Surfing between the local and the global: identifying spatial divisions in surfing practice

Author(s): Jon Anderson

JSTOR

Surfing between the local and the global: identifying spatial divisions in surfing practice

Jon Anderson

Geography emphasises the spatial influence on human identity; however, this influence is often seen as exclusively terrestrial in nature. This paper focuses on a group of individuals for whom geographical identity is both terrestrial *and* littoral in constitution. It introduces how surfers' identities are not only defined by the terrestrial co-ingredience of the shores that support their surfing activity, but also by the littoral space of the surf zone itself. However, due to advances in transport, communication and surf forecasting, surfers are increasingly global in their search for waves. The paper goes on to demonstrate the effect of this mobility on surfer identity. It outlines how mobility *dis*locates surfer identity from its 'surf-shore' moorings and produces in its place a routed but rootless 'trans-local' surf identity. The paper examines the tensions and contradictions that arise between these spatially divided surfing practices before commenting on how surfers' shared affiliation to the littoral zone may offer the potential to reconcile them.

Key words   surfing; mobility; local; global; practice; identity

School of City & Regional Planning, Cardiff University, Cardiff, CF10 3WA
Email: andersonj@cf.ac.uk

Introduction

As human geography broadens its focus away from wholly terrestrial geographies, new spaces of exploration are opened up to the geographical imagination. While the terrestrial, the aerial (Adey 2010) and the oceanic (Anderson and Peters 2013; Steinberg 2001) have their champions, geographies related to the surf zone remain figuratively and literally marginal to these studies. However, by focusing on the space between the terrestrial and aquatic, this paper argues that new insights can be learned about key relations concerning people and place in an age of mobility. This paper draws on an extensive project on surfing identity and practice to explore the co-ingredient spatial identity of surfers. From this project, the paper argues that the surfer identity is an assembled 'surf-shore' identity, co-constituted by both the watery world of the surf zone itself, and the local shores to which surf breaks are connected. This characterisation adds an important reframing to the foundational tenets that define the 'land-locked' nature of human geography (Anderson 2012a) – the relations between people and place. Such an account suggests that surfers are as much defined by their relations to fluid, watery spaces as they are to terrestrial locations.

Surfers' identity is thus in part defined by a 'surf-shore' constitution that is rooted around a home surf zone and its associated local shores. However, this identity is not static or without tension. Surfers desire to ride waves wherever they may be, and due to advances in transport, communication and surf forecasting, surfers increasingly go mobile in order to find breaking waves. This surfing mobility has consequences. As Appadurai (1990 1996) and Hannerz (1996) have noted, mobility often produces deterritorialisation and disembeddedness of people from places. This paper supports this point, arguing that surfers' mobility puts local 'surf–shore' co-constitutions in tension with mobile, 'trans-local', surfing practices. Trans-local practices, as Mandaville (1999) has noted, are formed when people become mobile and take with them global, often rootless, cultural ideas and lifestyles. These practices interpenetrate specific locales and actively displace local or national ways of life (see Appadurai 1996; Sassen 2006). In relation to surfing in particular, mobility has the effect of creating a trans-local surfing lifestyle that is solely routed to the littoral space of the surf zone. As a consequence, local surf–shore co-ingredience is often ignored or transgressed by mobile surfers, with mixed results for host populations. In many cases, trans-local surfing identity works to undermine the local co-ingredient relations surfers value in their own backyards.

With these opposing lifestyles in mind it would be tempting to suggest that a dualistic relation exists between highly mobile 'trans-local' surfers on one hand, and 'local' surfers on the other. However, very

few surfers are able to live their lives wholly defined by a surfing tour, and very few local surfers can resist the allure of a surf trip. In practice, therefore, the majority of surfers combine both 'trans-local' and 'local' practices as part of their identity. These differing identities are spatially divided, both produced by and producing local places and trans-local surfing spaces across the globe. This spatial division of identity (see Anderson 2004) reflects broader processes of late-modern identity fragmentation (see Featherstone 1995; Jameson 1991). Due to mobility and other changes in late-modern society (see Beck 1995), the concept of human identity has become decentred, with the sense of a coherent, essentialised identity giving way to the notion of fragmented, malleable and often 'multi-phrenic' selves. Maxey (1999, 199), for example, argues that the late-modern condition results in there being 'no fixed "me" of which I am fully cognisant', with identity changing from 'being something unified and consistent', to something 'conceived as a bundle of conflicting "quasi-selves", a random and contingent assemblage of experiences' (Featherstone 1995, 45). The paper outlines how surfers exhibit both local and trans-local identities in their culture, and goes on to explore the tensions and inconsistencies inherent within their spatial division of identity. The paper concludes by suggesting that any attempts to reconcile the spatial divisions of surfer identity can be oriented around their shared geographical co-ingredience with the surf zone.

The paper draws on research focused at both the local and global scale. Locally, the research is based on an extensive project funded by Sports Council for Wales, which investigated participation regimes in surfing in the principality. This research was based on an online questionnaire that was completed by 134 surfers in Wales as well as interviews with the proprietors of 14 surf schools in Wales, interviews with 6 surf club secretaries, and 20 in-depth interviews with well-travelled, international-standard surfers. At the global scale, the research draws on the author's experience of surf cultures in France, California, Bali and the Gili Islands, and by extensive secondary accounts of surfing taken from a range of surf media (including magazines such as *The Surfer's Path, Surfer, Carve, Drift* and *Wavelength*), websites, books, autobiographies and biographies of surf culture. The author has over ten years experience of (kayak) surfing.

Identifying the surfing life

Surfing was … a lifestyle that demanded as much commitment as any marriage. (Anderson 2007, 174)

As Shields describes, 'surfing is the art of standing and riding on a board propelled by breaking waves' (2004, 45), or as Ford and Brown put it, 'the core of surfing has always simply been the embodied, raw and imme-

diate glide or slide along a wave of energy passing through water' (2006, 149). Although surfing has remained at the margins of social science inquiry, a growing number of key texts investigate the practice. There is not the scope in this paper for a full review of the growing surfing literature, however Ford and Brown (2006) and Stranger (2011) offer important sociological insight into the phenomenon, while political critique is undertaken by Buckley (2002), Hill and Abbott (2009) and Nazer (2004). Evers (2006 2007 2008) comments insightfully on the localist and cultural discourses within surfing lifestyles (see also Scheibel 1995; and Booth 1996 2001), while surfing as an extreme sport is examined by Midol (1993), Rinehart and Sydnor (2003), Tomlinson (2001) and Wheaton (2004). Surfing is acknowledged by these writers and those who participate in the sport as a lifestyle activity (see also Fordham 2008). In his review of lifestyle definitions, Stebbins concluded that

A lifestyle is a distinctive set of shared patterns of tangible behaviour that is organised around a set of coherent interests or social conditions or both, that is explained and justified by a set of related values, attitudes, and orientations and that, under certain conditions, becomes the basis for a separate, common social identity for its participants. (1997, 350)

Wheaton (2004) has extended the idea of lifestyle into the sportscape. In this area there are a range of definitions relevant to the activity of surfing, including 'alternative sports' (Rinehart and Sydnor 2003) and 'whizz sports' (Midol 1993), both of which have a degree of 'family resemblance' in the Wittgensteinian sense of the term (see Tomlinson *et al.* 2005; van Bottenburg and Salome 2010). Wheaton's definition of lifestyle sports is perhaps the most useful here. Wheaton suggests that lifestyle sports can be generalised as individualistic in nature (as opposed to team-oriented); non-aggressive; participatory rather than spectator-focused; consuming of new technologies; centred on skill, risk and hedonism; resistant to regulation and institutionalisation; and ambiguous in their relationship to competition (see Wheaton 2004, 12). With these definitions in mind, surfing can be understood as the quintessential lifestyle sport. Indeed, the life and style of surfing – including its necessary skill and associated culture, attitude, music and merchandise – has become commoditised and written into its popular mythology since the 1960s (see Evers 2006; Fordham 2008; Stranger 2011; Warshaw 2004).

This paper argues that surfing has become a lifestyle activity due to the transformative experiences gained through riding waves (as Plate 1 goes some way to illustrate). The emotions or 'relational sensibilities' (after Anderson 2009) felt by the surfer through being in union with their board, swell, wind, land and wave

gives surfers a sense of 'flow' (after Csikszentmihalyi 1990; see also Stranger 1999) and often 'convergence' with the surfed wave (see Anderson 2012a). This feeling is commonly described by surfers as 'stoke'. As Evers outlines,

> stoke is this feeling of intense elation that ensnares a board rider. ... If one is stoked, they experience a fully embodied feeling of satisfaction, joy, and pride. You will tingle from your head to your toes. (2006, 229–30)[1]

This stoke is so powerful a feeling it has the capacity to rupture prevailing norms and orthodoxies for those who experience it. A lifestyle can therefore be set in motion following the experience of the first surfed wave, as the following example narrated by surfer Daniel Duane confirms:

> Nearby, a boy no more than eight years old, suit bagging around him as he lay on a huge longboard, took a shove into a wave from his dad and made it successfully to his feet. Suddenly, he found himself zipping sideways through the sunshine, and the shock almost overwhelmed him. He screamed in his shrill little voice, 'No way! Wow! Oh, man!' with such an unbridled joy – so out of the code of taciturn surfer cool – that every man in the water, tough guys included, smiled magnanimously.

'Well, that's that,' said a portly guy on a huge board to the proud father. 'You can forget about him ever being President'. (1996, 13)

The experience of riding the surfed wave brings something new to the world of the surfer; the feeling of stoke becomes the shared passion that surfers align their lives around (after Toffler 1980). As pro-surfer Mick Fanning states, surfing thus becomes 'the path we follow' (in Brownley 2010).

As the above discussion implies, the surfing lifestyle does not exist in a vacuum, rather it is formed around an emotional connection to the world that confers to surfers a sense of who they are and how they must live. Human geography as a discipline is uniquely positioned to explore these connections due to its fundamental interest in the relations between people and place (after Holloway and Hubbard 2001). As the discipline informs its students, geography's premise is that 'all facets of human life ... are bound up with questions of space and place, or spatiality' (Cloke *et al.* 2005, XII). Through a number of non-positivist paradigms, including humanism, phenomenology and feminism, geographical context and the passage of time in place are seen as integral to human existence (see Hillier 2001;

Plate 1   The transformative potential of the surfed wave. Caption in (b) reads: 'A sight worth changing your life for (this one's somewhere in Oz, but they pop up all over)'
Sources: (a) Flosurf.com advert placed in *Drift* (2008 April/May, p. 22); (b) *The Surfer's Path* (2007 60 April/May, p. 59); (c) Howdle (2008)

Preston 2003; Relph 1976; Seamon and Mugerauer 1985; Tuan 1977). Space and place are not seen as passive stages on which actions occur, rather they are a medium that impinge on, structure and facilitate these processes. As Tilley states, from these perspectives places are 'involved in the action and cannot be divorced from it' (1994, 10). When framed in this way, the relationships between people and place become 'intrinsically related' (Hillier 2001, 70). Spatiality is recognised as 'one of the terms of reference for the negotiations and articulation of identity' (2001, 70). This approach therefore suggests that, in the words of Holloway and Hubbard,

> We cannot study people and places independently of each other. Indeed, it is the relationality of people and places that is so important to geographical understanding. Thus, when we talk about 'people and place', the *and* is as important and ambiguous as the definition of the people or the place concerned. (2001, 7, my emphasis)

Such approaches therefore consider the human condition to be, in part, a profoundly geographical one. It is only through considering our relations to place that we can 'find' or 'know' ourselves. Casey has termed this defining relation as the 'constitutive co-ingredience' of people and place (2001). According to Webb, such co-ingredience emphasises the growing 'uncertainty about where the body ends and the rest of the world begins' (2000, 3). Longhurst shares this uncertainty about our ontological and epistemological corporeality, identifying the body's 'messy materiality' (2001), which emerges through our practices in and with the places around us. For Casey such co-constitution is profound; in his words, 'there is no place without self and no self without place' (2001, 684).

As I have outlined elsewhere (Anderson 2004), this emergent co-constitution between people and place occurs through inhabitation and dwelling. As the human body physically encounters places (through a process Casey titles 'outgoing'), traces of location are inscribed on the human self by 'incoming' strata of meaning (see Casey 2001, 688). Reciprocally this process also influences the meaning of places. As Halbwachs (1992) and Crang and Travlou (2001) argue, over time practices sediment meaning onto places, with personal memories meshing with cultural meanings on an individual and (potentially) societal scale. As a result, as Casey points out, 'places [can] possess us – in perception, as in memory ... insinuating themselves into our lives' (2000, 199). The idea of constitutive co-ingredience between people and place can be supplemented with the notion of 'assemblage'. Introduced by Delanda (2006) and developed by Dovey (2010), the notion of an assemblage refers to a provisional 'whole', 'whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts' (Delanda 2006, 5). In the case of constitutive co-ingredience, the person–place

relation can be considered to be an 'assembled' whole, or 'assemblage'; a provisional entity that emerges from the 'incoming' and 'outgoing' interactions between humans and places. In this sense, as spatial and social beings, humans can be understood as having provisionally assembled, co-ingredient identities.

Placing surfer identities: the surf–shore co-ingredience

Despite acknowledgement of the importance of place to human identity, it is common for the discipline of geography to see humans as inextricably connected to terrestrial rather than watery worlds (see Lambert *et al.* 2006). As implied above, however, the co-ingredient surfer identity is assembled quite differently. Surfers are constitutively defined not only by their co-ingredience with terrestrial places, but also to the space of the surf zone. It is on the waves that surfers feel they are alive and at home. As Winton states:

> I will always remember my first wave that morning. ... How the wave drew me forward and I sprang to my feet, skating with the wind of momentum in my ears. I leant across the wall of upstanding water and the board came with me as though it was part of my body and mind. ... I still judge every joyous moment, every victory and revelation against those few seconds of living. (2008, 35)

Here the human body and the watery world interact together to form the assembled identity of the surfer. As Shields suggests, this interaction forms a provisional co-ingredience; for surfers 'there is a tremendous complicity between the body and the environment and the two interpenetrate each other' (1991, 14). As Scheibel notes, when joining with a wave,

> there appears to be a disorientation in time and space where the surfer temporarily loses perception of all external boundaries. There is an intensive and emotional reaction felt by the rush of adrenalin to the muscles, with the resultant feeling of emotional catharsis and the joyful sensation of having been so close in union with the ocean. (1995, 256)

When surfers in Wales were asked about their motivations for surfing, this union with the ocean was central to their responses. As the following surfers put it:

> It's not a question that has an answer which can be easily articulated in words. It's about the experience of being in the sea, harnessing the power of nature to catch waves.

> A sense of being a part of something that is timeless and much, much bigger than you, waves have been breaking since there has been water on the planet and that knowledge can ground me in a period of unease.

> It makes me feel alive. It's always new, every session, even after 30 years. You never regret a surf, even if it was crap.

To feel at one with nature, relaxation, adrenaline rush. 'Only a surfer knows the feeling'? Very sad and cheesy but true.

The assembled identity of the surfer is thus created through interactions between the human body (and associated technologies such as board and wax), and the surface swell; it is when their surfboard meets the sea that they 'belong'.[2]

In the end [however], the waves always return us to the shore ... and remind us that terra firma is where we belong [too]. (Capp 2004, 83)

However, as Capp outlines above, the assembled identity of the surfer is not only formed by interactions with the surf zone. Co-ingredience is also produced for the surfer by the shore from which they 'out go' to the waves and to which they 'in come' from their surf sessions (following Casey 2001). In other words, surfers assemble both littoral and terrestrial elements within their identity; they enjoy a surf–shore co-ingredience. Participants often root this co-ingredience to the particular beach where they grew up, perhaps where they learned to surf, or where they have committed many hours to surfing (see Mills 2011). These surfers exhibit a strong degree of belonging and place attachment to these surf–shore locations in the humanist geographical tradition. As Gustafson outlines, such attachment

refers primarily to ... bonds between individuals or groups and one or several places (Altman and Low 1992). These places are often present or former 'home' places, but other places may also give rise to such bonds. (2001, 668)

Such 'bonds' are social, cultural, political, psychological and emotional in nature, and tie a place and its residents together in a constitutive co-ingredience that builds up over time and becomes part of a local culture and lifestyle. From this perspective, surfer's identity is, in the words of Cresswell, 'actively territorialised' (2004, 110), not simply in the sea, but in the surf–shore assemblage.

Clifton Evers highlights how this co-ingredience is felt by the surfing body, and how this surf–shore attachment becomes part of the surfer identity:

Surfers form a sensory relationship with the local weather patterns, sea-floors, jetties and rock walls. Surfers' bodies intermingle with the coastal morphology, and it can be hard to tell where the local's body begins and the local environment ends. Knowing how to ride 'with' a wave at a particular spot is a clear marker that you're a local and works as a way to signal ownership of a space in an increasingly crowded surfing world. The environment and how it works becomes so ingrained that a local should be able to tell the different surf seasons by the way their body feels. We bond with the geographical turf. (2007, 4)

Geographical provenance is thus central to surfer identity; their geographical 'turf' refers not only to the fluid space of the surf zone, but also the landed cultures that serve, influence and sustain these watery worlds. Each surf locale has its own identity, built up through the interactions between surfers on the sea and shore. [3] When the surf is high, surf communities congregate on the waves, but when the sea is flat, surfers retreat to cafes and pubs to tell their stories, watch surfing films and wait. Such interaction creates unique surfing communities in different locations; British surf writers, for example, allude to the 'microcosm' of Newquay and the 'Badlands' of St Agnes and Trevaunance Cove in Cornwall, UK, and the tough, dry humour of South Walian surf spots. As Bailey puts it,

It's the nature of the Welsh. We don't like bragging you see. If you were to be as self assured and confident to start stating how good you've been surfing or spouting off about how you've been landing loads of air reverses, it won't be long before you're put in your place by your mates. No one compliments each other here. I've seen my mates do the sickest airs and I've laughed in their faces telling them all sorts of crap.... It's just the way we are.... It's great to be Welsh. I would not have it any other way. (2012, 53)

And as the following interviewees' identified,

Yeah I think people are quite proud to be Welsh surfers. When we surf through the winter here there's quite a lot of camaraderie that you go out there in that weather and just do it because you love it so much. (Surfer, South Wales)

I quite like the surf culture in Wales, that is one of the reasons I am happy living back here – it is quite friendly I think, rather like the Welsh culture in general – there is a lot of banter in the water around us and I quite like that side of it. (Surfer, Mid Wales)

As a consequence of these local communities, surfers become participants in and advocates for their surf–shore territory. Notwithstanding surfers' ambivalence to organisation, these local surf cultures are often formalised through clubs that organise beach cleans, community events and support young surfers. In these ways the surf–shore co-ingredience becomes definitive of local surfing lifestyles; as Taylor summarises, a surf spot 'isn't [just] a place people surf. It's a way people live' (2005, 47).

Thus far we have seen how surfer identities are rooted in ways that are often overlooked by traditional geographical inquiry. Although their lifestyles are tied closely to geographical places, unlike terrestrial cultures that have formed the basis for much geographical research (or maritime cultures that offer their counterpoint; see Raban 1999), surfers root their identity to both the land *and* the littoral. These 'bi-elemental' identities are co-defined by their constitution with the surf and the shore. However, in late-modern society, identities are rarely homogeneous or essential in nature; rather they are often malleable and multiple,

depending in part on their geographical location (see Anderson 2004 2012b). As locations become 'shot through with the woof of human motion' (Appadurai 1990, 297), many scholars suggest people become disconnected from place (see Appadurai 1990 1996; Hannam *et al.* 2006; Hannerz 1996). As Gustafson puts it:

> as people seem to be increasingly mobile, and their social relations and other everyday experiences are increasingly disembedded from physical locations (Calhoun 1991; Giddens 1991) ... social theorists are often somewhat skeptical about the importance of ... place attachment. (2001, 668)

In this scenario, the question thus arises: what happens to the co-ingredient identity of surfers when they 'go mobile'?

When surfers go mobile: the making of a trans-local surf identity

> the introduction of travel has added a whole new dimension [to the surfing lifestyle]. Why wait for the waves out front [at your local break] to get good, when you could go looking elsewhere? (Anderson 2007, 174)

Over the past decades, surfer mobility has become a widespread phenomenon. From seminal surf movie 'The Endless Summer' (Brown 1966), which told the story of surfers circumnavigating the globe in search of waves, the notion of a routed – rather than rooted – lifestyle has become a surfers' idyll. As Barilotti suggests:

> by the closing reel of The Endless Summer, many ... surfers were scrambling to their atlases to book a flight to a far-away continent they knew little about other than it had a perfect empty Malibu-type right peeling off at some spot ... the international surfing gold rush was on. (2002, 93)

Films and other media have played a crucial role in driving this surfing gold rush. As Buckley identifies, surf mobility is 'strongly linked to the clothing, fashion, and entertainment industries, and marketed through specialist surfing magazines and surfing media' (2002, 405). In every surfing magazine, adverts for surf tours, pictures of world tour competitions, new surf spots and unspoilt exotic locations appear. Surf films show the range of breaks available across the world (see Conroy 2009), and encourage local surfers to plan their own 'odyssey' to find them (see Boston 2005). Such surf mobility has also been revolutionised by advances in air travel, satellite communication and surf forecasting. Surfers are now able to keep track of hurricane events, related swells and surf forecasts from around the world (for example, online surf forecast sites like 'Magic Seaweed' offer comprehensive swell charts, allowing anyone to know where surf will happen regardless of local knowledge or expertise). All surfers now, therefore, enjoy the capacity to become highly mobile

modern nomads, living the (commodified) dream of an 'endless summer' (or at least endless waves; see Ouhilal 2011).

As a consequence, surf tourism now forms a 'significant component' of the worldwide adventure tourism sector (after Buckley 2002), and the mobile surfing lifestyle has become integral to many surfers' lives. Jobs, relationships and commitments become oriented around the desire for wave-riding, as Bailey states:

> People will sell their Gran to go surfing when it's good. The drive to get to the beach and surf is overwhelming, everything goes out of the window – job, school, girlfriends, nothing matters. If there's decent waves we are going surfing or someone's going to die! (2012, 53)

and as Tom Anderson describes, in this case referring to fellow surfer 'Cornish Darrell':

> Cornish Darrell['s] main purpose was surf trips – that was when he really lived, and when all those long hours behind a bar, a production line or numerous other work stations suddenly made sense. (2007, 19)

However, it is often the case that when surfers 'go mobile' a change in their co-ingredient identity occurs. The 'disorientation in time and space' (after Scheibel above) that occurs when surfers engage with the sea is now echoed by a further displacement within, or disassembly of, their local surf–shore identity. Although surfers retain the roots established with their home surf break, while away they often fail to re-place these co-constitutions with new shore-side assemblages; their spatial identity in their new location becomes wholly oriented around the littoral space of the surf zone. As Barilotti outlines,

> Most surfers travel not to experience another culture, but to find waves similar to their home breaks but without the crowds. (2002, 93)

When surfers go mobile their identity becomes all about the waves. The surf communities they have created shore-side at their home break are abstracted and taken to new, sometimes exotic locations. The camaraderie, humour, film-watching and magazine-reading are transposed on top of a new location, with an identity oriented wholly around the surfing experience. Taylor describes this culture from his own experience,

> I thought it was a waste to travel thousands of miles to sit in a swampy guest house playing video games and watching DVDs. But I couldn't deride the lifestyle either. I was ... just like the rest of the crew: a beer swilling vagabond surfer who'd gotten used to taking this lifestyle around the world with him. (2005, 131)

The disassembly of the surf–shore co-ingredient identity is, in general, encouraged by surf atlases and surf media. The dominant surf guides produced within

the industry solely detail the types of waves prevailing at a location and the type of boards or riding styles best suited to these waves, rather than the broader cultures and histories existing in each location (see for example, Alderson 2008; Nelson and Taylor 2008). The mobile surfers' 'heaven' (Ando 2012) thus involves 'remote perfection', in other words, excellent waves without 'boats and crowds' (2012, 9). As Ponting *et al.* put it, a culture is created where

> surfing space [becomes] based upon adventure, the search for the perfect wave, uncrowded breaks and absent or compliant local communities: in short, 'Wonderland'. (2005, 141)

The path that mobile surfers follow thus results in a very different form of identity to that exhibited at home. 'Mobile surfers'' bonds – the social, cultural, political, psychological and emotional attachments that form their identities and lifestyles – are solely sutured to the surf zone and the related mobilities of surf travel (the line on the wave and the line to the wave), rather than the associated terrestrial cultures that form a fundamental part of the surf–shore identity at their home breaks. As such, when mobile, surfers fit the marginal, rootless stereotype associated with popular understandings of surfing culture – not so much rebels without a cause, as surfers without roots or ties, beyond their commitment to the surf zone itself. Due to the lack of 'incoming' and 'outgoing' interactions between local cultures and surf breaks, surfers become 'tourists' (see Heimtum 2007; Sheller and Urry 2004), abstracted and dislocated from surf–shore relations. Many mobile surfers are, therefore, oblivious to the cultural traces existing in the land and littoral to which they travel to, preferring to bring their own form of surf culture with them.

> The nomadic people indigenous to this fluid landscape belong to the global tribe of surfers. (Kampion 2004, 1)

> There's a larger surfing community now, there's no doubt about that, I think it's a global approach isn't it. (Interview respondent)

The creation of a mobile surfer identity that is wholly concerned with the act of surfing rather than the supporting geographical and cultural assemblage can be understood as 'trans-local' in nature. As a number of scholars have noted (see Appadurai 1990 1996; Sassen 1996 2006), trans-locality refers to local spaces and their interpenetration by global forces and relations. As Banerjee puts it,

> these spaces are trans-local because they both transgress and transcend locality and have the ability to change the local spaces from which they emerge. (2011, 333–4)

These trans-local sites exist as points in a broader (global) system where ideas and practices are exchanged (see McFarlane 2009); however, these practices and ideas are often juxtaposed with indigenous or national temporalities and cultures (Sassen 1996). As the labels 'Heaven' and 'Wonderland' suggest, trans-local surfing sites are not mere superficial points in a network but have a deeper mythology, which in turn moulds their practices and futures (see McFarlane 2009). For trans-local surf culture, this mythology is defined in two ways: first it is predominantly associated with the surf- rather than the shore-zone; and second, it remains ambivalent to the local cultures existing in these locations. Trans-local surfing spaces are thus generally located around waves and breaks rather than shore-side locations (surfers will dream of riding Pipeline rather than visiting South Africa, or experiencing HTs (Hollow Trees in Mentawai) rather than Indonesia). The surfing 'Wonderland' is thus a space where surf is plentiful, uncrowded and traditional geographic forms of (terrestrial) place attachment are rendered 'precarious' (after Gustafson 2001). In these trans-local spaces, the communities and cultures that are associated with breaks are silenced or ignored. It can be argued that in this trans-local surfing culture 'global fashion and entertainment industries' (Buckley 2002, 406) have largely displaced the 'cultures of host communities' (2002, 406). In the words of Jackson *et al.*, surfers have allowed the 'elite ideology of transnationalism to blind [them] to the practical and emotional importance of attachments to and in place' (2004, 7, see also Thorpe 2012). Or as Ponting *et al.* observe,

> the comfortable hedonistic pleasure associated with Wonderland provide references that prevail over multiple destinations in euphoric physical transcendence of, and detachment from, the realities of everyday life in each geographic location. The disembedding of Wonderland has enabled the development of a model of surf tourism which is market focussed, economically neo-liberal and disconnected from local place and people. (2005, 145)

With this trans-local surfing identity in mind, 'mobile surfers' share more than a passing 'family resemblance' to other adventure tourist lifestyles that have become more about the specific location of activity (e.g. sea or mountain) rather than broader locale in which it occurs (Agnew and Duncan 1989; Anderson 2010). In relation to snowboarding, for example, Sherowski outlines what we might now understand as a growing trans-localist identity among participants in the following way:

> we belong to a planet-wide culture that ... transcends borders and language barriers ... and makes journeying to the remotest places the equivalent of visiting a pack of friends for a day of slashing it. (2004, 106, see also Thorpe 2012)

Such routed trans-local cultures are therefore, ironically, wholly dependent on place-specific 'resources' (in the case of surfing, the meeting of land and sea to create rideable waves), while at the same time ambivalent to the terrestrial infrastructure their presence requires in order to service their trans-local practice.

The broader academic literature on mobility and tourism has highlighted how such detachment from the local is not without its effects (see Sheller and Urry 2004). Indeed, the effects of these vagabond surfing cultures on local areas are, at best, mixed. While they may bring the tourist dollar through their spending habits, mobile surfers also bring cultural shifts, environmental pollution, overdevelopment, and crime (see Buckley 2002). This occurs in both developed nations (see Anderson 2007; and for more see below), but is most explicit in developing countries. Many of the effects on local communities and cultures are illustrative of broader issues of western-influenced colonisation, as Barilotti summarises in the case of Bali, Indonesia:

> Before the surfers' arrival, few islanders would set foot in the ocean for fear of being snatched to the underworld by a sea demon. Within two generations, however, the Balinese had abandoned an ancient taboo and adapted quite readily to surfing with their own set of hotties and local heavies ... Kuta Beach started out as a drowsy little fishing village in the 1930s, catering to a small number of vacationing European colonialists. Its surf potential was discovered by Australians in the mid-1960s. Since then, it has morphed into a fully-fledged surf ghetto on a par with Huntington Beach or the North Shore. ... 4000 years of ancient animistic squat culture smacked straight into Western tech-heavy materialism. (2002, 89/92)

In places with a well-organised surf culture, the influx of mobile surfers looking for Wonderland is often viewed negatively. Due to local surfers' surf–shore attachment, the influx of mobile surfers is commonly framed as a threat. As Daskalos (2007) has explored, many locals feel that, 'newcomers are changing the nature of the surfing culture' in local areas due to the influx of trans-local values and commercial development. In California, Schiebel has eloquently identified how mobile surfers are understood as groups of 'wave-stealing, beach-littering, water-polluting' O/others (1995, 257) that threaten the cultural fabric of the surf–shore community. In South Wales, the threat to local surf culture from mobile surfers is keenly felt:

> There's been a few web cams and websites posting what time to go surfing in these places and I think the locals feel we hang round here all winter long and wait for the tide to be right and the waves to get good and then as soon as it is everyone from London to Bristol to Birmingham knows about it and they come down. I wouldn't say there's any kind of fights or anything but if people aren't showing respect it gets quite competitive. (Interview respondent)

Similar threats from trans-local surfers are sensed in Maroubra Bay, Australia:

> We have a beach – Bondi Beach – that's become very commercialised and there's a lot of tourism and they had a strong surf [or surf-shore] culture that's kinda died down in last couple of decades and I think ... all these beaches will

basically become a Bondi. You need to keep that essence of the culture of a place. (Macario di Souza, Bra [or Maroubra Bay] Boy)

> There's a lot of distance between these beaches so for these surfers it's their whole world. (Sean Doherty, Editor *Tracks* Magazine)

> The beach is for our local community and for our surfers. If you're a travelling surfer you just got to take a back seat when you're in the water. (Mark Matthews, Bra Boy) (cited in Surfline no date)[4]

Tension therefore arises between local surfers, who retain a vital sense of surf–shore identity, and those surfers whose trans-local mobility has displaced their appreciation of this assembled co-ingredience. This tension – like the stoke that attracts so many to the surfing lifestyle in the first place – is often registered in local surfers as a relational sensibility. In this case, however, local surfer's co-ingredient identity is physically and emotionally disturbed by the threat posed by the disassembled, mobile surfer; as the following unnamed surfer outlines:

> Wait a sec, ... I live in Northern California and I ... pay attention to the wind, I keep an eye on shifting sandbars, I listen to the weather radio all the time. ... When I paddle out and see a bunch of guys that I don't recognize at a spot that's taken me years to figure out, I feel ... almost violated. Especially if they're not respectful. ... When some guy you've never seen before – and dammit, it shouldn't matter that it's a stranger, but it does – comes sauntering out into a place that touches close to your heart, it's hard not to feel a little, well, violated. (Unnamed surfer, cited in Sanders no date)

In line with broader geographical literature, the trans-local culture of the mobile surfer is thus often perceived as a threat to the co-ingredience of localised surf–shore identities. The routed 'foreigner' – with colonising, trans-local ideas, cultures and commodities, is seen as a potential disturbance and contaminant to the rooted local (see Coleman and Crang 2002; Said 1979; Sibley 1995). Local surfers thus feel the presence of the contaminating Other as a physical violation of their co-ingredient surf–shore identity and as a consequence are often resisted. In these cases of resistance, locals are far from being a 'friendly nuisance to sidestep on the way to the water' (Barilotti 2002, 93); rather they invoke intimidation and physical violence to those travelling to a new surf zone. Maroubra Bay is one place famous for the uncompromising aspects of such resistance:

> You've spent so much time in one place, day in and day out. You've lived your life there, and it's a respect thing, just from one person to another. ... It's an unspoken rule ... you just expect people to show some courtesy and behave when they come to your home. ... If you don't give that type of respect, you'll probably get a proper beating ... (Jack Kingsley Bra Boy, in Surfline no date)

Thus it is not uncommon for local surfers to informally police their surf–shore area in order to protect their identities from mobile surfers. In Oahu, on the North Shore of Hawaii, for example, locals have banded together to form 'Da Hui' (the Black Shorts), a group whose purpose it is to 'make sure locals get their waves' (Eddie Rothman, founder of Da Hui, in Ballard and McQueen 2005). Da Hui, like many other local surfer groups, are known to use a range of intimidatory and violent techniques to this end (see Lewis 2009; McHugh 2003; Scott 2003; and Plate 2).[5]

Such vigilante justice is a consequence of a number of factors. As Fordham suggests, it often occurs where populations are high and quality waves are a scarce resource (2008, 228), while the presence of novice surfers on high-quality waves also results in heightened tension (see Preston-Whyte 2002). However, the rise of such resistance can also be seen as a direct response to the routed nature of trans-local surfing lifestyles, which, due their disassembled identity, feel as if they have as much right to access their surfing wonderland, despite this 'idyll' being integral to a locals' surf–shore co-ingredience.

Conclusion: the spatial divisions in surfer identity

As we have seen, surfer identity is inherently geographical. However, this paper has argued that unlike the majority of human cultures, surfer identity is not exclusively forged through terrestrial or aquatic spaces, rather through a co-constitution with both the terrestrial *and* the littoral. In short, surfers' identities are defined by their terrestrial co-ingredience with the shores that support their surfing activity and by the

Plate 3   Surfing etiquette and water safety in Queensland, Australia
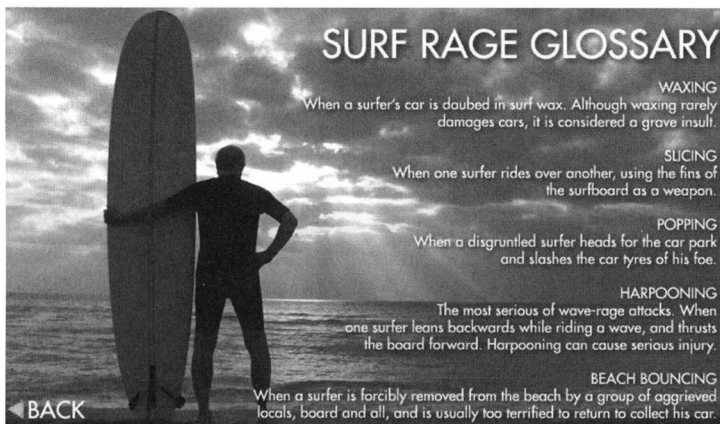
Plate 2   A glossary of aggressive localist techniques
Source: Rich (2006)

littoral space of the surf zone itself. However, these identities are not static in nature, in different times and in different places multiplicity in surf identity emerges. As surfers become part of the 'woof of human motion' (Appadurai 1990, 297), mobile experiences 'disembed' their identity from a sense of terrestrial attachment. When surfers 'go mobile', their co-ingredient 'surf–shore' identity dis-assembles, with a trans-local identity forming that is wholly associated to the littoral space of the surf zone. As this paper has argued, it would be tempting to suggest a dualistic relation between travelling surfers on one hand, and those who are wholly rooted to a home break on the other. However, in practice many surfers exhibit both 'local' and 'trans-local' aspects to their identity, depending upon where they are. Surfers therefore have multiple identities, and as both local and trans-local in nature, they illustrate the prevalence in late-modern society for a spatial division of identity.

The notion of spatial division of identity suggests that, as we move into different places with different discursive practices, new and often different versions of our identities are called forth. In the case of surfers, although they define themselves at home through a sense of 'surf–shore' place, mobility disrupts these relations and concomitant definitions. High-speed, often long-distance travel moves these individuals outside their normal world and rhythm, and into strange new worlds with different customs, surveillances, (im)mobility, cultures, time zones and languages etc. (see Edensor 2007; Pizam 1999; Reisinger and Turner 2003; Robinson 1999). Rather than engaging with these new places, they bring a trans-local culture with them that is narrowly defined around surfing practice. This culture in turn has negative effects on local surf–shore cultures, be they related to surfing or not.

Surfers therefore illustrate the changes experienced in identity dependent upon geographical location. As surfers move from one geographical location to another – or to put it more precisely, from one routed geographical location (their local surf–shore co-ingredience) to a trans-local node located within a mobile surfer space – they oscillate between being citizens of the surf–shore and the surf zone. This spatial division of identity demonstrates how individuals can practice often inconsistent identities that are 'joined together ... through powerful delineations of time–space' (Massey 1995, 285). These multiplicities are the 'complications', in the words of Kondo (1990, 220), of 'decentred, multiple selves, whose lives are shot through with contradictions and creative tensions'. While the 'path [all surfers] follow' remains fundamentally oriented around the (trans-local) principles of freedom to experience the littoral zone (alongside individualism, hedonism, risk and resistance to regulation), it also crucially includes the value and consideration for local

people, and local places. Whether these complications in surfer identity can be reconciled is an open question; however, the problems associated with them are not lost on many within the surfing community. There is a growing recognition by surfers that all aspects of the surfing identity should be reconciled by showing respect for both local surf breaks and their associated terrestrial cultures. In other words, both local and trans-local identities should value a specific break's surf–shore co-ingredience; as one surfer reflects:

> Check this out: If you look ... how home breaks affect the surfers who ride them, there's one common thread: they all care deeply about 'their' spot. They're all stewards, in other words, not because they think they should be, but because they have no choice. *And neither do we.* (Sanders no date, emphasis in original)

Thus the realisation is growing within the surfing community that, despite their spatial divisions in identity, surfers share an appreciation of and co-ingredience with the surfed wave, but this is nothing without the shore that supports it. It may be, as surf writer Barilotti suggests, too soon and

> too big a leap to ask [trans-local] surfers (a culture that honors the antihero maverick and treasures the bare-assing rebel) to adopt a socially-responsible attitude. (2002, 95)

However, the growing acknowledgement of the complications arising from the bi-elemental nature of surfing identity, and the concomitant responsibilities that go with it, suggest this might be possible. Such a move would mean that responsibility to both the land *and* the littoral offers the future for both local and trans-local surfing identities.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1 This stoke is almost universally felt, as the following anonymised commentaries by wave-riders in Wales outline:

> The feeling of being out on the waves; the rush of catching the wave and surfing; the whole sensation – it can be relaxing and adrenalin pumping all in the same session.
>
> Nothing else like it, I love it, It's better than sex. The feel good factor.
>
> Nothing feels better than catching a peachy wave.
>
> I have always loved the sea and love the thrill of surfing, the pleasure of the slide.

2 As Lategan (2011) testifies by graffitti-ing 'this is home' on his surfboard (see http://www.dailysurfvideos.com/videos/whats-it-like-to-surf-j-bay). (Accessed January 2012).

3 In Wales 62.7% of surfers positively responded to the question that they were active participants in a local community of surfers. Respondents suggested this community was built up both on the waves and on the beach, as well as in the car parks next to the surf, in surf shops, local cafes and bars.

4 What 'showing respect' and 'taking a back seat' in the water means in practice have been explored in more detail in Anderson (forthcoming). General surf etiquette, expected at all surf spots, is outlined in Plate 3.

5 In less exotic locations, these confrontational aspects of localism are also identifiable. Aberavon in South Wales is one such example:

> Aberavon has had bad localism problems, but I think this is needed, there were so many squidbrain surfers in the water who didn't have a clue. The locals keep them off the peak, they do their job well.

> I'm a local and what does my head in is when outsiders come and think they rock and start giving all the lip to us. (MG, 29 December 2006)

> Surfed here the other week on the main peak by the pier. I dropped in on a guy and made him fall off the wave he went nuts on me. It's a very stressful place to surf. You can't enjoy it as you get constant abuse from the locals. (SWS, 17 October 2005)

> Good beach on it's day, ... Getting really busy lately, especially the last 2 years. Same as everywhere, respect the locals and wait your turn to have an enjoyable session. ... There's a thing that's annoying me though. Non local surfers giving attitude in the car park e.g. staring. (LTAL, 28 January 2006)

> Aberavon, mmm I don't think ill be going back there any time soon. Not only did I receive verbal grief from several locals in the water but when I got out my windscreen had been waxed with a 'locals only' sign and my car keys had been removed from their normally safe hiding place and were never to be seen again. (GS, 11 September 2005) (all posted to BBC Aberavon Surf Site accessed March 2010).

References

Adey P 2010 *Aerial life* Routledge, London

Agnew J and Duncan J eds 1989 *The power of place: bringing together geographical and sociological imaginations* Unwin Hyman, London

Alderson A 2008 *Surf UK: The definitive guide to surfing in Britain* Wiley Nautical, Chichester

Altman I and Low S M eds 1992 *Place attachment* Plenum, New York

Anderson J 2004 The ties that bind? Self- and place-identity in environmental direct action *Ethics, Place and Environment* 7 45–58

Anderson J 2009 Transient convergence and relational sensibility: beyond the modern constitution of nature *Emotion, Space & Society* 2 120–7

Anderson J 2010 *Understanding cultural geography: places and traces* Routledge, London

Anderson J 2012a Relational places: the surfed wave as assemblage and convergence *Environment & Planning D Society & Space* 30 570–87

Anderson J 2012b Managing trade-offs in 'ecotopia': becoming green at the Centre for Alternative Technology *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37 212–25

Anderson J forthcoming Cathedrals of the surf zone: regulating access to a space of spirituality *Social and Cultural Geographies*

Anderson J and Peters K 2013 *Water worlds: human geographies of the ocean* Ashgate, Farnham

Anderson T 2007 *Riding the magic carpet: a surfer's odyssey to find the perfect wave* Summersdale, Chichester

Ando C 2012 The five pillars of Lakshadweep *Carve* 131 56–65

Appadurai A 1990 Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy *Theory, Culture & Society* 7 295–310

Appadurai A 1996 *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis MN

Bailey W 2012 Land of the long shadows *Carve* 131 46–55

Ballard M and McQueen D 2005 *Breaking points* (http://current.com/groups/vc2-on-tv/76422062_breaking-points-santa-cruz-localism.htm) Accessed June 2009

Banerjee S B 2011 Voices of the governed: towards a theory of the translocal *Organization* 18 323–44

Barilotti S 2002 Lost horizons: surf colonialism in the 21st century *Surfers Journal* 11 88–95

BBC 2010 *South West Wales Aberavon surf site* (http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/southwest/sites/surfing/pages/aberavons.html) Accessed March 2010

Beck U 1995 *Ecological politics in an age of risk* Polity Press, Cambridge

Booth D 1996 Surfing films and videos: adolescent fun, alternative lifestyle, adventure industry *Journal of Sport History* 23 313–27

Booth D 2001 Prom bikinis to boardshorts: wahines and the paradoxes of surfing culture *Journal of Sport History* 28 3–22

Boston P 2005 *Billabong odyssey* Revolver Entertainment, London

Brown B 1966 (1990 DVD) *The endless summer* Bruce Brown Films, Los Angeles CA

Brownley R 2010 *Cancer to Capricorn: the path of the modern gypsy* Reef Productions, London

Buckley R 2002 Surf tourism and sustainable development in Indo-Pacific Islands I: the industry and the islands *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 10 405–24

Calhoun C 1991 Indirect relationships and imagined communities: large-scale social integration and the transformation of everyday life in **Bourdieu P and Coleman J** eds *Social theory for a changing society* Westview, Boulder CO 95–121

Capp F 2004 *That oceanic feeling* Aurum, London

Casey E 2000 *Remembering: a phenomenological study* Indiana University Press, Bloomington IN

Casey E 2001 Between geography and philosophy: what does it mean to be in the place-world? *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 914 683–93

Cloke P, Crang P and Goodwin M eds 2005 *Introducing human geographies* Hodder Arnold, London

Coleman S and Crang M 2002 Grounded tourists travelling theory in **Coleman S and Crang M** eds *Tourism: between place and performance* Berghahn Books, New York 1–17

Conroy J 2009 *Waveriders* Inis Films and Besom Productions Element Pictures, Dublin

Crang M and Travlou P 2001 The city and topologies of memory *Environment & Planning D: Society & Space* 19 161–77

Cresswell T 2004 *Place: a short introduction* Blackwell, Oxford

Csikszentmihalyi M 1990 *Flow: the psychology of optimal experience* Harper and Row, New York

Daskalos C 2007 Locals only! The impact of modernity on a local surfing context *Sociological Perspectives* 501 155–73

Delanda M 2006 *A new philosophy of society: assemblage theory and social complexity* Continuum, London

Dovey K 2010 *Becoming places: urbanism/architecture/identity/power* Routledge, Abingdon

Duane D 1996 *Caught inside: a surfer's year on the Californian coast* North Point Press, New York

Edensor T 2007 Mundane mobilities performances and spaces of tourism *Social & Cultural Geography* 8 199–215

Evers C 2006 How to surf *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 30 229–43

Evers C 2007 Locals only! *Everyday multiculturalism: conference proceedings* Centre for Research on Social Inclusion 1–9

Evers C 2009 'The Point': surfing, geography and a sensual life of men and masculinity on the Gold Coast, Australia *Social & Cultural Geography* 10 893–908

Featherstone M 1995 *Undoing culture* Sage, London

Ford N and Brown D 2006 *Surfing and social theory: experience, embodiment and narrative of the dream glide* Routledge, New York

Fordham M 2008 *The book of surfing: the killer guide* Bantam Press, London

Giddens A 1991 *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age* Polity, Cambridge

Gustafson P 2001 Roots and routes – exploring the relationship between place, attachment and mobility *Environment & Behavior* 33 667–86

Halbwachs M 1992 *On collective memory* University of Chicago Press, Chicago IL

Hannam K, Sheller M and Urry J 2006 Editorial: Mobilities, immobilities and moorings *Mobilities* 1 1–22

Hannerz U 1996 *Transnational connections: culture people places* Routledge, London

Heimtun B 2007 Depathologizing the tourist syndrome: tourism as social capital production *Tourist Studies* 7 271–93

Hill L and Abbott J A 2009 Surfacing tension: toward a political ecological critique of surfing representations *Geography Compass* 3 275–96

Hillier J 2001 Imagined value: the poetics and politics of place in Madanipour A, Hull A and Healey P eds *The Governance of Place* Ashgate, Aldershot 73–106

Holloway L and Hubbard P 2001 *People and Place: The Extraordinary Geographies of Everyday Life* Prentice Hall, New York

Howdle C 2008 Mar del Plata: catching the spirit of surfing *Drift* 5 May 38–47

Jackson P, Crang P and Dwyer C 2004 Introduction in Jackson P, Crang P and Dwyer C eds *Transnational spaces* Routledge, London 1–23

Jameson F 1991 *Postmodernism or the cultural logic of late capitalism* Verso, London

Kampion D 2004 *The lost coast* Gibbs-Smith, Salt Lake City UT

Kondo D 1990 *Crafting selves: power, gender and discourses of identity in a Japanese workplace* University of Chicago Press, Chicago IL

Lambert D, Martins L and Ogborn M 2006 Currents visions and voyages: historical geographies of the sea *Journal of Historical Geography* 32 479–93

Lategan D 2011 What's it like to surf J-Bay Daily Surf Videos (http://www.dailysurfvideos.com/videos/whats-it-like-to-surf-j-bay) Accessed June 2011

Lewis 2009 *The new localism. Postsurf unfiltered thoughts on surf culture* (http://postsurf.com/2009/04/01/newlocalism/) 1 April Accessed June 2009

Longhurst R 2001 *Bodies. Exploring fluid boundaries* Routledge, London

Mandaville P 1999 Territory and translocality: discrepant idioms of political identity *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* 283 653–73

Massey D 1995 Thinking radical democracy spatially *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13 283–8

Maxey I 1999 Beyond boundaries? Activism academia reflexivity and research *Area* 31 199–208

McFarlane C 2009 Translocal assemblages: space, power and social movements *Geoforum* 40 561–7

McHugh P 2003 Surfing's scary wave 'Localism' intensifying at ocean breaks *Chronicle Outdoors Writer* 15 May (http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/articlecgi?file=/chronicle/archive/2003/05/15/SP97503DTL) Accessed May 2010

Midol N 1993 Cultural dissents and technical innovations in the 'whiz' sports *International Review for Sociology of Sport* 28 23–32

Mills M 2011 *What makes one a local?* (http://www.flipflopscity.com/blog/what-makes-one-a-local/31 May) Accessed June 2011

Nazer D 2004 The tragicomedy of the surfers' commons *Deakin Law Review* 9 655–713

Nelson C and Taylor D 2008 *Surfing Britain* Footprint, London

Ouhilal Y 2011 Utopia: a place that cannot be *Carve* 123 May 88–97

Peters K 2010 Future promises for contemporary social and cultural geographies of the sea *Geography Compass* 4 1260–72

Pizam A 1999 Cross-cultural tourist behavior in Pizam A and Mansfeld Y eds *Consumer behavior in travel and tourism* Haworth Hospitality Press, New York 393–412

Ponting J, McDonald M and Wearing S 2005 Deconstructing wonderland: surfing tourism in the Mentawai Islands *Indonesia Society & Leisure* 28 141–62

Preston C 2003 *Grounding knowledge: environmental philosophy, epistemology and place* The University of Georgia Press, Athens GA

Preston-Whyte R 2002 Constructions of surfing space at Durban, South Africa *Tourism Geographies* 4 307–28

Raban J 1999 *Passage to Juneau: a sea and its meanings* Picador, London

Reisinger Y and Turner L 2003 *Cross-cultural behaviour in tourism: concepts and analysis* Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford

Relph E 1976 *Place and placelessness* Pion, London

Rinehart R and Sydnor S eds 2003 *To the extreme: alternative sports inside and out* State University of New York Press, Albany NY

Robinson M 1999 Cultural conflicts in tourism: inevitability and inequality in Robinson M and Boniface P eds *Tourism and cultural conflicts* CAB International, Wallingford 1–32

Said E W 1979 *Orientalism* Vintage Books, New York

Sanders M no date *Localism: not just for idiots anymore?* Groundswell Society (http://www.groundswellsociety.org/events/SASIC/pdf/SASIC%201%20-%20Localism%20by%20Marcus%20Sanders.pdf) Accessed June 2009

Sassen S 1996 *Losing control: sovereignty in an age of globalization* Columbia University Press, New York

Sassen S 2006 *Territory, authority, rights: from medieval to global assemblages* Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ

Scheibel D 1995 Making waves with Burke: surf, Nazi culture and the rhetoric of localism *Western Journal of Communication* 59 253–69

Scott P 2003 We shall fight on the seas and the oceans ... we shall: commodification, localism and violence *M/C Journal* 62 (http://journal.media-culture.org.au/ 0302/05-weshall-fight.php) Accessed 11 September 2006

Seamon D and Mugerauer R eds 1985 *Dwelling, place and environment: toward a phenomenology of person and world* Kluwer, Malabar FL

Sheller M and Urry J 2004 Places to play places in play in **Sheller M and Urry J** eds *Tourism mobilities: places to play, places in play* Routledge, London 1–10

Sheller M and Urry J 2006 The new mobilities paradigm *Environment and Planning A* 38 207–26

Sherowski J 2004 Notes from the down-underground *Transworld Snowboarding* April 106–17

Shields R 1991 *Places on the margin: alternative geographies of modernity* Routledge, London

Shields R 2004 Surfing: global space or dwelling the waves? in **Sheller M and Urry J** eds *Tourism mobilities: places to play, places in play* Routledge, London 44–51

Sibley D 1995 *Geographies of exclusion* Routledge, London

Stebbins R 1997 Lifestyle as a generic concept in ethnographic research *Quality and Quantity* 31 347–60

Steinberg P 2001 *The social construction of the ocean* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Stranger M 1999 The aesthetics of risk: a study of surfing *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 34 265–76

Stranger M 2011 *This surfing life. Surface substructure and the commodification of the sublime* Ashgate, Farnham

Surfline no date *Bra boys on localism* (http://www.surfline.com/video/webisodes/bra-boys-on-localism_11560) Accessed June 2009

Taylor K 2005 *Returned to water. Surf stories and adventures* Dimdim, San Diego CA

Thorpe H 2012 Transnational mobilities in snowboarding culture: travel, tourism and lifestyle migration *Mobilities* 7 317–45

Tilley C 1994 *A phenomenology of landscape: places, paths and monuments* Berg, Oxford

Toffler A 1980 *The third wave* Bantam, New York

Tomlinson A, Ravenscroft N, Wheaton B and Gilchrist P 2005 *Lifestyle sports and national sport policy: an agenda for research* University of Brighton, Brighton

Tomlinson J 2001 *Extreme sports: the illustrated guide to maximum adrenaline thrills* Carlton Books, London

Tuan Y-F 1977 *Space and place: the perspective of experience* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis MN

Van Bottenburg M and Salome L 2010 The indoorisation of outdoor sports: an exploration of the rise of lifestyle sports in artificial settings *Leisure Studies* 29 143–60

Warshaw M ed 2004 *Zero break: an illustrated collection of surf writing 1777–2004* Harcourt, Orlando FL

Webb J 2000 *Beaches and bodies* (http://www.people.brunel.ac.uk/bst/documents/jenwebb.doc) Accessed May 2012

Weisbecker A 2001 *The search for captain zero* Tarcher, Los Angeles CA

Wheaton B 2004 Introduction: Mapping the lifestyle sport-scape in **Wheaton B** ed *Understanding lifestyle sports: consumption, identity and difference* Routledge, London 1–28

Winton T 2008 *Breath* Picador, London