ODNOS LJUDI IZ OKOLINE PREMA OSOBAMA S INVALIDITETOM

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLE FROM THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY AND PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES

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Sažetak: *Odnos ljudi iz okoline prema osobama s invaliditetom uvijek je bio složen, pri čemu se izvjesne razlike mogu uočiti s obzirom na to radi li se o potpuno nepoznatim ili pak bliskim osobama. Navedeno se može promatrati kroz prizmu različitih modela invaliditeta te nekoliko teorija poput teorije kontakata i modela o sadržaju stereotipa. Cilj je istražiti odnos ljudi iz okoline prema osobama s invaliditetom. U istraživanju je primijenjen kvalitativni pristup, a podaci su prikupljeni metodom analize arhivske građe. Jedinice analize bile su 49 studentskih osvrta o radu s ukupno 51 osobom s invaliditetom. Rezultati pokazuju kako nepoznate osobe mogu iskazivati pojačanu pažnju, osjetljivost na potrebe, ali i neugodu te neprimjereno ophođenje prema osobama s invaliditetom. Prijatelji i poznanici dominantno se odnose vrlo pozitivno prema osobama s invaliditetom, no primijećene su i izvjesne ambivalentnosti. Odnos članova obitelji prema osobama s invaliditetom uglavnom je obilježen prihvaćanjem i pružanjem pomoći koja ponekad, uz prezaštićivanje može narušavati autonomiju osoba s invaliditetom. Dobivena saznanja ukazuju kako ljudi iz okoline prema osobama s invaliditetom ne iskazuju samo sažaljenje i pružaju pomoć kako se to stereotipno očekuje nego su ti odnosi znatno slojevitiji i sadržajniji te mogu biti pozitivni, ambivalentni, ali i vrlo negativni.*

Ključne riječi: *osobe s invaliditetom; reakcije na invaliditet; stavovi o osobama s invaliditetom; socijalna mreža; etnografska istraživanja*

Abstract: *The relationships between people from the surrounding community and people with disabilities has always been complex, and specific differences can be seen with regard to whether one is considering entirely unknown or known/close individuals. These differences can be observed through the prism of various models of disability and theories such as the Contact Theory and Stereotype Content Model. The objective of this study was to examine the relationships between people from the surrounding community and people with disabilities. The research adopted a qualitative approach, and the data were collected using secondary data analysis. The units of analysis were 49 students' reviews on their work with a total of 51 people with disabilities. The results show that unfamiliar people can exhibit increased attention and sensitivity to needs, as well as discomfort and inappropriate behaviour toward people with disabilities. Friends and acquaintances show predominantly positive behaviours toward people with disabilities, although certain ambivalences have also been observed. The relationship of family members and people with disabilities is mainly marked by acceptance and caregiving, which sometimes, alongside overprotection, could undermine the autonomy of people with disabilities. Obtained knowledge indicates how people from the surrounding community not only show remorse and provide the assistance that is stereotypically expected toward people with disabilities but also show a significantly layered and meaningful relationship that can be either positive, ambivalent, or quite negative.*

Keywords: *people with disabilities, reaction to disability, attitudes toward people with disabilities, social network, ethnographic research*

UVOD

Odnos ljudi iz okoline prema osobama s invaliditetom uvijek je bio složen. Brojni povijesni primjeri govore o izrazito negativnom odnosu gdje bi postojanje određene teškoće, odnosno invaliditeta[1] značilo smrt, ali s druge su strane i brojne glorifikacije invaliditeta kao svojevrsne nadnaravnosti (Leutar i Buljevac, 2020). Dinamičnost odnosa vidi se i u različitim modelima invaliditeta koji su se sukcesivno javljali uglavnom kao odgovor na manjkavosti do tada dominirajućeg modela. Prvi je u tom nizu model milosrđa koji naglašava nužnost prihvaćanja osoba s invaliditetom, ali se pritom na tu osobu gleda kao na osobu koju je zapravo zadesila teška nesreća, što izaziva sažaljenje i promatranje kroz prizmu oštećenja (Leutar i Buljevac, 2020). U sljedećem, medicinskom modelu, glavni je fokus na oštećenju organizma koje je potrebno liječiti (Urbanc, 2005). Ako to nije moguće, institucionalizacija, tj. smještanje u specijalizirane ustanove uobičajeni je način dugotrajne skrbi koji zapravo vodi socijalnoj smrti konkretne osobe, a društvo lišava iskustva suživota s takvim osobama (Rafaelič i Flaker, 2021). S druge strane, socijalni model koji se, uz model ljudskih prava, može smatrati dominantnom paradigmom u suvremenom poimanju invaliditeta, ipak zadržava razlikovanje oštećenja kao svojevrsne biološke datosti i invaliditeta u užem smislu, koji nastaje kao posljedica interakcije pojedinca s neprilagođenom okolinom (Zaviršek, 2009; Kazou, 2017). U skladu s time, društvo je to koje stvara prepreke, stoga ima obvezu i ukloniti ih kako bi osobe s invaliditetom mogle biti ravnopravni članovi (Zaviršek, 2009).

[1] Postoje kritike kako je invaliditet izrazito heterogen fenomen koji je teško promatrati kroz prizmu oštećenja i razlikovati samo nekoliko kategorija koje kada se koriste, više služe „lijepljenju etiketa“ i administrativnom klasificiranju ljudi, umjesto njihovom dubljem razumijevanju (Rafaelič i Flaker, 2021). Ipak, u tekstu će se, sukladno Konvenciji o pravima osoba s invaliditetom (Narodne novine, 6/2007), primjenjivati razlikovanje četiri osnovna tipa oštećenja – tjelesno, mentalno, osjetilno i intelektualno, koje u međudjelovanju s okolinom onemogućuju osobu u punom i ravnopravnom društvenom sudjelovanju, tj. dovodi do invaliditeta. U tom će se smislu upotrebljavati i razlikovanje tjelesnog, mentalnog, osjetilnog i intelektualnog invaliditeta.

INTRODUCTION

The attitude of people from the surrounding community toward people with disabilities has always been complex. Numerous historical examples talk about extremely negative attitudes where the existence of specific difficulties, i.e., disability[1], meant death, but on the other hand, there are various glorifications of disability as a kind of transcendence (Leutar and Buljevac, 2020). The dynamism of attitudes could be seen in different models of disabilities that appeared successively, mainly as a response to the imperfection of the dominant model at that time. The first is the charity model that emphasises the necessity of accepting people with disabilities. However, the same is observed when a person experiences a serious accident, which provokes remorse and observation through the prism of damage (Leutar and Buljevac, 2020). In the next *medical model*, the main focus was on damaged organisms that should be treated (Urbanc, 2005). If that is not possible, institutionalisation (i.e., placement in specialised facilities) was considered as a common approach for long-term care, leading to the social death of the person involved, as well as society being deprived of the experience of coexistence with people with disability (Rafaelič and Flaker, 2021). On the other side, the *social model*, which could, alongside the *human rights model*, be considered as a dominant paradigm in contemporary disability observation, still maintains that the difference caused by impairments are a biological given and views disability in a narrow sense, that appears as a consequence of an individual's interaction with unadjusted environments (Zaviršek, 2009; Kazou 2017). Due to that, the society is the

[1] Some critics argue that disability is a highly heterogeneous phenomenon that is hard to observe from the perspective of impairment, and it differentiates only a few categories, which, when used, serve more to "label someone" and administratively classify people, instead of providing a deeper understanding of the subject (Rafaelič and Flaker, 2021). Nevertheless, in the present study, following the "Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities" (Official Gazette, 6/2007), the four essential types of impairment will be used - physical, mental, sensory, and intellectual - which in interaction with various barriers hinder peoples' full and equal social participation, that is, leads to disability. Physical, mental, sensory, and intellectual differentiation will be used in that sense.

Pored spomenutih modela koji reflektiraju šire, sociokulturalne konture, različite teorije također pokušavaju objasniti kako se i zašto ljudi odnose prema osobama s invaliditetom. Jedna od najpoznatijih, temeljnih sociooloških teorija jest Allportova teorija kontakata koja kazuje kako su ljudi skloni imati negativne stavove prema drugima čija obilježja odstupaju od očekivanog, ali tijekom kontakta s tim ljudima stavovi ipak mogu postati značajno pozitivniji (Rademaker i sur., 2020). Goffman (2008) pojašnjava kako društvo neke karakteristike pojedinca može smatrati devijantnim te takve pojedince izvrgnuti stigmi. Posebice je to značajno kod osoba s invaliditetom gdje se određena teškoća poput mentalne ili tjelesne smatra izrazito nepoželjnom pa se nositelji takvih obilježja suočavaju s brojnim predrasudama i diskriminacijom (Goffman, 2008). Stoga socijalni konstruktivizam naglašava kako je invaliditet (još jedna) društvena konstrukcija, tj. oblikovan je na razini društva, a ne na razini pojedinca (Olsen i Pilson, 2022). Osobe s invaliditetom tako često postaju žrtve *ableisma,* tj. nepovoljnog odnosa prema njima upravo zbog činjenice da imaju invaliditet (Nario-Redmond, Kemerling i Silverman, 2019). Sukladno tome, posljedice poput društvene isključenosti, stigmatizacije, diskriminacije, nasilja te uskrate ljudskih prava ne proizlaze iz vlastitog stanja, već iz neprilagođenosti društvenog okruženja (Pérez-Garín i sur., 2018; Nario-Redmond i sur., 2019). Ono je pak refleksija dominantnih stavova prema osobama s invaliditetom.

U razumijevanju takvih stavova može poslužiti model o sadržaju stereotipa (*eng. Stereotype Content Model)*, koji su razvili Fiske i suradnici (2002), a koji objašnjava kako su stavovi određeni dvjema temeljnim dimenzijama. Prva je kompetencija, tj. smatraju li se članovi neke grupe dovoljno sposobnima u odnosu na opću populaciju. Druga je dimenzija toplina, tj. doživljaju li se članovi neke grupe općenito kao topli ili hladni u odnosima (Fiske i sur., 2002). Sukladno navedenoj teoriji, kada se osobe s invaliditetom smatra toplima i nekompetentnima, to kod drugih ljudi izaziva sažaljenje, suosjećanje i naklonjenost pa su zbog toga spremniji štititi ih, ali i staviti u pone that creates obstacles, which must be removed in order to make people with disabilities equal members of the society (Zaviršek, 2009).

Apart from the above-mentioned models, which reflect broader, socio-cultural contours, different theories also try to explain how and why people treat individuals with disabilities in a certain way. The most famous fundamental sociological theory is Allport's *Contact Theory*, which says that people tend to have negative attitudes toward those whose characteristics deviate from expectations. However, during contact with these people, attitudes could become significantly positive (Rademaker et al., 2020). Goffman (2008) explained that a society could consider an individual's characteristics as deviant, thus exposing these individuals to stigma. This is important in the context of people with disabilities, especially where certain disabilities such as mental or physical are considered extremely unwelcome; as a result, these individuals confront many prejudices and discrimination (Goffman, 2008). Because of that, *Social Constructivism* emphasises that disability is (one more) a social construct, that is, it is formed at the societal level and not at the individual level (Olsen & Pilson, 2022). Therefore, individuals often become the victim of *ableism*, that is, unfavourable relationships toward people with disabilities based on their status (Nario-Redmond et al., 2019). Therefore, consequences such as social exclusion, stigmatisation, discrimination, violence, and lack of human rights do not derive from their body condition, but from the lack of adjustment in the social environment (Pérez-Garín et al., 2018; Nario-Redmond et al., 2019). It is actually a reflection of dominant attitudes towards people with disabilities.

These attitudes can be understood with the help of the *Stereotype Content Model* developed by Fiske et al. (2002), which explains that two basic dimensions determine attitudes. The first one is competence, that is, if some group members are considered capable enough in relation to the general population. The second dimension is warmth, that is, if some group members are considered to be warm or cold in relationships (Fiske et al., 2002). According to the theory, when people with disabilities are considered to be *warm* and *incompetent*, that prompts remorse, compassion, and affection in other people, and they are more likely to pro-

dređeni položaj (Nario-Redmond i sur., 2019). S druge strane, moguć je doživljaj pojedine osobe s invaliditetom kao nesposobne, ali i hladne, što izaziva odbojnost, prijezir i izbjegavanje socijalne interakcije (Nario-Redmond i sur., 2019).

Stavovi o osobama s invaliditetom vrlo su se ekstenzivno istraživali, o čemu svjedoče brojne i nedavne metaanalize dosadašnjih istraživanja (Tyerman, Patovirta i Celestini, 2021; Ee, Stenfert Kroese i Rose, 2022; Han i sur., 2022; Lindsay i sur., 2023; Antonopoulos, Sugden i Saliba; 2023; Levitt, Thelwall i Moreira, 2024). Često se u obzir uzimaju sociodemografska obilježja, pa je utvrđeno da općenito žene, obrazovaniji i stručnjaci pomagačkih zanimanja imaju pozitivnije stavove prema osobama s invaliditetom (Jewett i sur., 2018; Freer, 2023). S obzirom na dob, razinu prihoda i religioznost rezultati su vrlo raznoliki, ponekad i dijametralno suprotni, pa nije moguće izvući jednoznačan zaključak (Jewett i sur., 2018; Kim i sur., 2023; Freer, 2023).

Težina invaliditeta često se pronalazi kao jedan od najznačajnijih čimbenika, pa će tako ljudi češće negativnije stavove iskazivati prema osobama s težim invaliditetom (Jewett i sur., 2018). Pritom postoje izvjesne razlike i s obzirom na vrstu invaliditeta. Sklonost prema negativnijim stavovima najizraženija je spram osoba s intelektualnim i mentalnim, zatim prema osobama s tjelesnim, a najmanje prema osobama sa senzornim invaliditetom (Jewett i sur. 2018; Freer, 2023).

No, osim općenito stavova društva, posebno, ali još uvijek nedovoljno istraženo područje znanstvenog interesa odnosi su ljudi iz neposredne okoline prema osobama s invaliditetom. Nario-Redmond i suradnici (2019) donose pregled brojnih istraživanja o reakcijama poput izrugivanja, zgražanja, brutalnosti, pretjeranog divljenja i pružanja neželjene pomoći koje se pojavljuju u kontaktu s osobama s invaliditetom.

Mogu se uočiti izvjesne razlike ovisno o tome radi li se o potpuno nepoznatim ljudima koji se (slučajno) nađu u blizini osobe s invaliditetom ili ljudima koji su u nekoj mjeri dio njihove socijalne mreže. Vezano za prvu skupinu, Shaw i Pataki (2020) navode kako ljudi bez invaliditeta mogu u

tect them, but they are also ready to put them in a subordinate position (Nario-Redmond et al., 2019). On the other hand, it is possible to experience an individual with disabilities as *incapable* and *cold*, which causes repulsion, contempt, and avoidance of social interaction (Nario-Redmond et al. 2019).

Attitudes toward people with disabilities have been extensively researched, as shown by numerous and recent systematic reviews of this subject (Tyerman et al., 2021; Ee et al., 2022; Han et al., 2022; Lindsay et al., 2023; Antonopoulos et al., 2023; Levitt et al.,, 2024). It is often considered that sociodemographic characteristics, such as women in general, more educated people, and experts in helping professions, have positive attitudes toward people with disabilities (Jewett et al., 2018; Freer, 2023). Regarding age, level of income, and religiosity, the results are very heterogeneous, sometimes even diametrically opposite, and therefore, it is not possible to make an unequivocal conclusion (Jewett et al., 2018; Kim et al., 2023; Freer, 2023).

The severity of disability is often found as one of the most significant factors: people are more likely to exhibit negative attitudes towards people with severe disabilities (Jewett et al., 2018). At the same time, there are specific differences with regard to the type of disability. The tendency to exhibit negative attitudes is expressed most often towards people with intellectual and mental disabilities, followed by people with physical disabilities, and finally, people with sensory disabilities (Jewett et and, 2018; Freer, 2023).

However, except for the general societal attitudes, another area of scientific interest that has not been sufficiently researched is the relationship between people from the immediate surroundings and people with disabilities. Nario-Redmond et al. (2019) reviewed numerous research studies that examined the manifestation of reactions such as mockery, outrage, brutality, excessive admiration, and unwanted assistance when individuals come in contact with people with disabilities.

There are specific differences in behaviour depending on whether one is considering entirely unknown people that are (accidentally) close to the person with disability or people that are in

prisustvu osoba s invaliditetom osjećati nervozu, nelagodu i razdražljivost. Neki od razloga pojave takvih osjećaja jest nastojanje da se osoba ponaša kao da druga osoba nema nikakav invaliditet ili pak prevelika usredotočenost na vidljivi invaliditet, što zapravo otežava spontanost u komunikaciji (Shaw i Pataki 2020).

Osim toga, u kontaktu s osobom s invaliditetom ljudi često iskazuju rezerviranije i kontroliranije ponašanje ili pak potpuno neprikladno ponašanje kao što je pretjerano zaštićivanje jer nisu sigurni kako pristupiti osobi s invaliditetom i hoće li možda učiniti nešto pogrešno (McCaughey i sur., 2010, prema Shaw i Pataki 2020). Često se rađa i strah od nepredvidljivog i potencijalno agresivnog ponašanja osobe s invaliditetom, što proizlazi iz uvriježenih stereotipa i nepoznavanja osobe, pa se odstupanja od očekivanog ponašanja mogu pogrešno tumačiti (Freer, 2023). Posebice je navedeno izraženo kada je riječ o osobama s mentalnim i intelektualnim invaliditetom koje se smatra nepredvidljivijima, što korespondira s prijašnjom konstatacijom o općenito negativnijim stavovima prema ovoj skupini osoba s invaliditetom (Jewett i sur., 2018; Freer, 2023). U prilog tome idu i istraživanja koja govore kako ljudi negativnije reagiraju kada se susreću s osobama kod kojih invaliditet nije (osobito) vidljiv, pa sve eventualne teškoće u međusobnom ophođenju uokviruju kao mane te osobe, a ne kao posljedicu invaliditeta (Granjon i sur., 2025). Drugim riječima, kada su u kontaktu s osobom čiji je invaliditet jasno vidljiv, poput gluhoće, sljepoće ili upotrebe invalidskih kolica, ljudi će ipak biti osjetljiviji te naklonjeniji, nego kada su u kontaktu, primjerice, s osobom s mentalnim teškoćama (Granjon i sur., 2025). S druge strane, neugodni osjećaji smanjuju se kada susret obilježava usredotočenost na nešto drugo, a ne na samu osobu s invaliditetom (Bould i sur., 2018[2]).

[2] Citirani autori navode primjer kako osobe s invaliditetom koje imaju psa mnogo lakše ostvaruju kontakte s nepoznatim osobama jer u susretima često združuju pažnju na samog psa, pa invaliditet i spomenuta usredotočenost drugih ljudi na njega biva u drugom planu.

some sense part of their social network. Regarding the first group, Shaw and Pataki (2020) found that people without disabilities can feel nervousness, discomfort, and irritability when in the presence of people with disabilities. Some of the reasons for this are the tendency to behave as if the other person does not have any disability, or for example, placing an enormous focus on the visible disability, which makes spontaneity in communication hard (Shaw and Pataki 2020).

When it comes to contact with people with disabilities, people often show withdrawn and controlled behaviour, or completely inadequate behaviour, because they are unsure about the way to approach a person with a disability and are worried about doing something wrong (McCaughey et al., 2010, according to Shaw and Pataki, 2020). There is often fear associated with the unpredictable and potentially aggressive behaviour of a person with disability. This fear arises from the typical stereotype regarding people with disabilities, as well as from not knowing the person. Thus, the deviations from expected behaviour could be observed incorrectly (Freer, 2023). The latter is specifically expressed in the case of people with mental and intellectual disabilities, who are considered to be unpredictable. This corresponds to the above-mentioned statement about general negative attitudes towards this group of people with disabilities (Jewett et al. 2018; Freer, 2023). This is also supported by research about people reacting negatively when meeting people whose disability is not (particularly) noticeable, and thus, all the eventual difficulties in mutual behaviour are seen as vices of that person, and not as a consequence of the disability (Granjon et al., 2025). In other words, when coming into contact with a person whose disability is clearly noticeable, such as deafness, blindness, or the use of a wheelchair, people will be more sensitive and fond of that person in comparison to being in contact with, for example, a person with mental disabilities (Granjon et al., 2025). On the other hand, unpleasant feelings are reduced when the encounter is characterised by focus on something else, not just the person with disability (Bould et al., 2018[2]).

[2] The cited authors give an example that people with disabilities who have a dog find it easier to develop contact with unknown people because the focus is on the dog. The reason

No, kako je neugoda dominantnija, općenito osobe s invaliditetom teže ostvaruju prijateljstva i odnose s drugim ljudima, pa je njihova socijalna mreža sastavljenu uglavnom od članova obitelji, rodbine i tek manjim dijelom - prijatelja (Tough, Siegrist i Fekete, 2017; Harrison i sur., 2021). Istraživanja pokazuju kako su njihovi međusobni odnosi značajnim dijelom slični onima među općenitom populacijom, tj. karakteriziraju ih uglavnom pozitivni osjećaji privrženosti, značajan su izvor podrške te su uvelike uvjetovani životnim fazama u kojima se pojedina osoba nalazi (Wrzus i sur., 2013; Harrison i sur., 2021). No, s druge strane, često zbog neravnopravnosti i ovisnosti o pomoći, osobe s invaliditetom u takvim odnosima znaju biti znatno više izložene nasilju i zanemarivanju (Hughes i sur., 2012). Osim toga, ljudi iz njihove okoline, katkad ih doživljavaju preslabima ili zarobljenim u vječnom djetinjstvu, pa ih prezaštićuju ili infantiliziraju (Cimarolli i sur., 2013; Nario-Redmond i sur., 2019).

METODOLOGIJA

Problem, cilj i istraživačka pitanja

Na temelju prikazanih teorijskih premisa i dosadašnjih rezultata istraživanja, može se zaključiti kako se ljudi iz okoline mogu vrlo različito odnositi prema osobama s invaliditetom, a izvjesne razlike mogu se očekivati s obzirom na to radi li se o potpuno nepoznatim ili pak bliskim ljudima (Jewet i sur., 2018; Nario-Redmond i sur., 2019; Shaw i Pataki, 2020; Antonopoulos i sur., 2023). Ipak, specifičnosti takvih odnosa još su nedovoljno istražene, posebice uzimajući u obzir skromnu raznolikost metodoloških pristupa. Konkretnije rečeno, dosadašnja istraživanja često se temelje na vrlo uskoj ciljanoj populaciji, i to dominantno studentskoj (Jewet i sur., 2018). Uz to, uglavnom se istražuje retrospektivno, na temelju anketnih upitnika, i polu-strukturiranih intervjua, a koji su često opterećeni davanjem socijalno poželjnih odgovora (Jewet i sur., 2018; Antonopoulos i sur., 2023). Stoga trenutačno istraživanje postavlja sljedeći cilj i istraživačka pitanja:

Cilj je istražiti odnos ljudi iz okoline prema osobama s invaliditetom.

However, since discomfort is more dominant, people with disabilities find it harder to form friendships and relationships with other people. Thus, their social network consists mainly of family members, relatives, and, last but not least, friends (Tough, Siegrist, and Fekete, 2017; Harrison et al., 2021). Research shows that their mutual relationships are significantly similar to the ones observed among the general population, that is, they are mainly characterised by positive feelings of commitment and a source of support, and are mainly conditioned by the life phases of a certain person (Wrzus et al., 2013; Harrison et al., 2021). However, on the other side, often due to inequality and dependence on assistance, people with disabilities tend to be more exposed to violence and neglect in this relationship (Hughes et al., 2012). Besides, people from their surroundings sometimes perceive them as being too weak or imprisoned in eternal childhood, and hence, they tend to overprotect or infantilise them (Sanders, 2006; Cimarolli et al., 2013; Nario-Redmond et al., 2019).

METHODOLOGY

Problem, objective, and research questions

Based on the above-mentioned theoretical premises and previous research results, it can be concluded that people from the surrounding community could behave differently towards people with disabilities, and significant differences could be expected when we consider entirely unknown people or close/known people (Jewet et al., 2018; Nario-Redmond et al., 2019; Shaw and Pataki, 2020; Antonopoulous et al., 2023). Despite that, the specificities of these relationships have not been examined in detail, especially considering a modest variety of methodological approaches available. More precisely, previous research was often based on a very narrow target population, predominantly students (Jewet et al., 2018). Additionally, such research is often retrospective in nature, using questionnaires and semi-structured interviews that are often impacted by the need to give socially desirable answers (Jewet et al., 2018; Antonopoulous et

is that, during the meeting, the focus is on the dog, not the disability.

Istraživačko pitanje 1: Kako se nepoznati ljudi odnose prema osobama s invaliditetom kada se nađu u njihovoj blizini?

Istraživačko pitanje 2: Kako se prijatelji i poznanici odnose prema osobama s invaliditetom?

Istraživačko pitanje 3: Kako se članovi obitelji odnose prema osobama s invaliditetom?

Sudionici i postupak istraživanja

U istraživanju je primijenjen kvalitativni pristup, a podaci su prikupljeni metodom arhivske građe (Milas, 2009)[3]. Pritom su jedinice za analizu bili pisani osvrti studenata socijalnog rada nastali vezano za primjenu *walking and talking* metode na kolegiju Socijalni rad s osobama s invaliditetom u akademskoj godini 2023./2024. Riječ je o metodi etnografskog istraživanja koja podrazumijeva da istraživač (student) s osobom s invaliditetom provede izvjesno vrijeme, u njezinom prirodnom okruženju, odnosno svakodnevnim aktivnostima prikupljajući saznanja upravo o toj svakodnevici (King i Woodroffe, 2019). U konkretnom slučaju to je značilo da su studenti s odabranom osobom s invaliditetom provodili najmanje deset sati, kroz najmanje četiri susreta sudjelujući u različitim aktivnostima poput odlaska liječniku, u trgovinu, na društvena okupljanja ili pak ostanku kod kuće. Pritom su za svaki susret bilježili opažanja o ponašanju osobe s invaliditetom, fizičkoj okolini, ponašanju socijalne okoline te su iznosili vlastitu introspekciju, odnosno refleksiju na proživljeno. Navedeno su objedinili u pisanom osvrtu koji su predali na kraju semestra. Od ukupno 69 studenata na spomenutom kolegiju, njih 63 dalo je suglasnost za upotrebu pisanih osvrta u istraživačke svrhe.

Za potrebe ovog istraživanja uključeno je 49 pisanih osvrta nastalih na temelju rada s odraslim osobama s invaliditetom, dok je preostalih 14 izostavljeno, jer su se odnosili na djecu s teškoćama u razvoju. Svi pisani osvrti objedinjeni su u jedan

[3] Metoda se ponekad naziva i analiza sekundarnih podataka kako bi se naglasilo da su podaci prvotno prikupljeni za neku drugu svrhu (Milas, 2009).

al., 2023). Thus, the current research study, based on some innovation with respect to methodology, set the following objective and research questions:

The objective was to examine the relationships between people from the surrounding community and people with disabilities.

Research question 1: How do unfamiliar people behave towards people with disabilities when in their presence?

Research question 2: How do friends and acquaintances behave towards people with disabilities?

Research question 3: How do family members behave towards people with disabilities?

Participants and research procedure

A qualitative approach was used in this research study, and the data were collected through secondary data analysis (Milas, 2003)[3]. In doing so, the units for analysis were the students' papers created by using the *walking* and *talking* method as part of the course "Social Work with People with Disabilities" in the academic year 2023/2024. Data was collected through this ethnographic research method, which implies that the researcher (student) spends a certain amount of time with a person with disability. The time spent had to be in the natural surroundings, that is, during everyday activities, thus collecting exact observations about daily life (King and Woodroffe, 2019; Gillingham and Smith, 2020). More precisely, this means that the students had spent at least ten hours with a person with disability, over at least four appointments, participating in various activities such seeing the doctor, going shopping, participating in social gatherings, or staying at home. At every meeting, they noted observations about the behaviour of the person with a disability, their physical surroundings, and the behaviour of individuals in their social surroundings. The students then provided their introspection, that is, a reflection on their own experience. The above-mentioned observations were consolidated in a written review that was submitted at the end of the semester. Of the 69 students who attended the previously mentioned course, 63 pro-

[3] The name of the method emphasises that the data was initially collected for some other purpose (Milas, 2009).

dokument koji je sadržavao ukupno 700 kartica teksta[4].

Deskriptivna analiza pisanih osvrta pokazuje da su studenti obavljali zadatak s ukupno 51 osobom s invaliditetom, od kojih je 28 ženskog, a 23 muškog spola. Pritom ih je 30 bilo u dobi od 18 do 65 godina, 15 ih je bilo starije od 65 godina, dok se za šest osoba s invaliditetom moglo zaključiti da je riječ o odraslim osobama, ali bez točnog podatka o broju godina. Najčešće je bilo riječ o tjelesnom invaliditetu (32 osobe), zatim o osjetilnom (9), pa višestrukom, gdje je u pravilu riječ o intelektualnom i tjelesnom ili mentalnom (5), intelektualnom (3), poremećaju iz spektra autizma (1) te mentalnom (1).

Analiza podataka

Prikupljeni podaci analizirali su se metodom induktivne tematske analize, sukladno uputama Braun i Clarke (2006, 2022). To je podrazumijevalo da svi autori istraživanja višestruko prolaze kroz cjelokupni tekst svih pisanih osvrta. Tom prilikom bilježile su se inicijalne ideje i značajni uvidi. U sljedećoj fazi fokus je bio na podacima koji mogu biti važni za postavljena istraživačka pitanja te je svaki od autora samostalno bilježio inicijalne kodove, tj. pojmove i izraze koji pomažu u razumijevanju izučavanog fenomena. Dobiveni kodovi zatim su grupirani u općenitije, inicijalne teme. Autori su međusobno usporedili dobivene rezultate te ih kroz raspravu dodatno redefinirali i uskladili. Takve teme sukladno Braun i Clarke (2022), zapravo su svojevrsni sažetak, odnosno deskripcija izučavanog, što je u trenutačnom istraživanju odnos ljudi iz okoline prema osobama s invaliditetom. No analiza se dalje produbila kroz pisanja istraživačkog izvještaja gdje su se dobiveni kodovi i teme razmatrali u kontekstu teorijskog okvira, napose teorije kontakta i modela o sadržaju stereotipa te dosadašnjih istraživanja.

Etika

Studenti su u okviru kolegija Socijalni rad s osobama s invaliditetom poučeni o specifično-

vided consent for their written reviews to be used for research purposes.

For the final analysis, 49 written reviews based on work with adults with disabilities were included. At the same time, 14 were excluded since they involved children with developmental disabilities. All the written reviews were consolidated inro one document, which consists of a total of 700 text cards.[4]

The descriptive analysis of the written reviews shows that the students carried out the task with 51 people with disabilities (28 female and 23 male). Among these people, 30 of them were between 18 and 65 years old, 15 of them were older than 65 years, while six people with disabilities were adults, but there was no exact data about their age. The largest proportion of people with disabilities showed physical disabilities (32 people), followed by sensory disabilities (9), and multiple disabilities, where it was either about intellectual and physical or mental disabilities (5), intellectual disabilities (3), autism spectrum disorder (1), and mental disability (1).

Data analysis

According to Braun and Clarke's instructions (2006; 2022), the data collected were analysed by thematic analysis. This involved multiple reviews of the complete text of all the written reviews by all authors of the current research. In that way, initial ideas and certain insights were noted. In the next phase, the focus was on data that could be relevant to the research questions. Hence, each author marked initial codes independently, including terms and expressions that could help understand the studied phenomenon. The given codes were grouped into more general initial themes. The authors compared the given results, redefined them, and adjusted them through discussion. In fact, these themes, according to Braun and Clark (2022), are their own kind of summary, that is, a description of the topic being studied. Nevertheless, further detailed analysis was conducted while writing the research report, where the given codes and themes were examined in the context of the theoretical frame, namely the theory of con-

[4] Jedna je kartica teksta 1 800 znakova s prazninama.

[4] One text card includes 1,800 characters with spaces.

stima rada s pojedinom skupinom osoba s invaliditetom te o *walking and talking* metodi etnografskog istraživanja koju će provesti u svom zadatku. Raspravljene su evaluacije i iskustva studenata prethodnih generacija s naglaskom na najčešće teškoće s kojima su se suočavali i načine kako ih rješavati[5]. Također je raspravljen obrazac informiranog pristanka koji trebaju uručiti osobama s invaliditetom s kojima žele raditi. U njemu su istaknuta načela informiranosti, dobrovoljnosti, anonimizacije i zaštite podataka. Pritom se dodatni naglasak stavio na nužnost podrobnijeg objašnjavanja ili prilagođenog izričaja kada u neposrednom kontaktu primijete da je to potrebno, primjerice kod osoba s intelektualnim teškoćama.

Pri pisanju osvrta studenti su imali obvezu izmijeniti i anonimizirati podatke koji bi mogli dovesti do identifikacije osobe s invaliditetom s kojom su radili. Prije analize pisanih osvrta za potrebe ovog istraživanja autori su zatražili suglasnost studenata za upotrebu njihovih pisanih osvrta u znanstveno-istraživačke svrhe. Pritom su se također poštivala načela informiranosti, anonimizacije i zaštite podataka. S obzirom na to da je jedan od autora istraživanja ujedno i nastavnik uključenim studentima, posebno je istaknuto kako davanje ili uskrata suglasnosti ni na koji način ne utječe na akademski uspjeh ili bilo koji drugi aspekt studiranja. Elektronskim je putem 63 studenata iskazalo suglasnost dok se preostalih šest nije izjasnilo, pa su njihovi pisani osvrti izostavljeni iz analize.

REZULTATI

Tematskom analizom, sukladno prikazu u Tablici 1., utvrđeno je dvanaest kodova koji su zatim grupirani u četiri teme kako bi se odgovorilo na prvo istraživačko pitanje, tj. kako se nepoznati

[5] Primjerice, teškoće su se najčešće odnosile na nesigurnost u pogledu prikladnog načina započinjanja i ostvarivanja komunikacije, strukturiranja zajedničkog vremena, postavljanja jasnih granica, osjećaja da iskorištavaju osobu za potrebe zadatka te nedoumice trebaju li i kako završiti odnos. U razrješavanju navedenih teškoća, osim teorijskog znanja dobivenog u okviru kolegija i saznanja o iskustvima studenata prethodnih generacija, nekolicina studenata dodatno je iskoristila mogućnost konzultacija s nastavnikom i demonstratoricom.

tact and the model of the stereotype content, as well as the findings of previous research.

Ethics

Throughout the course "Social Work with People with Disabilities", students were taught about the specificities of working with each individual group of people with disabilities, as well as about the *walking and talking* ethnographic research method that they would implement during the task. The experience and evaluations of a previous generation of students was discussed, focusing on the most common difficulties they faced and the ways to solve them.[5] Additionally, the students were told about the informed consent form that should be given to the people with disabilities who want to be part of the study. The principles of information, voluntary nature of participation, anonymity, and data protection were emphasised. The stress was also on the necessity for detailed explanation and adjusted expression when needed, for example, with people with intellectual disabilities.

During the review writing process, students were committed to exchanging and anonymising data that could lead to identifying the person with disability with whom they worked. Before analysing the written reviews as part of this research, the authors requested students' consent to use their written reviews for scientific research purposes. Therefore, the principles of information, anonymity, and data protection were considered. Considering that one of the research authors is also a professor to the students involved, it was specifically emphasised that giving consent or the lack of consent does not affect the students' academic success or any other aspect of studying. In total, 63 students gave consent via electronic channels, while the re-

[5] For example, difficulties usually indicate insecurity in terms of an adequate way of starting and realising communication, structuring the time, setting clear boundaries, feeling that they use the person for the needs of the task and ambiguities related to, if they should and in what way, finish the relationship. In solving the latter difficulties, except for theoretical knowledge gained in terms of the course and insight into the experiences of students from earlier generations, few students used the opportunity for additional consultations with the professor and demonstrator.

ljudi odnose prema osobama s invaliditetom kada se nađu u njihovoj blizini.

maining six did not clarify, therefore, their written reviews were omitted from the analysis.

RESULTS

In accordance with Table 1, twelve codes were grouped into four themes in order to answer the first research question about how unfamiliar people behave towards people with disabilities. It was consolidated using the thematic analysis.

Tablica 1. *Odnos nepoznatih ljudi prema osoba s invaliditetom /* ***Table 1.*** *Relationship of unfamiliar people towards people with disabilities*

Codes	**Theme**
Discrete observation of the phenomenon and the behaviour of a person with disability	Increased attention due to the presence of a person with disability
Staring	
Commenting on the phenomenon of a person with disability	
Removing physical obstacles to aid seamless movement	Sensitivity to needs
Giving up their place in a queue or in public transport	
Physical help while moving	
Discomfort because of the presence of a person with a disability	Discomfort
Insecurity about whether they need to help a person with disability	
Insecurity in terms of how to behave towards a person with disability	
Expressing dissatisfaction or intolerance towards a person with disability	Inappropriate behaviour
Deliberately ignoring making contact or communication	
Use of obscene words and insults	

Uobičajeno je pojava osobe s invaliditetom kod drugih ljudi izazivala **pojačanu pažnju** koja se očitovala kroz diskretno promatranje njezine pojave i ponašanja, a ponekad i doslovno zurenje ili komentiranje s drugima.

> *Primijetila sam da je nekoliko djevojčica adolescentne dobi, koje su bile iza nas u redu, pomno promatralo Josipov[6] hod i štaku te su se međusobno došaptavale.* (Osvrt 7)

> *(Prolaznici u trgovačkom centru, op.a.) Zurili su, okretali se i gledali za njim, neki su čak zastali i gledali u njega.* (Osvrt 45).

Sljedeća najčešća reakcija odražavala je **osjetljivost na potrebe** osobe s invaliditetom, pa su uobičajeno nepoznati ljudi iz okoline uklanjali fizičke prepreke radi neometanog kretanja, ustupali mjesto u redu ili javnom prijevozu ili pak nudili fizičku pomoć pri kretanju.

The appearance of a person with disability has commonly resulted in increased attention, which was expressed as discrete observations, or sometimes even literal staring and commenting with others.

> *I noticed that a few adolescent girls, who were behind us in the line, were observing Joseph's[6] walk and crutch; they were whispering*. (Written review no. 7)

> *(Passengers in the mall, author's note) They were staring, turning around, and watching for him, some even stopped and looked at him*. (Written review no. 45)

The next most common reaction expressed was sensitivity to the needs of people with disabilities, so unfamiliar people from the surrounding area were usually removing obstacles, giving up their place in a queue or in public transport, or offering physical help while moving.

[6] Sva su imena pseudonimi.

[6] All the names used are pseudonyms.

Ukoliko uđe u banku ili poštu u invalidskim kolicima, svi joj ustupaju mjesto kako ne bi čekala u redu. (Osvrt 1)

U trgovini ljudi su se pomicali kako bi Marija neometano mogla proći bez da se za išta mora uhvatiti. (Osvrt 14)

Dio ljudi, uočavajući osobu s invaliditetom, ipak nisu bili sigurni trebaju li nešto pomoći i na koji se način ophoditi što je rezultiralo izvjesnom **neugodom.** No, i u situacijama u kojima nedvojbeno nisu trebali činiti ništa, ipak je dio ljudi iskazivao neugodu zbog same prisutnosti osobe s invaliditetom.

Djeluju mi kao da bi pomogle, ali ne znaju kako, a s druge strane ne razumiju u kojoj je to mjeri osobi s invaliditetom potrebno te kada bi trebale stati. (Osvrt 7).

Iz njihovog pogleda mogla se vidjeti određena nelagoda kada su se Anin i njihovi pogledi susreli. … Neke osobe su gledale u pod tijekom prolaska, dok su neke podigle pogled… (Osvrt 24).

Naposljetku, dio ljudi iz okoline na osobu s invaliditetom reagirao je **neprimjerenim ophođenjem,** poput izražavanjem nezadovoljstva ili netolerancije, namjernim izbjegavanjem kontakta, odnosno komunikacije ili pak vrijeđanjem.

Kad je ona [konobarica, op.a.] *došla do njegovog stola on je poprilično rekao: „Nisi tu da zabavljaš retardirane, nego da poslužuješ nas normalne.“* (Osvrt 48).

Primijetila sam određenu dozu nezainteresiranosti ili ignoriranja prema Ivi od strane drugih, gdje se sugovornici često obraćaju njenoj majci ili bratu umjesto direktno njoj. (Osvrt 16).

Tematskom analizom, sukladno prikazu u Tablici 2., utvrđeno je 14 kodova koji su zatim grupirani u četiri teme kako bi se odgovorilo na drugo istraživačko pitanje, tj. kako se prijatelji i poznanici odnose prema osobama s invaliditetom.

In case the person enters the bank or post office in a wheelchair, everyone gives up their place so the person does not have to wait in line. (Written review no. 1)

At the mall, people were moving so Marija could pass seamlessly without clinging to anything. (Written review no. 14)

When noticing a person with disability, some people weren't sure if they should help or behave in a certain way, which resulted in a felling of **discomfort**. But, even in situations where they shouldn't have done anything at all, people were still uncomfortable in the presence of a person with disability.

They seem to help, but they don't know how, and on the other hand, they don't understand how much a person with disability needs it and when it should stop. (Written review no. 7)

When Ann's and their look encountered, the certain discomfort could be noted. … Some people looked down the floor when they were passing, others looked up… (Written review no. 24)

Finally, some people from the surrounding community were observed exhibiting **inappropriate behaviour** to the person with a disability, for example, expressing dissatisfaction or intolerance, deliberately avoiding contact or communication, or even insulting the person with the disability.

When she [the waitress, author's note] came to his table, he said: "You are not here to amuse the retarded, but to serve us who are normal." (Written review no. 48)

I noticed a certain amount of disinterest or ignorance towards Iva by the others, where interlocutors were often talking to her mother or brother instead of her directly. (Written review no. 16)

In accordance with Table 2, fourteen codes were grouped into four themes in order to answer the second research question about how friends and acquaintances behave toward people with disabilities. It was consolidated using the thematic analysis.

Tablica 2. *Odnos prijatelja i poznanika prema osobama s invaliditetom /* ***Table 2.*** *Relationship of friends and acquaintances towards people with disabilities*

Codes	Theme
Providing physical help when moving or using assistive devices	Assisting
Doing everyday work	
Removing physical obstacles to help the person with a disability	
Humour based on disabilities	Reaction to disability
Relativising of disability by decreasing the difficulties that people with disabilities may have	
Approaching a person with a disability in the same way as the rest	
Pity	
Initiating communication and interest in maintaining the communication	Communication
Adjustment of communication	
Carefully selecting words due to insecurity felt regarding how to treat a person with a disability appropriately	
Spontaneity in communication	
Respecting the opinion of a person with a disability	Respect
Showing understanding and kindness in everyday contact	
Relationship towards person with disability as an equal member of the society	

Slično kao prije kod nepoznatih ljudi, prijatelji i poznanici također su iskazivali osjetljivost na potrebe osoba s invaliditetom, ali su pritom bili vrlo konkretni te **pružali pomoć** pri kretanju, odnosno korištenju pomagalima , uklanjali su prepreke u okolini radi neometanog kretanja ili su pak obavljali druge poslove koje su vidjeli da bi bilo potrebno obaviti, poput odlaska u nabavku, čišćenja itd.

Kada su došle ondje, njezini prijatelji su ju ponijeli na 2. kat i riješili problem. (Osvrt 46)

Nekoliko osoba s kojima ima dobre odnose posjećuju je u njenoj kući i obavljaju kupnju u selu i plaćanje režija. (Osvrt 11).

U **komunikaciji** prema osobama s invaliditetom, prijatelji i poznanici pokazivali su zainteresiranost kao i spremnost na prilagodbu, primjerice kod osoba s oštećenjem sluha. Većinom se komunikacija odvijala spontano, ali dio prijatelja i poznanika ipak je oprezno sudjelovao u komunikaciji, vjerojatno zbog nesigurnosti kada je riječ o ophođenju prema osobi s invaliditetom.

Shvatila sam kroz njegovu neverbalnu i verbalnu komunikaciju ... da na neki način ''žonglira'' riječima kako ne bi rekao nešto krivo. (Osvrt 44).

Oni nađu način kako se sporazumjeti s njim. Suigrači ga dodirnu po ramenu ili uhvate za ruku

Similar to the previous results regarding unfamiliar people, friends and acquaintances also showed sensitivity to the needs of people with disabilities - although they were pretty stable and were able to move using assistive devices - by removing obstacles around them so they could move seamlessly, or carrying out other jobs they perceived to be necessary, such as shopping, cleaning, and so on.

When they came there, her friends took her to the 2nd floor and solved the problem. (Written review no. 46)

A few people she has a good relationship with visit her, and do the shopping in the village and pay the bills. (Written review no. 11)

In terms of **communication** with people with disabilities, friends and acquaintances showed interest and readiness to adjust, for instance, to the needs of people with hearing impairments. Communication was mainly spontaneous, but some friends and acquaintances participated in communication carefully, probably because of their insecurity regarding how they should behave towards the person with the disability.

Through his nonverbal and verbal communication, I realised that he knows how to communicate in a way that she wouldn't feel sad or sullen about her disability, and that, in some way,

te imaju neke svoje znakove koje su u dogovoru s Joelom postavili. (Osvrt 10).

Ujedno se kroz komunikaciju, ali i ponašanje prijatelja i poznanika, moglo uvidjeti kako **reagiraju na invaliditet** konkretne osobe. Načelno bi se moglo reći da dominiraju pozitivne reakcije poput dobro prihvaćenog humora na invaliditeta i normalizacije, tj. pristupanja potpuno jednakog kao i prema drugim ljudima. No, s druge strane, dio prijatelja i poznanika iskazivao je sažaljenje i relativiziranje invaliditeta umanjujući teškoće koje osobe s invaliditetom mogu imati.

Opisivanje tog plana bilo je iznimno smiješno, jer je (prijatelj) Enzo komentirao kako je pretjerivao s pomicanjem usana kako bi Stiv "lakše" čitao što mu govori. (Osvrt 3).

Navodi kako ona ne može biti toliko jako bolesna, da je mlada, da dobro izgleda, a da joj je sve to u glavi, odnosno da umišlja te kako govori, rekao je da i on zna biti ponekad umoran. (Osvrt 8).

Potonje citirana izjava ujedno odražava i nepoštovanje prema osobi s invaliditetom, ali velika većina ipak je pokazivala visoko **poštovanje** kroz uvažavanje mišljenja, iskazivanje razumijevanja i ljubaznosti te odnos prema osobi s invaliditetom kao ravnopravnim članom društva.

Korisnica je više puta naglasila kako su to sve njeni prijatelji i kako joj puno znače. To se moglo vidjeti i s njihove strane. Svi su bili obazrivi, mislili jedni na druge i uvažavali tuđe mišljenje, želje i potrebe. (Osvrt 2).

Njihova podrška, izražena kroz srdačne pozdrave, pokazala je da Stanislav nije samo "osoba s invaliditetom" u njihovim očima, već dragi susjed čija prisutnost donosi radost. (Osvrt 28).

Tematskom analizom, sukladno prikazu u Tablici 3., utvrđeno je 14 kodova koji su zatim grupirani u četiri teme kako bi se odgovorilo na treće istraživačko pitanje, tj. kako se članovi obitelji odnose prema osobama s invaliditetom?

handles the words not to say something wrong. (Written review no. 44)

They find a way to communicate with him. His teammates touch his shoulders or take his hand, and they have their own signs they set in agreement with Joel. (Written review no. 10)

At the same time, through communication, as well as the behaviour of friends and acquaintances, it can be seen how they **react to the disability** of a specific person. It could be said that positive reactions such as well-accepted humour based on disabilities and normalisation are predominant, which is the same as the behaviour as toward other people. However, on the other side, some friends and acquaintances showed pity and relativisation of disabilities, thus downplaying the difficulties that people with disabilities could have.

Describing that plan was extremely ridiculous because (the friend) Enzo commented on how he overdid it with moving his lips so Steve could "easily" understand what he was telling him. (Written review no. 3)

She says that she cannot be so sick, that she is young, that she looks good, and that it is all in her head—that is, she is delusional. He said he is sometimes tired too. (Written review no. 8)

The above-mentioned statement (Written review no. 8) clearly expresses disrespect toward the person with disability, but the majority of observations still showed that friends and acquaintances showed great **respect** by respecting opinions, as well as showing understanding, acceptance, and kindness.

The service user emphasised a couple of times that these are all her friends and that they mean a lot to her. It was also evident from their perspective. Everyone was thoughtful, caring about each other and respecting others' opinions, wishes and needs. (Written review no. 2).

Their support, expressed through warm greetings, showed that Stanislav is not just a "person with disability" in their eyes, but a dear neighbour whose presence brings joy. (Written review no. 28)

In accordance with Table 3, fourteen codes were grouped into four themes in order to answer the third research question about how members of the family behave towards people with disabilities. It was consolidated using the thematic analysis.

Tablica 3. *Odnos članova obitelji prema osobama s invaliditetom /* ***Table 3.*** *Relationship of members of the family towards people with disabilities*

Codes	**Theme**
Expressing closeness, warmth, love, and connection by spending time together.	Acceptance
Providing understanding and tolerance during conversation and everyday activities	
Accepting disabilities as a common phenomenon	
Attitude towards a person with a disability - considered as an equal to others	
Self-care help (personal hygiene, eating, and dressing)	Assisting
Help with everyday chores	
Providing physical help when moving or using assistance devices	
Encouraging and including people with disabilities in conversations and social activities	Reinforcing autonomy
Encouraging and respecting equality in interrelationships and making decisions	
Encouraging a person with a disability to be as independent as possible	
Providing safety and care that goes beyond the necessary support	Overprotection
Fulfilment of non-critical demands and indulgences towards the person with disabilities	
Doing the tasks themselves, instead of the person with the disability	

Odnos članova obitelji prema osobama s invaliditetom u velikoj je mjeri obilježen **prihvaćanjem** koje se očitovalo kroz iskazivanje bliskosti, topline, ljubavi, povezanosti, razumijevanja, ali prilagodbe ponašanja i komunikacije kada je to bilo potrebno te iskazivanja tolerancije na određene teškoće tijekom svakodnevnih aktivnosti. Također se prihvaćanje očitovalo kroz prihvaćanje invaliditeta kao uobičajene pojave i odnosa prema samoj osobi s invaliditetom kao osobi koja se ne razlikuje od drugih ljudi.

Primijetila sam njeno strpljenje prema roditeljima, kako im je voljna pomoći, a pri tome je vrlo topla i draga. (Osvrt 30)

Svi ukućani se prema Neli ponašaju najnormalnije i svi imaju jednaka prava i dužnosti u kući. (Osvrt 9).

Također je vrlo izraženo **pružanje pomoći**, posebice one svakodnevne poput samozbrinjavanja, tj. održavanja osobne higijene, hranjenja, odijevanja , ali i obavljanja kućanskih poslova te kretanja.

Puna je ljubavi prema svojoj majci te joj kuha, pere ju, vodi ju na toalet, presvlači ju, služi ju te obavlja sve ostalo što Mariji zatreba. (Osvrt 32).

Njezin suprug pomogao je prenijeti ju niz stepenice do izlaza zgrade i postavio ju je u kolica. (Osvrt 23).

Relationships between family members and people with disabilities are mainly characterised by **acceptance**, which is expressed through closeness, warmth, love, humour, connection, and understanding. Additionally, family members adjust behaviour and communication when necessary, and provide tolerance for specific difficulties during everyday activities. Acceptance was also demonstrated through acceptance of disabilities as a common phenomenon and maintaining the same type of relationship with a person with a disability, as well as with others.

I noticed her patience toward parents, her eagerness to help them, and her warmth and kindness. (Written review no. 30)

All household members treat Nela in the most usual way and everyone has equal rights and duties in the household. (Written review no. 9)

In addition, assistance is strongly emphasised, especially in everyday tasks such as personal hygiene, eating, and dressing, but also housework, and moving.

She is affectionate toward her mother, so she cooks for her, washes her, takes her to the toilet, changes her clothes, serves her, and does everything Mary needs. (Written review no. 32)

Her husband assisted in carrying her down the stairs to the building's exit and positioned her in the wheelchair. (Written review no. 23)

No, ovisno o načinu pružanja pomoći, ona katkad može utjecati pozitivno, a katkad negativno na autonomiju osoba s invaliditetom. Osim toga, poticanje i uključivanje osobe s invaliditetom u razgovore i društvene aktivnosti, zatim poticanje i poštovanje ravnopravnosti u međusobnim odnosima i donošenju odluka te poticanje na što veću samostalnost ukazivalo je kako članovi obitelji nastoje **jačati autonomiju** u odnosu s osobama s invaliditetom.

Majka ju nastoji uključiti u razgovor, pojasniti joj o čemu se govori, postavlja joj pitanja, ispituje ju za njene dojmove, doživljaje i stvari, jača njenu samostalnost i pokušava ju osposobiti za neovisno življenje. (Osvrt 21)

U ni jednom trenutku Ivanini roditelji nisu „skakali" oko nje, već im je normalno da ona sve po kući može sama. (Osvrt 26).

S druge strane, slabljenje autonomije posebice se ističe kroz **prezaštićivanje**. Konkretnije rečeno, članovi obitelji su u odnosu s osobama s invaliditetom pružali sigurnost i skrb koja prelazi granicu potrebne podrške, nekritički ispunjavali razne zahtjeve i popuštali im te obavljali poslove umjesto njih.

Marijina majka stalno ju ispituje je li gladna, žedna, stalno joj nudi da uzme nešto. On (brat, op.a.) pokušava svakom njezinom zahtjevu ugoditi i želi da se ona što ugodnije osjeća. (Osvrt 4)

Neke stvari koje bi i sama Tina mogla napraviti (npr. uzeti čašu iz kuhinje) ona to čini mjesto nje iako je već starija žena i vjerujem da niti njoj nije lako što se tiče zdravlja. (Osvrt 43)

RASPRAVA

Načelno govoreći, prikazani rezultati uglavnom korespondiraju s rezultatima brojnih dosadašnjih istraživanja (Pérez-Garín i sur., 2018; Jewett i sur., 2018; Nario-Redmond i sur., 2019; Shaw i Pataki 2020, Ee i sur., 2022; Lindsay i sur., 2023; Antonopoulos i sur., 2023). Ipak, sukladno prednostima kvalitativnog pristupa, svako novo istraživanje, pa tako i ovo, donosi dodatne nijanse u razumijevanju izučavanog fenomena. Može se zaključiti da je postojanje invaliditeta kod neke osobe mnogo uočljivije za potpuno nepoznate

Nevertheless, depending on the method of assistance, it can sometimes affect the autonomy of the person with disability positively, and occasionally negatively. Besides, encouraging and including people with disabilities in conversations and social activities, promoting equality in interrelationships and decision-making, and following encouragement to independence as much as possible, indicates that family members tend to reinforce autonomy in relationships with people with disabilities.

Mother tends to include her in conversation, clarify what she was told, ask her questions, ask her about her impression, experience, and things, reinforces her independence, and tries to enable her to live independently… (Written review no. 21)

Not once did Ivana's parents hover around her, but it was normal for her to do household chores alone. (Written review no. 26)

On the other hand, the weakening of autonomy is especially emphasised in terms of overprotection. More precisely, family members sometimes, in their relationships with persons with disabilities, provided safety and care exceeding the necessary support, complied with various non-critical requests, and they even indulged and did things on the behalf of their family member with a disability.

Mary's mother always asks her whether she is hungry or thirsty, and always offers her something to eat or drink. He (brother, author's note) tries to please every request she has and wants her to feel as comfortable as she can. (Written review no. 4)

Some things that Tina could do by herself (for example, take a glass from the kitchen), she does that instead of her, although she is an older woman, and I believe that she is not better in terms of health. (Written review no. 43)

DISCUSSION

Overall, the results of the present study correspond with the results of numerous previous research studies (Pérez-Garín et al., 2018; Jewett et al., 2018; Nario-Redmond et al., 2019; Shaw and Pataki, 2020; Ee et al., 2022; Lindsay et al., 2023; Antonopoulos et al., 2023). However, according to the advantages of the qualitative approach, every new research study, including the present study, provides additional in-

osobe, dok su prijatelji i poznanici, a posebice članovi obitelji takvu pojavnost već normalizirali. Slično pokazuju i druga istraživanja, pri čemu se različiti autori uglavnom slažu kako je navedeno posljedica činjenice da ljudi reagiraju na neočekivane pojave te su, posebice u slučaju vrlo vidljivog invaliditeta, jednostavno preokupirani promatranjem svojevrsne neuobičajenosti (Pérez-Garín i sur., 2018; Shaw i Pataki 2020). No, to ujedno ukazuje kako invaliditet nosi snažnu stigmu. Posljedice toga nisu samo neugodni osjećaji izloženosti zurenju ili komentiranju, nego i ozbiljnije negativnosti poput socijalnog distanciranja, izbjegavanja, pa čak i agresije (Goffman, 2008, Granjon i sur., 2025). U skladu s time mogu se tumačiti i reakcije nepoznatih ljudi koji su, kako pokazuje trenutačno istraživanje, iskazivali neugodu tijekom prisustva osobe s invaliditetom ili pak potpuno neprimjereno ophođenje. Nario-Redmond i suradnici (2019) navode da takve reakcije mogu biti potaknute i nesvjesnom odbojnošću prema drukčijem , koje se percipira kao ugrožavajuće, ali i kao neugodni podsjetnik da svatko može postati osoba s invaliditetom („*…disability is a category that anyone can join.")* (Nario-Redmond i sur., 2019:728).

U znatno manjoj mjeri, ali ipak izvjesna razina neugode, primjećivala se kod prijatelja i poznanika, dok to nije bilo primijećeno kod članova obitelji. Sličan obrazac može se pronaći i u nekim drugim istraživanjima, a razlog vjerojatno leži u tome da veći broj kontakata s (konkretnom) osobom s invaliditetom često znači pozitivnije stavove (Jewett i sur., 2018; Shaw i Pataki, 2020). Doduše, važan je i sadržaj kontakata koji može doprinijeti uspostavljanju odnosa i boljem upoznavanju osoba s invaliditetom (Jewett i sur., 2018). U tome smislu, opisane postavke teorije kontakata objašnjavaju uočene razlike i u trenutačnom istraživanju. Naime, dok invaliditet za članove obitelji predstavlja svakodnevicu, za prijatelje i poznanike on to ipak nije. No, u usporedbi s potpuno nepoznatim osobama, prijatelji i poznanici imaju znatno više prilike za ostvarivanje kontakta te stjecanje iskustva i znanja.

Na istom tragu mogu se tumačiti ambivalencije u komunikaciji i reagiranju na invaliditet, gdje

sight into understanding the studied phenomenon. It can be concluded that a person's disability could be more noticeable for complete strangers, while friends and acquaintances, especially family members, find it normal. Other research studies have reported similar findings: several authors agree that this is a consequence of the fact that people react in unexpected ways and that they are, especially in the case of a visible disability, overly occupied with observing such differences (Pérez-Garín et al., 2018; Shaw and Pataki, 2020). This also shows that disabilities are associated with a strong stigma. The consequences of this stigma are not just discomfort, staring, exposure, or commenting, but more serious negative consequences such as social distancing, avoidance, and even aggression (Goffman, 2008; Granjon et al., 2025). With regard to that, the reactions of unfamiliar people could be interpreted as feelings of discomfort in the presence of a person with a disability or exhibiting utterly inappropriate behaviour, as shown in the present study. Nario-Redmond et al. (2019) stated that these reactions could be encouraged by an unconscious dislike towards those who are different, which is perceived as a threat and as an unpleasant reminder that anyone can become a person with disability ("…disability is a category that anyone can join."; Nario-Redmond et al., 2019:728).

A certain level of discomfort was observed among friends and acquaintances, but it was significantly less than that observed in unfamiliar people. Such discomfort was not perceived among family members. Similar findings have been reported in previous research. One explanation for the lower levels (or no) discomfort could be that extended contact with a person with a disability often translates to more positive attitudes (Jewett et al., 2018; Shaw and Pataki, 2020). However, the nature of the contact can contribute to establishing a relationship and a better understanding of people with disabilities (Jewett et al., 2018). In that case, the previously-mentioned theories of contacts can explain the differences noted in the present research. Thus, while disability for family members represents everyday life, it is not like that for friends and acquaintances. Still, in comparison to completely unfamiliar people, friends and acquaintances have significantly more contact, experience, and knowledge regarding people with disabilities.

prijatelji i poznanici reagiraju u rasponu od sažalijevanja i suzdržanosti do potpunog prihvaćanja, vjerojatno ovisno o tome koliko su dobro upoznati s konkretnom osobom i invaliditetom, tj. koliko su uspješno nadišli inicijalnu neugodu karakterističnu za nepoznate osobe (Jewett i sur., 2018; Nario-Redmond i sur., 2019). S druge strane, uzimajući u obzir da su dio socijalne mreže osoba s invaliditetom, što podrazumijeva dobrovoljnost u uspostavi i održavanju odnosa, iskazivanje poštovanja i spremnost na pomoć zapravo su očekivani.

No, upravo u pogledu pružanja pomoći ponovno se mogu uočiti razlike između nepoznatih osoba, prijatelja i poznanika te članova obitelji. U prvoj skupini pomoć se može okarakterizirati kao situacijska, kratkotrajna i vrlo konkretna, poput ustupanja mjesta ili uklanjanja prepreka. Iako u trenutačnom istraživanju to nije uočeno, u drugim se istraživanjima nalazi da takva pomoć ponekad može biti neželjena, suvišna i kontraproduktivna za osobe s invaliditetom (Pérez-Garín i sur., 2018).

Kod prijatelja i poznanika pružanje pomoći proteže se i na druge situacije, posebice u svakodnevnom životu osobe s invaliditetom, pri čemu je manje nesigurnosti trebaju li i kako pomoći, koja se uočila kod nepoznatih ljudi. Navedeno se, osim većim iskustvom u kontaktu s konkretnom osobom s invaliditetom, može tumačiti i fenomenom difuzije odgovornosti (Taylor, 1998). Naime, kada je prijatelj ili poznanik s osobom s invaliditetom, svi očekuju da će on, kao njezina pratnja, pružiti pomoć za sve što zatreba. S druge strane, ako je osoba s invaliditetom okružena s nekoliko nepoznatih ljudi, svi će oni razmišljati trebaju li upravo oni ili netko drugi pružiti pomoć, pa će u tome smislu iskazivati više nesigurnosti.

Osim toga, u rezultatima je prikazano kako uglavnom samo članovi obitelji pružaju pomoć vezanu za intimnu njegu. Navedeno proizlazi iz činjenice da osobe s invaliditetom (ali i drugi ljudi) uobičajeno iskazuju prisnije odnose s članovima obitelji (Abulaiti i sur., 2022). No, moguće je i kritički promatrati, kako je navedeno, rezultat tzv. familijalizma, tj. društvenog očekivanja da su članovi obitelji prvi odgovorni i „optimalni " njegovatelji osoba s invaliditetom, pa se u tom smi-

In that way, we can interpret an ambivalence in communication and their reaction to disabilities, where friends and family react in different ways, from compassion and restraint to complete acceptance. It probably depends on how well they know a specific person and the disability, that is, how successfully they overcame the initial discomfort that is characteristic of unfamiliar people (Jewett et al., 2018; Nario-Redmond et al., 2019). On the other hand, considering that they are part of the social network of people with disabilities, it means that they are voluntarily establishing and maintaining the relationship, as well as showing respect and readiness to help.

Some differences regarding assistance are spotted between unfamiliar people, friends, acquaintances, and family members. In the first group, help could be characterised as situational, short-term, and very specific, for example, giving up a spot or removing obstacles. Although that was not the case in the present study, in other study, that kind of help is sometimes perceived as unwanted, redundant, and counterproductive for people with disabilities (Pérez-Garín et al., 2018).

Regarding assistance offered by friends and acquaintances, other situations are included, especially those in the daily life of a person with a disability. They are less unsure about whether they should somehow help, which was noted with unfamiliar people. Except in the case of more experience in contact with a specific person with disability, the former could be interpreted by the phenomenon of diffusion of responsibility (Taylor, 1998). This means that when one is a friend or an acquaintance of a person with a disability, as a companion, everyone thinks he or she should assist with whatever is necessary. On the other side, if the person with the disability is surrounded by a few unknown people, they will all think about whether they or someone else should assist. Thus, they will show more insecurity.

Moreover, the results show that family members are most likely to assist in the case of intimate care. This arises from the fact that people with disabilities (but other people too) usually show a more intimate relationship with family members (Abulati et al., 2022). But it is also possible to critically observe that it is an indicated result of so-called *familialism,* that is, the social

slu drugi ljudi ni ne osjećaju pozvanima pružati takvu vrstu pomoći (Zaviršek i Fischbach, 2023). Familijalizam također podrazumijeva izvjesnu poziciju moći, pa se tako vrlo benevolentno gleda na različita ophođenja članova obitelji koja, doduše, možda jesu u dobroj namjeri, ali su zapravo vrlo štetna (Zaviršek i Fischbach, 2023). Konkretizirajući rezultate trenutačnog istraživanja, može se uočiti kako članovi obitelji često imaju potrebu zaštitnički se ponašati spram osobe s invaliditetom, pretjerano joj ugađati, popuštati ili obavljati poslove umjesto nje, što se može smatrati iskazivanjem dobrote, ali zapravo vodi rušenju autonomije osobe s invaliditetom.

Iz svega dosad iznesenog, može se zaključiti kako su odnosi ljudi iz okoline prema osobama s invaliditetom vrlo raznoliki i slojeviti. Oni su dijelom posljedica činjenice da osobe s invaliditetom nisu više samo jedna potpuno nevidljiva i marginalizirana grupa, nego postaju dio javnosti, ostvaruju različite odnose te polagano ruše stereotipe o bespomoćnosti i ranjivosti (Nario-Redmond i sur., 2019). U tom smislu, sukladno uvodno spomenutom modelu o sadržaju stereotipa, osobe s invaliditetom ne moraju uvijek biti doživljavane kao *tople* i *nesposobne* kojima drugi ljudi iskazuju sažaljenje te pružaju pomoć (Canton, Hedley i Spoor, 2023). Štoviše, drugi ljudi mogu ih doživljavati i kao vrlo neželjene, prezirati ih te iskazivati vrlo neprijateljske reakcije (Nario-Redmond i sur., 2019). Ipak, cilj je da osobe s invaliditetom budu ravnopravni članovi društva koji zaslužuju poštovanje i uvažavanje ne više zbog njihove pretpostavljene slabosti, nego jednostavne činjenice da su ljudi kao i svi drugi. Čini se kako, pored strukturalnih promjena, samo kontinuirana edukacija i neposredno iskustvo kontakta, mogu uvelike doprinijeti ostvarenju spomenutog cilja (Ee i sur., 2022; Freer, 2023).

Ograničenja istraživanja

Osim već dobro poznatih, kvalitativnim istraživanjima svojstvenim ograničenjima, poput nemogućnosti generalizacije, ipak glavno ograničenje proizlazi iz korištene metode prikupljanja podataka. Naime, analiza arhivske građe podrazumijeva da su podaci prikupljeni primarno za neku

expectation that the family members are the primary and "the most optimal" caregivers of people with disabilities. In that sense, other people do not feel invited to provide that kind of help (Zaviršek and Fischbach, 2023). Familialism also indicates a certain position of power; therefore, different family members' behaviours have been considered benevolent, which may be well-intentioned, but could be actually very harmful (Zaviršek and Fischbach, 2023). Focusing on the results of the present study, it is notable that some family members often felt a need to behave overprotectively towards the person with the disability, and feel the need to please that person in every aspect, as well as indulge them and do certain jobs instead of them, which could be considered as a reflection of kindness, but could lead to the demolition of the autonomy of people with disabilities.

So far, it can be concluded that the relationship between people from the surrounding community and people with disabilities is very diverse and layered. This is partially a consequence of the fact that people with disabilities are not simply a completely invisible and marginalised group, but part of the public; they form different relationships and slowly combat stereotypes about helplessness and vulnerability (Nario-Redmond et al., 2019). In that sense, consistent with the above-mentioned Content Stereotype Model, people with disabilities do not always have to be considered warm and incapable, and towards whom others tend to express pity and offer assistance (Canton, Hedley and Spoor, 2023). Furthermore, other people can see them as being unwanted, despise them, and react aggressively (Nario-Redmond et al. 2019). However, the objective for people with disabilities is to be equal members of society, who deserve respect and acceptance, not because of their assumed weakness, but because of the simple fact that they are people, just like all the others. It seems that, alongside structural changes, only continuous education and direct contact experiences can contribute significantly to the realisation of the above-mentioned objective (Ee et al., 2022; Freer, 2023).

Research limitations

Besides the well-known limitations of qualitative research, such as the impossibility of gen-

drugu svrhu, a onda se ti isti podaci koriste i za ostvarivanje specifičnog cilja istraživanja koji nije bio poznat u trenutku nastanka podataka (Milas, 2009). Osim toga, nije zanemariva činjenica da su pri susretu osoba s invaliditetom i drugih ljudi iz okoline bile prisutne i treće osobe (studenti) što je sigurno utjecalo na iskazivanje socijalno poželjnog ponašanja, posebice prijatelja i poznanika te članova obitelji. U tome smislu, iako se analizirao značajan korpus podataka, trenutačne spoznaje o odnosu ljudi iz okoline prema osobama s invaliditetom vjerojatno su samo djelomične. Potpuniji uvid osigurao bi se primjenom dodatnih metoda poput primjerice fokusne grupe, foto-elicitirajućeg intervjua ili prikrivenog, nesudioničkog opažanja, specifično usmjerenih na postavljeni cilj istraživanja. U svakom slučaju, detaljniji i strukturiraniji osvrti na kontekst unutar kojega se odvija prikupljanje podataka doprinijeli bi njihovom boljem razumijevanju i kvalitetnijoj interpretaciji, što je u trenutačnom istraživanju bilo otežano.

U daljnjim istraživanjima valjalo bi u uzorak uključiti više osvrta s osobama, odnosno osoba s intelektualnim i/ili mentalnim teškoćama te poremećajem iz spektra autizma. Naime, u trenutačnom istraživanju razvidna je njihova nerazmjerna zastupljenost u odnosu na osobe s tjelesnim te osjetilnim teškoćama, što implicira da su i sami studenti bili skloniji za suradnike odabirati osobe prema kojima i inače društvo iskazuje pozitivnije odnose. Navedeno je zasigurno utjecalo i na rezultate trenutačnog istraživanja te bi u daljnjim istraživanjima valjalo razmatrati navedene skupine kao posebne poduzorke.

ZAKLJUČAK

Osobe s invaliditetom u povijesnom su kontinuumu nastojanja da postanu ravnopravni članovi društva. Dosadašnja saznanja ukazuju kako se ljudi prema osobama s invaliditetom mogu odnositi na vrlo različite načine, pokrivajući čitav dijapazon od izrazito negativnih, preko ambivalentnih do pozitivnih odnosa. Pritom značajnu ulogu, osim kontekstualnih, imaju i individualna obilježja pojedinaca poput spola, razine obrazovanja, vrste, težine i izraženosti invaliditeta.

eralisation, the main research restriction comes from the data collection method used. In fact, the analysis of an archaic database indicates that the data were primarily collected for another purpose, and then the same data was used to achieve a specific research objective that was not known at the moment of data creation (Milas, 2009). Additionally, it is not negligible that during the meeting of people with disabilities and other people from the surrounding community, third parties (i.e., the students) were present, which definitely influenced the expression of socially desirable behaviour, especially that of friends, acquaintances, and family members. In that sense, although the significant data corpus was analysed, the current cognition about the relationship between people from the surrounding community and people with disabilities is likely incomplete Detailed insights can be determined by the implementation of additional methods, such as a focus group, photo-eliciting interview, or covered observation, that is specifically directed to address the defined research objective. Nevertheless, a detailed and structural review of the context within which data collection takes place will contribute to a better understanding and quality interpretation of the data, which was made difficult in the present study.

Considering the previously introduced descriptive analysis about the disproportionate representation of specific disability types, future research should definitely include more people with mental disabilities.

In the present study, their disproportionate representation compared to persons with physical and sensory impairments is evident, which implies that the students themselves were more inclined to select people towards whom society generally has a more positive attitude. This has undoubtedly influenced the results of the present study, and in future research, these groups should be considered as separate sub-samples.

CONCLUSION

People with disabilities are on a historical continuum to becoming equal members of society. Current knowledge indicates that people could behave

Trenutačno istraživanje ukazuje kako je odnos prema osobama s invaliditetom uvjetovan i pozicijom u socijalnoj mreži te osobe. Tako nepoznati ljudi lako uočavaju osobe s invaliditetom, što ih katkad značajno okupira, ali najčešće potiče na pružanje pomoći. Ipak, za neke je susret s osobom s invaliditetom izvor neugode koja se može pretvoriti i u potpuno neprimjereno ophođenje. S druge strane, prijatelji i poznanici dominantno se odnose vrlo pozitivno prema osobama s invaliditetom, no primijećene su i izvjesne ambivalentnosti poput diskutabilnog humora na osnovi invaliditeta ili opreznog komuniciranja. Naposljetku, odnos članova obitelji prema osobama s invaliditetom uglavnom je obilježen prihvaćanjem i pružanjem pomoći koja katkad , uz prezaštićivanje može narušavati autonomiju osoba s invaliditetom.

Dobivena saznanja ukazuju kako se osobe s invaliditetom ne percipiraju samo kao topla i nemoćna bića kojima drugi ljudi iz okoline iskazuju samo sažaljenje i pružanje pomoći. Štoviše, prikazani rezultati o nepovoljnom odnosu prema osobama s invaliditetom, ukazuju kako ih drugi ljudi mogu doživljavati i kao izvor prijetnje, osjećati prema njima odbojnost i strah. Čini se kako veći broj prilika za susret s osobom s invaliditetom nosi veće mogućnosti stjecanja znanja i iskustva, a koje onda vode jačoj normalizaciji invaliditeta.

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in various ways towards people with disabilities, covering the entire spectrum from highly negative and ambivalent to positive relationships. In addition to contextual factors, individual characteristics such as sex, education level, type, severity, and visibility of the disability play a significant role.

The present research study showed that the position in the social network of an individual plays a role in determining their relationship with people with disabilities. Unfamiliar people spot people with disabilities easily, which sometimes occupies their thoughts considerably, but most often encourages them to assist. However, for some people, meeting a person with a disability is a source of discomfort that can be transformed into completely inappropriate behaviour. On the other hand, friends and acquaintances predominantly behave very positively towards people with disabilities, but there is a certain ambivalence, such as disputable humour based on disabilities or cautious communication. Finally, the relationship between family members and people with disabilities is mainly characterised by acceptance and assistance that sometimes, alongside overprotection, can undermine the autonomy of people with disabilities.

Current knowledge indicates that people with disabilities are not perceived only as warm and powerless beings, but that people from the surrounding community tend to express pity and offer assistance. Furthermore, the results presented about unfavourable relationships towards people with disabilities show that other people can perceive them as a source of threat and feel dislike and fear towards them. It seems like a larger number of opportunities to meet people with disabilities brings greater possibilities to gain knowledge and experience, which then leads to stronger normalisation of disabilities as a phenomenon.

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