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LIFE-PATHS OF SERBS IN THE CONTEXT OF CONFLICTS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

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Abstract
Ethnic and religious differentiation greatly contributed to the collapse of former Yugoslavia. The national and religious structure of the country's population was formed by unusually complex historical developments. This process has been influenced by many external and internal factors, varying in intensity over time. Under the influence of historical development, religion and ethnicity manifest themselves as a complex socio-cultural phenomenon, reflected in the identity of the population. Nationalism was the accompanying phenomenon of ethnic and confessional differences and reached the extreme positions. Serbian citizens, like other nationalities of the former Yugoslavia, were strongly influenced by a wave of nationalism in the early 1990s, resulting in an extremely complicated and long-term military conflict and high territorial and state instability. The aim of this paper is to briefly analyse the development of former Yugoslavia and to study the perception and impact of pre-war, war and post-war situations on behaviour of 24 individuals of Serbian nationality who were affected by conflicts in several areas of former Yugoslavia over period of last three decades. The purpose of this article is also to illustrate how the conditions surrounding individuals who were affected by war limit or enhance his/her range of activities in the conflict and post-conflict space have manifested in their time-space behavioural patterns. In this paper a process of individual behaviour is emphasized because each situation is unique and requires special investigation and understanding.

Key words
migrations, life-paths, time-space approach, conflict and post-conflict geography, Serbs, former Yugoslavia

INTRODUCTION

The historic landscapes, along the line of contact between the continuous Croatian and Serbian settlements (especially Bosnia and Slavonia), were the buffer zone where the Latin and Byzantine features of the Yugoslavian space met. At the same time, the ideas of the territorial definition of the Serbian and Croatian states, the concept of the Great Serbia and the Great Croatia, were also encountered and in-

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terwoven. The aforementioned geopolitical and cultural break has also deepened under the influence of different economic development, conditioned by developments in two different civilization spheres (Fňukal, 2012; Bucher and Ištok, 2015). Ethnic differentiation greatly contributed to the collapse of Yugoslavia. The national and religious structure of the country's population was formed by unusually complex historical developments. This process has been influenced by many external and internal factors varying in intensity over time. It would undoubtedly be too demanding on a limited area to characterize ethnic processes, their causes and consequences in former Yugoslavia. Very diverse ethnic structure of the population was the result. This structure was manifested in several highly heterogeneous territories, e.g. Vojvodina and Bosnia and Herzegovina, heterogeneous regions (Macedonia and Kosovo and Metohija) although there were ethnically homogeneous areas in Yugoslavia, e.g. Slovenia and some parts of Serbia (Ištok, 2005). There was an ambition to create the Yugoslav political nation. It failed, even though more than 300,000 inhabitants of the country reported to Yugoslav nationality (statistically monitored since 1961) before its disintegration (Baar, 2002).

An important factor that has influenced and still influences the development in the Yugoslavian area was confessional differences, which are more important here than national ones, especially in the case of Serbs and Croats. Here, under the influence of historical development, religion manifests itself not only as a matter of faith, but also as a complex socio-cultural phenomenon reflected in the identity of the population (Matlovič, 1997). In this context, belonging to the Roman Catholic and Orthodox faith was dominant in former Yugoslavia. The relationships of these two religions are personified in those between the Croatian and Serbian nations, whose territories were not only in direct contact, but these nations have lived and mixed. It was precisely the religious diversity that became the basis of mutual hostility between the South Slavs and led to the deepening of patriotic tendencies in this area (Kumpres, 1992; Hladký, 1994).

Nationalism was the accompanying phenomenon of ethnic and confessional differences on the territory of Yugoslavia and reached extreme positions. In the context of historical development of Balkan Peninsula and especially of former Yugoslavia, it has much deeper roots than elsewhere in Europe. The nationalist thoughts became a welcome tool for the former Communist Nomenclature after 1989, which has succeeded in imposing them on the broad masses of the population. Even churches have been instrumental in promoting nationalist ideas among the broad groups of the population (Pirjevec, 2000). Serbian citizens, like other nationalities of the former Yugoslavia, were strongly influenced by a wave of nationalism in the early 1990s, resulting in a complex and long-term military conflict and high territorial and state instability (Gurňák, 2007).

The aim of this article is to briefly analyse the development of former Yugoslavia and to study the perception and impact of the pre-war, war and post-war situations

on behaviour of 24 individuals of Serbian nationality who were affected by war conflicts in several areas of former Yugoslavia over almost last three decades. The purpose of this article is also to illustrate how the conditions surrounding individuals who were affected by the war limit or enhance their range of activities in the conflict and post-conflict space have manifested in their time-space behavioural patterns.

FEW REMARKS TO THE THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical experts apply different theoretical approaches to the study of the ethnic conflict, violence, genocide adding a "new" word, ethnic cleansing (Sekulić et al., 2002). But such behaviour should be first determined by explaining the origins of those categories. According to Jesse and Williams (2011) it is also important to pay attention to the international relation, because this approach can tell us much about the ethnic conflicts by explaining events in the world politics.

Ethnic and religious identity are very important factors for many conflicts while other factors like economy, politics or international influence are just the triggering mechanism of ethnic conflicts (Jesse and Williams 2011). By examining international, domestic, and individual level factors, it is possible to construct a more complete picture of an ethnic conflict (Horowitz, 1985; Kaplan, 1994; Connor, 1994; Hutchinson and Smith, 1996 and Moore, 2015).

The best way to define the so-called post-conflict era, a period after the armed conflict is halted, is to take it as a process-oriented approach. In the post-conflict period, the communities are confronted to annihilated or functionless political, economic, social, educational or cultural institutions (Blagojević, 2004 and 2009). Ethnic intolerance in the society as a consequence of ethnic conflicts, as it was in some former republics of Yugoslavia, is also typical for this period. Society in the post-conflict time is in the process of renewal and development on almost all of its levels. To achieve this human development, it is necessary to involve peacebuilding, defined by Lambourne (2004) as strategies for stable and long-lasting peace and nation-building. Peacebuilding not only means establishment of durable peace but also means to achieve a better quality of life in society.

All significant human interactions can be seen from geographical (time-space perspectives), especially from the behavioural geography and time-geography point of view. Behavioural geographical approach is not based on an abstract model of rational behaviour, but is focused on what people do and why they do it (Castree et al., 2013). Behavioural approach in geography recognizes that people live simultaneously in a subjective environment of values, meanings and perceptions and in an objective physical environment. Current behavioural approaches include both, qualitative and quantitative methods (Golledge, Stimson 1990;

Golledge, 2008; Gold, 2009) and expand into various areas including ethnic and religious tensions (e.g. Ira, 1997; Jacobson, 2006; Uher 2018). Time geography is an approach aimed at clarification of the constraints to objects and individuals in their search for slots in the time-space continuum. Hägerstrand (1970) builds on everyday experience and the bounding capacity of time and space. Every individual move from one place to another and these movements can be described by a trajectory (observed path) in time-space. Time-geography studies applied a broad spectrum of own concepts (e.g. Ellegård, 1999 and 2019; Lenntorp, 1999; Ira, 2001). The individual human being is an integer unit of existence. The life paths of individuals are influenced by biological needs and by societal factors. Hägerstrand's concept "individual path" (life path of the individual), is inspired by his work on migration in Sweden (Hägerstrand, 1957), where he analysed the movements in the time-space of the individual rather than looking at aggregate data. The life trajectory of a person whose demands do not comply with the political environment will search for refuge domain, either as a permanent solution in full or partial accord with her or his demands, or as a stepping-stone in the search for full satisfaction. Planning his or her day, year and life, the individual utilizes and accommodates to all the networks and structures available (Lundén, 2003).

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

In order to clarify the course of the events that have led to the social crisis, which caused the violent disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation, a short historical background should be presented. Probably the most shinny period in the modern history of Serbia was a time in Tito´s Yugoslavia after the World War II, and lasted till the very end of the last Yugoslavia in 2003. In this context it is necessary to mention that Yugoslav federation was considered as efficient one, seeing from outside. Yugoslavia rose from the war and it was founded on a complex constitutional settlement of six republics and two autonomous provinces within Serbia (Fig. 1).

Policy of centralism in 1980s and cultural pressure to unitarism, including the sensitive linguistic (cultural) what was understood as clear degradation of Yugoslav Constitution from 1974 and improved federalism. The planned centralism was abandoning regional connections among some republics and it produced a revolt, that followed to the disintegration of Yugoslav federation. In the late 1980s, Tito´s system of balance, so called brotherhood and unity started to collapse rapidly and Yugoslavia was struggling with decentralisation and fragmentation of the national-ethnic territories. This helped national communists in all six republics to gain their positions. At that time Slobodan Milošević became a representative of Serbian nationalism. Together with the Serb political elites and help of political allies they started to increase the centralisation in Federation but also within Serbia

Figure 1
Former Yugoslavia in 1991: administrative division.
Source: http://www.camo.ch/karta_yu2.htm

where they managed to limit significantly the autonomy of two provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija.

The situation in 1990s became more complicated. Long historical tradition and political ambitions of national communists in some republics started to call for independence, in which they saw a long-term future. It started with the multi-party democratic system all over the country, continue with disintegration of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and after the civil wars it culminated in independence of some former republics. First Slovenia, followed by Croatia, Macedonia and finally Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995 became independent. This process was neither easy nor fast and it was the worst scenario which could be expected.

The Yugoslav civil wars started in Sarajevo in April 1992 and definitely ended in 1999 when the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) used military force and embarked on a war from the air. The 21st century started with the hope that political culture will be transformed and opposition empowered. In 2006, Montenegro broke away from the Union of Serbia and Montenegro, which was created from the two remaining federal republics of Yugoslavia in 2003, and after a referendum became independent country. After two years, in 2008, the Autonomous Province

of Kosovo and Metohija declared its independence from Serbia and became a sovereign state. Official Government of Serbia strongly opposed Kosovo´s declaration of independence and since then refused to deal directly with the Government of Kosovo, and does so only through the international intermediaries.

As a result of wars within former Yugoslavia in the mid-1990s, tens of thousands of Serbs found themselves refugees, a humiliating role reversal for a people proud of their skills as warriors. Riding tractors, hunched in trailers and astride horses, they were migrating from Croatia and Bosnia in one of the biggest exoduses of refugees since Yugoslavia broke up in 1991. In the first half of the 1990s, many of them were steadily moving on into Yugoslavia, and some were already showing up in Belgrade, the capital and in Novi Sad and their surroundings. Many of them brought with them the bitter realization that they were suffering the same kind of ethnic cleansing that the Serbs had carried out, with the winners of territory forcing members of opposing ethnic groups to leave the area.

As a result of conflicts and demographic developments in the former Yugoslavia, the percentage of Serbs has decreased in most former republics and autonomous territories since 1948 (Table 1). The exception is Vojvodina, where their share increased.

Table 1 Population of Serbs in territorial units of former Yugoslavia and in successor states (%)

Territorial unit	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	1994	2001	2002	2011	2013
SLOVENIA	0.50	0.76	0.85	1.20	2.41	2.41	-		1.98	-	
CROATIA	14.47	15.01	15.02	14.16	11.55	12.21	-	4.54		4.35	
BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA	44.28	44.39	42.89	37.18	32.02	31.21	-			-	27.09
Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.54
Republic of Srpska	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	82.95
SERBIA	92.11	91.70	92.46	89.50	85.43	88.91	-	-	89.48	89.40	
Vojvodina	50.57	51.05	54.86	55.78	54.42	57.17	-		65.04	66.75	
Kosovo & Metohija (KOSOVO)	23.61	23.49	23.57	18.35	13.15	9.92	-	-	-	1.46	-
MONTENEGRO	1.77	3.30	2.98	7.46	3.32	9.34	-	-	31.99	28.72	-
(NORTH) MACEDONIA	2.57	2.69	3.03	2.82	2.33	2.10	2.06	-	1.77	-	-

Source: own calculations based on census data:
Savezni zavod za statistiku SFRJ, 1998; Statistical office of Slovenia, 2003, 2013; Croatian bureau of statistics, 2013; Federalni zavod za statistiku, 2003, 2013; Institute of statistics of Republika Srpska, 2017; Statistical office of the Republic of Serbia, 2003, 2012; Kosovo agency of statistics, 2013; Statistical office of the Republic of Montenegro, 2004; Republic of Macedonia state statistical office, 2005.

STUDY AREA, METHODS AND DATA

The survey was conducted in the area between two largest cities, the capital of the province of Vojvodina, Novi Sad and Belgrade, the capital of Serbia within the radius of about 100 km. The selection of the study area was inspired by several factors, but the important one was the higher concentration of post-war refugees of Serbian nationality from former Yugoslavia. After more than 45 years (since the end of World War II), the war in the territory of former Yugoslavia gave rise to the long forgotten types of migration but did not change the direction of migration and the tendency of moving towards the native republics, which is obvious to all ethnicities. Due to the geographical characteristics, but also the strategic position of Vojvodina, migration, especially for ethnic Serbs, has always the greatest importance, more than in any other area in former Yugoslavia (Raduški, 2002). Starting with the Austro-Hungarian authorities many nations colonized this area. The experience from the period of planned colonization in 18th and 19th century had an impact on later colonization organized by the Yugoslav communists after the World War II and on the forced migration (mostly immigration) in the late 20th century (Drbohlav and Uherek, 2007).

More than a half (15) of the total number of respondents comes from the area called Srpska Krajina (Lika, Kordun and Banija) and Slavonija in the present Croatia, and a small proportion of respondents are from Zagreb, the capital. It should be mentioned in this context that Srpska Krajina was colonized by Serbian population by Austro-Hungarian authorities mainly for the same reasons as Vojvodina, to be incorporated into the Military Frontier. Through the centuries, the Serbs had become the largest proportion of Croatia´s population. Some respondents are also from north-west Bosnia, which is now part of Republic of Srpska, and two respondents are from Kosovo.

In this research the activity patterns of a selected sample of 24 Serbs, individuals who were directly affected by war, were studied. Their life-paths were followed starting from the pre-war period to the present (year 2018). The data allowed to gain a new insight to the behaviour of these individuals before, during the and after the war. It contributes to understanding of activities of people affected by war conflicts in physical space and chronological time in concrete political, economic, socio-cultural, institutional and geographical contexts. The time-geographical approach based on records of activities in time-space was applied through the time-space diaries (activity diaries), a significant instrument for an analysis of life-paths of individuals. The use of time-space diaries expanded after the introduction of Hägerstrand's time geography into human geography (Hägerstrand 1970). The development of geographic information systems (GIS) and computational capabilities in the last few decades facilitated the analysis of time–space diaries (Couclelis, 1999). Activity diaries collect information on the activity content (the time that an

activity episode starts and ends), the geographical context (the spatial location where the activity takes place), the social context (the person(s) involved in the event), and the use of transportation mode(s). According to Schwanen (2009) there are several additional dimensions for which information is collected, for example the respondent's feelings and emotions during activities. This method may facilitate reflections on changes in the patterns of activities and may enable a deeper understanding of relationships in community (Díaz-Muñoz, 1999; Ellegård, 1999). Apart from geography it was applied in several scientific disciplines (Kwan, 2012 and Miller, 2017). Life-paths represent all movement, whether temporary travel, or more or less permanent migration. The aim is to use the time-geographical form of notation to describe and interpret the form and development of mobility biographies. This approach should also be regarded as an attempt to capture and exemplify how regional and international interconnectedness is constituted by the time-space practices of individuals (Frändberg, 2008). One of time-geography's most important contributions to social theory has been to bring out the significance of people's movements and interactions in time and space for the creation of place (Giddens, 1984).

The analyses of time-space diaries helped us better understand importance of life-paths of people affected by war conflicts in a physical space and chronological time in concrete economic, socio-cultural, and political contexts. The first column of the time-space budget referred to time, the date. The basic analytical time unit was one month. In case of forced and urgent migrations we applied even a day as a basic unit. The second column of the time-space budget referred to the activity and the third column (geographical context - place) referred to the geographical location where the activity took place. The fourth column characterised a social context (with whom they did that activity specified in terms of their relations with the respondent) and the fifth column described the transport mode. The sixth column contained some notes, explaining e.g. feelings in specific situations. This helped us discover their influence upon and relations with any other event. The time-space diary technique/method has been complemented by audio recording of oral history.

Data collection for this research was organized in the April 2018. Respondents were interviewed and asked to keep a time-space activity diary. One of the key challenges within the mixed methods research is the successful integration of quantitative and qualitative data during analysis and interpretation. In the study the 3D maps were used in order to visualize the trajectories of individuals during the period of 30 years. In-depth interviews with the same individuals were consequently conducted. Oral history interviews may concern a very specific subject or cover an entire lifespan or trace a complex issue that unfolds over time offering the geographers the opportunity to examine the complexities and intricacies of place

(George and Stratford, 2010). The main challenge associated with collecting data was to reach a desired group of individuals. This was possible using the snowball sampling, which works like a chain referral (e.g. Goodman, 1961; Rochovská et al., 2014). It helped to develop a research sample group who grows like a rolling snowball (Cohen and Arieli, 2011). The snowball sampling in our study seemed to be useful in collecting data in post-conflict environments and thus the sampling was conducted among post-war refugees of Serbian nationality from former Yugoslavia. Our snowball sampling rested on the assumption that social networks consist of groups with relatively homogenous traits (experiences from armed conflict and informality of respondents´ statements).

TIME-SPACE BEHAVIOUR OF SERBS AFFECTED BY WAR (SAMPLE OF SERBS BORN OUTSIDE THE TERRITORY OF PRESENT-DAY SERBIA)

The diaries that we have analysed were based on personal histories of 24 respondents (8 males and 16 females), which we collected mostly between April and September 2018 and then recorded their trajectories. In one-to-one interviews, respondents were questioned about their personal history starting at the point of birth through the time of war in the1990s till present. All of them are Serbs by nationality, Orthodox by religion and usually with dual citizenship by now – Serbian and Croatian or Bosnian. All of them were born outside the territory of the present-day Serbia. The average age of interviewees is 34.7 years. The youngest respondent was 27 and the oldest 93 years old. Among all respondents, only 2 participants completed just the primary school of 8th grades, but most of them graduated in high schools, or finished vocational education. Five of total have a university degree (bachelor´s and master´s degree) and one of them is a Ph.D. degree holder. Only three participants are in post-productive age group (working age population 16 to 64). Most of our respondents were forced to move after the military Operation Flash in May or Operation Storm in August 1995 conducted by the Croatian Army, which was the last major battle of the Croatian war for independence but also the main factor for the outcome of the Bosnian war. According to their statement, most of them did not have closer connections to Serbia before the war and in the time of forced moving nothing was organised. In that time of chaos, they often joined a refugee convoy on the way, although not knowing where they were going. By this way they travelled proximately about 4-5 days in convoy and stopped beyond the border of the province of Vojvodina or Serbia. Only few of them had relatives in Vojvodina or Central Serbia. In case of Serbs from Kosovo they did not travel in convoys but after the bombing in 1999 they started to leave secretly their hometowns with some family members and moved to place where some of their relatives lived.

Before the civil wars their households were in urban area, such as the city of Zagreb and towns Osijek, Knin or Sisak, or small towns, for example, Slavonska Požega, Petrinja, Sanski Most or Kosovska Mitrovica. In the case of older respondents (over 60 years old at present), before the civil wars they were employed in industrial sector in one of the local fabrics or in social sector such as medical nurse and few of female respondents were housewives. Very small portion of respondents lived in rural areas around Petrinja, Glina, or Sanski Most where most of economically active population was employed in agricultural sector.

Visual interpretation of time-space diaries of three respondents from Kosovska Vitina in Kosovo (Fig. 2), Petrinja in Croatia (Fig. 3), Bestrma in Croatia (Fig. 4) in 3D graphs. Vertical line in the graph represents the time context, duration of activity in certain geographical space of the individual person. Every interruption or diversion meant changing of direction of the movement of time axis and its duration. Time span expressed in the construction of 3D graph is the period between 1990 and 2018, within which the most important changes in time-space behavioural patterns were analysed. Before the war no important changes were recorded in place of living.

Fig. 2 shows almost the 30 years life-span segment of 33 years old woman originally from Kosovska Vitina in Kosovo and Metohija (Republic of Kosovo in the present) who currently lives in Stara Pazova, a town in the province of Vojvodina. During the NATO bombing between March and June 1999, her parents were forced to send her by car together with some of her siblings and their neighbour to Jagodina in Serbia. Since one of the bombs dropped near them and destroyed

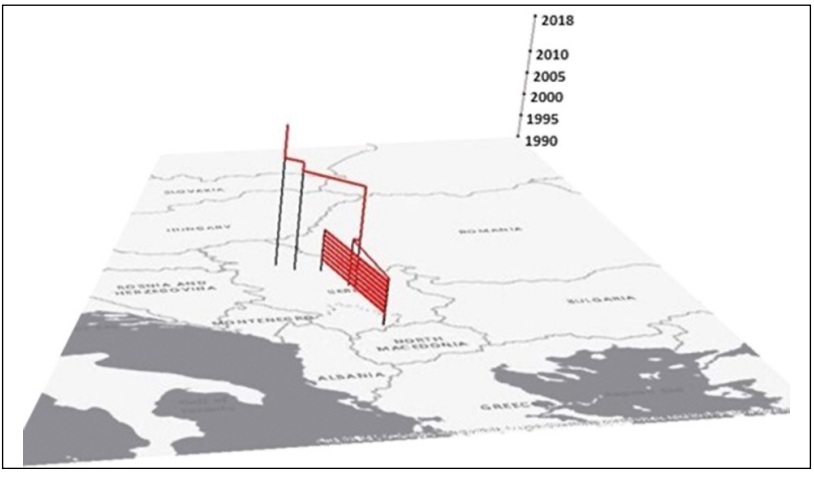

Figure 2
Examples of life-path of 33 years old female living in Stara Pazova, Serbia

the house, she was not able to return home any more. After this her family moved to Ćuprija where she completed high school. Then she continued her higher education in capital of Belgrade. The reason of her moving out from Belgrade was because she got married and started her own family. According to her statement, after all she experienced with Albanians, she would never go back to Kosovo.

Fig. 3 shows one segment of the life-span of 44 years old male from a small village Bestrma near Sisak (Croatia). After high school he became subject of compulsory military service in Vrhnjika, Slovenia. He finished his military service at the beginning of the war in 1992 and became an army soldier of Republic of Srpska Krajina. For three years he fought against the Croatian army around Knin and Bestrma, but after the Operation Flash in August 1995 together with other soldiers he was forced to retreat. They left the territory of Srpska Krajina and joined the refugee convoy and continued in route towards Kosovo and Metohija where he stayed for almost a year. After that he used to move often until he settled in Stara Pazova in the province of Vojvodina. Since the economic situation in Serbia is difficult, from time to time he took the opportunity to travel abroad for occasional jobs.

Figure 3
Examples of life-path of 44 years old male living in Stara Pazova, Serbia

Fig. 4 shows the time-span of 59 years old male from Petrinja in Croatia. Before the war in Croatia, he was for long time employed by the radio station in Petrinja. In spite of fact that he tried to move to safer place together with his family, his military duties compelled him to work at the radio station during the next four war years in Croatia. This ended in August of 1995 when Croatian army started the ethnic cleansing in the Operation Flash. He joined the refugee convoy and moved with his family on tractor to Serbia. After about 10 days they reached their destination where they currently live (Stara Pazova). Because of lack of job opportunities in the town, he accepted a job in Zrenjanin where he spent couple of months.

In-depth interviews offered the opportunity to capture rich descriptive data about interviewees´ behaviour, attitudes, perceptions, and to explain motivations

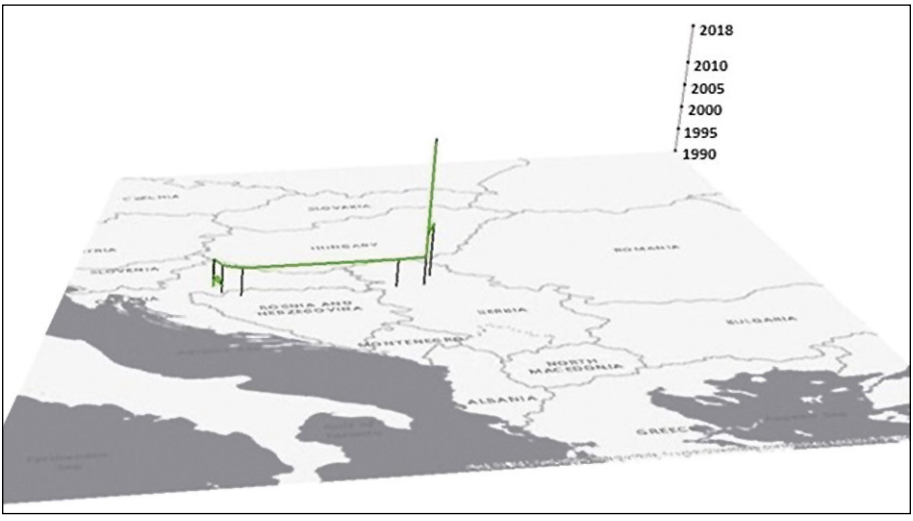

Figure 4
Examples of life-path of 59 years old male living in Stara Pazova, Serbia

and experience gained in the pre-war to post-war period, and the complicated processes in between. All our respondents have been exposed to multiple pre-and post-migratory traumatic experiences; it was therefore essential for us to be aware and respectful of their vulnerability. The total number of questions in this in-depth interview was 27 and questions were related to the key areas of their lives.

According to the Serbian respondents, the relations among neighbours in the domestic community before the war were good (13) to very good / excellent (11). Only less than a tenth of respondents experienced personally some inconvenience from conflicts in the 1990s due to the nationality or religion. Some of these answers were: yes, from a Croatian teacher or school mates when they called me "Četnik", or at the playground when a girl said that she would take my head and play with it as it were a ball. But this did not directly imply our decision to move. Until they (Albanian army) initiated the killing, no one left their home.

Most of respondents (19) agreed that if there were no armed conflicts, they would still remain in their original region / place of residence. More than two-thirds of respondents think that the propaganda of some nations affected the development of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. On the contrary, three respondents answered no. Most of the questioned Serbs (two thirds) believe that the faith, religion in the environment in which they formerly lived, did not play a very important role. "Till the 1990s it did not play any role, until they started with the propaganda against each other." (43 years old female). Opinions on whether official attitudes of church leaders played an important role in promoting their

own interests and contributing to the spread of conflicts were different. In fifteen cases the answers were positive, six respondents answered no and three did not comment. It is evident from the positive answers that the church leaders did not make sufficient efforts to calm the situation and promote reconciliation. Significant number of respondents (13) believe that the political leaders abused religion in their favour. The war conflict also had an impact on marriage. Five respondents also reported ethnically mixed marriages that have ended in a divorce after the war conflicts. The most of respondents said they did not intend to return to localities where they used to live before the war. The main reasons were as follows: their homes and properties were either burned or withdrawn/taken away, or in some cases they managed to replace properties. Over time some of them managed to sell what they owned before the war. The important reason why they plan to stay at the place of their present stay is a feeling of security and that they like their neighbours (Slovaks). And it has often been accounted that those places have no more importance for them than they had before the war, even if they feel sorry for properties they left behind. These reasons suggest that the move was provisionally terminated with the prospect of settling permanently.

Moving away is associated not only with the changes of housing and employment, but also with coming into a different cultural, social and economic environment, that has a significant impact on the lives of the respondents. More than two-thirds reported a very negative impact, especially the deteriorated state of health i.e. emotional, mental exhaustion or diabetes, heart disease, and so on. The new beginnings after war were very difficult for many, frequent moving, no money, new environment, new people, family was not altogether. Motivations to move as very important aspects of the time-space behaviour are presented in Tab. 2. Almost three decades analysed in our research were divided into three sub-periods: pre-war period in former Yugoslavia (January 1990 - April 1991), war times (May 1991 – December 14th, 1995) and post-war period ending in the time when survey was conducted (December 15th, 1995 – 16th April 2018). It is evident, that the war and post-war period are characterized by complicated life-paths in some cases with numerous movements and places (stations). The most of them were forced by the war and post- war events. Pre-war motivations to move were induced by family, living conditions and work reasons. Motivation factors changed during the war. Apart from the fact that several respondents were motivated to join their families, seven respondents joined a *convoy* of *refugees* fleeing heavy fighting, several war-endangered persons were forced to leave their homes and directed by domestic and international institutions to new localities. Post-war movement were mostly motivated by better living conditions, family, work, and education reasons.

Table 2 Motivations to move

Age (in 2018), Gender	Motivation to move		
	January 1990 – April 1991	May 1991 - December 14th, 1995	December 15th, 1995 – April 16th, 2018
93, F	0	SE (refugee convoy)	OT
69, M	0	MD, SE (refugee convoy)	OT
67, F	SE, FA	SE (refugee convoy)	LC
64, M	0	FA, IN, SE (refugee convoy)	FA, WO
61, F	0	FA, SE	LC
61, M	MD	FA, MD, SE	WO, FA
59, M	0	FA, LC, SE (refugee convoy)	LC, WO
57, F	0	FA, OT, WO	FA, OT, WO
56, F(KM)	0	IN, SE (refugee convoy)	IN, OT
56, F (LM)	0	FA, SE, WO	0
53, M	0	MD	MD, SE, WO
50, F	FA, SE, WO	0	0
46, M	MD	MD, SE, WO	FA, WO
44, M	0	MD	FA, WO
43, F	FA, MA, LC, SE	FA, SE, WO	OT
42, F	FA, SE, WO	FA, SE, WO	FA, MA
41, F	0	FA, OT, SE	MA, OT
39, F	0	FA, OT, SE (refugee convoy)	ED, WO
37, M	FA	FA, SE, ED	ED, FA, MD, WO
34, M	0	FA, SE	ED, FA, SE
33, F	0	FA, SE	ED, FA, MA
32, F	0	FA, SE	FA
31, F	0	LC, SE	ED, MA, WO
27, F	0	0	ED, FA, SE, WO

Source: *own research*
Motivations: 0 - no motivation reason to move, FA - Family, IN - Institution, SE - Security, MD - Military duty, WO – Work, ED – Education, MA – Marriage, LC – Living conditions, OT – Others

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The time-geographical approach applied in this study seems to be a convenient foundation for mapping migration processes and analysing time-space behavioural patterns of individuals in the conflict and post-conflict times. The methodological concept is based on works of Hägerstrand and his followers, who state that in time-space the individual describes a path. Four dimensional views of the world

respect the continuity and interdependence of matter, space and time (Pred, 2005). The life-path can be understood in a variety of temporal and spatial scales and can contribute to better understanding of the phenomenology of migration, usually employing qualitative methodologies. Compared to the traditional geographical methods the diaries (time-space diaries) and in-depth interviews are especially appropriate for addressing sensitive topics and searching for a comprehensive set of factors that influence individual's life and their behaviour. The time-space diaries enabled to create a complex picture of how individuals interact with each other and make it possible to identify the socio-economic context in which our respondents lived before the war compared to their present situation (Schwanen, 2009).

The GIS is becoming something more than the computer mapping software (Couclelis, 1999; Kwan, 2004). With the rapidly increasing technical and conceptual sophistication of the technology came increasingly complex demands and expectations from the user community focused on life paths analysis.

Wars in former Yugoslavia had long term effects not only on the populations in the conflict zones, but also on populations beyond these territories (flight of refugees and social, cultural and economic impacts). The landscapes of war zones are well marked, e.g. damaged buildings and infrastructure, destroyed landmarks such as churches, abandoned lands and post war rebuilding (O'Loughlin, 2009). Significant part of the post-conflict geographical research is focused on the political, social and economic consequences of wars but in this paper a special attention was given to selected behavioural geographical aspects. The long-term impacts of war conflicts are yet unclear and thus behavioural geographic research (especially perception of war and post war situations and life path studies as a part of time-geography) could be one of possible important contributions.

As far as the time-space behaviour patterns of studied group of Serbs are concerned, in pre-war period it was traditionally typical for inhabitants not to move or migrate far from the place of their birth, except for marriages and migrations for labour motives (mostly men). Usually they did not leave their region. Unfortunately, the war became the main push and pull migratory factor, which forced to them to escape the war zone. Our research paid special attention to the geographical and social contexts recorded in the time-space diaries. It was very important for a deeper understanding of behaviour of individuals affected by war not only in time of conflict but also in post-conflict period. Twenty-four men and women with complicated and disturbed life trajectories survived many changes of locations. With the ever-changing relations in the war and post-war states they got into trouble. We can state similarly as Lundén (2003) that the real individual reasons for their life choices at different conjunctures will never be clear. Family, personal economy, community relations, religion and ethnicity may have in some cases more impetus than political situations in several war and post-war situations.

The time–space diaries were applied in focusing on specific research questions with a particular interest in the multiplicity and particularity of people's experiences of life in the conflict and post-conflict environment. The survey was based on a systematic ex-post record of the person's use of time over almost three decades including the spatial coordinates of activity locations. The study based on the concept of an individual's activity patterns was combined with post-diary interviews. The method of diary reliably supplied information for disaggregated analysis of life paths of Serbs affected by war in former Yugoslavia. The research presented in this paper could be perceived as one of the first contributions to a conceptual work in this area and brings original empirical material which may serve for the development of further interdisciplinary researches.

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