

CONFLICT-DRIVEN MOBILIZATION IN PROTRACTED CONFLICT: A MULTI-LEVEL CONCEPTUAL SYNTHESIS FROM THE KARABAKH CASE

Hayk Smbatyan <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6435-2967>

Ph.D. candidate, Chair of Theory and History of Sociology, Faculty of Sociology,
Yerevan State University, Armenia, Master of Social Sciences, “Peace and Conflict
Studies” program, Uppsala University, Sweden

Email: hayksmbatyan@ysu.am

Abstract: This synthesis article examines conflict-driven mobilization in the protracted Nagorno-Karabakh conflict by integrating findings from five distinct papers. Framed by a multi-level analytical perspective, the paper investigates how micro-level emotional and moral motivations, meso-level group identity and collective dynamics, and macro-level structural inequalities and historical legacies converge to drive conflict-driven mobilization. Drawing upon a qualitative research design that combines document analysis, process tracing, semi-structured interviews, and participatory methodologies, the synthesis addresses the central question: How do interdependent emotional, collective, and structural factors fuel mobilization in protracted conflicts? Looking into evidence from the historical evolution of civic movements to their transformation into armed struggles, the paper reveals that mobilization is not solely a rational, calculated act but is deeply rooted in personal and collective grievances. Furthermore, the integration of participatory approaches underscores the value of context-sensitive research in capturing the lived experiences of conflict-affected communities. Ultimately, the proposed multi-level theory advances existing conceptual frameworks in the sociology of conflict mobilization and offers a heuristic tool for understanding similar dynamics in other protracted conflict zones.

Keywords: *sociology of conflict, theoretical synthesis, intractable conflict, conflict-driven mobilization, collective action, Nagorno-Karabakh.*

Introduction

In societies marked by protracted conflict, the persistence and transformation of collective mobilization remains one of the most pressing yet insufficiently understood phenomena in the social sciences. Why do people continue to mobilize, often voluntarily and at great personal risk, amid long-standing conflict, instability, and uncertain political futures? What drives participation in waves of civic activism or military engagement when previous efforts may have failed to yield resolution, and when cycles of violence and disappointment are deeply internalized? These questions become especially salient in cases where conflict becomes an enduring social



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condition, structuring identities, grievances, and forms of agency over decades. The Nagorno-Karabakh (NK) conflict, a territorial and ethnopolitical dispute that has spanned more than three decades and multiple phases of violence, offers a compelling empirical setting in which to interrogate these questions.

While the NK conflict has been analyzed from theoretical (e.g., Arutyunyan, 2006; Saghatelyan, 2012), historical (e.g., Cornell, 1999; De Waal, 2013), sociopsychological (e.g., Vartikyan, 2017; Atanesyan, 2024), and geopolitical (e.g., Uzer, 2012; Poghosyan, 2022) perspectives, this synthesis article takes a distinctly sociological approach by focusing on conflict-driven mobilization, that is, the collective and structural processes of action by which people become engaged in action in the context of sustained and unresolved conflict. Drawing on five original studies presented as part of my doctoral research, I develop a multi-level conceptualization of mobilization in protracted conflict settings. These studies span a range of themes, from individual emotional and moral motivations to group-level solidarities and macro-structural conditions of inequality, and are empirically grounded in the trajectory of the Karabakh conflict, including the First War (1988–1991), the Four-Day War (2016), and the Second War (2020).

Despite the rich literature on collective action and political mobilization (e.g., Olson, 1965; Gurr, 1970; Snow, Soule, & Kriesi, 2004), much of the scholarship continues to rely on either rationalist assumptions (emphasizing cost-benefit calculations, resource mobilization, or elite manipulation) or one-dimensional grievance models. These approaches often fail to account for the complexity of protracted conflict environments, where mobilization is shaped by layered histories of trauma, deeply felt moral obligations, evolving group identities, and structural inequalities that persist across generations. Moreover, in conflict contexts where the line between civilian and combatant is blurred, and where state and non-state actors are often co-constitutive, traditional models of political mobilization prove insufficient (Kalyvas, 2006).

In response to these limitations, this article proposes a sociological synthesis that brings together micro-level motivations (emotional, moral, experiential), meso-level group dynamics (solidarity, collective identity, informal networks), and macro-level structures (ethnic hierarchies, socio-political exclusion, historical inequalities). I argue that only by analyzing the interplay between these levels can we sufficiently grasp the dynamics of conflict-driven mobilization, not as episodic or isolated events, but as embedded, evolving, and often routinized social processes. In the Karabakh case, this is evident in the transformation of mobilization from grassroots civic resistance in the late Soviet period to organized volunteerism in wartime (Smbatyan, 2025), and in the persistent social legitimacy of participation in the defense of “the cause.”

This article is structured as a synthesis of five academic publications. Each article brings about a distinct perspective: one explores the evolution of civic to military mobilization (*ibid.*); another analyzes the role of horizontal inequalities in generating grievances (Smbatyan, 2022); two examine the emotional, moral, and subjective experiences of war volunteers during short-timed (Smbatyan, 2018) and long-running (Smbatyan, 2021) phases of violence outburst; and one reflects on participatory and context-sensitive methodologies for researching conflict (Smbatyan, 2020). Taken

together, they offer a layered understanding of how individuals and groups become mobilized in and by long-term conflict.

The goal of this article is to synthesize and integrate the findings into a coherent theoretical proposition as of which conflict-driven mobilization in protracted conflict must be understood through a multi-level sociological framework that captures its emotional, relational, and structural dimensions. The proposed synthesis offers a conceptual contribution to the fields of sociology, conflict studies, and political mobilization, while also holding practical relevance for policy actors and practitioners seeking to engage with communities affected by enduring conflict.

By placing the NK conflict in broader theoretical dialogue, this article invites further comparative research on conflict-driven mobilization across other “no war, no peace” societies such as those in Bosnia (e.g., Glenny, 2000; Bieber, 2006) or Kashmir (e.g., Duschinski, 2009; Constantin & Carlà, 2024). In doing so, it aims to move the study of collective action beyond short-term events or elite strategies and toward an understanding of how conflict shapes and is shaped by societal structures of participation, identity, and grievance over time.

Overview of Articles

This paper draws upon five interconnected articles that, taken together, construct a layered sociological analysis of conflict-driven mobilization in the context of the NK conflict. Each article builds upon the others to contribute to a broader analytical puzzle. The research spans different phases and forms of mobilization, from civic movements to armed volunteerism, and explores the subjective meaning making, structural conditions, and epistemological challenges of researching protracted conflict from within.

The first article, “*Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict Through the Prism of Horizontal Inequalities: Theoretical Overview*” (Smbatyan, 2022), lays the theoretical foundations of the study. This article constructs an analytical framework centered on the theory of horizontal inequality, arguing that group-level disparities are pivotal in shaping collective grievances. By critically examining both macro-structural factors and micro-level perceptions, the study bridges the gap between objective measures of inequality and the subjective experiences of conflict-affected communities. It emphasizes that the initial civic mobilization in the NK context must be understood not solely as an isolated political uprising, but as part of a broader pattern where perceived injustice and historical marginalization create fertile ground for mobilization. Such meso-level analysis is instrumental in calling for the reorientation of conflict studies toward a more nuanced understanding that transcends traditional macro or micro explanatory models.

In “*From Civic Mobilization to Armed Struggle: Tracing the Roots of the Karabakh Movement*” (Smbatyan, 2025), the historical evolution of mobilization is discussed. This article methodically retraces the transition from a grassroots civic movement, which emerged in the late 1980s, to the more militarized forms of collective action that characterized the early phases of the NK conflict. Through a process tracing approach that combines qualitative interviews and extensive secondary evidence, the study shows how perceived horizontal inequalities (Cederman, Gleditsch, & Buhaug, 2013) between ethnic Armenians and Azerbaijanis catalyzed mass mobilization. In doing so, it highlights how everyday grievances, driven by economic, political, and socio-

cultural disparities, laid the groundwork for a sustained movement. The article's emphasis on the interplay between local narratives and structural conditions establishes a historical baseline for understanding the evolution of mobilization from peaceful civic protest to armed struggle.

The empirical exploration of individual agency and emotional motivations is advanced in “*Civilian Participation in Interstate War: Unfolding Voluntary Collective Action in Nagorno-Karabakh War*” (Smbatyan, 2021). This article delves into why civilians voluntarily join armed conflict during the 2020 escalation. Drawing on in-depth interviews with war volunteers, the study applies Elisabeth Wood’s (2003) theory of insurgent collective action alongside Max Weber’s (1978) social action theory. It demonstrates that emotional and moral motives, rather than purely rational calculations, are at the heart of volunteer decisions. By unpacking the nuanced interplay between affect and agency, this work adds a key dimension to this paper’s framework: it shows that personal and emotional commitments are not merely ancillary to political mobilization but are central drivers that both reflect and reinforce collective identity and purpose.

Complementing the focus on individual and group-level dynamics, “*Sociological Interpretation of Nagorno-Karabakh Voluntary Movement in the Context of the Four-Day War*” (Smbatyan, 2018) further explores the sociological meaning making of volunteerism during conflict. This article extends the analysis of volunteer motivations by examining how these actors construct their identities and relate to the broader social fabric during the Four-Day War. It employs the sociology of war (Malešević, 2010) and social action theory (Weber, 1978) to reveal that the voluntary movement is instilled by symbolic representations of heroism, sacrifice, and national unity. The article illustrates how volunteers internalize and reproduce dominant narratives of valor and self-sacrifice, which, in turn, contribute to the institutionalization of mobilization practices within the conflict milieu.

Finally, “*Challenging the Reality-Conception Split in Conflict Studies: Participatory Methodologies Under Focus*” (Smbatyan, 2020) provides an important methodological contrast. This work critically examines the epistemological divide (Schön, 1995) between academic and practical knowledge production in conflict studies. It advocates for reflective and participatory research methodologies for the studies of protracted conflicts that integrate the lived experiences of conflict-affected populations with rigorous scientific inquiry. By challenging traditional modes of conflict analysis, the article underscores the importance of reflexivity and inclusivity in understanding the multifaceted nature of mobilization. It demonstrates that methodological innovation is not simply a tool for data collection but is central to constructing a more authentic and context-sensitive analytical framework.

Together, these five articles create a dynamic analytical framework that accounts for structure, agency, affect, and methodology. Each article addresses a different dimension of collective action within conflict settings, remaining at the same time connected to the broader goal of understanding how long-term conflict reshapes societies, politics, and the very conditions under which people act collectively.

Thematic Integration

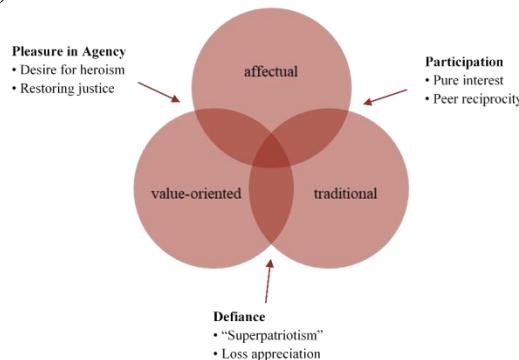
In this synthesis, the multi-level analysis of conflict-driven mobilization in the NK context is structured around three analytical dimensions: **micro-level** emotional and moral motivations, **meso-level** group identity and collective dynamics, and **macro-level** structural inequalities and historical legacies. Each dimension draws upon insights from the five articles to reveal how individual, collective, and structural factors interlace to drive mobilization.

Micro-Level: Emotional and Moral Motivations

At the micro-level, the individual's emotions, moral commitments, and personal experiences play a critical role in the decision to engage in conflict. This dimension is most vividly explored in “*Civilian Participation in Interstate War: Unfolding Voluntary Collective Action in Nagorno-Karabakh War*” (Smbatyan, 2021) and “*Sociological Interpretation of Nagorno-Karabakh Voluntary Movement in the Context of the Four-Day War*” (Smbatyan, 2018). In both of these articles, in-depth interviews with volunteers reveal that decisions to participate in armed conflict are not solely based on rational calculations of benefits and costs. Instead, emotional imperatives, such as a sense of duty, patriotism, and a deep-rooted moral obligation emerge as fundamental motivators. Volunteers describe their commitment in terms that echo personal sacrifice and heroic ideals, suggesting that the experience of conflict generates a moral narrative in which individual heroism is interwoven with collective destiny, leading to being “*considered as different*” and having “*a bigger role, a bigger respect*” (Smbatyan, 2021, p. 66).

These findings essentially challenge conventional merely rationalist frameworks by emphasizing that emotional and moral factors can override more utilitarian considerations. Volunteers often articulate their actions in the language of self-sacrifice and honor, suggesting that their involvement is as much about preserving a shared moral order as it is about achieving specific political objectives (see Figure 1). This in itself illuminates the affective dimensions of mobilization, providing a micro-level perspective that is essential for understanding the personal stakes of participation in protracted conflict.

Figure 1. Reasons for volunteering and Weber's typology of social action (extracted from Smbatyan, 2021, p. 67)



Meso-Level: Group Identity and Collective Dynamics

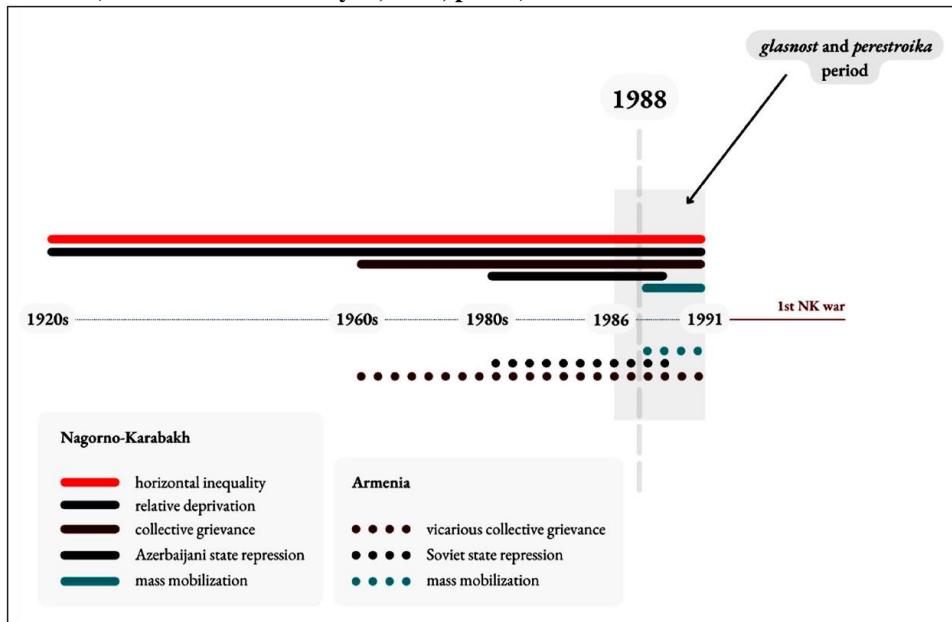
Moving to the meso-level, the current synthesis examines how group identity and collective dynamics shape the mobilization process. “*From Civic Mobilization to Armed Struggle: Tracing the Roots of the Karabakh Movement*” (Smbatyan, 2025) and “*Civilian Participation in Interstate War: Unfolding Voluntary Collective Action in Nagorno-Karabakh War*” (Smbatyan, 2021) underscore that collective action is not merely an aggregation of individual decisions but a coordinated process embedded within social groups. It is noteworthy that the historical evolution from civic mobilization to armed conflict is presented as a narrative of collective identity formation, where shared grievances, cultural memories, and inter-ethnic ties catalyze a transformation in how citizens perceive themselves and their role in the conflict.

At this level, group dynamics are seen in the way ordinary citizens unite around the idea of self-determination and defense of a common heritage. The meso-level analysis highlights that these group processes are crucial in amplifying the emotional and moral motivations identified at the micro-level. In this sense, Abrahamian’s (1990; 1993) anthropological analysis characterizes mass mobilizations as a form of ‘archaic festival’ saturated with ritualistic elements. He highlights the collective experience of unity, shared purpose, and emerging ethnic self-awareness among participants, “*It had a united spirit, a common thought and finally a common sense of ethnic selfconsciousness. According to the statements of many participants, they had a wonderful feeling of being present everywhere, in every place occupied by that huge body of people*” (Abrahamian, 1993, p. 101). When community narratives converge on themes of injustice and historical grievance around horizontal inequalities between ethnic groups, they give rise to a collective consciousness that legitimizes mobilization, “*and everything at all times is connected to that. It’s like a big concert which the whole country participates in, and you cannot be uninvolved in that, and the deeper you dig, the more you want to personally experience what is going on*” (Smbatyan, 2021, p. 65). Such narratives are often reinforced through everyday interactions, local media, and even informal networks, all of which help to solidify a shared sense of purpose. This contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how group identities are both constructed and mobilized during conflict.

Macro-Level: Structural Inequalities and Historical Legacies

The macro-level analysis addresses the structural context in which both individual and collective mobilization occurs. Here, “*Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict Through the Prism of Horizontal Inequalities: Theoretical Overview*” (Smbatyan, 2022) and “*From Civic Mobilization to Armed Struggle: Tracing the Roots of the Karabakh Movement*” (Smbatyan, 2025) are particularly instructive, as they posit that deeply entrenched structural inequalities form the bedrock of collective grievances. The analysis of existing empirical data allows to argue that enduring socio-political and economic disparities, often manifested as horizontal inequalities between ethnic groups, serve as a critical impetus for mobilization. The historical trajectory of the NK conflict is thus viewed not merely as a series of isolated events but as the unfolding of long-standing structural tensions that have continually fueled mobilization (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Illustrative roadmap from horizontal inequality to mass mobilization in NK and Armenia (extracted from Smbatyan, 2025, p. 166)



In this macro framework, the evolution of conflict is linked to historical legacies and systemic forms of exclusion that persist across generations. Such legacies include past injustices, discriminatory policies, and institutional neglect that have left deep scars in the social fabric. These conditions create an environment where grievances can be both articulated and exploited, reinforcing the mobilization process. Moreover, these macro-level structures provide the necessary context and supporting conditions (Figure 3) within which the moral and emotional narratives at the micro-level and the group dynamics at the meso-level can be fully understood. Henceforth, contextualizing individual and collective actions within broader societal inequalities, the macro-level analysis completes the multi-scalar picture of conflict-driven mobilization.

Figure 3. Supporting conditions for joining the Karabakh movement (extracted from Smbatyan, 2025, p. 167)

	Stepanakert (NK)	Yerevan (Armenia)
Identity		Ethnic belonging (Armenianness)
Motive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevent HI • Protect from state violence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevent HI • Protect from state violence • Eliminate Soviet rule
Opportunity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Perestroika</i> and <i>glasnost</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Perestroika</i> and <i>glasnost</i> • Collective grievance in NK

Together, these three analytical dimensions, emotional and moral motivations at the micro-level, group identity and collective dynamics at the meso-level, and structural inequalities at the macro-level, offer a comprehensive framework for understanding the complexity of mobilization in the NK conflict. Each level interconnects to shape a dynamic process, wherein individual sentiments, collective identities, and historical structures mutually reinforce one another, illuminating the intricate tapestry of conflict-driven mobilization.

Toward a Multi-Level Conceptualization of Conflict-Driven Mobilization

Building upon the theoretical, historical, and empirical insights gleaned from the five articles, this section proposes a synthesized multi-level conceptual framework to attempt explaining conflict-driven mobilization in the NK context. This framework posits that collective action is not the result of isolated factors but rather the product of an interdependent process that spans three analytical levels: the emotional and moral (micro), the collective and identity-based (meso), and the structural and historical (macro).

At the micro-level individual mobilization is strongly influenced by emotional and moral motivations. Here, the decision to participate is framed by personal narratives of duty, sacrifice, and heroism. As the referenced studies reveal, beyond rational cost-benefit calculations, deeply embedded affective responses, ranging from moral imperatives to the value of self-sacrifice, are pivotal. Such findings resonate with Elisabeth Wood's (2003) insights on insurgent collective action, which emphasize that emotional commitments can stimulate individuals into collective movements even when material incentives are absent or uncertain.

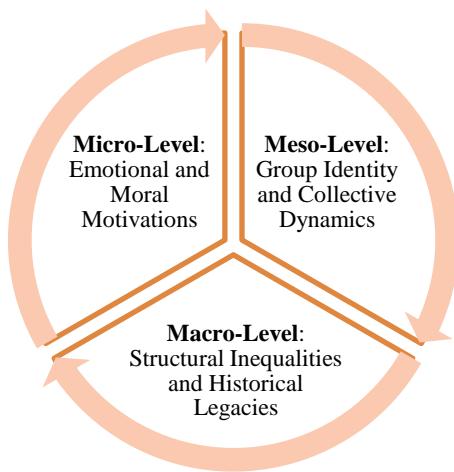
The transformation of these individual impulses into collective action is mediated by group identity and social dynamics. Mobilization is reinterpreted as a process that not only aggregates individual motivations but also constructs and reinforces collective identity. This level captures how shared narratives of injustice and historical grievance coalesce into a broader communal movement. Here, mobilization is both an expression and a reinforcement of group solidarity, a phenomenon that echoes aspects of Tilly's (1978) work on collective behavior, where group identity plays a central role in legitimizing collective actions. The meso-level thus acts as a bridge, transmitting the micro-level's emotional impetus into organized, large-scale collective action.

At last, structural (both vertical and horizontal) inequalities and historical legacies lay the foundational context for mobilization. Persistent socio-political, cultural, and economic disparities, conceptualized through the lens of theory of horizontal inequality (Cederman, Gleditsch, & Buhaug, 2013), set the stage for collective grievances, inequalities generating discontent that can lead to large-scale mobilization (Gurr, 1970). In the NK context, these macro-level forces, rooted in long-standing ethnic, economic, and political exclusions (experienced directly in NK, and vicariously in Armenia) arguably created an environment where emotional and collective narratives found rich ground. Importantly, historical and structural configurations of society appear to not only enable but also shape the expressions of mobilization witnessed at the micro and meso levels.

The proposed multi-level theory thus integrates these three dimensions into a dynamic and reciprocal model. It posits that collective action emerges from the interplay between individual emotional drives, collective identity formation, and the structural conditions that shape both. A schematic model (see Figure 4) visually depicts this interdependence: arrows flowing from the micro (emotional and moral motivations) to the meso (group identity and collective dynamics), and then to the macro (structural inequalities), with feedback loops that indicate how structural conditions can, in turn, amplify or modulate individual and collective responses. Such a model underscores that the relationship among these levels is not unidirectional or hierarchic; rather, the individual experiences of individuals feed into collective dynamics, which are continually reshaped by evolving structural conditions. This reciprocal relationship illustrates how mobilization is sustained over time, even in the face of shifting political or military contexts.

In comparing this framework with existing theories, it is clear that the multi-level model presented here extends these ideas by embedding them within a broader structural context. By synthesizing these theoretical strands, this framework offers a more holistic understanding of conflict-driven mobilization, one that is particularly adept at explaining the complex interplay of factors in protracted conflicts like that of NK.

Figure 4. Schematic model depicting the interdependence of micro, meso, and macro factors of conflict-driven mobilization



In sum, this multi-level theory of conflict-driven mobilization argues that mobilization is best understood as an emergent phenomenon resulting from the interdependence of emotional, collective, and structural forces, a dynamic process where each level reinforces and is shaped by the others.

Discussion and conclusion

Upon swift reflection, asserting that micro-, meso-, and macro-level factors are interdependent might seem self-evident, reminiscent of stating that fundamental aspects of social life are inherently intertwined. Yet, rather than merely echoing a

conventional truism, this paper offers a nuanced, empirically substantiated account of how exactly these dimensions interact within the perplexing context of protracted conflict mobilization, implicitly challenging reductionist narratives and providing a novel perspective on the dynamics of collective action. This paper indirectly engages with established modern sociological theoretical frameworks; especially informed by Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration and Sewell's (1992) articulation of the structure-agency interplay, the paper unpacks how individual experiences are both shaped by and reflective of broader societal forces. Moreover, the synthesis resonates with Tilly's (2004) and Tarrow's (1998) seminal insights into contentious politics, echoing the contributions of Oberschall (1973) and McAdam (1985), who have long argued that the interplay between personal agency and structural conditions produces critical insights into collective action. The synthesis presented in this paper advances a multi-level theory of conflict-driven mobilization that integrates micro-level emotional and moral motivations, meso-level collective dynamics, and macro-level structural inequalities. By drawing on the rich empirical and theoretical insights from the five articles discussed, this work refines our understanding of political collective action in protracted conflicts such as that of NK.

Theoretically, the integrated framework challenges conventional rationalist models by foregrounding the affective and moral dimensions of mobilization alongside group identity and historical-structural factors. This synthesis not only refines the sociology of collective action and conflict by emphasizing mutuality between the emotional, collective, and structural layers, but also builds on established theories thereof. It demonstrates that mobilization is best understood as a dynamic process, where individual sentiments feed into group narratives and are continuously shaped by entrenched systemic inequalities.

Methodologically, the conceptualization adopts a pluralist yet coherent epistemological stance. It reflects upon a combination of qualitative methods, including document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and grounded theory coding, while remaining committed to an interpretivist and constructivist epistemology. The approach prioritizes the lived experiences, symbolic frameworks, and emotional landscapes of actors engaged in or shaped by the NK conflict. Across the five articles, a recurring methodological thread is the effort to treat collective action not only as a strategic or rational act, but also as a morally and affectively loaded experience embedded in specific social contexts. The integration of participatory methodologies serves as a methodological critique of traditional top-down research paradigms in conflict studies. It also underscores the underlying dissertation's commitment to a sociology that is both empirically attentive and reflexively situated, one that acknowledges the researcher's embeddedness and the co-production of knowledge with participants.

Epistemologically, the paper challenges the dichotomy between scientific objectivity and practical knowledge. It advances the view that knowledge about conflict is inherently shaped by its political and social context, and that this context must be part of the analytical lens rather than treated as external to it. In particular, the notion of meta-conflict, conflict over the nature of the conflict (Horowitz, 1991, as cited in Saghatelian, 2015, p. 50), emerges as a key conceptual and methodological

challenge that the dissertation attempts to navigate, not by seeking neutrality, but by fostering methodological openness and analytical consistency.

Such methodological reflection both supports the validity of the multi-level theory and offers a template for context-sensitive research in conflict settings. By integrating participatory approaches, the research underscores the value of co-producing knowledge with conflict-affected communities, a strategy that both enriches the empirical data and challenges conventional, detached analytical practices.

The comparative potential of this framework extends beyond the NK conflict. Given its emphasis on multi-level dynamics, this conceptualization may be tested against other protracted conflict zones, such as Bosnia and Kashmir, where historical grievances, collective identities, and emotional mobilization may similarly intertwine. Such comparative studies could further validate and refine the conceptual model, illustrating its broader applicability across different geopolitical contexts.

While the multi-level framework offers a promising synthesis, it is not free from limitations. One potential trap lies in the risk of oversimplification; by integrating micro-level emotions, meso-level group dynamics, and macro-level structural forces into a single model, there is a danger of glossing over the inherent complexities and contextual specificities of each level. The dynamic interplay among these levels may vary considerably across different conflict settings, and the model might inadvertently assume a level of uniformity that does not exist in reality. Moreover, the heavy reliance on qualitative, interpretivist methods can introduce subjectivity in the interpretation of data, which may challenge the generalizability and replicability of the findings. There is also a risk that the integrative approach could mask critical tensions between individual agency and structural constraints, leading to an overly deterministic reading of mobilization processes.

Additionally, this conceptualization is susceptible to epistemological challenges, particularly regarding the balance between scientific objectivity and the co-production of knowledge with conflict-affected communities. The participatory methodologies advocated in this framework, while enriching, may also complicate the standardization of data collection and analysis, potentially compromising the clarity of causal inferences. Furthermore, the evolving nature of conflict itself means that the proposed model may need continual refinement to remain applicable to different temporal and spatial contexts. These limitations underscore the importance of situating the multi-level theory as a heuristic tool, one that is open to further empirical testing and methodological innovation, rather than as a definitive, one-size-fits-all explanation.

Looking forward, there is adequate scope for future research. Empirical testing of this multi-level conceptual framework across diverse cases would not only strengthen its generalizability but also uncover context-specific nuances that might enrich our understanding of mobilization dynamics. Further quantitative and mixed-methods studies could complement the predominantly qualitative approach taken here, enabling researchers to measure the relative impact of emotional, collective, and structural factors in different conflict environments.

In conclusion, this synthesis contributes to the ongoing discourse on conflict mobilization by proposing a robust, multi-dimensional framework that captures the complexity of human agency in contexts of enduring conflicts. The paper calls for a sustained research effort that combines empirical inquiry with innovative and reflective

methodological practices, which would hold promise not only for advancing academic theory but also for informing effective policy interventions aimed at mitigating the cyclical nature of conflict.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no ethical issues or conflicts of interest in this research.

Ethical Standards

The author affirms this research did not involve human subjects.