Surfing Places, Surfboard Makers*.

13. See Comer, *Surfer Girls in the New World Order*.

14. Lewis Samuels, "Secret History," *Surfline.com*, July 27, 2015. Professional surfers of recent generations have embraced golf and tennis as hobbies, actively documenting their forays into these sports and pushing competitive surfing back toward the spectrum of club sports where it existed in the first half of the twentieth century. According to the 2011 Surfrider Foundation study, *A Socioeconomic and Recreational Profile of Surfers in the United States* (http://surfridercdn.surfrider.org/images/uploads/publications/surfrider_report_v13(1).pdf), the typical US surfer is university educated and earns $75,000 per year.

15. For anthologies of surf writing from the eighteenth to the twenty-first centuries, see Moser, *Pacific Passages*, and Warshaw, *Zero Break*.

There have been attempts to compile comprehensive bibliographies of surfing literature, although each has been outdated with the corpus's ongoing growth. Representative of such attempts is DeLaVega, *200 Years of Surfing Literature: An Annotated Bibliography*. We limit our discussion here to works in English, although there are numerous national and local histories of surfing from around the globe, most prominently from early surfing nations such as Peru, Brazil, South Africa, France, New Zealand, and Australia. Hundreds of popular works offer histories of specific locales in Latin America, Australasia, and Europe. In the interest of brevity, the present discussion of surfing literature has no pretensions to comprehensiveness and admits focus on writings from the United States, Hawai'i, New Zealand, Australia, and the United Kingdom.

16. Matt Warshaw, "Articles of Faith. 35 Years of Surf Magazines: An Insider's View," *The Surfer's Journal* 5.1 (1996): 89.

17. Patrick Moser, "The Custodian, Interview with Steve Pezman," *Gingko Tree Review* (2013); Warshaw, "Articles of Faith." The documentary *White Wash* (Trespass Productions, 2011) addresses the racial segregation of beaches in the United States and the erasure of African Americans from the history of surfing. In 2016, the *Journal of Ethnic History* (35.2) published a special issue dedicated to analysis of the groundbreaking film. Glen Thompson has been a leading voice in untangling the racialized history of surfing in South Africa. See, for example, "*Otelo Burning* and Zulu Surfing Histories" and his chapter in this volume. Kevin Dawson has shed light on the rich and little-known histories of water sports in early modern Africa and Oceania; in addition to his work in this volume, see "Enslaved Swimmers and Divers in the Atlantic World" and his monograph *Enslaved Water People in the Atlantic World*.

18. See Young and McGregor, *The History of Surfing*. Young authored six additional titles.

19. See Warshaw, *Surf Riders* (1997), *Maverick's* (2000), *Zero Break* (2004), *The Encyclopedia of Surfing* (2003), *Surf Movie Tonite!* (2005), *Photo/Stoner* (2006), and *The History of Surfing* (2010). See Encyclopediaofsurfing.com for the encyclopedia's digital evolution as reference text and multimedia archive, and Historyofsurfing.net for the digitized, updated

version of the *History of Surfing*, complete with links to archival material and primary sources. Warshaw has also generously helped many scholars to find and access rare materials and sources in spite of his distance from academia. Kampion has authored a host of surfing travel guides, biographies, and popular histories. See *Stoked!* (2003), *The Way of the Surfer* (2003), *Waves* (2005), *Dora Lives* (2005, with Stecyk), and *Greg Noll* (2007).

20. For more on the "revolving door" in the surf industry, see Westwick and Neushul, *World in the Curl*, 290.

21. Matt Warshaw in Mark Lukach, "The Glory of the Digital Encyclopedia of Surfing," *TheAtlantic.com* (September 30, 2013) (https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2013/09/the-glory-of-the-digital-encyclopedia-of-surfing/280120/).

22. Numerous scholars have pointed out the incestuous business model of surf media, advertisers, and brands. See, for example, Westwick and Neushul, *World in the Curl*, 290, and Thompson, "Disturbed Waters."

23. Warshaw, "Foreword," 4.

24. Warshaw "Foreword," 5.

25. Steve Barilotti, "Lost Horizons: Surfer Colonialism in the 21st Century," *The Surfer's Journal* 3.11 (2002): 88–97.

26. For example, Lewis Samuels, a former contributor to prominent surf forecasting website *Surfline*, was fired after he published an incendiary post on his *PostSurf* blog in which he criticized the CEO of a major surf company. Samuels stated that his intention in creating *PostSurf* in 2009 was "to change the landscape of the surf media" and to contemplate alternative histories for surfing (Nick Carroll, "The New Sarcasm," *Kurungabaa.net* [September 7, 2010]).

27. Accompanying this turn to online content, *Surfer* is transitioning its print publications from monthly to quarterly beginning in 2017.

28. A comprehensive study of the history of surf publications that takes into account regional particularities remains to be written. Critical surf studies would benefit from more comparative studies, such as Joan Ormrod's "Surf Rhetoric in American and British Surfing Magazines Between 1965 and 1976." Brazilian scholar Rafael Fortes has published several articles on the history and evolution of Brazilian surf media. See, for example, "Making Surf Media in Brazil."

29. See Clifton Evers, "Kurungabaa says Goodbye," *Kurungabaa.net* (January 28, 2014).

30. See Zach Weisberg, "Sensationalistic, Scummy Journalism," *The Inertia* (November 14, 2010), and "Surf Media: Living the Dream?," *The Inertia* (December 6, 2010). For a similar critique of surf journalism's lack of ethical standards, see Morgan Williamson, "Surf Journalism in the Age of Kardashian," *Stabmag.com* (August 2015). Tetsuhiko Endo, a journalist and fiction writer trained in postcolonial studies, authored some of the most compelling intellectual prose about surfing to emerge in recent years, primarily during his tenure as editor of *The Inertia*.

31. Among representative critics is Rebecca Olive, a trained sociologist and lecturer whose blog *Making Friends with the Neighbours* (http://makingfriendswiththeneighbours.blogspot.com/) has focused on women's issues in surfing for over a decade, often overlapping with her scholarly work and contributions to niche media. Cori Schumacher has written for nonsurfing periodicals and women's surfing publications since 2011, simultaneously

maintaining an active blog. Dina Gilio-Whitaker, a research associate at the Center for World Indigenous Studies, has also dedicated much ink to scholarly topics relating surfing to indigeneity in popular print, also publishing on her blog *RumiNative* (https://dinagwhitaker.wordpress.com/). In 2014, Australian women's media collective The Mermaid Society (http://themermaidsociety.com.au/) was founded to independently cover women's surfing.

32. See Comer and Schumacher, this volume.

33. Academic presses have also published noteworthy trade histories of surfing and related reference texts, most notably the University of Hawai'i Press, which released John Clark's history, *Hawaiian Surfing: Traditions from the Past* (2011), and Tony Butt's *Surf Science: An Introduction to Waves for Surfing* (2004). Columbia University Press recently released Pete Maguire and Mike Ritter's *Thai Stick: Surfers Scammers, and the Untold Story of the Marijuana Trade* (2015), a trade history of the cannabis industry that details surfing's relationship to pot at great length. The University of Nebraska Press is responsible for Jeremy Evans's *The Battle for Paradise: Surfing, Tuna, and One Town's Quest to Save a Wave*, a narrative of the conflicts surrounding Costa Rican surf destination Pavones. MIT Press published Richard Kenvin and Christine Knoke's *Surf Craft: Design and the Culture of Board Riding*, an accompaniment to the 2014 exhibition of the same name at San Diego's Mingei International Museum, marking a consideration of surfcraft in an art historical mode. That same year, the University Press of Florida issued Paul Aho's *Surfing Florida: A Photographic History*, which accompanied several exhibitions statewide.

34. As writings of journalists and popular historians have garnered scholarly attention, career academics have also contributed to popular literature on surfing. Ben Finney, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Hawai'i since 1973, a longtime research associate at Honolulu's Bishop Museum, and an authority on the Pacific world, coauthored (with James Houston) the seminal *Surfing, the Sport of Hawaiian Kings*, one of the earliest trade press surfing histories. The tome was republished as *Surfing: A History of the Ancient Hawaiian Sport*. Patrick Moser's anthology of surf writings, *Pacific Passages*, compiles sources spanning from indigenous and colonial Polynesia to the twenty-first century. Since publication, Moser's volume has anchored teaching of surf-related curricula and provided valuable primary source matter for researchers, including rare and unpublished archival materials. Moser has also coauthored two books with South African world champion surfer Shaun Tomson: see Tomson, *Surfer's Code* and *The Code*. Douglas Booth has also contributed to surfing nonfiction, elaborating a comprehensive reference text that complements more than two decades of scholarly writing on surfing. For his trade text, see Booth, *Surfing: The Ultimate Guide*. His *Australian Beach Cultures* discusses surfing at great length in exploring the role of the coast in Australian culture. Clifton Evers aimed to open the minds of young surfers to promote social justice and critical thought with his popular text *Notes for a Young Surfer*.

35. See Finney, "Surf boarding in Oceania," "Surfing in Ancient Hawaii," "The Development and Diffusion of Modern Hawaiian Surfing," and "Surf boarding in West Africa."

36. Published in 1973 and 1978, respectively, Irwin's and Pearson's works are among the earliest scholarship of surfing. See Irwin, "Surfing: The Natural History of an Urban Scene"; Pearson, *Surfing Subcultures*; and Pearson, "Conflict, Stereotypes, and Masculinity

in Australian and New Zealand Surfing." (An ironic anecdote concerning one of these authors is reflective of midcentury surf culture: Irwin, the first mainland American scholar to publish on surfing, served a five-year prison term for armed robbery, earning college credit while incarcerated. He took sociology degrees at UCLA [BA] and Berkeley [PhD] upon his release and taught at San Francisco State University for twenty-seven years.)

37. See Booth, "War off the Water," "Ambiguities in Pleasure and Discipline," and "Surfing Films and Videos"; Jaggard, "Chameleons in the Surf" and "Australian Surf Life-Saving"; Scheibel, "Making Waves"; Stedman, "From Gidget to Gonad Man"; and Lewis, "Between the Lines."

38. Previous scholarly literature reviews have understated the importance and magnitude of these authors and their works, perhaps owing to editorial limitations.

39. Comer, *Surfer Girls*, 9.

40. Kevin Dawson's *Enslaved Water People in the Atlantic World* accompanies this volume to print. Patrick Moser is currently elaborating a history of surfing from 1788 to 1944, and Californian performance studies scholar J'aime Morrison (California State University, Northridge) is also preparing a monograph examining surfing's relationship to dance.

41. Comer, *Surfer Girls*, 18.

42. Ford and Brown, *Surfing and Social Theory*.

43. Stranger, *Surfing Life.* See also Stranger, "Surface and Substructure" and "The Aesthetics of Risk."

44. Warren and Gibson, *Surfing Places, Surfboard Makers*.

45. Walker, *Waves of Resistance*.

46. Cooley, *Surfing about Music*, 16.

47. Comer, Lawler, Stranger, Walker, Laderman, and Dawson each published articles or chapters while preparing their books.

48. A comprehensive list of journals that have published articles on surfing exceeds the scope of this introduction. We refer our reader to the bibliography for a large sample of these journals.

49. For a small sampling of chapters about surfing in edited collections focused on broader themes, see Ormrod, "Endless Summer" (2008); Thompson, "Certain Political Considerations"; Laderman, "Reds, Revolutionaries, and Racists"; Roy and Caudwell, "Women and Surfing Spaces"; Heywood and Montgomery, "Ambassadors of the Last Wilderness" and "Economies of Surf"; and Zavalza Hough-Snee, "You Have the Right to Surf." As for edited collections, see Ormrod and Wheaton, *On the Edge*, as well as individual works coordinated by lisahunter, Wheaton, and Holly Thorpe, among others.

50. For origins of the modern sporting state concept, see Colás's "Getting Free" and *Ball Don't Lie*.