

Wave Riding in Cultural Contexts: *He'e Nalu*, Surfing, Film, and Discourse

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This article provides an historical overview that documents the origins and practices of *wave riding* – surfing – in Oceania. Attention is given to its pre-colonial origins, and the roles of Hawaiian and Indigenous¹ practitioners. Possible connections between surfing and traditional sea-faring are explored; as are political, cultural, and social identity factors. Attention is directed to the symbolic transformations involved as *he'e nalu* was constructed as surfing. Text, image, and film representations of surfing are examined to reveal colonial conventions. Finally current events and status implications involving surfing are considered.

Riding waves - or surfing - stemmed from the awareness produced through open sea navigation and canoe building, and has been practiced throughout Oceania and maritime Southeast Asia (Finney & Houston, 1966). From the moment of European interaction by Ferdinand Magellan in Guahan (Guam) in 1421 with Indigenous² CHamoru, and James Cook in Hawai'i in 1777 with Indigenous Kanaka, the practices of canoe building, seafaring, and wave sliding have been symbolized according to distinct narrative arcs that reflect political contexts. Scholars such as Matt Warshaw (2010), Scott Laderman (2014), Isaiah Heickunihi Walker (2011; 2017); Colleen McGioin (2017); Kevin Dawson (2017), Dina Gilio-Whitker (2017), Dexter Zavalza Hough-Snee, and Alexander Sotelo Eastman (2017), and others, have contended that surfing was an Indigenous activity. As Dawson (2017) reported, scholars generally

¹ The term indigenous is capitalized – Indigenous – throughout this text as a sign of respect for Indigenous ways of being. It is a way to decolonize language and recognize identity on par with the ways in which national identity is represented. At times, according to the *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing by and About Indigenous Peoples* (2018), this calls for an Indigenous style that overrides conventional standards. This decision follows trends evident in other resources such as the *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies*, *Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, and *Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World Locations* (2016).

believe that the first descriptions of surfing occurred in Tahiti and Hawai'i; however, over a hundred years earlier, in the 1600's in what is now Ghana, practitioners rode waves in "prone," kneeling, sitting, or standing positions, and in one-person canoes." While it is evidenced to have been practiced in a general manner in locations such as Peru, Senegal, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast of Africa, it became particularly evident in Oceania and Hawai'i before colonial contact was made. *He'e nalu* was developed on the pre-colonial Hawaiian shores as a significant practice within the complex governing system of *kapu*, which administered daily life as a complete regulatory system (Warshaw, 2010). Lieutenant James King in 1778 dedicated two pages to the practice of "board-riding" as it was practiced there. Subsequently, surfing was largely described in popular texts and artifacts as an endeavor that was revived and mastered by Western practitioners. The roles of Hawai'i and Indigenous practitioners, notably *Kanaka Maoli* (Native Hawaiians)², within surfing discourse is present, but suffers from years of erasure and obfuscation (Walker, 2011; Ingersoll, 2016).

This article focuses on the discursive tensions between *he'e nalu* and its constructions as surfing. By placing surfing in this context, recognition is given to the function of riding waves in historical contexts, revealing some of a much larger body of Indigenous knowledge as well as its shared territory of obfuscation. From the context of the Hawaiian Islands' pre-colonial contact, the author turns to the symbolic transformations involved as *he'e nalu* is transcribed as surfing. Particular attention is given to the ways in which notions of political, cultural, and social identity are appropriated, produced, and maintained. Qualitative and artifact analysis here are based partially on the author's experiences as a practitioner of both surfing culture and traditional Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring. The intention is to integrate trends in Postcolonial Studies and Critical Indigenous studies to examine the dynamics at play between these practices and their representations in text. Finally, the author examines how text, image, and film extend early representations of riding waves. These tend to reflect colonial conventions in decolonial

² In the Hawaiian language, according to scholars such as David A. Chang (2016), the term - *Kanaka Maoli* - refers to Native Hawaiians.

and postcolonial contexts. The *ka po'ina nalu*, or wave borderland, continues to function as a liminal space, which is transferred to the identities of the practitioners themselves through material consequentiality (Walker, 2011; Modesti, 2008). Attention is given to Indigenous knowledge as well as to the colonial structures through which it is framed in everyday practices such as surfing. It is argued that these tensions within the history of surfing discourse are felt and experienced in the contemporary practices of surfing around the globe.

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The now common practice, to many coastal locations, of swimming out to sea with a fabricated board, moving toward the apex of a curling wave, turning around to paddle with it, and standing up to ride across its face, is precisely the way William Anderson on the *Resolution* described a practitioner performing the gestures in Matavai Bay, Tahiti in 1777³ (Warshaw, 2010). Riding waves or surfing is an Indigenousⁱ form of knowledge that predates European colonization. When Indigenous spaces are colonized, locations such as the surf zone, the wave riding practices themselves, and the ways in which we discuss and represent them become sites of tension. To surf is to reference both Indigenous agency and a history of colonial obfuscation as themes of cultural seizure are enmeshed in surfing narratives. Scholars such as Matt Warshaw (2010), Scott Laderman (2014), Isaiah Helekunihi Walker (2011; 2017), Colleen McGloin (2017), Kevin Dawson (2017), Dina Gilio-Whitaker (2017), Dexter Zavalza Hough-Sne, and Alexander Sotelo Eastman (2017), and others contend that surfing is an Indigenous activity. While it is evidenced to be practiced, in a general manner, in locales such as Peru, Senegal, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast of Africa, it becomes particularly evident in Oceania and Hawai'i pre-colonial contact. Here it takes on well-known significant socio-political functions that signal the foundations of surfing as it is understood and practiced today (Finney & Houston, 1966; Warshaw, 2010; Laderman, 2014; Walker, 2011; 2017;

³ This is often thought to be the first western account of riding waves in Oceania. In Matavai Bay in Tahiti, William Anderson on the *Resolution* in 1777 described a local practitioner performing the basics of paddling, watching, riding a swell toward the beach.

McGloin, 2017; Dawson, 2017; Clark, 2011; Ingersoll; 2016). In this article, I examine a few of the intersectional tensions that arise within the discourse concerning Hawaiian wave sliding or *he'e nalu* and surfing (Puki & Elbert, 1986, p. 63).

The practice of surfing was performed for thousands of years throughout Oceania prior to the account stated above (Finney & Houston, 1966, p.22). There exists, centering around its development on the Hawaiian Islands, a sustained interpretation of riding waves in the English-language writings of Hiram Bingham, Henry T. Cheever, William Ellis, James Cook, Mark Twain, and Jack London for hundreds of years after. Other Western writers who have added to the narratives concerning surfing include Isabella Bird, James Michener, Thomas Wolfe, Timothy Leary, and Kem Nunn (Comer, 2010, p.9). Along with these popular English language texts, there exists a large body of information pertaining to *he'e nalu* contained in Hawaiian-language newspapers written before 1900. Much of the information drawn from these newspapers beginning in 1834 are available due to the work of Hawaiian scholars such as John Papa 'Ūi, Samuel Kamakau, Zephirin Keauokalani, David Malo, Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and others (Clark, 2011, pp.2-3). Through the examination of the discourse concerning *he'e nalu* and surfing, I hope to better understand its physical practice as its narrative structures partly construct its ontology.

Surf scholarship and the ongoing critique of colonial and imperial legacies of cultural erasure have also created a valuable conversation concerning the social, cultural, and political roles of *he'e nalu* and contemporary surfing. Surfing has been used according to scholars such as Laderman (2004) to colonize Indigenous land and sea spaces. He argues in *Empires in Waves: A Political History of Surfing* that the Americanization of riding waves has much to do with imperial expansion. Similarly, Dawson (2017) maintained that as surfing is Westernized it is used to further encroach on Indigenous spaces that were previously unavailable to European and American settlers (p.144). Belinda Wheaton (2017) also encouraged us to recognize how settlers have employed surfing as a vehicle to “invade” Indigenous spaces

(p.177). Karin Amimoto Ingersoll in *Waves of Knowing: A Seascape Epistemology* (2016) added that on the Hawaiian Islands, surf tourism and the surf industry have continued to confine and limit the movements of Indigenous Hawaiians as foreign bodies crowd, "...surf breaks, channels, and beaches, leaving no 'space' for autonomous Kanaka movement." Krista Comer (2017), in *Surfeminism, Critical Regionalism, and Public Scholarship*, noted that the gendering of surfing reflects global dimensions that often further sexist constructions of identity while acting as a cover for, "...Western imperial land grabs in surfing's new emergent markets." I argue that these historical tensions continue in contemporary discursive themes and are directly experienced in wave riding spaces around the globe. Contemporary surfing is Indigenous surfing and while it has been industrialized, marketed, and practiced by a global community for centuries; it nevertheless is based on an Indigenous knowledge set that is contextualized by its historical appropriation and erasure.

While such contexts are constantly at play in contemporary acts and representations of surfing, scholars such as McGloin (2017) have stated that Indigenous surfing also functions as a form of agency, a "...repossession of culture, of landscape and seascape, a practice of resistance to the enduringness of colonialism." Walker (2011) noted in *Waves of Resistance: Surfing and History in Twentieth-Century Hawai'i* that the *ka po'ina nalu* or surf zone becomes a site of resistance due to the sustained presence of Hawaiian surfing practitioners. Perhaps it is the fluidity of the zone itself or the radical nature of the movement employed in this space that creates the liminal nature of the surf zone. He added that due to the preservation of these spaces through surfing, "colonial powers were less able to conquer" (Walker, 2017). Dawson (2017) added that a continual wave riding presence and culture, "challenged these incursions as twentieth-century coastscapes were embattled political spaces" which remained "Indigenous culturalscapes." Comer, in *Surfer Girls in the New World Order* (2010), added to her analysis of gender and surfing, stating that "critical femininities" can also be developed alongside "critical sensibilities," arising from an awareness of the ways in which surf zones are formed and function. In the text, she

discusses the connections between surfing sites and identity formations surrounding gender, race, and nationality. In contemporary contexts, the *ka po'ina nalu*, continues to function as a borderland, becoming entangled in historical tensions of cultural erasure, authorship, and belonging.

Many Indigenous scholars such as Elizabeth Lynn-Cook (2001; 2012), Epeli Hau'ofa (2008), Marissa Muñoz (2019), and Vincent Diaz (2016), among others, have discussed the ways that Indigenous paradigms are revealed when paying attention to geographical and socio-spatial contexts. Many scholars have noted the social productions of space in general, such as Henri Lefebvre (2007) and Marc Augé (1995), the interplay between physical *places* and more ideological *spaces* such as Yi-Fu Tuan (2007) and Tim Cresswell (2004), the ways individuals and groups embody, reify, and resist spatial and social productions through everyday *practices* such as Michel de Certeau (1984) and Pierre Bourdieu (1990), and the intersections that are created between geographical borders and boundaries of identities in Gloria Anzaldúa's (2007) *borderlands*. Walker (2011) defines the *ka po'ina nalu* as a *borderland* site, where social differences converge, and "unique social and cultural identities are formed." He claims that as a result, "state-sanctioned authority is often absent from the borderlands." Scholarship observes that surfing has performed many, often-contradictory roles, throughout its history, yet the practice, its spaces, and its discourse remain important sites of examination and tension that continue to unfold.

The first intersectional tension I explore is the connection of surfing to Indigenous Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring, an obfuscation often left out of surfing discourse. The second is its appropriation within sports centric frameworks that involve nationality. Third, its celebration as a practice mastered and disseminated around the globe by U.S. and Western practitioners, which in turn gives credence to its symbolic representation as a form of Indigenous advocacy, marking the continued colonial conditions of cultural destruction at work in surfing discourse and practice.

Seafaring, Surfing, and Obfuscations

He'e nalu is developed on the pre-colonial Hawaiian shores, undoubtedly stemming from the awareness produced through open sea navigation and canoe building, practiced throughout Oceania and maritime Southeast Asia (Finney & Houston, 1966, p.22). From the moment of European interaction by Ferdinand Magellan in Guåhan (Guam) in 1421 with Indigenous CHamoru, and James Cook in Hawai'i in 1777 with Indigenous Kānaka, the practices of canoe building, seafaring, and wave sliding are symbolized according to distinct narrative arcs that reflect political contexts. In this process of symbolic narrativization, what it means to ride waves entails a certain corporeal normalization of what it looks like to ride. What is seldom discussed is the place riding waves occupies in relation to practices of seafaring and canoe building. Riding waves utilizes a hand carved board to forge unique relationships with aquatic spaces first established through traditions of Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring. Ingersoll (2016) highlights the Indigenous connections between seafaring and surfing due to their similar abilities to forge what she refers to as a "seascape epistemology," writing that they demand "a travel ideology that slides, is flexible, and creates distinct ecological and social ethics."

It is, in this regard, part of a much larger historical and wide-spread network of Indigenous wisdom, a lineage that stretches back over 4,000 years from the Philippine and Indonesian archipelagos to Madagascar in the east, Hawai'i and *Rapa Nui* or Easter Island to the north and west, and New Zealand or *Aotearoa* to the south. A cultural comparison can be observed along the west coast of Africa where independently formed wave riding practices developed before colonial contact, which utilized creating and riding both canoes and boards in surf zones (Dawson, 2017). Relatedly, the *caballito*, a reed canoe-like vessel, was used before Western contact by Indigenous Peruvians to slide down and across the face of breaking waves (Warshaw, 2010). We can observe in each instance, particularly in Oceania, the connections between the practice of riding canoes or vessels and boards on waves. These are indicators of a shared practice, and they are further revealed in the unique practices of

canoe and board carving as well as navigation and surfing performances honed by Austronesian and Oceanic Indigenous cultures. Within the cultural constellation of traditional Polynesian seafaring, the Hawaiian outrigger canoe, the *wa'a*, for example, has a shallow hull designed to ride waves when returning from sea while the more specific design, the *wa'a pā.kā.kā nalu*, is described as a canoe specifically intended for surfing waves (Clark, 2011).

Surfing is an aspect of seafaring and both vessels, particularly the latter, function today as forms of Indigenous agency and social advocacy. The various forms of traditional seafaring practices throughout Oceania and the world exemplified by the *Hōkūle'a* and the *Polynesian Voyaging Society*, the *Tahiti Voyaging Society*, the *Piailug Seafaring Academy*, among many others, represent a practice and resulting rhetoric that promotes Indigenous optics. There are many links between surfing and Austronesian seafaring culture, practices, and history. For instance, there is a network of shared practices, which connects the islands and sea spaces of Oceania and the cultures to a shared origin. The first known engraving of a surfboard in 1778 depicts a Hawaiian rider paddling out to sea amongst numerous traditional outrigger canoes, undoubtedly carved according to similar traditions as the board depicted (Finney & Houston, 1966). Austronesian seafaring is part of a system of physical practices and concepts, a series of interconnected methods, terms, and ideas. Navigation is preeminently connected to carving, plant identification, and harvesting, which revolve around a sustained structure of learning, teaching, and pedagogy that is maintained through community formations.

Hawaiian newspapers from the nineteenth century indicated the connections between these practices along a shared structure. The extensive undertaking of moving through oceans on fabricated crafts can only occur from a series of interrelated precursory practices that involves the carving of canoes for paddling and sailing, and boards for surfing. This larger structure constitutes a set of knowledge that provides the epistemological foundation for the culture of riding waves as well as an indication of their ordering within a shared system.

He [Kamehameha] chose kahunas who were makers of double canoes (wa‘a kaulua), war canoes (wa‘a peleleu), single canoe (wa‘a kaukahi), sailing canoes (wa‘a kialoa)—either one masted canoes (kiakahi) or two-masted (kialua); and kahunas who were makers of holua sleds and [alaia] surfboards (papa he‘e nalu) (Clark, 2011).

Royalty, *Kamehameha*, chose specialists to manufacture various canoes, boards, and sleds to be used to traverse through aquatic spaces. The excerpt above indicates a shared maker of numerous crafts, and that all are constructed, designed, and used in similar ways. As both canoe and board building and use are discouraged, banned, and obstructed due to colonial intervention, these connections to a larger network of meanings are also severed. As the endeavors reemerge in differing ways, they become aligned with mainstream depictions of individual sports and explorations of daring, leisure, and privilege, rather than everyday pursuits of life-sustaining spatial engagement, stemming from a personal and often intimate fabrication.

The examination of these connections in relation to Indigenous knowledge situates discussions in specific places while promoting sharing between cultures, nations, and communities. Today both practices can be viewed as forms of social advocacy and communication while marking instances of historical appropriation and obfuscation. Traditional Oceanic and Austronesian seafaring take similar forms in performances, artifacts, and traditions throughout maritime Southeast Asia and Oceania. Such practices are based on local identification and harvesting of trees and plants, carving canoes, and tool construction, all of which effectively lead to the same identifying, harvesting, and carving practices that produce the *olo* or longboard and the *alaia* or shortboard (Clark, 2011) of Hawaiian *he‘e nalu*. The places and spaces of creation and use of boards and canoes are similar if not the same. The ancient Austronesian and Oceanic art of carving, with adze, blade, and fire, is an epistemological trade that produces these material objects (D’arcy,

2006). All of which are made possible by a community familiar with a network of shared practice, production, and pedagogy.

Along with the construction process, riding waves on boards develops as a structure with social meanings indicative of those within traditional Austronesian seafaring culture. The social and political significance in maintaining community connections placed on *he'e nalu* on the Hawaiian Islands and the importance of Austronesian seafaring throughout Oceania is one example. Finally, the practices of seafaring and surfing exhibit a similar epistemological approach to the negotiation of dynamic seascapes, a complete familiarity with the sea, and an equally complete subjectivity that arises from the social, physical, and intellectual practices involved. Seafaring and surfing share not only a particular relationship with the sea, but a way of knowing based on calculated responses to constantly changing environments. Ingersoll (2016) stated that like surfing, “voyaging becomes an ideology,” which constitutes a way of knowing. Both endeavors engage in unique situational contexts as frameworks for action, navigating according to a variety of signs and directing a surfboard through water to catch and ride swells (Lewis, 1972). Traditional Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring are Indigenous sets of knowledge that reflect contemporary conditions and historical forces of cultural erasure. Ingersoll adds that as Indigenous Hawaiians “were still actively voyaging throughout Moana, captain James Cook embarked upon a very different type of Ocean movement,” indicating that “movement can also establish specific agendas and doctrines of control” (pp.145-46). Travelling from afar, over sea, to conquer, convert, and settle, Europeans encountered various cultures that moved through the same aquatic spaces in their own way for centuries. Indigenous surfing is an extension of Austronesian and Oceanic traditions of seafaring and canoe building, entailing a constellation of practices of meaning and socio-political importance. The ways in which these tensions play out in discourse and practice has much to say about our cultural, social, and political identities.

He'e Nalu, Surfing, and Appropriation

Lieutenant James King in 1778 dedicated two pages to the practice of *board-riding* as it was practiced on the Hawaiian Islands. Here *he'e nalu* has been a significant practice within the complex governing system of *kapu*, which administers daily life as a complete regulatory, spiritual, and governmental system (Warshaw, 2010, pp.23-31). What we refer to as surfing, which is not used as a term until the twentieth century, is an encounter with the practice of *he'e nalu* on the Hawaiian Islands. While it is its technological and commercial predecessor, it is also an attenuation of an ancient practice and form of knowledge. As Dawson (2017) reported, scholars have generally believed that the previously mentioned descriptions in Tahiti and Hawai'i are the first accounts of riding waves; however, over a hundred years earlier in the 1600s, in what is now Ghana, practitioners are chronicled to ride waves in "prone, kneeling, sitting, or standing position, and in one-person canoes" (p.139). It is from Oceanic and African seafaring, surfing, and swimming practitioners that Europeans learned not only how to ride waves but also how to swim and navigate aquatic spaces in vessels proficiently (Dawson, 2017, p.147). Many of these techniques are visible in contemporary professional and competitive swimming, boating, and surfing arenas such as the *Olympics*, *America's Cup*, and the *World Surfing League*.

The gestures and narratives associated with the practice of riding waves constitute a contested material and symbolic site, where conceptions of culture, nation, and identity play out. Walker (2011) noted that riding waves creates contested spaces where the social production of cultural identity can be witnessed, challenged, and affirmed through a series of unique gestures (pp.10-1). The practices of riding the waves that arise in the surf zone continue to function symbolically according to the settlements of land nearby. The individual articulations of everyday practitioners in the water, partially determine the nature of these spaces (de Certeau, 1984). The symbolization mentioned here is drawn from a constellation of attitudes and values that shape the material reality of wave *borderlands*. As we encounter symbols, Sonja Foss (2004) wrote, "(We) try to figure out how they are

working and why they affect us as they do.” As a result, texts or artifacts that reference the subject of surfing become sites of tension over meaning. The signifiers we use to describe people, places, and things fills in for the territory of the signified. Ingersoll (2016) states that “as the activity of *he‘e nalu* travels, the spatial metaphors of surf “spots” also move: Marching waves, circulating currents,” and shifting sand. In this regard, the names and symbols associated with these places also moves according to the social forces that surround them.

Waves are part of land, breaking due to water interacting with the surface below or nearby, and are part of the social constructions of both spaces. Surf zones continue to function as dialectical sites of tension due to the Indigenous practices and colonial pasts involved in the practices being performed. None perhaps are more significant than those along the North Shore of Oahu, notably, *Pipeline*. The names of surf zones along this famous seven-mile shoreline from Haleiwa Beach in the south to Sunset Beach in the North remind one of a symbolic reordering, *Gas Chambers*, *Off the Wall*, *Log Cabins*, *Leftovers*, and *Velzyland*, named after Southern California surfer Dale Velzy by John Severson after visiting for a film production. Sites are renamed and surfing terminology along with its materiality, shift. U.S. surfers name and are credited repeatedly as the first to ride the waves at these long-revered sites, which now bare their names. Ben Finney and James Houston compile a list of over one hundred identified surf zones throughout the Hawaiian Islands (pp.28-32; Clark, 2011 noted that beginning with *Kapuni* on Waikīkī Beach, which turns into *Canoes*, roughly all the surf zones were given English names by the early 1900s. Just as European explorers claimed to “discover” unknown lands, provide religious salvation, and introduce scientific knowledge, U.S. surfers claim to recover the “lost” cultural practices of riding waves, which these legacies of domination silenced initially. Brown stated in *The Endless Summer* (1966) that in the 1950’s intrepid surfing explorers such as John Kelly, George Downing, Gregg Noll, Pat Curren, Peter Cole, and Fred Van Dyke were the first to ride Waimea Bay, perpetuating similar narratives of Western discovery. Ingersoll affirmed, based on Hawaiian periodicals and oral histories or *mo‘olelo*, that Indigenous Hawaiians were the first who “rode and named

the waves at Waimea Bay and elsewhere” (Ingersoll, 2016). Along with the sites of the surf zones, the knowledge associated with the practices of riding waves becomes appropriated according to new meanings.

Clark (2011), working from Hawaiian sources previously mentioned, produced a Hawaiian and English language reference work containing a glossary of over one thousand Hawaiian terms relating to the practice of *he‘e nalu*. This surviving knowledge represents a fraction of the meaning and importance placed on the practice. Pre-colonial definitions of wave riding provide a glimpse into its conceptual nature. Pukui and Elbert (1986) defined *he‘e* “to slide, surf, slip, and to flee” or “to cause to slip, slide, flee; to put to flight” and *nalu* as “wave, surf” as well as “to ponder, meditate, reflect, mull over,” and “speculate.” These words and stories are glimpses into a much larger oral and physical history as the meanings associated with these signifiers indicate. From a child riding a small *pupo* or body board prone in the shore break or *po‘ina nalu* to an *ali‘i* or royalty riding a large buoyant *olo* surfboard on a *ha‘i*, *ha‘i maika‘i* or perfectly breaking wave, there is ample evidence of wave riding as a physical act and a body of conceptual knowledge pertaining to its creation, reception, and associations that both inform and are appropriated by contemporary surfing discourse (Clark, 2011).

A hoonoho aku la no hoi oia I na kahuna kalai waa; waa kaulua, waa peleleu, waa kaukahi, waa kialoa a me na kahuna kalai papa alaia heenalua a heeolua. (Clark, 2011, p. 160).

On the Hawaiian Islands prior to colonial contact, the practice of riding waves for most began with the shaping of a *papa* or board, typically the *alaia* (Clark, 2011). A Hawaiian language newspaper in 1865 describes the widespread practice of riding waves.

Surfing is a very popular sport in Hawai‘i from the chiefs to the commoners. This is how you do it. The board is created ahead of time out of koa, kukui, ‘ohe, wiliwili, or other woods that are good for making boardsⁱⁱ. (Clark, 2011, p.406)

Hawaiian language translation of excerpt: *O ka heenalu, oia kekahi paani nui loa o Hawaii nei, mai na'lii a na makaainana. Penei nae hoi ka hana ana o keia hana: Ua hoomakaukau e ia ka papa mamua, oia hoi koa, ke kukui, ke ohe, ka wiliwili, a me kekahi mau e ae no I kupono no ka hana I papa. (Clark, 2011, p.406)*

The description of riding waves begins with the production of a material object that is now an aspect of an industrial market. The directions start with the searching for, “woods that are good for making boards,” or plant identification, harvesting, and fabrication intended for specific use (Clark, 2011). To this day, boards are referred to as being shaped rather than made and often are products of handmade labor. The design of the *alaia* is specific while generally adaptable to the rider. It is the outcome of an evolution of riding the *waha* or steep section near the inside of a curling wave (Clark, 2011). This is still the most sought-after posture and position in surfing culture, crouching low as if riding an *alaia* as one is required to do to maintain control on a thin finless board, tucking one’s torso under the lip of a hollow breaking wave, of which



Fig. 1: Reconstruction of a Hawaiian *alaia* fabricated and carved by the author from a Paulownia tree in Northern California (Photographer: Greyson King)

there are many on the Hawaiian Islands. The thin narrow *alaia*, functions as the board of the people commonly used to ride waves in Hawai'i and is typically constructed by the rider themselves rather than an expert carver. The modern short board, which dominates contemporary surfing represents an innovation, a revival, and an obfuscation of a previous cultural gesture that predates the longboard, typically placed before the shortboard in Western surfing narratives. Dawson (2017) and Laderman (2014) agree that "post-annexation (1898) Hawaiians planted 'the roots of global surf culture' before considering how surfboards became imperial implements" (Dawson, 2017). The *alaia* and the contemporary shortboard as well as the gestures required for their navigation are symbolic reminders of this history.

The act of riding particular boards at specific sites, by certain practitioners, indicates status, agency, and identity achieved through meaningful movement. As *he'e nalu* turned into surfing, this royal conception gained traction as a practice engaged in by many became one that is enjoyed primarily by the unique or special. In this binary, its meaning has been appropriated into opposing stances, which function to obscure most riders, who shape their own *alias* and ride waves that are not *taboo* or restricted under the conditions of *kapu*. The space of breaking waves suitable for riding is commonly referred to as a *break* in contemporary surfing culture. The riding practices that take place there, continue to define the practice and its sites as a *borderland*, in which competing notions of territorial ownership, privatization, local belonging, and outsider incursion unfold. McGloin (2017) for example, examined how constructions of white "...masculinity have been historically mobilized to support dominant discourses of national identity," particularly in Australia (p.198). Early texts on *he'e nalu* have indicated its widespread use and varied conceptual underpinnings, yet it is most often discussed in royal and sports centric frameworks encapsulated in the term, *the sport of kings*. This trope has been applied to many endeavors, from cockfighting to horseracing, and frequently to surfing, present in early text on the subject by Jack London (2017) and others. This includes more recent documentary films, such as *Riding Giants* (Warshaw, 2004) and Warshaw's book, *The History of Surfing*

(2010), as well as newspapers such as *The New York Times*, and magazines such as *Surfer*.

Most agree, such as Kenvin (2014), Laderman (2014), Walker (2011; 2017), Ingersoll (2016), and others that surfing was introduced to North America when visiting sovereign princes of Hawai'i, Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, David La'amea Kahalepouli Kawanakoa, and Edward Abnel Keli'iahonui rode the waves at the mouth of the San Lorenzo River in Santa Cruz County, California around 1885. As sovereign *ali'i* visitors, they had a royal *olo* board shaped from a local timber mill for the undertaking (Kenvin, 2014). Surfing in California began with sovereign Hawaiian royalty riding traditionally noble boards; this moment is a cultural instance of importance and an interaction between nation states. The board and practice of riding, functions as an exchange of global politics. The use of boards in waves becomes a vehicle of diplomatic exchange and a plaque remains in commemoration at *Steamer's Lane*, a popular surf *break* now at the heart of northern California surfing culture. A similar yet contradicting plaque in Redondo Beach, California indicates that the more sports centric George Freeth was the "first surfer in the United States" to surf the region in 1907. The practice of surfing functions primarily as a royal and sport endeavor, leaving out much of its larger societal functions and epistemological associations.

Today, national recognition and the political and cultural status of Hawai'i regarding surfing on the global sporting stage is a contested area. Hawaiian surfer Carissa Moore has won numerous women's *Surf World Championships* and the Olympic gold medal in surfing for the U.S., yet like other Hawaiian competitors, she is able to surf under the Hawaiian flag in the *World Surf League* but not the *Olympics*. This is also true in the *International Surfing Association*, and the *National Scholastic Surfing Association*, which, "define Hawai'i as an independent region" (Walker, 2017). These recognitions fall within *the sport of kings* frameworks and unfold as a series of tensions in identity and representation, which involve Indigenous agency and the legacies of colonialism. The dialog between nations is performed in the water and continued through discourse as the act of riding waves is transformed through symbols to

fit within the interests of nation-states and sports centric productions. The tensions between *he'e nalu* and its constructions as surfing are present in these early moments and more contemporary texts. As these symbolic obfuscations and appropriations unfold in group formations, image, and film, so does the call for reflexivity and resistance.

Discourse, Film, and Advocacy

Surfing is largely described in popular contexts and artifacts as an endeavor that is revived and mastered by Western practitioners, and the role of Hawai'i and Indigenous practitioners, notably Kānaka Maoli or Native Hawaiians within surfing discourse is present but suffers from years of erasure and obfuscation (Walker, 2011, pp.31-41, Ingersoll, 2016, pp.60-72). The practice continues in the *ka po'ina nalu* as it had for centuries by Indigenous practitioners when it is introduced to Europeans and reintroduced by U.S. practitioners to the world. By 1895 Nathaniel Emerson lamented the decline of this vibrant cultural past time, writing that he “cannot but mourn its [*he'e nalu*] decline, [and] today it is hard to find a surfboard outside of our museums and private collections” (Warshaw, 2010, p.34). Physical diminishing and symbolic replacement are at work as the textual mourning precedes the loss of territory. This theme within the historiography of riding waves indicates an emphasis on absence. Indigenous perspectives expressed through grand and everyday practices reflect an untold loss and *he'e nalu* is but one example; however, the practice continued, like many others including weaving, dance, language, and traditional Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring. Western chroniclers catalog a certain way of looking at the practice that re-writes its corporeality, yet this rearrangement often entails a symbolic razing, and we can see many examples of this from colonial to contemporary accounts. *He'e nalu* is in practice in 1866 when Mark Twain visits Hawai'i and observes practitioners riding waves on a *papa he'e nalu* or “board for wave-sliding” (Warshaw, 2010, p.32). The practice is so unfamiliar to Twain and his cultural perspective that he states, “none but the natives will ever master the art” (Winchester, 2015). Three years later, in 1898, Hawai'i was forcefully annexed by the

U.S. and surfing re-emerged as a series of gestures with new cultural and national connotations.

South Carolina transplant, Alexander Hume Ford, helped establish a European and U.S. vision of surfing along with statehood. Ford, like many others endowed with a similar colonial disposition, believed that foreigners can learn all of the cultural secrets of the Hawaiian surfer. He formed organizations and publications that served the interests of Eurocentric settler communities. Many years later, popular films such as *The North Shore* (1987), echoed this narrative via a surfer from landlocked Arizona who masters the unruly surf *breaks* of O'ahu's North Shore. Surfing subsequently spread around the world with Europeans and Americans as inheritors of an abandoned Hawaiian practice, who go on to become experts of the craft (Walker, 2011, p.95; 32). London, on a trip through the Pacific Ocean, stopped in Hawai'i in 1908. After meeting Ford and Freeth, London experienced and cataloged his experience riding waves. His attitude toward the practice, due to the encouragement of Ford, was decidedly different from Twain's; as London declared in *The Cruise of the Snark* (2017): "The Snark shall not sail from Honolulu until I, too, wing my heels with swiftness of the sea," referring to the act of riding waves. The article in which London described his attempts to ride waves on boards is originally titled, "A Royal Sport: Riding the South Sea Surf." Here he noted the royal conception of the practice and perhaps paralleling the loss of sovereignty with the perceived loss of a prominent cultural practice (Winchester, 2015). London and other Westerners, as Dawson (2017) stated, "perceived surfing as people's attempt to conquer nature." London (2017) was indebted to Ford as the possessor of Indigenous wisdom, writing, "I am always humble when confronted by knowledge. Ford knew." Furthermore, his knowledge is without an author as London (2017) embellishes, "...he had no one to teach him, and all that he had laboriously learned in several weeks he communicated to me in half an hour." London was actively searching for new experiences and cultural perspectives for his readers to absorb. On his way to the Hawaiian Islands, he wrote a similar statement after learning bits of information about celestial navigation, an artform and science mastered in Oceania. There is in these narratives, a desire to seize not just the

place of the land, but the social spaces that stemmed from deeply engrained aquatic relationships and knowledge.

Sam Low (2013) noted, Ford intended to turn Hawai'i into a "white man's state" creating a "beckoning paradise for the growing number of Pacific tourists," establishing the islands "as a crucial outpost of American global power." London and Ford formed the *Outrigger Canoe Club* and intended to develop, "the great sport of surfing in Hawai'i." The name of this club reflects the English name change of the nearby surf breaks such as *Canoes*. This all white club is commonly recognized as surfing's first organization, outside of the marginalized history and significance of *he'e nalu* (Warshaw, 2010). The group promoted not only surfing as they saw it, but Western segregation. As Franz Fanon (1963) concluded in *Wretched of the Earth*, no colonial system draws its justification from the fact that the territories it dominates are culturally non-existent. Ingersoll (2016) stated that the organization functioned as a means of exclusion, which provides a space where only some could enter and "engage in a paradoxical act of negation and appropriation" by participating in an Indigenous practice while excluding an Indigenous population. The dominant narrative, like many colonial tales of discovery and mastery, indicated that riding waves is all but lost, if it were not for the revival of it by Ford, London, and others. There is a dwindling of many local pursuits, yet if there is a revival of the practice after colonial and imperial encounters, it is already underway by Indigenous practitioners of *he'e nalu*.

In 1911 a group of Hawaiian surfers, notably Duke Kahanamoku, formed the *Hui Nalu Club* or *Surfing Riding Club* as an organization of Indigenous agency. The Hawaiian language name of this organization refers to the early signifiers of the practice discussed in this text. This collective was a political response to what was becoming the racist infrastructure of surfing, which marks surfing as a form of social advocacy. It is a form of empowering optics that responds to the segregation and subordination suffered at the hands of what was becoming a society based on Hawaiian oppression. Today the physical spaces and bodies within mainstream contemporary surfing are

“phenotypically White” (Wheaton, 2017). Such homogeneity according to structural forces of power that involve subject positionality are created intentionally and are direct reflections of the histories discussed in this text. James Baldwin noted that, “the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally present in all that we do” (Giroux, 2021). *Hui Nalu* members find an identity that is linked to a pre-colonial past in a threatened cultural space. Later in 1976, the *Hui O He’e Nalu* or *Club of Wave Sliders* was formed as a revival of the original *Hui Nalu Club* in order to respond to the increasing numbers of mostly U.S. and Australian surfers brought to the shores of Hawai‘i by the growing global surf and sport industry. The *ka po’ina nalu* is situated as an endangered native Hawaiian space due to the incursion of the modern surf industry, a continuation of colonial seizure (Walker, 2011). The group continues to champion Hawaiian agency by outlining the club’s objectives to preserve Native Hawaiian influence over the sacred waves of the North Shore. I use these examples of conceptions, group formations, and symbolic uses to indicate a dialectical tension present in the discourse concerning surfing. From the intersections of its corporeality and significations, a production occurs that Sonja Modesti (2008) refers to as a “material consequentiality,” which can be felt by individual practitioners.

The relationship with the ocean and the unique movement on boards in surf zones embodied by the aforementioned Hawaiian princes, Freeth and Kahanamoku are indicative of an Indigenous epistemology associated with *he’e nalu* and traditional Austronesian and Oceanic seafaring cultures. As the accomplishments of Freeth and Kahanamoku are framed according to national and sport optics, they help propel surfing, swimming, Hawai‘i, and the U.S. onto the global stage. They both gave surfing demonstrations around the world and Kahanamoku won Olympic gold medals for the U.S. Walker remarked that Hawaiian representation as semi-autonomous in international competitions, outside of the *Olympics* (a point of contention on the Hawaiian Islands), enables “Hawaiian surfers to develop unique and empowering identities,” which have functioned in the context “of longstanding cultural, political, and economic struggle evolving from a 150-year

history of colonization” (2017). Along with Hawai‘i, the *World Surf League* also recognized Guåhan as an independent region which, according to the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization, is one of seventeen entities that remain under control by U.N. member states, including the U.S., the largest territorial power (Statham, 2002). As the sports centric framework unfolds so do notions of national identity and sovereignty, which further the *sport of kings* reference while also marking its use as an empowering optic to resist colonial legacies of domination.

The associations of surfing with leisure have been heightened through the narrative of the movie *Gidget* (1959) and its symbolization as an aspect of counterculture. Due in part to its success, by the 1950’s, a beach culture of youthful carefree leisure with the surfboard at its center was practiced by millions. The narrative first appeared as a novel that follows the true story of a young woman named Kathy Kohner, written by her father. The merit of the novel is secondary to its profound societal impact as a film. Simon Winchester (2015) refers to it as, “the single greatest influence on introducing surfing,” as through this tale the audience learns the practice of riding waves as well as its escapist function in a distinctly apolitical shore. Here, surfing is placed once again at the periphery of mainstream society pursued by a few unique and culturally transgressive individuals. The ethos of resistance to rigid structural norms of settling communities, now in Southern California, is transformed into a counter cultural ease of both the shore and the act of riding waves, solidified in narrative. The counterculture that centers around leisure and the practice of riding waves, like other tensions visited in this article, is problematized by its use to encroach on Indigenous spaces through appropriations of Indigenous practices.

As *he‘e nalu* turns to surfing and becomes, along with beach culture, synonymous with leisure, the narrative combines with a national image. Fanon (1963) noted that culture was often mined from the past, “to be displayed in all its splendor, is not necessarily” that of one’s own country. A care-free narrative indicative of California beach culture was centered around the many popular narratives that have depicted surfing

as play. This sentiment has been strengthened with each articulation as an entire genre of surf exploitation films has been produced. In these iterations, the practice of surfing has played a lesser role to the formation of an easygoing lifestyle, as in *Bikini Beach* (1964) and *Beach Blanket Bingo* (1965). American Independent Pictures and Hollywood studios produced over seventy surf-related films such as *Beach Party* (1963), *Muscle Beach Party* (1964), *How to Stuff a Wild Bikini* (1965), and *Ghost in the Invisible Bikini* (1966) (Ormrod, 2005). The mainstream cooptation of surfing's cultural meaning says much about the ways in which practices become conditioned through narratives as millions are inspired to experience them and live out their depictions, resulting in actual beach scenes that resemble those constructed in films.

The lived U.S. and Californian culture of surfing aims for more authentic representations and produces a counter-cultural rebuttal to these depictions in the form of small budget documentaries produced by Bruce Brown, John Severson, and others. In many ways, these films merely reinvent the questioned dominant narratives as an infusion of appropriated Indigenous knowledge cemented in the mythological status of American exceptionalism and the frontier spirit. These films are the precursors to surf and skateboard videos, which revolve around authentic quality performances. The early versions, notably *The Endless Summer*, also entailed a substantial lifestyle narrative. Brown's initial budget documentaries, *Slippery When Wet* (1958), *Surf Crazy* (1959), *Barefoot Adventure* (1960), *Surfing Hollow Days* (1962), and *Waterlogged* (1962) are shown to high school and civic center auditoriums throughout Southern California (Low, 2013). *The Endless Summer* completed in 1964 slowly emerged to become highly influential, which seemingly tapped into a more authentic ethos of surfing culture not depicted by mainstream films at the time; however, the narrative presented in *The Endless Summer* gained discursive strength as a synecdoche of Western expansion, precisely because it arises as an alternative to the overt physical domination of war. The narrative in the film is intended to embrace the unknown and foreign but comes to rehash colonialist narratives of surfing conquest and escapism through Indigenous and environmental domination. In this film, culture is not

controlled overtly as in war or colonization, denigrated systematically as in missionary projects, or excluded intentionally by all-white organizations such as the *Outrigger Canoe Club*; rather, identity and agency are overlooked in favor of empty surf *breaks*, available land, and absent culture. Aside from the overtly racist scenes and characterizations, locals in *The Endless Summer* become naive characters of childlike infatuation and awe, a narrative that continues in magazines such as *Surfer* (2015), and elsewhere. *The Endless Summer* sparks an entire generation of surfers and non-surfers alike to set off in exploration and pursuit of a now essential surfing narrative, the search for the perfect wave, which is devoid of others competing for the same resource.

This perfect “emptied” wave, functions as a *Terra Incognita* in the narrative, an unknown location that is preconceived as an available utopia. By surfing foreign *breaks* in “discovery” and “enlightening” local populations unaware of their own resources, these global performances read as reminders of the territorial and symbolic claims of Magellan, Cook, and Francis Drake before. Like the colonial search for the mythical south land conceptualized as early as antiquity, *Terra Incognita Australis*, as a place, is not found but created. The film preconceives this location in South Africa at Cape St. Francis, a right *break* stretching across an intentionally emptied sandy beach. The film is campy and apolitical, countercultural while reveling in privileged innocence as the practice of riding waves becomes synonymous with, a contemporary version of the carefree colonial narrative. The surf zone is not empty, it has already been colonized and the Indigenous practitioners removed, which allows the fantasy of the “empty beach” to continue. Low (2003) observed that there is no mention of the country’s notorious system of racial segregation, or the fact that Hawaiian professional surfers such as Dane Kealoha and Eddie Aikau are, “...technically prohibited from surfing on many of the country’s finest beaches.” After its release, like *The Travels of Marco Polo* (1300), which in part, sparked the journey of Christopher Columbus and others, the globe for surfers is much smaller and unrealistic. In turn, many more are prompted to wander a world of untapped waves to “discover” a resource that is not fully appreciated by friendly locales of an apolitical shore.

Severson, to promote his budget documentaries, created a newsletter featuring still shots and articles that initially sold 5,000 copies to become *Surfer Magazine* in 1961. In the first issue, Severson wrote: ...in “this crowded world the surfer can still seek and find the perfect day, the perfect wave, and be alone with the surf and his thoughts” (*The Surfer* 1960). Joining the narrative of *The Endless Summer* in the pursuit of unrealized waves, readers are positioned as explorers of a razed cultural landscape, as an uncontested space to conquer and settle, outside the gaze of a modern world. This narrative plays out in Joseph Conrad’s, *The Heart of Darkness*, and adapted into Francis Ford Coppola’s film, *Apocalypse Now* (1979), as the practice of surfing becomes symbolic of American expansion. In the film, Bill Kilgore (played by Robert Duvall) emphatically states, “Charlie don’t surf.” Aside from the use of a cultural epithet, it is also untrue, as the Vietnamese army utilized the surfboard in military operations. Never-the-less, the scenes in the popular artifact, further link surfing, leisure, and empire (Laderman, 2014). In 2020, during a global pandemic that restricted travel, *Surfer Magazine* continued the narrative, celebrating on the cover and in multiple articles, “60 years of escape.” Most that ride waves, as devised on the islands initially, surf local *breaks* and enter communities through surfing rather than escape from them; yet, the imperial narrative of discovery persists, which overwrites cultural gestures and performances of place for a landscape of self-discovery and denial.

The impact of this symbolic production encourages the search for the empty wave with films such as *The Endless Summer* and *Surfing Hollow Days* (1961). This is followed by a counter cultural soul, encompassed by films in the 1960’s such as *Hot Generation* (1967), which fuels the “shortboard revolution” narrative and *Evolution* (1969), which also celebrates a radical style of crouching low to engage in tight turns, a posture required of riding the ancient Hawaiian *alaia*. (Warshaw, 2010). In the next decade, surfing discourse took a turn toward the psychedelic, with films featuring an esoteric aesthetic such as *Cosmic Children* (1970) and *Morning of the Earth* (1972) featuring music by Pink Floyd. Severson’s most popular film, *Pacific Vibrations* (1970) followed a

countercultural return, in which humans live in harmony with nature, sensationalizing a primitivist escapism (Warshaw, 2010). The political and hierarchal nature of the practice is substituted for apolitical leisure as *he'e nalu* is enmeshed and hidden within surfing discourse. This hyperbolic subjectivity is exemplified in Sean Penn's portrayal of Jeff Spicoli in *Fast Times of Ridgemont High* (1982). Desiring cultural capital more than mainstream success, the character longs to visit and dominate the ancestral homeland of *he'e nalu*.

By the late 1980's and 1990's, surf films capitalized off of the cultural appropriation of riding waves; e.g., in films such as *The North Shore*, while compiling stereotypes in films such as *Surf Ninjas* (1993). Over forty years later, *The Endless Summer II* (1994) reasserted the same scenario as the first, while *Surfer Magazine*, over fifty years later, continues to uphold and celebrate the principles of surf travel as societal escape, all in pursuit of, the perfect "empty" wave (*Surfer* 2017; *Surfer* 2020). These discourses are symbolic of what it means to ride waves in its contemporary context, situating escape as a core value. While containing shreds of established *he'e nalu* ontology, they ignore and manipulate countless principles such as local communal interaction, gender equality, and socio-political elements. Bhabha (1994) wrote that colonial discourses depend on a fixed ideological construction of otherness as signs of difference are paradoxical modes of representation. Such constructions connote a rigidity and an "unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition." The success of these depictions and symbolic portrayals rests on the fact that they reflect mainstream values of hypermasculinity, heterosexuality, white superiority, imperial expansion, and rugged individualism. A critical reading of the intersections between *he'e nalu*, Indigenous surfing, and contemporary surfing recognizes the threads of power and the bodies affected by such discourse. As *he'e nalu* is seized as surfing, the practice undergoes a signifying shift indicative of a much larger discourse about Pacific Islanders and an even larger discourse of colonial subjectivity, Indigeneity, and place (Walker, 2017; Bhabha, 1990, 1994; Said, 1979; Spivak, 2006). Each instance of symbolic representation adds to the

semiotic weight of narrative structures as we continue to perform and question texts.

Conclusion

Riding waves is a product of various cultural, political, and environmental forces that play out in symbolic and corporeal forms. Just as it has been informative to ride waves and carve boards it has also been critical to examine what it means to ride waves through discursive attention. In doing so, I can also read the context in which we ride and the various forces that inform the subject and subjectivity of the practitioners involved. I argue that *he'e nalu* developed from traditional seafaring and canoe building practices throughout maritime Southeast Asia and Oceania that result in the initial settling of the Pacific Islands. By placing surfing in this context, I attempted to recognize the function of riding waves in historical contexts and reveal some of a much larger body of Indigenous knowledge as well as its shared territory of obfuscation. From the context of the Hawaiian Islands' pre-colonial contact, I turned to the symbolic transformations involved as *he'e nalu* merges with surfing discourse, paying particular attention to the ways in which notions of political, cultural, and social identity are appropriated, produced, and maintained. For example, as mainstream surfing culture shifts to short boards from long boards the turn is noted as a "short board revolution" when it is more accurately a *return* to the Indigenous *alaia*, the board most used initially (Warshaw, 2010). I also argue that these tensions within the history of surfing discourses are felt and experienced in the contemporary practices of surfing around the globe as the *ka po'ina nalu* continues to function as a *borderland*. This borderland is then transferred to the identities of the practitioners themselves through material consequentiality. The practice of riding waves is a form of Indigenous advocacy in its ability to reference cultural expression, and perhaps in its ability to communicate and mark loss. Finally, I have looked at how text, image, and film extend early representations of riding waves, which tend to reflect colonial conventions in decolonial and postcolonial contexts. Ultimately, we find in surfing a dialectical tension that reflects forces of cultural repression

and forms of wisdom ingrained in the practice as an act of Indigenous knowledge and advocacy.

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Discography

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| Slippery when Wet (1958) | Pacific Vibrations (1970) |
| Gidget (1959) | Crystal Voyager (1973) |
| Surf Crazy (1959) | Big Wednesday (1978) |
| Barefoot Adventure (1960) | Apocalypse Now (1979) |
| Surfing Hollow Days (1962) | Fast Times of Ridgmont High(1982) |
| Waterlogged (1962) | The North Shore (1987) |
| Beach Party (1963) | Surf Ninjas (1993) |
| Endless Summer (1964) | Endless Summer II (1994) |
| Muscle Beach Party (1964) | Blue Crush (2002) |
| How to Stuff A Wild Bikini (1965) | Riding Giants (2004) |
| Ghost in the Invisible Bikini (1962) | |

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