Surf and Turf: Surfing, Localism, and Everything In Between

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Introduction

Paddling to find the perfect position for the approaching wave, the surfer paddles faster and faster as the wave moves closer. Finally the wave lifts and catches the surfboard, and surfer and board move as one flying down the wave. While riding towards shore, feelings of adrenaline and excitement flow through the surfer. After the ride ends, the surfer feels exhilarated to go out and catch another wave. When surfing produces such a thrill as this, it is no surprise that surfers become upset when crowds of other surfers interfere with their access to waves.

In order to surf there must be waves, but what happened when the waves were perfect and many surfers vied for the best position to ride the next wave in? Overcrowding. What happened when non-locals caused overcrowding? Localism. Localism is the act of local surfers behaving territorially over their waves. While surfing surfers experienced "an ephemeral endorphin high called stoke" and when access to waves and the feeling of stoke became threatened, surfers became angry and anxious.[1] As a result locals established an "in-the-water hierarchy" in which they claimed priority over waves.[2] Through this hierarchy local surfers delegated the resources or waves. Since good surf spots "are limited in supply," surfers felt protective over them.[3] Surfers expressed their possessive feelings over their waves and reacted territorially to encroachment.

Surfers have expressed localism through verbal assault, violence, intimidation and various other means. Sometimes they threatened newcomers by "simple turf-marking" in which surfers used graffiti to assert that the surf spot was for locals only. Another more violent form of

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[1] Steve Barilotti, "Localism Works," Surfer Magazine (April 22, 2003), 2.
[2] Eric Ishiwata, "Local Motions: Surfing and the Politics of Wave Sliding," Cultural Values, 6 (2002), 259.
[3] M. De Alessi, "The Customs and Culture of Surfing, and an Opportunity for a New Territorialism?" Reef Journal, 1, (2009), 85.

localism was when surfers exchanged punches. Occasionally surfers used intimidation to frighten outsiders by giving "hard looks," dropping in on a wave and cutting off non-local surfers, vandalizing cars or abusing non-locals verbally.[4] Using "fear, intimidation, and bravado," surfers tried to prevent outsiders and beginning surfers from riding their waves.[5] At times the "reputation and notoriety" of a surf spot for having aggressive locals kept people away.[6] Using the infamous reputation of a surf spot as a form of localism, surfers did not have to actually fight outsiders.

Localism in surfing has occurred since the sport originated in Hawai'i. While historians are not certain about the earliest date of surfing in Hawai'i, historian Ben Finney stated that Polynesians settled in Hawai'i in 500 A.D. bringing with them surfing. Finney believed that Hawaiian surfing evolved several hundred years after the arrival of the Polynesians.[7] Today localism continues to be an aspect of the sport and surf culture because of the increasing popularity of surfing. Through examining the history of surfing, especially the growth of the sport, one can decipher the development and patterns of localism. The meaning behind territorial behavior at a surf break often had specific explanations based on the background of the surf spot and surfers. Although it seemed that the main reason for localism and surfers' territorial behavior was a reaction to the encroachment of outsiders on waves that locals felt entitled too, there were other explanations that might not have been apparent.

Various forms of localism have existed since surfing began, but different versions of localism have represented quite disparate responses to a wide range of conditions. In Hawai'i

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[4] Matt Warshaw, The History of Surfing, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2010), 263.
[5] Brad Melekian, "Localism Doesn't Work: a Purely Rational Study of Surfing's Biggest Moral Quandary," Surfing Magazine (January 7, 2010), 2.
[6] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 264.
[7] Ben R. Finney, and James D. Houston, Surfing: the Sport of Hawaiian Kings (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1966), 23.

the *ali'i,* or Hawaiian royal chiefs, practiced localism against the commoners to reinforce their higher social status. After the arrival of Westerners and the ensuing colonization of Hawai'i the sport did not disappear. In the early twentieth century surfing spread to California and Australia. As surfing grew in popularity the design of the surfboard changed, making surfing more accessible to large numbers of people. Surfing became a part of American culture, and it was popularized in music and in film. Once surfing became "accessible to the masses," the masses competed for a shrinking number of prime surf locations.[8]

In the twentieth century the *Hui O He'e Nalu* of the North Shore of O'ahu—founded by mostly Native Hawaiians—practiced a form of localism that reflected resistance to colonialism in Hawai'i. Their unique explanation for localism reflects the importance of surfing to Hawaiians and their culture. Towards the end of the century, the Bra Boys, from Maroubra, Australia, a notorious self-described surf brotherhood, exhibited localism not only at their home break but also at a neighboring surf spot. Recently at the Tavarua surf resort in Fiji another form of localism developed in the form of economic localism. In order to access the waves at Tavarua, surfers have to pay and stay at the resort; however, within the past year this practice ceased because the Fijian government decided to open up Tavarua to all surfers. Surfers have tried to improve and decrease localism in surfing, yet the phenomenon persisted. It is difficult to combat localism due to a number of causal factors: localism as a way to denote status, resist western colonialism and the intrusion of outsiders, respond to overcrowding, and create a sense of community. Localism is a social phenomenon that occurs in surfing where surfers defend their local waves and beach from outsiders for specific reasons relating to that particular location and group of surfers.

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[8] Guy Trebay, "Hawaiians are demanding a Little Respect," New York Times (May 19, 2008), 1.

The First Occurrence of Localism in Hawai'i: The Ali'i and Commoners

The powerful ali'i, or chiefs of Hawai'i exhibited localism when they claimed access to the best waves for surfing. Even though there were areas where both the ali'i and commoners surfed, the ali'i had rights over particular surf breaks and excluded others using the *kapu* system.[9] Through the kapu or "governing system," chiefs maintained order over their subjects and punished them for disobeying the kapu.[10] A Hawaiian legend about Piikoi illustrated the authority the ali'i had over certain surf breaks. According to legend, Piikoi surfed near the break that the queen claimed for herself and was taboo to everyone else. Yet the only good waves for surfing that day were the queen's "forbidden surf." As a swell approached Piikoi suggested to the queen that she take the first wave while he followed on the second. However, the queen decided to surf the same wave as Piikoi. By surfing the same wave as the queen Piikoi, broke the taboo and his punishment was execution. Fortunately Piikoi proved that he was "the famous rat-killer" and the queen did not kill him.[11] This legend revealed that interfering with the ali'i or the locals had consequences. The ali'i declaration of exclusive access to waves was an early form of localism because they denied commoners use of those waves.

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[9] Finney and Houston, 46.
[10] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 23.
[11] Finney, 46-47.

Olo and Alaia: Surfboards that Denoted Status

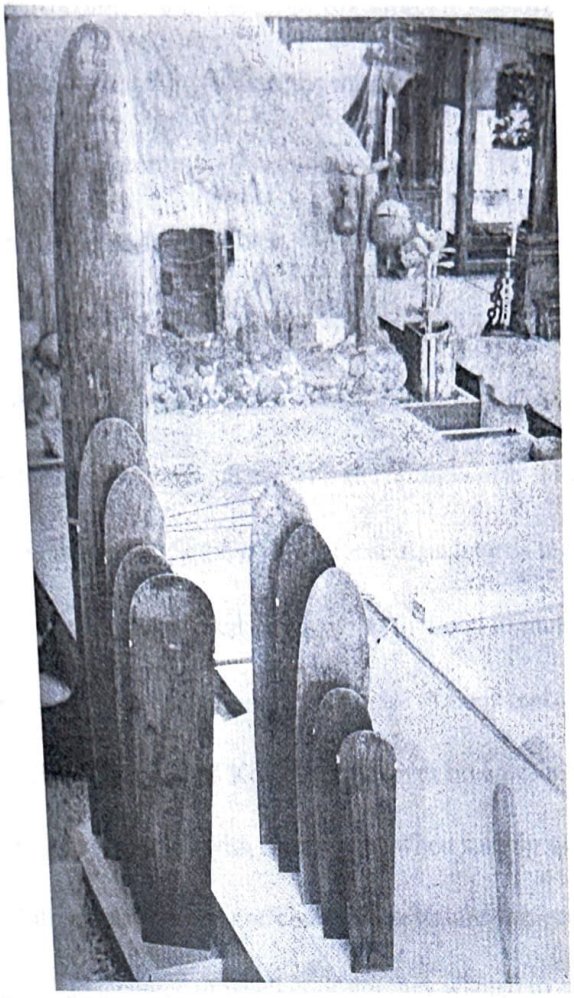

Figure 1. Olo and Alaia Boards[12]

Ali'i distinguished themselves from commoners through the type of surfboard they utilized. The *olo* board was the surfboard of the ali'i. Construction of a surfboard for a chief had rituals, while a board for a commoner did not have any special ceremonies. To make the surfboard a builder used wood from a *koa*, breadfruit or *wiliwili* tree. After cutting down the tree, the builder buried a *kumu* fish at the foot of the tree and said prayers to the fish as "compensation to the spirits."[13] Large and heavy, the olo board weighed around one hundred fifty pounds.

[12] Finney, 47.
[13] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 24.

Because of its size, the olo was useful for "large, humping swells" that existed in a few parts of Hawai'i. Although such board could catch waves far off shore, it was difficult to maneuver. At Waikiki the board was perfect for catching waves; however Waikiki's "long, low swells and sandy shore" environment was not common throughout the rest of Hawai'i.[14] When the ali'i surfed with an olo they differentiated themselves from other surfers. Since they alone used the olo board and because it worked best at certain surf spots, the ali'i monopolized particular breaks. The olo board reflected the high status of the surfer, as well as his local status.

Yet the ali'i and commoners both surfed with the *alaia* board. This board was broad, short and "plank-like in its thinness." Some of the largest alaia boards measured "seven to twelve feet long." Like the olo board, builders used koa or wiliwili wood to build the alaia board. For surfing fast steep waves, these boards worked best because of their mobility. Surfers preferred alaia boards for surfing along the coast of Kona where waves broke closer in.[15] Since the ali'i also used the alaia board, they mingled with commoners when surfing waves best suited for that board. When surfing with an alaia board, the chiefs' high stature was not as prominent. As the powerful rulers, the ali'i had a choice of whether or not they wanted to surf by themselves or with commoners depending on what type of board they used.

Personal Surf Chants

Surfboards were not the only way in which the chiefs defined themselves as different from commoners. Chiefs had their own specialized chants that chanters recited while they were surfing. One *mele inoa* or name chant revealed the surfing skill and high standing of King William Charles Lunalilo. The name chant stated " *'Auhea 'o ka lani la, Aia i ka he'e nalu, He'e*

[14] Finney, 48-49.
[15] Finney, 48-50.

ana i ka lala la, Ho'i ana i ka muku, A ka nalu o Hō'eu la" ("Where is the royal chief? There surfing, Surfing on the long wave, Returning on the short wave, On the Hō'eu wave.") According to translator Nona Beamer, "Hō'eu" means "very high, referring to royalty," so this chant emphasized both the king's ability to surf a large wave and his royal status. One line from the chant of King Lunalilo stated, "*Kānaenae o ka lani,*" meaning "a prayerful chant for the chief."[16] This line illustrated how surf chants were a medium for sending prayers to the surfing chief. Chanters sang the chants to help chiefs perform well out in the surf.[17]

Colonists Take-Over Hawai'i, yet Surfing Prevails

Surfing was a popular cultural activity for Hawaiians, but the arrival of Europeans to Hawai'i decreased the Hawaiian population. On January 18, 1778 Captain Cook's ships the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* landed at Kaua'i.[18] With them the explorers brought diseases such as syphilis and tuberculosis, to which the Hawaiian people had no immunity.[19] Cook knew that some of his men carried venereal diseases and tried to keep the Hawaiian women from coming onto the boats; nonetheless, the sailors and the Hawaiians intermingled and diseases spread.[20] William Ellis, a member of Cook's expedition, stopped by the islands in 1778, and when he returned ten months later he noted that "we found the venereal disease raging among these poor

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[16] Nona Beamer, "Auhea 'O Ka Lani' (Where Is the Royal Chief)," in Pacific Passages: An Anthology of Surf Writing, ed. Patrick Moser (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 42-43.
[17] Finney, 45.
[18] Gary Y. Okihiro, Island World: a History of Hawai'i and the United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 136.
[19] David E. Stannard, Before the Horror (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 7, 48.
[20] Gavan Daws, Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1968), 6.

people. . . and it was the opinion of most, that we, in our former visit, had been the cause of this irreparable injury."[21] When the explorers first arrived the Hawaiian population numbered around 400,000 people; however by the 1890s the population reduced to 40,000 because of the diseases.[22] Although many died, the Hawaiians who survived proceeded to surf.

In the 1800s the next wave of foreigners that entered Hawai'i, the American and European missionaries, discouraged surfing. Because they viewed the Hawaiians as inferior savages, their goal was to civilize them.[23] They regarded surfing as associated with "idleness and sexual freedoms" especially since women and men surfed together in the ocean naked.[24] However surfing did not disappear, and on Maui and O'ahu surfing continued with smaller crowds of Hawaiians.[25] Chester S. Lyman, a teacher, witnessed surfing in Waikiki in 1846 and noticed that "chiefs are all provided with surfboards" and even tried surfing himself.[26] The intrusion of the missionaries into Hawai'i marked the beginning of the colonization of the islands. Hawaiians preserved and practiced surfing, their cultural and recreational activity.

As the missionaries established schools and businesses in Hawai'i, more Whites became involved with local politics. In 1848 "the *mahele*" or "division of lands" occurred where Hawaiians lands were divided and open for sale. American businessmen purchased land for sugarcane plantations, taking Hawaiians' land and marginalizing them.[27] The White businessmen became powerful in Hawaiian politics and imposed the Bayonet constitution in

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[21] Stannard, 69.
[22] Okihiro, 59.
[23] Daws, 62.
[24] Okihiro, 59.
[25] Isaiah Helekunihi Walker, "Hui Nalu, Beachboys and the Surfing Boarder-lands of Hawai'i," The Contemporary Pacific, 20, (2008), 94.
[26] Chester S. Lyman, "Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California," in Pacific Passages: An Anthology of Surf Writing, ed. Patrick Moser (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 106-107.
[27] Isaiah Helekunihi Walker, "Terrorism or Native Protest? The Hui 'O He'e Nalu and Hawaiian Resistance to Colonialism," Pacific Historical Review, 74 (2005), 593.

1887. It included voting requirements that excluded most Hawaiians from voting.[28] After the Bayonet Constitution, Whites gained control of the government and King Kalakaua lost power.[29] When Kalakaua's sister Lili'uokalani became queen in 1891, she created her own constitution that would "restore the liberties of the Hawaiian monarchy and the Hawaiian people."[30] In reaction to her bold agenda, a group of White politicians formed the Committee of Safety and planned to overthrow her.[31] On January 17, 1893 the Committee of Safety with the support of John L. Stevens, the United States minister, took over the government building and overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy.[32] On August 12, 1898, the United States annexed Hawai'i.[33] The displacement of the Hawaiian monarchy signaled the completion of the colonial takeover of Hawai'i by White Americans. As a result of this unjust takeover Hawaiians resented foreigners and turned to surfing to escape from colonialism. Surfing would later become a medium to express opposition to the unfair seizure of Hawai'i.

Surfing's Popularity Expands out of Hawai'i

After this coup, a white businessman Alexander Hume Ford appropriated surfing as a way to increase the tourism industry. In his *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, he promoted surfing and

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[28] Michael Kioni Dudley, and Keoni Kealoha Agard, "A History of Dispossession," in Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific, ed. Paul Spickard, Joanne L. Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite Wright (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 315-316.
[29] Daws, 253.
[30] Ibid., 264, 271.
[31] Dudley and Agard, 317.
[32] Walker, "Terrorism or Native Protest?" 593.
[33] Walker, "Hui Nalu, Beachboys," 95.

stated that "anyone can learn to ride the surf-board at Waikiki."[34] By writing about surfing, Ford used the sport to lure tourists and money to Hawai'i.[35] Ford taught writer Jack London how to surf, and London wrote about his surfing experiences. London described how simple it was to learn how to surf and wrote, "what that Kanaka can do you can do yourself."[36] Their writings acquainted the sport of surfing with mainlanders in the United States.

With the growing popularity of surfing came the development of organized surf clubs in Waikiki. In 1908 Ford formed the Outrigger Canoe Club, an organization that taught Whites how to surf.[37] However only Caucasians could become members of the Outrigger Club.[38] The club was "a racially segregated organization for the elite *haole*" or the Hawaiian word for white people, and in reaction native Hawaiians formally created their own surf club, the *Hui Nalu*, in 1911, which had first been constructed in 1905.[39] While surfing out in the ocean had been a place where Hawaiians had sole control, Waikiki beach became a location "where haole and Hawaiian worlds collided."[40] Competitions between the two clubs occurred, and the Hawaiians dominated.[41] Although the Outrigger Canoe Club tried to overtake Hawaiian surfing by forming its own elite group, Hawaiian surfers challenged the club and remained superior out in the surf.

Surfing Travels Outside of Hawai'i: More People Catch the Stoke

Surfing began to spread outside of Hawai'i. The first people to surf in California were three sons of a chief from Kauai who while attending school in San Mateo, surfed in Santa Cruz

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[34] Alexander Hume Ford, "Aquatic Sports," in Pacific Passages: An Anthology of Surf Writing, ed. Patrick Moser (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 147-148.
[35] Okihiro, 54.
[36] Jack London, "Riding the South Seas Surf," in Pacific Passages: An Anthology of Surf Writing, ed. Patrick Moser (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 139.
[37] Ford, 149.
[38] Finney, 71.
[39] Walker, "Hui Nalu, Beachboys," 95-96.
[40] Ibid., 91.
[41] Ibid., 96-97.

in 1885.[42] In 1907 George Freeth traveled to San Francisco and Los Angeles and demonstrated surfing.[43] Freeth was part Hawaiian and described how "when I made my next trip to the United States I brought the surfboard art with me" and contributed to the growth of surfing.[44] Freeth's demonstrations of surfing at Redondo Beach and throughout Southern California attracted people to the sport.[45] During these presentations Freeth also taught children how to shape their own surfboards.[46] Hawaiian Olympic swimmer and surfer Duke Kahanamoku also helped popularize the sport throughout the United States by giving swim and surf exhibitions.[47] While Kahanamoku traveled on the east coast for the Olympic games, he modeled surfing. From 1922 to 1929 Kahanamoku surfed often in Southern California, at the same time that he worked on his acting career; his presence in the Southern California surf encouraged more people to try surfing.[48] Because of Freeth's and Kahanamoku's displays of Hawaiian surfing, people elsewhere took up the sport.

Surfing dispersed beyond California to Australia several years later. A form of body surfing or "surf-shooting" existed in Australia. Arthur Lowe from Manlu Beach described it: "I found myself plunging with the wave as it rolled to shore. And then swimming with the wave [as it] broke."[49] Tommy Tanna from the South Pacific Island Vanuatu had also introduced a form of bodysurfing in Australia that circulated to different beaches.[50] However it was Duke Kahanamoku who introduced Hawaiian surfing to Australians. In 1914 he went to Australia and

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[42] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 48.
[43] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 49.
[44] George Freeth, "Article from *The Evening Herald* (1917)," in Pacific Passages: An Anthology of Surf Writing, ed. Patrick Moser (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 153, 154.
[45] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 49.
[46] Ibid., 50.
[47] Ibid., 55.
[48] Isaiah Helekunihi Walker, Waves of Resistance: Surfing and History in Twentieth-Century Hawai'i, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 32.
[49] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 57.
[50] Ibid., 57.

demonstrated surfing, shaped boards and offered tips about technique.[51] Kahanamoku shaped a surfboard out of a sugar pine tree to use while surfing at Manly Beach in Australia.[52] Australians surfers made copies of this board and practiced surfing.[53] Surfing gradually became more popular in Australia; however the Surf Life Saving Association or SLSA, which focused on lifesaving skills, dominated the beaches.[54] While surfing developed slowly in Australia compared to California, it did eventually become popular.

The Evolution of the Surfboard: From Over One Hundred Pounds to Twelve

As surfing spread beyond Hawai'i, the design and materials of the surfboard began to change. Tom Blake, a surfer originally from Wisconsin, moved to Hawai'i in 1924 where he surfed and experimented with new surfboard designs.[55] Inspired by the olo board, Blake made a fifteen foot redwood board in 1926; however, he thought the board was too heavy so he decided to modify it. To make the board lighter, Blake poked holes in it and then covered it with veneer naming it the hollow board. Blake's hollow board weighed around sixty pounds while a solid redwood board weighed "up to one hundred and twenty pounds." Further altering his design, Blake built a "cigar model" which had a rib-bracing similar to the wings of an airplane. During the 1930s Blake made his boards even lighter; a ten foot board weighed forty pounds. Lifeguards at beaches liked and utilized Blake's boards because they were light, easy to use, floated well and moved quickly on the water.[56] In 1932 he patented his hollow board also known as the "water sled." He signed with the Robert Mitchell Company, a furniture company, to

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[51] Ibid., 58, 59.
[52] Walker, Waves of Resistance, 32.
[53] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 69.
[54] Ibid., 70, 71.
[55] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 61.
[56] Ibid., 64.

manufacture and sell his boards en masse. Overall Blake did not sell many of his manufactured boards because surfing in the United States in the 1930s had a small following.[57] Yet by creating a hollow board and reducing the weight of the board, he enabled more people to take up surfing because the board was easier to carry. Another innovation Blake contributed to surfboard design was the stabilizing fin. Blake found a steel "keel-shaped" fin that was four inches by one foot and in 1935 attached it to the bottom of his board. With the addition of the fin surfing changed. Blake stated "never before had I experienced such control and stability," because the board "turned any way you wanted it."[58] Although the fin allowed surfers more control on waves, surfers did not adopt the new technology until the 1940s.[59] His experiments with board design prompted others to try altering surfboards.

In the late 1930s three haoles, while surfing in Hawai'i, created a new style of a surfboard. John Kelly, Fran Heath and Wally Froiseth went surfing at Browns near Diamond Head on O'ahu and kept "sliding ass" or picking up speed while moving down the steep wave causing the tail of the board to swing in the direction of the shore.[60] "Sliding ass" or "spinning out" caused the surf ride to end.[61] Fed up, John Kelly decided to cut the end of a surfboard and make the tail of the board five inches wide instead of eighteen inches. When he tried the new board out, it was a success. Wally Froiseth tried out the new design and yelled "these things really get you in the hot curl." As a result "the new narrow-tail design" became known as the hot curl board. Although the board did not become very popular in Hawai'i, the hot curl was a precursor to future boards.[62] During the 1940s changes to surfboard design stalled because of

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[57] Ibid., 72.
[58] Ibid., 64.
[59] Ibid., 65.
[60] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 82, 62.
[61] Ibid., 82.
[62] Ibid., 82, 83.

World War II. Output of surfboards declined because materials for boards became necessary for war production.[63] However, after the war more drastic changes to surfboards occurred.

Bob Simmons, a surfer and engineer, designed lightweight surfboards in the late 1940s inspired by science. Reading Lindsay Lord's Naval Architecture of Planing Hulls in 1946, Simmons used the information in the book about hydrodynamics and boat designs and related it to surfboard construction. Lord also described applying fiberglass and polyester resin to a surface to create a "waterproof shell." Influenced by Lord, Simmons put fiberglass and resin on the tip of his surfboard to make it stronger and then a year later covered the entire board with the substances.[64] Simmons wanted to make a board that had "more speed and a longer ride." Eventually he built a board eight feet long and twenty-four inches wide that moved fast. He added two five inch fins at the corners of the tail of the board so it did not spin out of control. From 1947 to 1950 Simmons made his surfboards out of balsa wood covered in fiberglass that weighed around forty pounds. Combing different materials, Simmons created a "sandwich" board, which consisted of a Styrofoam core covered with plywood and had balsa for the rails. The sandwich board weighed twenty pounds yet it was flimsy and difficult to make.[65] Using different materials and creative designs Simmons made strong, light boards that moved faster in the water.[66] Surfer Greg Noll described Simmons's "contribution to surfing [as] the transition to lighter-weight boards and the use of fiberglass."[67] Surfboards became lighter and lighter and with lighter boards more people could take up surfing.

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[63] Ibid., 87.
[64] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 100.
[65] Ibid., 101.
[66] Ibid., 102.
[67] Greg Noll and Andrea Gabbard, Da Bull: Life Over the Edge (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 1989), 95.

Southern Californian surfers Joe Quigg and Matt Kivlin also built lightweight boards in the 1940s and 1950s.[68] One of Quigg's friends Tommy Zahn, asked Quigg to make a surfboard for his girlfriend, Darrilyn Zanuck in 1947. Quigg made a "redwood-and-balsa squaretail" board that weighed forty pounds and was ten feet and two inches tall. Not only did Zanuck like the board but also Zahn and other male surfers because it was easy to maneuver.[69] In 1950 Quigg and Kivlin continued to make twenty-five pound and nine-foot balsa boards for the female surfers of Malibu. Because the boards were light, more teenage girls began surfing at Malibu.[70] Clearly both male and female surfers enjoyed surfing with lightweight boards, and by the end of the decade the prevalence of lighter boards made surfing more accessible and popular.

Surfboard design radically changed with polyurethane. Hobie Alter opened up his first surfboard store in 1954 in Dana Point. In 1957 a salesman walked into his store with a sample of polyurethane foam and Alter knew that the new substance would be useful for surfboards. He exclaimed to his friends "this is it, boys. The future of surfboards, right here."[71] However Alter did not know if experimenting with foam would be economical given that balsa was still the favored material for surfboards. Yet as surfing's popularity grew, the supply of balsa dwindled. Alter discussed foam with one of his workers Gordon "Grubby" Clark who believed that they could develop some type of board with the foam. Clark and Alter went to Laguna Canyon and developed a factory where Clark started creating formulas for the foam.[72] To build a foam blank, they added polyurethane to a mold in the shape of a surfboard and then let the foam expand.[73] In 1957 and 1958 Clark tested the foam and mold designs. They built a "concrete-and-steel

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[68] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 104.
[69] Ibid., 105.
[70] Ibid., 107.
[71] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 164, 162.
[72] Ibid., 165.
[73] William Finnegan, "Blank Monday: Could Grubby Clark Destroy Surfing?" The New Yorker (August 21, 2006), 38.

clamshell mold" for the foam, but air bubbles appeared on the foam. To solve this problem, they added a paper lining into the mold that absorbed the air bubbles.[74] By June 1958, Alter and Clark finally constructed a foam board.[75] It was revolutionary because it only took forty minutes to make a foam blank and each weighed twelve pounds. When they first introduced foam boards, some surfers continued to surf with a balsa board; however, by 1959 most surfers in California used foam boards.[76] As Greg Noll stated with the launch of foam, "the balsa board faded into oblivion."[77] Foam boards because of their lightness and ease of production became the new surfboard allowing beginner and experienced surfers to maneuver better on waves.

As foam blanks became popular and in order for Clark to keep up with the orders, he created his own factory in 1961 called Clark Foam in Laguna Niguel.[78] There he continued to improve his formula to make the best foam blanks.[79] The light and cheap foam boards allowed more teenagers to be able to afford surfboards and take up surfing.[80] A year after Alter and Clark sold their first foam board surfing became a part of mainstream American culture due to the film *Gidget* and the Beach Boys. Hobie Alter knew just how significant the foam boards were; "if that movie [Gidget] come out in the balsa era. . . no one could have supplied 'em," yet his foam boards could meet the demands of teenagers eager to try surfing.[81] Because of the new technology, shapers could produce enough boards for the ensuing boom.

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[74] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 166-167.
[75] Finnegan, "Blank Monday," 38.
[76] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 167-168.
[77] Noll and Gabbard, 98.
[78] Finnegan, "Blank Monday," 36.
[79] Ibid., 38.
[80] Joan Ormrod, "Endless Summer (1964): Consuming Waves and Surfing the Frontier," Film & History Journal, 35.1 (Fall 2005), 41.
[81] Ibid., 41.

Surfing in American Popular Culture: Gidget and Surf Music

Gidget, a film and novel about a girl learning how to surf in Malibu, California initiated American teenagers to the exciting sport of surfing. Fredrick Kohner wrote the novel in 1957 based on his daughter Kathy's adventures surfing at Malibu the summer before.[82] Listening to his daughter's surfing stories, Kohner "became so fascinated by his daughter's new world and its bizarre slang."[83] He explained "the more I heard, the more interested I became."[84] Kathy brought sandwiches to the surfers at Malibu in exchange for surf lessons. A petite woman of five feet and ninety-five pounds, Kathy earned the nickname "Gidget," which meant girl midget.[85] In the novel after Gidget rides her first wave she thinks about what it would be like "to be able to ride this—all by yourself!"[86] She becomes determined to obtain a surfboard and learn how to surf. Written from the perspective of a teenage girl Gidget, inspired more women to take up the male-dominated sport of surfing. By focusing on a teenage girl's surfing adventures, the novel conveyed to young women the easiness and fun associated with learning how to surf. The book was successful and appeared on "the West Coast best-seller lists." Although the novel "eventually sold more than a half million copies," the film version of *Gidget* was even more of a hit.[87]

The film *Gidget* introduced surfing and American surf culture to a mass audience. In April 1959 Columbia Pictures released *Gidget* starring Sandra Dee as Gidget and James Darren as Moondoggie. *Gidget* was a "coast-to-coast hit" promoting surfing and surf culture to

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[82] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 156-158.
[83] "Gidget Makes the Grade," Life Magazine (October 28, 1957), 111.
[84] Ibid., 114.
[85] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 156-158.
[86] Fredrick Kohner, "Gidget," in Zero Break: An Illustrated Collection of Surf Writing 1777-2004, ed. Matt Warshaw (Orlando: Harcourt Inc., 2004), 32.
[87] Warshaw, The History of Surfing,158.

teenagers all across the United States.[88] Yet the film presented "haole surf culture. . . based on invented notions of what it means to be Hawaiian." Thus the surfers' lifestyle portrayed in the film did not authentically reflect Hawaiian surf culture.[89] The film stimulated interest in surfing and generated a "surf boom."[90] In the film Cliff Robertson played a surf bum named Kahoona who spent his day surfing and sleeping on the beach. This surf bum lifestyle displayed in the film enticed teens to the sport and its subculture.[91] After her first surfing experience, Gidget wants to try it again and realizes that the key to surfing is a surfboard; she exclaims "gee if I had one of those boards I could be a surfer too."[92] Since surfboards had evolved from heavy redwood boards into light balsa wood or foam boards, someone like Gidget could easily learn how to surf. Because the film depicted surfing as a facile sport to learn, more teenagers especially women began to try surfing. With the success of *Gidget*, film studios created "seventy surf-related films" from 1959 to 1966, further spreading the California surf culture and popularizing surfing.[93] Gordon Clark estimated that there were 200,000 surfers by 1965. From 1959 to 1967 the surfer population grew by "twenty-five percent a year."[94] With the boom in the sport's population, choice surf spots became increasingly crowded.

Further spreading surfing and California surf culture to mainstream America was a genre of rock music called surf music. One artist associated with surf music was Dick Dale who played electric guitar and instrumental rock music. His first performance occurred at the Rendezvous Ballroom in Huntington Beach in 1961 where Dale invited his surfing friends to the show. In 1962 he released *Surfer's Choice*, an LP that included songs such as "Surf Beat" and

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[88] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 187.
[89] Walker, Waves of Resistance, 40.
[90] Ormrod, 40.
[91] R. L. Rutsky, "Surfing the Other: Ideology on the Beach," Film Quarterly 52 (Summer 1999), 15.
[92] *Gidget*, dir. Paul Wendkos, 95 min., Columbia Pictures, 1959, DVD.
[93] Ormrod, 40.
[94] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 201.

"Miserlou." While playing "Miserlou," Dale slid his fingers along the fretboard of his electric guitar trying to express the feeling of surfing a wave.[95] He explained "there was a tremendous amount of power I felt while surfing and that feeling of power was simply transferred into my guitar when I was playing surf music."[96] Since Dale actually surfed and his music reflected the feelings and sounds identified with surfing, surfers enjoyed listening to his music.

Another surf music group was the Beach Boys. However unlike Dick Dale, surfers did not appreciate the Beach Boys as much. Greg Noll exclaimed "we hated that crap."[97] Surfers did not like the Beach Boys because they did not seem authentic and did not actually surf.[98] Yet the American public loved the Beach Boys. In their music the Beach Boys sang about surfing and California, which helped diffuse the California surf culture throughout the United States. Their first surf-related song was "Surfin'" which they recorded in 1961. A year later they released the album *Surfin' Safari* which reached the top forty. In 1963 they recorded the song "Surfin' USA" which reached number three on the music charts.[99] Surf music, especially the Beach Boys' music, projected a positive and fun image of surfing, which encouraged teenagers to pursue the sport.

The Shrinking Surfboard

After surfing's boom in popularity more changes to the surfboard occurred. George Greenough, a surfer and kneeboarder from Santa Barbara, created a short board that inspired other surfers to shorten their surfboards. In 1961 Greenough surfed either on an inflatable mat or

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[95] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 195-196.
[96] David P. Szatmary, Rockin' in Time: a Social History of Rock and Roll (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2004), 73.
[97] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 194.
[98] Ibid., 198.
[99] Ibid., 197.

his kneeboard. A year later he made a kneeboard called the "spoon" which was a five-foot balsa board with a flexible fin.[100] Made of polypropylene, the fin moved "with the flow of the wave."[101] His new surfboard was a "stress structure" meaning that "it gives with the wave to keep a smooth water flow at all times."[102] This new design allowed Greenough to move easily on the board and through the water.

Greenough's innovations inspired one of his friends, Australian surfer Bob McTavish. McTavish liked Greenough's kneeboard and decided to build a board that would be more maneuverable. In 1967 he built a nine-foot board that had a v-shape end and called it the "plastic machine."[103] Altering the size of the board, McTavish reduced it to seven feet and six inches long. For the Duke Invitational, a surf contest on the North Shore of O'ahu, McTavish and Australian surfer Nat Young brought the short-boards with them.[104] While there, they showed the board to Dick Brewer, a shaper, who then created his own short-board called the "mini-gun" which was eight feet and six inches and had a v-shaped bottom.[105] As a result of the introduction of the short-board, surfing styles changed. Australians should not be credited with inventing the new style associated with short-board surfing because Hawaiian surfers such as Buttons Kaluhiokalani, Dane Keloha and Larry Bertlemann also experimented with shredding and quick maneuvers on short-boards.[106] When Australian surfers brought their boastful attitude to Hawai'i, problems with local Hawaiians ensued.

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[100] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 240-241.
[101] Eric Blum, "Far-out Flexible Surfboard: The Wave of the Future?" Popular Science (August 1969), 92.
[102] Ibid., 93-94.
[103] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 246.
[104] Ibid., 249.
[105] Ibid., 250.
[106] Walker, Waves of Resistance, 36-37.

The New Localism in Hawai'i

As the Hawaiian tourism industry, surfboard production and surfing grew, local Hawaiians became frustrated with the changes in Hawai'i, especially the newly crowded surf breaks. One surfer wrote an anonymous article and sent it to *Surfer Magazine* in 1969. He stated that "it makes my blood boil when I see all the hotels, stores, ships in our harbors, servicemen on our streets and tourists jamming up everything." Fed up with the tourism industry, the surfer explained "until a few years ago, we could still get away from all of this by going surfing. Now even that's been taken over by the haole." He exclaimed that "I get plenty burned up when I think of what's happening to my brothers and our Island." Frustrated by tourists crowding the surf, he described how "drug-taking surfers infest our best and most beautiful spots." When he saw such things, the Hawaiian surfer explained why he behaved in a particular way, "and some haole acts up; well, I just bust him a good one, and I feel a little better."[107] For this local surfer it was not just the crowding of the waves that made him behave territorially, but the negative impact of the tourism industry on Hawai'i as well. Punching a haole was a way to express frustration, but there was another reason behind the acts of localism. When outsiders invaded the ocean, locals felt that surfing, an activity that was special to them, was becoming threatened. Acts of resistance reoccurred in Hawai'i as more foreign surfers, especially Australians, came to surf in professional surf competitions in Hawai'i.

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[107] Anonymous, "Haole Go Home," in Zero Break: An Illustrated Collection of Surf Writing 1777-2004, ed. Matt Warshaw (Orlando: Harcourt Inc., 2004), 312.

The Aussie Invasion

In the 1970s a group of Australian surfers ventured to Hawai'i to participate in professional surf competitions on O'ahu's North Shore. The cocky behavior of the newcomers upset local surfers. One Australian, Ian Cairns, stated in an interview "we seem to be able to push ourselves harder than the Hawaiians do." Cairns emphasized how Australians' surfing had improved while Hawaiians had "stagnated a fraction."[108] He boldly stated, "we're number one" in surfing.[109] These statements about ability and style offended Hawaiian surfers. John Witzig, an Australian journalist, described in an article how his country became the "power school of surfing" and how Australians revolutionized the sport.[110] Witzig exclaimed, "we're on top and will continue to dominate world surfing."[111] These bold and brazen statements by Australians frustrated and angered Hawaiian surfers.

Wayne "Rabbit" Bartholomew, an Australian surfer, wrote an article "Bustin' Down the Door" in *Surfer Magazine* in 1977 praising his countrymen, which infuriated the Hawaiians.[112] Bartholomew wrote this article in response to Gerry Lopez' article "Attitude Dancing."[113] In "Attitude Dancing" Lopez highlighted the differences between the Hawaiian and Australian attitudes and styles of surfing. He explained how the Hawaiian style focused on "the wave and the performer as a coordinated unit; the surfer dances with the wave;" while the Australian attitude "centers on the solo performance of the rider as he dances *on* the wave, attacking it from

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[108] Jack McCoy, "We're Number One-Interview: Ian Cairns," in Pacific Passages: An Anthology of Surf Writing, ed. Patrick Moser (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 214.
[109] Ibid., 216.
[110] John Witzig. "We're Tops Now," in Pacific Passages: An Anthology of Surf Writing, ed. Patrick Moser (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 194.
[111] Ibid., 195.
[112] Wayne Rabbit Bartholomew, "Bustin' Down the Door" Surfer Magazine (1977).
[113] Ibid., 1.

all angles and reducing it to shred."[114] Hawaiians and Australians had very different connections with the ocean and interpreted and expressed their connections with the water differently while surfing. In regards to the Australians aggressive style Lopez stated that "its longevity remains to be seen" which inspired Bartholomew to react.[115] Mockingly Bartholomew stated that "due to our conquering approach, as Gerry would say, we're experiencing a reign of supremacy within the professional arena, which of course, has been thoroughly analyzed and finally diagnosed as probably only a temporary dominance, as we've all supposedly reached our peak. Oh, I shouldn't really get bitchy like that."[116] Using sarcasm Bartholomew revealed that he did not believe that the Australians' dominance in the surfing world was temporary. He believed that Australians were the top surfers of the world and would become even better. Bartholomew also stated that surfing became popular "roughly twenty years ago."[117] This statement completely disregarded the history of surfing and how it originated in Hawai'i. The Australian surfers were "arrogant and egotistical" and Hawaiians disliked them.[118] The invasion of Australian surfers on the North Shore inspired local Hawaiian surfers to organize and respond to the outsiders.

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[114] Gerry Lopez, "Attitude Dancing," in The Best of Surfer Magazine, ed. Chris Mauro and Steve Hawk (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2007), 68.
[115] Ibid., 71.
[116] Bartholomew, 2.
[117] Ibid., 1.
[118] Walker, "Terrorism or Native Protest?" 579.

The Hui O He'e Nalu: Standing up for Hawaiians

Figure 2. Members of the Hui O He'e Nalu[119]

In response to the encroachment of Australian surfers on the North Shore, a group of local Hawaiian surfers formed the Hui O He'e Nalu. During 1977 the Hui assembled their group at Cappy Kaplan's home in hopes that if they organized into "something that was legal. . . then we would have to be recognized."[120] According to Bryan Amona, a founding member of the Hui, the Hui formed "to regulate surf breaks."[121] One of the Hui's main goals was to "preserve the waves of the North Shore of O'ahu for Native Hawaiians."[122] For Hawaiians the "ke kai and ka nalu (the ocean and the surf)" were areas of "significant cultural space" that became threatened by the intrusion of surf competitions and foreign surfers.[123] Chuck Waipā Andrus of

[119] Walker, "Terrorism or Native Protest?" 585.
[120] Walker, "Terrorism or Native Protest?" 581, 582.
[121] Matt Higgins, "Rough Waves, Tougher Beaches," New York Times (January 22, 2009), 2.
[122] Walker, "Terrorism or Native Protest?" 576.
[123] Ibid., 579.

the Hui, explained "surfing has been a part of our history for thousands of years."[124] As a "cultural tradition" surfing for locals "defined them as Hawaiian" and with the invasion of the surfing industry on the North Shore, locals felt that the industry was exploiting and colonizing them.[125] Because they had a historical and cultural connection with their surf breaks, local Hawaiians opposed professional competitions and foreign surfers.

Defending the Waves from Surf Competitions

To defend their surf spots, the Hui protested surf competitions. An organization called International Professional Surfing or IPS formed in 1976 to assemble contests. In order to monopolize the ocean during contests, the IPS utilized permits from Honolulu that forbade all other people from the North Shore during heats.[126] The IPS's "exclusive rights to North Shore" waves during competitions annoyed Hawaiian surfers because the IPS had denied them access to waves that they had always surfed.[127] In response, during 1977 and 1978 members of the Hui paddled out into a line-up of a contest and refused to get out of the water.[128] These "surfing sit-ins" served as a demonstration of their frustration with the invasion of their cultural space, the surf. Moot Ah Quin, a member of the Hui, explained that the IPS's request for full access to waves during a competition was illegal because Hawaiian surfers "have the right to be there on those waves."[129] They thought that the IPS was "trying to marginalize them from their aquatic cultural sanctuary."[130] According to Bryan Amona, the Hui fought for the ocean and surf because

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[124] Ibid., 581.
[125] Ibid., 576.
[126] Walker, "Terrorism or Native Protest?" 576.
[127] Ibid., 577.
[128] Ibid., 583.
[129] Ibid., 595.
[130] Ibid., 576.

they felt it belonged to them.[131] When they protested the IPS's contests, the Hui displayed their determination to save a space that had cultural meaning to them.

Kimo Hollinger, a local Hawaiian surfer, felt frustrated while trying to surf during a competition. He described his feelings about the organizers of the professional surf competitions: "this was Waimea Bay, a very spiritual place for me and those like me. What were they doing to it?"[132] Hawaiian surfers disliked how the contest organizers only allowed certain people to be in the water during events. Hollinger described how officials on a boat told the surfers to leave the water; he expressed his emotions, "telling us who could ride and who couldn't ride; the squares had invaded one of our last sanctuaries, big surf at the Bay." In reaction to being kicked out of the water Hollinger said that "a surfer has trained himself all his life to ride these waves." "Who the hell is Smirnoff or Hang Ten or the Duke or anyone else to tell him he can't."[133] His statements revealed how the competitions affected local surfers and why they were upset with the invasion of their surf.

During protests at surf competitions in 1977 and 1978, violence ensued. Police officers arrested surfers and seized surfboards. Tom Pohaku Stone of the Hui, described what occurred on the North Shore; "there were a lot of fights and stuff like that. Basically resistance fights." Moot Ah Quin described the atmosphere as "a very tense time on the North Shore back then."[134] By fighting and protesting the IPS events, the Hui demonstrated their frustration with the situation. To regain control over the surf and their space, the Hui fought and defended their North Shore breaks. They acted territorially because they had been denied access to waves that

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[131] Ibid., 595.
[132] Kimo Hollinger, "An Alternate Viewpoint," in Pacific Passages: An Anthology of Surf Writing, ed. Patrick Moser (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 210.
[133] Ibid., 211, 212.
[134] Walker, "Terrorism or Native Protest?" 583.

the Hui had considered to be theirs. Although the atmosphere was edgy as Hawaiians protested professional competitions, the fights and protests paid off.

As a result of protesting the competitions, the Hui reclaimed their surfing space. Because of the protests the IPS and the Hui compromised. The Hui disliked the IPS because they made money from the competitions. In the agreement the IPS created a contract that hired members of the Hui as lifeguards, security and water patrolmen. With the money from the employment, the Hui helped fund community events.[135] Besides employment, the Hui gained a reduction in the number of competitions on the North Shore.[136] Protesting and acting territorially, the Hui successfully regained their territory out in the ocean. By becoming lifeguards, the Hui were no longer excluded from events. Through defending their space in the ocean, the Hui exerted their influence over the waves of the North Shore. Although the occasional fight or protest may have been viewed as intense localism, the Hui had other reasons for their territorial behavior.

Localism or Resistance to Colonialism?

Hawaiian surfers were seen as aggressive locals, yet they interpreted their opposition to foreign surfers and surf competitions as resisting colonialism. The Hui viewed their actions as a way to regain their cultural space, the surf, but also to reclaim their Hawaiian history. Through protesting the Hui "conquered the past and rewrote their history."[137] They viewed the invasion of foreign surfers and the professional surf competitions as another form of colonialism that Hawaiians had already experienced. Billy Ho'ola'e Blankenfeld, a member of the Hui, explained how the directors of the IPS behaved like the businessmen who took over Hawai'i. He stated that to the directors of the IPS "it was inconceivable in their mind to give anything back to

[135] Walker, "Terrorism or Native Protest?" 583-584.
[136] Ibid., 576.
[137] Walker "Terrorism or Native Protest?" 596.

the community they were taking;" the directors of the surf competitions benefited from the competitions.[138] Their behaviors paralleled how the American businessmen of the late 1800s "saw the profit" that could be made in Hawai'i.[139] Even though their behavior was a form of localism, the Hui behaved territorially in order to protect their access to the surf.

Black Shorts

To define themselves from non-locals the Hui wore a distinct uniform. Wearing black shorts with a "petroglyph of a surfer" and a red and yellow line down the side, the Hui became known as the "Black Shorts group." According to Bryan Amona, the red and yellow represented the colors associated with the ali'i.[140] Utilizing the royal colors, the Hui connected themselves with their Hawaiian culture and past.[141] From 1979 to 1993 Quicksilver Surf Company produced the black shorts for the Hui. By wearing them, Hui surfers received "respect and priority on North Shore waves."[142] The Hui used the uniform as a way to remind non-local surfers that the Hui had access to the best waves because they were locals. Having a specific uniform, the Hui defined themselves as different from other surfers just as the ali'i had special surfboards that denoted their status over certain breaks. Through the shorts, the Hui created a group identity as locals of the North Shore.

The Wolfpak and Respect

Localism persisted in Hawai'i as local surfers were continuously disrespected. Kala Alexander, a surfer of the Wolf Pak (a group of surfers on the North Shore, who monitor the surf

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[138] Ibid., 595.
[139] Ibid., 595.
[140] Walker "Terrorism or Native Protest?" 586.
[141] Ibid., 592.
[142] Ibid., 586.

at Pipeline), explained how important respect is while out surfing.[143] He stated that "the code is to respect other people," and when "people come over here and don't respect other people. You're going to run into problems if you do that."[144] Alexander stated, "where I grew up on Kauai, you respect everybody in the water, especially your elders. Don't step out of line. We just brought that mentality over here."[145] Local surfers had the expectation that people should respect locals. Makua Rothman, the son of Eddie Rothman (one of the founders of the Hui), explained what it meant to be a local surfer when he stated that "this is our spot, this is our waves, we live here year round flat or what." In regards to the non-local surfers in Hawai'i, Makua Rothman stated, "you don't see us going to Australia and acting like kooks."[146] Hawaiians requested respect because they would reciprocate respectful behavior at other surf spots around the world. Rothman exclaimed, "We have right of way," "You respect someone, they respect you back," and "If you don't respect us, you're done, see ya, don't come back."[147] When outsiders disrespected locals out in the surf, locals stood up for themselves and demanded to be treated with respect. The comments of Alexander and Rothman revealed the importance of respect in surfing. By demanding respect, local Hawaiian surfers such as the Hui and the Wolf Pak claimed and protected their access to local waves and maintained order in the lineup.

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[143] Walker, Waves of Resistance, 158.
[144] Higgins,1.
[145] Ibid., 2.
[146] Brad Melekian, "Surfer Interview: Makua Rothman," Surfer Magazine. (Vol 43. # 5), 3.
[147] Ibid., 3.

The Bra Boys: Brotherhood of Surfers

On the coast of New South Wales, Australia, is a town, Maroubra, which is the home of the Bra Boys, a notorious surf group. According to professional surfer, Kelly Slater "without a doubt the most localized surf community I've encountered is Maroubra."[148] Often the media portrayed the Bra Boys, a brotherhood of surfers, as a violent gang. Members of the Bra Boys all grew up in Maroubra, which according to the boys was a tough neighborhood because of the presence of the Long Bay Gaol Prison and the government housing community. "Bra" refers to their neighborhood in Maroubra and is also slang for the word brother.[149] Brothers Sunny, Jai and Koby Abberton grew up in Maroubra and formed the Bra Boys in the 1990s as gang violence in Maroubra increased. Koby Abberton described the atmosphere of Maroubra when he was "growing up. . . there were a lot more drugs, a lot more gangs, heaps of heroin in the area."[150] Because of these conditions the beach was a refuge and surfing was a way to escape the harsh living environment.[151] The only other place of solace was house of the Abbertons' grandma, Mavis "Ma" Abberton, where the neighborhood boys hung out.[152]

Tempestuous History of Surfing in Maroubra

Surfing in Maroubra had a turbulent history because of tensions between surfers and police. During the British colonial rule of Australia, the British banned the aboriginal people from swimming in the surf. In the early 1900s the local council of Maroubra banned surfing

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[148] *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water*, prod. Sunny Abberton and Michael Lawrence and dir. Sunny Abberton and Macario De Souza, 84 min., Berkela Films 2007, DVD.
[149] Kathy Marks, "Sydney's Notorious Surf Gang Turns Tide of Violence into Big-Screen Adulation," The Independent (March 19, 2007), 28.
[150] Surfer Magazine, "Bra Boys the Often Maligned Surf Brotherhood's New Movie," Surfer Magazine (July 22, 2010) 1.
[151] *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water*.
[152] Greg Stolz, "Blood Brother of the Beach," The Courier Mail (March 3, 2007), M08.

from six in the morning to six in the evening. The authorities viewed surfers as lazy scoundrels. In order to surf in the 1960s surfers had to purchase a surfboard registration and thus had to pay to surf. As surfing became more popular in Australia, police did not like surfers crowding beaches.[153] Given the tumultuous history of surfing in Maroubra, it is no surprise that the Bra Boys, as a surf tribe, continued to resist authority and defended their surf spot and neighborhood.

Development of the Brotherhood

Through membership in the Bra Boys young surfers developed their surfing skills and had a place where they belonged. Surfers of the neighborhood stayed at Ma's house, and eventually a group of older boys formed Ma's Hell Team and the younger boys formed Ma's Madness. These two groups were the precursors to the Bra Boys. According to Sunny Abberton, gangs had targeted surfers since the 1950s, but by the 1990s gang violence escalated and the local boys suffered from stabbings and shootings. In response to the violence, Sunny suggested that the two groups unite together and create the Bra Boys. According to Koby, among the Bra Boys brotherhood meant that "the boys will always be there for you."[154] Sunny highlighted how "with the Bra Boys, they're part of something positive. It's an extended family that can see you through the tough times."[155] In the brotherhood older surfers influenced and encouraged younger surfers to improve their surfing skills. Older surfers took young ones on surf trips to Tahiti or other great surf spots in Australia. In the film *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water,* Koby took Jess Polock on a surf trip and told him that if he did not charge the waves hard enough, or boldly surf the waves, then he would have to walk home. In this competitive

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[153] *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water.*
[154] *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water.*
[155] Barbara Messer, "Brotherhood of the Sea," Sunday Telegraph Magazine (January 31, 2010), 18.

environment, the members of the Bra Boys pushed each other to become the best surfers possible.

Surfing functioned as an activity where the Bra Boys could forget about their troubles at home and escape the violence and drugs in their neighborhood. After being kicked out of the house, Koby went to his older brother Sunny for advice; Sunny said "put everything you've got into your surfing. That's our way out of this life." Following his advice, Koby explained the importance of surfing; "it was when I started surfing that my life got better."[156] Reflecting on the benefits surfing had on his life, Koby stated "the beach has been the saviour of so many kids in Australia."[157] While surfing provided teenagers of Maroubra with a physical activity and the Bra Boys as a brotherhood offered teenagers a place to belong, the territorial behavior of the Bra Boys revealed a negative side to the local surf group.

"Mobile Localism"

Although the Bra Boys defended their local Maroubra beach from outsiders, they also performed a different form of localism by taking over a surf break in Bodni Bay. The boys had heard of an unsurfable wave that broke there only during big swells. Since the wave seemed dangerous but enticing, the Bra Boys headed over there in 2003 to investigate. With the swell conditions right the Bra Boys successfully surfed the wave. By mastering the wave in Bodni Bay, the Bra Boys decided to claim the break for themselves and called it "Ours."[158] Even though the wave is technically not the Bra Boys' local break, they had the manpower to take over the surf spot. Professor Clifton Evers described the Bra Boys' actions as a "mobile sort of localism" where they proclaimed control over the spot even though they only surfed it a couple

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[156] Surfer Magazine, "Bra Boys the Often Maligned Surf Brotherhood's New Movie."
[157] Marks, 28.
[158] *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water.*

times of year and their actual hometown was forty-five minutes away.[159] Acting territorial over their local break in Maroubra was a typical example of localism. Yet when the Bra Boys carried that territorial behavior to Ours and acted imperially by naming the spot, they revealed a negative and different type of localism. Their protective behavior over Ours led to a violent struggle with a bodyboarder.

In late June 2007 an incident occurred at Ours between the Bra Boys and bodyboarder Mitch Rawlins. While Rawlins and his videographer surfed Ours, the Bra Boys demanded that they get out of the water. Violence allegedly arose between the two parties when a Bra Boy punched Rawlins and one of the Bra Boys' power-ski ran over the videographer's equipment. Of course the Bra Boys' spokesman described the situation as just a small incident where nothing violent occurred. The spokesman's excuse was that "it is dangerous to have guys on bodyboards on such a heavy wave. It causes problems for everyone."[160] With this excuse, the boys represented themselves as merely looking out for Rawlins. It is much more likely that this was an example of mobile localism where the Bra Boys acted territorial over the surf break Ours and kicked Rawlins off of the wave because they wanted to surf it. By claiming that the wave belonged to them, the Bra Boys asserted ownership of it. They used intimidation and violence to ensure that only members of the brotherhood surfed Ours. This example revealed the selfish aspect of localism where surfers do not want to share an exciting wave with others because they want it all to themselves.

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[159] Clifton Evers, Notes for a Young Surfer (Victoria, Melbourne University Press, 2010), 82.
[160] Heath Gilmore, "Bra Boys Say it's Ours and We'll Fight For It," The Sun Herald (July 15, 2007), 16.

Defending the Neighborhood

On December 11th, 2005 race riots broke out in neighboring city Cronulla between the surfers of Cronulla and the Lebanese community. While the Bra Boys were not involved, they heard that a group of surfers, about one hundred and fifty men, planned to attack Maroubra that night. Because the Bra Boys had a strong connection with their beach, their surf and their neighborhood, they defended the community from the attacking surfers. Their decision to protect the neighborhood revealed how the Bra Boys cared about their community. The documentary *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water* depicted Sunny and Koby Abberton meeting with a leader from the Lebanese community requesting a peace deal between the warring Cronulla surfers and Lebanese community. Sunny explained the necessity for peace, because if one Bra boy was hurt or killed more drama and trouble would emerge.[161] The actions of the Bra Boys in response to the Cronulla race riots revealed another side to the Bra Boys. Their defense of their neighborhood was a different form of localism, where their protection of their city prevented future violence.

Bra Boys on Film

In 2007 Sunny Abberton released a documentary film about the Bra Boys titled *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water*, which presented the history of the brotherhood and focused on the Abberton family. According to Sunny, the reason for making the film was that "the local surfers were getting abused by the media afterward, so we wanted to let people know there was a complete other side to the story."[162] Sunny described how "we wanted to show us in a real and

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[161] *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water.*
[162] Surfer Magazine, "Q&A With Abbertons Koby and Sunny Speak Openly About Bra Boys," Surfer Magazine (July 22, 2010).

honest light, show our story" since the media often portrayed the Bra Boys as violent.[163] Directed and produced by a member and founder of the group, the film had biases. It depicted images of Long Bay Prison and fights and had members of the Bra Boys interviewed in front of walls covered with graffiti. Professor Evers criticized the film for portraying Maroubra in this run-down manner because the film ignored the development that occurred in Maroubra. Evers explained that if Sunny had included the images of development, it "would have undermined the portrayal of Maroubra as a ghetto and the Bra Boys as blue-collar heroes."[164] He furthered discussed the "ongoing celebration in the film of machismo, 'never backing down,' the showing of courage by catching dangerous waves." Professor Evers disagreed with the film and the Bra Boys' message "that it is cool to be violent, that sometimes it is necessary to 'protect what is yours.'"[165] The film revealed the background of the Bra Boys to explain the reasoning behind their territorial actions and how their environment led to the formation of the brotherhood. In the film Sunny stated "we think the beach belongs to everyone" and when people visit beaches they need to acknowledge that "there might be a whole history and culture there spanning generations and that should be respected."[166] It was ironic that Sunny stated that the beach belongs to everyone when throughout the film there were scenes of locals beating up non-locals or when the Bra Boys took over another break far from Maroubra and called it Ours. However, his statement about the importance of respect when outsiders travel to different beaches revealed how surfers valued respect. As seen with the Hui and the Wolfpak of the North Shore when outsiders disrespect local surfers, the instigator should expect trouble. The film defined the tight

[163] Marks, 28.
[164] Evers, 83.
[165] Ibid., 85.
[166] *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water.*

brotherhood of the Bra Boys and how that brotherhood translated out in the surf; when an outsider disrespected a Bra Boy the other boys had his back.

"My Brother's Keeper"

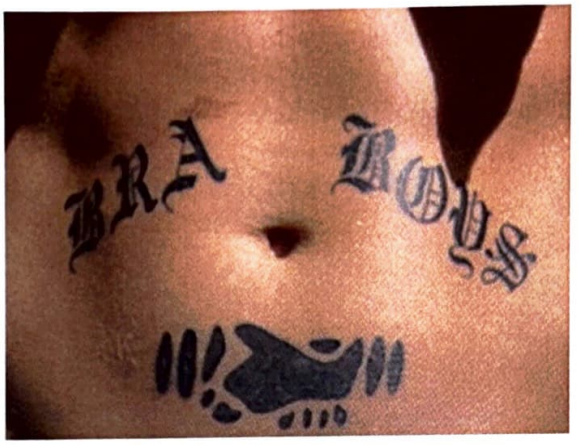

Figure 3. The Bra Boy Grip Tattoo[167]

Like the Hui and their black shorts uniform, the Bra Boys identified themselves with tattoos. After the formation of the group, the boys decided to get tattoos that symbolized their involvement and membership in the brotherhood. Members of the group have tattoos with "2035," Maroubra's postal code, or the words "Bra Boys" or "My Brother's Keeper" on their bodies.[168] Along with tattoos that clearly show the person's membership, the Bra Boys have a special handshake called the Bra boy grip, where two members shake hands by grabbing one another's forearm. Some even have the image of the grip as a tattoo. One Bra Boy explained that in order to get a tattoo, the guy had to be a good surfer and had to earn his spot. Koby Abberton explained the process for a future Bra Boy to become a part of the group officially; after a guy was with the boys for "five or ten years" and by "showing you're worth it, not going to mess up, getting older guys to approve it" he could get a tattoo. Once tattooed and a part of the group,

[167] Movies, "Bra Boy Tattoo," http://movies.zap2it.com/movies/bra-boys/177348 (March 17, 2011).
[168] Evers, 82.

members had to express loyalty to the brotherhood no matter what in order to belong.[169] Tattoos served as a visual reminder of insider status in the brotherhood. The tattoos of the group's name informed outsiders that the Bra Boys are the locals of Maroubra. "My brother's keeper" tattoo, which Koby Abberton has, signified the importance of defending and supporting each other as brothers. Wearing either a certain uniform or tattoos that identified locals was an aspect of localism. While the Hui wore shorts that gave them priority over waves, the Bra Boys had tattoos that reminded others that the Bra Boys were locals and deserved respect.

Similarities in Localism

Although the Bra Boys and the Hui were similar in having a unique way of distinguishing themselves from outsiders, the Bra Boys identified other commonalities between the two surf groups. After going to the North Shore and experiencing localism there, Sunny Abberton realized that the locals and the Bra Boys had things in common. Sunny stated "these guys grew up similar to us" and "they understand what it's like to [be part of something] that's not really accepted or respected by anyone else." He further explained how the Wolfpak and the locals in Hawai'i affected the Bra Boys, saying that "we've learnt a lot from the Hawaiians and Tahitians about how they're protecting their culture and heritage."[170] The local Hawaiians and the Bra Boys shared both the desire to defend and protect their surf territory from outsiders and also the love of surfing. While the Hui interpreted their acts of localism as a reaction to colonialism and the Wolfpak described their localism as demands for respect, the Bra Boys' territorial behavior stemmed from trying to survive in their dangerous neighborhood. The localized groups discussed so far viewed the ocean and surfing as a way to escape problems on land. Even though

[169] *Bra Boys: Blood is Thicker Than Water.*
[170] Messer, 18.

the Bra Boys and the localized groups of Hawai'i had different reasons for their actions, they both possessed the inherent territorial behavior to protect what belongs to them, which was their local beach and surf.

Tavarua

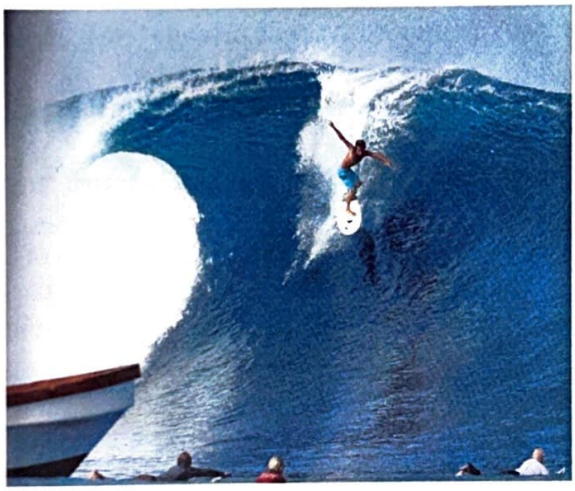

Figure 4. Surfer at Cloudbreak[171]

Pristine waves break off of Tavarua, an island near Fiji, which has generated a different type of localism not yet discussed. Fijians call the local break with the great waves Thunder Cloud Reef, which surfers called Cloudbreak.[172] A type of localism dominated these waves where the status of being a local did not require actually being a permanent resident in the proximity of the wave. But instead economic stature determined the local status and Tavarua Island surf resort managed access to the waves through its control over the break.

[171] William Finnegan, "Liberated?" Surfer Magazine (March 2011), 73.
[172] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 383.

Developing a Surf Resort

In 1982 Dave Clark first visited Tavarua and surfed Cloudbreak. He realized the potential of building a resort there that would give other surfers a place to stay while surfing the great waves. Speaking with a local Fijian, Druku whose family owned the rights to the reef at Tavarua, Clark presented his plan for the surf resort. Druku's aunt accepted Clark's plan and consented to leasing the island to Clark in exchange for revenue from the resort. Because of the big waves Druku explained that "we hated the wave because we couldn't fish there." The landowners of Fiji have *qoliqoli*, or reef rights, which designated ownership over the reefs, and people who wanted to use the reefs had to ask permission. Clark had to obtain the qoliqoli in order to enable surfers to ride the waves at Thunder Cloud Reef. After making a deal with Nabila, Druku's village, Clark, his wife and his friend Scott Funk began creating the surf resort.[173] By 1983 Clark and Funk opened the resort and slowly surfers began to visit Tavarua. To lessen the negative impact on the environment and to allow guests maximum opportunity for surfing waves, Clark created a limit for the number of surfers in the water at a time, starting with six people and then eventually setting the cap at twenty-four people.[174] In order to spark interest in the resort amongst other surfers, Clark encouraged journalist Kevin Naughton to visit Tavarua; and in 1984 he did, bringing with him photographer Craig Peterson. They produced an article about the resort, which became the cover story for *Surfer Magazine*, spreading the news about Tavarua.[175] As a result, the surf resort became a popular destination because of the great waves and because the resort was a nice place to stay.[176] Yet a weeklong stay at Tavarua cost about three thousand dollars, making the resort a place where only surfers with enough money could

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[173] Borden, Mark. "Who Owns This Wave?" Sports Illustrated (April 18, 2005), 1-2.
[174] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 384, 386; Borden, 2.
[175] Borden, 2.
[176] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 386.

visit. Regardless, Tavarua became a well-liked destination and often had yearlong wait lists for reservations. In 1992 Clark joined a partnership with employees of the resort Rick Isbell and Jon Roseman, who helped improve the resort so that it continued to be a surfer's dream.[177]

Because the resort and the village shared the rights over the reefs, Tavarua resort had been involved with the Fijian community. Tavarua employed local Fijians to work in the resort and donated money for improving the education and health of the local villages.[178] Professor Jess Ponting, who studied surf tourism, described Tavarua's relationship with the locals, "they've been giving about five-percent of their gross revenue back to the community and that's resulted in the building of forty-plus homes for needy families, scholarships and school uniforms, health care assistance and so on."[179] Druku pointed out that, "surfing was nothing in Fiji before Tavarua. They've done so much for the villages and this country."[180] Although the surf resort helped the Fijian locals economically, Tavarua's exclusivity over both Cloudbreak and Restaurants created a strange case of localism where the only people granted access to the waves were traveling surfers, and actual Fijian locals could not surf there.

Guests Only

Tavarua surf resort possessed sole control over the waves. Surfers enjoyed staying at the resort because they were the only ones who had access to surfing Cloudbreak and Restaurants; there was no crowding or competition over the waves. As more surfers became interested in surfing the great waves, Tavarua resort began imposing "its exclusive-rights policy" where only

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[177] Borden, 2.
[178] Jake Howard, "ESPN," "Trouble in Paradise," July 2, 2010. http://espn.go.com/action/surfing/blog/_/post/5349792 (February 10, 2011).
[179] Paul Holmes, "Surfline," "Fiji Surfing Decree Becomes Law," July 9, 2010, http://www.surfline.com/surf-news/fiji-surfing-decree-becomes-law--island-surf-spots-now-open-to-all_45251/ (February 10, 2011)
[180] Borden, 3.

Tavarua guests could surf the waves. Saturdays were the only day of the week when non-resort guests could surf Cloudbreak.[181] However non-guest surfers even had a difficult time surfing on the open surf day because they needed to book a reservation with Tavarua ahead of time.[182] The resort warned guests about their no tolerance policy for aggressive behavior out surfing.[183] Tavarua ensured that there would be no acts of localism or crowding of the waves by having a policy where only guests of the resort could surf; yet this policy in itself was a form of localism. Their policy made wealth a requirement for being a 'local;' surfers had to be able to pay the high price for staying at the resort in order to surf the waves. At Tavarua the so-called locals claiming the waves were not locals to Fiji, but instead were foreign surfers and guests of the resort. Before the resort there were no Fijian surfers or surfing there.[184] Even though Tavarua surf resort introduced the sport to Fijians and helped start the surfing industry there, it created an exclusive environment where actual locals, once they had taken up the sport, could not even surf the best waves anytime they wanted. Accordingly some locals viewed the resort critically. Ian Muller, owner of Viti Surf Legends surf shop in Fiji, exclaimed "we are being treated as second-class citizens in our own country" since locals needed permission to surf and profits from the resort benefit the United States more than the villages. Muller described how the resort was a "modern form of colonialism" where the resort did not allow Fijians to develop and control their own resources.[185]

Fights between non-guest surfers and the enforcers of Tavarua's exclusivity policy occurred. Matthew Light, a Fijian surfer, surfed Cloudbreak while there were hardly any other surfers out and a Tavarua resort boat of Fijian heavies took him out of the water. Craig Jarvis, a

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[181] Borden, 2, 3.
[182] Finnegan, "Liberated?" 74.
[183] Borden, 2.
[184] Finnegan, "Liberated," 71.
[185] Borden, 3.

surf writer, stated in regards to Light's experience that "this guy lives in Fiji and can't surf in his own country!"[186] In 1987 some Australian surfers tried to surf, yet resort security made them get out of the water, which sparked a fight.[187] During the 1980s through the 1990s, surfers resisted Tavarua's policy and fights occurred. Since people from the village of Nabila served as enforcers of the policy, fighting broke out between Nabila and Momi villages. In 1996 a Fijian surfer from Suva tried to surf Cloudbreak, and a quarrel proceeded between him and the protectors of the wave. After this incident the Fijian government investigated the resort's rights to the reef and eventually gave Tavarua a license granting it control over the reef for surfing. Part of the deal with the government was for Tavarua to open up access to non-guests on Saturdays.[188] Even though the resort created this policy to keep crowding to a minimum, ultimately the policy was a type of localism where outsiders, or non-resort guests, could not surf the waves.

No More Exclusivity

However, Tavarua's hold on sole access to the surf spots came to end in July 2010 when the Fijian government issued a decree opening up the surf breaks to the public. Even though in 2009 Commodore Voreqe Bainimarama signed the twenty-seven year extension of the resort's license to Cloudbreak and Restaurants, the new decree overturned that license.[189] Aiyaz Sayed-Khaiyum, Minister for Justice and Attorney General of Fiji, issued the *Regulations of Surfing Areas Decree 2010* and the Fijian cabinet supported it on July 1, 2010.[190] In the decree the Fijian

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[186] Craig Jarvis, "Imported Surf Rage," in Surf Rage: A Surfer's Guide to Turning Negatives into Positives, ed. Nat Young (Angourie, Nymboida Press, 2000), 172.
[187] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 386.
[188] Borden, 2-3.
[189] Finnegan, "Liberated," 75-76.
[190] Surfer Magazine, "New Decree Aims to Liberalize Fijian Surf Breaks" Surfer Magazine July 22, 2010,

government outlined the rules regarding surfing in Fiji. Becoming law on July 9, 2010, it "prohibits any exclusive use of any surfing area by any person" and "gives access to and the use of any surfing area in Fiji by any person." The Decree explained that opening up the surf spots "will maximize the development and training of our home-grown talented surfers. . . as well as broadening the need for surf related local business development and training." All previous licenses over the surfing breaks became null after the decree.[191] As a result of the decree surfers could freely surf at Cloudbreak, Restaurants and Tavarua Rights, which used to be only accessible through staying at Tavarua surf resort.[192] The government stated that it would not tolerate localism and if it occurred those involved would suffer penalties.[193] According to Ema Mua, spokeswomen of the Fijian police, the Police Tourism Unit would enforce the decree and the Community Policing Unit would inform people about the new regulations in the decree. Those who violated the decree by "[preventing] anyone from accessing or using any surfing area" would face a fine or imprisonment.[194] Sayed-Khaiyum explained how the decree would help local Fijian business become strong economically and allow "Fijians to now engage more profitably in the surfing industry."[195] Through the decree the Fijian government ended Tavarua's localized economic control over the surf breaks.

The decree drastically impacted Tavarua surf resort. The allure of Tavarua was the limited amount of people out surfing at a time. But with the surf breaks open, fewer people will stay at the resort, which means less revenue for the resort and less monetary support for the local

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[191] Aiyaz Sayed-Khaiyum, "Commencement of the Regulation of Surfing Areas Decree 2010," July 8, 2010, http://www.fiji.gov.fj/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1869%3Acommencement-of-the-regulation-of-surfing-areas-decree-2010&catid=71%3Apress-releases&Itemid=155 (February 11, 2011).
[192] "Surfer Magazine" "New Decree Aims to Liberalize Fijian Surf Breaks."
[193] Paul Holmes.
[194] Richard Naidu, "Fijilive," "Police Ready to Enforce Surfing Decree," July 8, 2010, http://www.fijilive.com/news/2010/07/08/26881.Fijilive (February 11, 2011).
[195] Richard Naidu, "Fijilive," "Surfing Decree Comes Into Force," July 8, 2010, http://www.fijilive.com/news/2010/07/08/26873.Fijilive (February 11, 2011).

Fijians. Opening up of the surf breaks may also entice more surfers to travel to Tavarua, causing an increase in the number of surfers out on the water at a time.[196] Tavarua surf resort responded to the decree by stating that "the Fiji Government has always supported our surfing resort and model and conversely we've always supported the Government and People of Fiji." The new decree surprised the resort. One surfer responded to the decree and stated "I think it's a shame that the surf spots will be run over with crowds. I would like to see Tavarua retain control over those breaks."[197] Journalist William Finnegan explained that "if Tavarua Resort had treated Fijian surfers better—given them more access to Cloudbreak and Restaurants—the 2010 Surfing Decree that opened them up would never have been issued." He predicted that as a result of the decree the surf spots would suffer from "profiteering, bad crowds, and people getting hurt."[198] However, when Finnegan visited Tavarua he noticed that the biggest crowd he saw at one time was thirty people, but for the most part the size of the surf kept the crowds small. The new surfers in Tavarua were not local Fijians but visitors from all over the world. Owners of the resort seemed worried about the negative impact of the crowds and the numerous boats taking surfers out to the surf breaks, on the environment.[199] Tavarua resort will still stay in business, but the economical localism it created in Fiji no longer exists. Since surfers will continue to travel to Tavarua perhaps locals and all other surfers will compete to ride the great waves off of Tavarua.

Amongst Fijians, the decree caused mixed opinions. Esei Towaku, a Tavarua staff member and local Fijian, asserted that "if business go down, it's bad for everybody."[200] Waqa

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[196] Paul Holmes.
[197] "Surfer Magazine" "New Decree Aims to Liberalize Fijian Surf Breaks."
[198] Joel Patterson, "Going Public: William Finnegan on Tavarua's Loss of Wave Exclusivity," Surfer Magazine, (January 25, 2011).
[199] Finnegan, "Liberated," 72, 74, 76.
[200] Tom Servais, "ESPN," "Free and Easy in Fiji," September 15, 2010, http://espn.go.com/action/surfing/blog/_/post/5577536/free-easy-fiji (February 10, 2011).

Matia, who was in charge of Tavarua's boats, stated "everybody is afraid that the villages will just go back to poverty."[201] While some Fijians felt that the surf resort had helped the locals, others felt excited to see the surf breaks opened up and even helped get the decree passed. John Philip of the Surfing Association of Fiji explained, "it's in many ways a civil rights thing—you feel you're living here in your own country and yet you can't surf certain places. So local people are ecstatic about the new law." Philip believed that the decree would make Fiji well known amongst the surf community.[202] Both John Philip and Ian Muller worked hard to convince the government to open up access to the surf spots.[203] With the new decree any surfer can access the waves at Cloudbreak and Restaurants, allowing Fijians to become the local surfers of their surf break. By passing the decree the Fijian government revealed how government can intervene to stop a type of localism from occurring.

Ways to Decrease Instances of Localism:

Understood Rules of Surfing

Although localism persists in surfing, surfers have made some attempts to reduce localism through developing universal guidelines that established ethical behavior out in the surf and outlined the process for allocating waves. Surfers created their own unwritten rules that served as guidelines for behavior and explained which surfer had the right-of-way on a particular wave.[204] Through creating their own rules about distributing waves, surfers developed a way to

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[201] Finnegan, "Liberated," 72.
[202] Paul Holmes.
[203] Finnegan, "Liberated," 74.
[204] Daniel Nazer "The Tragicomedy of the Surfer's Commons," Deakin Law Review, 9 (July 1, 2004), 664, 656.

manage their shared resource.[205] In an article about territorialism in surfing, Professor De Alessi related Robert Sugden's idea of "spontaneous order," where people created rules "without conscious design," to surfers developing "cultural norms and customs" out in the surf. By adhering to the surfing codes of conduct, surfers turned the rules into expected behavior norms. Sugden stated that because of "the simple expectation that others will follow the norm is the reason that it is perpetuated."[206] As surfers learned the guidelines for appropriate actions while surfing, the behavior spread amongst surfers. Interestingly, surfers all over the world practiced and utilized these rules.[207] Even though localism still occurred, when surfers follow these rules less confusion about who has the right-of-way on a wave happened.

Shaun Tomson, a professional surfer, wrote a book titled Surfer's Code about some of the guidelines of surfing and combined it with general lessons about life. Some of his rules highlighted safety measures for surfing, such as "I will paddle around the impact zone," and "I will never fight a rip tide."[208] The impact zone is the area where waves break and where surfers try to catch waves. Tomson explained how paddling through the impact zone was dangerous because the surfer endangered himself and the surfer riding on a wave towards the beach.[209] He also stated the maxim that "another wave will always come through."[210] This statement served as a reminder to surfers that if they did not get the wave they wanted because another surfer took it, there would always be an additional wave to surf. Perhaps if more surfers remembered and followed this maxim, then fewer outbreaks of localism would happen. Instead of becoming

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[205] Ibid., 678.
[206] De Alessi, 88.
[207] Nazer, 677.
[208] Shaun Tomson and Patrick Moser, Surfer's Code: 12 Simple Lessons for Riding Through Life, (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 2006), 33, 59.
[209] Ibid., 37.
[210] Ibid., 109.

angry when another surfer took a wave, surfers should instead wait for the next wave. While this maxim is true, some surfers still claimed control over their waves.

Tribal Laws of Surfing

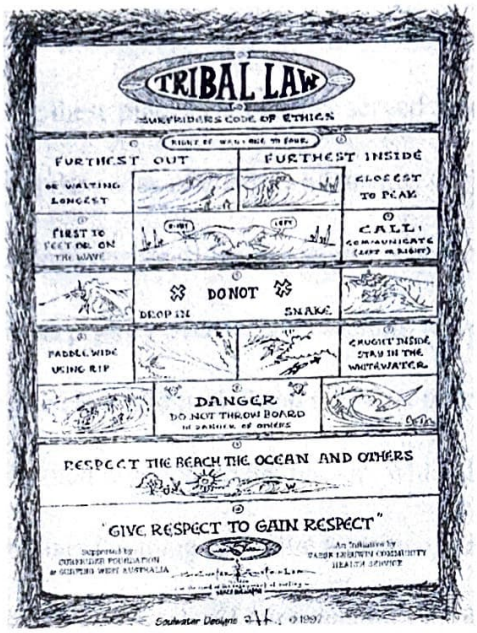

Figure 5. Tribal Laws[211]

Many of the unwritten rules of surfing have been compiled into the Tribal Laws of surfing by surfer Rob Conneeley and artist Roscoe Kermode. With the help of John McTaggert, a surfer and physiotherapist who witnessed many surf injuries from "a lack of surf etiquette," Conneeley and Kermode gathered funding for the project and spread the news about the Tribal Law signs.[212] Professional surfer Nat Young described the first plaque built at Margaret River in Western Australia in October of 1998. He explained how the placement of the plaque was "right there in your face, before you even attempt to paddle out, reinforcing all the rules experienced

[211] Young, Surf Rage, 8.
[212] Tim Lynch, "Commonsense Guide to Surfing Etiquette," Surfrider Foundation Australia, April 5, 2006, http://www.surfrider.org.au/archive/initiatives/education_rtb/06_01_surf_etiquette_2.php (March 1, 2011).

surfers know." Although Young realized that not all surfers would change their attitude after reading the laws, the plaque reminded people of "acceptable behavior."[213] Young donated money to Peter Cuming's organization *The Spirit of Surfing,* which conducts projects that contribute to the surfing environment. Through *The Spirit of Surfing,* surfers could request a plaque of the Tribal Laws to be placed at their beach. As long as most surfers wanted the plaque, then the organization would help with the process. Kermode designed the plaques to reflect the particular beach and break.[214] Establishing these plaques at beaches served as a way to lessen localism through reminding surfers about the codes of conduct of surfing.

The Tribal Laws of surfing consists of ten guidelines. The first three explained the requirements for which surfer has priority over the approaching wave; the surfer "furthest out or waiting longest," "furthest inside closest to peak," and the "first to feet or on the wave."[215] Surfers developed rules that denoted order out in the line-up, which lessened chaos while waiting for waves. These requirements stated nothing about the priority of locals over waves. Instead, these laws suggested that there was a logical and fair system for allocating waves. According to the fourth rule, after a surfer has caught a wave he or she must call out the direction either left or right in which they will move. The fifth Tribal Law reminded surfers not to drop in on another surfer's wave, because when a surfer takes off on an occupied wave a collision can result. Laws six, seven and eight reminded surfers about basic safety guidelines in the ocean, such as "paddle wide" towards the set of approaching waves. Rules nine and ten highlighted the importance of respect in surfing. Tribal Law number nine stated "respect the beach the ocean and others" and law number ten declared, "give respect to gain respect."[216] As discussed in the previous

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[213] Young, Surf Rage, 209.
[214] Ibid., 210.
[215] Young, Surf Rage, 8.
[216] Ibid., 8.

examples, localism often occurred when an outsider disrespected the locals at a surf spot. The Hui and the Wolfpak of Hawai'i wanted non-locals to respect them. Both the local groups of Hawai'i and the last Tribal Laws revealed the importance of respect in surfing. Written on the plaque was the goal of the laws to "[reduce] surf related injuries and [encourage] the return of 'RESPECT' amongst surfers."[217] Disrespect out in the surf could lead to localism, and by reminding surfers about the significance of respecting other surfers, surfers themselves could reduce outbursts of localism. Although most surfers often already know these unwritten rules, writing down the Tribal Laws and posting them at beaches served as a visual reminder to surfers of the expected behaviors for surfing.

Brochures Outlining the Rules of Surfing

In 2003 in Santa Cruz, California, officials and some surfers proposed making brochures about the rules of surfing in order to inform people about surfing etiquette and to minimize localism. Officials of Santa Cruz wanted to make "surf etiquette" brochures that notified people about surfing rules, water safety and the "aloha spirit" or the importance of "sharing the waves." The brochure also identified the different levels of the various surf spots of Santa Cruz. By labeling the spots as beginner or intermediate, surfers would know which spots were appropriate for their experience. Including the rules of surfing in the brochures, John Alexiou, a lifeguard in Santa Cruz, hoped that fewer people would become injured because they would better understand the guidelines of surfing. Surfers and surf-kayakers of Santa Cruz helped develop the brochures, while the officials of the city planned to raise $5,000 to make 7,000 "Surfing Way" brochures. They exemplified the "education over legislation" response to localism, where the brochures enlightened people about the proper behavior of surfing instead of having police

[217] Ibid., 8.

monitor surf breaks because of incidents of localism. The goal of the brochures was to educate people about the rules, reduce accidents between new surfers and decrease localism. These Santa Cruz brochures even used some of the same rules listed in the Tribal Laws.[218] However because of a lack of funds, the brochures project became stalled.[219] Although their impact is unclear, the Surfing Way brochures revealed another example of an attempt to write down the rules of surfing and communicate appropriate conduct.

Decreasing Localism Through Law

When dealing with localism surfers, self-regulated their behavior by creating their own codes of conduct that delineated the allocation of waves and ethical behavior in the surf. Yet at times the self-regulation sometimes failed and localism persisted. To solve the localism problem and to make surfers consider the serious effects of localism, the chief lifeguard of San Diego, Christ Brewster, looked to the law for a solution. He believed that legislation dealing with localism and surf violence could solve the problem of localism. As a result he drafted the California Open Waves Act, which listed a surfboard as "a deadly weapon" if utilized during an assault.[220] Brewster's act declared the coastline, beaches, ocean and waves free and open to all.

> The State of California hereby declares that the ocean along California's coastline and the waves which strike it are an invaluable asset which is owned by no person and available for equal use by all. While activity zones and special event areas may be established by the state and local governments, no person, regardless of residence, lineage, social status, or other reason may lawfully claim the right to a wave, waves, or wave break area along the California coastline. The surf belongs equally to everyone.[221]

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[218] Alan Gathright, "Santa Cruz Tries to Tame Surfing Wars: Brochures Spells out Unwritten Etiquette for Dropping in on a Wave," San Francisco Chronicle (March 4, 2003), A-15.
[219] Paul McHugh, "Surfing's Scary Wave/ 'Localism' Intensifying at Ocean Breaks," San Francisco Chronicle (May 15, 2003), 2.
[220] Alan Gathright, "Surge in Surfers, Surf Rage Police Forced to Wade Into Middle of Conflicts," San Francisco Chronicle (June 2, 2002), A-15.
[221] Nazer, 710.

With this act Brewster hoped to criminalize "any intimidation aimed at excluding" people from a surf spot.[222] The punishment for violating the act would be a sentence of thirty days and if battery happened then the sentence doubled. After writing the act Brewster presented it to a San Diego legislative sponsorship program in 1999. However the surf community and media did not like the act, which convinced San Diego to not support it. The California Open Waves Act never made it to Sacramento and thus did not have a chance at becoming a law.[223] Although Brewster's law failed, his attempt presented a way of using law to curb localism. If his act had passed, the law in California would have insured equal access to waves, yet it is hard to predict if and how the law would have been enforced.

Criminal Law-A Deterrence to Localism?

Surfers have reported incidents of localism to the enforcers of the law, the police, in an attempt to deal with and lessen localism. Surfer Shaun Tomson described an altercation that occurred while surfing at Rincon, a surf break outside of Santa Barbara, in the early 1980s, where another surfer punched him on the beach. Tomson had been waiting his turn to surf and when another surfer took off on the same wave as him, he blocked him from the wave. Feeling angry, the other surfer punched Tomson later on. Tomson reported the incident to the police. As a result the other surfer went to jail and was charged with a felony assault. He reflected on the importance of mentioning the violent encounter to the police: "I think now that my complaint to the police was an important first step to changing people's attitudes about what is acceptable behavior in the surf."[224] After punching Tomson, the other surfer faced consequences for his

[222] Ibid., 710.
[223] Ibid., 711.
[224] Tomson, 111-115.

actions. However it is hard to say how often encounters like this are reported and if surfers who behave violently do learn their lesson.

At Fort Point, a surf spot in San Francisco by the Golden Gate Bridge, an incident of localism occurred. On March 28, 2002 Jeff Duerson, Yoel Gorfain and Ryan Farrell fought Adam Browning out in the ocean. It was not entirely clear why the fight occurred or all that happened, but the three surfers beat up Browning. The entire incident was recorded on tape, which became useful for when the incident was taken to court.[225] While Duerson received only a warning for his actions because the evidence about his involvement was unconfirmed, Farrell and Gorfain "pled out to misdemeanor assault."[226] As a result of the case both Farrell and Gorfain had to complete community service, discuss the repercussions of acting violently and reimburse Browning for the ruined wetsuit and board. Farrell received an additional punishment of "one hundred and fifty days of home confinement," and he was "banned from Bay Area beaches on federal land for three years."[227] The use of criminal law as a punishment for localism might discourage surfers from behaving violently but only if "locals have a genuine fear of enforcement."[228] Criminal law affected some of the Bra Boys' behaviors, and as Jai Abberton stated "[s]ome of the boys have done time. . . so they're not going to jump on a bloke because it's not worth the risk."[229] These examples revealed that in cases where there was evidence of violence or surfers feared criminal law, reporting violent assaults resulted in a legal punishment. However, issuing a criminal sentence to surfers does not solve the problem of localism. The warning of criminal law might prevent some surfers from fighting non-locals but localism might

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[225] McHugh, 1.
[226] Ibid., 3.
[227] Ibid., 4.
[228] Nazer, 710.
[229] Ibid., 709-710.

occur again. Especially since territorialism is a natural aspect of human behavior, surfers will continue to act protective over their waves.

Wave Pools-An Alternate to Crowded Surf Spots?

Figure 6. Wave Loch Flow Rider Double[230]

The advent of wave pools, where a pool filled with water simulates an ocean wave, presented an interesting solution to localism. In a wave pool one person surfs at a time automatically reducing issues of crowding that often causes localism out in the ocean. Surfer Tom Lochtefeld invented the Wave Loch wave pool. He along with Charles Sauerbier and Carl Ekstrom designed models for wave pools and introduced the first ever Wave Loch FlowRider in 1991 at Schlitterbahn in Texas.[231] According to Lochtefeld the "FlowRider is not a wave. It may appear wave-like, but. . . that is an illusion;" instead "the wave-like shape" forms from "the

[230] Wave Loch, "FlowRider Double," 2009, http://www.waveloch.com/attraction/flowrider-double (March 17, 2011).
[231] Wave Loch, "Wave Loch History," 2009, http://www.waveloch.com/history (March 2, 2011).

orchestration of differing fluid pressure fields against the ramp substructure."[232] To create the wave, Wave Loch utilized "submersible pumps to create non-stop, flowing and curling waves over a soft-padded surface."[233] As Lochtefeld continued to create new Wave Loch designs, he received help with board design from professional surfers and boarders such as Tony Hawk, Kelly Slater and Terje Haakonsen during the 1990s. According to the Wave Loch website in 2009, "Wave Loch had sold more than one hundred FlowRider sheet waves to locations around the world." Some have even been installed on Royal Caribbean Cruise lines.[234] However the Wave Loch pools created a type of board sport called flowboarding, which was different from actual surfing.[235] Since riding a wave in a FlowRider was not the same as surfing an ocean wave, the Wave Loch pools revealed how the sport of surfing had changed and had been adapted into a different sport. Australian surfer Nat Young saw the Wave Loch "portable wave" while it was on the Swatch tour in February of 2000 in Long Beach, California.[236] He described Wave Loch as "the best crowded-surf alternative I've seen so far."[237] Evolved wave pools "will provide endless, dependable, adjustable, always-perfect waves. No lulls or flat spells. No lineup hassling. No reef cuts, polluted water, shark attacks, closeout sets, or dry-run surf trips."[238] Yet wave pools do not come cheap. They cost $349,000.[239]

Riding a Wave Loch FlowRider costs money, while surfing in the ocean is free. The Wave Loch pools created more places and opportunities for people to try surfing, especially in land-locked areas. However this could increase demand for the real sport of surfing, which

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[232] Tom Lochtefeld, "Message from Founder" Wave Loch, 2009, http://www.waveloch.com/message-founder (March 2, 2011).
[233] Wave Loch, "Homepage," 2009, http://www.waveloch.com/ (March 2, 2011).
[234] Wave Loch, "Wave Loch History."
[235] Wave Loch, "The Sport of Flowboarding," 2009, http://www.waveloch.com/sport (March 2, 2011).
[236] Young, 214-215.
[237] Ibid., 217.
[238] Warshaw, The History of Surfing, 475.
[239] Spike Gillespie, "If The Power's On, The Surf's Up," The New York Times, (June 16, 2002).

could cause even more overcrowding of surf spots and more localism. While wave pools do offer surfers another location to experience that stoke and adrenaline rush, the wave pools probably will not decrease cases of localism. Instead the creation of wave pools produced an evolved form of surfing, flowboarding, which is becoming its own unique sport. Perhaps if there were even more wave pools built throughout the world, especially close to beaches, surfers could use the wave pools when their local break was flat or too crowded. In this manner wave pools might serve as a way to lessen localism.

Decreased Localism?

Although there have been attempts to decrease localism, as shown in this previous section, localism in surfing continues to occur. Since surfing has become a global and popular sport, the crowding of surf spots continued. Employing criminal law to dissuade surfers from behaving territorially may work in some instances. It seems that the unwritten rules of surfing were one way to curb localism through reminding surfers about the codes of conduct in the surf and the importance of respect. If both new and experienced surfers are aware of the rules and respect the ocean and surfers, then perhaps localism will decrease. However in places, where local surfers feel a strong connection to their surf spot, outsiders might experience localism.

Conclusion

Not only is localism in surfing a complicated phenomenon but also a regional one; there are different reasons for why it occurs in particular areas, necessitating different solutions. Yet

by examining the history of surfing it is apparent that localism is not a recent development in the sport. Various types of localism have existed over the entire history of surfing. As surfing became more popular and new surfers crowded waves, locals continued to express localism in reaction to the encroachment of their waves by outsiders. From the royal ali'i of Hawai'i claiming access to certain breaks, to the Hui of O'ahu interpreting their territorial behavior as a reaction to colonialism, to the Bra Boys of Maroubra defending their local beach, yet also claiming distant beaches as theirs, and to Tavarua, a surf resort that controlled access to waves, surfers engaged in localism all over the world in different ways and for distinct reasons.

Surfers behave territorially because they have a special connection to their local waves. However in Hawai'i that connection to the ocean is even deeper since surfing has a strong cultural presence and importance in Hawaiian history. Since surfing was an activity that at one time occurred mainly in Hawai'i, Hawaiian locals today feel protective over their waves and their sport. Surfing is more than just a sport and recreation to Hawaiians, it is an activity of cultural significance that also served as a way to express resistance to colonialism. When non-locals forget about the history of Hawai'i and the importance of surfing there, they disrespect the sport and the cultural heritage of the Hawaiian people.

Yet all over the world surfers act possessive over their local waves. Often surfers become upset when they feel they have been disrespected, revealing the value of respect in surfing. Localism can occur when locals feel threatened by outsiders or when beginner surfers endanger themselves and other surfers. Because of the close connection surfers have with their local waves, they react territorially when their access to these waves becomes hindered or threatened. Surfers all over the world share the exhilaration involved in catching and riding a wave and because of this they also understand why surfers defend their access to waves. Since

surfing is an exhilarating sport it most likely will continue to grow, but it is necessary for new surfers to learn the rules of surfing, the history of the sport and display respect for other surfers and the ocean.

Further research about surfing and its culture could help explain the continuance of localism. By researching other localized areas and talking to local surfers, we may discover other specific reasons behind the actions of locals or we may find that localism is inherent territorialism where insiders react to the presence of outsiders. Through examining areas of localism researches can discover why surfers behave territorially, revealing how surfers feel about their waves and local surf break. Studying localism of a particular area can portray the history, culture and values of that group and how surfing plays a role in that environment. Analyzing the occurrence of localism in the history of surfing illuminates how in surfing unlike in other sports, the participants or surfers, have a symbiotic connection to the main equipment of the sport, the waves of the ocean.

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