

Surfing and the modern Brazilian tradition

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Abstract: The aim of this study was to describe and analyze the history of surfing in Rio de Janeiro between the decades of 1960 and 1970, in order to gather general elements of reflection on how its operational structure developed. The idea was to explore the relationships between this sport and the broader social circumstances in which it was born and developed. For this purpose, I used sources like newspaper articles and magazines of the time, such as *O Globo*, *Jornal do Brasil*, *Jornal dos Esportes*, *Veja*, *Fatos e Fotos*, *O Cruzeiro*, *Brazil Surf* and interviews with figures who staged some of the events treated here.

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One of the latest developments in leisure studies has been the analysis of the phenomenon of nature sports. And despite the significant increase in the number of works on it, there are still some important theoretical challenges that have not even begun to be addressed. An example is its historical dimensions, a facet of these activities that has seen big gaps in ongoing research (DIAS; MELO; ALVES JUNIOR, 2007). In fact, there is an almost complete silence over it, and historical incomprehension can lead to conceptual misunderstandings or, in some cases, to misinterpretation.

With this picture in mind, my goal here is to present some considerations of specifically historical character on one of the many modalities that makes up this vast and complex sporting segment. More specifically, we want to make a historical analysis of the first steps of the development process of surfing in Rio de Janeiro. Rio and surfing: they are a place and a sport modality that are known to have exercised

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considerable influence on the development of the whole field of the so called nature sports. For this purpose, I used sources like newspaper articles and magazines of the time , such as O Globo, Jornal do Brazil, Jornal dos Esportes, Veja, Fatos e Fotos, O Cruzeiro, Brazil Surf and interviews with figures who staged some of the events treated here.

The first signs of surfing in Brazil can be identified in the mid '30s, when a couple of young people from Santos, in São Paulo coast, spontaneously take some initiatives in the manufacture and use of "Hawaiian boards", as surfboards were known then (GUTENBERG, 1989). However, this was a movement that did not spread or diffuse and its effects finished right then. It was only some years later, between the late 1950s and early 1960s, in Rio de Janeiro, that this practice would effectively begin to form a sports field. At that time, there is the first, shy evidence of the presence of this practice on the beaches of Rio.

At this point, it should be noted that there is no indication that this development had any correlation with the events taken place in Santos. That is, there is no link or continuity between these two events. On the contrary, these two movements are absolutely autonomous; one did not influence the other in any way - at least as far as we know. The genesis of surfing in Brazil, therefore, is in Rio de Janeiro, where the practice has gained popularity, has created a market around itself and, finally, consolidated a network of people who, henceforth, would embrace the sport as a life style and a forming landmark of their identities.

Before the beginning of the 1960s, the habit of standing on boards (it was not even called surfing yet), was still an unusual leisure activity, although it had its adherents. The practitioners divided their spare time between a number of other sport modalities and practices, especially diving and spearfishing, which occupied a prominent place in beach recreation.

Slowly and gradually, surfing starts to compete with the young people's favorite sports. Riding the waves standing on wooden boards would be something that the young generation would do more and more. The increasing centrality of the habit can be perceived through the intensity with which they devoted themselves to the improvement of the boards. After some time that they were using "church doors" (a rectangle of heavy wood, about two meters long and with a squared beam), Irencyr Beltrão was presented to a naval carpenter, who used to make repairs on the vessels of the Marimbás Club's members, in Copacabana. Irencyr then commissioned him to manufacture plywood boards, called "madeirites" at the time. This carpenter, named Moacyr, improved the hydrodynamics of the boards giving them certain wingspan and a rounded tip.

The enhancement of the boards allows a better handling, making the sport more attractive, in a way. Thus, the gradual improvement of the boards is an important element for understanding the dissemination of this practice, because now the skill level and strength required is considerably smaller, ensuring greater facilities. The "church doors", for example, because of their low buoyancy, required, above all, that the waves were considerably big, so it could slide on them. By itself, this precondition functions as a sorting, selecting only the most skilled and bravest swimmers. Also due to the low buoyancy, it was necessary to use fins that could offer greater propulsion. Overall, the precariousness of its manufacture made them somewhat uncomfortable:

The nose too was bent and then, if you caught the wave, instead of going over it, you braked. And the board was made tongue and groove, and had some transom: you were kneeling, you go out and bang! You hit the knee on the transom. It was pretty bad [...] At the bottom there was a long lath, so as to be able to carve – the cool thing was to carve – you had to enter that way, to go left. And to be able to carve you had to stick your hand in the water, because the tendency of the board was to go straight. The posterior third of it

was a lath of about three centimeters high. So it was easy to enter the wave: the wave was big, it was there. Now, to make cutbacks was more complicated [laughs] (Colassanti, 2007).

In this sense, the madeirites may have fulfilled an important role in divulging the new sport, as they made this practice somewhat less demanding, and above all, less sufferable. However, the techniques for using the material, and the material itself, scarcely circulated, and was restricted to a very narrow circle of acquaintances.

In the years that followed, 1962 and 1963, two simultaneous movements would mark the sport. The first refers to the expansion of opportunities to have access to plywood boards. A carpenter of Francisco Octaviano street, in Ipanema, starts to manufacture these materials in order to commercialize them, making them available to the largest possible number of consumers (since his goal was to earn profits from their sale), which potentially broadens the access to the material and allows more people to experience the sport.

At the same time, the fans of that habit were still pursuing ways to make more appropriate equipment, keeping in sight its progressive improvement. In 1963, Jorge Bally and Arduino Colassanti start trying to manufacture styrofoam boards. By then, foreign magazines (on diving) had images of big boards used in California. It was inspired in these models that we started using styrofoam, which soon proved difficult to handle. It was melted by the *ethylene glycols*, used as a reactant in the manufacture of *polyester resins*, which coated the board. In search for alternatives to isolate it, Colassanti discovered at Shell another resin, called epoxy, which used epoxy instead of polyester in its manufacture. With this new material, it was possible to handcraft a styrofoam board.

The experimentations continued. In General Osorio square there was a News stand that sold foreign magazines of all kinds. One of them was the newly created Surfer. In it,

fiberglass boards could be seen. As this was an expensive material, other experiments were made.

In short, these two processes have contributed significantly to establish surfing as an ordinary and commonplace habit on the beaches of Rio. On the one hand, the marketing of plywood boards, and on the other, the continued improvement of the boards (triggered by the practitioners themselves, through handmade work).

However, we should not overestimate the influence of the latter technology in modulating sporting cultures. Other studies have pointed out the problems of analysis that overly focused on technical innovation, a type of approach that points to the need to relativize it in understanding the configuration of certain sports. Hoibian Olivier (2005), for example, criticizes views of the historical development of mountaineering which are based on what the author says is a "very simple and coherent version of the history of climbing." Nick Ford and David Brown (2006, p. 37) also ponder on this same kind of narrative structure in the history of surfing. According to them, to the excessive technological determinism, which computes changes in the style and performance of surfers in what regards the material and style of their boards, broader cultural factors can be added.

We agree with these reflections and we could say that there are general and sociological aspects which are more relevant in determining the establishment of these customs in Rio de Janeiro (and consequently in Brazil). These aspects ultimately determine in a somewhat greater extent the course of events that happen in their history. In this sense, the role of those figures involved in surfing in Rio de Janeiro is not restricted to offering new materials and in greater quantity. In addition, the "group of Arpoador"¹ fulfilled a key symbolic function in diffusing this new sport.

¹ "patota do Arpoador"

Bruno Hermann, for example, one of the figures involved in surfing at that time, was crowned twice as world spearfishing champion, which placed him in a prominent position in the sporting world. Since then, references to his name are very common in articles that showed his photos, his deeds and his accomplishments. The same was true for Arduino Colassanti, who was a sort of icon of that generation, seen as a symbol of beauty and good behavior. He participated as an actor of the first productions of Cinema Novo, and was the heartthrob of the movement.

Thus, the social position occupied by that group of surfers was privileged. Especially if we consider that when surfing was gaining space among the leisure activities in the South Zone of Rio (and particularly in Arpoador), it was a time when artists, journalists and intellectuals began the construction and dissemination of a certain discourse structure that would produce the newest myth in Rio: Ipanema. In this process, the Bossa Nova musicians, filmmakers of “Cinema Novo”² or a group of journalists, known as the “Esquerda Festiva”³ gained prominence on the national scene. In the wake of this success, they were making their habits known, i.e. the customs of Ipanema. This broader movement was joined by some beach goers and surf practitioners, of whom Colassanti Arduino is perhaps the best example. His participation in Nelson Pereira dos Santos’ films, his friendship with Roberto Menescal, with whom he studied since childhood and who also practiced diving in Arpoador, his relationship with Leila Diniz, Sonia Braga and other muses of the period, are examples of the juxtapositions of these networks of relationships.

Such a position would play a great influence on the diffusion of surfing. The possibility of having surfers

² Literally, “New Cinema”. It is a genre of film that rose in the 60s and 70s in Latin America. It emphasizes social equality and intellectualism.

³ “Esquerda festiva” (literally ‘festive left’) is an ironic expression, to designate people who identified with the socialist or communist ideology during the 1964 military regime in Brazil. They were usually students, artists and intellectuals, who did not take part in the action against the military regime, but who advocated its overthrow in bars and parties.

circulating between these spheres, which, by turn, were projected to the public scene in the city and in the country as having a certain habitus, seems to have been crucial to give visibility to surfing, tying it to the cultural ambience. Thus, the surfer's presence "in the right place at the right time and doing the right thing" was what forged surfing as a role model for the whole lifestyle that was being produced and publicized about Ipanema. In this sense, it is interesting to note how Bossa Nova tended to be represented, like surfing, as something "young, of daytime, facing the sea, and this was the spirit of sunshine of Ipanema and Arpoador"⁴. The Bossa Nova lyrics, likewise, were "an oceanic saga: swimming, on surfboard or on a boat, its composers paid homage to the sea and to the summer. This ocean and this summer were from Ipanema"⁵ (CASTRO, 1999, p. 59).

Ultimately, surfing has become a relatively important element within the set of images that were used for the sedimentation of a way of life typical of that neighborhood, which, by its turn, was increasingly projecting itself on the national scene as the neighborhood's artistic and moral vanguard. The growing popularity of this sport, therefore, was a kind of echo of the increased prestige that Ipanema testified at that moment. The "invention" of a neighborhood that intended to be a behavior reference for the rest of the city (and even for the rest of the country), starting fads and exporting trends, created the perfect cultural ambience for the modus operandi of a certain "Ipanema bunch", in total synergy and integration with other bunches, to be leveraged to stardom. Through the process of invention of Ipanema, to which surfing is inextricably bound, the beaches of Rio de Janeiro were ready to assume the airs of a "carioca" California.

⁴ "jovem, diurna, de frente para o mar, e esse espírito solar era o de Ipanema e do Arpoador"

⁵ "uma saga oceânica: a nado, numa prancha ou num barquinho, seus compositores prestaram todas as homenagens possíveis ao mar e ao verão. Esse mar e esse verão eram os de Ipanema"

With the establishment of Ipanema as the center of production of a new attitude towards life and with the end of the first half of the 1960s, a development cycle of surfing would end and a new one would start. The improvised banter would give way to a more elaborate hobby. Standing on the waves would be called "surfing". "Doors of church" and "madeirites" would now be "boards." His supporters would be, first, the "boarders" and then the "surfers".

In this respect, the appearance of surfing as "surfing" corresponds to the incorporation of models of practice from the United States. It represents the ultimate integration of the beach leisure in Rio to the worldwide dynamic of popularization of this sport. The equipment, including surfboards, magazines, movies and all the typical surfer clothing, would be imported. With the materials there came the concepts underlying each of them. Some examples of the materials are fiberglass boards, with a buoyancy far greater than those that were previously used, in different sizes and models for specific situations, or flowery hang ti shorts representing the cult of Hawaiian hedonism.

Since the beginning of 1964, reports were found that attested to these trends of adhesion to imported behaviors. In January of that year, the magazine *O Cruzeiro* said: "There is something new in the sun of Arpoador - which this year resembles Hawaiian beaches, with guys riding the waves crest balancing on boards. And the sport has an English name: 'surfing'⁶" (A NOVA ..., 1964, p. 24). Similarly, in October of the following year, *Jornal do Brasil* read:

nothing can brighten a surfer more than a day of surf at Sunset Beach, the most famous surfing beach on the north of Oahu island, in

⁶ "Há algo de nôvo sobre o sol do Arpoador – que, êste ano, toma feições de praias havaia nas, com rapazes deslizando na crista das ondas equilibrados sôbre pranchas. E o esporte tem nome inglês: 'surfing'"

Hawaii, when waves reach 10 feet of height⁷
(SURF... 1965, p. 1).

Another factor that would prove very influential in the consolidation of surfing in Rio is the arrival of foreigners. As with the imported materials, these foreigners would bring with them beliefs and models for the new sport. One of them is the Australian Peter Troy, considered a key figure in this consolidation.

The Australian landed on the beaches of Rio after having attended an international surfing championship held in Peru, in February 1964. After the competitions, Troy moved on, intending to know other countries of South America. He entered Brazil through the Amazon, where he eventually contracted diseases. It was thus, somewhat weakened, that he arrived in Rio de Janeiro a few months later that same year. Making friends on the beach, he managed to stay in Irency Beltrão's house. Once recovered, he started frequenting the beach again, as expected. There he had the chance to strengthen ties with other surfers, among whom, Arduino Colassanti, who owned a Styrofoam surfboard manufactured by himself. He lent it to Peter Troy.

He caught a wave and "wow": we were flabbergasted. He walked on the board and we did not know any of that. He made one or two maneuvers, and on the second wave, he took a bottom turn so radically, that it ripped the bottom off my board. I had made a thin bottom because fiberglass was expensive. He tore it, but I did not care, because just seeing those two maneuvers he did... : ooh man, it is another sport (COLASSANTI, 2007).⁸

⁷ nada é capaz de alegrar tanto um surfista do que um dia de ressaca em Sunset Beach, a mais famosa praia de *surf*, ao norte da Ilha de Oahu, no Haváí, quando as ondas chegam a 10 metros de altura

⁸ Ele pegou uma onda e "ã": ficamos boquiabertos. Ele caminhava em cima da prancha e a gente não conhecia nada disso. Fez uma ou duas manobras e na segunda onda ele deu um botom turn tão radical que arrancou o fundo (bottom) da minha prancha. Eu tinha feito o fundo mais fininho porque era caro à fibra de vidro. Ele arrancou, mas eu nem me importei, só porque de ver aquelas duas manobras que ele fez: pô, é outro esporte

By that time, Russell Coffin, young student of the American College and resident of Copacabana, had a fiberglass surfboard manufactured in the United States: a 9'6" Bing. In possession of this board, of a much higher standard than those used in town, Peter Troy surfed again. This time, he gave new uses to the material, and was intently watched by many bathers: "Peter Troy busted: hang-ten and all the craziness he was entitled to"⁹ (COLASSANTI, 2007).

It was then that surfing definitely started in Rio de Janeiro. Marcelo Arias (2002, p. 13), for example, says:

When he left the water, hundreds of people cheered him! Peter had, unknowingly, planted the seed of the true surfing on Brazilian soil. His performance was so spectacular, that many people are unanimous in stating that surfing in Brazil can be divided between before and after the passage of Peter Troy in our land!

It is true that from this moment on, surfing would experience increasing popularity, and even enter a new phase of development. But before we talk about that, let us look at the issue in more detail.

Historical inflections do not take place abruptly. History does not make leaps. Admittedly, the performance of the Australian and his time in Rio may have had some influence in the development of surfing, but it is difficult to specify how much. Anyway, before that, people already had access to foreign magazines, which informed about the evolution of the sport in the United States. Similarly, students of the American College, as Russell Coffin, paraded with their fiberglass boards on the beaches of Rio. But before Peter Troy was in Rio, there was already talk of a rise in popularity of the sport, as well as an admiration the bathers felt for those who had an astonishing performance standing on boards. In January 1964, therefore before Peter Troy was in Brazil, the magazine *O*

⁹ "Aí o Peter Troy arrebitou: hang-ten e todas as loucuras que tinha direito"

Cruzeiro (NOVA ..., 1964, p. 92) mentioned “NINE 'boarders' who bewitched beach goers in Rio with their juggling upon the waves [...] With their 2.5 m boards, they dominate the waves of Arpoador with grace and courage.”¹⁰ With respect to the surfing practitioners, it is said that:

The Cariocas of Post 6 and Arpoador have long since envied the surfing practitioners of the Hawaiian beaches. Two years ago the pioneers of this exciting sport in Brazil decided to enjoy the waves of Arpoador to get the so called "Emotion of the Gods". "The practice spread gradually among the beach habitués, and a group of passionate people was formed."¹¹

The 1964 article refers to two years before. When the “boarders” moved to other beaches such as Barra da Tijuca and Recreio for lack of adequate waves, the residents of the South Zone (*Zona Sul*) were "deprived of a beautiful spectacle, to which they were accustomed"¹² (NEW ... 1964, p. 93). Speaking of "juggling", "adventures" or "absolute mastery of movement", which made the sport "a fascinating sport," the magazine testified that "Currently, this sport has reached enormous popularity. “The board manufacturers only accept orders with two weeks notice. They cost about Cr\$ 20,000.00”^{13 14} (THE NEW ..., 1964).

In the same article, it is said that Múcio, one of the nine "Boarders", was preparing himself for competitions in Peru (the same one in which Peter Troy would participate).

¹⁰ "NOVE 'pranchistas' que enfeitavam os frequentadores das praias cariocas com seus malabarismos sobre as ondas [...] Em suas pranchas de 2,5 m eles dominam com graça e arrôjo, as ondas do Arpoador."

¹¹ Desde há muito os cariocas do Pôsto 6 e Arpoador invejavam os praticantes do "surfing" das praias havaianas. Faz dois anos que os pioneiros dêste emocionante esporte, no Brasil, resolveram aproveitar as ondas do Arpoador, para conseguir a chamada "Emoção dos Deuses". A prática difundiu-se aos poucos entre os habitués das praias, e formou-se um grupo de apaixonados.

¹² "privados de um espetáculo bonito, a que já estavam acostumados"

¹³ Twenty thousand cruzeiros.

¹⁴ "Atualmente, êste esporte atingiu enorme popularidade. – Os fabricantes de pranchas só aceitam encomenda com duas semanas de antecedência. Elas custam cêrca de Cr\$ 20.000,00"

Therefore, it becomes evident that even before the arrival of the Australian in Brazil, the diffusion and institutionalization of surfing, more or less in the way in which it was practiced in the United States, had already been triggered. In the article there is also mention of a championship which would have happened months before at Arpoador.

For all of this, it is hard to imagine that in a few months there was the necessary disposition to organize a federation, a competition or that such initiatives were available. This goes without saying that this disposition was awakened solely by the presence of a single man, who performed one or two times. In short, Peter Troy's influence on surfing in Rio de Janeiro had its importance, but it is not as important as it is believed. It seems to be more appropriate to consider that the events that happened in 1964 refer to a process that was in course before the Australian arrived in Rio. His arrival was only its culmination. The dogmatic cult to this character seems more of a blind reproduction of the historiographic paradigms that super-scale the action of isolated individuals, rather than the accumulation of everyday experiences, a kind of historiography that, ultimately, mythicizes certain actions and certain figures, making them heroes and disregarding the fact that the development of a social practice, such as surfing, is the result produced by a chain of interdependent factors, among which are an extensive network of actors, disputes, conflicts and achievements.

One of the fundamental webs of that network is the consolidation of a generation identified specifically with surfing. In this sense, it should be noted that, henceforth, despite these controversies, a group of youths that presented themselves publicly as surfers would appear. This was not a group of young supporters of various types of beach sports modality, among which was surfing. Surfing was no longer "another option" and was seen by some as "the option". A generation appeared, whose identities were directly and specifically constructed as a function of surfing.

In April 1966, at the time of a championship in Arpoador, it was said that "a perfect distinction is already being made in Ipanema (and this was proven in the Arpoador championship): the emergence of a Surfing Generation, entirely different from the "Generation of the yeah yeah yeah"¹⁵ (Kerr, 1966, p. 18).

The characteristics attributed to the "Surfing Generation" concerned the displaying of a certain "style" that included shorts and shirts with design and colors representing the world of surfing. Beside these characteristics, there is spontaneity and relaxation - more than in any other generation.

The surfing fashion was virtually launched in grand style in a weekend contest. Both girls and boys exhibited a set of colors that now are part of surfing. Surfing shorts and shirts with lettering and wave designs are already guaranteed for next summer [...] The Surfing Generation girls were an absolute success. More colorful and more relaxed than any other generation, they were all over the place¹⁶ (Kerr, 1966).

The appearance of certain food habits is also a very enlightening example of the construction of specific symbols of this identification. Around the same time there opened the cafeteria "Balada", located between Teixeira de Melo street and General Osorio Square, in Ipanema. The cafeteria, specialized in juices, eventually attracted the surfers, who chose to consume natural foods.

Over time, these habits spread through the city and, as in other symbolisms of this sport, which also was present in other spheres of activity, eventually influenced the city as a

¹⁵ "uma perfeita distinção já está sendo feita em Ipanema (e isto foi comprovado no campeonato do Arpoador): o aparecimento da Geração Surf, inteiramente diferente da Geração iê-iê"

¹⁶ A moda surf foi praticamente lançada em grande estilo no concurso de fim de semana. Tanto as m^oças como os rapazes exibiam um conjunto de c^ores, que agora fazem parte do surf. Para o ver^o que vem os cal^oes surf e as camisas com letreiros e desenhos de onda j^a est^o garantidos [...] As meninas da Gera^o Surf foram um sucesso absoluto. Coloridas e mais descontraidas que qualquer outra gera^o - as meninas surf estavam em t^odas

whole. That is, without necessarily having been invented by the surfers, the involvement of this group with such habits gives them certain meanings which concerned surfing itself, giving it thus similar characteristics. So, consuming natural juices and sandwiches was becoming synonymous with authenticity and innovation in custom, something connected to people who, like surfers, treasured the opportunity to fraternize with nature.

In the end, this whole picture just deepened the willingness to seek abroad a framework of moral and material references for the sport (and thus for the city). Gear, clothing and sportive concepts for its development in the United States began to be deliberately brought to Brazil. If before such influences were almost circumstantial, occasionally accessed through a magazine or a movie, now they were more constant and intentional. There was already a group of actors who wanted and sought them. Fiberglass boards were now being imported and their value varied between a 100 and 200 dollars. Furthermore, the first Brazilians begin to travel Havaí.¹⁷ 1

So begins the cult of surfing as an activity that requires great dedication, that has to be "taken seriously", as a lifestyle and a philosophy. Hoping to achieve the objectives of this existential experience, a group elects Saguarema as a "sacred site for pilgrimage" (SAQUÁ. ..., 1975, p. 36). Well along the lines of the first Californians who "discovered Hawaii", these surfers were characterized by the desire to travel, by a disengagement from the need of material possessions and by a simple life, like "sleeping in the moonlight."

Further evidence of the intensification of the role played by foreign references is Guilhermão, a sand soccer player, surfer and "naturalist by nature", who since the mid-70s,

¹⁷ 1The first person to travel to Hawaii, that we know of, is Carlos Eduardo Soares, dubbed Penha. He went in 1966. There he participated in championships and met the surfing celebrities. On his return, he brought with him the "minimodels", boards much smaller than the ones that were used here, which, among other things, allowed greater mobility for the surfer (KAMPION, BROWN, 2003; MARCUS, 2007; YOUNG, 1994). He also brought new techniques and manufacturing materials, not to mention other habits such as travel, the simple life and so on.

opened the first entirely natural vegetarian restaurant in Barra da Tijuca.

Guilhermão intends to introduce a custom of many Hawaiian and Californian surfers, who prefer eating quality, substantial foods, in small quantities, to synthetic food (rango) (TOQUES. ... 1975 p. 43).

Similarly, in June 1965 there began an effort to establish the Surfing Federation of Rio¹⁸. The initiative would prove important, not only for organizing championships, but also for doing so with the presence of some American surfers, what would further leverage the promotion of the sport. In March 1966, for example, Mark and Dale Martinson Stuble were present in competitions held in Arpoador. With the presence of over 60 surfers, the competition, which had the support of the magazine *Fatos e Fotos*, also seems to have had a considerable number of spectators.

The very calm sea, without strong waves, impaired what could have been a great exhibition by the Americans aces, but it did not decrease the success of the race, which was followed by a large audience (Kerr, 1966).¹⁹

A curious thing about this competition is that most of the 60 participants were juniors". With a preference for imported fiberglass boards, they "are achieving a great advantage." (KERR, 1966).

Eight months later, in late November, the Federation would organize another competition. It had the support of Coca-Cola and the Government of Guanabara. In the award ceremony the governor was present. There was also a large number of fans:

Although the sea was very calm, with relatively low waves, with the exception of

¹⁸ Federação Carioca de Surf

¹⁹ "a maior afluência ocorreu na classe dos juniores" / "estão atingindo um ótimo aproveitamento"

some 'series', the *carioca* surfer was successful. The weather was good and there was a lot of bathers at Arpoador beach, who watched the unfolding competition sunbathing (SURF... 1966, p. 14)²⁰.

These events show an increased interest in the sport. The cover of this first championship by the Federation indicated that "in a few months, surfing has proved that it will stick with us, because it is a very appealing sport"²¹ (FERNANDA. ..., 1965, p. 6). Gradually the organization of these events seems to have facilitated the blossoming of more curiosities about the new habit. "The public is not accustomed to the surfing, but there are those who go to the leaders and ask questions on how the evaluation is done"²² (FERNANDA. ..., 1965).

Thus, one should even highlight the role the Surfing Federation of Rio played in that context. The Federation, whose initiative summed up to an unofficial venture, as the National Sports Council²³ failed to authorize its creation, organized, anyway, competitions attended by prestigious surfers well known abroad, who relied on support and sponsorship. It goes without mentioning the coverage by the media, which helped promote the new sport.

In this period there also began to appear the first "more serious" commercial initiatives. In 1965, a colonel from the air force named José Freire Parreiras Horta would open a surfboard factory: the São Conrado Surfboards. Shortly thereafter, in 1969, Colonel Parreira, as he was known, would buy a license to manufacture polyurethane boards. These type of boards were being imported to Brazil by Clark Foam,

²⁰ Apesar do mar bastante calmo, com ondas relativamente baixas, a não ser quando em algumas 'séries', o *carioca* de surf foi coroado de êxito. O tempo estava em boas condições e foi grande a afluência de banhistas a praia do Arpoador, que assistiram o desenrolar da competição tomando banho de sol (SURF..., 1966, p. 14).

²¹ "em poucos meses, o surf provou que se fixará entre nós, pois é um esporte bem atraente"

²² "O público ainda não está acostumado com o surf, mas já há os que vão aos dirigentes e fazem perguntas de como é feito o julgamento"

²³ Conselho Nacional de Desporto

whose national representative was Russell Coffin, the same person who lent his board to Peter Troy, in 1964. Similarly, the first store specialized in selling surfing clothes and accessories appears: Magno Store²⁴. In addition to importing clothing, the store offered awards in competitions (in 1966, it would organize their own championship: the Magno's Surfing Championship²⁵). Soon after, two more stores opened up, "Ala Moana" and "Ocean Pacific" (OP), both owned by Cidão. The latter, according to Rico de Souza, who was directly involved with surfing at this time,

was one of the first to view surfing in Brazil as an entrepreneurial opportunity. He began with retail stores and then had an interest in the industry to manufacture his own articles [...] In 1976 Cidão took surfing to the south of Brazil, promoting competition in Florianópolis, Santa Catarina²⁶ (SOUZA, 2007)

At that time, a strong relationship between surfing and the counterculture ambience of those times develops. In a way, surfers came to be one of the groups that embodied the hippy ideals. The realization of these ideals was only possible largely thanks to the family structure of these young people, whose economic condition guarantees to them the possibility of a life spent doing nothing; worried with not to worry (OLD, 1998, especially chap. 4) . But it is obvious that the realization of the endless summer dream would not be supported by families ad infinitum. Sooner or later the "wonderful children of the underground Carioca" - as the press used to call them - would have to grow and make a living with their own resources.

One possible way to combine the nomadic lifestyle of surfing with the needs of emancipation was to professionalize it, that is, to ensure means of subsistence from the very

²⁴ loja Magno

²⁵ Campeonato de Surf da Magno

²⁶ foi um dos primeiros a encarar o surf no Brasil com uma visão empresarial. Ele começou com lojas de varejo e depois partiu para a indústria, com confecção própria [...] Em 1976 Cidão levou o surf para a região sul do país, promovendo competições em Florianópolis, Santa Catarina.

amusement. In this sense, a movement to attempt to organize the sport in commercial terms broadens. In practice, this translates into an effort to assure an institutional organization able to promote it in the conventional sporting manner, i.e., with prizes, sponsorships, tournaments and rankings. Taking advantage of a business rationale, which earned more space in the Brazilian mentality in general, surfing would integrate to the macrosocial dynamics of ample commercialization of symbolic goods that would mark the 70s.

Since the early 60s, in surfing in particular, there is a dilemma that even today divides opinions: a split between the surfers. There is a group that defends the professionalization of the sport and another group, which sees surfing as a "state of mind". The former advocates an increase of institutional organizations and the amount of competitions, which must have cash prizes and the whole structure typical of sporting spectacle. The latter sees in these initiatives a distortion of the true meanings of the sport (BOTH 1995).

The differences in these ways of conceiving the sport produced a real split. In California, for example, Mickey Dora began to fiercely fight the popularization of surfing, largely popularized by the mass distribution of images of the sport through films and products, which really attracted a crowd to the beaches. The growing number of practitioners caused the discontent of some, such as Dora, who accused the processes of being responsible for the increased uncomfortable number of surfers.

In Brazil, controversies involving contrary or partisan positions to marketing and institutionalization of surfing did not resonate with the same intensity this time. Probably because in the 60s the number of surfing consumers was not considerable and therefore the marketing mechanisms would not be so conspicuous. At the same time, the process of industrialization of culture was generally still quite poor among us. Cinema, radio, television, press, theater, music, everything was marketed in a very artisanal, improvised way,

failing to create a productive supply chain with a range broad enough. The first steps of commercialization of surfing was not different.

However, with the civil-military coup of 1964, the continuity and the deepening of the development of standard production and capitalist sociability would be assured. The new system allowed the expansion of material resources for the industrialization of culture, and, through its economic policies, the strengthening of the middle classes, thus increasing the number of consumers.

The consequences of such dynamics for the sports field, particularly for surfing, would be noted in the 70s. At that time, there is already a mass of consumers ready to purchase products related to the new sport, now well established as a culture and a new lifestyle. In the editorial of the magazine *Brazil Surf*, of November / December 1975, one can read:

More and more, the presence of surfing, surfers or related magazines, newspapers and television can be noticed. This can be partly explained by a sudden "surfographic" explosion, which has invaded the houses, stunning a generation, that could not understand well what was happening. Families suddenly saw their children with a different, characteristic way of talking, dressing and even thinking. Besides the surfers themselves, who seek access to all sorts of information on them, this generation constitutes a great market for these newspapers, magazines and television²⁷ (EDITORIAL, 1975th, p. 7)

²⁷ Cada vez mais, pode-se notar a presença de surf, surfistas ou correlatos em revistas, jornais e televisão. Este fato pode ser parcialmente explicado porque, quase que de uma hora para outra, uma "explosão surfográfica" fez com que invadisse as casas deixando atônita uma geração que não conseguia entender bem o que estava acontecendo. De repente viram seus filhos com uma maneira diferente e característica de falar, se vestir e até de pensar. Além desses próprios surfistas, que procuram ter acesso a todo tipo de informação que lhes diga respeito, essa geração surpresa se constitui num excelente mercado para estes jornais, revistas e televisão (EDITORIAL, 1975a, p. 7).

The disposition of these consumers is linked both to the availability of funds for the purchase of materials and to the moral availability to receive and purchase these products and the values they contain. Likewise, there is also a more elaborate technical apparatus which enables the production of accessories and more sophisticated equipment and in larger amounts.

Finally, one can also mention the settlement of a more managerial mindset among the practitioners themselves, who, besides needing revenue for their economic emancipation, get inebriated by this new industrial-commercial sensitivity that permeates the country in various segments, including sports.

In 1973, Maraca, a surfer who had abandoned the business administration course from PUC to "live on sports", said that surfing was changing.

Imagine that a guy from the "Flávio Cavalcanti" TV show came here to propose that we made Vera Fischer "Miss Surfing." It's a ridiculous stretch, but if there is money involved, we'll have to take it [...] But I realized in time it was not a good idea. I sent everything to hell and today I live on surfing. But, heck, it's not easy, believe me. I make boards to sell, but I have been forced to sell my board to buy the kid's milk²⁸ (SURFE... 1975, p. 75)

In principle, the transformation of surfing into something marketable suffered from some paroxysm, without it really being perceived as a dilemma. In practice, this meant to open up to the possibility of making and selling materials, an attitude meant to be "alternative" and "contrary to the system." At the same time, commercial initiatives with broader

²⁸ Imagine que veio aqui um cara do programa "Flávio Cavalcanti" propor para a gente agitar a Vera Fischer como "Miss Surf". É um troço ridículo, mas, se pintar alguma grana, a gente vai ter que topar [...] Eu me toquei a tempo. Rompi com as engrenagens e hoje vivo do surf. Mas, pô, não é fácil, podes crer. Faço prancha para vender, mas já fui obrigado a vender até a minha prancha para descolar o leite da criança (SURFE..., 1975, p. 75)

scope and greater range were evaluated as ridiculous, but possible, if they involved money.

The boundary between these two options, set in a fairly intuitive and esoteric manner, seems to be the "culture of subsistence", i.e., while one markets on a small scale to support himself, which does not represent a distortion of values. From the moment one has surplus production, excessive profit or "surplus value", the process would be subject to criticism.

More generally, one might say - to paraphrase David Both (1995) - that there is an ambiguity in pleasure and discipline. The institutionalization of the sport, which means treating it as a sporting spectacle, encloses some level of discipline. You need to determine in advance, for example, a timetable for competitions, and the location of the disputes may not always have the best waves or not always be what the surfers prefer.

The process can thus bring some level of discontentment, forcing the surfers to counteract their preferences. There will also be, inevitably, some other impediments, such as the need for training, contract enforcement and some other responsibilities. In these terms, the libertarian, transgressor and transcendental content, provided by experiencing contact with the sea, which, according to many surfers, "denotes an almost spiritual experience", would be replaced by a more conventional mindset, that is, more consistent with competition and the quest for profits and results. The sport would be then desecrated.

On the other hand, and paradoxically, these are the circumstances that produce the necessary conditions for achieving a way of life that takes place in surfing. That is, for the surfer, to have an institutional apparatus at his disposal, means to be able to have sponsors that will allow him to be a surfer 24/7, realizing all his ideals. Shaun Thomson, famous

surfer of the 70s, clearly expresses these feelings in an interview with Rico de Souza.

When asked what he thought about the professional surfing championships, he summed up the situation saying, "professionalism is arguably the best way to combine business with pleasure. Money to catch a wave "²⁹ (SHAUN. ..., 1975, p. 33).

Some other cases are emblematic of this ambiguity. Mickey Dora, to whom I have referred, became famous in the surfing world, not only for his style, but also for being one of the main disseminators of hate speech against commercialization of the sport. In articles written in *The Surfer* he frontally criticized initiatives like the movie *Gidget*, which, he said, converted a horde of kids into new surfers, who invaded the beach in Malibu.

But he, curiously, not only contributes to the screenplay, but worked as a stuntman in beach scenes. The hostile and aggressive tone of his ideas did not prevent him from making his own surfboard model for sale, nor from being poster boy of the brands Hang Ten and Greg Noll, appearing in full-page ads in magazines (D'OREY, 2006 , p. 14th).

In Brazil, the discourse and practices of some surfers also expressed such contradictions. The aforementioned Maraca is an interesting example in this regard. Besides him, other practitioners ventured into small businesses, especially manufacturing and selling surfboards. The constant frequency in international beaches, especially in the United States, may have contributed to this process, as the Brazilians were placed in direct contact with the last movements of the sportivization of surfing, participating in championships organized by a professional association and witnessing in situ the growth of their industry.

²⁹ "o profissionalismo é, indiscutivelmente, a melhor maneira de unir o útil ao agradável. Dinheiro para pegar onda"

Fernando Mendonça Lima, Fedoca, commenting on the trends of professionalization of surfing, cites these dynamics. According to him:

The boys traveled, did well out there, brought back new ideas, a name, experience, which influenced decisively in the maturation of national surfing [...] The contact with the international surfing showed the Brazilian surfer the possibility of obtaining remuneration for practicing quality surfing³⁰ (FEDOCA. ..., 1975 p.38)

All this may even have influenced the expectations of this segment in Brazil, which would desire to put the Brazilian sport in these latest trends. Not coincidentally, it is exactly after the commencement of the traveling that begins a feverish multiplication of board factories, in the California's soul garage-style. The Brazilian surfing left the era of the "imported boards" and entered the stage of shortboards and boards of domestic manufacture.

In 1972, the first "Ubatuba Surfing Festival" takes place. It is a competition which gathered surfers from all over Brazil (especially Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, where the practice was already widespread too). Initiated by Jolly Paul Issa, who the year before had founded the Ubatuba Surfing Association, the competition is an important indication of the growth of an attitude towards sportivization. In the second edition of the festival, in the following year, which brought together nearly a thousand people (between public and competitors), it was claimed that the National Confederation of Sports³¹ (CND) recognize surfing as a sport and not as a mere hobby (SURF ..., 1973, p. 61st).

More or less in the same line of approach, in 1975, the store Magno would innovate again, starting the phase of

³⁰ A rapaziada viajou, se deu bem lá fora, trouxe ideias novas, nome, experiência, que influíu decididamente, amadurecendo o surf nacional [...] O contato com o surf internacional mostrou ao surfista brasileiro a possibilidade de se conseguir uma remuneração pela qualidade do surf que pratica

³¹ Confederação Nacional de Desportos

incentive to athletes. That year, a group of six surfers from Rio went to the competition in the São Paulo coast as the "Magno team". The store provided transportation, uniforms, meals and lodging³². The team's presence was striking and drew a lot of attention.

With all possible assistance and all details previously prepared [...] the Magno Team, composed of six of the best surfers of the moment, formed an excellent team, which demonstrates that the 'Brazilian surfer' is starting to look professional surfing differently³³ (UBATUBA, 1975, p. 14)

At the same time, the store would even fund international travel for some surfers, as it had done with Rico de Souza, and, after that, it would organize competitions, such as the Magno Championship at Arpoador.

In the same year (1975), there occurred the first Saquarema Surf Festival, which would happen yearly until 1983 (except for 1979 and 1980). During these events, the "wave of recognition of surfing as a sport" become increasingly overt. There was increasingly talk of the need to elevate the status of its practitioners: known as "beasts" they should be called "amateur athletes". During the Festival of 1977, it was said that:

cultivated in levels of competition, the Brazilian surfing is no longer just a disorganized leisure activity. The tournaments are played with defined rules and victory, as in any other sport, depends

³² They are: Paulette, Kadinho, Ricardo Bocão, Marquinho Boronguer, Paulo Proença e Otávio Pacheco.

³³ Com toda a assistência possível e todos os detalhes previamente preparados [...] a Equipe Magno, composta por seis dos melhores surfistas do momento, formou um excelente time, o que vem demonstrar que o 'surfista brasileiro' já começa a encarar o surf profissional de maneira diferente (UBATUBA, 1975, p. 14)

mainly on training and experience³⁴
(SURFE. ..., 1977, p. 91).

However, the establishment of equivalences between surfing and "any sport" was not so easy. This venture would bump into a moral barrier posed by "ambiguity of pleasure and discipline," which made many surfers skittish to such changes. Thus, the main and most serious difficulty to recognize it as a sport would be to find athletes willing to do so.

Facing the expectation of abandoning the freedom and relative anarchy with which they had been dedicating to their practice, many surfers react to the prospect of turn into businessmen with the irreverence of Ricardo Lima, Ricardo "Bocão", 19 years-old, one of the IV Festival favorites: "This business of bureaucracy is not for me. My business is catch waves, man, not sit behind a desk"³⁵ (SURFE. ..., 1977, p. 91)

At the time, Ricardo Gobber did not know that years later he would become a successful entrepreneur in the world of surfing, a partner of the sporting channel Woohoo, columnist of the magazine *Fluir*, and other business initiatives. Thus, while the Saquarema festivals evidenced momentum toward unequivocal sportivization, they would also be the place where all the contradictions and ambiguities posed by the dilemmas of pleasure or discipline manifested themselves, perhaps even more acutely. Product of an era when the "attitude towards the growth of sport"³⁶ was already more mature, the Festivals of Saquarema widened the degree of attractiveness to large corporate sponsors. The inaugural event,

³⁴ cultivado em níveis de competição, o surfe brasileiro já não é apenas uma desorganizada atividade de lazer. Os torneios são disputados com regras definidas e a vitória, como em qualquer outro esporte, depende principalmente de treino e experiência

³⁵ Colocados ante a expectativa de abandonar a liberdade e relativa anarquia com que vêm se dedicando à sua prática, muitos surfistas reagem à perspectiva de se transformarem em cartolas com a irreverência de Ricardo Lima, o Ricardo "Bocão", de 19 anos, um dos favoritos do IV Festival: "Esse negócio de burocracia não é comigo. Meu negócio é tirar onda, bicho, não sentar atrás de mesa" (SURFE..., 1977, p. 91)

³⁶ "mentalidade do crescimento do esporte"

to which 120 surfers were invited, relied on the promotion of "Ala Moana Surf Shop", "Rio Tur " and "TV Rio " and "Pan Am" (CHAMPIONSHIP ..., 1975, p. 28th)

Similarly, in the Festivals of Saquarema, a group of surfers presentend themselves. Years later, they would be the first athletes properly speaking, a group that would devote to surfing having in view certain performances in competitions. Such is the case of Pedro Paulo Lopes, Pepe, who won the Festival of 1976, and obtained, in the same year, the sixth Pipeline Masters (a prestigious championship played in Hawaii). At the end of the decade, he would become hang gliding world champion, marking the beginning of the generation of "athletes of nature", a "healthy generation of champion athletes [who] pursue the sunshine with boards, candles and delta wings"³⁷(OS ATLETAS ..., 1982, p. 54).

Moreover, the behavioral (and countercultural) influences that raged the sport were also expressed intensely and were evaluated as obstacles. The conduct of many surfers or sympathizers, based on experimentation with drugs and free sex, resonated negatively in the press coverage, supposedly creating a counterproductive image for the sport. The sportivization of it, in this case, meant moralize it, i.e., associate it with images of health and physical well being.

The way the Saquarema Festivals were portrayed represented the opposite of it. "It seems that there was intention to give to what was scheduled the character of the festivals of the late '60s" (SAQUAREMA. ..., 1976, p. 19) and "even the neighborhood papers published defamatory headlines like 'The truth about the Surfing Festival' "³⁸(Silveira, 1977, p. 7). Confusions of all kinds and arrests were the keynote of the event that, in addition to surfing competitions, also had a music festival.

³⁷ "atletas da natureza"/ uma "geração de saudáveis atletas campeões [que] perseguem o brilho do sol com pranchas, velas e asas deltas"

³⁸ "Parece ter havido a intenção de dar ao que estava programado um caráter dos festivais do fim dos anos 60" / "até os jornaizinhos de bairro publicavam manchetes difamatórias do tipo 'A verdade sobre o Festival de Surf'"

The following events had a sense of "insecurity and uncertainty regarding their realization"³⁹ (SAQUAREMA. ..., 1977, p. 11). Still, and perhaps because of that, the first festivals had a successful repercussion. Its image was but far from the desirable one to make it respectable. At least that is what a lot of the people involved thought.

Fighting against these images, some people sought to strengthen the idea of the surfer as someone who "worked hard from day to day, working in the manufacture of surfboards, accessories and clothing"⁴⁰ (Arias, 2002, p. 8). In this sense, the creation of a specialized magazine, written, edited and produced by autochthonous agents, presented itself as a possibility of reversing these representations.

It was believed that if portrayed by the surfers, the sport would not be so stereotypical. On the initiative of Alberto Pecegueiro and Flavio Dias, in 1975, the "Brazil Surf", the first magazine in the sport in the country, is published. Among others, it has served us so far as a source of information. Its goals and purposes were clear: promotion of the sport in the country, make it stable, adult and dignified, and form a new consciousness toward the future of the sport in Brazil. In the first editorial of the first issue it is said that:

Our purpose is to promote surfing and the Brazilian surfer [...] BRAZIL SURF can be the first concrete step for the coveted, needed union of Brazilian surfers. It is time this sport become stable, adult, worthy of the force achieved among its many supporters. It is a number that increases every day and needs to be further enhanced. That's why this magazine appeared. BRAZIL SURF has one overriding goal: to form a new awareness

³⁹ "insegurança e incerteza quanto à sua realização"

⁴⁰ "dava duro no dia-a-dia, trabalhando na manufatura de pranchas, acessórios e vestimentas"

toward the future of surfing in Brazil⁴¹
(EDITORIAL, 1975b, p. 5).

The editorial of the third issue talks about the impact on and the receptivity of the magazine in the surfing world, which was measured in part by the curiosity in acquiring the first number and the response to advertising. Its printing, which started with 6,000 copies for the first edition, was increased to 20,000 on the fourth edition. According to the editors: "The first issue was almost sold out in a week, which forced us to print a second edition, since the first did not come out of Rio de Janeiro, or rather, of the South Zone"⁴² (EDITORIAL, 1975c, p. 9)

Thus one wants to emphasize the idea of a "professional maturity" in Brazilian surfing. Gradually there comes the understanding that a market is definitively consolidated in Brazil, which brings some stability for future investment. The market, which at first did not seem so great, comes as a surprise. This surprise, in turn, brings safety and strengthens the belief in the need to increase the number of practitioners through other initiatives.

In that regard, it is emblematic that, in 1976 - the same year that the newspaper O Globo offers broad coverage of the Festival Saquarema and suddenly puts surfing in the sports pages and not in the crime pages anymore -, Alberto Pecegheiro and Flavio Dias, creators of Brazil Surf, have one year after the creation of the magazine, together with Livio Bruni Jr. and Nelson Machado, owners of the store "Waimea Surf shop", planned the realization of a major international

⁴¹ Nosso propósito é divulgar o surf e o surfista brasileiro [...] BRASIL SURF pode ser o primeiro passo concreto para a tão almejada união dos surfistas brasileiros. União que se faz necessária. Já é tempo deste esporte se tornar estável, adulto, digno da força que conseguiu entre seus inúmeros adeptos. Número que aumenta a cada dia e que precisa ser mais ainda incrementada. É por isso que surgiu essa revista. BRASIL SURF tem um objetivo prioritário: formar uma nova conscientização, voltada para o futuro do surf no Brasil

⁴² "O primeiro número praticamente se esgotou em uma semana o que nos forçou a imprimir uma segunda edição, já que a primeira não chegou a sair do Rio de Janeiro, ou melhor, da Zona Sul"

competition. The competition, which actually took place annually between 1976 and 1982, would be, in the words of Marcelo Arias (2002), "the third member of the holy trilogy of surf championships of the time"⁴³ (alongside Ubatuba and Saquarema).

The "Waimea 5000", as the event was named, offered five thousand dollars in awards and attracted a viewing audience of ten thousand people. For its realization, its promoters attempted to convince the International Professional Surfers (IPS) members of the financial viability of surfing in Brazil. The idea of organizing big international events - which was in accordance with that feeling of surprise triggered by the consumers' receptivity to certain products, such as Brazil Surf magazine itself - gained momentum.

Using the argument that Rio de Janeiro was, after all, a nearly obligatory stop for anyone coming out of South Africa towards the United States, one managed to finally make the "Waimea 5000" a great and important international championship

Since then, what followed was a series of mega events that truly propelled the national surf, since the public has always been huge, and it attracted the interest of many sponsors, such as U.S. top, CCE, Volkswagen, among others⁴⁴ (ÁRIAS, 2002).

At this point, the Globo TV was already sponsoring Rico de Souza and Brahma brewer, Daniel Fredman.

And so ended the early surfing in Rio de Janeiro. Thereafter, the sport would definitely and increasingly be integrated into the cityscape. Its participation in the "carioca" sports and leisure scene was growing. Throughout the 80s,

⁴³ "terceiro membro da trilogia sagrada dos campeonatos de surf dessa época"

⁴⁴ A partir de então, o que se seguiu foi uma série de megaeventos que impulsionaram verdadeiramente o surf nacional, uma vez que o público sempre foi gigantesco, e isso atraía o interesse de inúmeros patrocinadores, tais com a US top, a CCE, a Volkswagen, entre outros

there arised slum and suburbs dwellers, who identified themselves with the practice, breaking with its origins, initially confined to the south of the city.

Its spelling in newspapers no longer relies on quotes, emphasis in italics or bold or the English spelling of surfing: surfing becomes merely "surfe". And even with the permanence of some cruder stereotypes - they also end up increasing its diffusion - surfing finally stops being portrayed as an eccentric habit, a fad or a fancy novelty, and is seen as a sport.

Still, like most other nature sports, surfing would remain "a different sport." Its organizational structure coexists today with a strong sense of ambivalence. Even with the progressive rise of awards and its undisputed institutionalization, the sense that surfing "is much more than a sport" is preserved.

My argument is that this ambivalence is a "structuring - structure" and has always been present in this sport. We saw how since the first half of the 60, sketches of an organization in these terms were already coordinated with the carpenters', who sold "madeirites", or coordinated with the events organized by an unofficial federation, which relied on government support and Coca-Cola's sponsorship. The point is that at the time, the material conditions for such development were still very incipient; not to mention the fact that a business mindset was not yet absolutely established among Brazilian entrepreneurs. The same can be said, of course, of the surfers. In this sense, ideas related to professionalization were still "out of place" ideas. Still, one can already notice the rudiments of what, in the following years, would only gain a better outlined body. It is, in the terms suggested by Fedoca (1975, p. 38), the passage of a "behind the scene trade" to a "trade with broader perspectives", but always a trade.

Practically since surfing started in Brazil, a parallel activity developed: how to make money with surfing. Initially this activity was

based on pure and simple trade, giving rise to the formation and growth of the surfing market. This trade included and covered all transaction variations that have until recently appeared. The first activity was the selling of the main surfing articles, as shorts, paraffin, etc., which was done by the guys who traveled. They brought these items and always sold them in small quantity for guys they knew. With time, this "behind the scene trade" opened broad perspectives, which led to the opening of "Surf shops", which currently are multiplying.⁴⁵

The very surfers' world view, "worried with not to worry", favored the march of this commercialization process with broader perspectives. Its practitioners, based on typical behavior of this modality, instituted under the terms near to a spontaneous *communitas*”, tended to an attitude of "let it go", "okay". Ultimately, this feature ensured the conditions for all these processes to be instituted faster in surfing when compared to other nature sports, such as mountaineering, for example, whose value system always mobilized its practitioners to a militant stance against the marketing initiatives (DIAS, 2007).

But this does not mean that the force exerted by the community or by the structures of the sport were lower because definitely they were not. Surfing also has its code of conduct that gives its judgments about good and bad way to bond with the sport. In this case, the prohibitions were neither

⁴⁵ Praticamente, desde que começou o surf no Brasil, desenvolveu-se paralelamente a ele uma atividade de como ganhar dinheiro com surf. Inicialmente essa atividade baseou-se no comércio puro e simples que originou a formação e o crescimento do mercado surfístico. Esse comércio incluía e abrangia todas as variações de transação que têm pintado a até pouco tempo. A primeira atividade que pintou foi a venda dos artigos principais para o surf, como calções, parafina, etc..., que era feita pela moçada que viajava e trazia esses artigos e os vendia sempre em pequena quantidade para uma rapaziada conhecida. Com o tempo, esse "comércio dos bastidores" abriu perspectivas tão amplas que originaram a abertura das "surf shops", que atualmente só tem se multiplicado.

smaller nor larger but of different nature. Maybe that's why one sees the surfer as "enraptured"⁴⁶.

With the popularity it has achieved in recent years, surfing has become a target of curiosity of an immense crowd, which pays off the investments made in the surfing world. The broadcast of the championships through television, newspapers news and magazines becomes a huge advertisement for any sponsor of these championships [...] I, personally speaking, think that all this will bring a competitive atmosphere to surfing (it already exists in large-scale overseas). It will be good for the entire system, but it frontally strikes my philosophy and conception of surfing, which is an important part of life by itself, for its harmony with nature, as a reality unlinked to financial interests and competitions, where the dispute exists only as a natural gauge, an extra motivation to improve. But never mind, while the boys are on top of boards catching waves and defying the law of gravity, okay, let's do it, it's ok⁴⁷(FEDOCA, 1975).

In short, the presence of a market does not seem to prevent, at least not completely, the realization of the ideals of the surfing culture. On the contrary, perhaps it was this market that made them possible, taking the symbolisms of the sport to people's homes. For all this, it is hard to think of surfing in dichotomous terms, as the expression of a libertarian and

⁴⁶ "Desbundado", an expression of the time.

⁴⁷ Com a popularidade que alcançou nesses últimos anos, o surf se tornou alvo da curiosidade de uma imensa massa popular que compensa os investimentos feitos no campo surfístico. A transmissão de campeonatos através da televisão, as notícias de jornais e revistas, se tornam uma imensa propaganda para qualquer patrocinador desses campeonatos [...] Eu, pessoalmente falando, acho que tudo isso vai trazer um clima de competição dentro do surf (que aliás já existe em grande escala no exterior), que vai ser bom para o sistema todo, mas que atinge frontalmente a minha filosofia e concepção de surf, onde ele faz parte da vida como lance importante por si mesmo, pela harmonia com a natureza. Como uma realidade desligada de interesses financeiros e competições, em que a disputa existe numa escala natural só como uma motivação a mais para melhorar. Mas deixa pra lá tudo isso, enquanto a rapaziada estiver em cima das pranchas pegando as ondas por aí e arrepiando e lei da gravidade, tudo bem, vamos nessa que é o boi

challenger impulse, on the one hand, or the manifestation of the logic of commodification and profit, on the other.

It is not possible to separate the development of surfing from the broader social context in which it occurred. Surfing and surfers are products of an era marked by the industrialization of various social spheres, marked, in short, by the time in which modernity or capitalism as a civilizing process ceases to be a set of aspirations to finally be realized in the domain of facts - a process that Renato Ortiz (1994) called "the modern Brazilian tradition." Its impulse in Brazil coincides, therefore, with the emergence of a culture industry. And it is in this and by this framework that the sport is propagated.

O surfe e a moderna tradição brasileira

Resumo: O objetivo deste trabalho foi o de descrever e analisar a história do surfe no Rio de Janeiro entre as décadas de 1960 e 1970, a fim de depreender elementos de reflexão mais geral sobre o modo de desenvolvimento das suas estruturas de funcionamento. A ideia foi a de explorar as relações entre este esporte e as circunstâncias sociais mais gerais que lhe acompanharam e mesmo lhe produziram. Com essa finalidade, as fontes utilizadas foram reportagens de jornais e revistas da época, tais como O Globo, Jornal do Brasil, Jornal dos Sports, Veja, Fatos e Fotos, O Cruzeiro, Brasil Surf, além de entrevistas com personagens que protagonizaram parte dos acontecimentos tratados aqui.

Palavras-chave: Surfe. Esportes. Natureza. História.

El surf y la moderna tradición brasileña

Resumen: El objetivo de este estudio fue describir y analizar la historia del surf en Río de Janeiro entre las décadas de 1960 y 1970, con el fin de reunir los elementos generales de la reflexión de cómo su estructura operativa se ha desarrollado. La idea era explorar las relaciones entre este deporte y las circunstancias sociales en las cuales el nació y se desarrolló. Para este propósito, he utilizado fuentes como artículos de periódicos y revistas de la época, tales como O Globo, Jornal do Brasil, Jornal dos Esportes, Veja, Fatos e Fotos, O Cruzeiro, Brasil Surf y entrevistas con personajes que protagonizaron algunos de los eventos tratados aquí.

Palabras clave: Surf. Deportes. Naturaleza. Historia.

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