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RESEARCH NOTE

HOSTS AND GUESTS: SURFERS' EXPERIENCES OF TRAVEL AND TOURISM IN THE FIRST WAVE OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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In the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic, millions of people experienced travel disruptions and tourism destinations felt the economic sting of low visitor numbers. Using online interviews, this study followed 29 surfers over the course of 6 months to explore their experiences of the pandemic as travelers and hosts within tourism destinations in the US, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Australia, the Caribbean, and Latin America. It examines the effect of the pandemic on their travel plans, travel experiences, and tourism destinations where they lived. Many participants experienced travel disruptions and had to go through different decision-making and behavioral processes when they did travel. They also had conflicting feelings about decreased numbers of tourists at the beginning of the pandemic and when tourists began to return. The results have implications for travel companies to maintain flexible policies and the need to diversify coastal economies and possibly implement more separation between tourists and residents.

Key words: Surfers; Surf travel; Tourism destination communities; COVID-19 pandemic; Surf tourism destinations

Introduction

On March 11, 2020, there were 118,000 cases of COVID-19 globally and the World Health Organization declared it a pandemic (World Health Organization, 2020). As of late March 2022, there were 450 million cases reported and over 10 billion

vaccine doses administered worldwide (JHU Center for Systems Science and Engineering, 2022). In the early months of the pandemic, countries around the world instituted lockdowns, travel restrictions, and organization closures to try to stop the spread of the respiratory virus (Gössling et al., 2021). The pandemic disrupted people's travel plans, increased

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their risk perceptions of travel, and made them want to avoid crowded places when they did travel (Bae & Chang, 2021; Couto et al., 2020; Neuberger & Egger, 2021; Park et al., 2021; Terziyska & Dogramadjieva, 2021).

The massive decreases in travel hit tourism destinations hard, resulting in temporary business closures, job loss, and economic losses (Gossling et al., 2021; Milesi-Ferretti, 2021). Once restrictions began to ease, residents faced the difficult choice of accepting tourists (and more COVID-19 cases) in their communities or not (Joo et al., 2021; Kamata, 2022). Studies done earlier in the pandemic indicated that tourism destination residents were less willing to accept tourists and the risk that came with them (Joo et al., 2021; Kamata, 2022). One study done in the second year of the pandemic (once vaccines were available) indicated greater resident support for tourism (Woosnam et al., 2022). While there are a growing number of studies examining tourists' and tourism destination residents' experiences of the COVID-19 pandemic, few studies have examined the travel experiences of tourism destination hosts during the pandemic (Couto et al., 2020). For many people who live in tourism destinations, they play both hosts and guests at different points during the year, or throughout their lives, and can provide important perspectives on tourism. For example, some tourism destination residents work in the tourism industry during the high tourist season, but travel to other destinations in the off-season when they have vacation time.

Surfers are one population that act as hosts and guests, as many often travel to other states and countries to surf, while living in coastal areas where they can surf regularly (Mach & Ponting, 2021). Coastal areas are typically popular tourism destinations. COVID-19 lockdown policies had a major effect on surfers at the start of the pandemic as officials closed beaches and kept surfers out of the water in many places around the world (Martín-González et al., 2021; Surfline, 2020). There are two studies that have examined surfers' experiences of the COVID-19 pandemic, and one focused on one destination (Bocas del Toro, Panama) and the other focused on a single country (New Zealand) (Mach, 2021; Wheaton et al., 2021). The purpose of the following study was to explore international surfers' travel and tourism destination experiences during the COVID-19

pandemic over the course of 6 months. As hosts and guests, surfers' perspectives offer important insight into coastal destinations during the pandemic.

Methodology

Research Design

This research is part of a larger study that used a phenomenological approach to examine surfers' lived experiences of the COVID-19 pandemic around the world. This type of study "describes the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a . . . phenomenon" (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 75). In this case, the phenomenon was the pandemic. Thus far, only one other study has examined the pandemic using a phenomenological approach (Aballe et al., 2021). Within sport research, phenomenology has been used to examine extreme sport participation, including the experience of big wave surfing (Brymer, 2010; Wiersma, 2014). There is considerable debate about different approaches to phenomenological inquiry, which is grounded in the philosophies of Husserl, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, and Sartre; however, it is considered a useful approach when trying to gain an in-depth understanding of people's lived experiences of a phenomenon (Roberts, 2019; Zahavi, 2019).

From April 2020 to November 2020, I conducted multiple interviews with participants, which is a common feature of phenomenological research (Creswell & Poth, 2018). As the pandemic was happening in real time, this also allowed me to capture the changes that were occurring, rather than collecting data at one point in time. The research questions guiding this part of the study include the following:

- R1:** How did participants experience travel interruptions during the pandemic?
- R2:** How did participants experience travel during the pandemic?
- R3:** Based on participants' lived experiences within tourism destinations, what were some of the issues that arose during the pandemic?

Data Collection

I recruited study participants using purposive snowball sampling (Kuzel, 1999). As a surfer (who

surfs for fun and whose work involves surfing), I know many other surfers; therefore, I started by contacting surfers I knew personally and professionally. I also reached out to surfing organizations and businesses (such as Surfrider Foundation chapters on the East and West Coast of the US, the Eastern Surfing Association, and surf shops) through email and asked them to share the study information with their members. I posted publicly available recruitment information on my Facebook (FB) and Instagram (IG) social media accounts, as well as posting recruitment information on international surfing social media accounts such as Women Who Surf (FB). Some surfing organizations, such as Black Surfers (IG), shared my recruitment post on their social media accounts. Friends who knew surfers shared it on their social media accounts. Due to the nature of social media feeds, as well as the changing nature of listservs, I am unable to estimate how many people received recruitment messages or saw recruitment posts. I sought an international and diverse sample of surfers because I knew that people were experiencing the pandemic differently depending on where they lived and their various identities. Therefore, I tried to ensure that I had people of different genders, ages, number of years surfing, races, ethnicities, and occupations.

Twenty-nine surfers agreed to participate in the study. The interviews were conducted using online video conferencing applications, primarily through Zoom. For one participant, we used the WhatsApp video call function and I used Skype with another participant. I conducted the first round of interviews between mid-April and early June 2021. The second round of interviews occurred approximately 6–8 weeks after each participant's first interview. Interviews lasted between 15 and 50 min. Four participants did not respond to requests for a second interview. Six weeks after the second interview, I emailed participants to do a final written check-in for the study. For several participants, I had to reach them via WhatsApp or Facebook Messenger for the third check-in. Twenty-two participants responded in this third round of inquiry. The last of these communications was received on November 2, 2020.

The interview questions consisted of some basic questions about participants' demographics and surfing history and habits (how long they had been surfing, how often they surfed, where they surfed,

etc.). Depending on COVID-19 regulations in their location, they were asked questions about ways COVID-19 regulations were or were not affecting their lives and surfing habits. They were also asked about ways the pandemic had affected their travel plans. The second and third round of questions followed up on this information and asked participants about changes that they were experiencing.

I also engaged in reflexive journaling, which is called "bracketing" in phenomenological research, and is difficult to do entirely, especially in this situation (Creswell & Poth, 2018). I was experiencing the pandemic in real time along with my participants. However, keeping notes of my own experiences of the phenomenon allowed me to have a basis of comparison with participants' experiences and made me reflect on the ways my identities were influencing the study. Reflexive practice is an essential aspect of qualitative inquiry that contributes to transparency in the research (Genoe & Liechty, 2016).

Data Analysis

To ensure the trustworthiness of the findings, I engaged in member checking (Creswell & Miller, 2000). I sent brief summaries and the transcriptions of the Zoom interviews to each participant who had participated in the first and second round. Fourteen participants confirmed the accuracy of the summaries or the transcripts. One participant had two minor corrections in one of the transcripts. I analyzed the data using NVivo 12 initially by open coding the interviews and emails in each phase of data collection. The codes were condensed into categories and then into common themes I saw in participants' experiences in subsequent rounds of coding. An example of a code would be "canceled travel plans" which was grouped under "travel," which was under the theme of "COVID impacts." The categories that are the focus of this article include ones labeled "travel," "tourist issues," "tourism destination issues," and "tourism."

Results

Demographics

Participants consisted of a diverse range of surfers: 15 participants were men and 14 were women.

Participants represented a variety of racial and ethnic groups. Their surfing experience ranged from 1 to 38 years. The majority of participants were located in the US: 7 in California, 3 in Hawaii, 3 in Virginia, 2 in Washington, 2 in North Carolina, and 1 each in South Carolina, Florida, and New Jersey. International participants included 2 in Australia, and 1 each in Israel, Peru, Panama, Mexico, Senegal, Wales, and Grenada. Only 10 of the participants were located in the states or countries where they were originally from, illustrating the highly mobile nature of the global surfing community.

Travel Interruptions

In the first round of interviews, approximately 12 participants had definite travel plans to a surf destination that were canceled by the pandemic. Several knew other surfers with canceled travel plans or who got stuck somewhere while traveling. Many others had thought about traveling somewhere to surf but could not make definite plans once the pandemic hit. Three participants had their lives and jobs derailed when they ended up in different places when lockdowns began to be implemented across the world. The US government had offered to evacuate one of them, but she chose to stay in the country because the US had higher case numbers and it was not worth the risk to her health and the money she would eventually have to pay the government for the evacuation. All three were still living in those places by the third round of communications. One participant could not go surfing because she was under a lockdown order, and it took her 3 hr to get to the coast: “I hardly ever go surfing without spending the night where I’m going” (US West Coast, April 22, 2020). She did not feel it was responsible to travel from a big city to a small community during the pandemic, especially because she could not do it as a day trip. Another participant could have gotten access to the place where his vacation home was (that had been closed to the public) but was not going out of respect for the local community.

Travel During the Pandemic

By the second and third round of communications, some participants were able to start traveling

more. One participant remarked that her family was not planning any travel yet, because her husband had been laid off for a while and they had to be budget conscious. The next time I checked in with her, they had booked a weekend in a destination 2 hr away. Several participants mentioned they were trying to be responsible by limiting their travel close to home. They did not want to endanger themselves or local communities by traveling too far away to surf. One participant said her favorite places to surf were on indigenous land, which was normally open to the public but had been closed because of COVID-19. She stated, “I feel pretty strongly that especially when it comes to solidarity with tribes on the coast, we need to respect their wishes 110% and not go anywhere near the reservations” (US West Coast, June 5, 2020). Another participant mentioned the lack of quality medical facilities discouraged him from traveling to another part of the country for surf. Several remarked that they were lucky to live within driving distance of high-quality surf breaks. One participant in Latin America, who was not worried about catching COVID-19 at all, said he had traveled within his province to surf and stayed on the beach or with friends.

Another participant had been more cautious in taking a nearby surf trip with her partner and a couple within her social bubble. They had gotten an Airbnb instead of a hotel (which had new safety standards that made her feel safer), brought their own groceries, and kept to themselves during the trip. One participant had a detailed discussion with a friend before taking an overnight trip 2 hr away. They were originally going to take two cars, but after talking about the number of people they had been in contact with, they decided to go in the same vehicle and keep the windows rolled down and kept away from one another in the house where they stayed. One participant had driven to a neighboring state to visit family but had to leave earlier than planned because of wildfires.

Two participants had gone on long-haul, cross-country flights during the study. One had gone for work and the other had flown home from school and then flown back to school. Both had worn masks, but one participant was more nervous about it than the other and noted he wore a KN95 mask and goggles. In the third round, a participant mentioned she had booked air travel to visit family later

in the fall, but noted, “I don’t feel very confident about it” (US West Coast, August 5, 2020).

Tourism Destinations

In the first round, one participant in a location where the access bridges were closed for 2 months (so only locals could surf during that time) remarked on the feeling among surfers in the water: “Everyone was really friendly because basically everyone here was a local” (US East Coast, June 2, 2020). In three places where tourists could still go to surf, participants had noticed an uptick in localism (surfer territoriality) and a more aggressive vibe in the water on the part of some local surfers. Some surfers seemed to be upset that people from other cities or states had come there to surf and felt they were putting the local community at risk by possibly spreading COVID-19. Others seemed to be frustrated that people from other cities were crowding the surf breaks. According to one Southern California participant: “The stories I’m hearing, it’s just getting kind of hostile and angry, because it’s just been really flooded with people . . . because that’s one of the only open areas” (US West Coast, April 27, 2020). However, by the next check-in, participants said this tension had gone away. Another participant remarked on the high level of crowding at surf breaks in her area, which she attributed to everyone being laid off from their tourism jobs and being able to surf whenever they wanted. However, she had not seen the increase in aggression towards outsiders noted by other participants.

In destinations where visitation had dropped dramatically due to travel restrictions, several participants said it was nice to get a break from the tourists (on land and in the ocean), and one remarked that the destination looked like it had 15 years ago. However, they also recognized the negative aspects of the lack of tourists: “But you walk through Waikiki now and it’s like half the businesses are boarded up and it’s really quiet and it’s really nice. It’s not good for our economy” (Hawai’i, June 8, 2020). In South America, a participant described how one surf community had gone back to fishing to make it through the pandemic (economically), but another nearby community had relied on surfing for so long they did not have a back-up means of income and were really suffering.

By the second and third round of communications, participants in Latin American countries noted that domestic and regional tourism was increasing. Several participants in tourism destinations said that the loss of income from tourism was putting pressure on officials to allow access to those areas. One country was debating about whether to open: “They are thinking whether they can start opening up businesses and hotels . . . in July just to get a little bit of money because a lot of businesses here are on the brink of ruin because they live from tourism” (Wales, June 12, 2020). Another country was allowing travel within territories to try to encourage people to spend money.

One participant noted that COVID cases had increased substantially since tourists had been allowed back into the area; it had become a popular place to vacation during the pandemic and rentals were booked up for the rest of the season. A participant whose family owned a vacation home in this same destination (but did not live there) had traveled there to get the house ready, because it was booked by tourists every week of the summer. Another participant said she felt at increased risk of getting COVID-19 because her community was getting so many visitors from other places. She and her neighbors had started trying to take up parking spaces with their cars to keep tourists away. In contrast, one participant who lived in a mass tourism destination on the East Coast of the US said that he was proud of the balanced way the city and state governor had handled opening back up to tourists.

Island destinations only accessible by plane had attempted to put in place strict quarantine restrictions to protect local communities when tourists did arrive. A participant noted that these measures had protected the community from high COVID case numbers. However, she also mentioned that locals who returned home were not observing the same quarantine rules as tourists.

Discussion

This sample of surfers’ travel and tourism destination experiences reflected other tourists and residents’ experiences during the pandemic. Canceled travel was a common occurrence for many across the world in the first few months (Couto et

al., 2020; Neuburger & Egger, 2021; Terziyska & Dogramadjieva, 2021). As evidenced by participants' observations and other studies, this led to a desire for more domestic travel closer to home (Couto et al., 2020; Terziyska & Dogramadjieva, 2021; Zenker & Kock, 2020). Much like residents in the Azores, many participants lived in places where they could do nature-based activities (such as surfing) without having to travel very far (Couto et al., 2020). However, similar to other urban residents whose distance traveled for outdoor recreation had been significantly reduced in the first phase of the pandemic, the lockdown kept one participant from traveling to surf within her state (Rice et al., 2020).

Except for one, most participants exercised precautions to protect themselves and others from COVID-19 when, and if, they traveled. Mach's (2021) study participants noted similar respectful behaviors by tourists visiting Panama. These findings also provide support for Bae and Chang's (2021) research, which found the higher people's cognitive and affective risk perception of COVID-19, the greater their intentions were to engage in "untact tourism" (tourism that minimizes face-to-face contact with others). The one participant's concern with spreading COVID-19 to an indigenous community was also reflected in Mach's findings, where a resident was concerned surfers might spread COVID to the indigenous population.

The findings also highlight the dependence of coastal communities on tourism (Klein & Osleeb, 2010). Much like residents in other tourism destinations, participants acknowledged the negative effect of the lack of tourists on the local economy (Kamata, 2022; Mach, 2021). However, their relief at getting a break from tourists was also expressed by residents in another study (Mach, 2021). Participants' concerns about increasing COVID cases once tourists did return was also reflected in other studies of local residents (Joo et al., 2021; Kamata, 2022). The participant and her neighbors who moved their cars to discourage tourist parking, and the surfers who were aggressive towards outsiders, demonstrate evidence of Zenker and Kock's (2020) prediction that residents would become less welcoming of tourists due to the pandemic.

While localism (local surfer territoriality over surf breaks sometimes resulting in aggressive actions) is an acknowledged phenomenon in surf

culture (Beaumont & Brown, 2016; Kaffine, 2009; Scott, 2003; Usher & Gómez, 2016), the pandemic seemed to temporarily increase this phenomenon in some destinations. Research has shown that a number of factors can influence the level of localism at a surf break, including the type of surf break, the level of crowding, the gender of surfers, the local culture and history, tourism development, and urbanization (Kaffine, 2009; Towner & Lemarié, 2020; Waitt & Warren, 2008; Walker, 2011). Crowding did appear to be one of the reasons for local surfers' frustrations in California, because some localities had prohibited surfing, therefore the beaches that did allow it saw increased surfers.

Another element of localism is the expected demonstration of respect towards local surfers in the line-up (Daskalos, 2007; Usher & Gómez, 2016). In the context of the pandemic, respect took on a different meaning, as travel could spread the disease further. This was reflected in some surfers' unwelcoming attitudes towards visiting surfers. Tourists were not necessarily threatening locals' wave counts but could be threatening the health of their communities, especially in rural areas with fewer health resources. In contrast, one participant's praise for the local government's approach to reopening the destination provided support for Woosnam et al.'s (2022) findings, which showed that trust in government was a significant predictor of the positive impacts of tourism and protourism behavior during the pandemic.

Conclusion

Surfers' travel and tourism destination experiences demonstrated the high level of travel disruptions, the additional considerations and steps needed when traveling, and the changes to tourism destinations as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. While many of the findings confirm research done with tourists and residents throughout the pandemic, this qualitative study has provided a more in-depth understanding of their experiences. Much like Aballe et al.'s (2021) study of tourist cab drivers in the Philippines, a phenomenological approach allowed a deeper examination into participants' decision-making processes, feelings, and experiences during the pandemic. Participants were able to explain their conflicted feelings about


enjoying a lack of tourists, while recognizing that it was not good for their community. Findings such as these were difficult to discern in survey studies during the pandemic. The study also documents the changes that occurred over the course of the pandemic because there were multiple data collection points. Travel plans were canceled but participants adapted by making different plans and traveling cautiously as time went on. The atmosphere at surf breaks changed throughout the study. This highlights the importance of conducting longitudinal research during pandemics and other disasters. This study adds to the growing body of literature on travel and tourism during the COVID-19 pandemic to help us understand what different people have experienced over the past 2 years.

There were limitations to this study. Many of the organizations contacted to participate in the study did not respond, and this may have been due to members having to cope with the consequences of the pandemic, which included isolation, unemployment, and/or illness. Following participants over a longer period could have provided more insight into attitudinal shifts towards travel and tourism over the course of the pandemic. This study also does not represent all surfers but does provide a snapshot of a diverse sample of surfers' experiences. More attempts could have been made to reach out to local surfers in the Global South, where many surf destinations are located. Most of the participants from Global South countries were foreigners who lived in those places.

This study has implications for tourism managers. Many travel companies have already relaxed their cancellation and change policies due to the major travel disruptions during the pandemic. This is something that should be continued as severe weather events, pandemics, and other disasters will only increase in the coming years. The observations made in tourism destinations should be insightful for managers as well. Destinations should consider ways of diversifying their local economies so that they are not as reliant on tourism income. Residents also need breaks from tourists to continue to be supportive of a tourism-based economy, and public officials should recognize this. While many destinations attempt to increase the number of tourists in the off-season, they should consider the effects this will have on residents. Implementing

tourist "sacrifice" zones (places where tourists are expected) and other ways to separate tourists from the local community may allow for more breathing room between the two populations (Mach, 2021). This may decrease the likelihood of overtourism, a problem witnessed in many destinations around the world prepandemic, especially in surf destinations (Ponting & O'Brien, 2015; Towner, 2016).

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