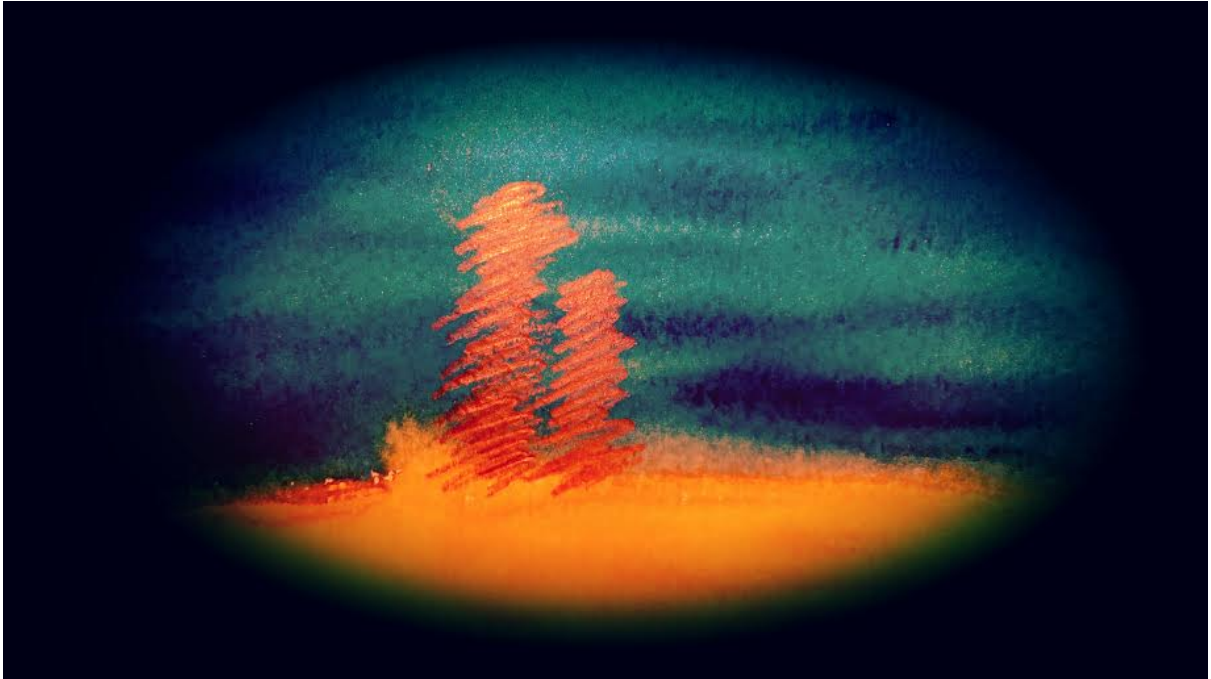


**Enskilment and the Sea as Teacher:
A story about young people finding their wave.**



Researcher's sketch of an elder and child, gazing at the ocean or, as Wattchow (2015) puts it, 'conducting the old business'...

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Finally, to my friends and family, especially my gorgeous wife Heids. My apologies for neglecting you at times. Thank you for your love, understanding, and support along the way, I couldn't have done it without you.

Statement of Sources

To the best of my knowledge and belief, I declare that the work presented in this thesis is original and my own work, except as acknowledged in the text, and that the material has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for a degree at this or any other university.



Alex Prins

4 February 2017

Abstract

Surfing is a popular coastal activity that has attracted considerable attention in the recreation, pop culture and academic literature in recent decades. While surf literature and research into the history and sociology of surfing continues to build, there remains a gap in inquiry about how young people learn to surf. In particular, it remains unclear how they learn about surf places – the knowledge and skills needed to manage and best perform in the surf, which involves learning to respond to environmental cues such as tides, weather, direction of swell and so on. Perhaps of even greater interest is how young people become attached to these places and learn broader lessons about life through surfing. This narrative inquiry study presents a set of short stories about how young people learn and become enskilled in surf places. The study is based upon a small selection of participants who surf, or surfed, with family members while learning to surf in South East Victoria, Australia.

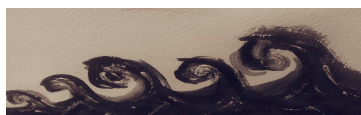
There appears to be a contradiction in the surf literature. On one hand researchers and authors suggest that learning to surf is an individual past time, described as a lonely and daunting process (Evans, 2010, Ford & Brown, 2006). Opposing accounts, often from the same literature, tell of people surfing in groups with friends, family and even in a crew of strangers. Knowing how people may learn the often unspoken aspects of knowledge and skill in such dynamic environmental and social conditions may provide pedagogical insight and direction for formal outdoor education. Further, it may provide insight into how young people become attached to outdoor places, such as surf and sea places, a major topic which has emerged in outdoor education research over the last few decades (for example, Raffan, 1992, 1993, Tooth & Renshaw, 2009, Wattchow & Brown, 2011).

This research study used concepts based on the work of social anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000) and environmental educator James Raffan (1992, 1993) about learning and becoming enskilled in outdoor places. These concepts were connected to contemporary Outdoor Education research literature and discussed as the theoretical framework for the study. Stories were collected via long conversations with surfers and (re)presented through creative non-fiction in the form of short stories to be interpreted by the reader. Insights from the researcher are also presented to encourage shared thinking, learning and conversations amongst the profession of outdoor educators about the nature of outdoor learning.

This research found that although surfing is often represented as a very individual and hedonistic activity, it was anything but this, for the people of this study.

For the participants of this study, surfing was very much a shared social experience, especially while learning. Attachment to the ocean and surf places was strong, in particular with the older participants. In all cases the older the participant, the greater their knowledge and sense of attachment (Relph, 1976) to their 'home' break. This suggests that time, including time telling and listening to stories, plays a major role in learning and becoming enskiled (Ingold, 2000) in surf places. It was found that embodied experience was critical in learning to surf and learning from surfing.

The contributions of this study to new knowledge for outdoor educators include how combining embodied experience with social learning is finely balanced, not unlike the act of riding a wave. This balance is achieved through learning processes of guided attention (Palsson, 1994) guided reflection, ever-increasing knowledge of and attachment to surf places, and through processes of storytelling.



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CHAPTER ONE - Dawn Patrol

I would ask you to remember only this one thing... The stories people tell have a way of taking care of them. If stories come to you, care for them. And learn to give them away where they are needed. Sometimes a person needs a story more than food to stay alive. That is why we put these stories in each others memory. This is how people care for themselves. One day you will be good storytellers. Never forget these obligations.

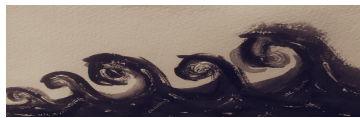
Barry Lopez, 1990

Lines on the horizon: the emergence of a research question

How do children learn to surf?

As a researcher, from the beginning, I needed to paddle out carefully as there were aspects of learning to surf that were not, per se, what I wanted to explore in this research. The opening question brings with it connotations of instructional methods, coaching theories and practices, training techniques and programs and these are not necessarily the most interesting questions from a pedagogical perspective. Rather, in this research, I wanted to explore how young people learnt about the other, perhaps incidental and less tangible, aspects of surfing. How is it that they learn about all-important environmental conditions like tides, currents, weather and the impacts these conditions have on their experience? How do they come to know when to paddle for a wave, when to duck dive under one, or when to paddle out further? How do young people learn to read the sea or know where and when a break will be worth a surf? Many of these aspects of learning to surf go unquestioned in the literature of surfing (Evers, 2010, Ford & Brown, 2006, Holt, 2012, Olive, 2013, Stranger 2011). Further, how do they come to 'know' the surf as a place (Raffan, 1993) and connect with the wider ocean, an important characteristic of the surfing experience as suggested by several researchers and scholars (Falzon & Elflick, 1972, Ford & Brown, 2006, Stranger, 2011, Taylor, 2007)? And, lastly, how do they learn about the cultural 'rules' of surf etiquette, both spoken and unspoken (Booth, 1996, 2001a, 2001b, 2012, 2013, Evers, 2006, 2010, Ford & Brown, 2006, Nazer, 2004, Olivier, 2010, Schiebel, 1995, Stranger, 2011)? So, perhaps, my opening question would be better re-phrased as what does learning 'to surf', in all of its fullness and complexity, mean to and for young people?

Clearly, there is more to learning to surf than standing up on a board and riding a wave to shore. This part of surfing constitutes only a minor part of the overall experience. This is something known to all surfers who have spent many an hour searching for waves or floating on their boards waiting for a rideable wave to appear on their horizon. Learning to surf must be, in part at least, about becoming skilled in an ecology, a place and knowledgeable in a culture. However, there has been very little research into this informal curricula and pedagogy and its significance in the lives of young people. Perhaps the best place to start to explore these complexities is to take a lead from the opening quotation by the renowned American writer of nature and culture, Barry Lopez, and to begin with a story.



Two stories – different teachers

Home shore

Lull.

I rock gently on my board as the afternoon breeze kicks in like I knew it would. It's early summer and the onshore breeze always whips up late in the day. Amongst the busyness of the crew out today are a blend of strangers, mates, acquaintances and family. Most non-locals are nestled further in on the re-form where my brothers and I learned to surf this break. Now, and with a few other locals, we take up our rightful position out the back jostling and moving to ensure the four of us (and a friend or two if they are out) get a fair crack at the waves. An impatient bloke who broke our cyclic 'wait your turn' wave catching hasn't had a wave in the last hour. I can see the steam leaking from his ears. He doesn't know this place like we do. His behaviour has ensured he won't be getting another wave either. My brothers and I have all been surfing here since around the ages of five or six. For all of us it was our second surf break. I begin reminiscing about old times, the fun, the trouble, the excitement, the learning.

I sense movement on the horizon and notice my brothers have paddled in. A mate Clay and I, with another tall wiry bloke I've never met, paddle further out. The rest of the pack, the uninitiated, stay behind. They have not seen what's coming – a 'horry' – a big set, out the back! Heaving, the three of us paddle hard for the horizon. Less than thirty seconds later the three of us come hootin' and hollerin' gliding down the face of

three separate waves. With huge grins on our faces, we dodge and weave our way through the bodies of the now, rapidly scattering former pack.

“Clay”, I asked as we paddled back out, “what made you paddle further out to catch that wave?”

He turns his head inquisitively but stares blankly. Eventually, he replies, “cos a wave was coming”.

“How’d you know?” I prompt.

“Just did,” comes a distant reply as I hear him grunt and make a final push for a much smaller wave.

‘What’s his story?’ I wonder. I know Clay has been surfing for years now. Is it just accumulated experience from being in the sea? I grunt myself, pop up and my mind empties – my body and the wave do the rest...

Off shore

I hop off the bus. The journey was a stereotypically long and wearisome South East Asian bus ride – cramped, noisy and very hot. I had whittled the time away reading *Blueback* by Tim Winton, the story of a young boy, his mother, a large fish and their lives on a remote stretch of West Australian coastline. In between chapters I had been fading in and out of a dehydrated sleep. I’m still quite groggy and follow the hazy outline of my fiancé to the river’s edge and board a rickety old wooden boat headed for the Four Thousand Islands, Laos.

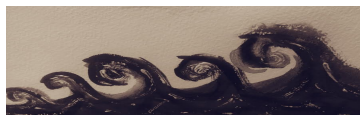
The old wooden vessel begins to ferry us across to the Islands and spray whips up from the bow wave. It reminds me of Able, the boy from Winton’s story, and of past adventures surfing. It was three months ago since my last surf and I already missed the beach terribly. The thought fades quickly though as the old captain steering the boat barks instructions to an adolescent boy, his son perhaps. A demonstration quickly follows and just like that the young lad is now piloting the vessel. The boy steers us toward Don Khong under the watchful eye of the captain who, now and again, seems to whisper in the boy’s ear or points to draw his attention to something outside the boat. From afar it seems he is drawing the boy’s attention to subtle differences in water level and current, to hidden obstacles and how to plot a path between them. The captain never actually seems to instruct the boy, he merely guides his attention and then lets the boy experience the rest. I nod to myself in silent agreement of the captain’s teaching

methods. As an educator myself I too like to draw the learner's attention to a particular thing and then encourage direct experience - experience with real consequences...

My own experience in teaching of rivers and of boats tells me the boy is well and truly into his education. The biggest hint comes at what I sense is a difficult passage between sandbars, differing water depths and swirling currents. The boy looks expectantly at the captain, who I can see now is using silence just as much as body language, verbal instruction, the river, the boat and probably other tacit aspects of this experience I am not privy too. I wonder if the boy is mulling over past instructions, cues, stories racking his brain for the right way to proceed. The boat digs left and we pivot with speed in the wrong direction. The captain's arm is on the boy but he does not take over or look angry or worried. Rather, he seems to be offering quiet words of wisdom. By the time everyone calms down and checks their belongings we are motoring a smooth zigzag through the sandbars. I wonder what else is happening during this learning experience, and those experiences leading up to this point? What had I seen about this lad's informal curricula and the pedagogic strategies used to teach it? And, indeed, what had I missed?

Back home

As my research degree began, I had been thinking back on the power of these stories and what they might have to tell about teaching and learning. Questions arose out of my experience on the Mekong, my surf with Clay, and the students I teach – coastal dwelling young people on Victoria's Mornington Peninsula. I bump into many of them outside of school as we sometimes surf the same waves. Many of them I see gazing, knowingly out to sea from local beach car parks and headlands. Others I see in the lines of surf, competent and skilful, dancing upon the face of the wave. So, I wonder... how do young people learn to surf by coming to know surf places?



Paddling with purpose

The aims of this research project were to gain a greater understanding of how young people become enskilled in surf places. The term enskilled refers to the process of understanding in practice through engaging with the world (Ingold, 2000). More

specifically, then, how do young people come to understand what they experience, in the surf and how do they come to know, and perhaps become attached to surf places and the wider ocean through learning to surf? This is in line with Ford and Brown's (2006) suggestion that 'future research may seek to explore a surfers' orientation to the sea in explicit reference to mind and body, thought and emotion, and image and experiential embodiment' (p. 170).

In particular, this research aimed to focus on the learning process and;

1. Inquired into the embodied and narrative life of surfers – how they learn and what this learning means in the lives of young, coastal people.
2. Explored the potential of narrative methods and storytelling as a way of representing surfers' stories of learning.

It is hard to predict how this knowledge may be used in the future. It is hypothesised that valuable pedagogical insights will be gained in relation to the significance of surfing and a sense of belonging to a sea or coastal place. This is particularly relevant to the fragmentary, on-off, educative coastal experiences of youth in contemporary Australia. Considering that most Australians live near the coast - the Australian Bureau of Statistics estimated in 2001 that eighty-five per cent of Australia's population live within 50km's of the coast (ABS, 2001) - it is sensible to study aspects of coastal engagement and impact on youth. It is worth pointing out though that I, as researcher, did not set out to find 'answers' or 'facts' per se in this study. Rather, I wished to investigate, describe and initiate a conversation about the meaning and essences (if any) of young people becoming enskilled in surf places through learning to surf. Put another way, and using Raffan's (1992) words, I sought 'to better understand how people learn, and specifically how people learn from the [sea]' (Raffan, 1992, p. x), as well as from family and community. There are important elements of skill, place and story in this phenomenon. As the human geographer Edward Relph has noted, 'the word 'place' is best applied to those fragments of human environments where meanings, activities, and a specific landscape are all implicated and enfolded by each other' (cited in Cameron, 2003, p. 173). Perhaps also, new ways of thinking, researching and describing are needed, for the sea is not the land. Can the sea also be a human environment where people and specific seascapes become enfolded by each other, and shape each other in a process of becoming?

Another point that must be touched on at the outset of this study relates to the way outdoor education is conducted in Victoria and perhaps further afield. Although I have stated above that it is hard to predict how the knowledge gained from this

research may be used in the future, there is the question of why a study of this nature is needed. For years now I have watched and taught many outdoor education classes focusing on coastal activities, surfing in particular. The process I have observed is usually the same whether an outdoor education teacher or a surf instructor is conducting the lesson. The session begins with students undertaking the ritual of checking conditions from the beach, car park or headland. Rarely are students given the time or a helping hand to understand what it is they are looking at, let alone what they should be looking for. Next, typically, is a very quick frontloading session where instruction is given on how to use the gear. How to surf, the key skill itself, follows. This typically involves five minutes practice of lying on the boards, mock paddling, sliding upwards, pushing knee forward, popping up and balancing – all while still on the sand. What follows is a splash and crash in the shallows for a couple of hours on soft-top boards. Beyond simple forms of boundary setting or zoning, very little help or instruction is provided from this point on.

Generally, if nothing else, I have found that students considered a surf-beach session fun. But I cannot help wondering, if the scene, in terms of learning potentials, could be improved? Does the above scenario, or at least the many I have witnessed, leave the student wiser, smarter, and with more ‘felt’ surf knowledge? Criticism of the ‘scene’, as a perhaps overly informal, loose and unguided foray into a complex activity made to look easy, has been raised via critical and place-responsive outdoor education advocates for many years (Brookes, 1993, Martin, 1999, 2004, Payne, 2002, Stewart, 2003, Thomas, 2005, Wattchow & Brown, 2011 among others). Little time is dedicated to mentorship, whereby a relationship between novice and expert develops surf-place specific skills and knowledge. Not once in over ten years of these kinds of sessions have I seen or heard of a student take up surfing as a result of a one off experience such as the one described above, although I hope that it does. I must also point out that I have not come across any research stating that these ‘lessons’ are anything more than a ‘have a go’, one off experience.

Perhaps there is another way, a better way, to help young people learn to surf and become knowledgeable and skillful in their surf places? Perhaps outdoor educators need to look towards our students who do gaze knowingly out across the coast and seem to knowingly and skillfully perform in surf places. Perhaps there are lessons for formal outdoor education in the informal outdoor learning that occurs in families and communities around Australia, on the beaches and in the surf on a daily basis.

As can be readily seen from the diversity of research literature into surfing in the opening paragraphs of this study, one could readily become lost or, put another way, choose the wrong wave in a set. To guard against the indecisiveness of which wave to catch, my research used a guiding research question to pursue its aims.

A guiding question peaks

When I began this study of surfing and young people I could see that there were many potential research questions re-circulating in the wave. In this research, I utilised a guiding research question (van Manen, 1990) to bring structure to what could all too easily have been a messy swell.

How do young surfers become enskiled with knowledge of surf places?

From this question emerged three sub-questions. These provided me with a sound compass bearing as I navigated my way through the research process.

1. What role does the sea play as teacher in the enskilment of young surfers?
2. What role does story play in this enkilment of surf places in surfing communities?
3. Does becoming enskiled in surf places result in young surfing people forming a sense of sea/surf place?

A rideable wave forms

From the outset I viewed this research as an exploration of skill and story, not unlike the experience of searching for a wave, waiting for it to peak, dancing across its face and then telling the story of the experience to friends and family later. To begin this process it seemed wise to observe those who already know a thing or two about surfing. Doing so helped situate this study through a review of historical, sociological and other literature and research about surfing and by identifying the current gaps in the literature so that this study might contribute to the knowledge that already exists on the phenomenon of surfing. As such this research first explored contemporary surfing literature before focusing on defining the concepts of place and enskilment. Next, the process of how one becomes enskiled in place was examined. During this section, I drew upon concepts from the work of anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000) and environmental educator and academic James Raffan (1992, 1993). I then discuss how their work links and applies to learning through a sense of place in contemporary Western outdoor

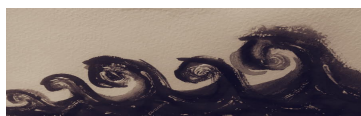
education and indeed in less formal settings such as surfing. In particular, the purpose of the literature review was to understand key components of the surfing phenomenon - experience, story/narrative (Raffan, 1992, 1993), wayfinding and the taskscape of place (Ingold, 2000) and how they contribute to enskilment.

Other research centred on these four concepts were also explored such as Grasser's (2004) work on the taskscape, Tyrrel's (2006) research on wayfinding and story/narrative work explored by Payne (2010), Loynes (2010), and Keller (2013). A critical review of this work and others is presented in the next chapter. This was important groundwork and led to decisions about both method and methodology.

In Chapter Three I provide a short explanation of the theoretical lens of narrative inquiry and provide justification for its use in this study. I discuss the use of story and build a case for using narrative inquiry for this research. Next, I offer a set of criteria of how the reader may judge the merits and value of creative non-fiction (Connelly & Clandinin 1986, 1990, 2006, Richardson, 1995, 2000, Sparks, 1997, 2008, 2009b among others) stories used to represent the experiences of the participants in this study. The particulars of the research such as participant recruitment, interview structure and so on are also set out in this chapter.

Chapter Four presents a set of short stories to be interpreted by reader. The stories contain the main themes and indeed smaller aspects of those facets of surfing, which often go unspoken or unnoticed, that were revealed in the analysis of data from the storytelling interviews conducted with surfers. The stories aim to represent and highlight the elements that participants found to be important while learning to surf. I also offer some summary and guiding thoughts for the reader to consider, after the stories, in an attempt to initiate reflection and conversation about the nature of outdoor learning.

In the final chapter, 'paddling in', I offer some reflections on the implications of the findings from this study. These reflections mull over the insights gained as well as the limitations this study presented from inquiring into how one learns and becomes enskilled in surf places. This includes a final reflection on the methodology used in this study and suggestions for the direction of future research in this area.



CHAPTER TWO - Surfing the literature

Studying and researching the phenomenon of surfing continues to gain momentum in the fields of recreation and leisure studies, sociology, history and human geography. The academic and literary world has been lured to surfing's transdisciplinary nature, attracting theorists and writers from a number of different backgrounds and perspectives. Historians, like Westwick and Neushul (2013) have traced the origins of surfing as a part of Hawaiian culture and the twists and turns it has taken, as it became a popular form of coastal recreation in the West. This has included how influences as diverse as Christian missionaries, colonial politics, World War II data gathering about beach landing conditions, and the emergence of military technologies developed in California during the Cold War, have all shaped surfing. Human geographers are attracted to a surfer's knowledge of surf locations and attachments to place [the coast and the sea] (Anderson, 2014, 2015, Ford & Brown, 2006, Nenami, 2015). These attachments are sometimes even called spiritual connections (Taylor, 2007). Sociologists and psychologists are curious about human behaviours within surfing culture. They have studied the role of gender in surfing practice (Booth, 2001, Evers, 2006, 2010, Ford & Brown, 2006, Fendt *et al*, 2014, Nenami, 2015, Olive *et al*, 2013, Stranger, 2011, Waitt, 2008, Warren & Waitt, 2008), and they have tried to analyse the intangibles of 'stoke' [peak adventure] (Ford & Brown, 2006, Stranger, 2011, Thrift, 2001). They have also considered localism and conflict (Ford & Brown, 2006, Olivier, 2010, Preston-Whyte, 2002, Scheibel, 1995); and the identity of surfers (Booth, 1996, 2001, 2012, 2013, Evers, 2010, Ford & Brown, 2006, Leonard, 2007, Langseth, 2012, Stranger, 2011). It is essential to mention that almost all these sources also acknowledge tacit and mystic ways of knowing through surfing (for a particularly good account see Capp, 2003). The majority of the above works also dip their toe into the cool waters of all of these aspects of surfing throughout their investigations. Perhaps the phenomenon is difficult to research and discuss in discrete parts. Perhaps the appeal and very nature of studying surfing lies in its organic whole.

But the study of surfing has not been limited to the literary and scholarly world. Arguably, the interest of scholars and writers was preceded by surfers themselves who began to attempt to document their experiences. The swell of interest about surfers' knowledge of, and attachment to, surf places and the wider ocean has been building since Falzon & Elfick's (1972) iconic documentary-movie *Morning of the Earth*. Evers (2010) hinted at the embodied skill of knowing local conditions when he observed, 'if my skin drips with sweat, there is a dreary north-east wind blowing. This means small

waves' (p. 47). Evers (2010), Ford and Brown (2006) and Stranger (2011) refer to notions of skill and embodiment contained in Evers' observation and the importance of reading the conditions firsthand. This is part of what has been called the surfer's gaze. In this instance,

Environmental elements of such a surfer's gaze could include interpretations of 'signs' as in Fiske's reading of the beach as text, and aesthetic conditions of coast as landscape. More operationally such a gaze would include the broad sweep and minutiae of ever-changing surf conditions. (Ford & Brown, p. 17)

This implies that surfers have intimate knowledge of local weather patterns and topographical and hydrological conditions that come together to create surfable conditions. Further, it indicates that surfers have '... a high degree of skill to anticipate, be well positioned and successfully ride the waves' (Anderson, 2015, p. 57). At present research is limited into how a surfer becomes 'enskiiled' with these environmental elements of the surfer's gaze. It is worth mentioning from the outset what 'becoming enskiiled' and the processes of 'enskiilment' mean. Tim Ingold (2000), the social anthropologist, describes this kind of learning as the one spoken above, as a 'process of *enskiilment*, in which learning is inseparable from doing, and in which both are embedded in the context of a practical engagement in the world' (p. 416).

Cutting back to the surf literature, there are a few passing references to *how* a young surfer learns, that is, becomes enskiiled in surfing. But even these are contradictory. For example, Ford and Brown (2006) mention that 'learning initially [occurs] from the observations of more experienced surfers' (p. 18). Whereas Preston-Whyte (2002, p. 309) believes that 'sensory-derived experience gained in the waves provides knowledge about wave shapes, winds and currents'. Evers (2010) also contributes to the discussion of becoming enskiiled and knowledgeable about surf places. He states 'the majority of the time you have to learn how to surf by yourself' (p. 43), a proposition with which Stranger (2011) agrees. Although, in contradiction, Evers (2010) also reminisces many times about surfing with older surfers and friends and hints at the role they play in the learning process. Similarly, Leonard (2007) details the role of other surfers in the learning process in his article 'Learning to surf in Kuta, Bali'. But who are these other surfers being observed and precisely what role do they play in a younger surfer's enskiilment?

A recent study inquiring into surfer's careers completed by Beaumont and Brown (2015) hints at the possibility that family may play a significant part in the learning process. Beaumont and Brown (2015) found that many of their younger

participants surfing careers began with the help of family and other older local surfers. In particular, fathers were highlighted as the most influential factor. The fact that there has been very little formal research into the deeper role that family and local culture plays in a young person becoming enskilled in surfing presents an opportunity. Perhaps it is here, amongst the familiar environment of family, friends and a home break, that a young surfer becomes enskilled and enculturated into the way of the waves. Further, the experiential nature of this learning process is deserving of attention to discover how the lived experience of surfing enskils knowledge of surf places.

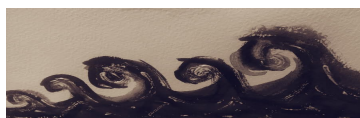
The concept of place and the subsequent concept of sense of place has been well studied in recent years (see for example, Ingold, 2000, Lippard, 1997, Leopold, 1987, Raffan, 1993, Relph, 1976, Rose, 1996, Wattchow, 2005, 2008, Wattchow & Brown, 2011, Wiley, 2005). Interestingly, 'the discipline has been de facto terrestrial study; the sea not accorded the status of a 'place' worthy of scholarly study' (Hill & Abbott, 2009 as cited in Anderson and Peters, 2014, p. 3). Until now. Two recent and noteworthy accounts of the sea as place are Anderson and Peters (Eds.)(2014) *Water Worlds: Human Geographies of the Ocean* and Brown and Humberstones (Eds.)(2015) *Seascapes: Shaped by the Sea: Embodied Narratives and Fluid Geographies*. Surfing makes a significant appearance in both volumes. Anderson (2015) and Nemani (2015) focus their attention on the 'surf zone, that is, the space between the ocean and shore where the waves break' (Nemani, 2015, p. 90). This is 'the place of the littoral zone [it] is, for us water people [surfers], a place where we belong' (Anderson, 2015, p. 68), where surfers 'stabilise their subjectivity through making connections with surf conditions, and people' (Waitt & Warren, 2008 p. 360). The historians Westwick and Neushul (2013) argue that even individual waves can be places with unique names, histories and stories attached to them. Land based researchers, like Relph (1976), have long acknowledged from the outset that each place is a phenomenon that is constantly emerging, reforming itself, and the lives of people that are intertwined with it. This definition of place is potentially resonant with the phenomenon of attachment that surfers have with particular waves and sites of meaning along the coast.

The spiritual connection some surfers feel towards surf places and the wider ocean has enticed many people, including scholars and academics, to explore this phenomenon. Ford and Brown (2006), Booth (1996, 2013) and Taylor (2007) refer to this aspect of surfing as soul surfing. Ford and Brown (2006) contend soul surfing attests to the 'values of spirituality, aesthetics and the quest for inner peace and authenticity' (p. 30). While Taylor (2007) supports this notion, noting that 'the spirituality or religion of soul surfers involves a sense of connection and belonging, to

nature in general and the sea in particular, provides and produces concomitant reverence toward nature and a corresponding environmental ethics' (p. 945). Both works discuss what soul surfing is and why it can be considered as a spiritual experience. Ford and Brown (2006) even highlight the tensions between soul surfing and other surfing subcultures such as the competitive globalisation of the activity, which have turned it into sport rather than a harmonious spiritual experience. What appears to be missing in these studies is how a numinous experience of surfing may be learned and whether or not all surfers connect to Mother Ocean (see Taylor, 2007).

The sea holds a magic for those of us who know her. A magic so simple, pure and powerful it works as an unseen force in our souls. We're drawn to her. The spirit of the sea moves in us as we move within her, undulating folds in pursuit of our peace. As surfers, we inherently know this to be so. The sea brings comfort, solace, release and escape. The sea brings healing. The spirit of the sea, for some of us, is the very essence of life. (Glendon, 2005 as cited in Taylor, 2007, p.)

I cannot help but think back to the father and son on that boat on the Mekong River and my surf with Clay and that the 'practice of surfing is about the ability to instantaneously combine a series of learnt movements and being able to perform them in an automatic and thoughtfully unmediated fashion' (Ford & Brown, 2006, p. 140) in ever-changing conditions. And while this seems to simply point towards surfing as a physical act, there is a deeper layer of connection to people and place that, for many, approaches the tacit, social and mystical depths of human experience. How does one learn or acquire these attributes?



Gazing beneath the surface

The process of how a young surfer learns his or her craft in relation to environmental knowledge and skill, in order to surf competently is, as yet, not understood or been fully explored within surf literature or research. I wondered if other alternative sports such as skateboarding, snowboarding and even parkour had been investigated in relation learning and becoming enskiled in place. Like the literature of surfing I found that research of these other activities had also focused heavily on the sociological aspects

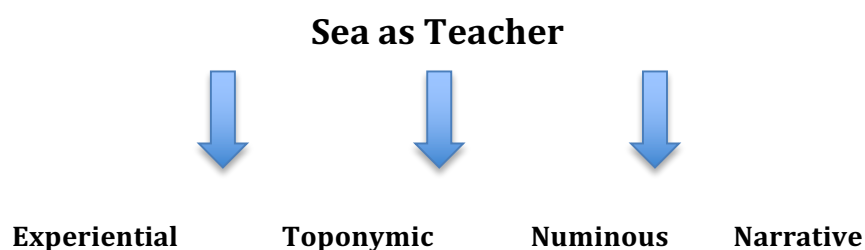
such as gender issues, identity and analysis of subcultures (see for example Mackay and Dellaire, 2012 [skateboarding]; Kelly, Pomerantz and Currie, 2005 [skateboarding] and Stapelton and Terrio, 2010 [parkour]; Lorr, 2005 [skateboarding]; Donnelly, 2008 [skateboarding]; Humphreys, 1997 [snowboarding]), and policy and youth engagement Gilchrist and Wheaton, 2011[parkour]).

For this study though, the focus is not so much the sociological aspects of surfing but how young people learn the skills and knowledge to respond in place in order to perform. It appears that the existing literature on alternative activities such as surfing is too narrow, or rather that research studies focus largely on adult communities through particular lenses. Perhaps this study reaches further back to research how a young person 'finds their way' into the phenomenon of surfing in the first place; that is, to examine how one learns and becomes enskiled in, about and with place, particularly in relation to sea places. For this reason, the remaining literature review will focus on the learning of skills and knowledge within places where people live and the activities in which they participate. Thus, the aim of the rest of this chapter is to present and discuss the theoretical framework that was used in this study to guide gathering, analysing and representing data about how young people learn in and about 'a surf place' to become more skilful. Throughout this process, the aim of drawing upon the concepts of 'sea as teacher' and 'enskilment' help describe and perhaps explain how young surfers become enskiled in surf places.

Learning is the main focus for the rest of this literature review. However, discovering how one learns the subtle environmental and cultural cues of a surf place and becomes enskiled also poses very interesting questions for choices about research methodology. Much of the knowledge and skill, and indeed the process of becoming enskiled, appears, like other practical life tasks, to be tacit and surrounded by confusing contradictions. Van Manen (1990) has long argued that methods drawn from a human science (a phenomenology), rather than the positivism of the natural sciences, is required to gain insights into the subjective nature of human experiences. Sport researchers like Sparkes (1999) and Richardson (2000) have called for story, body narratives and new forms of representation to reveal the lived qualities of movement experiences. Therefore, another important aim of this chapter is to consider choices about methodology, and what might be necessary and possible with regard to gathering, analysing and representing data about the phenomenon of young people learning to surf.

On the surface, inquiring about how young people learn through surfing's practical, sensory and outdoor-environmental nature, pointed towards the processes of experiential learning. Much of the research and writing about outdoor learning has focussed on formal, school-based activities (I must make it clear here that as an outdoor education teacher I am including excursions and camps as part of formal education). There is a vast body of outdoor learning/education literature spawned from the work of Dewey (1997), Kolb (1984), Joplin (1995), Mortlock (1984) and others. Even that which relates to non-school programs still largely reports on programs with very formal learning structures (such as the processes of Outward Bound, see for example the meta-analysis by Hattie, Marsh, Neill, & Richards, 1997). However, this literature led me to an impasse. The problem being that both the surfing literature already reviewed and my own observations in the field pointed to a much more informal, 'out-of-school' learning experience where the structures of learning were not easily apparent. The more I read, heard accounts from the field and pondered this point, the more I realised I was going to have to investigate areas of research that inquire into 'learning', 'teaching' and 'place' outside of the school and formal education settings. As expressed earlier it is my aim to use two central concepts from researchers whose work provided a theoretical framework for my study. Neither of these researchers examined surfing and surf culture as far as I know. However, their ideas and scholarship about how the 'land' may act as a teacher and about how young people become enskilled and cultured in their communities, are compelling.

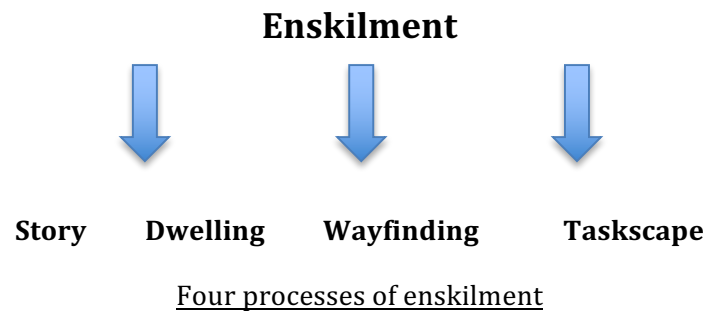
The first source is based upon the environmental educator James Raffan's (1992, 1993) concept of land as teacher, albeit with one significant and obvious change. I adapted Raffan's model (see below) to inquire whether the sea, rather than land, play's the role of teacher and, if so, precisely how it contributes to the learning of the young surfer.



Four types of knowledge invoked by the sea

(Adapted from Raffan, 1992/3).

The second guiding theoretical concept also focuses around the role of a teacher. This second teacher though, is from a social context. Drawing specifically on Ingold's (2000) concept of enskilment, I inquire into how others, if at all, contribute to the learning of young surfers?



(Adapted from Ingold, 2000).

Both Raffan (1992) and Ingold's (2000) research is based on learning about place in Indigenous cultures. For that reason, I aim to use Wattchow and Brown's (2011) signposts to place responsive pedagogy in outdoor education, among other outdoor education research, to bridge the gap, so to speak, between traditional Indigenous culture and Western outdoor education. Combining these signposts with elements from the concepts sea as teacher and enskilment provided an effective four-pillar structure for this inquiry. Before discussing this in further detail, however, it is necessary to briefly touch on the concept of place and its preceding concept, a sense of place, and how they interact with Ingold's research into enskilment.

Definition of Place

This section of the literature review aims to briefly introduce and describe the concepts of place and enskilment. The main ideas within these two concepts will be presented and described to provide context and background information relevant to the study. I am not attempting to re-conceptualise place in this study. Much of that work has been done in recent decades (for particularly good accounts that relate to this study see Ingold, 2000, Lippard, 1997, Leopold, 1987, Raffan, 1993, Relph, 1976, Rose, 1996, Wattchow, 2005, 2008, Wattchow and Brown, 2011, Wiley, 2005). Rather, this study aimed to adapt these new meanings of place to the sea and to young people. However, it is important to briefly establish a working definition of place in order to be able to effectively inquire into how young surfers become enskilled in surf places.

Human geographer Edward Relph (1976) provides a good starting point for a tangible definition of place. A place, Relph states, can be 'understood as centres of meaning, or focuses of intention and purpose' (p. 22), they are '...profound centers of human existence' (p. 43). Ingold (2000) agrees suggesting that places are the 'centres' of human life, whereby people dwell, drawing in all of the constituents of their environment. It must, then, be said that places are not static but rather always 'moving', changing and are constantly in the process of emerging or becoming as indeed are the people that inhabit them. In this context surfing is the focus of intention and purpose, a daily activity for the young people not only involved in this study but also those participants from other studies focused on or involving surf participation as discussed previously (see Evers, 2010, Ford & Brown, 2006, Stranger, 2011). Although one may argue that the significant meaning of surf places is not yet fully established in the current surf literature, it most certainly is seen within daily surf culture. Surf movies such as *Morning of the Earth* (1972) and more recently *Bra Boys* (2007) as well as the hugely popular 'surf mags' *Tracks* and *Waves* have strong representations of the significance of surf places in support of Relph and Ingold's place definitions.

Perhaps then, surf places are an integral part of the basis of daily life for surfers. Do surfers, as Ingold (2000) might suggest, dwell in these locations? If so, it would suggest that these places are known intimately. Relph (1976) refers to this dwelling as 'insideness'. According to Relph and Lopez (1989), insideness occurs over time as experiences and meanings are accumulated in both place and person. He or she will not only know a place intimately but also have feelings of attachment and belonging (Cameron 2001, Raffan, 1992, Relph 1976). And, as Wattchow (2006) argues '...the places we care for may be places where we live most of our life (work places and home places), but equally may be recreational and pedagogical places' (p. 236). Further, these places become a part of an insider's identity just as much as insiders become a part of the place (Ingold, 2000, Raffan, 1992, Relph, 1976). It is an insider who may be said to have a sense of place and the strongest bonds of attachment (Relph, 1976).

Definition of enskilment

Having described the concept of place, albeit briefly, it is now time to look at the related concept of enskilment. Enskilment is 'understanding in practice'...in which learning is inseparable from doing, and in which both are embedded in the context of a practical engagement in the world' (Ingold, 2000, p. 416). Critically, as can be seen from the previous definition, the concept of enskilment takes a step away from

Enlightenment dichotomies such as knowledge and practice; objective and subjective knowing; and the separation of body and mind. Palsson (1994) too, sees that 'the process of enskilment is not just a cognitive one; rather it involves the whole person interacting with the social and natural environment' (p. 919). It may then be suggested, as indeed is discussed by both Palsson (1994) and Ingold (2000), that becoming enskiled involves a deep level of personal, ecological and cultural experience. From both accounts – Icelandic fishing in Palsson's case and arctic and sub-arctic hunter-gather communities in Ingold's – that time and daily activities play a major role in enskilment. What is emphasised in both accounts is the critical combined role of the social *and* embodied, or sensory aspects, to becoming enskiled in place. This hints at the possibility of two teachers; the sea, whom sends clues received through the body's senses and the social, in the form of family and community and how they encode and transmit aspects of skill and knowing through story and storytelling.

Becoming Enskiled in Place

As an outdoor educator and now novice researcher I often find myself reflecting on learning [and teaching] in outdoor places and 'I think of how un-school-like these ways of knowing and this educational process' (Raffan, 1992, p. 394) have become. When Ingold (2000) and Raffan (1992) describe ways of learning or becoming enskiled in and about place I notice the similarities in how young surfers learn and develop. It is a slow process, one that takes time, where knowledge and skills are practiced, revised, honed and improved through lived-experience. There appear to be common elements in play between learning and becoming enskiled. These elements, as suggested by the theoretical frameworks of Raffan and Ingold, are experience, toponymic processes (how locations are named or known through their names), dwelling, the taskscape, narrative storytelling, wayfinding and numinous connections (Raffan, 1992, 1993, Ingold, 2000). All of these elements are interrelated and work together, each continually effecting the other. Keeping in mind the continual interrelated character of these components it is for practical reasons that these facets appear below in a mostly singular fashion. In the 'real world' though they move quietly and subtlety in the background, working in unison while also creating inner tensions, mostly unnoticed and undiscussed. Further, due to the time and size of this study, the focus will be sharpened by conflating these elements to experience, narrative and story (which will mainly be discussed in the method section of the paper), wayfinding and taskscape.

These first two elements, experience and narrative, are common enough to wait for further discussion below. It is, however, worth briefly introducing the less common

concepts of taskscape and wayfinding now to precede a more in-depth discussion later. Both wayfinding and taskscape are concepts developed by Ingold (2000) and relate to the study of people going about their daily business. Put simply wayfinding 'is a matter of moving from one *place* to another' (Ingold, 2000, p. 219). It is the act of finding one's way around their home places without map or compass direction. Rather, an individual relies on personal significant cues or aspects in their life to guide their way such as stories, events and landmarks – the spooky house on the hill, the place where I fell off my bike or the spot my family goes for picnics. The taskscape, meanwhile, is to be 'understood as the totality of tasks making up the pattern of activity of a community (Ingold, 2000, p. 325). It refers to the place whereby an individual dwells and carries out their daily life such as work, home duties and leisure activities. Both are involved in getting to know place and often follow from the first two elements, experience and narrative.

Getting to know place

Personal experience is the first element that appears in both Ingold (2000) and Raffan's (1992) descriptions of learning and becoming enskiled in place. The role of direct experience is by no means a new observation in the learning process. Indeed, Plato and Aristotle preached that 'we learning through doing' in Ancient Greece. Various studies of Indigenous peoples, such as those described in Ingold and Raffan, also note that they have been educating their youth through direct experience for thousands of years (Rose, 1996, Roberts, 2012). Closer to current times experience and education have been more formally combined creating the theories and methods that are umbrellared under the field of 'experiential education'. John Dewey (1997) is considered the founder of the modern day experiential education movement. He was a strong advocate of experience in education believing that there was an 'organic connection between education and personal experience...' (Dewey, 1997, p. 25).

Not surprisingly Ingold and Raffan also believe in the principle of experience in education. The way in which they describe learning and enskilment is that it 'must entail a lived experience' (Roberts, 2012, p. 38). Further, from the accounts described by Ingold and Raffan it is apparent that the knowledge and skills learned in a place 'is not understood through abstraction, book learning or logic' (Roberts, 2012, p. 38) but rather concrete experience or 'active engagement with the constituents of his or her surroundings' (Ingold, 2000, p. 5). In other words, 'there is no such thing as educational value in the abstract' (Dewey, 1997, p. 46). Indeed, Raffan (1992) explicitly states the need for experience as fact in his findings when he states 'for a person to learn from the land, there must be ... this crucial personal experience with the place' (p. 393). The need for direct experience in the learning process is supported by other researchers, authors and educators within and outside of what has been be coined place pedagogy (such as

Beard & Wilson, 2006, Cameron 2001, Haskell, 2000, Joplin 1995, Lopez, 1989, Wattchow, 2006, Wattchow & Brown 2011). What differs is how experience is interpreted, used pedagogically, and then how learning is represented in differing learning contexts.

Experience is, therefore, necessary and even inherent in the learning process. What is missing perhaps, or rather a question that needs asking, is what makes an experience educative? And what about the context of becoming educated or enskilled in a particular place? I shall begin by bringing to attention a warning stated clearly by Dewey (1938/1997) in his book *Experience and Education*. He states a 'belief that all genuine education comes about through experience does not mean that all experiences are genuinely or equally educative' (p. 25). By this, he means that if an experience causes a 'lack of sensitivity and of responsiveness' or has the effect of 'arresting or distorting growth of further experience' (Dewey, 1997, p. 25) then the experience has been miseducative. In some Indigenous cultures, miseducative experiences are limited or avoided by youth being accompanied by an experienced elder (Ingold, 2000, Raffan, 1992, Rose, 1996). Ingold (2000) provides a good example of this form of experiential education when describing how his father, a botanist, would educate him about local vegetation when he was a child.

When I was a child my father, who was a botanist, used to take me for walks in the countryside, pointing out on the way all the plants and fungi – especially the fungi – that grew here and there. Sometimes he would get me to smell them, or try out their distinctive tastes. His manner of teaching was to show me things, literally point them out. If I would but notice the things to which he directed my attention, and recognise the sights, smells and tastes that he wanted me to experience because they were so dear to him, then I would discover for myself much of what he already knew (p. 20)

What can be seen above is an example of two teachers at work. The enskilled experienced elder or teacher and the child's sensing body taking cues from the environment. Ingold's (2000) father is doing more than teaching experientially, that is, by setting the scene, teaching and allowing a young Ingold to experience for himself the local botanic world. He is also preventing young Ingold from having a miseducative experience such as tasting or touching a poisonous plant and keeping him focussed and on the task at hand. More importantly, Ingold's father in the scenario above is providing 'an experience [which] arouses curiosity, strengthens initiative, and sets up desires and purposes that are sufficiently intense to carry a person over dead places in the future'

(Dewey, 1997, p. 38). This provides the possibility for future experiences of/in the botanic world which, hopefully, will result in a more enskiled young Ingold.

So then, how might an experience, or rather set of educative experiences unfold for a young surfer in surf places? Wattchow and Brown (2011) offer some insight via their four signposts of place-responsive pedagogy. I believe this indicates what might be happening in and during informal learning experiences, as a young person becomes enskiled in surf places. Further, Ingold (2000) and Raffan's (1992, 1993) research is developed mainly within Indigenous culture and knowledge of place, while Wattchow and Brown's (2011) work is based on knowledge of place within Western educational theory and practice. Their signposts might be seen to act as a bridge between educational and anthropological theory as well as between Indigenous and Western ways of learning in and about places. The first signpost involves being present in place. This, Wattchow and Brown (2011) say, 'simply involves making the effort to attend to what is meaningful in our immediate surrounds and to increase our level of awareness' (p. 185). In other words, it is an 'education in attention' (Ingold, 2000) whereby one learns the 'ability to notice and [later] to respond fluently to salient aspects of the environment' (p. 166). This ability to *be* and become attentive in place can be seen within significant and classic environmental works such as Henry Thoreau's *Walden* (1995), Aldo Leopold's (1987) *A Sand County Almanac* and Barry Lopez's *Arctic Dreams* (1986) and *Crossing Open Ground* (1989). The act of being in place (and the essence of its role in becoming enskiled in place) is nicely portrayed below by Lopez (1986) when discussing how to get know places with an Anaktuvuk man (an indigenous person to north Alaska).

"I listen." That's all. I listen, he meant, to what the land was saying. I walk around it and strain my senses in appreciation of it for a long time before I, myself, ever speak a word. (p. 257)

Alternatively, it is not enough to simply be somewhere. There is every possibility that taking the wrong action or taking notice of the wrong things could lead to a miseducative experience. Rather it is about becoming attentive to particular sights, sounds, feels, smells, perhaps even tastes of a place. It is worth noting that some educational theorists also advocate for an 'education of attention' and it is building momentum within the literature (see for example Gardener, 1999, Weil, 1959, 2002, Tooth & Renshaw, 2009). Dewey (1997) too is heavily concerned with 'being present' stating that,

We always live at the time we live and not at some other time, and only by extracting at each present time the full meaning of each present experience are we prepared for doing the same thing in the future. (p. 49)

How then is a young person 'present' with a place while learning to surf? Does being present allow them to 'feel', 'sense' and 'attend' to their immediate environment as required? Dewey (1997) refers to this responding (or lack of responding) as the principle of interaction. He explains that it is important that an educative interaction '...assign equal rights to both factors in experience – objective and internal conditions' (p. 42). In this case, an interaction with a surf place, and indeed within the wider ocean is 'constituted by vectors of movement – tides, currents, and waves' (Steinburg, 2011) and other non-human and human constituents that directly affect the skill of surfing. In this context, the sea is teacher. As Dewey (1997) notes 'we can be aware of consequences only because of previous experience' (p. 68). It could be that the sea acting as teacher encourages novice surfers to pay attention to the subtle conditions needed to be an enskiled surfer through being present in surf places.

Advocates of experiential learning like Dewey (1997), Raffan (1992, 1993), Roberts (2012), Wattchow and Brown (2011), among others have argued convincingly, not just for the inclusion of experience in place, but that a student of place must 'significantly identify with, seriously interact with and form a personal relationship' (Jolpin, 1995, p. 15) with a place. Furthermore, the student must be present in order to become attentive, so that he or she may start 'responding sensitively', as Dewey would say, to place. It can then be argued that becoming enskiled in place is the act of finely honing one's perceptual system so that one can 'see' greater richness and profundity in place (Ingold, 2000) and then respond accordingly. Therefore, it will be necessary to inquire into the attunement of the awareness of both the novice and indeed enskiled surfers while present in place to discover whether or not this applies to learning to surf. How much of this attunement comes from the sea as teacher? Or are other people involved in particular ways when a learner's attention is drawn to the right thing at the right time and in the right place?

In both cases, it is worthwhile quickly touching base on where experience may fit in the learning process, in particular in relation to attention and attunement. Wattchow and Brown (2011) among others have stated that experiential models such as Joplin's (1995) 'hurricane' and Dewey's (1997) 'naturalistic' models are problematic and simplistic. When these models are used as a 'recipe' both in and out of the classroom, miseducative consequences can ensue (Roberts, 2012, Brown, 2008). I do

not want to paddle off course so will leave a discussion of the critique of various experiential learning models for another time. What I do want to point out is that Dewey (1997) and Joplin's (1995) models do indeed help the student to 'be' and/or 'become present' and attentive in place. This is achieved through a 'focus' (Joplin, 1995) or an 'impulse' (Dewey, 1997) which centres a learner's attention. The sea, being the teacher, provides the impulse and focus to find, catch and ride waves skilfully, which is significantly more difficult to do than it initially seems. It is how one proceeds through these cycles of learning by having one's attention constantly drawn to the task at hand that counts in the process of enskilment.

Examples of this experiential impulse in helping novices to 'be' in place can be seen in various outdoor education case studies (see, for example, Haskell, 2000, Mullins, 2007, Nakagawa & Payne, 2011, Payne, 2010, Stewart, 2003, Wattchow, 2006). Take for example Mike Brown's case study based on an undergraduate university unit of study at the University of Waikato (see Wattchow & Brown, 2011). Brown's program appears to take the advice of Dewey (1997), 'the teacher should become intimately acquainted with the conditions of the local community' (p. 40). As the lecturer, Brown used his knowledge of the local area to create a three-day journey and used it as the 'pedagogical impulse' (Wattchow & Brown, 2011, p. 128) for student learning. The journey deliberately involved self-propelled travel beginning and ending at the university campus. This 'slow' form of travel in conjunction with regular appropriate stopping allowed students to 'be' attentive to local places. Participants noted that their experience allowed them to see, hear, feel the places they were visiting and as a consequence, not only learn about their local area, but also increase and broaden their awareness of place (Brown, 2011 cited in Wattchow and Brown, 2011).

The second signpost proposed by Wattchow and Brown (2011) is 'the power of place-based stories and narratives' (p. 182). For the purposes of this review, two discussions will take place involving stories and narratives. One will take place later in the following chapter on methodology, and will involve a discussion on narrative inquiry and using stories as research. The other will take place now and discuss place-based narratives and stories and how they have been presented and discussed in the literature of enskilment, place and learning. By narrative, I mean the open-ended conversation of events and happenings of a place, the structure that supports the stories within it and sequence of events over time. In this case, a place narrative 'is not merely a sequence of events' but rather 'a peculiarly human way of organizing reality' (Cronon, 1992, p. 1367). Meanwhile, stories will refer to the communicating of specific events that occur in place. In particular, this part of the discussion will focus on the role of

place-based narrative and story in the process of learning and enskilment in place. It is important to note that narrative and story in this sense usually happen in tandem, each affecting the other in a constant flux. I will do my best to convey this in the writing that follows but as can be imagined it is often difficult to differentiate two dynamic parts of the same whole.

The narrative of place is the humanised structure of the 'interconnectedness of life, knowledge, culture and the land itself' (Raffan, 1992, p. 45). It arises from the histories of both human and non-human residents and is precisely why a 'place owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there' (Ingold, 2000, p. 192). A place's narrative, then, is dependent on the people who dwell there and, like people, a place and its narrative are never static but rather fluid and always becoming (Relph, 1976, Wattchow, 2006). In this way, a place and its narrative is always connected to the stories of past, present and future, and it is through these stories that meaning surfaces. Educators such as Wattchow and Brown (2011), Loynes (2010), Payne (2010), and Raffan (1992) believe that place-based narratives and stories contain potentially educationally rich ways of knowing. They are more than just a reflection or even representation of earlier experiences. This is because each place has 'unique attributes, characteristics and history that shape the context of experience and learning' (Stewart, 2003, p. ii). Stories are simultaneously ecological and social.

Ingold (2000) adds an important distinction noting that 'it is not possible, in practice, to separate the sphere of the novice's involvement with other persons from that of his involvement with the non-human environment' (p. 37). As such these experiences or one may say lessons, occur in tandem each effecting the other, albeit often silently or invisibly to the inattentive. This link between story, knowledge formation and enskilment arises in two ways. The first is a belief that narratives of place hold 'teachings of past generations' whereby the 'landscape may be viewed as a collection of symbols which record local knowledge and meaning' (Raffan, 1992 p.45/6). The meaning, in this context, is representational appearing in the form of stories passed on from generation to generation via tales and myths such as the Aboriginal Dreaming, nursery rhymes and folk stories. The 'work' contributing to enskilment is found represented within the narrative. In contrast, the second view is less of an encoded representation and more so a process of forming knowledge and becoming enskilled through the act of storytelling. Ingold (2000) sums up this second belief succinctly when he states,

I don't believe, however, that their purpose is a representational one. Telling a story is not like weaving a tapestry to *cover up* the world or, as in an over worn anthropological metaphor, to 'clothe it with meaning'. Far from dressing up a plain reality with layers of metaphor, or representing it, map like, in the imagination, songs, stories and designs serve to conduct the attention of performers *into* the world, deeper and deeper, as one proceeds from outward appearances to an ever more poetic involvement. (p. 56)

Intriguingly it appears that both views may be accurate descriptions in the process of learning through narrative and story. A good example of this is Keller's (2013) case study, which investigated participant stories of place. The project was conducted at a residential camp and was aimed at exploring how place-based story and narrative was used in learning situations. She found that 'much was learned from listening to the experiences and unique stories of this study's four student participants' (Keller, 2013, p. 160). Interestingly, not only did students articulate what they had learned in story form but were also often able to recount the stories told during lessons. These stories contained rich meaning within the place's narrative such as Native American history and nature studies (animals and plants) (Keller, 2013). The inherent meaning of place-based stories are often a consequence of their situatedness in time, culture, location and indeed experience of the people involved. As a result case studies, which explore place-based stories, like the one offered by Keller (2013) offer rich opportunities for learning.

Loynes (2010) also aimed to exploit the power of place-based stories and narrative in a voluntary informal outdoor program called Stoneleigh. Based in the UK the program was designed to help marginalised and at risk youth transition to adulthood and become agents of change. At the conclusion of the program in 2004 Loynes's (2010) found that 'the telling and retelling of narratives in embodied and oral forms...was the most significant way in which old knowledge of the self was reworked and new knowledge was integrated into the identity of the young people' (Loynes, 2010, p. 141). Other educators and researchers suggest the same could be true for the use of narrative in the context of learning local place-based knowledge and skill (see Mullins, 2007, Payne, 2010, Raffan, 1992, Stewart, 2003, Wattchow, 2006, among others). For example, Wattchow (2006) found that 'participants spoke of themselves as storytellers and have begun the important task of re-narrating the river-place' (p. 242). Re-narrating the river-place requires participants to reflect, organise and make sense of particular cues from within the place and its impact on the individual. The consequence is the formation and accumulation of knowledge and skill to respond and perform in place.

Meaning does not just need to be heard through story or language though. It can be seen 'written' in, under, or on top of the sea/land. This meaning is directly dependent upon what activities, both human and nonhuman, have occurred in the past and indeed are currently happening through those that dwell there (Ingold, 2000). This combined human and non-human meaning, or 'essence' of a place as some put it (Relph, 1976, p. 29), contains powerful educative consequences for those who pay attention to a place's narrative (Leopold, 1987, Lopez, 1986, 1989, Wattchow & Brown, 2011). In the combined studies of Ingold (2000) and Raffan (1992) a place's narrative and the stories it holds 'teach', *through* the combination of two teachers - the sea and the humanised story. Together these help young people become enskiled in their traditional lands. The young people in their studies learn to hunt skilfully and sustainably, learn about their environment, their people, their history and how to be a respectful and responsible member of the community through the narrative of place and place-based stories (Ingold, 2000, Raffan, 1992, 1993). Closer to home Wattchow (2006) and Mullins (2007) found that the narrative of river places in Victoria held pedagogical power. Both studies found that participants who listened to the narrative of place formed connections with it. Mullins (2007) notes that 'during repeat visits to the Snowy River,' the participants in his study (river guides) formed 'a layering of knowledge, relationships, stories, embodiment and attachment occurred through a passionate interest, and ongoing curiosity to pay detailed attention to the many aspects of the river-place' (p. 82).

Another example of this can be seen in a study completed by Haskell (2000). This small research project focused on one student's perceptual knowledge of the outdoor places visited during a semester of outdoor education. Across the semester the participant was asked to keep a journal of her experiences; a series of stories if you like. A narrative formed and the reader gained insight into the organisation and meaning of Holly's perceptual experiences in place (Haskell, 2000). It is for precisely this reason, that narrative is uniquely human and undertakes different perspectives depending on whose narrative it is. It is for this reason that Ingold (2000) argues that 'to construct a narrative, one must already dwell in the world, and in the dwelling, enter into relationships with its constituents, both human and non-human' (p. 76). In doing so points in the direction of the third signpost.

An apprentice of place

So far, Wattchow and Brown (2011) and others have highlighted the need for young people to be present in place and then to be attentive to a place's narrative and stories. The third signpost, 'apprenticing ourselves to outdoor places' (Wattchow &

Brown p.182) is about combining and harnessing the power of the first two. Like all apprentices becoming enskiled in a craft requires time, attentiveness and effort. Wattchow and Brown (2011) argue that 'what's needed is both a felt, embodied encounter with a place and an engagement with knowing the place through various cultural knowledge systems, such as, history, ecology, geography, and so on' (p. 190). This type of apprenticeship can be seen in Ingold (2000) and Raffan's (1992) studies involving traditional landowners in Canada and the sub-arctic. The young people in these studies *hear, see* and *feel* cultural knowledge, for example, the movement of the Caribou, through well told stories as well as having lived-experiences of this movement by traveling '*through*' place (Ingold, 2000 and Raffan, 1992). The consequence of Indigenous approaches which are akin to apprenticeship style learning results in the learner acquiring various interactions with place and all its constituents in varying circumstances. For Ingold (2000) this must involve 'the learner [being] placed, with the requisite equipment, in a practical situation, and told to pay attention to how 'this' feels or how 'that' looks or sounds' (p. 416). In other words, to become skilful, 'we have to understand the significance of what we see, hear and touch' (Dewey, 1997, p. 68). In this way, sea as teacher and community as teacher work together to help beginners learn what is and isn't significant in surf places.

These teachers from within community have, hopefully, already started their journey of becoming enskiled. Some are experts who have already learned to perceive things in the environment that are invisible to novices (Crawford, 2009). In some cultures, teachers must earn the right to be able to teach. In the Western world teachers in a formal educational setting need disciplinary knowledge, a teaching degree and additional certificates and clearances from a regulatory authority. Those in less formal settings, such as surfing, need 'street cred' or be known to be capable in the surf (reading between the lines of Evers, 2010, Ford & Brown, 2006). Indeed, in some cultures, like that of the Inuit, one must earn the right to be able to tell a story from which others may learn and make meaning (Lopez, 1989, Raffan, 1992, Ingold, 2000). A novice then becomes enskiled in place through 'the relationships between more or less experienced practitioners in hands-on contexts of activity' (Ingold, 2000, p. 37). They are taught what to pay attention to through the support of their community teacher and then experience the activity for themselves where by the land or sea as teacher plays its role in contributing to a novice's knowledge and skill base. This is the process of enskilment.

So, the question arises, what does this apprentice-elder approach to enskilment in place actually look like? A closer look at Ingold's (2000) and Raffan's (1992, 1993)

work helps here. In both cases the novice or learner is indeed encouraged to both 'be' in place and 'listen' to its narrative and stories. In particular, Ingold's concepts of wayfinding and taskscape may provide some insight into how young surfers become enskilled in place, through an apprenticeship style of learning. Combining these anthropological concepts with Raffan's (1992, 1993) environmental educational research into knowing place will provide direction into inquiring into how young surfers become enskilled in surf places. I previously mentioned that traveling through place is important to the process of enskilment. What I mean by through is actually *with, in, on, under, and entwined* with place. Ingold (2000) explains the complexity of this phenomena with two key concepts – taskscape and wayfinding.

Wayfinding (Ingold, 2000), or wayfaring as some like to call it (Vannini & Taggart, 2014), is best described as a navigational technique. It is an approach to movement across landscape and involves moving from place to place, rather than, the Western view of moving between locations. According to Ingold (2000), wayfinding is more akin to storytelling, rather than the traditional Western system of map and compass navigation techniques. Wayfinding involves 'long-term attunement and attentiveness' (Tyrrell, 2006, p. 225) of a place that includes an intricate 'knowledge of the physical features of the seascape and of weather and sea...conditions' (Tyrrell, 2006, p. 223). More than that, it involves the knowing of 'how one may reach it [a place], or reach other places from it' (Ingold, 2000, p. 238), which, is more easily said than done when conditions are rough, big or there is a lack of surface landmarks or waymarks. To know how to wayfind a person needs to have paid careful attention to many stories in situ as well as 'experienced' the place many times for themselves (Ingold, 2000, Tyrrell, 2006). Unlike other forms of navigation whereby one may ignore, become lost or get distracted by irrelevant details the ordinary wayfinder 'is not generally troubled by detail. Quite to the contrary, the richer and more varied the texture of the environment, the easier it is to find one's way' (Ingold, 2000, p. 242).

So how does one learn to wayfind and what might this mean for a study of how young surfers learn? Tyrrell (2006), Ingold (2000) and Raffan (1992, 1993) can help answer these questions. Raffan (1993) suggests that there is a toponymic component where by one needs to be involved in learning about, and indeed, actually naming places. In his study of people travelling through and in the Thelon Game Reserve in Canada, Raffan (1993) states that 'most of the names used by people were not found on any published map. They were names derived from personal or family or prior-community experience on the land' (Raffan, 1993, p. 43). Often these names are attached to stories of local family events or significant experiences that have occurred

there. Naming and narrative are intertwined. Learning place names for Tyrrell (2006) meant repeatedly going to these places, and traveling through them. It began by hearing place names as they were pointed out to her by her elder guide, Frank. She also came to know these names through the many stories Frank and other community elders told in-situ and around family tables (Tyrrell, 2006). This often occurs in contemporary outdoor education whereby students 'pick-up' place names, locations of places, place meaning and place connection through hear and telling stories told in situ and in turn wayfinding (Gelter, 2000, Raffan, 1992, 1993, Wattchow & Brown, 2011).

It is worth noting that these place names became meaningful through the knowledge of past events, histories, memorable community experiences and eventually his or her own personal experiences in these places. Although Ingold (2000) notes the importance of place names he is keen to argue that place names, or the toponymic component of knowing place, is on the 'first level', that is, step one on the wayfinding staircase. What makes these place names memorable and meaningful is the stories in which they appear and one's personal experience of the places and using their names while doing so. When Victorian surfers hear the name of world famous waves like Pipeline, Bell's, Mavericks, Teahupoo or even local Victorian waves like Pines, the Gunnery, Suicide or Meanos we need to be alert to the histories, meanings and stories encoded in these names. The names and naming of waves and surf places literally drip with meaning. The meaning in a name often hints at various place-based characteristics such as physical features of the place, historical events that have occurred there and even warnings about conditions or how one should approach their surfing at a particular break. For example, Suicide (a break on Australia's Mornington Peninsula) is named after Suicide Rock, not because it is overly dangerous but because if you take off right on top of the rock and wipe out there is a high chance of damaging your surfboard. The name appears on no maps or charts. It has resonant meaning only in the stories told amongst local surfers.

As previously argued, many educators advocate for place-based stories and attuning to the narrative of place. The concept of wayfinding relies heavily on the power of storytelling. Ingold (2000) states that wayfinding 'more closely resembles storytelling than map-using' (p. 219). Raffan (1993) describes this process well when he discusses what he calls the narrative component of place. He states that 'the native narrative is integrated into the mix of place names and personal experience that has been used for many years by the elders to teach young people about land and survival' (Raffan, 1993, p. 43). Although in contemporary outdoor education immediate survival

on the land is not of concern, a mix of storytelling and personal experience is widely used. Take, for example, Payne and Wattchow's (2007) case study based on a third year undergraduate outdoor environmental education course. The course had a practical component focussed on students experiencing a place named Bear Gully via half-day mini-seminars ranging from snorkelling and beachcombing to poetry writing and history walks. Incidentally, the name Bear Gully doesn't appear on any maps either and is known only to locals (Wattchow, 2015). These activities, for want of a better word, were spread across two multi-day camps (Payne & Wattchow, 2008). Through lived-experiences involving place-based stories from the narrative of Bear Gully, and indeed participant's own experiences of the place, students appear to become more knowledgeable and skilful in place. This is demonstrated in various representations of experience such as poems, artwork, writing, and performance. Further, it is shown via their movement (wayfinding) to the various inner places of Bear Gully such as the 'veranda' (Payne & Wattchow, 2008). The authors note that 'over the three years of *Experiencing the Australian Landscape* [the course], we are confident that many students have emerged from the program with a better sense of the 'place' (Payne & Wattchow, 2008, p. 30). Perhaps the same applies to the young surfers of Western Port Bay in south-eastern Australia.

Wayfinding occurs in, on, under, above, and within another facet that could potentially be at play when learning about and becoming enskiled in place - the taskscape. Coined by Ingold (2000) the term taskscape can be 'understood as the totality of tasks making up the pattern of activity of a community' (p. 325). A 'task' in this sense can be understood as 'any practical operation, carried out by a skilled agent in an environment' (Anderson, 2014, p. 112). Whereas the taskscape is the amalgamation, or interlocking, of all the activities performed within the environment of an overall task. An important facet of the taskscape is that it 'exists only so long as people are actually engaged in the activities' (Ingold, p. 197) of life, of which surfing is one in some coastal communities. For example, the activity of surfing requires participants to perform a number of tasks. They must '*fall in* with the rhythms of their environment: with the winds, the tides... the alterations of day and night, of the seasons and so on, in accordance with what the environment afforded for the conduct of their daily tasks' (Ingold, 2000, p. 325/6). The surfing taskscape is likely to involve more than needing to attune to oneself to the conditions of a surf break. Surfing also often involves other people in the water, on the beach or in the car park. There are unwritten laws when in the water and there are social expectations out of it. A surfer must also be aware of wider regional weather patterns in order to attempt an informed search for

waves. Then there is the physical act of surfing, the predicting of where and how a wave will break, getting out to the waves, the proper use and care of equipment (and washing/storage of it), and so on. What on the surface appears to be a simple task is actually an in-depth combination of a magnitude of activities involving knowledge and skill. Ingold (2000) would also argue that these aspects can barely be separated each affecting the other and critical to becoming or being an enskiled surfer.

The taskscape, like that of wayfinding, combines the first two signposts of Wattchow and Brown (2011) and is by its very nature an apprenticeship of place. Indeed the seascape itself 'is the congealed form of the taskscape' (Ingold, 2000, p. 199), it is what we can see, hear, feel, smell. The taskscape though is not just about an individual 'being' in or experiencing place. It is also social,

not because society provides an external frame against which particular tasks find independent measure, but because people, in the *performance* of their tasks, *also attend to one another*. (Ingold, 2000, p. 196)

This is mirrored in Stewart's (2003) study of a multi-day walk following the upper Snowy River in Victoria. Participants responded that due to place (terrain, beauty and so on) it brought them together in order to support each other through hardship, share joy and play their role as part of a small community (Stewart, 2003). Although, much of the 'socialness' of surfing is concealed within surf culture (and at times in the research of surfing) it is clear that social attentiveness does indeed occur within the activity of surfing. These social occurrences not only appear in forming the narrative of the place but also in the stories people tell about these places and the meaning within them (Raffan, 1992).

As a consequence, there are potentially rich opportunities for learning within the taskscape. Although her study was based on identifying good dairy cows in the Italian Alps, rather than surfing, Grasseni (2004) found that taskscapes are typically accessed through apprenticeships. Furthermore, she discovered, like Wattchow and Brown (2011) and Ingold (2000), that to become enskiled in a particular taskscape requires an education of attention. Grasseni (2004) also found that experts enskiled at identifying these cows had learned their craft in informal settings on family farms rather than any form of formal schooling. Echoing Raffan's (1992) findings of informal learning as earlier discussed, she states,

Most breed experts are first and foremost farmers, often with a limited education but with a personal interest in farming. Rather than from zoology

textbooks, they are likely to develop an understanding for breed selection directly from the management of the family herd, as well as from exchanges with other breeders. (Grasseni, 2004, p. 43)

As with predicating and identifying top dairy cows, the taskscape of surfing also appears to be learned away from formal education. It too requires a personal interest that begins with a curiosity and continues with an interest in one or more of the many facets involved in surfing, such as weather, equipment, the 'rush' of riding the perfect wave. Surfing, as seen in surfing literature surveyed earlier in the paper, requires personal experience. The surfer must be attentive to it so that they can learn environmental and sea conditions and its impact of the activity of surfing. Further, just as breeders of cows exchange opinions, argue, chat, admire and spin yarns with each other it would seem surfers do as well (see Evers, 2010, Ford & Brown, 2006). As has been argued above there is rich learning in both the embodied and social experiences from within the taskscape that encapsulates two teachers. The learning comes from 'the network of interrelationships between multiple rhythms of which the taskscape is itself constituted' (Ingold, 2000, p. 197). Becoming enskiled and learning in place is about recognising and being attentive to these relationships in surf places. Once recognised it is often human nature to want to share what we have learned, know or find interesting. This can be known as representation of experience.

A fourth and final signpost suggested by Wattchow and Brown (2011) is 'the representation of place experiences' (p. 182). The representation of experience could be seen as an extension to some of the more simplistic experiential models. Dewey (1997) advocates the need for reflection in order 'to organize what has been gained in periods of activity' (p. 63). Dewey refers to this need to organize learning as 'meaning making' or rather making sense of one's experience. Wattchow and Brown (2011) argue that another step is needed in this meaning making process, that is, to either critique what representations currently exist of a particular place or for learners to creatively construct their own. The reason why representation of experiences is important is because; 'whereas sensations are private and individual, representations are public and social' (Ingold, 2000, p. 158). Further, the representation of experience is important to point out that people do not see the different aspects as discrete entities in a linear relationship but rather live it as an embodied experience (Ingold, 2000, Wattchow & Brown, 2011). Once made public, meaning is not only established within a community but can be expanded upon, altered, challenged and critiqued, deepening one's understanding of an experience. A representation can also live on in the life of the individual whereby it can be used to 'relive' the experience and aid further learning

(Wattchow & Brown, 2011). These representation 'designs serve to conduct the attention of performers *into* the world, deeper and deeper' (Ingold, 2000, p. 56). Indeed, during this process,

at its most intense, the boundaries between person and place, or between the self and the landscape, dissolve altogether. It is at this point that, as people say, they become their ancestors, and discover the real meaning of things. (Ingold, 2000, p. 56)

For example, revisiting the journal of the young learner Holly in Haskell's (2000) study, Haskell noted that Holly often preferred to represent her experience in form of a poem.

Ocean World

Standing on the sandy beach,
I realize how small I am.

The world is powerful,
Threatens to crush me if I don't respect it.

I'm glad I can respect this place,
The trees older than I will ever be,
The land purer than anything I have ever known.

I breathe in the smells of the ocean,
Wishing I could live on the air alone.

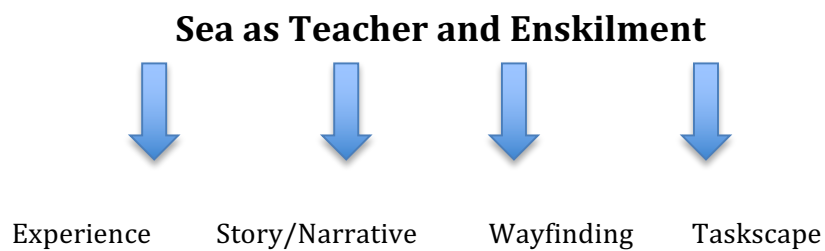
The world watches me and,
I watch the world,
And I am no longer small. (Haskell, 2000, 44)

Haskell (2000) explains that it is through this representation that Holly interprets, conceptualises and re-experiences her sea-kayaking journey. Through the poem, she is able to revisit her experience and 'tap-back-in' to the embodied learning that happened in place and continue to make meaning from it. For many others this representation appears in the form of story, whether it be verbal, written, visual, acted or danced.

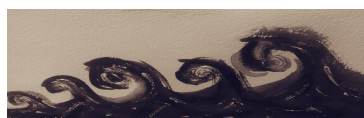
Taking the drop

Using Wattchow and Brown's (2011) educational signposts as an aid I have shown how Ingold's (2000) and Raffan's (1992, 1993) studies of traditional culture can and do connect with that of contemporary Western outdoor education and learning. In doing so I have outlined the parameters of the study. Further, this literature review has highlighted the need for an investigation into how young surfers become enskilled in

surf places. I have argued that surfing, like that of learning and becoming enskiled on traditional land, occurs in a less formal setting than mainstream education. Thus, I propose a combination of Ingold's (2000) and Raffan's (1992) work as an effective way to inquire into how young surfers become enskiled in surf places. In particular, the framework below will allow for a holistic investigation into the two possible teachers (the embodied and the social) and the 'work' that each conducts with the young learner, while they are learning to 'catch waves' and *become* enskiled in these places.



With this structure, which encapsulates the theoretical work of Raffan and Ingold into how young people become enskiled in place, it is time to turn towards issues of method and methodology in this study. This involves both the justification of narrative and story as a research methodology and how it was used to gather data from surfing storytellers. This is the focus of the next chapter.



CHAPTER THREE - Riding the Narrative Wave

A Storied Session

'Story' is a universal mirror that shows us the 'truth' about ourselves – who and why we are. When we look into this mirror, we see daily routine and mundane circumstances transformed into something profound. 'Story' takes the ordinary and binds it into all of human existence, revealing the significance of the trivial. (Livo and Rietz, 1986, p. 4)

In this chapter, I will explore the use of narrative inquiry as research methodology. First, I discuss narrative and how it has been used in educational research. In particular, a Deweyan perspective will be taken to help explain the value of using narrative inquiry to study human phenomena. I then consider why story, as a form within narrative, is a beneficial way of conducting research into human experience. Also important is the subsequent discussion of story's effectiveness in sharing and representing meaning from these experiences. I include a discussion on how stories as research findings may be judged and discuss how often used criteria, such as validity, reliability and generalisability, may not be appropriate for narrative research. This is done to promote reflection on my part as researcher about how I attempted to ensure my short research stories are meaningful, valuable, useful and based on the real human experience of the participants in this study. Finally, I outline the specific details of how this research was conducted so that readers of this research may draw their own conclusions about the worth of the stories presented here.

Part one – Methodological Story

A looking glass

To begin, it is worth noting that narrative inquiry 'has a long intellectual history both in and out of education' (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2). In fact, one may suggest that it is one of the founding approaches to research having been employed in Ancient Greece by scholars such as Socrates and Aristotle to record and pass on important knowledge to broader audiences and across generations. Despite this, narrative inquiry 'may feel new to us' (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 35) because its emergence in the field of social science research is relatively recent. To this end, it is important to recognise that narrative methodologies are still developing and are a work in progress (Clandinin,

Pushor & Murray Orr, 2007). Interestingly, this has not deterred academics from a range of social science fields from employing narrative approaches in their research. Berger and Quinney, (2004) note that narrative methodologies are becoming more wide spread and legitimised at a rapid pace. Some recent examples include; nursing and social health (Spector-Mersel, 2010, Wang, 2015), geography (Wylie, 2005), psychology (Smith & Sparkes, 2006), sport (Sparkes, 2002), and physical and outdoor education (for example Higgins & Wattchow, 2013, Sparkes, 1997, 1999, 2008) to name a few.

Interestingly these studies appear to proceed 'from an ontological position, a curiosity about how people are living and the constituents of their experience' (Caine *et al*, 2013, p. 575). In other words, narrative inquiry is a way of examining human nature. Furthermore, there lies at the heart of narrative inquiry an epistemological assumption that 'humans lead storied lives and tell stories of those lives' (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2). Consequently, researchers who align with, or call themselves, narrative inquirers either collect stories and narratives as data creating themes, categories and typologies and/or collect events and happenings as data and represent their findings as stories and narrative (Polkinghorne, 1995). This study follows the later and sees events and happenings as short stories that can be (re)presented as findings, which appear in Chapter Four of the thesis.

Narrative methodology arose from a concern and growing uncertainty regarding an adequate means to describe social reality (Sparkes, 1995). Sparkes (1995) suggests narrative goes some way to overcome the underlying assumption in qualitative research that lived experience can be accurately captured and represented. Authors such as Clandinin and Rosiek, (2007), Sparkes (1995), Richardson (1995, 2000), and Wylie (2005) also suggests that narrative allows for the problematic nature of language in all stages of a research project, as highlighted by postmodernists and poststructuralists. However, narrative research also has its limitations, in particular, issues surrounding legitimatisation and judgment.

Spector-Mersel (2010), for example, has recently advised narrative inquirers to adhere to a constant paradigm to ensure that this type of inquiry exists as a distinct qualitative approach to research. Paradoxically, however, the multidimensional nature of narrative inquiry is what draws many researchers to the methodology. Perhaps this is because it cuts across such '...areas as literacy, theory, history, anthropology, drama, art, film, theology, philosophy, linguistics, education, and even aspects of evolutionary biological science (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2). Such breadth would seem to muddy the waters in terms of prescribing to a neat methodological discourse. As

Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) point out, narrative inquiry moves from 'one way of knowing the world to an understanding that there are multiple ways of knowing and understanding human experience' (p. 27). As part of this process, it appears most narrative researchers 'accept and value the way in which narrative inquiry allows wondering, tentativeness, and alternative views to exist as part of the research account' (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 27). I would also add, that most narrative researchers acknowledge that researchers from other areas may disapprove of the use of narrative as research methodology (Sparkes, 1997). It can make other researchers feel uncomfortable and they find narrative research unsettling. This is because using and reading narrative methodology requires accepting the idea that the social world has no fixed rules rather than appealing to 'humans' apparent desire for 'certainty' and 'absolute truths' (Otto, 2007, p. 75). It means accepting a broad and multidimensional way of knowing (Oliver, 1998). However, not only do narrative researchers acknowledge this disapproval they are also prepared to rigorously defend it. It is prudent then to offer an explanation of a narrative paradigm to ensure transparency and clarity.

As mentioned previously narrative inquirers are deeply curious about human experience. If this research thesis had wider scope it is possible that an exploration of phenomenology would be appropriate. However, as it is beyond what can be achieved in this project, a Deweyan perspective on experience is more in keeping with the aims and scope of this study. It is important to note that from this perspective narrative researchers see experience as story. Consequently, it is a particular way of thinking about experience that could perhaps be described as a pragmatic view of knowledge (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, Dewey, 1997). In this sense narrative inquirers' 'representations arise from experience and must return to that experience for their validation' (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 39). This assumption draws strongly from Dewey's (1997) educational philosophy that 'every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after' (p. 35). The assumption, then, is that there is inherit meaning both in an individual's experience and the (re)presentation of it. As a result, the purpose of a narrative inquiry

is not to generate an exclusively faithful representation of a reality independent of the knower. The regulative ideal for inquiry is to generate a new relation between a human being and her environment—her life, community, world. (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 39)

Using a Deweyan perspective of experience a study can explore and acknowledge the embodiment of an individual living in the world with others. In other words,

...the stories we are told, and the stories we learn to tell about ourselves and our bodies, are important in terms of how we come to impose order on our embodied experiences and make sense of events and actions in our lives. (Sparkes, 1999, p. 18)

Making sense of particular experiences or of particular representations of experience highlights another Deweyan element - reflection. Dewey (1997) believed there should be 'intervals of time for quiet reflection' (p. 63). These times 'are used to organize what has been gained in periods of activity' (p. 63). This requires careful thought, observation and memory of the experience, which may be aided by a representation of it. Again, the assumption is clear, not only do narrative inquirers believe that humans live storied lives but also 'view story as a way of understanding the meaning of an experience' (Saunders-Bustle & Oliver, 2001, p. 508). Consequently,

...we restory earlier experiences as we reflect on later experiences so the stories and their meanings shift and change over time. As we engage in a reflective research process, our stories are often restoried and changed as we, as teachers and researchers, 'give back' to each other ways of seeing our stories. (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 9)

In this sense 'the stories that people tell about their lives should not be regarded as simple reflections of the teller's actual experiences, or transparent windows to their inner private self that can be rendered as visible through dialogue (Sparkes, 1999, p. 20). It must be recognised that 'experience is always something past that can never be grasped in its full richness and depth' (van Manen, 1990, p. 36). In light of this fact rather than try to accurately specifically describe an experience as it happened narrative inquirers are trying to share the meaning of some experience, or offer insight into the experience(s) of an individual(s) (Oliver, 1998). This occurs through deep reflection (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, Richardson, 1995, 2000, van Manen, 1990) and, I would add, reflexivity, on behalf of the researcher.

Importantly this Deweyan paradigm to narrative research allows for four significant aspects of human experience to be accounted for. Temporality, sociality, the body and place are all elements of human experience that need to be inquired into when studying human experience narratively (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). Interestingly there are strong parallels to the existential lifeworld essentials reasoned

by van Manen (1990) as being central to lived experience research. He suggests that these elements of experience can be differentiated into distinct themes but not separated. In other words, narrative inquirers always attempt to portray, interpret and represent human experience as it occurs in context and holistically. Stories are particularly useful in achieving this objective as, stated above; the assumption is that all human experience is storied experience. That is, it occurs at a particular time and place whereby an individual is at once experiencing both the external environment and their own internal conditions (Dewey, 1997). It becomes impossible to uncouple experience, reflection and storytelling.

As such it is important that narrative inquirers and, potential readers of their work, 'understand people, places, and events as in process, as always in transition' (Clandinin, Pushor & Murray Orr, 2007, p. 23). Relating closely to Dewey's (1997) principle of continuity, this element of temporality acknowledges that both people and places are not static but rather always in a salient process of becoming (Wattchow, 2006). It accounts for the changes people and places go through due to the impact of events and experiences. This is particularly useful in trying to understand and represent certain human experiences such as the process of learning a specific task, the influence places have on people over (or in) a particular time, and so on (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, Wattchow & Brown, 2011). The use of stories also allows for the different ways humans experience time to be acknowledged. An individual may only experience the present but can reflect on the past and look to the future. In this way stories help to represent time as experienced, that is, less as straight lines and more in a cyclic, blurred fashion impacting human phenomena (Oliver, 1998).

In addition to temporality, another strength of narrative inquiry is its ability to touch on the two conditions of human experience, the objective and the internal. Stories, in particular, allow not only for the study and representation of the objective world of others and the environment but also the internal feelings of the body and thought of mind. This keeps in line with the Deweyan lens and a belief that

experience does not go on simply inside a person. It does go on there, for it influences the formation of attitudes of desire and purposes. (Dewey, 1997, p. 39)

Of great interest to the narrative inquirer are the stories people have to tell of their sociality and corporeality. The interest stems from what insight and meaning can be learned from people's embodied experiences (Higgins & Wattchow, 2013, Sparkes, 1997, 1999, 2009, Wylie, 2005). Storytelling allows 'the body' and the 'other' to be

heard, and more importantly, seen in research. If done well good storytelling, whereby the body and the other are shown, evokes readers to reflect on their own lives, question cultural norms and help them to understand an individual's experience in/of something (Sparkes, 1997, 1999). This occurs because the reader is able to place themselves imaginatively within the narrative whether it be non-fiction or otherwise (Sparkes, 1997). Allowing the reader to tap into their own past experience of sensations of movement and shared conversations or interactions with people and the environment has the potential to lead to a deeper understanding of a phenomenon (Saunders-Bustle & Oliver, 2001, Sparkes, 1997, 1999). In this way, rather than the sense of an experience occurring in a vacuum, the reader sees human experience for what it is, lived and influenced by a nuanced community of others and their environmental context.

The concept of place is extremely important to a narrative inquirer, especially in smaller studies. It is what makes the study local, timely and indeed meaningful. The 'place' encapsulates the rest of the other elements discussed above and finalises the context and situation of the human experience being studied. Indeed, as noted by Connelly and Clandinin, (2006) 'the key...is the importance of recognizing that all events take place some place' (p. 481). It is suggested that this is a possible reason for the rapid growth of narrative research in the social sciences, particularly in those professions that work closely with people in local settings (Berger & Quinney, 2004, Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Places of specific interest to those researching human phenomena narratively include classrooms (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990); outdoor classrooms (Higgins & Wattchow 2013); nursing wards (Spector-Mersel, 2010); sporting fields (Sparkes, 2002); specific outdoor locations like long distance walking paths (Wylie, 2005) and of course focus on place-relations (Lopez 1986, 1988).

These local settings are the taskscapes (Ingold, 2000) of people's lives where they carry out all sorts of daily activities. The consequences of these daily activities have significant storied meaning or, rather, meaning is made through story. Narrative inquiry insists that places not only be included in the study of human experience but shown in representation as well (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). To put it bluntly narrative inquirers believe places play a critical role in, not only shaping human experience(s), but also the depth of meaning that can be taken away from them. Places, by their very nature, set the scene, so to speak, (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). On the surface, places provide context, which immediately helps the reader/listener situate themselves into the story and to begin to make meaning. Under the surface, these places contain webs of meaning. They help to connect the event to the world, allow for common ground and help the flux between the personal and the social.

Looking through a Deweyan lens it becomes possible to understand experience, reflection and storytelling as a way of being in, and coming to know, the world. By combining and representing the four elements of temporality, sociality, corporeality and place, a storyteller can create an open window for the reader. Through this open window, the reader can see and imaginatively hear, feel, touch and smell the meaning of a specific human experience. Moreover, narrative can be socially shared in the form of stories. The meaning and insight within these stories can subtly change as they are constructed and reconstructed over time just as people and places change. It is the collective and shared knowledge of these stories, though, that contribute to a wider body of knowledge, skill and meaning in the community. It is through this shared nature of storytelling that some stories are accepted and others are dismissed. Given this, it is timely to turn the discussion towards how and why some stories are judged as true or trustworthy while others are not.

What is true? How to judge?

Qualitative researchers, in particular narrative inquirers, are commonly concerned with how their research is, and should, be judged. As Connelly and Clandinin (1990) have found, I too, have noticed that narrative inquirers appear to 'search for, and defend the criteria that best apply to his or her work' (p. 7). Consequently, under the current circumstances in narrative inquiry research, I too will discuss and propose a way of judging the research that appears in this thesis. This involves a form of self-criticism about the qualities of the story being told by the storyteller. For a story to be worthy according to Lopez (1998), who studied storytelling in Indigenous cultures,

It does not seem to matter greatly what the subject is, as long as the context is intimate and the story is told for its own sake, not forced to serve merely as the vehicle for an idea. The tone of the story need not be solemn. The darker aspects of life need not be ignored. But I think intimacy is indispensable – a feeling that derives from the listener's trust and the storyteller's certain knowledge of his subject and regard for his audience. (Lopez, 1988, p. 63)

Within the world of narrative research, it is necessary to take notice of Sparkes (2009b) blunt warning that 'readers need to make informed, principled and responsible decisions about the criteria they use to judge different and novel forms of representation' (p. 301). Sparkes is not alone as Britzman (1995) too 'calls for readers of research to accept a greater responsibility in negotiating the truth claims of

educational research' (cited in Otto, 2007, p. 85). Alvermann, O'Brien and Dillon (1996) offer the first piece of advice to readers. Written in the first person they explain,

When I read a piece of qualitative research, I read the text on two levels, asking myself the following questions: From a microlevel, are the important components of a qualitative research study discussed in enough detail to indicate that the study was carefully constructed and rigorously carried out? From a holistic perspective, is the information written in a complete, coherent, and interesting manner. In short, is the piece insightful? (Alvermann, O'Brien and Dillon, 1996, p. 116)

In this case, it is clear that 'like other qualitative methods, narrative relies on criteria other than validity, reliability, and generalizability' (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 7). Further, empirical generalization is not the aim of narrative research, nor is factual empiricism or factual historical events. Rather, the stories of narrative inquiry are 'an effective way of dealing with certain kinds of knowledge' (van Manen, 1990, p. 120) such as those that are tacit in nature, or hard to articulate. These forms of knowledge often make up much of our human daily life but are not written down or recorded. Examples might include how one judges another person's character, a mother's intuition (van Manen, 1990), or a surfer's knowledge of the nuance of surf places. In other words, narrative research aims to concretise the 'felt' and aid society to take meaning and insight out of everyday experiences (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Sparkes, 2009b, van Manen, 1990). So how, then, should one judge narrative research?

Clandinin, Pushor and Murray Orr (2007) state that 'judgment criteria are still under development in narrative inquiry' (p. 32) and that it may help to guide the reader in the judgement of narrative research. In doing so it is important to note that authors such as Sparkes (2009b) are wary of a criteriological approach. Sparkes (2009b) believes that specific predetermined criteria have the potential to be used in an exclusionary manner to narrow what is and is not considered (good) research. In this light, there is a concern that qualitative researchers of education may be missing valuable insights and meaning from other ways of knowing if certain representations are ignored. Sparkes (2009b) goes on to suggest that criteria should be changeable stating,

various criteria, therefore, in list form may act as a *starting point* for judging a certain kind of inquiry, but these may not apply on all occasions and other criteria can be added or subtracted from them depending upon the circumstances. (Sparkes, 2009b, p. 310)

Sparkes (2009b) calls for 'qualities of connoisseurship' (p. 314) whereby the reader takes responsibility to listen carefully, be open to different traditions, and, be fair and ethical. This may mean the reader will be challenged and frustrated but also ensures that tough questions are asked of the research. Sparkes (2009b) and Alvermann, O'Brien and Dillon (1996) suggest that it may also help to assist the reader in this task.

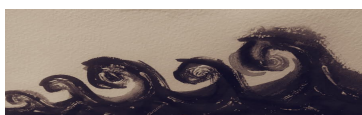
In this research, I have tried to do this in three ways. First, I have made an effort to introduce the reader to narrative inquiry earlier in the chapter and the need for a different set of criteria when considering the merits of the research. Second, below I have recommended an alternative and responsive set of criteria and attempted to ask specific questions for the reader to answer as she or he reads the representative short stories in the 'findings' chapter about young surfers and their storied experiences. Third, I go on to outline the research process in part two of this chapter and have attached additional components of the research process in the appendices (such as a copies of the research explanatory statement used in recruiting participants; etc.).

Before I offer a specific set of criteria I would like to state that this research claims 'to know something without claiming to know everything' (Richardson, 2000, p. 8). And so, I recommend the follow five criteria be kept in mind when readers read and reflect upon the stories of young surfers that are told in this research.

- Plausibility and verisimilitude. Can the reader say to themselves 'I can see that happening' (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 8)? In other words, does the research seem real and reasonable? Does it ring true?
- Reflection. Does the research cause 'active, persistent, and careful consideration' (Dewey 1938, p. 118) from the reader? Does the research invite a reflective search for significance?
- Aesthetic merit. Does it [the research] 'invite interpretative responses? Is it satisfying and complex and not boring?' (Richardson, 2000, p. 15). Does the research compel attention?
- Meaningful. Does the research provide the reader with the 'essence' of the lived experience of knowing surf places? Does it give a sense of the lived experience?
- Insightfulness. Does the research contribute something to the field of education research? Did you personally learn something from the research?

(adapted from, Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, Gatton & Jones, 2004, Richardson, 2000, van Manen 1990)

It is hoped the above criteria will aid readers of this research to judge, in particular, the stories of surfer's experiences in the following chapter in a fair and ethical way. Furthermore, it is hoped that these criteria not only challenge traditional research criteria about rigour and generalisability but also helps readers accept this inquiry as a worthy contribution to the field. Having introduced narrative inquiry, argued for its use, and, outlined how narrative research may be judged it is timely to outline the specifics of this research project.



Part two – Getting it done: Method and procedures

The second part of this chapter outlines practicalities of how the research was conducted. Referring to issues of participant recruitment, interview techniques, thematising data and so on as practicalities is by no means intended to suggest that they are not as significant as either the theoretical discussion that precedes them or the narrative stories that follow. As a researcher, I 'lived' with these practicalities for some time and they interacted intimately with both theory and storytelling in the overall project.

Recruiting storytellers

Participants for this research, or rather storytellers, were recruited via the distribution of posters stapled to the walls of local post offices, cafes, surf shops and the odd car park fence near local surf breaks (see Appendix D). Due to the nature of the study, only a small number of storytellers were required. In the end, two surfing families were selected; a mother and her daughter as well as a father and his three sons. Another participant was also interviewed but due to unforeseen circumstances, his child was unable to participate. Nevertheless, he was still able to contribute insightful, rich stories that added valuable data about how young people become enskilled in surf places. The age of parents in these families ranged from 53 to 66 years while their offspring aged between 15 – 21 years (see Table 1 below). Interestingly, the recruitment of storytellers was not as smooth as envisioned and took a couple of rounds of posters before successfully engaging enough suitable storytellers. The difficulty in finding appropriate storytellers centred around two reasons. The first, requiring a potential storyteller to be

a part of a surfing family/community and have at least two willing parties from the same family or community is self-explanatory. The second is worth mentioning further and perhaps worth further investigation at a later date.

This second difficulty in engaging storytellers appears to involve the perception of intruding on 'surf-time'. Both in the physical sense in relation to the time taken to be interviewed and the perception that surfing is a time to escape and be free from the constraints of life such as academic thought. For example, my posters were torn down, pulled off walls and even covered in graffiti. After this had been going on for a while I began to chat casually with some of the surfers I encountered at various places just to test the waters. I found that although most surfers were more than happy to chat to a local informally about conditions and places, as soon as, the idea of a more formal chat or research project was mentioned, well... let's just keep it polite. The common response was that participating in a study like this one is not a very good use of one's possible surf-time! Interestingly, this small finding conforms to the cultural stereotype of surfers pushing back against authority and the mainstream (Ford & Brown, 2006). Nonetheless, eventually, suitable interviewees, storytellers, were found.

All storytellers were shown an explanatory statement outlining the research and asked to complete the relevant informed consent (over 18) or assent form (under 18) before sharing their stories (see Appendices A, B and C at the end of the thesis).

Table 1: Storyteller demographic details

Storyteller	Gender (M/F)	Age (Yrs)	Years Surfing	Age started surfing (Yrs)	Main surf Break (while learning)	Main surf break (Now)
Storyteller 1	M	58	48	10	Pines	Western Port (Pines/Honeysuckle/Suicide)
Storyteller 2	M	21	16/17	4/5	Pines	Flinders/Western Port (Meanos/Honeysuckle/Suicide)
Storyteller 3	M	18	13/14	4/5	Pines	Flinders/Western Port (Meanos/Honeysuckle/Suicide)
Storyteller 4	M	15	2	13	Pines	Western Port (Pines)
Storyteller 5	F	53	11/12	41/2	Pines/Gunnery	Western Port ('Left and Rights'/the Farm/Pines)
Storyteller 6	F	18	8	10	Pines/Gunnery	Flinders (Meanos)
Storyteller 7	M	66	40 odd (no longer surfs due to injury)	18	Pines	Western Port (Honey Suckle/2 nd Reef/Suicide)

Collection of stories

Stories, in their longer, more considered form were collected over a cuppa or milkshake at a café or milk bar nearby to the participants' surf breaks. While a shorter sometimes hurried set of stories were heard in spits and spurts out in the surf or while conducting the old business of gazing from a cliff top or on the beach for surfable conditions. The methodology behind this two-phase 'interview' (I prefer storytelling) process was based on Seidman's (2006) in-depth three-phase phenomenological interview sequence. Unfortunately, the recordings of the 'in-surf' conversations were unusable. However, I kept a detailed research diary, including notes, anecdotes and stories were written down. But the main data was recorded during land based interview sessions. These interviews were recorded and later transcribed verbatim.

Interviews in the form of storied conversations were chosen following the lead of Seidman (2006) and van Manen (1990). The storied conversations were a way of 'exploring and gathering experiential narrative material that may serve as a resource for developing a richer and deeper understanding of a human phenomenon' (van Manen, 1990, p. 66). In other words, I saw this process of collecting stories as a way 'to find out what is on someone else's mind, to gather their stories' (Patton, 2002, p. 341) to help understand or, at least gain some insight into how young people become enskiled in surf places. The purpose of inquiring into surfer's stories about place is to attempt to gain an 'understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of' (Seidman, 2006, p. 9), in this case, surf places. I chose to hold storytelling sessions in local places, including within surf places and surfer's homes because 'people's behaviour becomes meaningful and understandable when placed in the context of their lives and the lives of those around them' (Seidman, 2006, p. 16).

Seidman (2006) recommends a three-phase interview structure. The first interview establishes context of participant's experience, while the second allows them to reconstruct these experiences. The third interview gives the participants the opportunity to reflect on the meaning of these experiences and for the researcher to pursue lines of inquiry in greater depth than were mentioned in the first two interviews. I considered all these elements important, however due to the scope and aims of this initially study, I chose to narrow the interview process to two phases. In phase one of this process, I attempted to adhere to van Manen's (1990) advice that 'it is imperative to stay close to experience as lived' (p. 67). In effect, this became a blending of Seidman's (2006) phase one and two interviews, discovering the experience of the storyteller and assisting them in reconstructing their experiences. While the second phase involved a 60-90 minute storytelling session that blended Seidman's (2006) phase two and three, further reconstruction of experiences and followed by reflecting on their meaning.

Seidman (2006) notes that there is 'nothing magical or absolute about this [60-90 minute] time frame' but 'what is important is that the length of time be decided upon before the interview process begins' (Seidman, 2006, p. 20). This occurred quite naturally and in preliminary discussions with storytellers agreeing to 60-90minutes. This time frame was also stated on the poster. In this storytelling phase, I began by 'ask[ing] participants to tell a story' (Seidman, 2006, p. 87) or a yarn about how they came to surf and their early experiences of the beach. Due to the open-ended nature of this approach, I took Seidman's (2006) advice in preparing and planning a structure. I developed a 'narrative guide' (see table 2 below) to provide a semi-structure approach to the sessions. This guide was developed via the review of Ingold and Raffan's work

discussed in depth in the previous chapter. This helped to support the direction of story(ies) in remaining focused on the topic at hand but also allowed each storyteller freedom in the stories they told and the meaning made from their experiences. The guide also helped me to limit my own interaction during the interview time. This allowed me as the researcher to adhere to the purpose of the sessions, which is 'to understand the experience of those being interviewed, not to predict or to control that experience' (Seidman, 2006, p. 51). It also helped me to 'tolerate silence' (Seidman, 2006, p. 91) during my time with the storytellers and use silence as a tactful prompt (van Manen, 1990). My experience during these storied conversations was that

Thoughtfulness takes time; if interviewers can learn to tolerate either the silence that sometimes follows a question or a pause within a participant's reconstruction, they may hear things they would never have heard if they had leapt in with another questions to break the silence. (Seidman, 2006, p. 93)

In hindsight and a larger scope, I would have adhered to Seidman's (2006) original three-phase interview sequence in-order to further explore participant experiences and thoughts. This is because much of what is being explored is often unspoken and taken for granted and thus needed more time to ponder and reflect on this tacit knowledge and skill. On many occasions I received the response 'you just know' after asking the storyteller if they could explain or tell a story about how they learned 'such and such' element of the place. Further, the 'in-situ' phase one of my sequence was ambitious and perhaps required further thought on the recordings – I did try using a waterproof camera but the sound was not comprehensible. However, insights were gained about why surfers responded the way they did to surf places and other people within these places.

Table 2: Narrative guide for inquiring into the enskilment in surf places

Enskilment in Surf Place

	Experience	Narrative/Story	Wayfinding	Taskscape	
Sea as teacher	Prompt: Tell me a story about learning to surf	Prompt: Tell me a story about... surfing, surf break, local area	Prompt: Tell me a story about searching for surf, learning where to sit, learning about a break etc	Prompt: Tell me a story about how you learned how to perform skills such as duck diving, where to paddle...	Sea as teacher
Social as teacher	Prompt: Tell me a story about learning to surf with others or other people around if any	Prompt: Tell me a story about surfing with other people at 'surf break'...	Prompt: Tell me a story about places surfed, traveling to surf places with others, searching for waves	Prompt: Tell me a story about others in the surf...	Social as teacher
	Experience	Narrative/Story	Wayfinding	Taskscape	

Anchoring on the four pillars in the above table enabled me to encourage the participants of this study to share stories of their experiences when learning to surf. The first two pillars set the scene. I was able to hear broadly about their individual and collective experiences of learning to surf. These first two pillars also enabled me to hear and indeed later analyse the stories they heard (if any) when learning to surf or the stories they have told when making meaning of their experiences and while helping others learn. The final two pillars allowed the focus to narrow on specific surf places and how storytellers came to know them. The four pillars enabled me to question whether or not an apprenticeship style approach is used when learning to surf and what this approach, if it existed, looked like. The theoretical framework helped me inquire into 'the perceptual sensitivity that enables him [or her] to discern, and

continually respond to, those subtle variations in the environment whose detection is essential to the accomplishment of ongoing activity' (Ingold, 2000, p. 147).

Listening to and making meaning of stories

Making meaning from stories can be a very personal, but also a shared, social experience. Indeed, 'the meaning or essence of a phenomenon is never simple or one-dimensional. Meaning is multi-dimensional and multi-layered' (van Manen, 1990, p. 78). And so, different people may take away very different meanings from the same story. In this instance, I have used what van Manen (1990) refers to as theme analysis in a bid to interpret meaning from the storied conversations. Theme analysis states van Manen, (1990) is 'the process of recovering the theme or themes that are embodied and dramatized in the evolving meanings and imagery of the work' (van Manen, 1990, p. 78). During this process of thematic phrasing, I examined the stories of the participants and asked 'what does this mean? What does this tell me about the nature of the phenomenon' (Patton, 2002, p. 477) of becoming enskilled in surf places? This became a process of 'to-ing and fro-ing' between the recorded and transcribed stories (the experiential data) and my own perspective and understanding of these stories through listening, reading, re-listening, re-reading many times. In this way, as noted by van Manen (1990),

making something of a text or of a lived experience by interpreting its meaning is more accurately a process of insightful invention, discovery or disclosure – grasping and formulating a thematic understanding is not a rule bound process but a free act of "seeing" meaning. (p. 79)

Meaning making and the appearance of themes began earlier than expected. Even during, the first phase of the story collection process, before transcriptions had been done, I began to notice themes and patterns while the storyteller was speaking. In light of this, and taking Seidman's (2006) advice that 'there is no substitute for total immersion in the data' (p. 128), I transcribed the recorded interviews verbatim myself; a very time consuming process. As I listened, typed, read and begun drafting early stories the themes began to emerge providing control and order to the research (van Manen, 1990). Although it is through these themes that order and 'logical sense' can be made in the written form out of context it must also be accepted that

thematic phrase does not do justice to the fullness of the life of a phenomenon. A thematic phrase only serves to point at, to allude to, or to hint at, an aspect of a phenomenon. (van Manen, 1990, p. 92)

With this mind, the themes do indeed allude, hint and provide rich plausible insights into the enskilment of young people in surf places. In-order to uncover the main themes within the stories of the storytellers I used a blend of the following three approaches from van Mannen (1990, p. 93).

1. the wholistic or sententious approach;
2. the selective or highlighting approach;
3. the detailed or line-by-line approach

These three approaches involve attending to the text as a whole (wholistic), in phrases and statements through selective reading and listening (selective) and finally focusing on specific sentences (detailed) (van Manen, 1990). I found the wholistic approach provided the main overarching, narrative themes and became the basis for the short stories. While the selective and detailed approaches provided those smaller, but still essential, themes found within certain aspects of the main themes. A long table analysis was used as a tool to help determine themes (see appendix E). These approaches often provided the particularities within the stories like settings, scenes and events. Indeed, some of the detailed line-by-line themes appear directly as dialogue or description within the stories presented in the next chapter. In addition, a story arc has been used to bind not only the three approaches but also to ensure there is coherency between the set of short stories. Each story contains elements from each theme and acts as a part of whole or in other words, each short story is a single episode of which when combined together creates a series. As a consequence each story below has its own meaning and value, however, they are best read and judged when combined as each story is critical to the overall narrative and inherent meaning. These 'themes are not exhaustive of the phenomenon... but allow systematic investigation' (van Manen, 1990, p. 168) into the enskilment in surf places.

Themes of becoming enskiled and connected to surf places:

It is possible that many themes and sub themes may be drawn from the data. My analysis, using the approach described above, highlighted four major themes.

1. Sea as teacher (sub themes gazing and embodied experience)
2. Others as teacher (sub themes family, friends and strangers)
3. Time
4. Ocean as constant

It was from these themes that I began drafting the creative non-fiction stories to represent the findings of the research. It was at this stage that another stage of analysis occurred. As van Manen (1990) points out 'writing fixes thought on paper' (p. 125). The drafting and writing of the short stories were indeed another way of making sense of stories I had heard from the participants. It was a process of balance, a balance between describing the slow act of enskilment in surf places (that is, describing how they become enskiled and knowledgeable in surf places), with interpreting the storytellers' stories of how enskilment took place in relation to linking key similar themes between the stories as well as theoretical frameworks of learning and process of becoming enskiled. I became aware through this process that

To write (or to read) is to interpret, to tell stories. As I have come to learn, like it or not, the interpreting I do as a writer (or reviewer) tells as much about me as it does about others whose stories are being told. (Alvermann, O'Brien & Dillon, 1996, p. 117)

Keeping this in mind I was determined to ensure that the voices of the storytellers are heard in this study. On the other hand, I also found that 'my writing as a practice *prepared me* for an insightful praxis in the lifeworld' (van Manen, 1990, p. 130). In other words, the practice of writing helped me, as researcher, to 'see' what I had missed in the listening and transcribing of storytellers' stories. To state it bluntly 'writing is a way of knowing' (Richardson, 2000, p. 923). The process of writing and reading what has been written becomes a form of revisiting the storied conversations. It is a form of re-exploring and certainly, a form of checking and reflecting on what meaning is encapsulated in what was and has been said by the storytellers. In the words of another group of narrative researchers, 'what I've learned is that if I use writing to shape the representation, the final product will be much improved' (Alvermann, O'Brien & Dillon, 1996, p. 119).

From storied conversations to creative non-fiction short stories

The stories collected from the storytellers are represented in this study as a collection of creative non-fiction short stories (Sparkes, 1999, Carless & Sparkes, 2008). The case for using story and narrative as research methodology has already been argued. What has not been addressed so far is the why the participants' stories were reworked into creative non-fiction for this particular study. There are several important reasons for making this methodological choice about how to best represent the experiential data. First, research in the field of surfing suggests that future researchers consider

alternative methods such as narrative inquiry and the use of stories to inquire into the lived experience of surfing (Ford & Brown, 2006, Stranger 2011). Furthermore, academics whose work focuses on the concept of place offer similar advice (see for example Higgins & Wattchow 2013, Stewart, 2003, Wattchow, 2006).

Second, surfing by nature is complex, haptic and multifaceted. Sparkes (1999, 2002, 2008) and Higgins and Wattchow (2013) suggest that stories cater for phenomena such as these and allow for many things, including contradictory and ambiguous elements of story, to be happening all at once. Rather than a traditional line-by-line singular concept approach, stories represent the humanity of learning. Thus, the short stories in the next chapter provide a method of representing the storyteller's experiences of becoming enskilled in place as a collective whole while also including the many moving parts.

Third, surfing's highly 'sensuous knowledge are extremely meaningful kinds of data that are unattainable for those who rely of visual observation' (de Garis, 1999, cited in Sparkes, 2009, p. 26) or pure description. Context and situated knowing are critical in attempting to understand how one becomes enskilled in surf places. In fact, many academics have noted that language is always incomplete and can never fully represent an experience (see for example Sparkes, 2002, van Manen, 1990, Wattchow, 2006). Story can help to overcome (some of) the gaps between language and the original experience by re-creating the context and situation by evoking the meaning and essence through description of place, feelings and happenings of experiences or indeed smaller experiences within a wider experience.

Fourth, because language is incomplete it becomes even harder to convey the tacit knowledge possessed by surfers of surf places, let alone how they came to become enskilled. Story again helps to tackle this challenge by asking readers to bridge that gap by immersing themselves in listening to the story prior to attempting to interrogate it for meaning (Sparkes, 2007). The story as a part of research asks readers to draw from, and tap into, their own experiences to help 'feel' what is going on. The set of stories in the next chapter attempts to accomplish this by showing rather than telling the reader (Sparkes, 2008) how this process of enskilment may occur.

Fifth, van Manen (1990), Sparkes (2002, 2008) and Wattchow (2006) insist that research of a human phenomenon is never complete. In light of this, this research seeks to 'evoke emotions, enabling a wide range of audiences to viscerally inhabit and understand different worlds in ways that convey complexity and ambiguity without producing closure' (Sparkes, 2008, p. 659). This allows for reflexivity and further

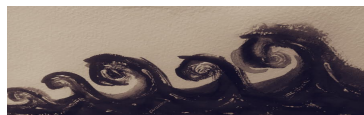
reflection from the author upon the experience and its meaning. Furthermore, it is hoped it will 'encourage contemplation by others about the nature' (Higgins & Wattchow, 2013, p. 30) of becoming enskiled in surf places.

And, finally, van Manen (1990) states that 'heartless knowledge is dead knowledge. Knowledge without love, respect, and admiration for...', in this case surfing and the participant storytellers, 'cannot come to a full understanding' (van Manen, 1990, p. 140) of how one becomes enskiled in surf places. The short stories in the next chapter show how 'we experience our lives as personal, emotionally, meaningful, narratively knowable and tellable' (Richardson, 1995, p. 194).

Ethics

Approval for this study was sort and gained from the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee – Project Number: CF15/4476 2015001936.

The creative non-fiction (re)presentation of the findings in the next chapter have also helped to combat ethical concerns, in particular, those surrounding confidentiality. This is particularly important in a small community such as southern end of the Mornington Peninsula, Victoria, Australia. Perhaps of more importance was the difficulty in recruiting participants due to the cultural stigma of conforming to 'the establishment'. Participants identity was protected 'by creating composite characters' (Angrosino, 1998, p. 101), and events. Multiple real people and real experiences were interwoven into fictional people and events thereby addressing ethical concerns inherent in qualitative narrative. Places, on the whole, were not reworked so as to connect with a local audience and aid the evocative process of the stories.



Chapter Four - A Set of Surfing Stories

The following chapter comprises three short stories. These represent the findings of this research. Before the stories begin it is important to revisit the guiding research question and subsequent questions so that they are in the forefront of the mind. The questions are as follows:

How do young surfers become enskiled with knowledge of surf places?

1. What role does the sea play as teacher in the enskilment of young surfers?
2. What role does story play in this enkilment of surf places in surfing communities?
3. Does becoming enskiled in surf places result in young surfing people forming a sense of sea/surf place?

Initially, I imagined writing three stories in line with the three sub-questions above. To do so, however, would be to go against the reality of learning to surf and becoming enskiled in surf places. It would also go against the purpose of employing stories as research findings. Rather, each of the three stories evolved to reflect upon all of the above questions, albeit with a shifting focus. One story emerged of the enskilment process that occurs out of water, while another takes place in the water. A third story takes on a reflective nature on the meaning and essence of becoming enskiled in surf places. Although they are separated here and can be read separately each having their own merit, in reality, they rely upon and affect each the other. Thus, the following stories are best read as a set or collection.

Each creative non-fiction story is followed by a short 'reflection box' to help initiate conversation and discussion. These reflection boxes are to encourage thinking, reflection and shared discovery about the meaning or essence of how a small sample of surfers became enskiled in surf places. Their purpose is to initiate a conversation whereby the reader's reflections co-mingle with the researcher's. They are purposefully short. To do otherwise is to neglect the power and therefore the reason of telling a story in the first place. Keeping these reflection boxes to a minimum ensures each 'story is told for its own sake, [and] not forced to serve merely as the vehicle for an idea' (Lopez, 1989, p. 63). It also ensures the craft of storytelling is respected.

Before the stories begin, a quick note on formatting. The stories have been formatted with ease of reading in mind and the most appropriate way to represent the research findings in storied form. The main sources used to determine the current

format was trial and error during the extensive drafting process, and inspired by the layout of Tim Winton's *lockie leonard* series. A new line was used to help the reader determine too and fro speech conversation in most cases, and left alignment has been used instead of indentation to reduce eye movement and maintain flow. Roman numerals indicate sections or mini-chapters of the short stories.

The three stories below tell the tale of two types of 'teachers' and relationships with surf places. So how do young surfers become enskiled with knowledge of surf places?...

Story One: Zee – from out of the water

-0-

He awoke with a start. His mouth was dry, not surprising considering two long sessions in the surf and the empties of a dozen stubbies. There it was, the shout that woke him. He started to regain consciousness and realised it was still dark, and... wet? Shit! His mind clicked into gear. She was already up and getting ready to give him a kick. "Come on Mark!"

In the car, the headlights shone down the road lighting up Greens Bush. The dominant tall eucalypts kept silent watch as pants and groans came from next to him in the passenger seat. The '75 model Hilux buzzed and rattled along the dirt tracks. Not long after they pulled into the local bush hospital. The car door swung open and the nurse having a smoke out the front became animated. "Leave her there, we'll get a chair".

The groans were becoming louder now and sweat was beading from every pore. He looked on. He felt useless. Distant, like it was a TV show on in the background. He rushed inside as he realised he was the only one left standing outside in the cool fresh night air. Down the corridor he could hear her scream, his heart pumped and he started to sweat. As he entered the room a nurse shouted "get the doctor!" "GET THE DOCTOR!"

He started to get light headed – "At least hold your bloody wife's hand mate" the doctor said calmly as he strode in. After a glance all the doc said was "get an ambo and ring Frankston".

More screams. He found himself saying "it'll be right Heids". But his head seemed to be thinking one thing – shit shit shit.

Mark followed the lights and sirens of the ambulance. The old Hilux was buzzing and shaking around him as his speedo hit 120. The ambo kept pulling away. The night seemed to be getting darker, quieter. He buzzed and rattled through that tunnel of darkness to that vanishing pinhole of flashing lights. He saw the glow of town down below and knew he was close. He hoped they were ok. At the hospital, a nurse was waiting for him. "This way Mr. Johns. Your wife's holding up well considering".

The room felt packed. People everywhere. The hum of hushed voices, machinery beeps, bright lights and a woman in gumboots overloaded his senses. Before he could react the gumboot lady grabbed him – "Hold your wife's hand and stand facing the wall".

He did. Crouching down he put his head to hers and made soothing sounds. He held her hand tight and rubbed her back. The groans had grown strangely quiet and the machines

followed suit. Deathly silence. Silence for a long time. Then all of a sudden all hell broke loose. Loud noises, movement and he felt himself being ushered outside and he saw his wife get rolled past.

More silence. A half-drunk cup of tea in his hands and the waiting room TV flickering mindlessly in the corner. He was dog-tired. Worried. Thoughts entered his head and he vomited. A nurse came running and he apologised but was feeling woozy. Guided into the toilet he spewed again. Hours passed but finally, he was allowed to see his wife. She was laying there still. Dead still. The nurse next to him seemed to sense what he was thinking. "She's ok mate, exhausted and very sore but she'll live".

He looked around no kid. He strained his ears, no cries. Again the nurse sensed what he was thinking. "The little bloke is alive and we are doing all we can." "I'll take you up there as soon we're allowed".

He crouched next to his wife and kissed her forehead and held her hand. She barely moved but nestled into him. Shit – he thought and held her tight.

He had fallen a sleep in the chair beside her bed by the time the nurse came in. "Ok he has stabilised a bit". She stared at him, "you coming?"

He jumped up and followed her down the hall and up the stairs. Then, there he was on the right. Inside a glass box type thing, like something you'd see at the Melbourne Aquarium. Small, blue and tubes coming from everywhere. Shit, Mark thought. He whispered through the glass, "You tough little bugger". "Well done so far but hang-in there mate." "I want to take you home".

After a time the nurse touched his shoulder. "Mr. Johns you need to go home and get some sleep."

"I'll be right," he responded still looking at his little boy.

"No you won't," the nurse said forcefully. "Go home and get some sleep, it's going to be a long few days for you".

She started ushering him towards the door. He felt terrible for leaving the boy and his wife but did what he was told.

As he drove east the sun began to shine in his eyes. Gee, he thought, what a long night. Mark wasn't aware that he had missed a full day inside the hospital. He collapsed on the bed dead tired but couldn't sleep. His mind raced. Happy thoughts, dreadful thoughts, sad thoughts, panic and joy at the same time. He knew he wouldn't sleep. He got up, grabbed

his wettie off the railing of the deck and put his board under his arm. Eleven minutes later he duck dived under the first wave rumbling his way. Instantly he felt the cool water dampen his thoughts and the wave washed some of his worry away. He kept paddling. Mark had always headed to the ocean and the surf when times got tough. The ocean was his safe haven, a place to calm and soothe his mind. The sun shone in his face as he sat up and waited. The early sun felt warm and comforted his soul. A slight offshore breeze gently licked the back of his neck as he stared out to sea. It'll be right he thought, the first calm positive thought he had had in two days. Lines glistened on the horizon, a set was coming. He lay down on his board and paddled gently, experience and instinct told him he was in the right spot. The wave steepened beneath him, as he knew it would and Swoosh! He was off. He jumped to his feet and his head emptied. His body filled with joy. As the wave peeled across the bay Mark didn't have a conscious thought in his head. A lone figure gazing out on the cliff watched a skilful surfer play on the spilling right-hand wave. The wave and its rider seemed one. Two hours later he crashed on the couch exhausted. He slept.

Again he woke with a start. Shit. It was getting dark. Should of set an alarm, he thought. He rushed down the hallway and jumped in the Hilux and drove. At the hospital, he was surprised to see Heids awake and the little bloke in his glass case beside her. "Oh, you've decided to visit your family have you?"

"Sorry," he replied sheepishly.

She smiled at him. She still looked terrible but at least she was awake and smiling. "This is Zee," she said. "Zee, this is your dad".

-i-

Zee and Mark sat on the cliff top behind the old black and white house. Rumours were that Jock McHale, an ex-Collingwood legend from the 20's owned the house. Mark knew that McHale did indeed own Pinnacle Park. The storm rumbled closer. Although, the sky in the far distance was as black as a night without stars or a hanging moon, where they sat was bathed in sunshine and the ocean below as calm and as flat as a millpond. Mark and Zee were sitting above Cyrils, a surf break only frequented by experienced local surfers.

"We have about half an hour of sun left Zee," said Mark. But the boy was busy throwing rocks off the cliff. He took a new tact. "Make sure you watch what you're doing near there man"

Sure enough, Zee looked up and became aware of two things. He was too close to the edge of the cliff and noticed the colossal black wall in the sky creeping towards him.

“What’s that Dad?” asked Zee, but his Dad seemed to gaze intently and knowingly into the distance.

The boy edged carefully away from the edge of cliff and held his Dad’s hand. “Do you feel that Zee?” “The wind’s turned, here she comes”. Zee concentrated and felt a light cool breeze gently brush his face.

As he stood noticing this light breeze brush his face he felt the sky darken slightly and the temperature cool. His Dad pointed, “Notice anything out on the water mate?” Zee looked. Straight down the ocean lay still and flat. He looked up at his Dad who stared into the distance. Zee had a second go moving his focus towards the horizon. What had been still and calm before was now beginning to move. He saw splashes of white and wisps of spray.

“Do you want to stay to see what happens when the storm hits Zee?” “We might get a bit wet but we can run to the car when it hits”.

Zee nodded quietly but was a little unsure. He could feel the darkness beginning to take over the sky and his loose clothing was beginning to flap. The brush of the sea breeze was becoming pushy. The sea below was reacting angrily becoming rash and dark. Waves, or wind chop as his Dad called them crashed in Zee’s eyes. It was starting to become rough. Then it began as a faint, faint rumble ending in a gigantic clap and bright flash. “Wow” exclaimed Mark. “See that?!” “Hmmm, Tiki is getting a little worked up, we better start moving to the car”.

Zee was cold and it now hurt to stare out to sea as the wind whipped at his face. It was dark too. His Dad walked quickly and Zee had to run to keep up. A few drops fell and another gigantic clap and flash. The heavens opened and Zee felt himself being swept up on to his Dad’s back and the gallop to the car began.

Fifteen minutes later parked at the back beach warm inside the car Zee and Mark watched the sea respond furiously to the storm.

-ii-

Zee lay across floor staring at his very boring little bro. He just lies there thought Zee. Lies there, cries, eats, poos, and, lies there again. The TV flicked in the background and Zee noticed his Dad had stopped tinkering around with the IKEA draws. He always stopped what he was doing at this time of night. Zee looked at his Dad, who stared intently at the screen.

“I told you babe,” exclaimed Mark.

"Told me what hun?" came the reply from the kitchen.

"That those boffins at the bureau had it wrong!" "They've altered the forecast just like I said... Here she comes!" Mark laughed and hooted. Zee could see he was excited.

"I guess that means you'll be having the morning off then?" came his mothers voice again.

"I sure will be babe."

"Righto, come on get the barbie going everything else is ready to go". Zee stared at the screen and wondered what the hell all the pointy triangles and sweeping lines covering the map of Australia meant.

-iii-

Zee woke up and stumbled out in to the lounge. His Mum was already in her walking gear.

"Moring Zee, how'd you sleep? You want a slice of toast now or when we come back?" Zee just nodded and pulled his shirt over his head. He noticed his Mum was staring at him.

"Should I put some toast on or put bub in the pram?"

"Let's go check out the beach," replied Zee.

His Mum jogged beside him with the pram as he rode, just like every other morning. As he turned the corner into beach road though, he noticed something different. Zee could hear a low rumble. His skin prickled and he felt something that he couldn't quiet put his finger on. He instinctively sped up. His Mum shouted after him, "stay off the road! Every man and his dog are going to be out!"

Zee's curiosity peeked further and he sped up again. The rumble grew the closer he got. As he skidded into their usual position on the hill looking out over Pines he noticed all the cars. And all the long boards on the roof. And people sitting on the beach. The rumble and crashing noise was incredible. Zee looked out to see huge walls of water charging into the bay. He saw two surfers pop over the back of the first wave paddling their hearts out. He looked again, focussed. One of them was his Dad! Mark's long blonde hair gave him away even from a distance. Zee noticed a few more surfers begin to paddling out. All had short boards like his dad. He repositioned his gaze to the back of the break. He could see his Dad paddling toward him and a massive, massive wall of dark blue water charging at him. Zee felt sick, was his Dad going die? He felt his Mum's hand press his should but he never took his eyes of the water. All of a sudden the wave seemed to step up even higher as if it was about to fall over. And then it did. He saw his Dad leap to his feet just as it did so and fall

what seemed like forever down the wave. At the bottom of this liquid wall Zee watched as his Dad made a huge smooth bottom turn. Back up the dark blue wall, he went and when he got to the top Zee saw that with an almighty whack and spray of water his Dad headed back down wave again. He watched intently as his Dad danced on the wave. Thirty seconds later Mark flipped off the back and began the paddle back out. Zee noticed that he paddled on the outside of the waves and he seemed to go under them as he closed in on his original starting position out the back. Zee's concentration was broken by his Mum "The only thing you can't see kiddo is the huge grin on your Dad's face right now. Wow wee, that was a good one wasn't it?"

Zee stared out the back and watched five surfers dance and play on the waves occasionally disappearing under the water for twenty seconds or so when they crashed, which his Mum called 'wiping out'. "Come on," she said. "Better get ready for school."

What Zee didn't realise, is that he had just witnessed the biggest swell in ten years. What he did know, was, that he loved it.

-iv-

Zee tore round the bend into Beach Road. Luke, his next door neighbour followed closely behind. 500m later they skidded to a stop, the bikes fish tailing like the startled leather jackets who flee when spooked by the snorkelling boys. They gazed outwards, first to the headland, then out towards the Island and finally to West Head and beyond. They glanced up and strained their senses. The old bloke from the haunted house on the cliff smiled to himself and nodded in approval while 'touros' passed by wondering what the hell they were doing. The tide was out.

"You hungry?" searched Luke.

"Yeah".... "For chips," replied Zee.

The boys swung the bikes round and peddled for the general store. At the bottom of MacKillops Road just before the steep incline ol' Rod called out.

"Hey boys, what's the beach doing?"

Zee gave his carefully generated report, "tides out, light off-shore wind and looks like there is swell in the bay"

"Goodo" replied Rod and added "the tide changes in bout half hour so make sure your in the water in couple hours boys, should be good"

The boys waved and leant into the MacKillop Road hill. At the General Store Ian, the owner, greeted them with a wave. "Any waves today lads?"

Luke replied, "will be in a few hours when the tide comes in a bit Ian. Winds good and the bombies are working"

"Great," replied Ian. "I better get your chips on then, you'll need a bit of fuel."

Back home Mark was working on the house. "Gday lads, hows the day been?"

"Good thanks Johnsy," replied Luke.

"Going for a surf this arvo?" Mark ventured.

"Yep," came the reply just before they disappeared into the garden.

"Thought so." Said Mark to himself.

Reflection Box One: "Zee – from out of the water"

The above story opens the set of short stories that represent the findings of this study. As it is the first story of the collection the discussion below will be the most in-depth of the three reflection boxes offered. The following conversation will focus on a few select parts of the story focusing on both the literary techniques used as well as some of insights discovered about how a young person may become enskiled with knowledge in surf places. The other two reflection boxes following the next two stories will be shorter and not as explicit about literary techniques used to highlight specific meaning. The intention behind this decision is to let the story do its work. Consequently, more responsibility will be placed on the reader to think deeply, interpret meaning or essences for themselves and continue the conversation. Although these findings offer rich insights into becoming enskiled in surf places they are also designed to encourage readers to ask more questions about this process. More questions will hopefully lead to more insight and discovery about surf places, enskilment and learning.

To open the discussion of the above story the focus will be on the birth of Zee. The birth of a child and the father going for a surf was not a story told by the storytellers of this study. Rather, the birth has been used as a narrative device, otherwise known as a fictional or literary device. In this instance, the birth of Zee has been used as a chronological framing device in order to represent two things. Firstly, the birth represents the beginning of the results section for this paper as well as representing the beginning of becoming enskiled in surf places (ie; being born into a surfing family). All of the storytellers involved in this study reported that their first sensory lived experience of the beach began in their first year of life. They also reported that as a child they over heard snippets of discussions about surfing, surf places, the

weather and played with surf equipment. This is consistent with some of the research discussed in Chapter Two. Ingold (2000), Raffan (1992, 1993) and Rose (1997) who investigated Indigenous cultures make mention of children watching, helping or just being in the vicinity as their parents or grandparents go about their daily business such as work, household duties and leisure activities. Interestingly, none of these researchers discuss this as a theme of their research but it is most certainly noted. How much incidental place knowledge is learned through watching, helping and playing in the vicinity of skilful elders? This study suggests that it might be more than researchers think and perhaps deserves further inquiry.

This learning context involves young people or novices being in place with a more experienced person or expert. Although perhaps, they put more of an 'involved emphasis of being in place' outdoor educators Wattchow and Brown (2011) suggest there is merit in the above scenario for formal education situation within outdoor education. Barry Lopez, a nature writer and storyteller, also hints of this scenario in some of his stories that appear in *Arctic Dreams* (1986), *Crossing Open Ground* (1989), and *Crow and Weasel* (1990).

This incidental knowledge learned through watching, helping and playing appears to set young people up for the next phase of the enskilment process. As the young people in the story (and in the real lives of participants) get older they become more involved. Rather than being on the fringes and just being around surfers they begin to participate in some of the activities needed to be able to surf proficiently. In the above story, Zee begins to learn the skill of 'gazing', checking and determining weather and surf conditions. The reader might have noticed that the process is not just experiential but also involves the teaching or rather guiding hand of a more experienced elder, in this case, Zee's Dad (and others). This is perhaps the most important revelation of the first story – the role and importance of guided attention. Containing elements of experiential education and enskilment as discussed in Chapter Two, this less formal and subtle form of teaching and learning involves a careful balance of the embodied and the social. It will be further discussed in the next reflection box.

The birth also symbolises a long life ahead, in this case, the birth is also used to represent the time taken to become enskiled in place. The findings of this study suggest that becoming enskiled, that is, the slow accumulation of feeling, knowledge and practice that creates a deep knowledge and skill set that enskiled surfers possess takes significant time. Relph (1976) and Cameron (2001) discuss time and place in relation to place attachment and although Ingold (2000) hints at the importance of time when

learning about place or rather becoming enskiled in place, he doesn't discuss it in great detail. This acknowledgement of time also links to Dewey's (1997) principle of continuity. This paper suggests that time is critical and requires further exploration.

In addition, the birth of Zee was used to highlight other findings of the study. This is known as an amplification technique, whereby an event is used to heighten the readers' awareness of a particular message or concept (Lopez, 1989). In this case I was surprised to hear during the storied conversations just how important the ocean was in the storytellers' lives. This was made explicit on several occasions. All storytellers said something along the lines of, 'I love it, Pines, just the ocean' (Storyteller 2, 2016). The passion for 'Mother Ocean' in general, and particular surf places – or 'spots' as they were called – was strong in all participants but particularly the older surfers. The importance of the ocean also ran quietly under the surface like a strong undertow. All storytellers are drawn to their local surf places in times of joy, stress, sadness, fun and so on. These surf places act like a strong rip pulling the surfers in whether they know it or not. This is represented in story with elements of experience explicitly mentioned by the storytellers of this study, for example; 'surf when times got tough', 'a place to calm and soothe', 'joy', and 'on the wave, almost as one'. A couple of specific connections from the interviews came in form of lines like; 'surfing makes you feel better' (Storyteller, 1, 2016) and 'when there was personal issues or problems guys would go surfing, the ocean was something to fall back on and let out frustrations and emotions' (Storyteller 7, 2016); 'I found surfing very comforting growing up' (Storyteller, 6). To this end the ocean clearly acts as a constant in the lives of the storytellers as they develop a strong relationship with it.

To further highlight this point, the reader will notice that the birth of Zee is traumatic. Although this is a fictional birth, the storytellers of this study did tell of other traumatic events that have happened in their lives. For example, one of the storytellers spoke of a recent accident where he lost a number of toes and a small part of his foot. He can no longer surf but heads to the ocean for peace and support. Furthermore, he reported that he'd 'delight to be able get in the water now, to surf' (Storyteller 7, 2016) if he could. Thus, although the event of the birth is fictional the elements it highlights and symbolises is very much real and true for the people involved in this study.

The story also uses a third narrative device known as foreshadowing. This involves implicitly but intentionally mentioning elements of future events or discussion points. In this case foreshadowing appears in the surf scenes in the above story. For example, 'instinct told him he was in the right spot' and 'The wave steepened beneath

him, as he knew it would' and 'watched a skilful surfer play on the wave'. These lines are hinting that embodied experience is important in becoming enskiled and will appear in the next story. The next reflection box will discuss embodied experience and its relation to becoming enskiled in surf places.

Local descriptions of places, which appear during storied conversation with participants, also appear in the stories here. This helps readers not only to connect with the storytellers' experiences of the local area but also help to put themselves inside the story. For example, local landmarks are continually referred to; driving through Greens Bush - located between Western Port Bay and the ocean beaches of Gunnamatta, Rye and Portsea - all participants of the study mentioned driving through Greens Bush and the connection to surf conditions. The property in the story was the actual site where Storyteller 1 conducted gazing lessons for storyteller's 2, 3 and 4. Jock McHale (and family) really did own the property and his house was indeed black and white. 'Cyrils' is also the correct local name for the break below the cliff.

There is of course more to the story than pointed out here. Examples include the socialness of surfing, cultural elements and other significant learning moments that contribute to the enskilment of young people in surf places. However, to continue pointing out and explicitly discussing these points may perhaps, as highlighted in the methodological chapter, defeat the purpose of employing storytelling in the first place.

Story Two: Just Get Wet

-0-

It was Christmas Eve and it was hot. Zee stood in the water close to his Mum, sweat still dripping down his back. He dunked under staying close and felt his temperature cool. He popped up next his Mum and looked up. He was as high as her hip now. Zee watched as she bobbed down and came back up quickly, holding his little brother tight. She had a big smile on her face and was goo, goo gaa gaaring at him.

“Woooo, how’s that munchkin,” she said. “Yes, the water feels nice doesn’t it.” “Wooo – hahaha”. The baby grinned back.

Splash! Zee felt the sudden prickles of cool water hit the back of his head. He swung round to see his Dad laughing.

“Daaaad!” Zee ran or rather tried to run through the shallows but felt like the ocean was holding him back, not wanting to let him go. He latched onto his leg when they finally met three steps from where Zee had been standing.

“How was your day mate? – That used to be you did you know?” His Dad said pointing at his brother. His parents kissed and Zee asked,

“Did I smile like that too?”

“You sure did mate!” “Come on I’ll take you out,” answered his Dad as he bobbed down. Zee jumped up with a laugh and threw his arms round his Dad’s neck. He loved riding on his Dad’s back as he swam, especially when he dived under the water like a dolphin. He loved the feel of the water rushing over his skin, pearling into bubbles and slowly rising. He loved the silence under the water and loved being, effortless, free.

-i-

Zee raced down the stairs and went straight to the Christmas Tree. He took a quick glance sideways five meters out from the tree and noticed three things. The beer had had a gulp taken out of it, the cookie was gone and a trail of shredded carrot went from the tree to the deck. His heart quickened. “Yessss,” he breathed, “he’s been!”

Lying strategically under the tree but also in full sight of anyone who happened to come down the chimney was his Santa sack. He looked sharply. The sack was flat but full. And it looked like a cord hanging out of the opening.

-ii-

Later that morning Zee laughed and laughed as his Dad pulled him along in the shallows and pushed him on to the small shore breakers down at the back beach. He could feel the moment his Dad let go, the momentary pause and then the energy of the wave take over. The wave would carry him to the beach and he'd wait for his Dad to come get him.

"You can paddle you know matey," his Dad joked.

His Mum and his brother had gone through the baptism like ritual of the day before and were now getting antsy. "Come on you two, we have to go!" "Grandma will kill us if we're late for Chrissy lunch," she hollered from the beach.

Zee smiled to himself as he bumped round in the back of his Dad's Hilux as it rumbled up the golf course hill past the hang gliding ramp. He loved Christmas and couldn't wait to tell his cousins!

-iii-

Zee flipped nervously as his Dad swam next to him. He had been boogie boarding on the shore breakers since Christmas, usually with his Dad or cousins. Sometimes he even practiced on his Dad's surfboard. But now was different. He was going out the back. "Remember what we said on the beach Zee," came his Dad suddenly.

Zee nodded. It came from nowhere a dark blue wall of water. Zee thought he felt himself get sucked towards it ever so slightly. He was suddenly scared. Before he knew it though his Dad had grabbed the front of the boogie board and yelled, "Hold your breath!"

Zee felt himself propel forward at a greater pace as his Dad charged toward the wave. Swoosh!!! Zee felt himself lurch. It was like almost coming to a stop, the paddling version of a sudden stagger due to an invisible force. His head suddenly popped with pain and he felt water ooze over his body, like an encroaching ice shelf. He gave an involuntary shiver but then suddenly, warmth. The cuddle of the sun soothed his head. He shivered and his teeth chattered.

"Wow," his Dad said. "Where'd that come from? I didn't realise it was that big". "Hahaha, you right mate? Well Done". "Bit fresh when you go under isn't it?"

On they paddled, Zee following his swimming Dad. "Right, you do the next one by yourself Zee, it wont be as big," he heard his Dad say.

A moment later he saw his Dad's head dip below the surface just in front of a wave in a slick dive. Zee thought it was like the dolphin chasing a squid that he had seen on the TV the night before. His Dad's toes disappeared last of all. Zee kicked harder using his legs like an outboard, moved his body up the board and was about to push down when his world went upside down. Bubbles prickled and popped in his ears just above the light roar of the wave. All he could see was white foam like the top of his Dad's beer all mixed up with dark blue water and bubbles everywhere. Round he went, cartwheeling in the direction of the shore and just when he thought he couldn't hold his breath any longer, up he popped like a bobbing buoy in rough conditions. Hhhuuuppphhhhh! He gasped, sucking in a lung full of air and pulling his wrist towards him as he did so. Moments later as he climbed back on to his board his Dad arrived, body surfing the second wave in the set and stood next to him.

"Remember, you can stand up here man," he said. Zee nodded. "Bit late getting under were you?" He asked.

"Yeah," replied Zee. "Ah well. Happens," said his Dad. Come on let's get out there and catch a few waves".

-iv-

Nearly a year had past since Zee had first been out the back. Again he flippered, but this time behind his Dad, who now took his own board out with him too. Zee knew he was following him to the spot. Every so often he grabbed hold of his Dad's leg rope for a rest. He noticed that his Dad always paddled just to the side of the breaking waves and never through them if he didn't have to. Mark sat his on board and looked back to beach.

"What do you reckon Zee?"

"Well," came the reply, "we are level with Atlas Rock, just out from the point and line up between the end of the car park and the pole so gotta be close".

"Good man," answered his Dad, "we must be close, but we'll have to wait for a set".

A long lull followed. Young and old Johnsy's sat and watched. Occasionally Mark would lie down and paddle. It was then that Zee noticed they had drifted from the spot.

"Hey Dad, can I have a go on your board out here today?"

"Sure mate. Let's get a few waves each and then we'll swap".

More waiting. More silence. More looking. More thinking. More noticing.

All of a sudden Zee's Dad lay down and started paddling. Zee's heart quickened. Then he saw it the first wave of the day. Mark looked round, "This is yours buddy – turn round and kick hard". Zee did so.

"Paddle hard!" Zee's Dad roared and he responded by getting his arms involved.

Then, all of a sudden he felt himself being lifted by an invisible force and a light surge pushed him forward, but then... nothing. Zee watched the wave go onto break just a meter in front of him. He turned knowing a second wave would be coming. He didn't want to get in his Dad's way or get run over. As he turned he saw his Dad paddling for a wave. He was further left than Zee had been and a bit closer in. The wave caught up with his Dad and Zee saw him surge forward and gracefully pop to his feet. Zee panicked and kicked hard just making it over the top of the wave before it broke.

"YYeeewooowww," came the holla from his Dad. Zee grinned.

His grin faded quickly into a hardened face. The next wave was on him. He knew instantly it was either catch this wave or get dunked. Previous experiences of cartwheeling to shore had taught him that he was in a moment of no return. He spun quickly and paddled hard. This time he felt the light lifting with a much stronger surge forward. Another "YYeeewooowww" came from his Dad as Zee glided past him. He felt like he was floating, no sliding, no both. He felt weightless and light. He grinned from ear to ear.

-v-

That Christmas Zee got a surfboard, a second-hand orange 6'6 that looked just like his uncle's old board. In the next few years, he surfed a lot with his Dad and his cousins. The ritual was always the same. Watching. Well, he was slow on it at first but learned that everyone seemed to be watching. Always watching, always checking. The weather, the beach and when, finally, all signs pointed to swell in the bay - more watching. Before paddling out and hopefully catching a wave.

-vi-

'Donk'. Zee's head bumped against the window of the bus. Gee he'd had a crappy day, he thought. Maths test, Science test and Ruby wouldn't kiss him. He opened his eyes and saw his best mate's big ugly head staring at him.

"What were you dreaming about sleepy head?" Luke quizzed. "Not still cut about Roob's are ya?"

Zee went to retaliate but an ear piercing "Yeewow!" pitched from Luke's lips. The bus had rounded the bend giving full view of Western Port Bay and the Island in the distance. Zee snapped his head round. He saw the swell lines refracting into the bay and the white peaks of the bombies raging out in the middle. He could also see the splashes of waves hitting Seal's Rock in the distance. The surf was good!

"Where we heading Zee?" Luke asked enthusiastically. At 13 and three months, Zee was known as the pro-surfer of Western Port by his mates.

"Well," he said, "the girls will be at the Gunnery so let's go there".

Steph and the other girls were standing on the cliff top looking out to Meanos and the Gunnery. "Zee. Luke." They echoed together.

"What's going on?" replied the boys in a similar fashion.

"Meanos is looking a bit big for us, we're going out at the Gunnery".

Zee and Luke watched. He didn't want to admit it but Meanos looked freaken scary and Zee was glad he could hide behind the girl's decision. "Na, that's alright. We'll come out with you, wont we Luke?"

"Sure will," said Luke, pulling his board out of the back of Zee's Dad's ute.

"You coming out Johnsy?" Luke asked.

"Think'll have a paddle out at Meanos". "Remember to time your leap off the rocks and don't try to bash your way through, there's a bit of size coming through today".

"Yep," came a few chirps from the other kids.

Zee's Dad then pulled him aside. "Remember none of these lot have surfed as long as you, so help them out and make sure you watch what's going on".

"Righto Dad," said Zee, trying to sound confident but a crackle in his voice gave him away.

"You'll be right, it'll be fun," his Dad said. "You've surfed here plenty of times now."

Zee knew his Dad was right. He knew to time his leap off the rocks and paddle to the left of the break. He also knew to sit just to left of the suck rock and take-off just as it broke or just inside the swash.

Minutes later the five of them leapt off the rocks following some older guy. Zee felt the excess water from the broken wave drag him out quickly as the next shore breaker crept

up quicker than expected. Oh yeah, he thought to himself, remembering last time he was here and pushed down on the nose of his board followed by a knee pushing down towards the tail. He felt slight resistance but kept moving forward and knew he timed his duck dive perfectly. He paddled hard for thirty seconds and then sat on his board when he knew he was out of the shore break. He felt instantly better, the shitty school day washing off in the salt water like dirt under a warm tap. He could feel the current slowly pulling him out and the odd push forward from the swell coming in. He looked round and saw a small group of surfers sitting around the suck rock. The girls joined him laughing, "hahaha Luke got smashed."

Unlike the rest of them, he had underestimated the power of the wave and tried to paddle through. Luke found himself get thrown back towards the rocks. An older guy paddling past laughed like the girls who were further out and quietly offered, "can't be doing that here matey, gotta go under em".

As they approached the spot Zee watched a guy take off to the right of the suck rock. Zee chuckled knowing what was in store for this dude. He watched as the nose of the guy's board was clipped by the small shelf created by the wave hitting the rock with force. Down went the nose of the board and over went the tail, the board tomb-stoning like a Eucalypt being felled.

"Wiped out!" giggled Steph to Zee's left.

His left? Thought a confused Zee. And then he realised. He had been dragged into the take off zone by accident while watching the other guy stack and heard an aggressive shout from behind.

"Mine! Get outa the way ya kook!"

Zee paddled hard but the wave broke on his head and he felt himself get pushed down under the water and the familiar strong pull on his leg as his surfboard tried to get away from him. It took Zee ten minutes to paddle back out as the waves kept pounding in on him. Finally, a lull. He paddled sideways to the left of the break and back out.

"Stuck inside man?" an older guy commented as he paddled past Zee and Zee realised it was one of the older kids from school.

Zee looked round for the others and saw Steph take off. "Wwwooo," he hooted as she slid past him and he ducked under the wave.

Out the back the others grinned, "What happened to you man?"

Zee flushed red, "ah stuck inside and copped a smashing".

They all laughed. Zee sat waiting. More aware of where he was this time, he kept his eye on the suck rock and kept looking back to shore - lining himself up with the lookout. Lumps of swell begun to appear on the horizon. It was as if the ocean had slipped on a pair of cords. He noticed the older guys paddling out to meet them, so he followed. He knew he was in the spot, he could just feel it in his body.

"Paddle Paddle Paddle" came the shouts of several people and Zee felt the familiar lift and spit forward motion and he knew it was time to stand.

"YYYYeeeeewwwooo," Luke hooted, disappearing under the wave in front of him. He slid smoothly to bottom of the wave and begun a wide arc to get back on face of the wave. He sailed up the face quicker than he thought and popped off the back of the wave.

"What!?!?" "Why'd you that?" Mark asked, having paddled over from Meanos to see how they were going. "You still had loads of a ride left!"

Zee knew but didn't mind. His whole body buzzed with joy. He turned paddling hard to beat his Dad out the back.

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Bruce grabbed hold of Zee's leg rope as he paddled. Luke was already out with the other guys. Zee was stoked his brother was coming out. A few years younger than Zee he had dabbled here and there in the surf but was only now starting to get keen. Zee was still learning himself but was ready to help his brother. He had lived here all his life. Luke and he hung out down the beach all the time surfing, swimming, kayaking, snorkelling. He knew it. Pines was his home. He thought back to his own learning here. He knew what to do. He'd copy his Dad and cousin's approach by putting Bruce right in the spot and letting him go. The sets rolled in and Zee called out to Bruce, "See where the waves are breaking?" "We're going to go sit next to Luke".

As they approached Luke started hollering "There's a horry out the back!! A Horry woohhoooo".

Bruce flinched and went to paddle outside the break zone but Zee had already grabbed him "All good man, come on".

They paddled out to meet the building wall of water and Zee realised they weren't going to make it. He called quickly, "Remember, go under!" Zee dipped skilfully under the wave.

Bruce on the other hand, got low on his board but not under the wave. It was like running into a steam train. The wave didn't flinch and just ran Bruce over pushing him in a cartwheel fashion towards the beach. He felt dizzy and could only hear the hum of the wave in his ears and the voice in his head, shit shit shit. By the time he popped up Zee was next to him laughing "Bummer man." "Never mind, it happens, come on".

"No way!" came Bruce's reply but Zee was already dragging him out towards the spot. "Zee, Zee," Bruce nervously shouted scared but also excited that he may catch a wave. He noticed Zee had lined him up with Atlas Rock just past the point and in line with end of car park and the pole. He looked out to sea and saw a battlefield. He saw high fortifications of water approaching. His little bit of excitement faded and fear took over. "Nup! Nup! Zeeeee get me out here!" he screamed. Bruce was now packing his daks because he already knew... He knew what response was coming.

"Too late man!" Zee shouted while he spun Bruce round. "Paddle! Paddle, Paddle" Zee shouted, followed by "Have fuuuunnnn!!" Swoosh... Bruce was off. He bounced down the face of the wave on his belly holding on for dear life, his knuckles white from the pressure of the squeeze.

"Stand up," Luke shouted, as Bruce bounced past. Like a foal standing for the first time Bruce wobbled his way up to the cheering and hooting of Zee and Luke behind him. He shouted himself "yyeaaaaahhh!".

-viii-

Zee pulled gently out of the drive peering through the darkness. Being a considerate fellow he waited until he was out on the gravel road before flicking his lights on. He had a grin from ear to ear. He started to laugh to himself but didn't let out a Yeeehaaaa! Until he was safely down the road. "I'm freeee!!" he hollered laughing his head off. At 18 and one day he was the luckiest kook around. His skin tingled as he got closer. The lights shone and the pines reflected the dull headlight back. He made the last sweeping right hand bend and planted his foot down as soon as he hit the gravel, completing one of the sickest fish tales Pines car park had ever seen. He shuddered with joy as he realised no one was there. Zee silently rolled the car to a stop at the end of the car park and killed the engine. He cracked his window and listened. There it was. The roar of the southern swell bending its way into the bay. He felt a cringe of guilt, as he knew his Dad would be about to stir and make his way up the hall expecting a return for all the years of driving to the surf. But Zee hadn't been able to help himself this morning. He was finally free to go surfing whenever and wherever he wanted. He thought about that again. He could go for a surf wherever and

whenever he wanted!! He laughed out loud. No more wishing he could get to the surf, no more hitch hiking and getting stuck, no more having to surf in large crowds. Finally! He was about to get some waves and have the ocean to himself, even if it meant being up before sparrows. He was eager to be independent in the water, to be forced to rely on his own knowledge and skill, to know he 'had it'.

Once in the water, he allowed his body, his ears and something more, a feeling, to guide him. He caught the shallow rip out just past the headland and over the lumps of water tracking their wave from ocean to shore. He had been surfing this break since he was a grommet and let those years of experience guide him to the sweet spot. Zee caught a flicker of white water and kept paddling. He was close. Out the back, he sat on his board. He looked out east and could nearly see the lines on the horizon. Behind him, in the distance, a kookaburra laughed. Zee joined him. He couldn't believe it, "I'm the luckiest fucking kook there is," he screamed. Pure joy and elation filled his body. First light broke just as he turned, paddled and felt a huge dark wave pick him up. "Im freeeeeeee!!!" he hooted as he dropped down a steep left-hander before arcing in a smooth wide bottom turn. No one saw the lone figure dancing on the wave, but the kookaburra took flight.

Reflection Box Two: "Just Get Wet"

Just Get Wet is largely a story about being in the water. It attempts to chart some of the chronological passage of becoming enskiled in surf places. For most participants, their introduction to the ocean was through their parents who started the process of enskilment when they were very young. Their parents simply took them to the water and gave them a secular baptism in the sea. A number of the storytellers mentioned that although they couldn't remember, or weren't aware of, learning at this time in their life, said that they must have been picking something up. A boogie board soon followed, usually a Christmas or birthday gift. It is the early 'mucking around' on the boogie board that the storytellers felt was the real beginning. Consequently, a surfboard replaced the boogie shortly after and again this was usually a gift and, in all cases, was second hand and beat up. And so starts the long process of experiential learning in the surf supported and supplemented by elements and essences of the first story *From Out Of Water* co-currently. Like the first discussion, not all elements of above story will be discussed here. In fact, only those aspects that relate specifically to the finely balanced relations between the embodied and the social.

By now the reader or listener will, hopefully, be putting some of the pieces of the puzzle together. In particular, those aspects relating to the role of the sea and the

role of others (family, friends and strangers) as teacher in the enskilment process may be becoming clearer. What may be strikingly evident so far is the missing role of storytelling, as hypothesised and outlined in the literature review. Although the storytellers had many stories about their own experiences they very rarely mentioned or highlighted the role of story playing a part of their learning. In fact, the only time they mentioned story was when explicitly asked. Responses were similar for all – ‘Oh, na, I don’t think so’ (Storyteller 4, 2016) or ‘I mean we told Dad about, you know, how our surf was sometimes, which is kinda of like stories, but I can’t remember anyone telling a story to teach me’ (Storyteller 3, 2016). Even when the researcher inquired into aspects of social gatherings and events the common response was along the lines of, ‘Ah, I guess you would occasionally tell people about a particularly hairy stack or wicked wave’ (Storyteller, 6).

Although perhaps not shared in story in the way that I had anticipated, the above stories and findings do show novices being guided by more proficient surfers, which is in contradiction to current literature. Participants would often mention others in their stories when speaking about their learning journey, such as, ‘You’d learn from the older surfers’ (Storyteller, 7, 2016) and, ‘You definitely were told that sort of thing’ (Storyteller 1, 2016). Consequently, a lot of place-based knowledge is ‘not so much sharing verbally, telling, but they’re sharing just by watching their actions and movements’ (Storyteller, 2, 2016). Often novice surfers were ‘taken out’ by more experienced people. This type of social interaction is closely related to the research conducted by Ingold (2000), Raffan (1992, 1993) and Rose (1997) on Indigenous cultures and how teaching and learning is conducted in place as discussed in Chapter Two. Further, it also contains similar elements of the approaches seen in research conducted by Tyrell (2006) in her wayfinding experiences when coming to know sea places and Granessi’s (2004) enskilment in how to know how to choose the best dairy cows for breeding.

Therefore, although detailed stories such as those used by Indigenous cultures were not seen in this study, shorter guiding points were. It was evident from the findings that an elder or more experienced surfer often guides a beginner or novice surfer’s attention and perhaps more importantly, also their reflection. Guiding cues come in all sorts of different interactions from a question, to a statement, even a gesture, but for all, the purpose is the same. By guiding the attention and subsequent reflection of a novice, more experienced surfers are helping them to discover the meaning or essence behind one or more of the many facets that make up an enskiled surfers repertoire. Importantly, though, embodied experience is always used in this

process. In fact, the elder or more experienced surfers in this study seemed to rely on the consequences of a novices embodied experience to fill the gaps and join the dots. They relied on the sea to provide either a positive or negative experience, in relation to riding waves, to make their gestures, comments and questions clear. It must also be noted that without this social input the novice is likely to miss the critical felt information needed to improve or enhance their knowledge.

Embodied experience both in and out of the water is, then, critical to the enskilment process in surf places. Often when I inquired about how participants knew when it was time to stand up or how they knew whether or not to bail from a wave, participants would reply 'you just know' or shrug. Interestingly though when they were in the throes of storytelling this facet became clearer. It became clear that what they meant was that it is felt knowledge that tells you when to stand up on or bail from a wave. Overtime they learned where, and where not to be, by 'getting smashed' by the waves, enjoying a sublime ride and everywhere in between. These experiences, whether the polar opposites of a sublime ride and getting smashed, or the subtle difference between a sublime and excellent ride, all provided feedback and information to the body to be felt, interpreted and made sense of. The older surfers continually mentioned 'time in water', 'its all about experience'. This experience is about coming to know what you are feeling such as a subtle change of direction in the wind or swell, the pull or drag of water currents, the lifting of a wave and even the acceleration and gradient of a wave face. Most of these details are not articulated or pointed out. Rather, they are experienced, felt. In saying that, as mentioned above, it is the cues provided from more experienced surfers that are critical in the enskilment process. A simple 'why did you do that?' or 'move further left' can help the novice change their actions and improve their performance and knowledge in surf places.

Another clear finding was the role of and importance of place-based narrative in the enskilment process as discussed in Chapter Two. Similar to the work of Wattchow and Brown (2011), Raffan (1992, 1993) and Lopez (1986, 1989) this study found that place-based narrative was critical in participants both learning and becoming attached to these places. In the lives of these surfers, it is narrative of self, family and friends in place that appears to contribute to the enskilment of knowledge. Over time these local surf places become more meaningful as more experiences and events occur within them. This seems to happen in two ways. The first is in relation to a practical outcome, the accumulation of place-based knowledge and the ability to use this knowledge in the surf to increase enjoyment, safety and performance. The second is that the surf place itself becomes more important within the lives of these surfers. For example, and at the

risk of deviating from the study slightly, all participants responded favourably to learning about the history and ecology of the area. I couldn't help but wonder about the depths of their environmental and cultural knowledge without their realisation, or rather, verbalisation of it. How this tacit awareness develops through time is, perhaps, a project for another time. For the storytellers in this study, it appears that spoken language about surfing is often short and sharp and has the purpose of guiding a novice's attention or to point something out. The consequent experience then does the rest, whether it occurs immediately or after several similar situations.

Another point worth briefly mentioning is the surf place names. These were important in identifying not only a location but also the nature of break. They were also used to share information and gave context to the conditions participants were in. Participants used local place names for features on both land and in the sea, regularly and naturally. The Gunnery, the Pines, the Point, Meanos – this was the toponymic terrain of their experience. And this was very much in accord with Raffan's (1992, 1993) identification of how place names and the naming of places both reflect and contribute to a sense of attachment to home place.

Story Three: The Eulogy

Zee sat in the surf and thought about what he would say later that day. Tears slowly trickled down his face but it was impossible to tell tear from seawater. It was like the ocean was crying with him, supporting him.

Five days had passed since Mark's death, a heart attack in the surf. Fitting. Perhaps even lucky, thought Zee. Although early, who else dies in their favourite spot, doing what they love and with some family around. Both Zee and his brother were in the water at time. It was Zee who knew something was amiss when his Dad got caught way inside the breaking zone. Not once but for a whole set! Mark Johns very rarely got caught inside, in fact Johns, as he was locally known, very rarely made a poor judgement decision in the waves. He just had... something. It was like he worked on instinct. But Zee knew it was more than that. Whenever Zee and his brother were out surfing with their Dad and asked a question as to why he was doing something specific, he would generally reply, "Come here and I'll show you". Not one for telling anybody what to do, Zee's Dad would often draw his or his brother's attention somehow.

Zee laughed to himself remembering. He was young and his Dad had been helping him to jump up on the board in the shallows away from the waves. It was in front of the toilet block, on a millpond section of the little bay at Pines. He had completed this ritual loads of times and for the last few could jump up without holding his Dad's hands. Zee had looked left and seen the waves rolling in right in front of the creek mouth. "Hey, lets go over there," he said excitedly.

"Hmmm," said his Dad, "I don't think you want to go there".

Zee had complained, in fact he remembered being quite a little shit about it.

Finally his Dad gave in. "Ok! Let's give it ago".

His Dad had lain behind him on the board and Zee felt his Dad's powerful arms propel it forward. Just before they entered the breaking zone his Dad said, "Now remember, the waves aren't going to hurt you but you might go under the water for second." Zee was too nervous to speak, but was excited. "Watch how the waves are breaking Zee," his Dad had said. Zee saw the waves roll up and break. Yess! he thought I'm going to surf now. What Zee's novice eyes had missed was that there was no face to ride on these waves. These waves although small plunged downward instead of spilling over. "Now Zee are you sure?" his Dad asked again. Zee didn't reply so his Dad pushed him on his way.

Zee laughed again remembering. He had got dunked as soon as his Dad had let go of the board. The small wave pitched and the nose of the board dug into the water, sending Zee over the falls. He popped up coughing and splattering feeling his Dad lift him out of the water laughing. "See why catching waves here is a bad idea today," he chuckled.

Zee laughed again.

Later in the session, Zee decided on what he would say later in the day. Nothing.

16:45 showered on Zee's digital surf watch. Exactly 2 hours before high tide, locally known as 'Johnsy tide' due to his insistence that 2 hours before high tide is when you must hit the water at Pines. Zee smiled knowing. A small group of Johnsy's family, close friends and local surfers paddled behind Zee, Brue and their Mum. Cheekily both boys took flight, well, wave, as a set rolled in. The small group cheered and hollered

"Johnsyyyyyyy!!!....."

A few others followed suit, while the rest sat bobbing naturally with the swell in deep reflection. At 17:08 though everyone stopped just beyond the breakers. Staring off into the distance and moving symbiotically with the rhythm of ocean they watched the winter solstice sun set on a changing place and, whether known or not, bare witness to a changing of the guard. There would be plenty of stories in years to come.

Reflection Box Three: "The Eulogy"

Although none of these participants lost their father or mother in the surf, another local family recently had. Four of the participants spoke about this event without being prompted. Perhaps discussing family, surfing and the role of surf places in their lives caused them to reflect on and mention this during the storied conversations.

This is the last story of the collection and is aimed at portraying some of the more consequential but important findings of the research. The three that will be briefly mentioned here are intergenerational learning, spiritual connection to the ocean and how embodied feeling rather than language is used as the primary form of educative communication.

Aspects of intergenerational learning such as those discussed in Chapter Two appeared in the findings of this study. In their research based on traditional landowners of Canada and the sub-Artic Ingold (2000) and Raffan (1992, 1993) found that a

significant amount is learned from family elders. In particular, they both found that intergenerational learning was critical and the main form of place education in relation to coming to know place and one could suggest becoming enskilled with in it. Rose (1997) found similar findings in her research based on Indigenous Australian culture as well. Is it time Western Culture, specifically Australian contemporary outdoor education, pays attention to the home place and how it is learned? What previous knowledge of surf places are our students bringing with them? What can formal education learn from intergeneration pedagogical methods? How can formal outdoor education connect with the family home to gain expertise in place and create stronger place communities?

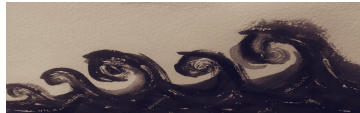
Similar to studies conducted by Taylor (2007), Ford and Brown (2006) and Stranger (2011) this research found that participants had a spiritual connection not only to particular surf places but Mother Ocean. Just like cult surf pictures such as *Morning of the Earth* (1972) and more recently *Immersion* (2012) successfully portray the spiritual connection between surfers and surf places, so to do the storytellers in this study. At times I found them searching for a way to articulate the meaning of this spiritual connection. More often than not they couldn't. Long pauses ensued, a smile coupled with a distant but knowing stare, a story that speaks around, below and above something, a story that hints at something more but never quite makes it explicit. You can sense it though. You get a feeling while listening that there is something more to it. In the surf, again, you can sense there is something else going on, silent but powerful. At times I thought I could almost... almost see it but, like the storytellers, how do you encapsulate and articulate this essence of connection? There is a sense that this connection is important but what exactly does this spiritual connection mean? What is this spiritual connection teaching young people? Is contemporary outdoor education respectful enough of this connection? Does contemporary outdoor education allow for the development of similar spiritual connections?

A natural progression from some of the above questions and the importance of the role of embodied experience in becoming enskilled in surf places relates to feeling. Perhaps to learn best as humans we need to feel. Language has its limitations. Many storytellers and researchers alike mention that language always falls short of articulating the power of certain experiences (Lopez, 1986, Wattchow, 2006, van Manen, 1990). This study suggests that language also falls short in educating young people about surf places. Where language fails, feeling succeeds. In 1994 Geoff Cooper famously quoted artist Jagjit Chuan;

Scientific understanding is not going to change our habits or give us the political will to change our life – even the hard facts which tell us we shouldn't do this or that, don't actually persuade people as much as a spiritual experience can. You need to reach the hearts of people. (p. 29/30)

The findings of this study suggest, no, implore, a renewed call to education to 'reach the hearts of students' by focusing more on student feelings and less on the educational rhetoric of the day.

Finally, I offer my sincere condolences to the surfing family concerned who lost their loved one in the surf. I also thank the storytellers for their openness and strength to tell this difficult story.



Chapter Five - Paddling In

An impromptu reflection

Its early December and I'm stressed. Reports are due, end of year activity planning needs finishing off and carrying out, 2017 planning and orientation is in full swing, new job to prepare for, old job to wrap-up, surgery on Monday, Christmas approaching, moving house and a draft Masters thesis to polish.

I go surfing...

I, like the participants of this research, felt instantly better from being in the water. After the initial calming period, and a few waves, a lull hit. I found myself staring due south, towards my brother, far over the horizon of blue water to Hawely Beach, Tasmania. He doesn't surf but rather is a mad keen fisherman. My mind connects a recent phone call and a confession he made. He never goes fishing anymore. Sadly, I realised that, similarly, I haven't surfed this year till now, just thought about it and wrote about it...

I comprehend what a silly mistake that has been. No wonder I've been feeling a little lost lately.

Subconsciously, I have paddled further out and turn grinning. I feel the wave approach but don't check back in to conscious thought until I'm paddling back out. Thoughts of my research findings and the things I have learnt about how young people learn to surf and what they learn through surfing, coming flooding in...

Close out – Reflections on findings

This dissertation has explored how young surfers become enskiled with knowledge of surf places. It has revealed important insights into how the process of learning about, and performing skilfully in, surf places occurs. In particular, this study has discovered that two teachers do aid this process and that, in this case, becoming enskiled in surf places aids in forming significant relationships with them. The local beach, headland, shore break and surf break are more than mere backdrops to human action, even to story. They are fundamental to how young surfers learn about surf places so as to respond knowledgably and skilfully. The consequences of this learning should be of

interest to a nation of high-density coastal living people. There are significant pedagogic insights into learning, particularly for outdoor education, in how this study has revealed the embodied and narrative qualities of the informal outdoor classroom that is the 'home break'.

Although, a number of themes were discovered three primary themes were found to be critical in the enskilment process - 'embodied experience', 'others' and 'time'. A fourth theme, 'ocean as constant', was found to be a result of the other three. Much of literature to date, as discussed in Chapter Two, has focused on learning the skill set of surfing in relation to performance and the cultural and sociological aspects of surfing, rather than learning about surf places. This literature suggests that surfing is a very individual and hedonistic recreational activity. Further, it suggests that learning to surf is largely a lonely and individual process. In contradiction to this idea, the same literature presented anecdotal evidence of new surfers going surfing with others, such as older guys (Evers, 2010, Evers, 2006, Ford & Brown, 2006, Stranger, 2011). This research found that these anecdotes of social learning to be a more likely scenario than the current explicit explanations of surfing as a very individual and hedonistic experience. In fact, this study found surfing to be a highly social activity, particularly when learning about surf places and becoming enskilled within them.

Stories and the use of story may not be explicitly seen in the enskilment process amongst the participants of this study in the same way that the social and guiding hand of more experienced surfers is. I wonder if lack of story to educate is due to the physical nature of the activity or an emphasis to watch, feel and take notice? Or, do we simply not yet have the language to capture the feeling of the surfing experience. Or, have we, as a modern Western culture, lost the time and ability to use stories to teach in the way Indigenous people were shown to do in Ingold's and Raffans research? Perhaps the nuanced role of story in learning, even as it works below our level of attention, requires further study.

On the other hand a significant finding from this research was that learning to surf is fundamentally based on an individual embodied experience. Embodied experience and feel are crucial to becoming enskilled in place. This is a long and slow process punctuated by significant learning encounters when coming to *know* what you are feeling and also *what* you should be feeling provides progress towards becoming knowledgeable and skilful in surf places. Embodied experience in place has been touched on in the literature (Evers, 2010, 2006, Ford & Brown 2007, Capp, 2003).

However, to date this has focussed on just the experiential qualities of surfing rather than learning to surf or becoming enskiled in surf places.

It is, however, the combination of embodied experience and social interaction that is the key finding of this study. Or rather it is the way a specific social interaction by an expert consequently leads to a novice experiencing an embodied event. This process which, might best be called guided attention, is a significant pedagogy that young people experience, as they become enskiled in surf places. Similar to Ingold's (2000) description of his father teaching him about botanicals in Chapter Two, guided attention is seen in learning situations such as the boy piloting the boat on Mekong River at the very beginning of this thesis. The findings offer more than this though. Coupled with guided attention is guided reflection, whereby the novice is subtly (or at times not so subtly) helped to discover the meaning of their experience. The stories participants told of learning to surf and become enskiled in surf places continually mentioned accounts of guided attention and reflection – a parent pushing them into the right wave, a stranger making a passing comment about the conditions, an older brother beginning the process with a younger sibling, once again. Interestingly, even though the participant's stories are full of moments like these that they can account with a high amount of detail and fondness, most still believe learning to surf is a very individual experience. Perhaps, even more interesting is the fact that guided attention and guided reflection do not figure in contemporary outdoor education discourse or even in discussion of experiential learning pedagogies. Consequently, it stands out as a significant finding of the study and warrants further researcher in the future, especially in what it might contribute to formal education.

This research found that the combination of the social and embodied experiences in surf places touched on above equates to process of enskilment (Ingold, 2000). This confirms the initial thought of the possibility of two teachers in action when learning to surf and becoming enskiled in surf places. Sea as teacher and Other as teacher were both seen to contribute to a child's education in the surf. It was also found that these experiences accumulate over time to create a deep awareness of enskiled knowledge of surf places. Both these findings are similar to that of other research on enskilment completed by Ingold (2000), Palsson (1994) and Granessi (2004) as well as linking to Dewey's (1997) principle of continuity as highlighted in Chapter Two. I do not mean here that if you have been surfing for twenty years you will automatically be more enskiled in surf places than someone who has surfed for fifteen years. Rather, the findings of this study suggest that it takes time, a long time – years - to become enskiled in surf places.

Interestingly, the impact of time contributing to stronger bonds and relationships between people and place was also found in this study. This is in line with other land based place research on relationships between people and place (Cameron, 2001, Relph, 1976). The findings also suggest that the more you get to know somewhere, the more you experience it, the greater your bond of attachment. It might even be said that, in time, the surfer comes to dwell in the taskscape of the surf place.

I mentioned earlier in Chapter One that part of the work of this research project would be to offer pedagogical insights, particularly for outdoor education. In summary, then, I offer two insights based on the findings of this study:

1. The essence of learning from two teachers. The findings here suggest that educators (teachers, parents, elder siblings and so on) must pay careful attention to the delicate balance between real life practical embodied experience and the social contributions of language and story. The findings suggest that to achieve best results it is inadequate to either leave a young person to their own devices or to deny them practical, real, felt experiences with direct consequences. It is timely that 'educators' explore a model of guided attention coupled with guided reflection and the principles of enskilment when teaching youth, particularly in surf places.
2. Time. Learning takes time, particularly when learning complex, intricate and often changeable phenomena like surfing and surf places. I would like to see educators acknowledge the time it takes to become enskiled. It might be overly idealistic, especially for formal educators in the ever more crowded curriculum, to suggest that young people be given more time to be in places, more time to think and more time to master skills. Perhaps, then, a less is more approach can be achieved. Rather than travel away from close to home coastal environments, the beach and the sea are accessible for many Australians. Without the long processes of enskilment, sustained participation is unlikely to follow. Guided attention coupled with guided reflection offers significant opportunities for assisting young people in becoming knowledgeable and enskiled in many local and worthwhile activities, not just surfing. For formal educators, they could be more selective and creative in how they 'teach' rather than 'deliver' the curriculum. Parents and others, as many already do, may help by being attentive to the many teachable moments that surround all of us, every day.

Closeout – Reflections on methodology and recommendations for future study

I have already mentioned that guided attention and reflection deserves further study, particularly within contemporary outdoor education and perhaps experiential education in general. At this point, I would like to focus specifically on surfing and surf places. At the outset of this study, I commented that Ford and Brown (2006) believed that surfing would benefit from further research generally. In particular, and in light of this study, I would suggest that the embodied and social experience of learning to surf would benefit greatly from further research. The findings of such research efforts would likely yield significant benefits for pedagogic practices, especially in outdoor education. Each theme presented in the storied findings here has the potential to be inquired into more deeply. This study tended to place a greater focus on family and friends, and only hinted at the impact strangers, and 'surf acquaintances' have on young people when learning to surf. Also, the non-use of story as a conscious form of teaching requires further consideration. It was the only 'pillar' of the research framework, developed from Raffan's and Ingold's work with Indigenous peoples, that was not apparent amongst the participants in this study. This is not to say that story was not used. Rather, it is interesting that the participants were not aware that they might be doing so. It is also clear that people's attachment to surf and coastal places in Australia needs further exploration as this study hints that the surf places involved here are as important, if not more important, than land based places to these participants. It is time that water-places, especially sea and surf places, catch up their land-based cousins in relation to research and acknowledged meaning to the human experience.

Secondly, further research into how enskilment could be employed to enhance people's knowledge and attachment of place may be beneficial. Even though it was modest in scope this study showed that enskilment in knowledge of surf places not only helped participants become more capable surfers but also contributed to a connection and attachment to surf places. Perhaps this is similar to land-based places as well. Further research could be directed towards exploring the pedagogic approaches best suited to enskilment. In addition, future research could be used to create a loose framework, or a toolbox of methods, to help engage learners. This would aid learners to be attentive to the relevant environmental cues needed for successful problem solving and performance. Research into enskilment may also uncover the role of silent parties in education. For example, van Manen (1991) notes that in 'educational literature the parent is remarkably absent' (p. 6). Yet in the process of enskilment parents and other community members are clearly important in the education of a young person. This

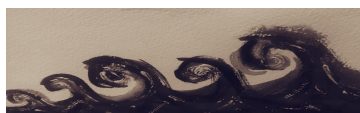
may lead not only to improved educative results but also better relationships between schools, parents and the wider community.

In relation to the methodology employed for this study, I could indulge for some time on these reflections. However, it is more practical to focus specifically on two points. The first is the use of narrative inquiry and story. Although most people inherently know the power of story in the form of fiction and non-fiction (books, film, stage, documentary and poem), I am surprised at its relative absence in academic literature of surfing and outdoor education. Further, although as humans we often seek out stories of others and are fascinated by what we think others may feel in certain situations, there is comparatively little importance put on the lived subjective experiences of young people in education and outdoor education research. It has not been easy using an alternative form of methodology. I would advise future researchers who consider using narrative inquiry to prepare for confronting questioning both from others and themselves. At times, perhaps specifically in Western culture, we forget the power of story. However, we must remember that particular stories can evoke a wide range of emotions, which have the power to change perspectives, direction and in some cases make significant change to people's lives. Although the literature on using alternative forms of research such as narrative inquiry is building, future researchers still need to be prepared to contribute and fill in the blanks. More so than those who choose a more traditional methodology for their research, those who choose an alternative approach need to also be rigorous in discussing and justifying their work. They may need a thick skin and be ready to have their approach challenged by others. Rather than become frustrated by this I would encourage future researchers to try to enjoy the challenging comments and critical feedback. For it is this process that in time will strengthen alternative approaches to research, encourage more to employ it and creates conversation and interest in your work.

The final reflection I would like to discuss involves the specific use of storytellers and story as research, both collecting stories for analysis and using them to represent research findings. I truly believe that using story is an effective and powerful way to inquire into, and share knowledge about, human lived experience. However, for the researcher, this creates some difficulties. The first relates to collecting the stories. I will warn future researchers that collecting stories takes a significant amount of time. This creates problems, as researchers must fit in with the lives of their participants. Work, school, family time, daily chores and recreation will be placed first, it is our job as researchers to fit in and inquire into what life is really like as our participants experience it. This will take time, effort and energy. When you do get a chance to sit

down with participants another issue arises. Will they tell you a story that is of interest to the guiding research question? Where and when is best to gather stories? How best to elicit storytelling? And, how should the researcher respond to the stories told? I tried but failed to record fragmentary comments and stories within surf sessions with several participants in this study. Surely there is potential to do this successfully. I would suggest that future researchers have an adaptable framework to help keep themselves from getting distracted from the central purpose of the interview or storytelling sessions. I would also advise that researchers be on the lookout for what is and isn't being said and then to respond accordingly. Do not be afraid to ask, tactfully, to hear the story again or for clarification. In light of this, I would advise researchers to attempt multiple conversations times and not be tempted to curtail further conversations due to the time it takes to conduct additional interviews. Multiple meetings mean that there is time for the participants to tell their stories in depth. It allows for stories to be retold, which can help the researcher clarify the story and pick up on any missed elements of the experience.

Using story as research findings, although powerful in ways discussed previously in Chapter Three, does create a problem for the academic. I would advise researchers to be patient and to not, as warned by Lopez (1986), to force it. The power of story comes from its ability to engage and connect, evoking a sense of presence or imaginative immersion in the experience by the reader or listener. I would suggest that future researchers begin writing their stories early and allow them to naturally evolve while staying true to the source. Writing, truly is putting thought to paper. Telling stories is a craft and one that takes a lifetime to perfect. It, like surfing, is a skill that requires practice and is aided through the processes of enskilment. I think, and encourage other researchers thinking of using stories as research findings to think of storytelling as an honour. One whereby you, in becoming the teller of a story, are obligated to have both the source of the story and the reader or listener at forefront of your craft. I strongly encourage and hope that alternative forms of research such as the use of story and poems continues to be nourished and to grow in the field of qualitative research in education. Surely it is of the utmost importance to hear the inner thoughts and to ponder the silences of young people's lived experience of life. Only then will educators be in a position to inform, share and contribute knowledge that improves the learner's experience of living.



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Appendices

Appendix A – Research explanatory statement

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

(Relevant Participant Group)

Project Title: Enskilment and the Sea as Teacher: A story about young people finding their wave.

Project Number: (This number will be provided by MUHREC upon receipt of the application)

Chief Investigator's: Brian Wattchow
Department of Education

Student's name: Alex Prins

You are invited to take part in this study. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before deciding whether or not to participate in this research. If you would like further information regarding any aspect of this project, you are encouraged to contact the researchers via the phone numbers or email addresses listed above.

What does the research involve?

How did you learn how to surf? Self, Ocean, Family member? More specifically how did you learn about the coast, surf conditions and your home break? The aim of the student is to explore how young people learn about the coast through the activity of surfing. In particular the role of family as teacher and the role of sea as teacher is of interest.

Explain what the participants will be asked to do, and how much time it will take.

Why were you chosen for this research?

Describe why you chose this particular person/group of participants and how (from whom?) you obtained their contact details.

Consenting to participate in the project and withdrawing from the research

Explain: (i) the consent process involves (e.g. signing and returning the consent form),
(ii) the participants' right to withdraw from further participation at any stage, along with any implications of withdrawal,
(iii) the possibility to withdraw data. e.g. if the project involves the submission of an anonymous questionnaire, it should be explained clearly that it will not be possible to withdraw data once they have submitted the responses, and
(iv) the alternatives available to those who have chosen not to participate.

Possible benefits and risks to participants

Describe the presence or absence of possible benefits for participants and/or society. Describe any potential level of inconvenience and/or discomfort to the participant. List all possible or reasonably foreseeable risks of harm or side-effects to the potential participants (outlining likely incidence and severity). Include any risk that may come from others identifying the person's participation in the research. This information must be included so that potential participants can give genuinely informed consent to take part.

Confidentiality

Describe (i) how you will manage the confidentiality or anonymity of the data you have collected, (ii) how you will manage the information when published and (iii) how you will publish or report your data e.g. at a conference, as a thesis etc. If applicable, mention use of pseudonyms/codes etc.

Storage of data

Explain what constitutes data in the context of this project (e.g. survey responses, biospecimens, interview transcripts, video recordings, etc.). Describe where and how this data will be stored and who will have access to the data. Indicate when the data will be destroyed if it is no longer required.

Use of data for other purposes

Include a statement to clearly explain future use of data if relevant to your project. Assure participants that only aggregate de-identified data may be used for other projects where ethics approval has been granted.

Results

Include a statement to explain where and when the results will be made available, and how the participants can access the findings.

Complaints

Should you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of the project, you are welcome to contact the Executive Officer, Monash University Human Research Ethics (MUHREC):

Executive Officer
Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee
(MUHREC)
Room 111, Building 3e
Research Office
Monash University VIC 3800

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Thank you,

Alex Prins

Appendix B – Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Project: **Enskilment and the Sea as Teacher: A story about young people finding their wave.**

Chief Investigator: **Brian Wattchow**

Student Investigator: **Alex Prins**

I have been asked to take part in the Monash University research project specified above. I have read and understood the Explanatory Statement and I hereby consent to participate in this project.

I consent to the following:	Yes	No
Do an interview with the researcher in the surf	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Join in with group discussion/group surf	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do a follow up interview with the researcher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Audio recording during the interviews	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name of Participant _____

Participant Signature _____ **Date :** _____

Appendix C – Assent Form

ASSENT FORM

Project: Enskilment and the Sea as Teacher: A story about young people finding their wave.

Chief Investigator: Brian Wattchow

Student Investigator: Alex Prins

I have been asked to join in this Monash University study. I have read the explanatory statement, or had it read to me, that explained everything about this study and I have had a chance to ask questions about it. I understand what this research project is about and would like to join in.

I understand that being in this study is my choice and that I can change my mind and choose to not be part of this study any time I like and that no one will be angry with me if I change my

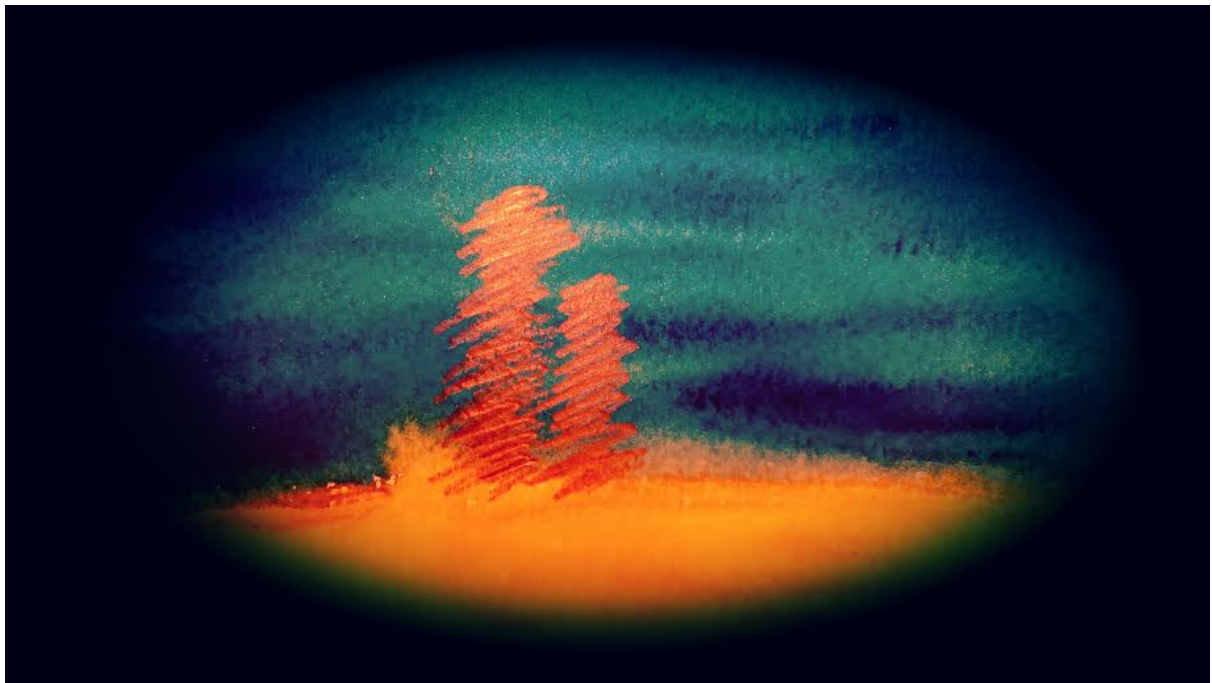
I agree to:	Yes	No
Do a group interview with the researcher before and after a group surf	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Join in with the group surf	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do a follow up one on one interview with the researcher	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Audio recording will take place during the interviews		

mind. I know that if I have any questions I can ask my parents or the researcher at any time.

Name _____ Date _____

SURF PLACES

SURFING FAMILY NEEDED



3 – 6 MEMBERS of a Surfing family
kids, parents, grandparents, AUNTIES, UNCLES, COUSINS ...

Are needed for a local study aiming to explore how young people learn about surf places through family connections. I would like to accompany your family surfing group for a surf. This surf would include a group interview. Later I would like to do follow up interviews over a cuppa or milkshake with each surfer. Interviews will last between 60 – 90 minutes and will focus on how the young family members learn to surf and what they learn from surfing. Would love to hear from you! Initial contact should come from parents/guardian - call Alex on 0427474661 for more information.

IF INTERESTED PLEASE CONTACT ALEX ON 0427 474 661 OR apri5@student.monash.edu.au

Appendix E – Long Table Analysis

THEMES	Storyteller Sources (S#)	NARRATIVES/IDIOMATIC PHRASES
<p>Ocean as constant</p> <p>Feelings of attachment/Relationship</p>	<p>#ST1 #ST2 #ST3 #ST5 #ST7</p>	<p>#ST1 you started to realize they were getting a relationship with the water #ST1 you definitely need to have a relationship with it' #ST1 The oldest one definitely has a strong relationship with the water. #ST1 surfing makes you feel better #ST2 I love it, Pines, just the ocean. #ST3 you definitely don't feel as comfortable at other spots than at your home, your home break #ST3 I'm pretty protective of our spot I mean you do tell non locals to back off especially when they aren't playing the game #ST3 you know it you know where the rocks are, depth #ST6 surfing after school is so good, it just fixes stuff #ST7 I have a love of the ocean. #ST5 Always loved the water #ST7 I feel very comfortable at sea #ST7 there's a oneness #ST7 There's a reason I live here #ST7 there's an affirmitty and a comfort here #ST7 when there was personal issues or problems guys would go surfing the ocean was something to fall back on and let out frustrations and emotions #ST7 hard day at the office surf #ST7 There is nothing better when you're a bit pissed off is to go for a surf #ST7 The ocean is always there always calming</p>
<p>Sea as teacher</p> <p>Embodied Experience</p>	<p>#ST1 #ST3 #ST4 #ST5 #ST7</p>	<p>#ST1 "you learned... basically trying to standing up, getting your balance to stand' #ST1 'we just naturally learnt' #ST1 'doing it self' #ST1 'You became very aware of them as you educated yourself as you surfed at different places' #ST1 'that is natural process - the more you do it the more you become aware of it. #ST1 'trial and error' #ST2 I don't know, just feel it. #ST2 like most things the more you do it the better you get at it, so yeah doing, doing is #ST3 when your getting smashed you learn you know you learn where to paddle #ST3 you learn how to maximize your ride just over time you know #ST3 I reckon I learned to sit in the right spot fairly quickly because you quickly learned if you were in the wrong spot you'd get sucked back into the wave and get absolutely smashed #ST3 #ST3 You don't think about it just comes its just there I cant remember you just got drag out there as a kid uh I don't know trial and error I guess #ST3 We surfed, canoed, kayaked, push biked there #ST3 At new places its back to trail and error and really paying attention #ST4 I live near the beach go every day #ST4 I have found just going and trying to stand up you learn little things yeah #ST5 its catching them #ST6 We were just teaching ourselves #ST6 just kinda went out and just gave it ago #ST7 I started</p>

		learning through fishing and surfing #ST7 we just went and learned that way, worked at it #ST7 accumulation through experience, it doesn't come easy #ST7 you learn from your mistakes #ST7 all the different stuff you do in the water – diving fishing surfing etc all builds that big picture
Gazing	#ST1 #ST2 #ST3 #ST4 #ST5 #ST6 #ST7	<p>#ST1 'when we really wanted to get waves... that's when you really started taking note of the weather' #ST1 'You really did watch the weather and you'd make sure – you know – you knew' #ST1 'sit there on the cliff at Flinders watching storms come in and that – And that's probably where the awareness of weather might start' #ST1 'watched the wind start picking up and the waves start picking up a little bit.' #ST1 number one you would be observant' #ST2 I guess just learning by observing.</p> <p>#ST2 you're standing there looking out from the look-out off the cliff top looking out to the water #ST2 you're constantly looking #ST2 By looking a long time and going #ST3 'You'd always be looking just watching the surf' #ST3 before you go out you always just take 5 minutes to watch #ST4 always ride down and have a look #ST5 we just used to and still do look #ST5 Really looking at everywhere #ST5 watching other people #ST6 just watch #ST7 you gotta look #ST7 you got to go and hang round got to watch #ST7 observations until you are aware of what you are looking at #ST7 always look for quality and size</p>
Time	#ST1 #ST2 #ST3 #ST5 #ST7	<p>#ST1 'always looking a wave' #ST1 'We did it for years you know' #ST1 'it was a slow progression' #ST1 as you got older your predictions became more correct. #ST1 naturally progression as time goes on #ST1 definitely think about what you can do in water you can surf, skin dive, scuba dive, fish, ski, swim its time in the water watching the weather' #ST1 a period of time of practice' #ST1 the only way you are going to be able to surf is continually practicing' #ST2 Time. You can't beat time as far as learning #ST2 it is just years and years and years of going out #ST2 By looking a long time and going going to the same spot God knows how many times #ST3 we were always at the beach hanging around #ST3 you just slowly learn over time #ST3 every day we were literally down the beach every day summer winter surfing not surfing #ST3 over time you just learnt you know #ST3 cause your down the beach every day you learn... #ST3 I came to know it because that's where we lived, I lived here for 18 years, its my neighborhood Im sure you know your neighborhood. #ST3 Over time you matched up what you were being told to what you were seeing and doing #ST3 its funny for places you don't really know when you think about I would have been there 50 times gee if someone told you</p>

		<p>something 50 times you'd hope you'd know it #ST4 I go to the beach every day ST4#just time practice makes perfect #ST5 We always went to the beach #ST5 massive massive amounts of time #ST6 I think its just over time #ST7 we spent so much time exploring walking in and out looking watching going #ST7 Its all time, time in the water #ST7 I spent an inordinate amount of time around or in the water.</p>
<p>Other as teacher Family</p>	#ST1 #ST2 #ST3 #ST4 #ST7	<p>#ST1 'Id try to get them to stand up while I held their hand' #ST1 'give em a little bit of a push' #ST1 I don't think you were actually teaching them anything. I think you were just giving them telling oh look at the clouds how they are rolling in see how wind is coming up and pushing the clouds forward.' #ST2 Yeah more than likely somebody showing you, Dad or older brother #ST2 along with siblings and mates that had more experience than I did #ST2 you hear older brother and dad talking about it #ST3 well at the start Dad mum brothers always took me to the beach #ST3 I started surfing with dad and my older brothers #ST3 The older brothers and stuff would just drag out to the right spot and push you off even if you were screaming no #ST3 If there was no surf near us Dad and mum would always drive us around the other side or the island. #ST3 family holidays were surfing in NSW #ST3 come to think about you don't realize it but Dad was always telling us stuff #ST4 my old man taught me a bit about that like we are going back a bit #ST4 come to think of it I went with my brothers on and off #ST6 Tom's dad was the one who helped them #ST7 my mum and Dad nothing well actually I got the most important thing I got down the coast, every Christmas and let us go to explore all day and then cooks tea when it got dark #ST7 I moved down here and my three brothers followed and they all surf</p>
<p>Friends</p>	#ST1 #ST2 #ST3 #ST4 #ST5 #ST6 #ST7	<p># ST1 We used to also go together, it really was a very social thing #ST2 we learned a lot from best friend's dad too #ST2 I think I learnt by talking about it friends and relations. #ST3 we were always down the beach playing or hanging out #ST3 you're egged on by your mates #ST4 My friends are getting in to surfing so I thought I'd give it ago #ST4 mates from Rye and that have their own beach so sometime we go there g #ST4 yeah it gets competitive we egg each other on and help out #ST5 a friend said to me do you want to go surfing? #ST6 Yeah just three other girls and decided to surf #ST6 I think I learned a lot from the boys. #ST6 we'd all just have a feel of what was working and just kind of copying each other #ST7 it was largely a social thing #ST7 back then everybody knew everyone who surfed #ST7 Me and the mates were always off surfing across the weekends #ST7 surfers were real</p>

		tight
Strangers	#ST1 #ST2 #ST3 #ST7	#ST1 'and met other guys who wanted to surf.' #ST1 'you started to realize how many people, older guys knew who you were' #ST1 'older guys would always be talking about weather conditions and stuff and predicting' #ST1 'the guys would tell you' #ST1 'peoples advice definitely' #ST1 you definitely were told that sort of thing. #ST2 You'll hear older guys say #ST2 There's always other surfies around #ST2 not so much sharing by verbally telling but they're sharing just by watching their actions and movements. #ST3 local surfers helped you cause they saw you were a young lad and would say hey paddle over here but when you aren't local they don't give a shit #ST5 it was watching other people #ST6 I think a bit of it I overheard it and then when I would go and checking the surf #ST7 You'd pick up all the young blokes in the car and a lot of information was passed on that way #ST7 accurate information used to pass a lot through social events oh and board riding clubs #ST7 surfers still look for others for information and people to go with, its natural to hung with your own. #ST7 I hung out with all the older surfers #ST7 you'd learn from the older surfers #ST7 we'd educate each other in the car going down passing on what we'd all heard. #ST7 all passed down from more experienced surfers telling you to go here or there and then we did the same dragging all the young blokes around.