A Just Futures Framework: Insurgent Roller-Skating in Portland, Oregon

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A Just Futures Framework: Insurgent Roller-Skating in Portland, Oregon

by

Célia Camile Beauchamp

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Urban Studies

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Portland State University
2023
Abstract

Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, insurgent roller-skating has ‘re-emerged’ as a popular use of urban space. Drawing on spatial justice theories, futures literature, and queer spatial theory, this study theorizes a four-part just futures framework to analyze the nuance and tension within the roller-skating scene in Portland, Oregon. The just futures framework: 1) creates a space for expanding planning practice to reflect overlooked and suppressed perspectives on urban space; 2) explores insurgent urbanism’s contradiction between the reification of hegemonic systems and its counter-hegemonic and subversive qualities; and 3) assesses the spatial and planning implications of insurgent roller-skating. The four parts of the just futures framework are: historical awareness, pluriversality, future of the present, and participatory futures.

Using digital media content analysis, semi-structured interviews, on-site skate along interviews, and participant observation, this study focuses on three different insurgent roller-skating groups in Portland, Oregon. Spatial and urban planning implications from this study range from recovering and reconnecting historical narratives around roller-skating to a need for more flexible, multi-purpose skating infrastructure. Conclusions confirm that queer space-making, an embrace of all mobilities, ages, and abilities, and alternative futurities exist within the contemporary insurgent roller-skating scene. Yet, results indicate the inter-organizational challenges of balancing growth with inclusivity, fewer events in less central neighborhoods, and a lack of racial diversity within the dominant insurgent skating scenes.
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Introduction

Insurgent urbanism has a salient history in Portland, OR and most recently, like many other U.S. metropolitan areas, roller-skating has “re-emerged” as a popular mode of insurgency and activity since the COVID-19 pandemic. More recent scholarship (Douglas, 2015; Hou, 2022; Finn, 2014; Summers, 2020) has articulated the distinction and nuance between state-sanctioned insurgent activities that have been co-opted to fit neoliberal economic/development agendas (that reflect dominant spatial imaginaries) versus grassroots activities that remain community-led and funded (and reflect non-dominant spatial imaginaries). This tension and nuance within insurgent urban spaces deserves a closer look, especially as cities become increasingly inequitable despite the rise of public participation in planning processes.

Insurgent urbanism is an expression of resident values-in-action, a nod to futural imaginings, or as Finn (2014) describes “a soft rebellion against a planning status quo that is perceived to lack creativity, flexibility, imagination, and efficacy” (p 391). Yet, apart from a few recent scholars (Douglas, 2014, 2018; Summers, 2020, 2022) who have looked at insurgency with legitimacy, race, power, and privilege in mind, insurgent urbanism has yet to be evaluated through the lens of spatial justice and futurity, or queer spatial theory. Queer and feminist theory is under-represented in urban studies and insurgent urbanism yet has clear connections to scholarship on roller-skating, spatial

1 The Covid-19 pandemic was a global health crisis of coronavirus disease (COVID-19), which is an acute respiratory syndrome. The pandemic which officially began at the end of March 2020, caused global shut-downs across federal, municipal, county, and state organizations. During this time, several “lock-downs” were issued by health officials where residents were encouraged to stay at home and limit public activities.
imaginary, embodiment, and futurity. Queer and feminist scholarship on futurity, space, and spatial justice are foundational to our understanding of equitable space making.

This study contributes to insurgent urbanism scholarship by developing a just futures theoretical and analytical framework to evaluate insurgent occupations of space – specifically the roller-skating scene in Portland, OR. The just futures theoretical and evaluative framework has four thematic sections: historical awareness, pluriversality, future of the present, and participatory futures. These four themes inform the ontological, theoretical, and methodological approach to this study. I apply the just futures framework to the research design, interpretation, and evaluation of roller-skating as a site of insurgent urbanism and its potential for two opposite and divergent futures: 1) hegemonic reification or 2) a pluriversal site of futurity that aligns with principles, methods, and ideas found in just futures literature.

The “just futures” theoretical framework informs the methodological approach of the study and allows me to answer the leading questions of investigation:

1) How can collective knowledge from insurgent roller-skating spaces in Portland lead to more equitable urban futures?

2. What are the nuances and tensions within insurgent roller-skating spaces; do they reify hegemonic spatial imaginaries or are they sites of queer pluriversality and capitalist temporal subversion?

3. What are the spatial and planning implications that arise out of assessing insurgent skating through a just futures framework?

This study aims to elucidate the care, consideration, and questions around legitimacy, privilege, and power within sites of insurgency that we must consider before
making decisions about how to incorporate or eliminate, ban or welcome, co-opt or adopt, these occupations of space into our cities. This study’s framework goals are to: 1) privilege non-white and queer theorizations of space, and explore the nuance and tension that exist within seemingly “positive” or “neutral” insurgent urbanism activities; 2) provide a counter-hegemonic framework for thinking about the production of urban space – one that steps outside typically legitimized and normative ways of understanding and evaluating urban space; and 3) move beyond the common heuristics and form-based approach that insurgent urbanism scholarship (Hou 2010, 2022; Fainstein 2016; Iveson 2013; Finn 2014) typically uses to describe insurgent uses of space.

I employ digital media content analysis, in-depth interviews, skate-along event interviews, and participant observation to investigate the roller-skating scene in Portland – and its potential to create just urban futures. I use data from three different skating groups in Portland, Oregon: Queer Skate PDX, Secret Roller Disco, and Queer Hockey PDX. The study includes content analysis, event organizer interviews, Secret Roller Disco event participant interviews, and Secret Roller Disco participant and event observation.

Portland, Oregon was chosen as the city of study primarily because of convenience – I live in Portland, can attend, and observe roller-skating events. I also chose Portland because of two additional dichotomous reasons. Firstly, Portland is widely known for insurgent urbanism initiatives, ranging from community-led and community-built skateparks (Vivoni, 2009; Finn, 2014; World Nake Bike Ride. (n.d); The City Repair Project (n.d.)). The Burnside Bridgehead skate park is Portland’s most famous example of insurgent urbanism that has been documented within skateboarding and
insurgent urbanism scholarship (Vivoni, 2009; Finn, 2014; Bryant et al. 2018). Although this study is not about skateboarding per se, there is a salient connection between the contemporary insurgent roller-skating scene and Portland’s history of insurgent urbanism.

The second reason Portland, OR was chosen as the city of study is because it embodies the paradoxes and tensions of green gentrification or what Mahmoudi et al. (2020) term “Portland’s sustainability fix” (Mahmoudi et al., 2020) – two concepts that have been tied to skating sports and infrastructure. O’Connor et al (2022) frame skateboarding in the material and symbolic space of urban “grayness” and conceptualize what it means to occupy “grayness” - a paradox between that which is leftover/unwanted and an active space of polluted leisure and neoliberal agenda. Although skateboarding has dominantly thought of as a sport of “activation” and redemption of gray spaces (parking lots, vacant corporate downtowns), O’Connor et al allude to the same paradox that insurgent urbanism authors have recently critiqued:

“However, the fact that skateparks are concrete constructions points to the fact that these green spaces are in fact grey spaces, somewhere between a space of contamination and its prevention. Even when used for greening brownfields, skateboarding remains grey, making any greening credentials – both materially and symbolically – questionable” (O’Connor, 2022, p. 7)

Skateboarders (and roller-skaters) are both producers of and conduits for capitalist neoliberal agendas while simultaneously seen as a population worth excluding and pushing “to the wastelands.” This paradox shows up in work on environmental racism (Pulido, 2000) and green gentrification (Corbin, 2019). What is considered “renewal” and “development” and “meeting housing needs” is disguised and disproportionately exposes people of color to environmental hazards. These fields of scholarship are note-worthy
because of their connection and overlap with insurgent urbanism – public concerts, impromptu concerts, skaters on brownfield sites, “habitat restoration or” “sanctuaries” that are marketed as green space/recreation areas on superfund sites – all spaces and typologies that have precedence in cities, and notably in Portland.

Using a just futures framework, my study aims to move beyond description of roller-skating as an insurgent activity, and critically evaluate its potential to reify hegemonic spatial imaginaries and placemaking aesthetics, as well as its potential to create pluriversality, futurity, and queer space-making. This study contributes to existing insurgent urbanism scholarship, furthers scholarship on roller-skating in the context of urban studies, and weaves non-Eurocentric and queer spatial theory into considerations about and interpretations of urban space.

The result creates collective urban knowledge about Portland that expands our institutionalized and limited spatial planning practices, challenges our reductionist and binary thinking about urban space, and elucidates the nuance, grayness, and complexity of insurgent spaces and their simultaneous relationship to community-building and neoliberal co-opting, queering urban space, as well as the challenges of inclusivity. By understanding these complexities within the insurgent roller-skating scene in Portland, municipal leaders can better respond to, adopt, and question motivations to legitimize and popularize certain forms of insurgent urbanism vs. others - and intimately understand who benefits from certain placemaking efforts and who is excluded and what histories are erased.
1 - Historical Background / Study Context

Historical Context of Roller Skating in the United States

This introduction to United States roller-skating history grounds this study in national historical, cultural, and recent urban planning contexts. Roller-skating’s national historical implications, racialized roller-skating cultures, and potential future adaptations in municipal economic agendas grounds the basis for understanding the tensions within Portland’s contemporary roller-skating scene and reveals why a new futures-focused theoretical and analytical framework is needed to evaluate these popularized occupations of urban space.

Roller-skating, like many things in United States history, has a history of being white-washed and co-opted by whiteness. Thus, a brief (and by no means comprehensive) review of roller-skating history in the United States is warranted to contextualize this study in the national urban imaginary. As early as the late 19th century, roller rinks provided (white) Americans with recreation opportunities. This “Golden Age” of roller skating came to abrupt end during World War 1 (Kreiser, 2006). After World War 2 ended, The Roller-Skating Rink Operators Association was founded in 1937 to re-initiate the activity, albeit with racist and sexist implications – dress codes, etiquette for men and women, and discrimination against African Americans in the form of segregated rink nights or outright exclusion (Kreiser, 2006; Jenkins 2020; Joho 2020).

While many official historical records of early roller-skating arenas make no mention of the racism and segregation that occurred within white skating arenas, recent journalism, social media influencers, and documentaries have celebrated and called
attention to roller-skating and roller-disco’s foundational roots in the African American community (Kelly, 2022; United Skates (2019); Roller-skating to Freedom: History Behind Black Roller-Skating Culture, 2021).

During the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s-1960s, Black roller-skating rinks became popular. Although segregation became officially illegal in 1964, it continued in the form of segregated rink nights, racial violence, and discrimination against Black culture, music, and style within white roller rinks. Because of this hostility within roller rinks during the 1960s, Black Americans found skating freedom and expression within streets of their cities (Marenca, 2021). Rosalia Marenca (2021) describes Central Park, New York, Los Angeles, Venice Beach as “places of refuge from discrimination in indoor skating rinks.” From the 1950s-60s civil rights era of roller-skating as a “culturally significant activity for Black people” to the “Roller Disco era between the 1970s and 1980s, the activity saw multiple booms in popularity throughout the decades” (Jenkins, 2022). Since the civil rights era, roller-skating has since been an integral part of African American communities as a form of collectivity, joy, freedom of expression, combining music, movement, culture, and community (Jenkins, 2022; Demopoulos, 2020).

Because roller-skating has always been an important part of African American culture, the popular media narrative of its “re-emergence” in the last five years is fraught with whitewashing. In tandem with the COVID-19 pandemic and Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement ², roller-skating has “re-emerged” and found a presence on social

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² “Black Lives Matter (BLM) is an international activist movement, originating in the African-American community, that campaigns against violence and systemic racism toward black people. BLM regularly
media like TikTok\textsuperscript{3} around cities in the United States (and globally) as a popular form of sport, recreation, and joy (Terry, 2020; Krueger, 2021; Jenkins, 2022; Conlon 2021). This dominant narrative of “re-emergence” is often critiqued by Black skaters as being demeaning and reductionist, contributing to an erasure of “Black skater excellence” (Joho, 2020). Media headlines of roller-skating “trends” and “resurgence” ignores the rich and ongoing history of roller-skating within Black communities that has continually existed since the 1960s. Furthermore, the rise of roller skating on social media advances white skater agendas and is co-opted by dominant spatial imaginaries and “white girl aesthetics”\textsuperscript{4}, co-opting moves, music, and expressions from Black culture.

One of the reasons for the roller-skating’s resurgence during the COVID-19 pandemic, specifically in 2020 and 2021, is the ability to social distance while roller skating making it a popular activity during lockdowns and extreme social distancing recommendations were in place. Despite the watered-down white-washing that TikTok and other social media algorithms reduce skating culture to, amidst the Black Lives Matter movement during the COVID-19 pandemic, many BIPOC TikTok skaters have used their platform to spread awareness about roller-skating roots in African American culture (Toni Bravo, Faeiryne, Kelsey Guy; Aaliyah Warren; Courney Shove (among

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\footnotesize{protests police killings of black people and broader issues of racial profiling, police brutality, and racial inequality in the United States criminal justice system. In 2013, the movement began with the use of the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter on social media, after the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the shooting death of African-American teen Trayvon Martin” (https://www.loc.gov/item/160016241/)

\textsuperscript{3} TikTok is a social media platform centering short form video, popular in the United States with Gen Z.

\textsuperscript{4} “White girl aesthetics” is a term to describe the phenomenon of young white women adopting roller skating moves, music, and cultural references from Black skating communities – and then re-contextualizing these references for a white audience as a form of cultural appropriation. This article references the specifics of this phenomenon and its intersection with social media: https://mashable.com/article/roller-skating-tik-tok-revival-racism}
many others). These skaters create videos of themselves roller skating while emphasizing the importance of roller-skating history, connection, and momentum within Black communities and causes.

In this 2020 Mashable article entitled *The Whitewashing of roller Skating’s Online Revival*, Jess Joho quotes Ahmad Dunson speaking to this tension: “Saying that roller skating only just came back is demeaning when there’s so much history, when it’s meant so much to so many people for such a long time” (Joho, 2020). This sense of whitewashing is exasperated by social media algorithms that perpetuate whiteness and homogeneity. Joho summarizes this reification of racism within the skating community:

“The segregation of Black and white roller-skating communities is alive and well in every corner of its digital revival. Hiding behind the cutesy bubblegum veneer of the whitewashed TikTok trend is an ugly systemic reality: Popular white and white-passing skate influencers attract newcomers (often also white themselves). Those influencers then teach newcomers the styles of skating they learned from almost exclusively white communities” (Joho, 2020).

Other notable reasons for roller skating’s national resurgence have to do with its embrace of different identities, creating a space of belonging and self-expression – within communities of color and beyond. Reggie “Premier” Brown, a 36 year old Black skater is featured in a nationally-popular article on roller-skating by Ariana Demopoulos (2021) entitled *The Rich History of Black Roller Skating Rinks – and Their Civil Rights Legacy*. In this article, Reggie speaks to roller skating’s cooptation but also credits the African-American community for keeping skating alive and opening it up to others who want to participate:

“Roller skating is for everyone’s enjoyment...one of the biggest things you can do is learn the history. I’ve seen articles that have
said roller skating was irrelevant since the ’70s. OK, so what have I been doing for the last 20 years? No, it hasn’t been irrelevant. Roller skating has continued to survive because of the African-American community and our ability to open up the culture to others who want to learn it.” (Demopoulos, 2020).

Based on the number of skates sold, its soaring popularity on social media sites, roller-skating has entered the hegemonic national mainstream in recent years (Jenkins, 2020). This tension on a national scale is an important driver of this study’s aim to understand the nuance and tension within Portland’s insurgent sites of roller-skating and their spatial implications for urban planning.

**Roller-skating In the United States in 2023**

Many cities across the U.S. have noticed roller-skating’s popularity, its “family-friendly” qualities, and thus capitalized on its inherent “placemaking” qualities and its potential to contribute to post-COVID economic recovery initiatives. Most notably, the City and County of San Francisco in partnership with the Civic Center Community Benefit District transformed part of Fulton Plaza (next to the Main Library) into a covered roller rink space. The 5,000 SF roller rink, entitled San FranDISCO, requires ticketed admission, offers lessons, and is open for private parties (Bay City News, 2022; San FranDISCO, (n.d.)). The rink is a three-month pilot program that was created as a strategy to “bring families, workers, residents, and visitors here...is the goal of the events and activities the City is hosting as part of our economic recovery” (Bay City news; 2022). Chicago’s Madison Street corridor roller rink is a part of the mayor’s new Neighborhood Activation Initiation (Sabino, 2021). Similar efforts have taken place from Bridgeport, Connecticut’s Skateport placemaking program to Durham Parks and
Recreation’s renovation of an abandoned roller rink as a new park recovery project. Other roller-skating initiatives are documented in Rochester, MN, Philadelphia, PN, Rochester, MN, Santa Cruz, CA, Oakland, CA, and Brooklyn, NY. (Altenberg, 2022; Chreighton, 2022; What’s New In 2022 for Roller Disco? (n.d.)).

Municipal inclusion and expansion of roller-skating infrastructure as an economic agenda strategy elucidates the tension within insurgent urbanism. Possible growth trajectories range from a small, informal, and grassroots operation to a larger city-sanctioned and controlled event with infrastructure at which point it is no longer an insurgent activity. Understanding roller-skating’s adjacency to municipal economic agendas, its transition from insurgent urbanism to state-sponsored events and agendas – and the grey area in between - foregrounds the nuance and tension within this study’s location in Portland, Oregon.

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5 This study considers insurgent roller-skating as a community or resident-led initiative, where full creative control and decision making are in the hands of the community actors. Although some of the insurgent groups in this study may be outgrowing their insurgent qualities – due to having recently become non-profits and interacting with transportation and permitting authorities - they remain insurgent during the time of this study because they decide who, what, when and how the events take place. The shift from insurgency to a formalized event is when most of the decision making, control, and power shifts to people outside of the insurgent group - funders, municipal organizations or authorities.
2 – Literature Review

This literature review covers seven main terms/concepts that are foundational to the study of insurgent roller skating: roller-skating as a site of urban studies research; space, place, and race; public, semi-public, and private spaces; insurgent urbanism; placemaking, participation, and the production of space; counter-hegemonic; and spatial justice theories.

**Roller skating As a Site of Urban Studies Research**

Roller-skating seen through the context of roller derby scholarship has been theorized as an arena of heterogeneity that centers feminist and queer identities, where intersectionality is embraced, and financial and physical barriers to enter are low (Klein 2016; Epstein 2009; Jenkins, 2022; Terry 2020). Understanding this connection grounds this study in existing scholarship and it also prompts the consideration of roller-skating as a point of urban and spatial inquiry.

Feminist scholar Ula Klein (2016) and Jewish and Mexican American scholar Lee Ann Epstein (2009) discuss the disruption of gender identity and societal expectation within roller derby. Epstein’s (2009) work provides a deeply personal perspective on the roller derby scene which helped disentangle her “deeply internally colonized outlook on how I should carry myself.” The roller derby scholarship that does exist (Becker, 2018; Thompson 2022; Stuble and Petrie 2016; Chananie-Hill et al. 2012, Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2013) focuses on intersections between gender maneuvering (Finley, 2010; Thompson, 2022), bodily disruption (Becker 2018; Strubel and Petrie, 2016), gendered play of affect in sports (Pavlidis and Fullagar, 2012), as well as performativity within
sport (Epstein, 2009). Rebecca Sheehan and Jacqueline Vadjunec (2014) explore the spatial implications of roller derby and suggest that roller derby’s qualities “contribute to a change in cultural norms – that of greater recognition of diverse genders and sexualities in this region. Such validation increases the social stability of individuals who do not neatly reside within heteronormativity” (p. 537).

**Space, Race, and Place**

Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre’s, W.E.B. DuBois’ and George Lipsitz’s work demonstrates the nuance of race and power dynamics as key considerations in the production of space and prompts the consideration of privilege, identity, race, and power when understanding insurgent urbanism and its benefits/consequences.

Foucault’s (1986) heterotopia and his associated language to describe “placeless places,” and Henri Lefebvre’s theorization of “rights to the city” is foundational to understanding the tensions and opposing forces within the production and experience of space and place. Henri Lefebvre’s (1991) *Production of Space* introduces robust concepts of space – rhythms of movement, production of space, and capitalist space and labor that are foundational to my understanding of insurgent occupations of space and where they are situated within capitalist systems.

W.E.B. DuBois is another canonical contributor to the intersection of space, race, and place. DuBois’ (1996) *The Philadelphia Negro* preceded many canonical works are still privileged within the academy (Loughran, 2015). Specifically related to the tension of the production *race* and space is DuBois’ (1973) concept of the “double consciousness.”
George Lipsitz’s (2007) work articulates the “fatal links” between race, place, and power that the built environment (architects, landscape architects, planners, real estate) are responsible for creating. Lipsitz contrasts the Black spatial imaginary (use value, public expenditure, and public needs) with the white spatial imaginary (focusing on exclusivity, exchange value, and capitalizing on racism and racist legal structures). Building on Lefebvre, DuBois, Lipsitz - my interpretation of the contemporary roller-skating scene will explore its contribution to the production of space and intersection with spatial imaginaries, race, and place.

Public, Semi-Public, And Private Spaces

Insurgent urbanism (and roller-skating) relies on the occupation of public space; therefore, it is necessary to mention the epistemological history of public space, and its increasing tensions regarding use, access, control, and histories. In the Euro-western city and history of the Global North, public space has been used to both assert democratic values, equality but also to exert political control and display power (Hou, 2010). Today, in an urban planning context, we designate official parks as sites of acceptable “public” recreation, where people can go to “play, recreate, and seek a reprieve from rigid urban structure” (p. no). But scholars like Low et al. (2005) found that parks are restrictive and exclusionary for groups that do not fit into the dominant spatial imaginary (Hou, 2010, p 236). Recent scholarship reveals the growing privatization of public space, public-private development partnership, resulting in privately-owned-public space that is surveilled, policed, and maintained by private interests (Hou, 2010).
A by-product of the privatization of public space is “defensive architecture.” Smith and Walters (2017) theorize that this pattern of privatization “seeks to discipline ‘undesirables’ by designing against alternative uses of the city with the explicit purpose of excluding from public space those who engage in unsanctioned or undesired behaviours” (Smith, 2017, p. 2892). The implication of this explicit exclusion affects “tolerance and diversity in the public sphere and serves to corporealise and cement social fields and existing class structures” (Smith, 2017, p. 2892). Insurgent urbanism often overlaps and defies all three categorical and physical boundaries of public, semi-public, and private. Understanding the messy context of private vs. public space is foundational to studying insurgent roller-skating.

**Insurgent Urbanism**

Insurgent urbanism is the core focus of this study. Many scholars have theorized “insurgent urbanism” and its cousin terms - *DIY urbanism* (Iveson 2013; Finn 2014), *guerilla urbanism* (Hou, 2010), *tactical urbanism* (Douglas, 2015), *invented vs invited spaces of citizenship* (Miraftab, 2004) - and outlined the possibilities for collective participation, citizen-led action, and prefigurative politics within these spaces. Hou (2015) describes insurgent urbanism as “the making of insurgent public space suggests a mode of city making that is different from the institutionalized notion of urbanism and its association with master planning and policy making” (p. 15). Sociologist Peter Arlt (2007) calls insurgent urbanism actors “space pioneers” noting their importance “in the regeneration of urban space alongside government planners and corporate developers” (Finn, 2014, p. 394).
The form-based approach to insurgent urbanism scholarship that are found in well-known insurgent urbanism texts (Mostafavi, 2011) is descriptive, focusing narrowly on case studies and theory, and reveals the need for a futures forward approach to understanding insurgent urbanism that moves beyond description and form – and engages with spatial justice, contradictions of placemaking, inclusivity, and the intersection of space, race, and place. This study aims to move beyond form and explore the tension and greyness that emerges when sites of insurgency transform, expand, transgress, and shift in size, function, scale, and organization and blur institutional categories of space.

**Placemaking, Participation, and The Production of Space**

Placemaking is commonly used as a pathway to public participation, which creates contradiction - where elite stakeholder rhetoric and economic value takes precedence over community value - placefulness becomes placelessness. For example, Davison (2013), through interviews and community participation, theorizes this tension in the Latino Quarter in Oakland, CA as placemaking vs place-claiming (Davison, 2013), while Fincher et al. (2016) explores place-making vs place-masking, and (Lew, 2017) theorizes placemaking vs place-making in tourism planning.

Many scholars have called into question the corporate and privatized/neoliberal agendas that are often tied to placemaking, rendering it a top-down strategy for urban renewal rather than a true bottom-up community building effort (Zukin; 2008; Mahmoudi et al. 2020; Delgado, 2020). Douglas (2018, p. 171) puts forth the idea that DIY urbanism can actually reify uneven development, expressing the worrisome rise of “politicians, developers, and other elite interests attempting to mobilize and exploit grassroots popular
participation like DIY urban design in their favor” (p. 171) as a way to claim credit or capitalize on the “marketability” of the activity. As more cities begin to create programs and ways to “engage” the community through participatory processes, starting with sites of insurgency is a go-to method. Yet, as Douglas (2018) points out,

“When planning professionals and policymakers look favorably on DIY urban design, they tend to embrace those interventions and aesthetics that match mainstream (“creative city”) ideals of vibrancy, sustainability, and economic development. Interventions that signal the priorities of low-income groups, transgressive ideas, or less fashionable aesthetics are less likely to be granted social or normative legitimacy.” (Douglas, 2018, p. 175)

These seemingly neutral acts of urban “improvement” and “engagement” align with Mahmoudi et al.’s (2020) study on Portland, Oregon’s Green Loop, which was driven by elitist interests and inequitable participatory engagement methods. Finn (2014) highlights the paradox of the incompatibility of DIY urbanism and participatory planning processes, one “circumventing” the other. Douglas (2018) explains that certain values are privileged over others citing “the celebration of the practice among urbanists, politicians, and others for the civic participation it supposedly enjoins can in fact reinforce unequal, undemocratic social and spatial conditions” (p. 171).

Many forms and actors of governance embrace dominant expressions of insurgent urbanism, claiming expanded public participation through “placemaking” and other DIY urbanist activities – with no meaningful results or outcome or real “expansion of popular democracy” (Douglas, 2018, p. 171; Lee and McQuarrie, 2015; Baiocchi and Ganuza, 2017). Finn (2014) points out the potential overreach that private actors can have in the muddled waters of insurgent urbanism-meets placemaking-meets public-private
partnership. This overreach “may actually mute the purported communitarian aspects of DIY approaches” (Finn, 2014, p. 391-392).

Insurgent urbanism increasingly results in spaces/activities that become co-opted by neoliberal economic agendas and transformed into policies that reify hegemonic urban placemaking agendas and branded city aesthetics. These multi-faceted dynamics of placemaking foreground the nuances that this study will investigate within insurgent roller-skating spaces.

**Counter-Hegemonic**

Insurgent urbanism is often theorized as counter-hegemonic act of contestation, enabling what participants want to see, experience, or do in their urban environment. In response to increasing urban privatization and exclusion, Faranak Miraftab (2016) theorizes insurgent urbanism’s potential to resist, renew, and expand our urban imaginations around inclusivity and community.

Miraftab (2009) summarizes these three principles, states that insurgent planning is transgressive, counter-hegemonic, imaginative, “destabilizes normalized relations of dominance,” and “recovers idealism for a just society” (p. 46). Since public space is no longer guaranteed, and maybe it never was for certain non-dominant groups (Mitchell, 2003), Jeffrey Hou (2010) and other insurgent urbanism scholars (Douglas 2014, 2018; Miraftab, 2016) propose that insurgent urbanism is a way to focus “on the new possibilities of public space and public realm in support of a more diverse, just, and democratic society” (Hou, 2010, p 12).
Related to the idea of insurgent urbanism as an act of prefigurative politics or counter-hegemonic - is Smith’s (2017) theorization of desire lines – an architectural term to describe the inscribed non-sanctioned pathways that people create when walking from building to building. Informed by DeLeuze and Guattari’s (2004) “theory of desire” as a productive force” and DeCerteau’s (1984) concept of “walking the city”, Smith’s concept of desire lines are ways in which people overcome and reimagine these hostile, neoliberal urban spaces.

Smith describes these desire lines as tiny contestations of space or “small rebellions” that create “persistent disruptions” that institutions and larger hegemonic power systems must respond to. These theorizations of transgression, counter-hegemony, alternative imaginations, and desire lines scaffold the lines of inquiry that this study explores – does insurgent roller-skating subvert hegemonic structures or reify them?

**Spatial Justice Theories**

Spatial justice theories highlight the contrasts and stark realities of injustices within different forms of insurgent urbanism and highlight the need for a new framework with which to understand the spatial and planning implications of insurgency. Finn (2014) critiques the lack of a unifying approach to studying insurgent urbanism: “What is almost wholly absent is a discussion of how municipalities might balance the positive aspects of DIY urbanism with its potentially deleterious effects” (p. 390). Finn’s (2014) work also focuses on the contradictions of insurgent urbanism, citing Ann Deslandes (2012) article in the Global Urbanist, where she calls attention to the stark contrast between celebrated forms of insurgency and criminalized ones:
“The man who sleeps in the empty building, the women under the bridge and the families out in the park will not have their space-making celebrated for its informality and innovation. The DIY urbanists’ will be” (Deslandes, 2012).

This stark and all-too-familiar paradox calls attention to the need for a new way of evaluating these spaces of insurgency.

Douglas’ more recent work (2018) focuses on the demographic tensions within DIY urbanism, which is to say that “most are white, middle-class men and thus operate from a position of considerable privilege in society, including in public space and in interactions with authority” (p. 97). The connection between risk and gentrification “is not abstract...something as simple as a tree can impact property values...other seemingly neutral features, such as bike lanes, may likewise be tied to economic development and may be viewed in American cities as reflecting white, affluent values” (Douglas, 2018, p 125). Douglas focuses on the racial implications of legally breaking the law when participating in insurgent activities – the privilege DIYers have in terms of risk taking that legally vulnerable groups do not have, and the “unwelcoming receptions and unintended consequences” insurgent urbanism may have in certain communities.

Mary Pattillo’s (2007) work on gentrification in one of Chicago’s predominantly African American neighborhoods focuses on these ideas of legitimacy and spatial justice. Her work examines the policing of innocuous activities within this neighborhood such as an outdoor barbeque in a Right of Way – an act of insurgency according to scholars, but because of the racial discrimination by police, is deemed illegal.

Brandi Summers (2022) work focuses on Black insurgent aesthetics and art as a praxis for understand the implications of increasing gentrification in Oakland, California
during the COVID-19 pandemic. Through this exploration of insurgent art, Summers (2022) argues that there is not a loss of public space but the tense emergence of “two interwoven publics – a sanitized, modern, prosperous, neoliberal city that caters to a privileged class of white residents and tourists, and an oppressed, segregated, decaying city mostly inhabited by poor and working-class Black and Latinx residents and laborers” (p 839). Summers and others’ (Finn, 2014; Douglas 2018; Patillo, 2007) focus on spatial justice theory as a mode of evaluating insurgency – as well as their methods of interviewing, ethnography, and field observation - demonstrates the tensions that spatial justice theory reveal when evaluating complex insurgent uses and expressions of space – and inform and ground the focus of the just futures framework around spatial justice theories.
3 - Just Futures Theoretical Framework

The just futures theoretical framework outlines four themes that inform the methodology, methods, and interview topics for evaluating the insurgent roller-skating scene in Portland, OR; *historical awareness, pluriversality, future of the present, and participatory futures*. This framework privileges under-represented ontological perspectives and worldview in urban studies: non-Eurocentric spatial theory, queer theorizations of time, space and futurity; and an emphasis on the benign, the everyday, “improper” and “low” forms of research (Halberstam, 2011).6 This scholarship is combined to address the current form-based approach to evaluating insurgent urbanism and builds on recent spatial justice scholarship (Douglas, 2018; Summers 2020).

This framework emphasizes the connection of past, present, and futures; framing historical awareness; emphasizing and evaluating pluriversality, agency, and choice; creating a knowledge commons; eliciting visions and futures from community members outside of hegemonic methods of solicitation; being critical of replication and “used futures”; looking back to understand current inequities; and privileging affective and emotional stories. The methods, methodology, and survey instruments reflect these principles, expand upon what is considered “legitimate” urban knowledge and data collection, and consider sites of insurgent urbanism as a geographic site of collective knowledge production.

6 While the methodology and theory of the just futures framework is informed by Indigenous, BIPOC, and “Global South” scholars, this study does not claim to be a decolonizing project because it does not explicitly focus vulnerable or historically oppressed populations.
1. **Historical Awareness and Emotional Data As Practice of Futurity**

The first way of interpreting “just futures” is historical awareness – looking back to look forward. Prioritizing community engagement, oral histories, and interviewing, Edgar Pieterse’s (2022) “eight animating principles” enact a framework for correcting historical injustices and planning for a more just urban planning future in Cape Town, South Africa.

Two principles from Pieterse’s thought experiment that are most applicable to the consideration of insurgent urbanism’s divergent and opposite futurities are: 1) engage the past, present, and future and 2) drawing on emotional and affective curatorial strategies.

Engaging the past present and future involves “framing historical awareness as a precondition for futural imaginings and contemporary positionalities” (Pieterse, 2022, p. 114). Pieterse states that “amidst deep complexity and contingency, there is a need for story building that spans data analytics, narratology, and beautiful representations to induce novel forms of questioning and joint exploration” (p. 114).

Other planning scholars highlight the importance of what Pieterse call historical awareness. Bev Wilson’s (2018) essay explores the racialization of space and the spatialization of race in Warren County, North Carolina, arguing that the complexities of racialization “creates points of interconnection – and future planning efforts that acknowledge its multiple constituencies as well as the deep history that its residents have, are more likely to succeed” (Wilson, 2018, p 264).

Another example of urban studies scholarship that prioritizes the importance historical awareness is Summers’ (2020) counter-gentrification narrative of Oakland, CA. Summers (2020) uses “reclamation aesthetics” to analyze the historic go-go music scene
and the anti-gentrification movement #DontMuteDC. Summers analyzes how Black DC residents are resisting gentrification and reclaiming cultural and physical space through sonic and visual “aesthetic strategies.” Summers’ use of counter-narrative and historical awareness to highlight an anti-gentrification movement illustrates the importance of historical awareness and emotional data as a necessary process that must take place before looking forward.

Finally, Judith Jack Halberstam’s recent talk at Lafayette University supports this concept of historical representation. Halberstam states:

“What happens when we look at the past and we look for one narrative … is that we end up actually kind of telling lies a lot of times about what actually happened and we choose events that have kind of heroic elements to them, and then we sell that narrative to a large audience who otherwise may not care.” (Liu, 2022).

By framing historical awareness as a just future theme, this study ensures that the dominant historical narrative is not misrepresented or ignored, ensuring room for multiple narratives and privileging assembly rather than a dominant fabricated community-centric narrative that may be dominant in mainstream media.

2. Pluriversality

*Pluriversality* is a key component of evaluating how collective urban knowledge from the insurgent roller-skating scene can lead to more equitable and just urban futures in Portland. Ghaziani and Brim’s (2019) recent book *Queer Methods – Four Provocations for an Emerging Field* emphasizes four important queer methodological principles: reject unchanging categories, reject impermeable categories, reject dualisms, and reject interest in group politics, citing studies as evidence of such. The authors state
“all these studies show that queer worldmaking and livability require us to embrace multiplicity and pluralism, not binaries and dualisms (p 12). This category is also about paying attention to what Ghaziani and Brim (2019) call “queer reflexivity” or examining how heteronormativity ‘is enacted and resisted” in different arenas of research.

Recent “just futures” literature calls for pluriversal, inclusive, and expansive practices in urban planning and associated industries, and proposes moving beyond hegemonic spatial imaginaries and privileges. In a (2018) essay entitled Say Its Name – Planning Is the White Spatial Imaginary, McKittrick and Woods As Planning Text, planning scholar Anna Livia Brand calls out the whiteness of the planning industry as a practice in recognizing whiteness as a spatial/racial imaginary “as a mode of delineating and distributing through our (planning) discipline.” Further work on advancing non-white spatial imaginaries is found in Tanya Chung-Tiam-Fook’s essay Sacred Cities Building Seven Generation Cities which theorizes seven foundational keys to unlock urban “imaginaries and possibilities.” Chung-Tiam-Fook calls for decoloniality in industries of urban planning, governance, finance, and regulation. Pluriversality recognizes the diversity in people, origins, ontologies, perspective, change, time, relationships, and all things on Earth.

With an explicit focus on the intersection of race and space, planning scholars like Lisa Bates (2018), Monique Johnson (2018), and Marisa Zapata (2021) focus on an entirely differently way of conceptualizing spatial imaginaries. “Through art practice and spatial intervention” (p. 256) Bates (2018) illustrates the possibilities for a Black spatial imaginary. Johnson’s (2018) work uses auto-ethnography to explore the intersection between critical spatial theory and to encourage “practitioners to understand the living
history and traditions that effect the way Black women interface with the built environment” (p. 260). Johnson’s calls attention to the need for an emphasis on pluriversal spatial experiences, specifically those of Black women.

Planning scholar Marisa Zapata (2021) writes that “putting people from marginalized communities first is how I believe we shift our current futures planning practice to a justice centered one” (p 640). Zapata calls for centering people of color in planning conversations around futurity, plausibility, utopia, and dystopias. “When we talk about abstract systems or the physical infrastructure of cities, we often lose sight of the individuals that live in them... Shifting futures planning work to focus on people of color, in ways that make sense and matter to them, offers a different way to move forward to a just future” (Bates & Zapata, 2021, p. 641).

Pluriversality is about reciprocity and collectivity. It is about placing race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality – among other axes of marginalization - at the forefront of this framework. By understanding the heterogeneity, or in contrast, the homogeneity within the insurgent roller-skating scene, we can begin to investigate and interpret how Portland’s branded imaginary around skating sports reifies hegemonic systems or breaks them down, and challenge normative occupations of urban space.

3. The Future of the Present (Reframing Linear Time)

The “the future of the present” is scaffolded by queer theory and scholarship, spatial justice literature, and rooted in a critique of contemporary Western futurity and prioritizes the investigation of the insurgent roller-skating scene in Portland as site of temporal, futural, and spatial subversion. Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s (Māori, Ngāti Awa, and
Ngāti Porou iwi) outlines Western concepts of time and space as separate, linear, binary, rigid, “making sense of the world as a ‘realm of stasis’” (Smith, 2012, p 60-61). As planning scholar Rachel Weber states, “planning has ignored alternative temporalities that do not view time as inherently forward moving and progressive” (Weber, 2021, p 630). Whether it be a flash mob, a last-minute guerilla gardening initiative, a bike ride that takes up an entire street, insurgent urbanism is often practiced outside the bounds of linear/structured urban time and thus necessitates being evaluated through anti-normative concepts of time and futurity.

In Aarathi Krishnan’s (2022) essay *Unsettling the Coloniality of Foresight*, Krishnan cites Hillary Cottam’s (2021) *The Radical Way*. Cottam argues for a similar call to reframe our concept of the future:

“...deeper change does not start with improvement of what is existing, but rather asks a bigger question of what is needed now to flourish.” To truly flourish, we cannot design futures that merely replicate or reinforce existing and past inequalities; we must address why and how those inequalities exist in the first place.” (“Krishnan”, 2022, p. 96)

Cottam’s concept of “what is needed now to flourish” and Krishnan’s call to fundamentally reframe the epistemology of the future is tied to scholarship that Mvskoke scholar Laura Harjo’s (2019) on Mvskoke futurity. Harjo explains that Mvskoke communities have always created what they need and sustained their knowledge systems despite state/settler oppression stating that “notion of futurity challenges a conventional reckoning of time and the future and pushes us to create right now – in the present moment – that which our ancestors, we, and future relatives desire” (Harjo, 2019, p. 4). Harjo’s work on emergence geographies legitimizes the un-futurity of just futures and
emphasizes what we can learn (specifically within Mvskoke communities) and others who are just getting by and creating thriving spaces “in the meantime.” Lived experiences and everyday experiences are just as important as visionary imaginings. Contrary to the “long-view”, “geographically-fixed” and “not yet” approach that planners currently take, Harjo states that “I am not eschewing a long view of community; I am merely saying that futurity does not have to be limited to a future temporality, in which we must wait to create and get to the place where we want to be” (p. 617).

José Esteban Muñoz (2009, p. 49) questions the binary between future and past and instead presents “the future of the present.” Queer spatial and temporal theories describe queer time as anti-capitalist, anti-future, and outside the bounds of chrononormativity (Halberstam, 2010; Freeman, 2010). Muñoz (2009) theorizes the “time of queerness” which is “stepping out of the linearity of straight time” (p. 25). Munoz argues that “queerness’s ecstatic and horizonal temporality is a path and

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7 I heard this term used by Dr. C.N.E. Corbin in 2021 conversation.
8 Harjo explains the present-ness of Indigenous futurity stating “Mvskoke communities have sustained the spaces to dream, imagine, speculate, and activate the wishes of our ancestors, contemporary kin, and future relatives—all in a present temporality, which is Indigenous futurity (Harjo, 2019, p. 4).
9 Harjo is skeptical of hegemonic scholarship that focuses on Indigenous futurity, which often exclude Indigenous scholars who “remain an outsider-looking-in point of view, narrating Indigenous existence to Indigenous communities” (Harjo, 2021, p. 615). This study does not work within an Indigenous community and this study’s incorporation of time as a point of praxis for just futures is not an attempt to appropriate Indigenous planner’s concept of futurity. Rather, the inclusion of Indigenous scholarship on time highlights the multiplicity and richness of temporal considerations, beliefs, and experiences and credits Indigenous, Black and other non-Eurocentric traditions that have always subverted and transcended Eurocentric invention of linear and bounded time.
10 Inspired by Dana Luciano’s (2007) term chronobiopolitics Elizabeth Freeman (2010) describes chrononormativity as: “...a mode of implantation, a technique by which institutional forces come to seem like somatic facts. Schedules, calendars, time zones, and even wristwatches inculcate what the sociologist Evitar Zerubavel calls “hidden rhythms,” forms of temporal experience that seem natural to those whom they privilege. Manipulations of time convert historically specific regimes of asymmetrical power into seemingly ordinary bodily tempos and routines, which in turn organize the value and meaning of time” (p 3).
movement to a greater openness to the world” (p. 25). Feminist theorist Sara Ahmed (2006) considers time and linearity in exploring the phenomenology of sexual and bodily orientations in hopes of “offering a new way of thinking about the spatiality of sexuality, gender and race” (p. 1-2). By prioritizing the queer and counter-hegemonic concepts of the future (which is the present) we can understand how the roller-skating scene in this study does or does not consider queer and counter-hegemonic concepts of the future – and the resulting spatial and planning implications.\textsuperscript{11}

Does the insurgent roller-skating scene break out of the bounds of chrononormativity and capitalist, straight senses of futurity? Is it an example of enacting “what is needed now to flourish” – a statement of prefigurative politics? Insurgent roller-skating (and insurgent urbanism) operates in a non-linear and unstructured way compared to formal urban settings. This framework theme grounds the study’s investigation of insurgent roller-skating as a site of bodily orientation that step outside gendered, sexualized, and racialized temporal and spatial norms in hopes of understanding alternative ways that residents are experiencing and occupying urban space – and what is important to their experiences and motives for participating.

4. Participatory Futures

Jose Ramos (2019; 2020) has theorized “mutant futures” because of its multiplicity of approaches as well as “participatory futures” as an antidote and counter-

\textsuperscript{11} The concept of “future of the present” does not diminish the fact that insurgent urbanism and roller skating exist within the bounds of capitalism – in fact it relies on capitalist infrastructure to thrive – but how does it carve out a space both outside of and within capitalist and hegemonic urban planning structures and create inclusive outcomes in a way that other spaces/activities/systems do not?
method to existing tokenized processes of engagement. Participatory futures “help people diagnose change and develop collective images of the futures they want” (Ramos et al., 2019, p 7). Participatory futures (Ramos et al., 2019) is a values-in-action based process of visioning, combining digital media, futures literacy, and engaging with people in the ways that are important to them. Appiah (2016) philosophizes that “in some ways perhaps participatory futures exercises can also help fill or replace the gap created by growing secularism – by bringing together a community to achieve a particular goal.”

What Kathy Peach and Laurie Smith found is that all participatory futures methods have in common “is an ambition to mobilise large numbers of people in thinking about the future – rather than just relying on experts. They also “harness the arts and digital technologies to help people diagnose, change, and develop collective images of the futures they want” (Peach and Smith, 2022, p. 193).

Arturo Escobar (2018) argues for design (and participatory process) to become eminently user centered, participatory, collaborative, radically contextual, embracing ambiguity and counters the “inflation of design” in its modern form (p. 37). Furthermore, Escobar posits that ecological sustainability is only possible when cultural sustainability takes place and from this space of cultural sustainability comes the “practice of counter-designing” (Escobar, 2018, p. 51) where people, not metrics or economics drive new futures. Participatory futures, where “everyone comes to be seen as a designer of sorts” is a remedy for shifting where our urban planning knowledge comes from.

In an urban planning context, moving away from this reliance and towards a direction where urban planners and their partnerships (be it public or private) are not the only experts on city futures, strategies, and goals, opens up the possibility that residents
are their own experts and that soliciting city futures visions from spaces outside of traditional participatory planning processes is a pathway toward more just futures. Thus, part of the methodological approach to my interviews will be to solicit feedback on futures visions and solicit perspectives from insurgent skating participants who have likely not been given an opportunity to image their urban future.
4 - Methods

Study Context

There are many insurgent skateboarding, roller-skating, biking, and wheeled-event groups in Portland, Oregon, many of which have grown and transformed since the COVID-19 pandemic. I collected data from three insurgent roller-skating organizers from Secret Roller Disco, Queer Roller Hockey, and Queer Skate PDX. The on-site skate along interviews took place at Secret Roller Disco events only. All three skating groups began as small, informal friend meet ups and have since grown into larger, more formalized events with weekly or semi-regular events.

Secret Roller Disco (SRD) who’s public motto is “Portland’s least secret roller disco – Thursday nights rain or shine” and takes place on public elementary school black tops. SRD events are typically themed, encourage costumes, have lights, music, and are marketed as “all wheels.” Queer Roller Hockey is open to quad and inline roller-skaters to practice/participate in roller hockey and events are typically held in parking garages and other smooth park surfaces, with two weekly events called “MondayFunday” and “TryHardTuesday” (Portland Roller Hockey Facebook page, n.d.). Lastly, QueerSkate PDX meets at skate bowls and skate park infrastructure around the city and is self-marketed as “carving out space lgbt, bipoc and womxn identifying skaters in portland, or” (QueerSkate PDX Instagram, n.d.). Part of QueerSkate PDX’s mission is to provide access to free gear and safety equipment for any participants that come to their events.
Methods

This study consisted of digital media content analysis, interviews, and participant observation as primary sources. The original research proposal specified archival analysis, 3-5 historic semi-structured interviews, 3-5 contemporary insurgent roller-skating organizer interviews, and 30-40 brief, on-site site skate-along interviews. Due to time and access limitations, archival work was replaced with digital media content analysis in the form of text, video, and photographs. Due to limited interview responses from Elders\(^{12}\), only one historic interview was conducted.

Why These Methods?

The selected methods were chosen to align with methods from the empirical scholarship in the literature review and just futures framework: historical awareness and oral histories, content analysis on digital media sites, spatial justice, community perspectives, on-the-ground engagement, and critical evaluation of insurgent urbanism along a multiplicity of axes (Douglas 2018; Summer 2020, 2022; Pattillo, 2007; Mahmoudi et al., 2020; Summers 2020, 2022; Harjo, 2019; Escobar, 2018; Ramos, 2019). I also chose these methods because they advance queer and feminist perspectives on methods that are inclusive, queering, attempt to work within a site of collaboration (rather than from afar).

A few of the specific goals of queer and feminist methods that support my selection for this study are: roller-skating’s overlap with queer culture and theory (and

\(^{12}\) Elders in the context of this thesis are considered people who were born in the 1960s (and earlier), who can speak to roller skating experience from the 1950s-1990s.
therefore methodology), giving voice to affective, emotional, and otherwise “hard to define” data from interviews (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2007) employing “scavenger methods” and historical narrative as a way to uncover forgotten or erased histories (Plummer, 2005, p 367), and “interrogating alternate possibilities for worldmaking and livability” (Ghaziani and Brim, 2019, p. 15).

Interviews

I conducted one (1-hour) semi-structured interview with an Elder who lives in Vancouver who could speak to 1950s-1960s roller-skating. I conducted four (1–2-hour) semi-structured interviews with insurgent roller-skating event organizers. Lastly, I conducted 39 on-site skate-along interviews at four Secret Roller Disco events during the months of April and May 2023. Both semi-structured and skate-along interview questions were derived from the just futures framework themes. Terms and important concepts from each theme were translated into questions and protocol – outlined in Appendix.

13 Many insurgent skating groups, scenes, subcultures, and perspectives exist in Portland and beyond. While this study considers perspectives from the three different insurgent roller-skating event organizers, the on-site skate-along interviews took place at the Secret Roller Disco events only. This choice to focus on site interviews and data collection at a singular event was made due to the lack of infinite time and resources for this study. In order to choose which event I would attend, I looked at consistency and availability of events, which ruled out QueerSkate PDX which hadn’t publicly held an event since October 2022. In terms of deciding between Secret Roller Disco and Queer Roller Hockey, I chose Secret Roller Disco based on its larger size and ease of access, and lower barrier for my personal skating skill level. In addition, Secret Roller Disco has, by all accounts, received the most mainstream media attention since the COVID-19 pandemic and penetrated Portland’s city imaginary in terms of image and popularity. Because of its consistency and sizable crowds, obvious growth, popularity, and expansion over the past three years, I wanted to focus exclusively on this event since it has the most extensive history, frequency of events, and potential points of tension and nuance in terms of the five just futures framework indicators.
The interview transcripts were coded using a priori codes from each just futures framework theme, listed in Table 1, followed by two rounds of inductive or open coding, illustrated in Table 2. Although a pre-determined list of interview questions was created from the just futures framework, if topics emerged in one interview that were interesting and related to the just futures framework, I brought up those topics in subsequent interviews. These topics are also documented in Appendix. A priori codes from the just futures framework themes are listed in Table 1 below, with references to the scholarship and key ideas that these codes are scaffolded on:

Table 1: A Priori Codes and References to Key Terms/Scholarship

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<th>Framework Themes</th>
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<th>Key Literature Terms/Concepts That Codes Are Derived From</th>
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<td><strong>Pluriversality</strong></td>
<td>Collectivity/Community Connections At Events</td>
<td>Ghaziani and Brim’s (2019) “reject unchanging and impermeable categories, dualisms, embrace and inquire about pluralism and, “queer reflexivity”, Anna Livia Brand’s (2018) callout of the “whiteness of the planning industry,” DuBois, Lefebvre, Lipsitz’s work on power, space, and race; Thiam-Fook’s (2022) reciprocity and relationality; Monique Johnson’s (2018) call for planners to understand living histories (p 260); Marisa Zapata’s (2021) emphasis on</td>
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<td>centering people of color in planning; Sara Ahmed’s (2006) work on bodies and orientation in space; Escobar’s (2018) call to move away from objectivist and dualist stances (p. 5).</td>
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<td>Embedded Values</td>
<td>José Ramos’ (2019) “mutant futures” and “values in action” participatory futures, Appiah’s (2016) “bringing community together to achieve a particular goal,” Peach and Smith’s (2022) meta-analysis of participatory methods, Escobar’s (2018), concepts of “counter-designing” and “everyone as designer.”</td>
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Basic Digital Media Content Analysis

For digital content analysis, I used a meta-synthesis approach (thematic content analysis) starting with a priori codes from the historical awareness framework theme, listed in Table 1. After analyzing and coding text, video, and photograph using a priori codes, I conducted two rounds of open coding analysis to develop further inductive codes, listed in Table 2. Dominant and re-occurring codes were grouped into emergent categories, and these categories created larger themes that are presented in the historical awareness section of the analysis.

The content parameters for the text/video/photo analysis consisted of three types of content: (1) articles on roller-skating histories, (2) photographs of historic roller-skating venues or sites, (3) video interviews on roller skating histories or styles, and associated article/video commentary. Parameters for including text/photograph/video in the analysis: if the text, photograph or video subject matter was related to Portland area roller-skating history, skating styles, or rink history, it was included for analysis.

Source parameters for these types of content included three major sources: (1) popular digital news media sites in the Portland metro area (Oregon Public Broadcasting, OregonLive, KGW, KATU, KOIN, Willamette Week, Portland Mercury, (2) blogs that cover historic roller-skating and roller rinks (Oregon History Project, PDX History, History Cooperative, Stumptown Blogger, among others), and (3) a visual Google search for Oaks park archival photos. I found the articles, videos, blogs, and associated commentary by searching for key terms like “history of roller skating in Portland, Oregon” and “roller rink closures in Portland, Oregon” and used a snowball method to find additional sites that contained information on historical roller-skating culture and
venues. I consolidated all source photographs, text, and videos that related to Portland’s roller-skating or roller-rink history and coded the document using a priori codes from Table 1 and descriptive and holistic codes from Table 2.

**Coding**

Once the interviews and participant/event observation were complete and interviews were audio recorded, the recordings were transcribed a mixture of digital transcription software called writeout.ai and hand transcription based on the quality of the digital transcription. Unclear transcription sections were referenced back to the original audio file and edited for clarity and accuracy.

I coded interviews in Atlas.ti. The interview transcript coding process began with a round of coding using a priori codes, listed in Table 1. Inductive second and third round codes are listed in Table 2. The second cycle coding process focused on holistic codes to capture overall contents and categories. A third round of descriptive coding was completed to capture summary concepts and remaining values-based and in-vivo codes. Codes that were tied to specific demographic information (like zip code, race, gender identities, self-identified sexuality) were enumerated for final analysis, and all other codes were grouped into variables and major themes. Final themes that emerged from the coding process were then assigned back into one of the four just futures framework categories for analysis. Three coding sessions are documented in the following Table 2:
### Table 2: A Priori Codes & Inductive Codes

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<tr>
<th>Just Futures Framework Themes</th>
<th>A Priori Codes</th>
<th>Inductive Codes – First Cycle Holistic Codes</th>
<th>Inductive Codes – Second Cycle Descriptive, Values and In-Vivo Codes</th>
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<td>Racialized Skating Styles</td>
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<td>Skating Styles</td>
<td>Tensions within Skating Styles</td>
<td>White vs. Black Skating Spaces</td>
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<td>Race and Racial Tensions</td>
<td>Portland vs. Other Cities</td>
<td>Punk/Gritty Portland Skate Scene</td>
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<td>Uncovered Histories</td>
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<td>Steel Bridge Skate Park</td>
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<td>Past Vs. Present</td>
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<td>Welcomed Insurgency</td>
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<td>Lack of Connection between insurgency and larger skating groups</td>
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<th><strong>Future of the Present</strong></th>
<th><strong>Temporal Perceptions</strong></th>
<th><strong>Roles and Responsibilities of Organizer</strong></th>
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<td>Differences Btwn. Skate Parks vs. Roller Skating Spaces</td>
<td>Anti-purpose anti-productive roller skates</td>
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**Participant and Event Observation**

During break moments or after the event, I documented field notes on paper and with voice memos to capture participant and event observations. Voice memos included estimations on quantity of people, the atmosphere of the event, time, location, music, types of people, any obvious demographic observations. Photos and videos (without identifying facial features and at a distance to avoid identification of participants) were taken of relevant data.

**Interview Process**

For historic respondent outreach, I started with Multnomah County, Washington County, Clackamas County and Clark County historical societies/library staff and inquired about Elders or “old-timer” volunteers that would be interested in participating in an interview. I outreached through a local community engagement firm that has worked on the Albina and North Portland library bond project outreach for the firm Lever Architecture. I also outreached to Oaks Park staff who sent my interview request to their skating club members and “old-timers.” Through these three avenues of soliciting historic interview requests, only one volunteer surfaced. This respondent, who’s pseudonym is Mark, identifies as African American, is 71 years old, and was raised and still lives in the Vancouver area.
**Organizer Semi-Structured Interviews**

I used a network sampling technique for in-depth organizer interviews, starting with social media and media sites around insurgent roller-skating, reaching out to organizers, and then requesting recommendations for additional participants.

All respondents are introduced here with a pseudonym. The first organizer, who’s pseudonym is *Summer*, was first to respond to my social media request for an interview. Summer was an integral part of the evolution of Secret Roller Disco up until last year (2022). The second organizer respondent, who’s pseudonym is *Maria*, identifies as female and white. Maria is an original organizer and continues to lead the Secret Roller Disco organization and event planning. The third organizer respondent, who’s pseudonym is *Chris*, identifies as white and non-binary. Chris is the self-described “benevolent leader” of Queer Roller Hockey, another twice weekly insurgent outdoor roller-skating gathering that focuses on sport hockey. Lastly, the fourth organizer respondent, who’s pseudonym is *Cara*, identifies as queer and a person of color. Cara is one of the founders and main organizers of Queer Skate PDX.

While some of these insurgent activities have recently grown organizationally and legally into non-profits, the core components of insurgency remain – temporal, geographical, dissemination of information, purpose, and independent from any municipal structuring- and are therefore considered as insurgent roller-skating events for the purposes of this study.
Secret Roller Disco Event Skate-Along Interviews

The events occurred from 7-9 pm. I arrived around 7:30 pm and stayed until the end. I interviewed approximately 6-12 individuals or pairs of people per event. I skated at each event, and either interviewed people while we were skating, or I requested interviews from people who were resting along the sides of the skating area next to me.

My list of questions – outlined in the Event Skate Along Interviews - were derived from the just futures framework topics and themes. Depending on the length of the respondent’s answers, responsiveness, engagement, and perceived comfort level, I asked all questions or just a few. In many of the skate-along interviews, the answers would go off topic and I included follow up questions that were not on the original questionnaire list.

On-Site Event Description

The first event location was The Redd event parking lot in industrial Southeast Portland. The Redd is an event space and “working hub for the regional food economy” (The Redd On Salmon Street – Home). Since Secret Roller Disco has been recently registered as a non-profit, their organization received a small grant from Ecotrust and Portland Events and Film to host their weekly events at the Redd East parking lot. The Redd event took place on April 27th, the warmest day of Spring. The event was sunny and warm until the late evening. There was no public theme for this event, and the DJ Varietas played up-beat dance/club music ranging from the 1960s to contemporary.

The second Secret Roller Disco Event took place at Shaver Elementary School in the NE Portland neighborhood of Parkrose. The weather was stormy, wet, slightly
slippery conditions. The event took place on the elementary school basketball courts, and the theme for this event was “business casual.” DJ Dr. Marvs Attacks was playing house music.

The third event took place at the Oregon Convention Center Plaza on NE Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd in NE Portland - an undeveloped concrete plaza that was originally designed to host car shows, opening right receptions, booths, and tents. This event was on a hot day, so the event was warm with and light until the end, featured DJ Whatcha Doogin? who played a mix of house, techno, and pop.

Lastly, the fourth event took place at McDaniel High School parking lot near the front entry, along NE 82nd Ave in the Roseway neighborhood of Portland. This event had warm weather, had the most attendants out of all the events, and featured DJ SlimKid3 who played early 2000s hip hop, pop, R&B, and rock-pop. More detailed event and participant observations are included in the results sections and identified as such.

**Positionality**

As a white, cis, queer but straight-passing, woman-identifying researcher, I benefit from many of the structural and systemic advantages of heteronormativity. I am reflexive about why I am doing this research, how my positionality affects my interactions with collaborators and colleagues, and how I can continuously address my identity within my research and the institution (Milner and Howard, 2013; Milner 2007).

I privilege queer and feminist methods in my research to reflect my belief that “normalcy” is complacent with power and privilege – and through my research I seek to
change the “normative heterosexual social and institutional order by which I benefit” (Allen, 2010).

On my relationship to roller skating: I roller-skated when I was a child, actively roller-skated in my 20s, and have attended SRD events as a Portland resident since 2022. Although my roller-skating hobby inspired this study, I do not purport to be from within these skating communities – I do not participate regularly, nor do I help volunteer or organize. I am very much on the public-facing side of participation, which creates an outsider view of my interpretation of these spaces.

Imperative to my process is my continual exploration of the delicate balance between embracing decolonizing and counter-hegemonic methodologies purposefully while avoiding jumping onto the “decolonial bandwagon” (Moosavi, 2020). To avoid the “decolonial bandwagon”, I draw inspiration from Alcoff’s commentary on the politics of speech in *The Problem With Speaking For Others* (1991): I attempt to investigate my intentions, examine my white privilege, “interrogate the bearing of my location” (p 25), expressly communicate the impact of my positionality through my work, and remain open to hearing and understanding criticism.

To meet these ethical and accountability throughout the research process I focus on non-hegemonic perspectives, theory, and methods in my process, I have given organizer and historic interview respondents the opportunity to review the final draft of this study, and names/identities remained anonymous, and I attempted to participate and be in the research with collaborators during on-site skating interviews (without blurring or disguising my researcher identity). I subscribe to a trauma-informed, conscientious approach to talking about identity, race, sexuality, gender, class, and privilege.
Throughout the research process, I remained reflexive about how my positionality, identity, and presence affected the collaborators, outcomes, and process and adjusted accordingly to not disrupt people’s experience or comfort-level during events.

**Research Statement & Questions**

The primary goals of this study are to connect non-Eurocentric and queer spatial theory to urban studies literature and methodology, develop collective urban knowledge from “benign” spaces that are not typically considered legitimate data sources, investigate the tensions and nuances with insurgent roller-skating spaces, and understand how sites of insurgency can lead to more equitable urban futures. The study addresses the following questions of investigation:

1. *How can collective knowledge from the insurgent roller-skating scene in Portland lead to more equitable urban futures?*

2. *What are the nuances and tensions within insurgent roller-skating spaces; do they reify hegemonic spatial imaginaries or are they sites of queer pluriversality and capitalist temporal subversion?*

3. *What are the spatial and planning implications that arise out of assessing insurgent skating through a just futures framework?*

The just futures framework and research questions focuses on who these insurgent spaces benefit, whose spatial imaginary takes precedence, who is included, who is left out, the ways in which futurity is expressed and perceived, and most importantly - the spatial planning and practice implications that can be gleaned from these lines of investigation.
5 – Findings & Analysis

Portland, Oregon’s Secret Roller Disco (SRD) evolved in 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic as a place for the original organizers to hang out in a socially distanced and safe way. The original organizers are long-time figures in the local roller derby scene and began meeting up with their fellow retired roller derby friends once per week in a casual and non-organized way (Gormley, 2021). Over the course of the next two years, this casual and informal meet up grew into an official event called Secret Roller Disco where the event organizers wait until day or so before the event to share the location – often on Instagram (Secret Roller Disco, n.d.). Maria, who identifies as a white woman, and presents as straight and cis-gendered, has lived in Portland for over 20 years and was an original member of the first roller derby team in Portland in the early 2000s. She is one of the original organizers of Secret Roller Disco and continues to lead SRD events. Summer, who identifies as a straight, white woman grew up in SE Portland. She was also a founding organizer of Secret Roller Disco but is no longer involved at the time of this study.

Occasional past Secret Roller Disco events have been held indoors at an empty/abandoned shopping mall called the Lloyd Center in the anchor tenant department store space. More recent Secret Roller Disco events have a DJ, skate rentals, party lights, and festive attire. Since 2020, the events have grown in size (about 200 at the largest events), organization, location heterogeneity, and required funding. Secret Roller Disco is now a non-profit and accepts donations and grant money – which places it on the threshold of insurgent urbanism and evolution towards an occupation of space that is more formal.
Additionally, Queer Roller Hockey is led by one of the organizer interview respondents, Chris. Chris identifies as a white, non-binary skater and is involved in other insurgent urbanism activities around Portland, including work with Better Block PDX. Chris is from the Pacific Northwest and has also lived in Portland for more than a decade. Queer Roller Hockey is a smaller event that meets twice weekly at Alberta Park during dry weather, and on occasion in the Lloyd Center parking garages. Participants wear in-line skates and quad skates. Like ice hockey, players use hockey sticks, a puck, and goals.

Lastly, Queer Skate PDX is the third insurgent skating group that this study focuses on. Queer Skate PDX is now a non-profit that carves out space for BIPOC, queer, and women skaters, and breaks down barriers to entry for people who may not otherwise have access to skating sports. Their meetings are not regular (since 2022) but they host events and gatherings sporadically across the city. Cara, who identifies as a queer person of color, is from Southern California and moved to Portland to attend Portland State University. Cara is one of the founding organizers of Queer Skate PDX and continues to organize events while balancing their graduate studies. They are also a fellow in a skating fellowship program that supports “BIPOC skate advocates to learn how to build skate spaces” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023 April 27).

**Historical Awareness**

As praxis towards drawing out “the edge conditions” and “framing historical awareness as a precondition for futural imaginings and contemporary positionalities,” (Pieterse, 2022), investigating Portland’s roller-skating history was a key component of this study. The themes that evolved out of historic interviews and digital media analysis
uncover the disconnects between counter-hegemonic histories of roller-skating and the dominant mainstream historic narrative. Gaps emerged in the dominant skating imaginary that centered around roller derby starting in the early 2000s and the historical narrative prior to the 1990s that centered around roller rinks and roller skating’s connection to African American history. Mark, the one historic interview respondent, identifies as an African American man, is 71 years old. Mark grew up in Vancouver, Washington where he continues to live today.

Portland Roller Rinks and The Tensions Within – 1930s on

In both on-site, in-depth interviews as well as archival roller-skating research, roller rinks are the central grounding theme in roller skating history in Oregon: openings, closures, community centrality, and nostalgic flare. The Multnomah County roller rink historical narrative is dominated by Oaks Park, which has earned a national reputation as the “oldest continuously operated amusement park in the United States” Oaks Park has an impressive history since its opening in 1905 with various “fluctuations in activity, offerings, and natural disasters affecting the site” (Oaks Amusement Park, History Cooperative). In a visual and text analysis of marketing, media, and photographs from Oak’s Park in the 1930s to 1960s found on historic blogs and roller-skating history sties, there are no people of color shown in marketing imagery, and photographs are largely dominated by white clientele. This observation is in line with national historic accounts of roller rinks, where African Americans experience exclusion, systemic, organizational, and cultural racism.
While Oaks Parks today is an excellent resource for the Multnomah County skating community and has a notoriously great skating surface that is well maintained, there are many other rinks that have contributed to the roller rink history in the Multnomah County region. Mark remembers his local roller rink in Vancouver:

“Vancouver roller skating, back in the 60s, there were, in Vancouver, just off of 4th Plain Boulevard where there's, the location is now a little small housing pod, so to speak...Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah. It used to be Slocum's skating rink. Basically, almost every Saturday, you know, growing up as a little kid, you know, it's a treat and it was recreation to be able to go, excuse me, to Slocum's and skate.” (Mark, Historic Skating Interview, 2023, April 8)

Mark recalled the transition of this roller rink from Slocum’s to a new owner who named the rink Golden Skate – these new rink owners kept skate rentals and themed nights going and added dances on the weekends. Mark, although very young during the Civil Rights Era, did recall racial tensions in the 1960s and at the Slocum’s roller rink in Vancouver. Reflecting on what it was like to be Black in Southwest Washington, Mark stated,

“...Being a little kid, I feel as I look back on growing up in Vancouver, there wasn't that many Black families there. And any one given Saturday evening for roller skating, it was, or even during the afternoon on Saturdays, there might be a representative of black families, maybe five tops, five or six” (Mark, Historic Skating Interview, 2023, April 8)

Mark remembered these incidents but did not recall whether they were directed at him specifically. The respondent heard the “aftermath of fights that had occurred” but couldn’t attribute the cause of these incidents as “a race thing” (Mark, Historic Interview, 2023, April 8).
Among many other rinks in the region, Gresham Roller Rink was the last rink to close in 2020, leaving Oaks Park as the only remaining rink within 150 miles of Portland metro area. Gresham Skate World was home to a group of jam skaters, who have since found a home at Oaks Park (Portland’s Jam Skaters Dance On Wheels, video comments, 2020). One jam skater from Gresham Skate World commented on his jam skating partner, who has since passed, writing “him and i came from Gresham Skate World. He worked there until it closed. Him and i were quite close so i skated there almost 7 days a week so i knew all the other employees and what not” (Portland’s Jam Skaters Dance On Wheels, video comments, 2020). Gresham Skate World, according to comments found in the digital media analysis of this research, was integral to many jam skaters in the Portland-metro area.

Critical to understanding Portland’ roller-skating history are the many styles and skating techniques, and associated groups. Cross Culture Rhythm Rollers is a jam skating (also referred to as rexing or soul skating, although there are nuances even between these terms) group in Portland Oregon started by Rodney “Doc” Titus – an African American skater (Portland’s Jam Skaters Dance on Wheels, 2020). One of the members of this group comments on the fact that “everybody thinks its like roller disco with disco balls and bell bottom jeans. They have no conception of what it really is” (Portland’s Jam Skaters Dance on Wheels, 2020). Rexing is done to the beat of the music and as Ezell Watson, an African American skater in Portland describes “there’s no handbook” (Portland’s Jam Skaters Dance on Wheels, 2020). Ezell notes that are “definitely more Black skaters in other cities” and that “some of the hurdles that I have faced have definitely been because of race” (Portland’s Jam Skaters Dance on Wheels, 2020).
Since Oaks Park is now the only roller rink in the Portland metro area, it is now the only rink site where jam skaters, who need an extremely smooth skating surface, can come to practice. Although jam skaters are welcome to skate at Oaks Park, and all wheels are welcome, in an online video comment, another Portland jam skater comments on the tensions with jam skaters in formal rink settings at Oaks Park, explaining that their movements – including “hip hop and break dancing and jumping” are not always welcome.

“There are issues with the rink staff's treatment of jam skaters. The staff doesn't really like anyone who came from skate world or other rinks in general, especially anyone who focuses on types of dance skating primarily jam skating. Now if you’re not a jam skater or not from skate world, they shouldn't bother you. Just beware that the staff may or may not treat you well if you come from a different rink also they can and will change rules randomly. Otherwise it's a pretty good rink...In just one session I was told I can't jump at all...Then I was told I can't have my feet over my head regardless of why. Then no going low to the ground” (Portland’s Jam Skaters Dance on Wheels, Jam Skating 901 comments, 2020).

This skater is explaining the way that jam skaters move, their wheels and impact of skating surfaces – and how their styles are not always permitted within the rules of a rink like Oaks Park. This tension between styles, wheel types, and bans on certain forms of movement is discussed widely in the recently popularized documentary United Skates, which outlines the association between racism, skating styles, equipment, and cultural exclusion. Cara, the Queer Skate PDX organizer, commented on this dynamic, both at large, and within the Portland skating history:

“...And so like the issue with like, that's like just one form of like racism in roller skating, especially in Portland is like if you go to roller skate rinks, it's basically just a way to get jam skaters to not use proper wheels. And their way of kind of justifying it is they
say that it damages the floor, when it's not actually the case. And then like another really common thing is like if you see “urban” night, or like R&B night, soul night, like those are all directly correlated to the fact that that night, they’ll have like music that is predominantly listened to by Black and Brown communities, like things like that. And so you see that in so many spaces within the US” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023 April 27)

Furthermore, Cara talks about the specific equipment, wheels, and surfaces as it relates to the tension and exclusion of skating styles and Black and Brown bodies in rink history. Cara describes the fact that there are “a lot less spaces available for jam skaters” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview #3, 2023 April 27).

To understand contemporary insurgent skating scenes, it is imperative to look back and understand what came before the skate parks and parking garage roller-skating that we see today. Understanding the multiplicity of styles, cultures, movements, music, and more broadly, acknowledging roller-skating’s influence and origins in the African American community is crucial in developing a full and robust collective understanding of how roller-skating can contribute to a more just urban future.

*Portland’s More Recent Skating Imaginary – 1990s on.*

Among organizer and on-site interviews, there was consistent reference to the heterogeneity of skating sports and styles that informed Portland’s skating history and community imaginary, but only dating back to the 1990s. There was a disconnect between any historical skating knowledge prior to the advent of the creation of the Burnside Bridgehead. Portland’s skating scene is described by Summer, who grew up in Portland, as Portland’s skating imaginary is very visceral but is disassociated with roller skating and rink history and more reflective of skateboarding history. Summer states, “I
mean, Portland really started with Burnside, the Burnside skate park, which has been really the first of its kind.” (Summer, SRD Interview #1, 2023 April 14). The Burnside Bridge skate park seems to the origin of Portland’s urban skating aesthetic image, followed by roller derby in the early 2000s.

Many of the insurgent skating scenes are interlinked through Portland’s derby history, overlapping groups, and interests but are different in terms of what and who they prioritize and what their community vision is. Queer Skate PDX and Queer Roller Hockey prioritize queer and non-binary community while Secret Roller Disco has a broader community base, branded aesthetic, and artist vision. Summer and Maria were original founders of the first Portland roller derby league in the early 2000s. One of the original founders explains that:

“Roller derby is, it's the largest league in the world in Portland, numbers wise, and also the best. When I went to Chicago, it was the only thing in Chicago that was smaller. Like, I was like, your league isn't as advanced. Like they weren't, didn't have as much structure” (Organizer #1 Interview).

Maria reminisces on her roller derby beginnings, and the emergence of quad skating onto the skating scene and Portland skating history:

“So when I started Roller Derby, it was like 2005 and we were looking for ways to like train to be a better roller skater. Cause a lot of us hadn't roller skated since like the eighties. And we had just done one of the first bouts, like the first bout, and we were all like roller skating down the street, like to work out and it was like nice out. And like one of my captains was like very vain. She was like, I wonder if anybody would like recognize us from the bout last night. And somebody slowed down a car like just right then. She was like, see? And they just yelled, are those roller skates? Like you have to remember that like Rollerblade took over the nineties and like quads really were like super corny. And really when I started coming back in, like around Roller Derby, like
people hadn't seen quads. There weren't a lot of quads to buy”
( Organizer #2 Interview, Date)

The importance of roller derby as a salient component of the Portland skating imaginary is relevant because Secret Roller Disco initially begin during the COVID-19 pandemic with a small group of old roller derby friends.

Additionally, Chris, the Queer Roller Hockey organizer, coached in derby leagues in the mid 2000s and in reflecting on the different skating styles and communities that make up Portland’s skating imaginary. Chris commented on the link between roller derby and their current skating scene stating that “our roller hockey crew started out as roller derby folks” (Chris, Queer Roller Hockey Interview, 2023 April 20). Finally, Cara stated that they are currently dating someone in the roller derby league who encouraged them to revisit the sport. In sum, roller derby is a salient and connected part of the roller-skating imaginary in Portland and is the origin of many current skating scenes and insurgent groups.

Portland’s cross-pollination of heterogeneity of roller derby, quad skating, roller hockey, and inline skating is both what makes Portland’s skating imaginary and also a source of tension. Cara, who is much younger than the other three organizers, commented on the tension between older skaters and newer skaters and the complexity of different scenes, styles, and associations:

“And then there, within the community I have noticed this where there is a general divide between the newer roller skaters and the older roller skaters, and the people, I have noticed that there are some people who get really really upset that they get associated with roller derby. Just because they're on quad skates, because they're just like not every quad skater park skater is a roller derby player, but they don't they fail to like acknowledge the fact that in Portland we do have one of the largest, like the largest league in
the world...so like there's that general divide, which is surprising you don't see it a lot more until you like really are like in those spaces, and like even just social media has kind of led to this huge divide” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023 April 27).

In a similar vein, Chris, who coached roller derby talks about the tensions that arose out of the growth and changes in roller derby over time, explaining that,

“...maybe like 2006 roller derby started coming around. And I got recruited by the Bellingham Rollerbetty's to be one of the main coaches of the Rollerbetty's. And that was a great experience. It was wonderful to be a part of that kind of larger family. That organization and all the roller derby organizations I've been in have had both elements of like insurgency and then also co-opted as they kind of became more formalized and had all sorts of interpersonal, both joys and conflicts that arose from that” (Organizer #4 Interview, Date)

And lastly, Maria described their perception of the shift in roller derby over time:

“...it was kind of like what is it third wave feminism where it was like we're hot we're gonna kick each other's ass. And then after a while sort of the quirkiness is now out of it. Now it's just like straight sports. It's totally and I'm like, that's fine. Or just sort of is more mainstream. I think it's more mainstream. I go to the bouts I'm like it kind of feels more like men's sports to me and I haven't been in a while but it just feels more rigid, more structured.

While Portland’s skating imaginary is complex, integrated, and interrelated across decades and groups, there is a clear narrative from this roller-skating community about Portland’s skating culture, starting in the 1990s.

Historical awareness data reveals that insurgent roller skating is interconnected with roller rink history, racial and cultural historical tensions – and the Portland skating imaginary is interwoven with roller derby. Yet, Portland’s more recent skating imaginary and older roller rink history are disjointed and lack overlap and commonality.
This disassociation is a key point for planners and producers of urban space to consider when creating future skating infrastructure. Bridging the gap between older and newer histories and creating a cohesive and inclusive timeline and acknowledging and restoring past and present groups and sub-groups must be a priority for just urban futures and just skating cultures beyond 2023. Understanding that jam skaters can’t necessarily participate in “insurgent skating” because the outdoor surfaces that these skating spaces are held are not conducive to jam/dance skates’ wheels and materials – is crucial to Portland’s historical awareness around roller-skating.

Pluriversality

Pluriversality is about understanding how insurgent roller-skating privileges the collective over the individual, who the events attract and welcome across lines of gender, sexuality, race, access, and age. An overall view of the results indicates that Secret Roller Disco prioritizes the collective over the individual and is inclusive along lines of gender and sexual orientation, mobility and disability, family-friendliness, and access. In terms of racial diversity, SRD reflects Portland’s larger demographic makeup and is dominated by white-presenting participants – something the organizers outwardly discussed and acknowledged.

Participant and zip code data suggests that SRD events cater towards more centralized residents, and there were no events in East or West Portland. In terms of organizational challenges of inclusivity, the organizers reflected on many tensions with keeping events consistent and accessible while also managing safety, crowds, site
selection considerations and more. Figure 1 displays an overall view of the demographic results from 38 respondents in total:

![Figure 1: Demographic Visualization: Secret Roller Disco (SRD) On Site Data](image)

**Organizer Positionality & Power**

In line with Douglas’ (2018) analysis of insurgent urbanists’ identities, three of the four organizers self-identify as white and more privileged - and thus able to create “flashier, more noticeable acts of insurgency.” Every organizer interview respondent acknowledged their positionality in terms of race (three organizers are white and one identifies as a person of color), access to time, resources, and skills that are required to run an insurgent group – from writing and marketing to mediation skills at events.

These advantages are effectively described by Chris who admitted the privilege and power of organizing as a white and well-educated person: “we’re all white professionals likely coming from positions of privilege and know how to navigate PBOT
Chris’ comment alludes to the knowledge and relationships that are required in navigating municipal bureaucracy. Three of the four organizers have jobs and access to financial resources outside of their roller skating organizing. Cara, who is a student, noted the difficulty in aligning time, resources, and schedules. Insurgent urbanism organizers, by default, become a type of community leader, especially as their events grow and enter the mainstream. By understanding leadership positionality and what communities they represent and are supporting, this can lead to a greater emphasis on establishing equitable outcomes and formalized support for insurgent events, from a planner perspective.

One of the tensions with insurgent urbanism organizing as Chris put it “is the balance between singular visions and democratization of the event” and the role of “inclusivity and social media” (Chris, Queer Roller Hockey Interview, 2023 April 20). This respondent posed the question “how do you democratize those (organizing roles) when it’s something that someone’s just passionately came up with?” (Chris, Queer Roller Hockey Interview, 2023 April 20). Pluriversality and legitimacy of insurgent urbanism originates from organizer privilege and power - the fact that organizers are considering their positionality and how it affects the events indicates a certain social and moral compass that these organizers have. While inter-organizational and inter-personal tension surfaced in the interviews, positionality was central to their own understanding of the legitimacy of their events.

Considerations in event location also emerged as a point of organizer tension. Summer explained “you need to find a place where you’re not displacing other people. And in order to do that, it has to not be perfect.” This organizer commented on the
consideration that was used in choosing a location that would not affect other youth activities, school organizations, or other informal groups. The organizer explained the sensitivity in choosing sites that have long-term patterns of use, like the basketball courts at Alberta and Peninsula Park. “We can’t just roll up and displace people that have been there for a decade or longer” (Summer, SRD Interview #1, 2023 April 14). Both SRD organizers commented on the socio-cultural and political considerations they must have when selecting themes or music for the events. Summer explained the tensions and social responsibility with theme selection:

“Then, once I was, like, you know, could we have, like, a Ukraine night? And (name redacted) was like, ‘no, because then people are going to be mad at – like, someone's going to have to have a problem with it.’ So then we did start having some themes, but you can't – you know, you've got to be careful with those, too. And, like, you can't do Hawaiian theme, so like, maybe tropical. You know, how do you make this, like, thought through? And so there was an amount of thought that went into how we presented things” (Summer, SRD Interview #1, 2023 April 14).

Race, equity, cultural/racial sensitivity, and racism were key topics for organizers, while only a few skaters commented on these topics. Two of the organizers discussed the different perceptions and experiences of risk that come with roller-skating in public spaces, commenting on their socio-political responsibilities as insurgent roller-skating organizers.

For the student organizer, diversity, equity, and activism are central to their mission for Queer Skate PDX affirming that they “would never choose money over people” and emphasized the importance of “who is leading the organization” as a critical point to consider in the legitimacy of an insurgent skating scene. This organizer talked
about the responsibility that leaders have in these spaces to explicitly protect Black and Brown bodies stating:

“...I think whoever is leading those spaces just need to understand that like black and brown folk are getting a little bit more protection and a little bit more and protection in the sense of you need to stand up for them and use your voice as a white person in those scenarios to explain like if you were the leader and you were white of this organization and you put black and brown people at risk, you need to make sure that you are like taking that into consideration when you are having your event” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023 April 27).

For people who do not have citizenship or people who are not white or white-passing, there are extra risks associated with participation. In reflecting on the role of organizer privilege associated with race and positionality, Maria recounted a Secret Roller Disco incident with a “racist janitor” and one of their consistent participants who is Black:

“...we are running and this is something i thought about especially when that janitor came for (name redacted) i was like we're like we're running an illegal event sometimes like yes we can't just be like hey all you Black people come out and maybe have a run-in with the cops like how's that for fun like.. there's a huge I have a huge like I'm just like there's a lot of I'm a middle-aged white lady i can just like be around and like the police come and I'm like what are we doing” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023, April 26).

Maria also recounted an incident where “…there was someone who was reinforcing a system of white supremacy and I was just like, she was yelling at them, and I was like, my friend, you are white, you are yelling at my friend who is 100% Filipino, his parents are Filipino, you gotta go” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023, April 26). The balance of inclusivity and safety, and ensuring the event is safe for all bodies is a theme that emerged across organizers. This Secret Roller Disco organizer also comments on the complexity of racial and gender diversity in terms of event production and music, citing
the – volunteers who DJ are not paid which limits the pool of people who are interested in participating.

“yes um but I have thought a lot about uh inclusivity especially in terms of like the musical selection because I do feel like the crowd oaks is definitely like more like bipoc centered than ours is I feel like we get a whiter crowd although I think we get like a gayer crowd uh and this is I don't have any numbers on these things yeah just by hypothesis but um...it's like I like edm and house music and so a lot of the djs that come and play for us are like edm and house which like you know oaks park generally has more like r&b hip-hop uh yeah djs. But we have some of their djs come you know but we definitely don't have enough women djs...I want to invite more uh djs of color and who are women, but those people who know their value and they're like ‘I can't do that for free’ and I'm like ‘fair I don't want to ask you to work for free’ but I don't have any money um yeah so I'm like if you want to do it for free I am still here” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023, April 26).

This tension between money, access, funding, and music is a moment of tension that the Secret Roller Disco events stuck in – and drove the motivation to expand into a non-profit and secure more funding.

As Maria references, having more funding to pay women DJs and BIPOC DJs might inspire a more racially diverse crowd through their music selection and expand the social network of these events. But growing into a larger non-profit and associated hegemonic structures and policies would have other unwanted effects. This tension - between growth, inclusivity, expanding the events to be more inclusive while maintaining the grassroots growth/vision for the event - is integral to an outside understanding of these events and their ability to disrupt hegemonic systems or reify them.

While pluriversality as an indicator for just futures does not center the organizer role, it is central to understanding the privilege, and power that these events operate from,
the nuance and tensions within, and how that impacts the perceived vs. experienced inclusivity of these events. Without understanding who the organizers are, what their motivations are, and what their definition and perception of inclusion is, larger institutions should not legitimize and promote them. In the case of the four organizers, all of them displayed social, racial, and political awareness, which contributes to their legitimacy and growth as widely accepted community-based organizers.

Access – Mobility, Disability, Failure-Friendly, Location and Dissemination of Information

At Secret Roller Disco events, disability and mobility emerged as central themes of access and I observed the following forms of mobility across the four events: wheelchairs, quad skates, roller skates, skateboards, mobility walker, child scooters, baby strollers, shoes with wheeled attachments, and an occasional bicycle. Maria recounted one semi-regular participant who “who has some sort of connective condition and jams around on a Segway” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023 April 26). Figure 2 shows the multiple modalities that I observed at SRD events. The Secret Roller Disco event is publicly marketed as “all wheels” and more than half the events have a skate rental truck parked on site where participants can rent skates for $10 dollars, where someone will help fit and get participants rolling on skates. Nearly all respondents commented on the
all-skill level aspect of Secret Roller Disco as a reason for their coming to the event. For some, SRD is a venue for practicing and gaining for skills.

Figure 2: Photographs: Multiple Modalities/mobilities Observed at SRD Events
When comparing insurgent roller skating vs. skating in a formal, ticketed venue, there are benefits in terms of expanded social norms and social inclusion, as well as cost, and skill level. One SRD skater summarized this inclusivity describing “it’s not gated off or anything, people can just come, there’s no entrance fee, there’s skate rentals, everyone of different abilities can come and are welcome” (Respondent #2 & #3, McDaniel High School, 2023 May 18). Many other respondents echoed this sentiment that “anyone can attend SRD you don’t even have to have wheels,” and “it’s free and anyone can go.” Summer commented that Secret Roller Disco, in comparison to skating at Oaks Park, “...I will say that the secret roller disco really was the freaks, geeks, and other sort of – people could find their place there. And so maybe some people that don't feel comfortable – I had to show my ID going into Oaks Park. You pay money. There's some differences. There are rules there. And I think that there are some people that have been kind of, for better or worse, pushed to the outskirts of society.....But I think she found a place where she felt accepted. And so there might be a lower barrier to societal norms in that (SRD) space. And that's something that we try to foster, but then also could sometimes bring concerns...like is it bad to have a drunk, bloody person rolling around?” (Summer, SRD Interview #1, 2023 April 14)

While expanded social norms and no structural, social, or political barriers to entry create a welcoming environment, there still end up being individual “bad actors” who “ruin the vibe for everyone” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023 April 26). Balancing that tension of growth with inclusivity, unrestricted access vs. management of unwanted behavior is something that insurgent organizers must assume as a part of their responsibility, which has both advantages and disadvantages. Organized insurgent roller-skating events can also create a safer space for people to skate in, as evidenced by Queer Skate PDX’s mission. Cara explained the balance of creating inclusive events while also ensuring the
physical safety of participants: “people are going to these unsafe spaces to skate because there are no spaces available...skaters are skating in the street” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023 April 27).

Additionally, respondents across all four SRD events noted the low barrier to entry for all of skill levels. One respondent who had come with their boyfriend and had been attending for a couple of years shared “it’s not just inclusive in terms of gender and orientation but also in terms of mobility – you don’t have to have any experience, you can come try it or rent skates, you can just sit and drink beer if you want” (Respondent #6, McDaniel High School Interview, 2023, May 18). Many respondents identified as beginner skaters and felt compelled to come and try it out, starting with skate rentals the first few times, and then buying their own skates once they committed to the activity.

One respondent reflected on their first time attending saying “they immediately felt at ease” while another mom of three stated that when they were first learning “it was really hard technical wise but everyone’s super open you know, you just go up to someone who’s good at skating and you go ‘I’m a beginner’ and they’re with you helping you skate along giving you advice” (Respondent #3, Shaver Elementary, 2023, May 4). This same respondent commented on the juxtaposition between their experience at SRD vs. other sports noting how inclusive the event is to people just learning, where is no sense of shame or “shunning” or “turning down their nose at you” for not having skills.

Additionally, many parents noted the all-wheels and beginner friendliness of the event as a key reason for their participation. A mom of three commented on all-wheels element as important to her family noting “it’s all wheels – you can come out in whatever form you want – wheelchair, you could be in a walker, on a scooter, on a bike, roller
skates, it's awesome” (Respondent #4, McDaniel High School Interview, 2023, May 18).

This intersection of social inclusion and all-abilities and mobilities is summarized by one respondent:

“I feel like it's probably the most inclusive event in town, truthfully. All ages. Because it really is all ages. Everybody's welcome. All skills are welcome. Everybody's so friendly. And the answer to everything here is yes... You know, the answer is just yes. You want to try something? Get over here. We'll practice together. I'll show you and then you can do it yourself. It's a great way for people to meet other people. And meet people who are... You can't be too weird to be here, you know what I mean? So you can meet your own peeps here. You know what I mean? You're going to find your accepting, caring, fun people here (Respondent #7, Shaver Elementary Interview, 2023, May 4).

The accessibility of SRD events, in terms of mobility, disability, low barrier to entry, and beginner and failure-friendliness does imply an embrace of “multiplicity of pluralisms, not binaries and dualisms (Ghaziani and Brim, 2019, p 12). It suggests relationality, reciprocity, and responsibility (Chung-Tiam-Fook, 2022) in maintaining accessibility and consider all forms of bodily ability, mobility, and disability. Highlighting the tension that exists in striving to create a pluriversal and accessible space is critical to understanding how insurgent roller skating simultaneously subverts hegemonic urban space reifies hegemonic patterns of control – out of necessity. The accessibility of events sets a precedent for creating inclusive and expansive public events that cater to all forms of mobility, ability, failure-friendly, and inclusive events in cities.

Most importantly, SRD’s focus on mobility and movement as their primary mission, rather than advancing any specific style or cultural forms of roller-skating,
allows Secret Roller Disco to escape the reification of “white girl aesthetics” and subvert common forms of co-optation.

_Geographic access_

39 respondents provided their zip code which is mapped in Figure 3 on the following page. The events take place at a different geographic location each week. There were contradictions in terms of whether respondents thought this made the event more inclusive or less inclusive. Organizers choose locations based on surface, weather, but it is unclear whether geographic equity and holding the events at sites that are equally distributed throughout the metro area is a priority. Overall, the geographic data suggests that Secret Roller Disco events skew towards the central city, with limited to no events in East and West Portland. The following zip codes were all from the Portland metro area with one respondent citing a Eugene zip code. 97206 - a Southeast Portland zip code that spans South Tabor, Mt. Scott-Arleta, Woodstock and Brentwood-Darlington neighborhoods - was the most common zip code collected: 97006 (1), 97007 (1), 97015 (1), 97030 (1), 97045 (1), 97201 (1), 97205 (1), 97206 (5), 97211 (4), 97212 (3), 97213 (1), 97214 (3), 97215 (2), 97216 (2), 97217 (4), 97220 (1), 97222 (2), 97223 (1), 97230 (1), 97321 (1), 97405 (1), 98664 (1). The four SRD events where on-site skate along interviews were documented are mapped in red: McDaniel High School, Shaver Elementary, The Redd, and the Convention Center Plaza.
Queer Roller Hockey, for the most part is held at the same location at Alberta Park in Northeast Portland, in dry weather. Queer Skate PDX does not host regular events, but their location does change and is sometimes held at sponsored venues.

During the COVID-19 pandemic when the event began, organizers confirmed that Secret Roller Disco events were held consistently at Buckman Elementary school, so people would know where to go. This decision implies that geographic consistency is more inclusive because people don’t have to have access to or seek out update locational information on social media. But more recently, the event location changes – one on-site
volunteer/organizer talks about how changing the location each week expands the geographic inclusivity and social networks since people stop by and find out about the event from the neighborhood, who otherwise wouldn’t have known about it:

I mean, I love that we have these spontaneous community building events every week. They used to be a lot more secretive and a lot more spontaneous… But even still, what they are is they’re somewhat spontaneous because we pop up in different neighborhoods, which I like because that way we can hit all sorts of neighborhoods. Some people can't drive. Some people can't bike. Or they just don't feel comfortable unless it's in their neighborhood, which is kind of a thing” (Respondent #7, Shaver Elementary School Interview, 2023, May 4).

Organizers describes many barriers to site selection that create barriers to hosting the events wherever they want. Surface quality, weather, and politics with Portland Public Schools were all mentioned.

Out of all the respondents who were asked about how they got to the event, all of them responded “by car.” The only other comment from skating respondents was like they would “like to see it become even more inclusive and diverse and go all over Portland because I feel like it has tendency to skew SE and closer to town” (Respondent #5, McDaniel High School Interview, 2023, May 18). The democratization of site selection and geographic access is a key consideration in how insurgent roller-skating events can lead to more just futures and create pluriversality. If events were more dispersed, reaching out to the corners of Portland metro area, this would ultimately lead to more geographic diversity in participant turnout.

Lastly, in terms dissemination of information as a variable of event access, all the respondents either found out about the event via word of mouth, friend networks, or social media. The obvious analysis of this data point is that one must be socially
networked into this community or have social media to attend the event. In this regard, hosting the vents at different sites creates a protection measure to the event becoming too insular, and continuing to expand in geography, racial inclusion, and general resident diversity. Heterogeneity of geography can counteract the echo-chamber effects of social media algorithms and lack of expansive marketing efforts, as the event grows.

**Race, Gender, and Sexuality**

A broad glimpse of what the data reveals about SRD across race, gender and sexuality is in line with what Maria described: “Secret Roller Disco is ‘whiter and gayer’ than other events” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023 April 26). 8 out of the 38, or roughly 21% of the on-site skate along respondents identified as BIPOC. 15 out of 39 (38%) of respondents identified as queer. 23 out of 38 (~61%) identified as female while 8 out of 38 (~21%) identified as gender non-conforming or diverse. Figure 1 visualizes these numbers.

The results do indicate that Secret Roller Disco is a queer, female, and gender non-conforming space compared to city-wide demographic data (United States Census Bureau, Quick Facts – Portland, OR). However, racial make-up reflects larger demographics of Portland, OR which is a majority white city. What does it mean to be pluriversal along certain demographic axes but not others? If producers of urban space are not explicitly planning for and supporting people of color, do they run the risk of reproducing spatial exclusion and reifying dominant occupations of urban space? In both interview responses and emergent themes as well as the oral questionnaire data, it is evident that SRD is not as racially inclusive as it wants to be – especially in comparison
to other skating spaces. Taking future steps towards making insurgent skating spaces safe and inclusive for BIPOC skaters is imperative in realizing an equitable and just urban future – and to promote access to public uses space across all identities.

Cara is actively engaged in a fellowship program for “BIPOC skate advocates to learn how to build skate spaces” and is actively carving out safe space for “Black and Brown bodies” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023 April 27). Thus, the demographic results around racial makeup of events confirm that some insurgent skating spaces are more racially inclusive than others, some with explicit missions to include BIPOC skaters, while the SRD mission is a broader artistically motivated vision.

Understanding what events attract what types of people is an integral part of the just futures analytical framework to ensure that white-dominated insurgent spaces are not the only ones being supported and funded.

As planning scholar Marisa Zapata states “Shifting futures planning work to focus on people of color, in ways that make sense and matter to them, offers a different way to move forward to a just future” (Zapata, 2021, p. 641). Because there were so few respondents who identified as BIPOC, there is inconclusive data around skating experiences from the perspective of non-white skaters.

Results from data that addresses pluriversality around gender and sexuality is more conclusive and that these events are very queer and predominately attended by women-identifying people. Across all three groups – Queer Skate PDX, Queer Roller Hockey, and Secret Roller Disco, respondents addressed the idea that the queer community is centered, made to feel safe and - in simple terms - shows up in these insurgent skating spaces, which aligns with existing scholarship on roller derby’s
alignment with queer culture (Epstein, 2009; Klein 2016; Finley 2010; Thompson, 2022). Beyond the Secret Roller Disco numbers (38% of respondents identified as queer, 59% identified as female, and 20% identified as gender non-conforming or diverse), the interview respondents’ observations around the queerness of Secret Roller Disco events permeated the interview topics. Figure 1 visualizes these results.

Chris commented on the heterogeneity of gender/sexuality of the events across communities saying, “just the variety and diversity of events that we have, the variety and diversity of people attending them, despite the like generally hegemonic demographics of Portland, is pretty remarkable” (Chris, Queer Roller Hockey, 2023 April 20). A (self-identified) white married gay couple stated, “this is a very queer inclusive space, I do feel like you know, the roller-skating community is very queer in nature and I do feel like you know the marketing for this makes it feel like a really accepting event” (Respondent #5, The Redd Interview, 2023, April 27). Another queer respondent also agreed that it is “very queer, especially in roller derby, it’s a pretty queer place” (Respondent #10, The Redd, 2023, April 27) and another queer and gender non-conforming respondent in their early 20s identified Secret Roller Disco as their “Safe, happy place” (Respondent #2, Shaver Elementary School, 2023, May 4). Across the interviews, the consistent response was that this is an inclusive and safe space for queer and gender non-conforming respondents. “As a queer person there are so many people here who are outwardly queer presenting and gender diverse. I have never once felt uncomfortable around the people here” (Respondent #6, McDaniel High School, 2023, May 18). There are limitations to this data, especially when considering the lack of perspectives from queer and trans people of color’s experience at these events. Despite
this lack of generalizability, the data does confirm the queer inclusivity of insurgent roller-skating culture.

In sum, the insurgent roller-skating scene does appear to invite queer “bodies to take up space they were not intended to inhabit” potentially leading to new lines “to emerge, new object or even new bodies” (Ahmed, 2006, p. 62). By creating safe skating spaces for queer skaters, SRD advances urban spatial pluriversality, and enacts the possibilities for “queer worldmaking” (Ghaziani and Brim, 2019). By creating safe spaces for queer skaters, SRD and other groups advance urban pluriversality and are an example that institutional actors can learn from in terms of creating counter-hegemonic public space that is safe for all identities across the spectrum of gender and sexuality.

Families, Kids, Elders

7 out of 38 (18%) respondents outwardly identified or made comments indicating they were a parent – this number is visualized in Figure 1. During the interviews, I met babysitters, parents, grandmothers, grandfathers, and care providers. The events usually take place at schools – both elementary, middle, and high schools, which inherently contextualizes these events in a family-friendly sphere. At past events there have been roller-skate lessons for kids. While at all four events, I observed participants skating while pushing baby strollers, adults pushing their kids on mobility scooters, kids on skates, kids on scooters, kids on skateboards, kids blowing bubbles, kids in costumes, single parents with kids, grandparents (or elderly care providers) skating with their kids, and entire families.
All of the respondents who identified as parents and had come with their kids confirmed that this is “a really good extracurricular thing to do in the evenings,” “I bring my son he loves it,” “a fun place for families,” “my kids really like it, their friends are here,” and that “it’s a fun thing we can all do as a family” (Respondent #1, Shaver Elementary Interview, 2023, May 4); Respondent #1, The Redd, 2023, April 27); (Respondent #9, The Redd, 2023, April 27); (Respondent #12 & #13, The Redd, 2023, April 27). Another subtlety regarding SRD’s family-friendliness is that the event is not outwardly marketed as such: “it’s very family friendly but it doesn’t sacrifice anything to be family-friendly. It just feels more natural that way. It’s a cool vibe” (Respondent #9, The Redd, 2023, April 27).

A few adult respondents had come with their elderly parents and one respondent had come with her daughter and granddaughter pointing her out: “she’s in the stroller and so in this environment she was able to come, and it was good for my daughter because she can come here with her kid” (Respondent #1, McDaniel High School, 2023, May 18). Observing kids, their care providers, and the multi-generational dynamics of these events was more obvious and observable than race, sexuality, and gender. In a society where cities actively design kids and elderly people out of their spaces, it was unusual to see so many kids compared to other public spaces that are not parks. If pluriversality is about non-normative presentations and under-considered ways of taking up space, the kids should be considered as an important indicator of pluriversality that is found at SRD events.
Future of the Present & Insurgency as Temporal Subversion

Three temporal themes emerged from the future of the present framework theme: temporal shifts of insurgency, roller-skating’s embodiment of anti-capitalist time and present futurity, and the affective qualities of insurgent roller-skating spaces. These themes elucidate the nuance and shifts in insurgent roller-skating movements and the associated shift in benefactors, participants, and structures. Roller-skating’s ability to subvert capitalist senses of time and enact the future of the present reveals the role that it can play in inspiring a shift in the way planners conceptualize parks and recreation infrastructure.


Many of the insurgent skating events began with a few friends, or acquaintances, meeting casually. For Secret Roller Disco organizers, it was a way of getting out during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown in a socially distanced safe way. For Queer Skate PDX organizers, it was a way of carving out space for queer, women, and gender diverse skaters, with just one or two organizers at a time. The word “organic” and “grassroots” are referenced by all the organizers when describing their evolution. Cara describes the origins of Queer Skate PDX as “an exchange of contact information” at Alberta Park. Cara “went to a rollout with my partner and then, while I was just like standing we stopped in the middle of Alberta Park for a break and I was just like standing off to the side and Lucia basically was just like, hey I’m talking to other people who are like brown and queer looking and have a board in their hands…” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023, April 27). Secret Roller Disco began in unsanctioned spaces like parking garages,
with no consistency, no lights, music, infrastructure, or formal dissemination of information.

Summer recalls the early days of the events as dark, quiet, and informal, explaining “we’re like running into each other, like, it’s pitch dark, you couldn’t see anything.” (Summer, SRD Interview #1, 2023 April 14). Organizers describe the evolution of the event as improvisational using words like “underground,” “hodgepodge,” “anarchist,” like a “potluck” or “stone soup” to describe the organic and emergent quality of the event. Then, each week, participants would bring more people “and then we’d be like oh we need a little more sound now because we need more space” (Summer, SRD Interview #1, 2023 April 14). This temporal shift in sound, light, and equipment is described by one organizer:

“...over time it's gotten louder and brighter we have a lot of lighting got our own stereo now yeah you need more power to run the sound and the lighting and then you need more lighting because more people come to hear the sound and the power and the light” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023, April 26)

As described by the respondents, someone brought lights, then at one meet-up another passerby asked if they have a DJ for the event, so they showed up and DJed at the following event. “At one point, someone had acquired a generator from like, Craigslist” which led to the consistent addition of lights, sound instead of playing music on someone’s phone, which created a whole new vibe (Summer, SRD Interview #1, 2023, April 14). As events grew lighter, brighter, louder, and faster with the addition of infrastructure, the next temporal shift occurred with the formality of information sharing:

In addition to the sonic and sensorial shifts over time, the access of information and publicity shifted as the event grew. “I think maybe we created a Facebook page, to
kind of have it all in one place….but not everyone is on Facebook. And then we have, like, so we had texting, and then (name redacted) created the Instagram” (Summer, SRD Interview #1, 2023, April 14). Today the event has amplified sound, a DJ, functional and decorative lights, the invitation to dress up in a themed costume, and formal marketing strategy and branded aesthetic – a point of tension in that it cements the organizer’s singular imaginary and vision, but simultaneously creates a more accessible and inclusive event.

In terms of sound, visual qualities, dissemination of information, time plays a crucial component in understanding how the event has become more regulated, and perhaps normative. But with this regulation, and normativity, comes consistency, reliability, and expanded access for people. By creating a consistent, weekly event that has lights, music, festive attire, the event attracts a larger crowd, is a safer space, accessibility in terms of mobility and disability, and creates a reliable and consistent access to a safe skating space.

Similarly, another respondent who is associated with Queer Roller Hockey described a temporal shift in demographic and population turnout that occurred over the trajectory of Queer Roller Hockey:

“…They transformed into kind of like hippie hockey. And then then it had a bunch of bros come in and it got more aggressive. And then we had the queer community come and kind of reclaim it. And now we do Monday fun days and try hard Tuesdays to kind of distinguish between the different communities. Interesting. While still keeping it inclusive. And it's been really fun to like see the Air National Guard guys show up and like learn pronouns from some of our trans skaters” (Chris, Queer Roller Hockey Interview, 2023 April 20).
In this case, time is directly related to inclusivity, and temporal shifts in who came to the events and ultimately, a sense of reclaiming the event from the trans community. The relationship between sensorial shifts and queerness of events that was expressed in these interviews is related to Adeyemi’s (2019) investigation of “temporal slowness,” and the importance of time in dismantling heteromasculine and Eurocentric experiences and perceptions of time.

Understanding these temporal nuances is critical to evaluating how the insurgent roller-skating scene is operating, and what the urban planning implications and overlaps should be. Is an insurgent group privileging National Guard participants? Or is it privileging trans and non-binary participants? Or more interestingly, both? Similarly, is the insurgent roller-skating scene privileging a group of roller derby friends with time or money on their hands? Or is privileging a larger queer inclusive public that finds festivity, belonging, and collectivity? Is the insurgent skating scene carving out space for young queer and BIPOC people or a larger more mainstream crowd? The data illustrates that it depends on the temporal shifts and stages of an insurgent cycle and history.

Examining insurgent skating with a lens of queer and non-Eurocentric temporality reveals the complex patterns of sensorial, identity, and group dynamics that cannot be assessed using traditional urban planning optics. These results reveal the complexity and nuance of stepping out of “straight time” (Muñoz, 2009) and elicits what Muñoz theorizes as a “greater openness to the world” (p 25) – at times the events are straighter and more mainstream, but they shift and evolve over time. Furthermore, the data indicates a temporal shift in crowd size and demographics over time – some events moving from straighter to queerer, other smaller to larger – all pertinent considerations
across the life cycles of insurgency, to ensure that insurgent roller skating, its associated growth, partnerships, funding, and expansion, are contributing to more just futures, contribution to spatial justice, and countering urban spatial exclusion.

The Future of the Present: Roller-Skating As Anti-Capitalist Time

The sense of anti-capitalist temporality is supported by organizer comments that juxtapose the experience of bicycling vs. roller skating, both in terms of sport and leisure. One of the comments that the Secret Roller Disco organizer made, commenting on the anti-capitalist and antinormativity of time while skating and at Secret Roller Disco events. When asked about perception of time and temporal shifts while roller skating, Maria compared the temporal purpose of bikes vs. roller skates, commenting that:

"...well...for example, Bikes are great. I just... They're meant for covering distance, mostly. Unless you have a unicycle or a trick bike, bikes are for moving. They have big wheels for moving fast. Oh, there's the whole idea of like, get out and be healthy and recreate something. We're building the health care system, like that's your duty under capitalism. There's not just like, go and enter to get to school. Get your groceries. And I'm not saying that bikes cannot be fun. Roller skates are really just for fun. Roller skates are for the joy of just enjoying it because we live here. And skating, for me, is like inherently about like people. I mean, you can also do it alone though. Yeah......I just wanted to say that when I was thinking about it, bikes are very utilitarian, and when you build bikes into cities its to accomplish capitalism better you know what I mean? - get to work, get to school, get your groceries. And I'm not saying bikes can't be fun, but roller skates are really just for fun, like roller skates are for the joy of the community.” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023 April 26).

Chris, who has also been involved in tactical urbanist initiatives like Better Block PDX and Better Naito, commented on this anti-capitalist and temporal juxtaposition between biking and roller skating, describing the inclusivity of wheels beyond bikes, and the
overlap in time/space between wheeled/walking infrastructure and civic infrastructure, whereas bike infrastructure tends to need exclusivity in terms of access and there can be no overlap in time/space with other civic activities. Chris’ comments implied flexibility and heterogeneity in the way that wheeled and walking infrastructure can overlap temporally and spatially with other loading/unloading activities, and blur boundaries between infrastructure, adding to the inclusivity and de-lineate and soften the edges of the city in terms of rigid and singular infrastructure:

“I mean, bicycles have a demographic that skews predominantly cis white male. Yeah. And a certain privilege and influence. And so, you know, while bicycles may be a wonderful environmental tool and a great urbanist tool, they demographically are kind of isolated. And at least for the politics of it, we felt that talking about kind of the common denominator, talking about pedestrians, talking about people walking, talking about creating human habitat, creating a space for people to access the waterfront and the living room of Portland was better messaging than talking about bikes....You know, because initially we struck that deal with. We were taking the loading zones of Rose Festival, Pride Fest, Brewers Fest, etc. And we were saying, hey, look, you guys get these loading zone permits where you bring in your big 18 wheelers to bring in the festival equipment and you're creating these de facto, you know, expanded walking and rolling spaces. What would you think if we were to have those loading zones exist 24 hours for the duration of your festival? And in the times you're not loading, people could use those for active transportation. And they all said, great. Sounds wonderful to us. We have 600000 people that come to the festivals over the course of the summer and there's not even a sidewalk on the waterfront at the time. So, yeah, we the bike activists. So we're kind of the ones that were like, why is there this truck parked in my gold plated bike lane? Guys, we're working on a deal here” (Organizer Interview #4, Date)

Linear, traditional time in an urban context is considered through the lens of production and consumption. We gauge time and plan for infrastructure based on how long it will take to get to and from work, to and from school, to and from spaces of consumption,
point A to point B and back. This non-linearity, stepping outside “binary oppositions, dualisms, and hierarchical orderings of the world” (Smith, 2012, p. 63) reveals roller-skating’s potential to align with counter-hegemonic prioritizations of urban time, at least in comparison to bicycle infrastructure.

The organizers’ distinction between bike infrastructure and roller-skating suggests that roller-skating, especially in insurgent spaces disrupts capitalist temporality, is an expression of the future of the present, and allows people to escape their typical patterns of future-forward urban temporality. The idea that roller-skating is an act of present-ness and anti-futurity and has an altogether different end goal than, for example, biking – elucidates the infrastructural implications of wheeled urban activities beyond bikes and cars. Expanding our institutionalized imagination of wheeled infrastructure and skating spaces can lead to a re-prioritization of goals and values as they relate to transit and recreation infrastructure.

*Insurgent Roller-Skating As Pathway For Enacting “Future of the Present”*

The “future of the present” theme of the just futures framework was operationalized into a methodology that addressed participant affect, feeling, and reasons for attending events. The affective categories that emerged were joy, happiness, friendship, freedom, euphoria, present embodiment, mental health, and giddiness. These affective qualities evoke a counter-hegemonic quality of living in the present and prioritizing community, rather than goal-making, and achievement, and outlook.

Put simply, people are living their best lives at these events, an enacting a physical and mental state that they cannot find in other parts of their urban life. This
reveals insurgent roller skating’s ability to enact a state of being that is anti-future, expressing an outside-of-normal way of occupying urban space. Among organizers, there was consistent response of witnessing joy and peace. Maria describes the somatic experience of attending and organizing the event during the COVID-19 pandemic as “this is all we got” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023 April 26) while Summer reminisces that:

“...it was this thing during the pandemic that I had to look forward to and that I knew I could see just like I get like my hair standing up because it was like I could see this joy that was being created and this happiness. But like during the pandemic, it was like I have a way of expressing myself and seeing other people. And that just brings me so much joy and seeing other people” (Organizer #1 Interview).

Maria describes their experience at these events as “wonderful, it's like dancing. It's a feeling of freedom. It's like really fun to be with your friends and just like having music and being in a great space” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023 April 26). Cara explains that,

“...skating has brought me an entirely different and new community that is so tight-knit that like i would have never expected whether it's quad skating in lines and like skateboarding like all wheels it's just done something um it has made me feel good and then also just like getting to see my community thrive” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX, Interview, Date).

Many respondents mentioned meeting friends, coming with friends, making new friends, celebrating, laughing, singing, and dancing. Cara’s description of physical and mental embodiment of insurgent roller skating is about self-worth: “I want to say like skating increases your self-worth but it makes you remember that you are kind of like worth a little something you know like especially when you don't kind of like focus on it” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023 April 27).
Other affective descriptions from respondents during SRD events have to do with that brain body connection, fun, joy, freedom, euphoria, anti-anxiety, embodiment, child-like sensations, and movement:

“I love the music, a sense of dancing, gliding, a sense of freedom I can’t find other places, It’s good for my body;” (Respondent #1, McDaniel High School, 2023, May 18);

“nervousness is there, but I feel like there’s a sense of giddiness in my body and full body joy that makes me want to do it more” (Respondent #5, McDaniel High School, 2023, May 18);

“i guess i just get into a zone and I love feeling into the moment. I feel big and wonderment and excited and a little nervousness” (Respondent #8, McDaniel High School, 2023, May 18);

“the most important thing about skating is having fun” (Respondent #10, The Redd, 2023, April 27);

“And I'm just like, you, you imagine your 12 year old, you know, telling your 12 year old self that you're going to be as an adult skating around the parking garage, playing roller hockey and then going out for vegan dinner afterwards. You know, like what a dream we're living. This is amazing. Yeah. So, I don't know, that future now is like” (Chris, Queer Roller Hockey Interview, 2023, April 20);

“I feel like a kid when I’m skating I feel free, I feel just happy. I’m in my element, you know” (Respondent #1, Shaver Elementary, 2023, May 4th)

“I feel very free” (Respondent #11, The Redd, 2023, April 27);

“That hill is scary. Then it’s just kind of like vibing. It was pretty peaceful I guess” (Respondent #9; Convention Center Plaza, 2023, May 11);

“I just feel happy and I just go with my friends and sing and dance. And it’s very humbling too to not know how to do something and fall. I think sometimes you need to get the wind knocked out of you to humble yourself down to a certain level of
“humanity” (Respondent #6, McDaniel Elementary, 2023, May 18);

“a buzzing, positive, and happy” (Respondent #2, #3, McDaniel High School, 2023, May 18);

“you get the wind in your hair and you just get confident and cool and you’re just floating” (Respondent #3, McDaniel High School, 2023, May 18);

“happy this is definitely like a happy safe place” (Respondent #2, Shaver Elementary, 2023, May 4);

“it’s just really joyous, and in this life I’m choosing to have fun, and so that is in alignment with my goals, it’s super fun” (Respondent #7, Shaver Elementary, 2023, May 4);

“I tend to feel really joyful, it reminds me of being a kid. I find myself begin really excited to see everyone’s outfits, people of all different ages, people with kids, people helping each other skate, people falling, but doing it gracefully and getting back up” (Respondent #5, McDaniel High School, 2023, May 18).

“I don't know it's a whole like unexplainable feeling where you just feel peaceful yeah and in a world where today where you don't feel peaceful often that's like one moment is like you're skating and you just get to like be you hang out with friends and also skating’s nice because you can also take a step away to go practice something on your own and just like focus on yourself listen to music whatever um and you can like integrate so many different activities into spaces it's just like a very adaptive um dynamic environment that encourages me to kind of do the same things in like other areas of life and so that's kind of like how I get from skating” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023, April 27);

“man, I get an endorphin rush from it that I don’t really get from anywhere else. It’s just such a unique thing to be propelled by your feet on wheels” (Respondent #10, The Redd, 2023, April 27)
“I’m usually pretty happy it’s a workout so your endorphins start getting released...yeah it’s the best” (Respondent #5, Shaver Elementary School, 2023, May 4);

“it gets me out of my head a little bit, it’s nice like for my anxiety” (Respondent #14, The Redd, 2023, April 27).

“Euphoric. It's like the only time I can relax and not think about all of the things I need to do. Like all my responsibilities, you know, mental health. It's exercise. It's an excellent workout. Don't let anyone tell you differently. They say its the same as running” (Respondent #4, Convention Center Plaza, 2023, May 11).

“Yeah, the creativity, letting yourself be able to explore and really feel mentally rewarded, emotionally rewarded for that exploration” (Respondent #7 friend; Shaver Elementary School, 2023, May 4).

“It’s euphoric. It’s 120% good for my mental health. Yes. Like, I need this every week” (Respondent #5, Convention Center Plaza, 2023, May 11).

The data listed above, when examined as a whole, supports a sense of embodiment that is rooted in the present, that is enacting joy, peace - a flourishing and a sense of “actual existing realities” (Muñoz, 2009) among skaters.

Planners can glean the richness of urban experience in these spaces and facilitate support, infrastructure, and programming (or funding) that encourage activities that enact temporal subversion and enable experiencing the future of the now – rather than requiring residents to constantly wait for long-term improvements and better versions of their city.
Participatory Futures

This just futures indicator was operationalized by including in-depth and on-site interview questions that invited participants to imagine their boldest urban futures visions, as they relate to roller-skating.

Expanded Concepts of Urban Mobility & Flexible Skating Spaces

Results centered around two themes: 1) an expanded imaginary of what urban transit can and should look like for all wheels, beyond the bike and car binary and 2) flexible, multi-purpose roller skating infrastructure. The consensus for respondents who know about the Steel bridge Skate Park is that it is an amazing vision and necessary addition to the Portland’s skating infrastructure - but less formal, flexible, and overlapping infrastructure all over the city is wanted! The emerging concept that respondents shared is for a more heterogeneous approach to wheeled infrastructure, both in terms of transit and infrastructure.

Respondent visions ranged from permanent, fixed infrastructure to the desire for more skating spaces like Secret Roller Disco, with the most common response being “indoor/outdoor” covered skating spaces. Weather and rain considerations were the main reason for envisioning covered or indoor infrastructure. Visions from organizers were more involved and expansive, partly because they had more time to reflect. The current SRD organizer describes their vision:

So, okay. I won the lottery and I'm also elected mayor. We're going to get a giant geodesic dome and it's going to be in the heart, I don't know, somewhere central, like centrally side or downtown. And we're going to have a free, everybody can come free and have rentals and people and we'll have lights and music
and performances, of course. And sometimes we'll serve alcohol” (Maria, SRD Interview #2, 2023, April 26).

Chris stated, “I’m really excited to get like the young queer community skate crew involved” and mentioned the importance of connection between youth activism and city leadership. Chris summarizes their excitement about the future “and this new generation of leaders is really remarkable in their passion, spirit, but also in diversity and awareness of how to create inclusive spaces” (Chris, Queer Roller Hockey Interview, 2023 April 20). Cara’s positionality and vision is representative of this next generation of youth.

Cara is actively pursuing a fellowship to research how to make skating spaces more inclusive. Their personal and community vision for future skating infrastructure is community- and youth centric. Their vision is for a skating space that acts more like a youth-focused community center with “skateable spaces versus like a skate park.” Cara explains that in this space “is essentially kind of like a skate library not like you go there and you just like grab a thing off the shelf and you like rent it but in the sense of like how you can just go to the public library and grab a book and just sit down and hang out for hours and you're not bothered” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023 April 27).

Cara’s visions center youth, queer, and BIPOC skaters, and is already working on making these visions a reality with their academic and fellowship work. Cara, because of their involvement in the Steel Bridge Skate Park, their organizing experience, their connection to youth culture, and obvious natural leadership qualities, talked more expansively about city infrastructure as it relates to skating. They described a skate park in Encinitas, CA and its adaptive, flexible, multi-user qualities, citing the importance of it acting more as an inclusive plaza space for all users, rather than a skate park specifically:
“...it’s a plaza that just looks like a normal plaza but there's tons of ADA things that they took into consideration so people who are just trying to go to the park on wheelchairs can just like easily go up and in there's multiple places to sit in the middle of the park that's safe and even on the out there's enough space for people to just like walk through and it makes it like open but it's known that it's a skate space but it's open enough that like if people just walk through it they're fine type of thing but it's like integrating the local community in that that's what I would like to see more is like adaptive spaces” (Cara, Queer Skate PDX Interview, 2023 April 27)

Cara noted the increase in overall safety that this type of all-purpose plaza/wheeled park creates, where people from “various skills and disabilities and abilities are able to use the same space.” They furthered this comment by talking about how multi-purpose plaza/skate park/park infrastructure like the one in Encinitas, CA invites community to see the inter-connectedness of skating sports and witness the positive aspects of roller skating and skateboarding. Skate Parks don’t necessarily invite outside users to observe and integrate or have no space for watching or hanging out safely nearby. Creating less rigid skating infrastructure typologies bridges that community gap between skating and outside community are critical to inclusive transit and skating infrastructure.

Although Cara discussed urban infrastructure at large, they also agreed that the low hanging fruit is that “the general community itself just needs not covered but like ‘indoor spaces’” stating that they’ve “never seen a place that rains sideways other than Portland...you can’t go anywhere without somehow being wet from rain regardless of if you’re in a covered space or not.” On-site SRD skater respondents echoed the need more skating spaces, citing all-season skating options with raised and covered surfaces: “More covered, designated, just larger covered skating areas” (Respondent #4, Shaver Elementary, 2023, May 4); “we need more skating infrastructure” (Respondent #5,
Convenion Center Plaza, 2023, May 11); “a bunch of outdoor skating areas with covers” (Respondent #6, Convention Center Plaza, 2023, May 11). A few people commented on the vision for specific roller rink infrastructure, while many respondents specified free, raised, and semi-protected as important elements of future infrastructure and events. In terms of geographic access, smaller, dispersed neighborhood-based opportunities offered all over the city (and not just in central areas) were repeatedly mentioned.

These responses reflect what Ramos et al. (2019) call values-in-action based process of visioning and mobilizes participants in thinking about their future (Peach and Smith, 2022). This approach is rhizomatic where everyone becomes “an expert” (Escobar, 2018, p 33-34). The fact that nearly everyone wanted more opportunities and venues for outdoor skating spaces reveals the need for further participatory research – and the fact that these future visions cannot be gleaned from traditional “parks and rec” community outreach – because insurgent roller skating does not fit into any fixed institutional typology of space.
Discussion & Urban Planning Implications

The just futures framework responded to existing literature and allowed me to investigate the nuances of space, community, and futurity that cannot be gleaned in hegemonic methods of research. The study revealed dissonance in historical narratives of roller skating, tensions and paradoxes with inclusivity and demographics within these spaces, the importance of organizer positionality, participant affect and emotional narratives, what the consideration of time reveals about these events, and the participatory visions that arise out of these spaces.

Since Portland has an expansive history of insurgent activities, pursuing a just futures framework to understand the nuance and tensions within these spaces revealed the privilege, power dynamics, positionality, demographic make-up, affect, historical awareness, and future visions that occur within the insurgent roller skating scene. A few different conclusions – some methodological (planning imagination and approach) and others more concrete (infrastructure) – can be drawn from the results.

The first is planners’ and institutional urban actor’s and decision makers’ responsibility in restoring and repairing historical awareness. This study revealed a disconnect and tension between historical timelines. Bridging the gap between extended roller-rink history that is no longer a part of Portland’s hegemonic roller skating narrative, and its current skating imaginary dating back to the 1990s – is a critical task in restoring just urban futures when it comes to skating infrastructure. While more interviews with Elders in the skating community are needed, the existing data for this
study did reveal the fact that racial and cultural tensions are present in Portland’s skating history. Acknowledging these tensions and taking them into account in future imaginings of skating can contribute to supporting “Reclamation aesthetics” (Summers, 2020) – reclaiming forgotten modes of memories of skating and support other counter-hegemonic modes of contemporary roller skating that address mainstream historic inadequacies.

From a planning and spatial perspective, reconciling the discrepancies and tensions within skating history can lead toward more equitable skating infrastructure that addresses the needs and styles of all roller skating cultures, not just the dominant ones that appear in post-2000s skating imaginary.

There are many more insurgent scenes that are not mentioned in this study. By understanding the historic context of roller skating, both in recent decades and beyond, the study demonstrates methodological and theoretical importance of looking back to plan for more just futures. The disconnect between history that dates prior to roller derby’s growth in the early 2000s is an obvious gap in historical knowledge, potentially with racial implications.

Restoring access to spaces that can support jam skating, and skating cultures within Black and Brown communities is an essential spatial and planning task that can be gleaned from looking back, before looking toward the future. There are more complex and rich histories to be uncovered and explored when it comes to Portland roller skating. Addressing a holistic historical narrative before we move forward can establish a more just and equitable future – both in imaginary and infrastructure planning.

The second takeaway from this study reveals that pluriversality is contradictory, nuanced, contains conflicting multitudes – and cannot be understood from demographic
data alone. Organizer positionality is key in understanding the legitimacy, pluriversality, success, and inclusive growth of events. SRD organizers displayed self-reflexivity and reflection in how their positionality affects the overall inclusivity of events. Across all three groups, queer space-making is prioritized and fundamental to the mission of these groups, albeit in different ways.

Secret Roller Disco subverts the reification of hegemonic urban space by being family-friendly, accessible geographically, queer and gender diverse, and embracing mobility and movement as its mission. SRD re-centers and de-centers “our emphasis on commodity and extraction and moving toward kinship and reciprocity” and “place-based communities and initiatives” (Chung-Tiam-Fook, 2022, p 35). By focusing less on roller skating as a sport or mastering of a specific skill/sport or any particular styles and more on “movement”, it does not perpetuate the “white girl aesthetics” found in many roller skating spaces dominated by white participants.

Despite its extreme inclusivity in terms of access, mobility, age, barriers to entry, and queer-identifying participants, Secret Roller Disco paradoxically perpetuates hegemonic productions of urban space because it remains a predominantly white space and SRD events take place in more affluent and central zip codes. This contradiction between creating pluriversality and simultaneously reifying dominant demographic uses of space raises the question: if insurgent urbanism does not express pluriversality across all forms of identity and access, then is it truly pluriversal?

While it may be OK for certain insurgent skating spaces to be whiter than others, the key takeaway is that urban decision makers cannot only support the “flashiest” acts of insurgency that tend to be dominated by white participants - seeking out other styles and
types of insurgent skating groups and ensuring they are receiving equitable institutional support is key. Relying on the common idea that “oh, well Portland is just a really white city and therefore its skating spaces are white too” perpetuates exclusion and ignores the richness and variety of skating styles and spaces outside of Secret Roller Disco.

*Pluriversality* as a just futures framework lens can ensure that cities/planners are not privileging and allowing certain forms of insurgent urbanism to prevail over others, just because they align with the dominant hegemonic and aesthetic imaginary. This study encourages planners to ask: who are the other groups out there? Do they need funding? Who is *not* included in these spaces and where are they skating? How can planners help these events become even more inclusive without co-opting them? Ensuring equitable legitimization and support (if that is the desired outcome) across groups and missions is imperative for producers (and funders) of urban space. By understanding the multiplicity of identities, ways of showing up in these spaces, planners can better assess their relationship to these events and organizers, and work towards inclusion across all axes of pluriversality in the future.

The third takeaway for institutional actors/planners is that time and alternative expressions of futurity can pinpoint finite details that lead to more inclusive or exclusive processes in the production of urban space. In the example of Queer Roller Hockey, the organizer noted that the event at one point, became “straighter” but was then “reclaimed by the queer community. Understanding time and the sensorial shifts of the production of urban space can help planners and urban decision makers make more informed decisions about processes of exclusion that take place in cities. Insurgency can change over time as events become more formalized and grows out of insurgent roots.
Paying attention to these shifts and life cycles can ensure that institutional producers of space are not perpetuating dominant urban aesthetics and exclusive patterns of space-making at the expense of other groups that go un-noticed because they are smaller, less flashy or less mediatized. To building for equitable urban futures is planners’ understanding of insurgency and interpreting the shift that happens when insurgent urbanism grows, evolves, and becomes a more organizer and sanctioned event.

In terms of re-orienting planners’ spatial imaginary, this study is a methodological example of how temporal considerations can break down a Eurocentric and normative concept of futurity - and privilege and acknowledge ways of existing that enact embodied futurity, self-determination, prefigurative politics, and expression of embodied existence in the here and now. Participant responses revealed the embodied joy and “euphoria and freedom” that they find at these events. Understanding how the future of the present is manifested in urban space can expand how planners validate the production of urban knowledge – feelings, emotions, affect, and experience of the present are legitimate sources of interpreting urban space.

The binary of capitalist time vs. anti-capitalist time was explored through the bike/car infrastructure binary. Many respondents commented on the juxtaposition between bikes and roller skating, and the need for less formalized and fixed wheeled infrastructure in a city. Roller skating’s primary goal is joy, whereas bikes (in an urban planning context) are about transportation. Planners can learn from the insurgent roller skating scene to break down their conceptualization of “wheeled infrastructure” and what it means to create urban infrastructure for modes of movement beyond biking. The data from this study invites us to expanding the binaries of “bike lane vs skate park” and “transit vs
recreation” and create a more flexible concept of public urban space – one that weaves many different modes and mobilities across transit, transportation, recreation, parks, and sidewalks.

The data suggests a needed fluidity in the way we perceive transit space along a continuum of movement and abilities and disabilities. Our parks and plazas need to be considered in this way as well – not just skate parks or tennis courts – but an overlapping and flexible concept of plaza AND skate park, tennis court AND roller rink – hybridity and flexibility, and fluidity between walkers, skaters, bikes, elderly, kids, wheelchairs, and strollers – must be designed into the fabric of our city. The data demonstrates the need for interstitial spaces – that move beyond the binary of the park or the street.

The fourth and final thematic takeaway is both methodological and practical – inviting everyday residents of the city – outside of hegemonic participatory planning projects and processes - to imagine their urban future and counter “habitus, expediency, and colonial strategies” in planning (Laurian, 2021, p 76). More roller skating spaces – indoor/outdoor and covered - was the most common vision amongst on-site skating respondents who cited a lack of safe skating spaces for all seasons and times of day.

Across themes of transit, malls, and enthusiasm for more skating spaces, flexibility, multi-user spaces, and spatial fluidity for accommodating all wheels, abilities, weather, times of day – was central to nearly everyone’s responses, organizers, and skaters alike. Overall, the just futures framework emphasis on participatory futures sets an example of how planners can acknowledge residents are experts, cultivate that sense of visioning in spaces outside of formal participatory planning events.
Overall, this study uses insurgent roller skating as the physical and theoretical grounds for understanding the future of cities. The study reveals that less fixed and rigid infrastructure that is rooted in binaries of public/private, parks/transit etc. is warranted. This study also illustrates the need for futures to be reconceptualized as a dynamic and multi-temporal concept for planners – historical awareness, future of the present and future-forward visions must all be prioritized equally to create the most just and equitable urban future for everyone.

**Limitations**

This study contains obvious limitations. The first is the limited historical interviews and archival analysis. More perspectives and insights from Elders who have knowledge of roller skating from 1950s-90s (as well as more in-depth archival research) would contribute to a more robust historical narrative of roller skating in the Portland metro area. The second limitation is the small sample size at just one event (Secret Roller Disco) for demographic data collection – more data collection across all four groups, with a much larger data set is warranted in further insurgent urbanism research that employs a just futures framework approach. The third limitation is my positionality. Being a white, cis, straight-passing woman limits my world view and experience as a researcher – further collaborative research should prioritize a diverse group of skater-researchers.
Future Areas of Study

Portland Skating Study

This study suggests that a collection of ethnographic and qualitative data around skating sports in Portland, Oregon is warranted. Since skating is such a central part of Portland’s branded and aesthetic imaginary – both in the media, but also within roller skating, derby, and skateboarding culture, there needs to be an active collection of data surrounding these activities. Developing a robust Portland Skating Study – across time, skating groups, and types (like this USC study) - to ensure that all voices and visions are represented and saliently support the skating infrastructure that is desired should be prioritized as a future area of study.

Applying This Study to Other Cities & Spaces

In Portland and beyond, city-sanctioned skating spaces are being uses as anti-homeless initiatives, or as a community-approved way to replace unwanted homeless encampments (Zielinski, 2022). Laurelhurst Park Homeless encampments in Portland, Oregon have recently been removed and transformed into pickleball courts and a skate park (Zielinski, 2022). Applying a just futures framework analysis to this transformation of space may reveal the nuance, tension, and contention that led to the creation of this park – and the power, positionality, and consideration that organizers had to gain momentum and legitimacy. Overall, applying this study to other spaces can reveal who benefits and who suffers the consequences in these types of urban public space transformations.
Future research – in Portland and beyond - should examine the adjacency between skating spaces and homeless occupations of space. Understanding how insurgent urbanism activities broadly interact with homeless camps and shelters – and exploring their potential to simultaneously support (rather than contradict) on another is a key opportunity. Rather than skating spaces as displacement strategies, perhaps future research can examine their potential to co-exist – skating spaces during the day and shelter during the evening.

Many of the physical qualities that the participants of this study described in the spaces they want to see are equally beneficial for outside shelters – covered areas, raised areas, protected from rain and wind, well-lit, designed with safety in mind, but no formal barriers to entry (like gates), etc. Understanding the flexibility that future roller skating infrastructure can have in breaking down the formality and binaries of public space – so it can be used by both insurgent roller skating groups and people who need protected shelter at night – and other combinations of groups and people with different needs - should be explored in future research.

Applying this study to other spaces and cities would yield different results. Employing the just futures framework to examine insurgent roller skating – and insurgent urbanism activities more broadly – can uncover localized histories and evaluate insurgency within the specific context of each site and city. The results from this study revealed the importance of demographics, local community, climate, histories, cultural context, and values that inform insurgent groups, their evolution, and participants. The framework and results from this study also reveal that there is no one solution that solves all problems. Local and cultural context – whether it be a different neighborhood of
different country – changes the needs, desires, and expressions of insurgent activities and their participants, and therefore will yield a different set of results. The nuances, tensions, contradictions, beneficiaries, and “losers” within seemingly neutral or improved uses of space – insurgent or otherwise – are key points of reference that will change depending on geography, activity type, and site location.

Final Thoughts

This research shows the validity of conceptualizing and interpreting urban space through a just futures lens, prioritizing historical awareness, pluriversality, future of the present, and participatory futures as key points of reference. Using this framework to assess insurgent urbanism and other emergent urban initiatives can help planners assess the positive and inclusive elements of urban space and determine how to best support insurgent urbanism initiatives to lead toward more equitable urban futures across all axes of pluriversality.

In sum, this study exhibits the importance of including under-represented perspectives in our conceptualization of urban space. Queer spatial theory and non-Eurocentric spatial theory scaffolded the just futures framework, which led to results that may not have been gleaned from traditional research themes and methods, or avenues of interpreting urban space. Prioritizing the inclusion of other disciplines and fields of study in urban studies research will lead to a more nuanced and deeper understanding of insurgent urban activities and their consequences, as well as a richer development of urban studies and planning knowledge and practice.
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Appendix – Interview Protocols

Semi-Structured Historic Interviews

Introductory Protocol

Introduce myself, my association with PSU and my project in brief. Ask interviewer to sign the release form before getting started. Press record and get verbal recorded permission to record the interview. Briefly introduce why I wanted to talk with this specific interviewee and discuss why I am soliciting historical accounts of roller-skating, even though my project is on contemporary roller skating.

Script: “Interview will last anywhere from 1-2 hours. During this time, I have several questions that I’d like to cover but we can go off topic something is interesting to either of us. I may have to interrupt you to get through my questions and complete a certain line of questioning. There are four themes that the questions cover: historical awareness, pluriversality, future of the present and time, and participatory futures. Please interrupt me if you have any questions or would like to skip a question.”

A. Brief Introduction, Evolution of Their Roller-Skating History, & Historical Context

1. Could you please start by introducing yourself – your name, age, race, where you grew up and anything else you think is important and would like to share?

2. Could you please tell me about your connection to the history of roller-skating where you grew up? Probe – Did you or your family roller-skate, or are there people in your community who have told stories about roller-skating in the past?

3. What or where were specific venues that people like to roller skate? Probe – did you skate in rinks? On the street? What types of skating styles did you like to do? Were there spaces that were off-limits or racially segregated?

4. How were locations determined? Was this through collective decision making?

6. How did roller skating fit into the larger urban fabric of Portland? *Probe – were events sanctioned, unsanctioned? How often did they occur? How many people were in attendance? Did roller skating span neighborhood/communities?*

7. What are the differences between roller skating of your past and contemporary roller skating?

8. How does/did roller skating relate to a sense of belonging and identity?

9. In your opinion, was roller skating connected to the larger political/social climate of the time?

10. Are there any stories or anecdotes that you would like to share or like me to be aware of?

11. Network interviewing inquiry - are there other community members that might be interested in talking with me about their history and experiences with roller skating? Interest in Restoring roller skating opportunities in the future?
Organizer Semi-Structured Interviews

Introductory Protocol

Introduce myself, my association with PSU and my project in brief. Ask interviewer to sign the release form before getting started. Press record and get verbal permission to record the interview. Briefly introduce why I wanted to talk with this specific respondent and discuss why I chose to include their events in my study.

Script: “Interview will last anywhere from 1-2 hours. During this time, I have several questions that I’d like to cover but we can go off topic something is interesting to either of us. I may have to interrupt you to get through my questions and complete a certain line of questioning. There are four themes that the questions cover: historical awareness, pluriversality, future of the present and time, and participatory futures. Please interrupt me if you have any questions or would like to skip a question.”

A. Brief Introduction, Evolution of Their Roller-Skating History, & Historical Awareness

1. Could you please start by introducing yourself – name, age, race, how you identify, and any other personal information that you’d like to share?
2. Could you please describe your connection to / history with roller skating?
3. How did you get into roller skating? What does roller skating mean for you?
4. How is it related to your identity as an individual and Portlander?
5. SRD specific: Why roller disco and not just roller skating?
6. SRD specific: Are roller disco’s roots in Black history and culture ever considered/mentioned on your Secret Roller Disco platform?
7. What is your knowledge around the history of roller skating?
8. When does your historical awareness and context begin?

B. Pluriversality

1. Could you please tell me about why/how you started Secret Roller Disco? Probe: When? Were there previous iterations?
2. What types of locations are ideal for these events? Probe: What makes a great roller disco spot?
3. How do you organize these events and disseminate information? Probe – how do you decide on location, time, day, etc.?
4. How do you ensure that your events are inclusive? Probe: is all wheels the main axis of inclusivity?
5. How is the sense of community at these events different from other roller-skating spaces?
6. Do you see enough opportunities for people to access and participate in roller skating in Portland? Probe – please explain re: existing opportunities.
7. How do your events create a sense of community?
8. How does your personal sense of belonging or sense of self shift when you are participating in an event? Probe – how does your event provide a safe space for embracing other versions of self that are not accepted in hegemonic or traditional spaces of leisure?
9. Why do you think people come to your events? What does it offer them?
10. How is your event welcoming to all demographics and identities?
11. How aware are participants of these events are aware of roller skating’s history in the Black community?
12. Do you think it is your responsibility to make these events as inclusive as possible? If yes, please explain.
13. Are your events as inclusive as you’d like them to be? If not, please explain.
14. What is your perception of the racial make-up of these events? What about gender and sexuality?
15. Can you describe any challenges that you run into with these events?
16. What started as an individual need - has now evolved into something that the community needs, as evidenced by its popularity - how do you feel about that?
17. You have become a sort of an organizer by default/on accident - is this a role that you’d like to take on?
18. How does sound, music, costume, color affect these events - why are these important elements?
19. Have you thought about it means to hold your event in an abandoned/empty shopping mall (or other non-sanctioned space)? Probe – that juxtaposition of community making and taking up space with movement, sound, fun vs the capitalist purpose of that space for consumption?
20. What is the impact of these events beyond the two-hour time frame? DO you go before or after to scope a site, do you connect with neighbors etc?
21. How does skating outside of a rink or formal venue affect the sense of community?
22. What feedback do you get about these events?

C. Future of the Present and Time

1. Your event began as a way of manifesting what you needed and taking charge of what you needed out of your city during COVID – is it still that?
2. How are concepts of time and space - how do those change when you are at roller disco vs when you are just living your life?
3. How have the events changed over time?
4. What does it feel like to be at these events?
5. What are the leading important reasons why you do this? Probe – what are the emotional or affective qualities that roller skating brings you?
6. Where do you see the same manifestation of community, unity, self-expression in other urban spaces in Portland?
7. What do you think people get out of these events? What does it provide them with that they cannot find in other skating spaces?

C. Participatory Futures

1. Do you feel like Portland (institutional/powers of governance) is welcome to what you are doing?
2. As you become bigger and attract more outside support, what do institutional powers value in these roller-skating events?
3. How could Portland, as a city/institution, support your idea of building this community into the future? *What do you need to take this to the next level? Do you want to next it to the “next level”?*
4. What are some (if any) differences between Portland’s roller-skating scene vs. other cities?
5. What is the role of roller skating and community building in Portland’s urban future?
6. What is your most exciting idea for the future of roller skating in Portland? Probe – *it could be infrastructure, an event, a space, a new style – anything!*
7. What would you like to see more of in terms of skating spaces in Portland?
8. Lastly, how could your event become a catalyst for resident-led futures visioning?

Additional Questions Added From Interview Responses:

1. How does roller-skating compare to biking?
2. If PBOT and other non-profits are involved, are your events still community-led?
3. What about risk of partaking in illegal activities – if your events are unsanctioned or somehow breaking the law, how does this impact your participant turnout?
Event Skate Along Interviews

Introductory Protocol

Say hello, Introduce myself, my association with PSU and my project in brief (20 seconds). Ask interviewer if they would be willing to answer a few questions anonymously, tell them it will take 3-5 minutes. If they want to know about the specifics of the questions, give them a brief overview of the question topics. If they say yes to participating, offer them the option of either rest along the side with them, or skating and talking at the same time. Press record and get verbal permission to record the interview. For these skate-along interviews, I am not explaining the four categories. Questions have been arranged in the order that makes most sense for this interview type to flow smoothly. Their associated framework theme is listed in parenthesis afterwards. Depending on their reactions and responses and willingness to participate, I will gauge what and how many questions to ask from the list.

FOP = Future of Present
PL = Pluriversality
HA = Historical Awareness
PF = Participatory Futures

Script: “This brief interview will last 3-5 minutes. I’ll ask you a few questions, and if you do not want to answer any of them, you can just say ‘pass.’ If you also want to end the interview before I have asked all my questions, you can just say ‘I’d like to end the interview.’ Please interrupt me if you have any questions or would like to know more about my project at any point. Your identity and answer will remain anonymous... Sound good? (response). Ok, let’s get started.”

Questions

1. Why did you come out tonight? (PL)
2. How did you find out about this event? (PL)
3. Who did you come with? Probe – what motivated you to come? (PL)
4. How did you get here? (PL)
5. How did you get into roller-skating? (HA)
6. How would you describe this event? (PL)
7. How included do you feel at these events? (PL)
8. How do you feel at these events? Probe – emotions or feelings that you are experiencing right now? (FOP)
9. What is the most important part about roller-skating for you? (FOP)
10. How is roller-skating different from your other activities that you do? (FOP)
11. How does this event compare to other roller-skating events or venues that you’ve been to? Probe – other community events in general? *Probe – how does this compare to Oaks Park?* (FOP/PL)

The next few questions are a few quick demographic and location questions:

1. What do you love about this event? Is there anything you would change? (PL)
2. Can you describe your sense of time at these events? (FOP)
3. How does your sense of self change? (FOP)
4. What are the physical sensations you experience while roller skating? (FOP)
5. What do you think about when you roller-skate? (FOP)

The last few questions are about your vision for the future of Portland:

1. What is your zip code? (PL)
2. Do you identify as a person of color? (PL)
3. Do you identify as queer? (PL)
4. Do you identify as gender diverse? (PL)
5. What is something (an event, a space) that you would love to see in Portland?
6. What is your boldest idea for the future of roller-skating in Portland? *Probe – an event, a space, infrastructure? Probe – if an idea is given, probe for more detail or description, clarification regarding size/space/location.*

Final talking points: End the Recording. Ok, that’s it, thank you very much, I really appreciate your time!