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09 January 2020

Version of attached file:

Accepted Version

Peer-review status of attached file:

Peer-reviewed

Citation for published item:

Monforte, Javier and Smith, Brett and Pérez-Samaniego, Víctor (2021) 'It's not a part of me, but it is what it is': the struggle of becoming en-wheeled after spinal cord injury.', *Disability and rehabilitation.*, 43 (17). pp. 2447-2453.

Further information on publisher's website:

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09638288.2019.1702725>

Publisher's copyright statement:

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor Francis in *Disability and rehabilitation* on 22 December 2019, available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/09638288.2019.1702725>

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1 **'It's not a part of me, but it is what it is': The struggle of becoming en-wheeled**
2 **after spinal cord injury**

3 **Abstract**

4 **Purpose:** Many people who experience spinal cord injury become long-term wheelchair
5 users. This article addresses the process of becoming en-wheeled through the case
6 example of a disabled man called Patrick.

7 **Design:** An intrinsic case study informed by posthumanist developments was used.
8 Within this design, Patrick and his manual wheelchair were the entangled participants of
9 the inquiry.

10 **Methods:** Interviews and fieldwork observation with Patrick were conducted.
11 Qualitative data were analysed using the posthumanist notion of 'assemblages'.

12 **Results:** The results illuminate Patrick's struggle of negotiating a new embodied
13 selfhood that includes the wheelchair. Patrick engaged in ableist rehabilitation after
14 spinal cord injury to recuperate the capacity to walk and break his connection with the
15 wheelchair. After extensive treatment of his body, he reluctantly assumed his cyborg or
16 posthuman condition.

17 **Conclusion:** The analysis and discussion resulted in a theoretical frame that presents
18 the notions of positive and negative enwheelment as two ends of a continuum. In doing
19 so, the paper offers a useful tool for understanding and addressing enwheelment plus
20 other cyborgification processes. We advocate for its acceptance into the disability
21 studies and rehabilitation practice repertoire.

22
23 **Keywords**

24 Assistive technology; wheelchair use; cyborgification; humanism; posthuman disability
25 studies; assemblages; connectivity

Introduction

Worldwide, ~2.5 million people live with spinal cord injury (SCI), with more than 130,000 new injuries reported each year. SCI results in the impairment of the communication between the brain and the rest of the body. This impairment affects several body functions, including the capacity to walk. As a result, many individuals living with SCI require the use of a wheelchair to move. Not surprisingly, this ‘implement technology’ [1] alters the way new users experience the world around them, and changes their relations with their bodies and the bodies of others. Wheelchairs matter because they shape people’s journey through life, where and how far they can go, and whom they could go with. Therefore, addressing the evolving meanings and roles of wheelchair use throughout the life of a person is important to understand the complexities of living with SCI and disability in society.

Despite being a ‘worthy topic’ [2], the relationship between disabled people and their wheelchairs has received very little *focussed* attention in disability and rehabilitation studies. One notable exception is the work of Winance [3-5], who explored the mutual shaping of disabled people and their wheelchairs through the processes of material and emotional adjustment. Another exception is the work of Papadimitriou [6], who used the term ‘en-wheeled’ to refer to individuals with new SCI learning how to use and live through their wheelchairs. Becoming en-wheeled is a process of accepting the wheelchair as an extension and integral part of one’s body and its habitual actions. In this sense, long-term wheelchair users epitomise what Haraway described as cyborgs or human–machine hybrids [7].

According to Sparkes *et al.* [8], the process of becoming en-wheeled is a key aspect of cyborgification for people post-SCI. Briefly, cyborgification denotes the coupling of human and technology. As Howe [9] argued, cyborg bodies can be situated

51 along a continuum from those that require very little technological aid to those who
52 benefit greatly from technology. Likewise, Norman and Moola [10] noted that cyborgs
53 range from the apparently trivial, such as corrective eyewear, to more anxiety-inducing
54 forms, such as restorative prosthetics. Whatever is the case, the metaphor of the cyborg
55 problematizes the supposedly clear boundary between human body and assistive
56 technology. As part of this concern, theories of the posthuman or cyborg have
57 reconsidered the question of agency.

58 From a humanist perspective, “agency is an innate characteristic of the
59 essentialist, intentional free subject” [11, p.733]. In contrast, posthumanism views
60 agency as “enacted, generated in, with, and through interactions and entanglements of
61 people with technologies as part of more-than-human worlds” [12, p.29]. Underpinning
62 this viewpoint are two core arguments. First, not only is agency attributed to humans,
63 but also to non-humans and matter. Matter has agentic capacity, that is to say, the ability
64 to animate, to act, to generate reactions. In practice, this implies that “one has to
65 suppress his or her humanist assumption that human beings act and material objects are
66 simply used” [13, p. 114]. Second, agency is horizontally distributed and relational.
67 Agency is not restricted to a bounded subject, but exists in relational networks or
68 assemblages of human and non-human actors that operate together as a whole. For
69 example, a human body comes together with a wheelchair in order to configure a
70 human-nonhuman assemblage that works as a functional entity. Within this intimate
71 assemblage, there is no clear distinction between the individual and the wheelchair. As
72 Pickering [14, p. 26] noted, “the human actors are still there but now inextricably
73 entangled with the nonhuman”.

74 To express the interplay of human and nonhuman agency, Pickering uses the
75 metaphor ‘dance of agency’ in which both elements are “mangled in practice” (p. 23).

76 Importantly, the elements participating in this ‘dance’ do not possess agency in and of
77 themselves, but are mutually and emergently constitutive of one another. As Freeman
78 [15] puts it, “human and nonhuman entities co-construct dynamic and influential
79 networks of associations”. Thus, a person living with SCI *becomes* in an emergent
80 relation with the wheelchair in the human body-wheelchair assemblage. Both *become*
81 *together* by virtue of being connected. This means that not just the components in the
82 assemblage act, but the assemblage itself acts. Bennett [16] named this ‘agentic
83 assemblage’.

84 As agentic, assemblages are always evolving to include broader network
85 connections with other assemblages. Given this interconnectedness, it is impossible to
86 conceptualize the human body-wheelchair assemblage as consisting only of these two
87 elements [17,18]. Therefore, addressing the basic human body-wheelchair assemblage
88 requires also considering the relations with other affecting elements (e.g., walkers,
89 disability discourses) and broader assemblages, e.g., rehabilitation environments
90 [Reference removed for double blind review 2]. However, as Brownlie and Spandler
91 [19] warned, these relations are extensive, so we have to be selective. In this regard,
92 researchers make what Barad [20] termed ‘agential cuts’ in deciding what to *focus on*
93 and how to present their arguments. As Lupton put it (11, no page), “they engage in
94 creative imaginings in attempting to map the entanglements, assemblages... and
95 becomings that are represented in research participants’ words and practices”. In this
96 article, we enact an agential cut in order to focus on the human body-wheelchair
97 assemblage along with its key relations with other assemblages and elements. We do
98 this empirically by documenting and discussing the process of becoming en-wheeled of
99 Patrick.

100

Method

This article is grounded on a four-year project designed to travel Patrick's journey through illness and disability. Patrick is a 46-year-old man diagnosed with chordoma, a poor prognostic cancer that is aggressive and locally invasive [21]. Given that his chordoma is located at the thoracic spine, it caused damage in the spinal cord. Over a span of six years, he had six life-threatening surgeries in order to remove the tumour. Each new surgery provoked further harm in his spine, eventually resulting in a complete paraplegia.

X first met Patrick in an adapted gym where the former was a volunteer, and invited him to participate in a series of recorded interviews that would explore his experience of illness and disability. Prior to data collection, the research obtained the approval of the Ethics Committee of Research on Humans from the University Y. In accordance with ethical requirements, Patrick gave written informed consent to voluntarily participate in the project and was fully aware of his ability to withdraw at any stage without reprisal. Thenceforth, consent was processual and fully informed. This means that Patrick was invited to review his participation as the research project progressed and it became clearer what his role might entail.

Throughout the project, three data-prompted interviews were conducted [22]. The personalized prompts included images, objects and text, which served to stimulate discussion in the interview setting. The interviews were loosely structured, and Patrick was encouraged to share stories about his experiences in his own words and according to his own relevancies. X invited Patrick to reflect upon key events, and to discuss his connection with different 'disability artifacts' [23]. To do so, detail-oriented, elaboration and clarification probes were used [24]. Probes included 'could you tell me more about that (experience; photograph; object)?' 'Can you give me an example?'

126 'How did that affected your life?' 'Could you explain that further?' All the interviews
127 were conducted at Patrick's home and totalled six hours. Alongside with these
128 interviews, participant observation and informal interviews via telephone and instant
129 messaging were conducted. To ensure a nonhierarchical relationship with Patrick, X
130 became involved in a reciprocal sharing of his personal stories. Thanks to the sincere
131 rapport built throughout the research, Patrick started to contact him by own initiative to
132 share new stories, images and personal thoughts. The information exchange gradually
133 increased, and this prolonged contact with Patrick allowed to gather interesting and
134 significant data on enwheelment without forcing the emergence of the topic. Currently,
135 X has abandoned the role of the researcher, but he is still in permanent contact with
136 Patrick to support him and keep listening his stories.

137 Given the multi-layered nature of the research, supportive but 'critical friends'
138 versed in qualitative research, disability and physical activity were also involved in the
139 elaboration of the project. Their role was to stimulate reflexivity and alternative views,
140 examine matters like theoretical preferences, and ask provocative questions regarding
141 data and writing [25]. This collaboration resulted in some previous works on the case
142 [XXX], which were useful to provide a preliminary backdrop for the particular focus of
143 this paper.

144 The data were analysed using narrative analysis that was sensitized by a 'more-
145 than-human' perspective [26]. That is to say, while narrative research focuses on
146 humans and the meanings they construct as the primary source of data, we incorporated
147 attention to materiality through the analysis, thus shifting the focus from Patrick and his
148 stories to include a consideration of non-human entities. Accordingly, we used the
149 notion of assemblage as the key analytical reference. This notion has proved useful to
150 analyse narrative data and attend the material realities of disability without embracing

151 essentialist understandings of the impaired body [27,17]. For our study, we have
152 inspired in the he work of Gibson [e.g. 28,29,30], who demonstrated –theoretically *and*
153 empirically– how thinking through assemblages is an ingenious and fruitful way of
154 addressing the relationships between people and technologies in the context of
155 rehabilitation. Importantly, her work shows how assemblage thinking focuses on
156 processual, rather than fixed connections. Accordingly, we do not just examine the
157 combination of elements comprising the assemblage (Patrick and the wheelchair), but
158 also the consequences resulting from the different ways those elements interact, i.e., the
159 process of becoming en-wheeled.

160 Against this analytical backdrop, our exploration proceeded as follows. First, we
161 examined data to describe and interpret how Patrick’s enwheelment developed over
162 time. Second, we discussed these interpretations by reading them in relation to other
163 cases of enwheelment available in literature. Here, we identified significant contrasts
164 between the ways Patrick and other people talked about, perceived and felt the
165 wheelchair. We interpreted those contrasts through posthuman disability studies in order
166 to amplify and deepen our insights. This discussion prompted us to engage in theory
167 building. Progressively, our reflections led to the identification of two modes of
168 enwheelment that, remarkably, spread to other types of cyborgification.

169

170 **Restitution assemblage**

171 The doctor said to me, ‘Man, use the wheelchair!’ and so. No, I do not want to,
172 man. I want to walk again, you know?

173

174 Patrick’s process of becoming en-wheeled was framed by restitution. Although
175 ‘restitution’ has been defined as a dominant narrative that structure illness and disability

176 stories [31, Reference removed for double blind review 1], it can also be seen as an
177 agentic assemblage made up of narrative *and* material components [Reference removed
178 for double blind review 2]. This large assemblage includes smaller assemblages made of
179 stories, interactions, medical and rehabilitation procedures, bodies, objects, buildings
180 and fluids that work together to produce specific practices of becoming. In the case of
181 Patrick, these practices were oriented to turn the ‘I can no longer walk’ of his injured
182 embodiment into ‘I can walk again’.

183 Given his focus on walking again, Patrick did not embraced the wheelchair.
184 However, that Patrick neglected the possibility of incorporating it in his way of being
185 did not prevent him to develop a positive and productive cyborg identity in relation to
186 other technologies. For instance, he accepted and celebrated massive inorganic materials
187 (i.e. prosthesis) inside of him, which allowed him to function on a daily basis (Figure 1).
188 Indeed, he viewed this ‘metalwork’ as a “*medical piece of art*”ⁱ and part of the
189 “*magic*” he needed to return to his former life as able-bodied.



190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
Figure 1. The prosthesis

199
200 Patrick: The photo is awesome. In the middle you can see all the machinery (...)

201 Fourteen screws there... it's a worthwhile image.

202 Javier: Did you see yourself recognised in the image?

203 Patrick: Of course, I knew it was me. I knew it was me, man.

204

205 The prosthesis, which Butryn [1] catalogued as ‘self technologies’, were
206 compatible with the restitution assemblage, as they had the ability to normalise the
207 body. In contrast, the wheelchair reminded Patrick of the impossibility of walking
208 again, that is, of recovering his ‘normal’ life prior to SCI. In this sense, using the
209 wheelchair was incompatible with restitution. At the same time, though, the wheelchair
210 was a constitutive part of restitution, playing an active role in the shaping of Patrick’s
211 experience of SCI. Specifically, it worked as a looking glass that forced comparisons
212 between past, present and future [32]. The wheelchair threatened the temporal
213 orientation of restitution, as well as its designed endpoint (i.e. walking again). With the
214 restitution narrative operating, Patrick’s anticipations of the future, or ‘material
215 imaginings’ [33], omitted the wheelchair. In restitution terms, the acknowledgement of
216 Patrick-wheelchair would represent the acceptance of a defeat.

217

218 **Ableist rehabilitation**

219 Patrick regarded the wheelchair as a problem to overcome or eliminate through
220 engaging in ableist rehabilitation. Ableism is a pervasive ideology that discriminates
221 disabled people and characterises them as inferior to the non-disabled [34]. By ableist
222 rehabilitation, we refer to those conceptions and practices aiming to restore the ‘normal’
223 life and body that ableism uphold as leitmotifs of successful citizenry. Patrick’s
224 rehabilitation represented a fight to return to health or to normalcy, rather than a process
225 of becoming newly abled. He equated recuperating what was lacking (the capacity to
226 walk) with better rehabilitation outcomes, fitting the ableist logic that favour legitimated
227 and standardized bodies (those that can stand) whilst discriminates against others (e.g.,

228 wheelchair users). As a strategy to maintain the narrative of progression to functional
229 recovery, Patrick tried to replace the wheelchair with a walker.

230 I used a walker, dragging my legs! The ambulance left me at the threshold of the
231 hospital door, well, in, let's say where the hospital gym was, and I went inside,
232 thud, thud, thud, dragging my legs as I could, uh, dude. Anyway, trying my best
233 to be able to walk again, that was my goal.

234

235 Walking (or dragging the legs) with the walker was a form of passing as an 'able
236 body'. Disability passing refers to the way people conceal social markers of impairment
237 (such as the wheelchair) to pass as 'normal' [35]. By avoid using the wheelchair to go
238 into the hospital gym, Patrick sought to pass as someone whose 'liberation' from the
239 wheelchair was, in his words, a question of "*patience, time, and hard work in the gym*".
240 Over time, he worked out compulsively in different environments as a means to discard
241 the wheelchair and approximate independent functioning [Reference removed for
242 double blind review 2]. The following comment on the exercise routine that Patrick
243 followed in the personal gym is illustrative of how he lived enwheelment as an
244 individual problem to overcome and correct through will power.

245 For me the magic was to walk again. And that magic would come by what I did,
246 by my discipline, every morning [in the gym] and working out to the limit to
247 walk again (...) I would do 300 push-ups a day, in a series of 50... 50, urgh,
248 urgh, urgh! Man, I tell you, no wheelchair, ...to my top, you know, ...trying to
249 reverse the situation.

250

251 **It's not a part of me, but it is what it is**

252 Patrick was adamant in clarifying that the wheelchair was not, and will not
253 become, a part of him. He viewed the wheelchair as an instrument that provided him a
254 provisional solution to his bodily ‘lack’ or “*a temporary means of transport*”. When
255 asked about the reasons why he refused the wheelchair to be a companion all over his
256 disability journey, he said:

257 My rejection of the wheelchair was given by the limitations that I understood it
258 was going to produce if I stayed confined to it. Well, for example, I loved
259 walking through the mountain or walking through the mountain with my kids.
260 And the wheelchair was going to prevent me from doing that. Therefore, the
261 chair was an obstacle to what I liked to do until that time. So I escaped from the
262 chair because I wanted to do that again. Because I didn’t want to stay confined
263 to the chair again, given the physical limitations that it would produce in me.

264
265 Underlying this comment is the notion of the wheelchair as an obstacle to
266 accomplish restitution, as well as Patrick’s assumption that his situation regarding
267 wheelchair use depended on his intentionality and free will. Through the years, Patrick
268 rejected the wheelchair “*because I was completely sure that I was going to walk again*”.
269 However, the possibility of “*escaping*” from the wheelchair did not last forever. The last
270 (palliative) surgery, along with several conversations with doctors, convinced Patrick
271 that standing up and walk will be unviable for him: “*Now the tumour pinches the spine*
272 *and does not let me walk again, so I begin to assimilate the idea... that this is going to*
273 *be definitive, long-term, man. Well, this is a big shock*”. This ‘shock’ represented a
274 bodily awareness and the subsequent assimilation of SCI, which led to a focus on
275 recovering from cancer and a reluctant acceptance of having become en-wheeled:

276 I am convinced I won't get rid of it anymore because of the circumstances ..., I
277 slowly realised that my normal situation was the wheelchair now (...) the
278 wheelchair, well, it limits me, it fucks me up because I know that there are a
279 number of things I won't be able to do (...) but it is what it is.

280

281 Patrick resignedly assumed that he depended on the wheelchair then on. To
282 paraphrase Peers and Eales [36, p. 112], the wheelchair ended up being a necessary
283 solution to which Patrick became “*uncomfortably* dependent upon”.

284

285 **Discussing Patrick’s enwheelment and beyond**

286 For most people with SCI, wheelchairs are not a choice, but a consequence of
287 living with impairment. Wheelchair users become tangled in the human-wheelchair
288 assemblage (i.e., they become en-wheeled) notwithstanding their hopes and
289 expectations. Enwheelment, we argue, is a reality that proceeds regardless of whether
290 persons with SCI attend to it, or how they choose to make sense of it. Decisively,
291 enwheelment is underpinned by a posthuman ontology, which is faithful to the
292 reciprocal and distributed nature of agency. Seen in this light, people with SCI are
293 already cyborgs [7,37,38] and epitomise the posthuman condition where cyborg
294 connections are neither good nor bad, but unavoidably present [39,40]. This does not
295 mean that enwheelment is neutral for people experiencing it. Rather, this inexorable
296 process is compelling, and the way people respond, make plans and act towards it does
297 make a difference.

298 When the expectations, desires and experiences of wheelchair users do
299 harmonise with the posthuman condition inherent to enwheelment, the process of
300 becoming en-wheeled represents a celebration of connectivity, rather than a negation of

301 it. This is the case of several people who participated in a small but significant corpus of
302 studies on enwheelment [4,5,6,8,29,30,41]. To summarise, the majority of participants
303 from these studies emphasize that the wheelchair ‘became part of them’. That is, they
304 became en-wheeled *with* the wheelchair. They established and reaffirmed a
305 communicative relationship with the wheelchair, developing a positive cyborg identity.
306 Mirroring Frank’s idea of disability as a quest for developing a new self in meaningful
307 ways, these peoples’ process of becoming en-wheelment were affirmative, non-tragic
308 [29].

309 As we showed, Patrick’s enwheelment was distinct. Patrick became en-wheeled
310 *against* the wheelchair. Adapting Frank’s [42] theorisation of the body problems in
311 action to human–non-human assemblages, this relationship with the wheelchair was
312 monadic in nature. That is, Patrick did not related to the wheelchair, but rather pushed it
313 away, using it as a negative reference; he lived among it, but not *with* it. In terms of
314 Patrick’s embodied experience, the wheelchair was felt in the flesh as not a part of him,
315 but apart from him.

316 In the light of the foregoing, we interpret that Patrick lived a humanist-based
317 enwheelment. From a humanist lenses, wheelchair users become known and know
318 themselves in terms of what they are not (abled) and cannot do (walk). They are
319 “lacking subjects who might (if luck holds out) be made better through ableist
320 rehabilitation” [43, p. 235]. Notably, the humanist logic assumes that human beings
321 participate in a common essence, that they possess a set of essential attributes that
322 secure a human status. For example, walking would be considered part of normal
323 species functioning for humans. This essentialism generates an epistemic violence
324 against disabled people, excluding them from full human status [17,39]. To be
325 ‘humans’, they need to fight against impairment and recuperate their essential capacities

326 (e.g., the capacity to walk). This essentialist (and ableist) notion of a species norm is
327 evoked in Straus' argument on the upright posture: 'Upright posture characterizes the
328 human species. Nevertheless, each individual has to struggle in order to make it really
329 his own. Man has to become what he is' [44, p. 534]. What this speaks to in the context
330 of this paper is that the restitution assemblage channels the humanist process of fighting
331 to recuperate the innate set of attributes or characteristics of the essential human that
332 have been troubled by impairment and, as Patrick pointed out, the wheelchair. This is
333 why, despite its emphasis on self-containment, independence and sovereignty,
334 humanism celebrates those human-non human assemblages as compatible with the
335 archetypal, able-bodied human. An instance of this is Patrick's acceptance of his
336 massive prosthesis as a part-of-me, in contrast of his rejection of the wheelchair.

337 **Positive and negative enwheelment: a continuum**

338 Above, we have invited to consider, first, that enwheelment is inherently
339 posthuman and, second, that it can be experienced in different ways depending on the
340 conceptions of agency, disability and the human of the person becoming en-wheeled. In
341 this consideration there are two key conceptions or logics doing a key work to shape the
342 experience of enwheelment, and therefore two different modes of becoming en-
343 wheeled. At first, we called them *humanist* and *posthumanist enwheelment*. These labels
344 were consistent with our theoretical reflections, and could be welcomed and gain
345 acceptance within certain academic circles, such as Disability Studies. Nonetheless, this
346 vocabulary might not be manageable and memorable for mainstream, professional and
347 non-specialised academic audiences. This is problematic, and points out the need of
348 'translating' the concepts in ways that are catchy and usable in different settings.
349 Therefore, we propose using the terms 'negative' and 'positive' as *nicknames* of
350 humanist and posthumanist enwheelment.

351 Importantly, these updated labels keep the soul of our theoretical approach.
 352 ‘Negative’ reflects the humanist view of enwheelment as a lack or a problem to be
 353 solved, while ‘positive’ is linked with the “positive identity of impairment” [29, p.
 354 1332] embraced by the “affirmative politics” of posthumanism [45].ⁱⁱ More importantly,
 355 the labels ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ are accessible and invitational, and thus valuable for
 356 sharing our key messages more effectively to readers, helping them to connect with
 357 ideas productively, plug into them, and put them to work [46].

358 In spite of the greater potential of the terms ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ for
 359 knowledge dissemination, as frequently occurs with ‘everyday terms’, we are conscious
 360 that there is a danger of establishing an illusion of generalizable labels that can be used
 361 uncritically across contexts [47]. In this sense, Buchanan [48, p. 458] cautioned against
 362 a “plain language approach” to concepts, that is, assuming we know what words that
 363 seem ordinary mean. To avoid misunderstandings, the concepts ‘positive’ and
 364 ‘negative’ enwheelment have to be situated in the onto-epistemological, political and
 365 theoretical contexts that we have described in the paper. To facilitate and promote such
 366 conceptual awareness, but also to take into account the range of variations that can
 367 operate in between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ enwheelment, we propose the following
 368 continuum (Figure 2).

369



370

371 **Figure 2.** A continuum of enwheelment

372

373 Within the proposed continuum, multiple ‘relational modalities’ (i.e., ways of
374 connecting to or disconnecting from the wheelchair) are possible [5]. These are not
375 permanent or definitive. Across time, a person can move across the continuum without
376 following a predetermined order [5]. This way, the continuum respects the idea that the
377 human body-wheelchair assemblage is a temporary, fluid and mobile connection that is
378 adjusted and modified depending on its connections with other agents and agentic
379 assemblages. Although the polarisation of the terms negative and positive suggests
380 archetypical modes of enwheelment, the continuum also allows understanding of
381 liminal or ambivalent zones, as well as overlapping cyborgification processes.

382 Let us pause here, for a moment, and consider the example of the Patrick-
383 Protheses assemblage. As we indicated earlier, Patrick became *with* the prosthesis, but
384 he did so in order to achieve restitution and all that this involves. This shows that
385 cyborgification process can be positive *and* negative at the same time. We believe this
386 ambivalence is not a weakness of our theoretical frame. Rather, it signals the intricate
387 nature of cyborgification, and the utility of the continuum for sensing conflicts and
388 paradoxes. Therefore, another strength of the continuum is that it motivates reflection
389 on the complexities and nuances that enwheelment, and more broadly cyborgification,
390 entails.

391 Finally, it is worth clarifying that the continuum is not meant to be hierarchical
392 or evaluative. Quite the reverse, we reject any dichotomist, prescriptive or moral
393 temptation to cause a rift between good or preferable *positive* enwheelment, in contrast
394 to a wrong or bad *negative* one. In this regard, here we did not seek to condemn
395 rehabilitation practices focused on restitution, which makes significant strides in helping
396 people hold their own and, under certain conditions, help them to restore their body

397 close to its former, pre-injured state.

398 That being said, it can be argued that developing a positive relationship with the
399 wheelchair is important and necessary for disabled people in terms of flourishing and
400 living a good life in the long run. When disabled bodies need wheelchairs, they may
401 need to move away from the rigidity and narrowness of humanism and engage with
402 posthumanism, which means exploring new modes of being cyborg through interfacing
403 positively with the technologies to which they depend upon. This direction is taken by
404 critical posthumanist approach in an explicit and direct manner. As Braidotti [45, p.
405 134] put it, posthuman critical thought aims “at transformation of negative into positive
406 passions”.

407 Such a transformation, however, is not straightforward. As Papadimitriou [6]
408 pointed out, becoming en-wheeled involves a constant challenge of negotiating,
409 reorganizing and reconfiguring one’s way of being and doing. In this sense, it is also
410 worth noting that flourishing *with* the wheelchair is not only about meaning and about
411 accomplishment, but also includes hardships, limitation, and failure in the process [49].
412 Hence, people living with impairments may need to take their time to incorporate the
413 wheelchair [3,4], and perhaps acknowledge that becoming one with the wheelchair
414 straightaway post-SCI may be as unrealistic as quickly returning to their former, able
415 body.

416

417 **Conclusions and implications**

418 This paper has engaged with posthuman disability studies to provide
419 understanding about the process of becoming en-wheeled. Concretely, it has explored a
420 cyborg assemblage comprised by a man living with SCI and his manual wheelchair. The
421 article has offered insights into the ways in which the process of becoming en-wheeled

422 might be lived within the restitution assemblage. The Patrick-wheelchair coupling is
423 just a small part of the networks of humans and non-humans that form the restitution
424 assemblage. However, we have showed how focussing on this intimate assemblage may
425 help us to understand with more depth one of the many ways restitution is materialized,
426 and not just drawn as a story a person draws on to shape experiences. For example, we
427 have showed how restitution emplotted the wheelchair as a barrier to independence and
428 mobilised practices of ableist rehabilitation to break the cyborg assemblage formed
429 between Patrick and his wheelchair. Here, it is noteworthy that the use we have made of
430 the notion ‘restitution’. Instead of applying restitution as simply a narrative resource, we
431 have articulated it as a more-than-human concept that helped us addressing both the
432 narrative and material forces that made up the realities of live for Patrick [Reference
433 removed for double blind review 2].

434 The analysis indicated that Patrick’s process of becoming en-wheeled was
435 developed negatively (against the wheelchair), rather than positively (with the
436 wheelchair). The restitution assemblage was underpinned by a broader humanist logic
437 that disregarded connectivity. In contrast with much of the previous literature on the
438 process of becoming en-wheeled, Patrick’s process was not oriented to fit himself and
439 the wheelchair together, but rather to divorce from the wheelchair and recuperate the
440 normative capacities of the able-bodied human (i.e., walking) that humanism regards as
441 essential. Deepening on this issue, our discussion derived in a continuum articulating
442 the notions of negative and positive enwheelment. We have already explained what the
443 continuum is, but it remains some important questions: For what and for whom is the
444 continuum useful? To do what? Our intention is that this theoretic frame could help
445 those who experience enwheelment and those who accompany them, mostly

446 practitioners, such as physiotherapists, rehabilitation workers, SCI support staff, and
447 other relevant health professionals, as well as disability scholars.

448 First, the continuum may prove useful for wheelchair users to know, name and
449 critically reflect on how enwheelment is affecting their lives, as well as to educate them
450 towards the potentialities of other ways of being and doing through enwheelment. For
451 example, a disabled person whose only reason to engage in a rehabilitation program was
452 avoiding the wheelchair was made aware of the humanist (essentialist and ableist)
453 nature of negative enwheelment, he/she may be prompted to do rehabilitation also as a
454 means to “feel the wheelchair”, in line with a positive mode of enwheelment [3].

455 Second, using the continuum as a guide or reference can facilitate practitioners
456 recognising the potentials and perils in certain assemblages and helping clients to
457 incorporate assistive technologies in ways that support flourishing. In this sense, the
458 continuum may sensitise practitioners on their approach to rehabilitation practice,
459 including what is valued and discouraged, which in turn influences clients’ “feeling of
460 dependency” [4]. It can do so because the ideas of positive and negative suggest an
461 ethical and practical question: which is the direction that enwheelment processes should
462 take? This thought-provoking question may act on professionals, demanding them to
463 adopt a position. Be that as it may, taking into account the posthumanist nature of
464 enwheelment (of both positive and negative enwheelment), rehabilitation practice
465 becomes not a relationship of assistance between an active practitioner and a passive
466 rehabilitation receiver, but rather a collective attention to the relationships –the
467 connections– that develop between the person, the wheelchair, and the surrounding
468 assemblages –such as restitution-. The theoretical frame we have proposed allows the
469 nature of these relationships to be quickly identified amidst the messy, complexity that
470 characterizes each varied personal process of becoming en-wheeled.

471 Finally, our theoretical frame might be useful for disability scholars willing to
472 examine enwheelment and, more broadly, different modes of cyborgification or human-
473 non human assemblages involving different contexts (e.g. sport), populations (e.g.
474 elderly people), impairments (e.g. cerebral palsy) and disability artifacts (e.g. assistive
475 listening devices). This is not though to impose the interpretations suggested here onto
476 people or their research. Nor is it an attempt to equip readers with a one-size-fits-all
477 theoretical model. Rather than aspiring to offer the final word on enwheelment or other
478 cyborgification processes, the present study seeks to encourage curiosity in the reader
479 and inspire dialogue. In this sense, the paper stands out for its potential for heuristic
480 significance [2] that is, for moving people to further explore, research, or act on the
481 research in the future.

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607 **Acknowledgments**

608 Authors want to thank the editor and the anonymous reviewers for their useful
609 comments. And, above all, they want to thank Patrick for his generosity in
610 sharing his time and stories with us.

611

ⁱ We use italics and inverted commas to insert Patrick's voice in the text.

ⁱⁱ In our theoretical proposition, the notion of positive enwheelment is not linked to the positive psychology approach, which often depoliticises disability and promotes an individualistic vision of human flourishing. Contrariwise, it draws on the posthuman critique of humanist individualism, meaning that it challenges the negative connotation of dependency and injects a positive view on our relational existence.