

Volume 36
issue 2 / 2017

Contracampo e-ISSN 2238-2577
Niterói (RJ), 36 (2)
aug/2017-nov/2017

Contracampo – Brazilian Journal of Communication is a quarterly publication of the Graduate Programme in Communication Studies (PPGCOM) at Fluminense Federal University (UFF). It aims to contribute to critical reflection within the field of Media Studies, being a space for dissemination of research and scientific thought.

Coverage of the Amateur World Surfing Championship (1978-1990)

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TO REFERENCE THIS ARTICLE, PLEASE USE THE FOLLOWING CITATION:

Fortes, R. (2017) Coverage of the Amateur World Surfing Championship (1978-1990). *Contracampo – Brazilian Journal of Communication*, 36 (2).

Submitted on 28 April 2017 / Accepted on 22 June 2017

DOI – <http://dx.doi.org/10.22409/contracampo.v36i2.955>

Abstract¹

This article analyzes editions of the *Surfing* magazine, between 1978 and 1990, with two objectives. Firstly, to outline the coverage of the amateur surfing world championships from 1978 to 1990. Secondly, to examine the coverage of South Africa's participation in 1978 and non-participation between 1980 and 1990. The corpus is formed of editions of the magazine published in the indicated period. The methodology follows the procedures suggested by Luca (2005) for historical research that has printed documents as its source and object, combined with the perspective defended by Booth (2008). As for the first objective, the coverages emphasize the effectively competitive aspects, such as the performance of the athletes and teams, especially from the USA. With regard to the second objective, in most cases, the absence of South Africa was silenced.

Keywords

Sport; Media; Magazine; Boycott; United States of America.

¹ This article is an extended and revised version of a communication presented at the XXXIX Brazilian Congress of Communication Sciences. The work was carried out with the support of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) and includes postdoctoral research carried out in the History Department of the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), in the United States. *Surfing* issues were collected from the Special Collections and University Archives of San Diego State University (SDSU) and from the California Surf Museum.

Introduction

In 1978, the city of East London in South Africa hosted the Amateur World Surfing Championship. The trajectory until the event was difficult: there had not been a championship of the genre since 1972 and the entity responsible for the previous ones, the International Surfing Federation (ISF), had stopped operating.² The resumption of the world championships included active participation of Basil Lomborg, a South African leader who led the movement to create a new body to oversee international amateur surfing, adding national confederations, and organizing the competition. (Holmes, 1981, p. 62) Except for the Australian team's boycott, the competition went apparently smoothly.

In the international sports scenario, South Africa was away from most competitions in the late 1970s, as a result of a boycott³ by national governments and sports organizations, which peaked in the 1980s. The country had been expelled from the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1970, having made their last participation in the Olympic Games in 1960 (Booth, 1998).

This article is part of a research project aiming to analyze the representations built in US surfing magazines regarding the relationship between the sport modality and the boycott to South Africa. It is based on the premise that surfing occupied a very peculiar space in relation to the international boycott, as between the creation of the World Professional Circuit in 1976 and the suspension of the boycott by most of the international sports organizations in 1991, there was at least one grand prix in the country every year and the participation of South-African athletes was constant.

The focus of this article in the amateur scope is explained by the scarcity of investigations in this respect. Among the surveys that address surfing magazines in the period, none is dedicated to the topic. Even in the rare works dealing with surfing and the sporting boycott of the country, little (Thompson, 2015) or very little (Laderman, 2014) emphasis is given to amateur surfing and world class championships.

The first objective of this article is to outline the coverage of the amateur world championships in *Surfing* magazine from 1978 to 1990. The second one is to

² I do not know about the existence of papers that describe and analyze the decline of the ISF. Warsaw credits the ISF's dismantling after the 1972 championship to a set of factors, including a lack of cash prizes and lack of interest in the event. International Surfing Federation (ISF). (Warsaw, 2003, p. 291-2).

³ By "Boycott", we refer to a set of measures, which include pressures for non-participation of South African athletes and teams in overseas competitions and/or for events in the country not to be carried out. In many cases, such pressures included threats of non-attendance by countries or blocks of countries, if a particular event had the participation of a delegation representing South Africa.

analyze the coverage of South Africa's participation in 1978 and the non-participation from 1980 to 1990.

To do so, it analyzes a *corpus* consisting of all editions of the journal published in the indicated period. From the methodological point of view, the description and analysis follow the procedures suggested by Luca (2005) for the historical investigation that has print media as its source and object. The analytical perspective approaches that advocated by Booth (2008), "a bottom-up analytic approach [that is, from the sources], which considers the magazine in its own terms", articulating it with the context in which it is produced and circulates (p. 20).

Created in 1964 with the name *International Surfing*, *Surfing* "emerged from a bunch of surf magazines headquartered in Southern California in the early and mid-1960s" to become, in the following decade, one of the two that dominated the US market between that period and the present time – being *Surfer* the other one. It began as bimonthly and sometimes changed its profile, owner and headquarters throughout the 1960s and 1970s. In addition to the American market, where it had a wide circulation, it has established itself as one of the top three surfing publications in the world. It circulated on all continents and had worldwide influence. The newsstand sale of its copies, and the mere possibility of its arrival, created expectations in several locations, including Brazilian cities, such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Fortes, 2011; Brandão, 2014, p. 52). It stopped circulating in early 2017. In 2001, after acquisitions involving editorial groups that bought each other, *Surfing* became the property of the same company (Primedia) that published its main competitor, *Surfer*; "In 2013, *Surfing*, *Surfer* and *TransWorld Surf*, the three largest magazines in the sport, became property of the same company, Source Interlink Media". Columnists (such as Drew Kampion and Nick Carroll) and photographers (such as Don James and Dan Merkel) who became references in the surf⁴ subculture were part of the magazine. It had texts, columns and reports written by professional surfers, some of whom, like Peter Townend and South African Michael Tomson, became part of the editorial team.

Surfing was considered as apolitical, which is another reason why we chose the magazine as an empirical object, as will be seen later in the article. In addition, it presented itself as "the best in serious coverage of professional championships" and "the reliable source of what is going on in the dynamic world of professional surfing", which was its focus. Nevertheless, in October 1980, the publication affirmed a commitment to amateur surfing:

⁴ Same as above. I refer to surfing as a subculture in the terms defined by Fortes (2011).

1964 was a stellar year for the surfing world. Not only did that year witness the first issue of SURFING Magazine published, but the World Amateur Surfing Championships also held their inaugural contest. SURFING Magazine has been an advocate of amateur surfing since the beginning, and this year is no different, as the 8th World Surfing Championships get underway (...). (Surfing, 1980, p. 27)

In fact, it dedicated space to this area of surfing: it regularly profiled young surfers and published the results of competitions. However, with regard to photos, the most valued element of surfing magazines, relatively few were amateur surfers (and the age group that prevails in competitions in the category: under 20 years). Regardless of the space dedicated to non-professional competitors, the valorization of the event concerned appears at various times, as in this 1988 editorial: "(...) amateur surfing's biennial World Championships have always been considered one of the sport's most spectacular events." (Varnes, 1988, p. 48). The praise and relevance attributed to the event constitute a third factor that justifies the focus on the publication in this article.

The World Surfing Championship was an event "held in different locations around the world between 1964 and 1994 (...)". From 1964 to 1972, it was the most important of the sport, having been organized by the ISF⁵ and admitted the participation of professional athletes⁶. After a *hiatus* during the 1970s, a new entity, the International Surfing Association (ISA) was formed in 1976, taking the place of the ISF, to provide a more consistent structure of World Championships". Still according to the Encyclopedia of Surfing, it was officially named the Amateur World Surfing Championship from 1978 to 1994 to make the distinction in relation to the world professional circuit founded in 1976 clear".⁷ Resumed with a small-scale event in 1978, "The championship grew in the years to come, and in 1988, surfers competed in the men's, junior, women's, longboard, bodyboard and kneeboard divisions as well as the overall team score" (Warshaw, 2003, p. 710-11).

The Amateur World Championship seeks to get closer to the Olympic events. There are opening and closing ceremonies, in which delegations parade with an athlete ahead carrying the flag of the country. The event was part of ISA's efforts

⁵ Except by the one from 1964. Same as above.

⁶ The concept of professional is as important as it is little discussed and problematized in sports studies in Brazil (except for some works on soccer in the first four decades of the twentieth century). I refer here to the participation of surfers who received cash prizes in other championships and/or had some form of sponsorship or financial aid. The World Championship did not distribute cash prizes, but medals and trophies.

⁷ According to Warshaw (2003), "the Amateur World Surfing Championship was replaced in 1996 by the World Surfing Games." World Surfing Championships. In: Warshaw, 2003, p. 710-11.

to show that the sport is present in many countries on different continents – a complicated task, considering little or no penetration during the 20th century in most countries in Africa, Asia and Europe. “ISA became a member of the General Assembly of International Sports Federations in 1987, making it one step closer to the approval of the Olympic Games by the International Olympic Committee”. In 1995, it was recognized by the IOC as the governing body of wave sports.⁸

In surf magazines and movies, as well as in books written by surfers and/or journalists, references to the winners until 1972 are common as simply “world champions”, without such adjectives as *amateurs*, which was adopted in 1978. For a surfing journalist, the event was especially relevant for the opportunity to bring together people involved in the sport in different countries to exchange information – a difficult task until the mid-1990s, before the rise of the internet. (Holmes, 1981, p. 62)

Having made this brief presentation of *Surfing* and the Amateur World Championship, I will analyze the coverage from 1978 to 1990.

The World Surfing Amateur Championships in *Surfing*

As indicated in the opening paragraph, Basil Lomborg, president of the South African Surfriders’ Association (SASA), was an important articulator for the ISA foundation and the resumption of the amateur worldwide (Thompson, 2015, page 110). This is one of the evidences of how competitive surfing distanced itself from the position of most sports entities in the face of the boycott. While in other modalities the South African confederations and their representatives were banned, suspended or expelled, in surf not only the championship would be held in the country, but also it is the president of SASA who articulates the creation of the entity and is elected president, holding the position for four years (1976-1980). During the period, South Africa also hosted the ISA, according to the determination that “the headquarters office of the organization would be located in the country of the one who was fulfilling the mandate as ISA president”.⁹

⁸ 50th Anniversary ISA History, ISASurf.org, [s.d.]. Retrieved June 28, 2016, from: <<https://www.isasurf.org/isa-info/history-of-the-isa>>. In 1988, a note stated that “(...) the sport (...) has a great chance of being part of the 1996 Olympics.” (Varnes, Mitch. Puerto Rican to Head ISA in Surfing, 1988, p. 85). In August 2016, the IOC announced surfing and skateboarding among the five modalities included in the 2020 Olympic Games scheduled for Tokyo. Retrieved August 28, 2016, from: <<https://www.olympic.org/news/ioc-approves-five-new-sports-for-olympic-games-tokyo-2020>>.

⁹ I do not know sources or surveys that explain such a measure. I believe that, given the scarcity of resources, the most practical (and perhaps the only viable) solution has been a rotation between federations, the president and the local (national) entity, accumulating the infrastructure, tasks and costs of maintaining ISA in operation. This is an issue to be investigated. (International Surfing Association (ISA). In: Warsaw, 2003, p.291).

In the October 1978 edition, a note stated that "there will be at least five countries represented in the 7th Amateur World Surfing Championship", scheduled to take place from 3 to 24 of July in Nahoon Reef (South Africa), and the note congratulates those chosen to represent the USA. Different sources point to the limitations of the 1978 competition. According to the Encyclopedia of Surfing, "six countries competed in a small, one-day World Surfing Championship". The high price of air tickets from several countries¹⁰ to South Africa and the fact that the country is the headquarter (considering the antiapartheid international joints) probably made it difficult for athletes and teams to attend. However, I do not know about any sources or pieces of research about it.

From an organizational point of view, an international federation was virtually re-founded in a tumultuous moment in the professional surfing scene, in which the new International Professional Surfers (IPS) circuit faced resistance and divergence (Booth, 2001, pages 127-132). There was concern about how respondents would respond with professionalism. According to the text of one of the main leaders of IPS, a point of reference for the first assembly of the organization was "to distinguish and separate professionals and amateurs", and the latter could "compete in the 7th Amateur World Championship, recognized by ISA, planned for South Africa". The article added that "IPS CEO Fred Hemmings had said: "IPS's board is committed to the recognition of a strong amateur association. We support 100% the newly formed ISA".¹¹

From what can be seen, ISA leaders consulted those of IPS, with at least two purposes: to establish criteria that separated the two spheres of the sport; and to get support from the organizers of the professional circuit, which at that moment gained strength and visibility. The prognosis for 1977 was optimistic:

With professional surfing entering the 1977 circuit with a prize pool well over US\$ 100,000 and amateurs glimpsing the prestige of the World Championship, surf is moving forward at an impressive pace. The general public can now give the professional surfer the acclaim deserved by any sportsperson with a similar status.¹²

¹⁰ As will be seen, at the time the top teams were Australia, the United States and Hawaii - all located thousands of miles from South Africa.

¹¹ "(...) distinct separation of professionals and amateurs (...). (...) to compete in the ISA-sanctioned 7th Amateur World Surfing Championships scheduled for South Africa (...). Executive director of the IPS, Mr. Fred Hemmings said 'The board of directors is committed to the recognition of a strong amateur association. We are 100% behind the newly-formed ISA'." RARICK, Randy. IPS REPORT. Surfing, v. 13, No. 3, Jun.-Jul. 1977, page 21.

¹² "With professional surfing entering the 1977 circuit with well over \$100,000 in prize money and the amateurs looking forward to the prestige of the World Championships, surfing is moving ahead at a tremendous pace. The general public is now in a position to acknowledge the professional surfer the acclaim due any sportsman of similar status." Same as above.

During the postdoctoral research period in California, I contacted ISA, interested in documents (such as drafts and minutes of meetings and letters exchanged with federations) that dealt with the discussion surrounding the boycott and participation of SASA and/or teams and athletes representing it. I said that South Africa had not competed in the period indicated because of the boycott, and that I was interested in sources concerning the disputes and negotiations that led to the final decision in each World Championship. Here is the answer: "Based on the information I have, I cannot conclude that South Africa did not compete because of apartheid. Many countries cannot send a team, as there are simply no resources. Unfortunately, there are in fact no documents to support or deny such claims".¹³

According to ISA, information on the participation of the South African team at the World Championships from 1978 to 1990 is as follows:

Year	South Africa Participation	Headquarter
1978	Champion	South Africa
1982	Did not compete	Australia
1984	Results not available	California
1986	Did not compete	England
1988	Did not compete	Puerto Rico
1990	Did not compete	Japan

Source: ISA.¹⁴

Two observations on these data: a) The entity list skips the 1980 championship, held in France¹⁵; b) There is no record of the 1984 results, whose championship was held in Southern California, where the entity's headquarters is located today. I did not get information or explanations about these gaps, nor do I know the date when the ISA was definitively established in the state (and if it is in the same head office and in La Jolla since then). The itinerant headquarters system has probably contributed to spreading and hampering access to the documentation.

The coverage of the 1978 World Championship was restricted to a third of a page in a cross-section. Under the title " World Contest Relunched. " (Surfing,

¹³ Emails exchanged between 5/16/2016 and 5/18/2016 with Evan Quarnstrom, Media and Marketing coordinator of ISA, whom I thank for the information.

¹⁴ Source: emails exchanged between 5/16/2016 and 5/18/2016 with Evan Quarnstrom, Media and Marketing coordinator for ISA.

¹⁵ In the list of world champions available on the site of the entity appear the individual winners of 1980 and other years. However, there is no result for teams. Retrieved June 2, 2016, from: <<https://www.isasurf.org/isa-world-champions>>.

1979, p. 31), it addressed the performance of some athletes, holding a junior championship apart and the results of both. It reported that the individual winner was a South African, but not that the country also won the team title.

According to the text, there were “ representatives from every major surfing nation (except Australia, who withdrew because of political considerations)” (idem). In addition to the host country, I identified the participation of USA, Puerto Rico and France.¹⁶

On one hand, the Australian absence is mentioned, although without specifying the reason or mentioning the words boycott and apartheid. On the other hand, the claim that it was the only strong team not to appear could suggest that the championship had quality and representative contenders and was, thereby, relevant. In any case, the focus of the short text is in the competitive field; politics appears as passing, to justify a remarkable absence. The prevailing view is that of the sports field as something distinct and separate from the political field.

Subsequent evaluations of the event vary. The Encyclopedia of Surfing states that it “was barely noticed: only 48 surfers from six countries competed in a (...) one-day and exclusively male championship, and apartheid policies prevented Australia from sending a team”. Thompson (2015) states that the Australian team boycotted the event due to apartheid, but presents a distinct assessment: “Although the 1978 World Championship was the last international competition organized by ISA in which South Africans participated until 1994, the government of South Africa used this event to illustrate the international sporting competitiveness of the country (page 111). He continues:

Following the 1978 World Championship, the Sports Department awarded another South African surfing awards in 1979: Anthony Brodowicz's State President's Sport Award for 1978 for surf-riding and Basil Lomborg, president of SASA, received the South African Sports Merits Awards of 1979, an award for sports leaders (Thompson, 2015, page 112).

The awarded ones were, respectively, the winner and organizer of the World Championship. The state body had already awarded prizes to professional surfer Shaun Tomson in 1977. According to him, “In South Africa, we have always been considered professional athletes, luckily by avoiding the stereotypes surrounding surfers here in the United States” (Tomson & Moser, 2006, p. 13). Certainly, state support integrated and fostered such recognition. According to Thompson (2015), the Department of Sport's annual reports cited surfing as an example of South Africa having international “friends” and good sports performance (p. 112).

¹⁶ The mention of the presence of “all large nations” indicates that Hawaii also attended.

That is, surfing was used in state documents as an instrument to minimize both the boycott and the effects of it – an example of explicit use of sport for political purposes, and also of close relations between the fields. The 1978 championship was politically mobilized by the South African government: state investments in surfing were part of a political project; however, such a relationship and the impetus and legitimacy that it gave to the modality in the country are not considered by *Surfing* as an intrusion of the sport politics. Although the championship was due in large part to the personal initiative of a sports manager, a “world” event was held in the country in mid-1978, when the sports boycott was already rather disseminated, and *Surfing* did not consider it as a political fact.

One of the aspects that give relevance to the coverages of the amateur world championships is that they are one of the few moments in which the role of South African leaders in the command and articulation of the international surfing appears. The main occasion occurred in 1980, following the recent death of Basil Lomberg:

The kiss of life that resurrected the World Contest in 1978 was largely a result of the efforts and vision of one man – Basil Lamberg of South Africa – who devoted vast amounts of personal time and expense to reunite the national surfing bodies that had once made up the International Surfing Federation. The new amateur world body, the International Surfing Association, had the express purpose of providing amateur surfers with a supreme aim – the World Championship title.

Basil Lamberg died suddenly and unexpectedly last year, and his passing was a sad and serious blow to the world amateur body he had wholeheartedly supported and nurtured. Nevertheless, his efforts laid the groundwork for the continuation of the World Contest. So it was that the World Contest took place in France this year under the direction of the French Surfing Federation. (Holmes, 1981, p. 62).

I highlight three points in this quote. First, although the text does not inform it, as already said, there was no World Championship after 1972. According to the journalist, the personal commitment of the leader had been essential for organizing a new entity to govern amateur sports. Lomberg’s responsibilities help explain why the 1978 championship was held in South Africa and, secondly, for what reason the complimentary tone is often found in the press - not just sports - when some public figure or leadership dies. Third, the textual construction that presents the 1980 competition, object of reporting, is a further direct development of Lomberg’s work. The resource allows both a tribute to the leader and a brief contextualization of the resumption of the event, something recent and whose feasibility of repetition at regular intervals was still uncertain.

The article continues addressing the championship itself:

While the event enjoyed good waves for the most part, was located in a magnificent surfing environment (at the prime time of year), and produced a world champion in a sequence of adequately judged rounds, it could not be said that the contest ran without its share of controversy and problems. (Holmes, 1981, p. 62).

About "controversy and problems", the excerpt, the next two paragraphs and the one that closes the story use generic terms ("Shortcomings"(Holmes, 1981, p. 63)., "organizational incongruities" (idem), and "failures" (idem, p. 64)) without making it clear what problems exactly occurred and who was affected by them. The text states that the judgment had been well performed for most of the time, something significant, as the complaints (from surfers, but also of managers, technicians, sponsors, businessmen, reporters etc.) were common at the time as to the results of the batteries, amateur and professional surfing. A number of factors - not to be explored here - provoked such a situation.

Were the "controversies" related to the absence of South Africa? It is hard to know. The country had hosted the previous event and won the title. That is, the champion was unable to defend the title, the World Championship was held without the presence of an important country, and shortly after the death of a crucial leadership to reactivate the championship. It is immediately after highlighting the role of Lomborg that the text speaks of "controversy and problems" without making explicit what it is about. Only an analysis of the productive routines could allow to know if such vagueness results from what was written by the reporter and/or the editing process, as well as the reasons for such.

Before each World Championship, there were debates, controversies and threats in the negotiations between the national associations regarding the participation of some of them, depending on the prospect of South African presence or not. In fact, such negotiations and skirmishes preceded much of the events that ended up excluding South African participation, which shows that adherence to the boycott was far from consensual and stable among national governments and, even more, entre the sports leaders. Researches such as those of Nauright (1997) and Booth (1998) include dozens of examples, in different modalities.

According to Thompson (2015), the Dutch federation threatened to boycott the event if South Africa participated (page 112). The British and Irish counterparts, for their part, assured that they would appear even if their national governments, which advocated boycotting, cut the money to pay for the trip.¹⁷ The French federation hesitated in the months before the event, in doubt as to what

¹⁷ In the results, Surfing listed only the first three places, which does not allow to know if Holland and Ireland appeared. England participated, as a legend of page 63 (apparently the magazine used England as a synonymous with Great Britain).

position to take. In the end, the French government refused to issue visas for South African athletes to travel and compete. In a decision that came not from the surfing organizations, but from the French state, the South African amateur team suffered for the first time the effects of the boycott.

Also according to Thompson (2015), during the World Championship, Tim Millward, then president of SASA, was elected one of the ISA vice presidents, and wrote that the association had no problems with South Africa - the cause of absence had been the French government. Baron Stander (secretary of the Christmas Surfing Association), who traveled to the competition, stated in a text to Zigzag (South African surf magazine) that the ISA had approved a resolution determining that, for a country to host the World Championship, South Africans should be allowed by it to compete.¹⁸ If it did not do so, the headquarter would be changed. Surfing neither mentioned the subject nor the absence of the South African team - a significant one, for the reasons given and by Lombert's praise at the beginning of the report.

The coverage of the 1982 championship, held in Australia, occupied a third page, just like that from 1978. (Sharp , 1982, p. 28) The article presents as a "everyone's concern" whether the US would retain the title and whether Tom Curren would prove to be the best amateur of the world - in the sequence, informs that he had disputed the Junior and Open categories, winning the last one. It gives prominence to the US team, which was the author - fourth placed in the end of the kneeboard -¹⁹, which, in part, perhaps explains the emphasis on the country's selection. The loss of the title²⁰, besides revealing the expectation of victory, is credited to the decision of the United States Surfing Federation (USSF) to take two surfers of each association that composed it, and not a selection with the best, regardless of the region of origin. The focus of most of the text is the beaches, the waves and the final batteries of each category, with the respective results.

Following the criteria of participation in the international competitive surf, the article and the table with the results treat Hawaii as a separate team from the USA. There was sometimes intense rivalry between them, as in 1984, when members were on the verge of fighting in the sand during the third stage. According to the text, this is due to the attitude of Hawaiians who, with no chance

¹⁸ This is the only reference to such a decision I have found so far. This evidence suggests the source of information and questions that may arise from the access, in the future, to the documentation of the federations.

¹⁹ Sharp was not on project, but would do it eight months later as an intern. In 1985, he was the associate editor, the second position in the writing hierarchy. At the end of the decade, he became editor of magazine. Surfing, v. 19, No. 10, Oct. 1983. Surfing, v. 21, No. 4, Abr. 1985. Sharp, Bill. Encyclopedia of Surfing. Retrieved June 16, 2016, from: <<http://encyclopediaofsurfing.com/entries/sharp-bill>>.

²⁰ The text hints that Australia won by teams, although it did not say that clearly. Consultation with other sources shows host country as champion.

of winning the title by teams, began to persecute the Americans during the batteries. (Carter, 1984, p. 72) In professional surfing, Hawaiian athletes compete as such (and not as Americans). In amateur surfing, the Hawaiian Surfing Association (HSA) is one of the regional entities that constitute the USSF, whose competitions the athletes participate in. However, when it comes to international events under the auspices of the ISA, Hawaii sends an independent team. The championships also had participation of Puerto Rico; "France B" (idem); "Continental USA", "USA Hawaii", Tahiti, French Isles and France.⁴⁹

The changing national representations, which vary according to the sporting modality and the type of competition, are a subject little explored in the studies of the sport.²¹ Specific surveys on competitions such as the Amateur World Championships could also problematize the classification of sports as individual or collective, naturalized in many scientific works. Although it is customary to put surfing among the first, the Championship is played by teams, each representing a nation (in fact, the same goes for competitions of other modalities considered individual, such as swimming).

As for South Africa, according to Thompson (2015), the Australian Surfing Association (ASA), responsible for the organization, "excluded the South African amateur team from the 1982 World Surfing Championships held in Brisbane (...)" (page 144). Once again, South African non-participation was silenced in Surfing coverage.

The coverage of 1984 was the most critical one in relation to the championship itself and to the organizers, and the most extensive one. The World Championship was held in Southern California, at Oceanside, Ventura and Huntington Beach, located approximately 40, 200 and 75 kilometers from San Clemente, where the Surfing newsroom was located.²² Occurred in beaches and cities usually object of attention of Surfing, and organized by leaders and entities belonging to the network of contacts of the magazine, the championship received a lot of attention.

The article begins by explaining the proposal for the World Championship to be played concurrently with the Los Angeles Olympic Games, to present the surf to the IOC leaders and persuade them to accept it at the Olympics (Carter, 1984, p.

²¹ Sporadically there was debate around the subject in Surfing, almost always through letters of readers. For example: Surfing, v. 23, No. 4, Apr. 1987, page 24, 29. The coverage of the 1988 World Championship referred to "Hawaiians, who for some reason still do not consider themselves part of the US"; the fact that the Puerto Ricans competed separately from the US was naturalized (without similar questioning). (Varnes, 1988, p. 203).

²² Surfing, v. 20, No. 1, page 25. Oceanside Pier is approximately 40 km from the center of San Clemente. The beaches of the town of Ventura, about 200km. And Huntington Beach, approximately 75km. Source: Estimates made by me from California coast maps and Google Maps site tools. The main highways that currently cover the Californian coast were already in operation in the 1980s.

68). However, this possibility of advancement quickly disappears from the text, which goes on to describe various organizational problems: the work of Ian Cairns, a manager hired to organize the event had been under all expectations; his hiring had been a last-minute one, preventing him from having the time to properly plan the competition; the sponsor (Stroh's beer) had delayed signing the contract, causing a delay in the schedule due to lack of financial resources.

According to the journalist, " Despite being plagued with various organizational problems, the World Contest nonetheless showcased a stunning array of international amateur surfing talent (Carter, 1984, p. 68) As an example (the winner of the final of one of the categories did not win the title), the text describes what he considers as an innovative and confusing format of competition, the ways to reach the title and the categories in dispute (men, women, junior, kneeboard and teams). (idem, p. 70)

The event lasted eight days (idem, p. 71). The accommodation during the first stage consisted of tents inside a military base (Camp Pendleton)²³ - participants were even given military clothing to wear. The report ironically refers to the "Olympic village" and compares it to a bedouin camp. There were those who rented trailers (Hawaiian federation), paid for a hotel room or slept in their own car to escape the accommodation offered by the organization (idem, p. 68).

As in almost every championship, the top performers were Australia, USA and Hawaii. According to the article, the US team had been embezzlement for several reasons, one of them the suspension of athletes for falsification of school grades. New criticisms as to the organization had been emitted, as follows:

By the end of the two days of Ventura's leg, everyone had discovered the pre-cancerous internal struggle that was compromising the overall quality of the Championship ... namely, a power struggle and ideological polarization between Cairns and Dr. Couture of USSF.

It [the World Championship] also failed as a cultural exchange, hitting a sour note when the U.S. team, per Coach Chuck Allen, refused to show up at an international ceremony for a rededication of the Duke Kahanamoku memorial at the entrance to the Pier. The American coach had either taken offense to the Hawaiian competitive tactics or was refusing to cooperate with Dr. Colin Couture's cultural gesture out of personal conflicts between the two." (Carter, 1984, p. 68-71)

The two excerpts address rivalry between leaders involved in the

²³ The base occupies an area of over 500 square miles and the entire coastal strip between Oceanside and San Clemente, which includes such important waves as Trestles. Introduction to Camp Pendleton. Retrieved from: <<http://www.pendleton.marines.mil/About/Introduction.aspx>>. An official map illustrating the extension of the base is available on: <<http://www.mccscp.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/CampPenMap.png>> Retrieved on June 28, 2016.

organization (there are other mentions to the dispute between Allen and Couture) and point them as factors that undermined the event. The second section goes beyond, classifying it as a failure from the point of view of cultural exchanges - precisely the aspect considered most valuable in a report already quoted.

The motives alleged for the absence of the US team at the ceremony range from retaliation for unsportsmanlike conduct and pettiness (personal revenge). In any case, this is a tribute around the statue of the Hawaiian celebrated around the world as the father of surfing, at the end of a World Championship held in the USA. The melancholy tone picks up the initial theme: "The Olympic Officials, who had promised to attend some of the ceremonies on the final day, never did show up. Luckily for amateur surfing they weren't there to see the sport take one giant step backwards." (Carter, 1984, p. 77)

South Africa was again excluded "despite the institutional power it had (...) at ISA - Tim Millward, president of SASA, was also the ISA executive director and had been chosen as the ISA competition director for the Californian event "(Thompson, 2015, 115). Silenced in the long story, the subject had been the subject of an editorial and an article in the September 1984 issue, and letters commenting on it in subsequent editions.²⁴ The editorial positions itself against the exclusion of South Africa, considered an intrusion of politics in the sport, and compares it to the boycott of the USSR and Eastern European countries to the Olympic Games of Los Angeles. (Carter, 1984, p.5) The article announces that "noticeably absent will be the strong South African Team, unable to compete due to amateur rules regarding competition with apartheid-sanctioning governments." (George, 1984, p. 80). Despite the strange and ambiguous construction of the phrase, I draw attention to the rare use of the word apartheid.

One of the letters from a leader of the Eastern Surfing Association (ESA) contests much of the editorial and article, including the version stating that South Africa would not participate because of amateur rules:²⁵

Presumably he (...) refer[s] to Australian rules (...). The USSF, according to President Couture, recognizes no such rules. South Africa was indeed invited to participate in this event. The South African Surfriders Association's President, Tim Millward, graciously and unselfishly declined the invitation because it was felt by his association that their presence might result in demonstrations of a political nature which could mar the positive spirit of the World

²⁴ I raise a hypothesis here: the coverage in the period prior to the event itself tends to focus on political issues and issues other than the actual competitive issue (performance, results, tactical assessments, etc.), for one structural reason: the competition is still not occurring. To the extent that there is an editorial decision to address the event, other elements need to be invoked - and there is room for political discussion. I am unaware of papers that discuss this issue, which could represent an advance for the research of sports in Communication.

Contest. (Hennigsen, 1984, p. 13)

I discuss five points from this section. Firstly, the letter ignores the apartheid/boycott theme and denies any relationship between it and the absence of the South African team. Secondly, it expresses the view, shared by many agents involved with surfing, that: a) sport and politics are distinct fields - in this case, the affirmation of a "positive spirit" supposedly inherent to the event is opposed to a negative view of political manifestations; and b) that any action considered of a political nature means an undue interference in the sporting sphere. Such a view is often expressed by sports officials, especially in the framework of international federations. Booth (1998) and Nauright (1997) describe and analyze dozens of examples in entities of different sports and levels (world/international, continental, national etc.). Obviously, the sports field maintains solid and multiple relations with the universe of politics and with the state - as, for example, emphasized by the 1978 World Championship -, which does not prevent its agents from mobilizing such discourse when it suits them.

Thirdly, Millward was a SASA officer and held a high position in ISA and the organization of the championship itself. I do not know to what extent he was an ally of ESA and USSF and/or whether the letter contained information that was cut in the edition. In any case, the respectful tone of praise for Millward's attitude and the fact that US surfing associations were among the rare partners who offered SASA the opportunity to hold international competitions between 1976 and 1991 suggest so.

Fourthly, the magazine contested part of the letter's claims, but not those about the boycott. In any case, the divergence between the letter and the version presented by Surfing shows that even looking at a single publication it is possible to come up with reasonably different explanations and narratives for the same phenomenon. This points to the relevance of taking the letter section into account: even with the limitations that, by definition, exist in this space, it is an arena that allows the expression of different voices. This reinforces my argument that surfing magazines are both agents and arenas where several agents express their positions (Fortes, 2011).

Fifthly, how much the stories of surfing and its media can benefit from access to archives of sporting entities - which, to my knowledge, have not been the subject of research in both the US and South Africa except for some correspondence used by Laderman (available in a museum). Documents as letters exchanged between entities and their leaders; between entities and other actors (national governments, state bodies at different levels of administration, companies and/or sponsors), which may be kept in archives of sports bodies or public bodies,

are important in order to move towards complete and complex history of the sports media and surfing, which encompass its different dimensions and give priority to aspects that are not explored in the existing works - with few exceptions, such as Booth's (2001) research and the debate between him and other authors (Booth, 2012a; Booth, 2012b; Jaggard, 2012; Phillips, 2012; Phillips, Booth e Jaggard, 2012) -, as the institutional spheres (clubs, associations, federations), the views of coaches, entrepreneurs and leaders, political and international relations and so forth.

It remains to be seen what collections exist and, of these, which ones are available for research. Thus, it seems to me that researchers will face the routine difficulties when it comes to access to sports associations (Melo, Drumond, Fortes and Santos, 2013). Such was my case with ISA, as I reported. The entity also has the specificity of having changed its headquarters several times over the years - in practice, the president of a national federation took over ISA, but continued to operate from the national association's premises - results in documentation scattered across archives, cities and countries. And, to the extent that such positions were not remunerated, much depended on the efforts of individuals; and it is unlikely that national institutions would have adequate physical space for the filing of documents; it becomes complicated to know what documentation exists, where it is located, and whether it is accessible for research.

* * *

The coverage of the 1986 championship, held in Newquay (Great Britain), took up two pages. (Griggs, 1987, p. 35) The article highlighted the existence of quality teams beyond the usual (Australia, USA and Hawaii). The name of the event, 1986 Quiksilver World Surfing Championships, evidences the sponsorship of one of the leading companies in the surfing industry. Two interrelated aspects appear: the growth and consolidation of the event, which legitimized itself as the arena to gather numerous amateur talents from different countries (with the exception of South Africa), becoming an interesting space for companies that sought visibility and legitimacy in the modality; and also the growth of the surfwear industry itself, which, from relatively small companies until the early 1980s, between the middle of the decade and the first half of the next, relies on a handful of multinational companies with annual sales of hundreds of millions of dollars. From this period, such brands and their products - especially shirts and shorts - will become the fashion reference and objects of desire of a large number of boys and young men of different countries (Fortes, 2011, 2014). The consumer public has

expanded significantly, far surpassing the horizon of the fans.

The article mentions 187 competitors from 20 countries, while the table with results lists 18 teams (Griggs, 1987, p. 35). Again, there was no reference to South Africa's absence. The text emphasizes the competition itself (performance, results, degree of justice in the judges' notes) and does not address the organizational and political aspects. Again, I turn to Thompson (2015), who worked with South African sources:

Robin de Kock, of SASA, covered the 1986 World Surfing Championships held in Newquay, UK, in September and provided a clear indication of the isolation status of South African amateur surfing and a perception of the international political atmosphere: the Springboks were absent - again. Unfortunately, few teams have ever missed the Boks (...) It is terrible to be an outcast - perhaps there is an irony there" (page 116).

A federation official conducting competition coverage for a magazine highlights the multiple roles played by individuals and the existing relationships within the surf, differentiating it - and its media - from what happens with coverage of consolidated modalities on the international scene (such as football and tennis). The mention of irony can be articulated to the country's segregationist policy, which promoted "forced removals of millions of non-whites" (Nauright, 1997, page 186). From the vision of a SASA leader, the author affirms:

From this point of view, it can be argued that ISA's position [of banning South African participation in competitions] was more material and pragmatic in maintaining its members, and to be in a good position in the eyes of other international sports federations, than a political position against sport in South Africa (Thompson, 2015, page 116).²⁷

I believe that the search for inclusion in the Olympic Games has contributed to the ISA position.

The author then mentions the SASA leader again, for whom the problem was not the federations themselves, but the fact that they received resources from their national governments and pressed them in favor of the boycott. In any event, the argument seems to me to be well-founded, although there is no access to ISA documentation. From what can be inferred from Thompson's narrative, at no time did SASA ever be suspended by the ISA, contrary to what happened in many modalities.

* * *

²⁷ In my view, it would be more appropriate to say against apartheid in sport in South Africa.

Before beginning, the 1988 World Championship was the subject of an editorial criticizing the selective criteria for the US team, because Kelly Slater, considered by the publication as the best amateur of the country, was left out. The editorial compares the situation with that of tennis: "John McEnroe and Jimmy Connors don't win every match they play, but there'd be hell to pay if at least one of them - because of their past track records wasn't chosen to represent the U.S. in the Davis Cup." (Varnes, 1988, p. 48, 50). Tennis was the sport most used as a benchmark in the pages of surfing magazines of the time (excluding sports directly linked to it, such as skateboarding, bodyboarding and snowboarding). It seems to me that this is explained by the popularity²⁸ of the modality in the country, by the presence in the open television and by having, throughout the 20th century, idols of the country among the best of the world. In the specific case of this mention, there is also the coincidence of the events being competitions of selections in sports mostly seen as individual and whose attentions are dominated by the respective professional circuits.

A note later said that the event was "scheduled for February in Puerto Rico", where athletes from "wave riders of emerging surfing nations" could threaten the hegemony of the three powers. The editor was optimistic about the number of countries and participants: Hundreds of surfers from more than thirty nations are expected to invade (...) and promoters are already billing the (...) contest as the biggest ever." (Varnes, 1988, p. 60).

The double page opening the ten dedicated to the World Championship, which lasted 11 days, stamped Brazilian Fabio Gouveia, winner of the Open category (Varnes, 1988, p. 130-7). Another photo showed the Australian team celebrating the title. The opening paragraph summarizes the coverage: "Athletic competition, goodwill, patriotism, politics and sportsmanship fused together at amateur surfing's pinnacle in a manner never before seen in surfing circles, (...) commonly associated with Olympic-class activities." (Idem, p. 133)

The praise was extended to "Puerto Rico Surfing Federation (PRSF) President and current International Surfing Association (ISA) President (...)" by the sponsors obtained: surf companies (G&S - Gordon & Smith) and from outside the sport - Bacardi, Coca-Cola, Suzuki and the " six figures worth of financial backing in exchange for a title sponsorship" in the name of the event - The 1988 Budweiser World Surfing Titles". (Idem, p. 134)

Such resources were added to the support of the Puerto Rican government, which "volunteered to feed, house and provide security for competitors". On the

²⁸ In terms of practitioners and spectators (in courts and on television).

occasion of the opening ceremony, "(...) city mayors and the island's top political leaders turned out to welcome the competitors.". According to the text, "wasn't a surf contest – it was an invasion" of 400 surfers from 26 countries. The "with a fervency unmatched in the annals of surfing competition" with which the Puerto Ricans dedicated themselves ensured o "pulling off a successfull event" (idem, p. 134).

Still among the positive words about the organization, there was praise for the presence of the public ("crowds ranging from 20,000 to 40,000 people packed the championship every day", with 50,000 on the last day when the final of each category was played) and nightly programming (with Ramones show, parties and competitive pool games played bar tables).

There was criticism concerning the behavior of US team athletes - in smaller numbers and milder than in previous years. The article highlighted the performance of the Brazilian team, for the first time listed among the holders of the title (Idem, p. 201, 203).

Surfing devoted a lot of space to the event, considering its parameters at the time: added to the material and the interview with Chris Brown, winner of the junior category, there were more than ten full pages of coverage, made by four professionals (two for texts and two photographers). Even with such resources, the silencing pattern on the absence of South Africa remained. Although quoted in the opening paragraph of the report, the mentions of politics were limited to the passages cited: government support and presence of officials in the opening ceremony - again, with praise for the articulation between it and the sport.

Japan hosted the 1990 World Championship, which received six pages of coverage. (Callahan, 1990, p. 152-6, 158). As usual, the subject focused on the performance of athletes and teams, the outcome of the stages (the championship continued to be played in three preliminary stages and a final), winners, team score, wave conditions etc. It praised the performance of some "unknown Brazilians" and coach Avelino Bastos and highlighted the participation of Kelly Slater. There were mentions of host parties hosted by the Australians and notable beer consumption. The text underscored the efforts of the U.S. team members, who in the end were defeated by the Australians (again team champions) and did not win any category. The final result lists 16 teams. (*Surfing*, 1990, p. 126). No word was said about the absence of South Africa.

Final considerations

This work analyzed the coverage of the World Amateur Surfing

Championships held between 1978 and 1990. As for the first objective, the coverages emphasize the effectively competitive aspects, such as sea conditions, talent and performance of athletes and teams, and the development of competitions (who passed the phase, who was a potential champion, what the prognoses and chances of individual title and teams were). A common feature was the text beginning with expectations regarding the performance of the US team and some member considered particularly promising (during the period under review, Tom Curren and Kelly Slater). Surfing circulated in dozens of countries, but it was produced in the US, mostly by North Americans (with contributions from South Africans, Australians and Britons) and to American readers, which explains the attention dedicated to the country's team. In addition, proximity seems to have been a factor regarding the extent of coverage: the largest took place at events in the USA (1984 and 1988).

Concerning the second objective, in most cases, the absence of South Africa was silenced. The rare mention of non-participation was almost always given before the events; except in one case (1984), they were very short. The word apartheid was used only once and no paragraph was written to contextualize the situation.

The emphasis on the competitive aspects and the lack of emphasis given to the political relations prior to each edition of the competition - which, after all, determined the exclusion of the South African team - were a general feature of the coverage. Even when reasonable space was devoted to the organization and explicitly mentioned political issues (in 1984 and 1988), the editorial choice of silencing the South African case remained the same. There was criticism concerning the relationship between sport and politics when the boycott was approached, but the government support for the championships used to be normally praised.

The focus on aspects strictly linked to performance in covering the World Championship brings surfing coverage closer to that of journalism in general, when it comes to covering sporting events.²⁹ The exception was the coverage of the 1984 World Championship, which negatively highlighted friction between United States officials, who were cited as the main cause of competition problems.

For the moment, I am working with the general hypothesis that South Africa's relevance in the international surfing scene is an explanatory factor for the stance taken by most of the agents of the sport, who opposed the boycott. The country had great weight in several aspects, some of which were addressed in this article: leaders and entities actively participated in the organization of professional and amateur surfing; South African athletes stood out in competitions - some, like

²⁹ However, I do not know about papers that favor the investigation of this issue and allow us to support this statement. It is, therefore, an impression.

cousins Michael and Shaun Tomson, became world idols of the sport (both, by the way, contributed to Surfing; the first one worked for it for years); the championships accomplished there made up a relevant part of the professional world circuit (in terms of cash prizes, points for the ranking and good waves); companies hosted in it sponsored athletes and competitions; the South African market was important to the multinational surfers; the vast coastline is a source of quality waves, many of them unexplored or little explored; some of these waves are highly valued in the surf subculture, at least since Cape Francis' complimentary presentation as the perfect wave, in Bruce Brown's *The Endless Summer*, in the first half of the 1960s; as one writer put it, "in South Africa lies the oldest and well-established culture of surfing outside the US and Australia" (warshaw, 2003. p. 552-4). However, as such relevance unfolds in multiple respects, and as Surfing has rarely explicitly positioned itself on the subject, only at the end of the research will it be possible to make statements about the period as a whole.

The relatively small space for the systematic coverage of amateur surfing in the magazine may be one reason why there are few direct references to apartheid. As suggested by the data and the bibliography worked so far, the boycott in amateur surfing was broader than in professional surfing.³⁰

Finally, the article points to an aspect ignored by the bibliography that deals with surfing and the sporting boycott of South Africa: the role of South African leaders in international entities. From the data analyzed so far, it seems that even amongst the agents claiming the boycott, the suspension or expulsion of South African entities and leaders from the organizational fields of amateur and professional surfing was not advocated - and, if advocated, the position was unsuccessful. Basil Lomborg's role in the creation of ISA and the restructuring of the Amateur World Surfing Championship suggests that, considering the structural organizational difficulties of competitive amateur surfing on an international scale and other characteristics of surfing during the 1970s, it was unthinkable to exclude the country. Thus, for the time being, such difficulties, as well as the relative weight of South Africa (as already pointed out) and the relevant place occupied by their leaders seem to be important explanatory factors for the lack of consensus on the boycott, although, in practice, the country has been left out of the championships held between 1980 and 1992.

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³⁰ However, none of the authors makes such an explicit statement / comparison.

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