

Possible Implications for Addressing Moral Injury through the Use of Lojong-Based Contemplative Practice

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The recent concept of moral injury has been defined in various ways in recent years, and precise definitions continue to evolve (Brock and Lettini, 2012; Litz, 2009; Maguen and Litz, 2012). For the purpose of this paper, and generally following Farnsworth et al. (2014), I define it broadly as a form of on-going suffering caused by committing, witnessing, or being the victim of an act of violence that violates one's moral beliefs or expectations of how people should behave. It is often characterized by a sense of betrayal and results in condemnation of others and self, a damaged sense of oneself as a moral agent, and feelings of guilt, shame, anger and helplessness.

Moral injury expands our understanding of traumatic events by allowing for triggering events that do not necessarily involve threats to the individual's life or physical safety. It also shifts the focus away from an often-medicalized understanding of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) to consider the importance of the moral, social and political (power, hierarchy and institutions) dimensions of traumatic experience.

Although a significant portion of the scholarship on moral injury has concentrated on military personnel, there is little reason to assume that moral injury is unique to this population. In this paper, I would like to examine practitioners of contemplative practices that are derived from Buddhism, including incarcerated practitioners, and how they used these contemplative practices to move from moral injury to moral repair. This comes from teaching and researching contemplative practices over the past twelve years in various settings, including in the setting of a women's prison over the past three years.

When I began teaching inside at a women's prison, I did not think—perhaps naively—that I would be surrounded by individuals who had perpetuated violent crime. Violent crime rates are considerably lower among women than among men. Moreover, the women that I encountered were warm, respectful, talkative individuals who instantly made me feel at home. I was therefore shocked to learn that in my first class, perhaps two thirds of the twenty or so women were incarcerated for murder. I had never even knowingly met a person who had committed murder before.

As my co-instructors and I began teaching, we quickly realized that despite their strong wish to learn contemplative practices such as focused attention (*śamatha*), several of the women were encountering serious obstacles in their practice. Focusing attention on the breath would cause anxiety and frustration. One woman occasionally got up suddenly

during the meditation session to leave the room. This was not because she did not want to meditate. She desperately wanted to experience the peace and relaxation that the other women were describing. Yet she could not settle her mind.

I learned from examining her case that she had committed a murder. She had got into a fight with her girlfriend, in whose house she had been staying. The girlfriend told her that she was throwing her out, and that in the morning she would have to move out. After the girlfriend had gone to bed, this woman had taken a gun, placed it to her head, and shot her dead in her sleep.

Another woman, whose statements I'll read in a few minutes, and who I will call C., had similarly experienced and caused significant trauma. From a very young age, she suffered sexual abuse for over a decade at the hands of her mother's drug dealer. When her mother couldn't pay for her drugs, she offered her daughter to the man. As a girl, therefore, she was abused for years while her mother got high in the next room. By the time she was 19, her own abuse had ended, but when visiting her home from college, she saw her baby brother run out of the house with his clothes disheveled and bloodstained. Her greatest fear was that he would be subjected to the abuse she had endured. Upon entering the house, she saw what she feared: her mother and the dealer. She led her brother calmly to the car, then went back inside to where her mother kept a gun in the house, and shot them both—"like Rambo" she said—wounding the dealer, but killing her mother.

What is important about moral injury discourse is that it points out how these experiences are violations of moral order and trigger a breakdown in one's moral vision of the world, and therefore one's own self-evaluation as a moral individual. One's mother is supposed to be the one person in the world who will protect oneself. She is not supposed to be the person who facilitates one's decade-long sexual abuse, and endangers one's baby brother. If the very person who is to defend one's well-being and provide safety turns out to be the person who endangers oneself, then where is safety to be found? If she cannot be trusted, then who can? If a mother cannot be moral with regard to her own children, then who can be moral to anyone?

And if I am capable of killing my mother, or husband, or former lover, the person I care most for in the world, by putting a gun to their head while they sleep and are utterly defenseless, or in some other way, what hope is there for me to be a moral a human being?

Buddhist traditions may have important resources to contribute to discourse and theory on moral injury and to the use of contemplative practices to support moral repair. I will begin with the latter point—on practice—and then make some points regarding the former point—on theory.

Both the women mentioned above, and many others who faced similarly traumatic events and instances of moral injury, were taught secularized contemplative practices derived from Buddhist traditions through twelve-week courses in their prison. These included

mindfulness meditation; simple restorative yoga practices; Cognitively-Based Compassion Training (CBCT), which is an analytical meditation protocol derived from the lojong (*blo sbyong*) tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, and specifically the seven-limb cause and effect method (*rgyu 'bras man ngag bdun*) and the equalizing and exchanging self and other method (*bdag gzhan mnyam brje*); and Naikan, which is a Japanese practice derived from Shin Buddhism. These were taught by myself and co-instructors who I brought into the class, including my wife, Chikako Ozawa-de Silva, who is a researcher on Naikan and who taught that portion of the class.

Cognitively-Based Compassion Training (CBCT) is a secularized meditation protocol derived from the Tibetan Buddhist lojong or “mind training” tradition. It moves through a series of topics, beginning with mindfulness of the breath, resting the mind in its natural state, self-compassion, impartiality or equanimity, gratitude and interdependence, empathy and affection, and finally unbiased compassion. Unlike some other meditation protocols, CBCT employs both analytical (discursive and investigative) meditation as well as stabilizing (non-discursive) meditation styles.

Different women connect with different practices. Many found meditation on the breath to be particularly difficult, but found self-compassion to be very helpful. Another practice that was especially effective for women is the Naikan method, which overlaps with the gratitude section of CBCT. Despite its simplicity, Naikan often yields profound results. It involves contemplating three questions with regard to a significant person in one’s life, such as one’s mother: What did I receive from this person? What did I give back to this person? What trouble did I cause this person?

One reflects in a temporal sequence: for example, by starting with one’s mother from age zero to five, asking these three questions and trying to recollect through one’s memory. If practiced at a Naikan Center, the person would engage in this practice for 14-16 hours a day for one week straight, isolated for most of the time behind a paper screen in the corner of a room, contemplating on the questions in two-hour blocks and making a brief report to the practitioner at the end of each block.

At first C. rejected Naikan as a practice and found it unrealistic. Within two weeks or so, however, she had decided to practice it. And shortly after that, she resolved to do 100 hours of Naikan practice on her mother—the length of a typical one-week Naikan session—by doing half an hour of practice each day for 200 days. She soon increased this to one hour per day of practice, and therefore decided to do 200 hours of Naikan.

The simplicity of the Naikan method may make it appear superficially unrelated to moral injury. Looked at another way, however, it appears to get right at the heart of moral injury. Existing research on Naikan suggests that Naikan enables individuals to break down fixed notions of themselves and others based on static categories, and replace those with more realistic understandings, thereby reshaping an individual’s autobiography from one of tragedy to one of hope (Ozawa-de Silva, 2006). It does so by guiding individuals to focus on simple reciprocity, which in turn results in gratitude, along with a slew of

other positive insights and emotions.

In C.'s journal entries prior to doing Naikan, she began to mention her mother and the trauma of her childhood abuse. Her only mentions of her mother or her childhood were through this lens—they dominated the narrative. But while engaging in Naikan, and upon completing it, her narrative changed. She later reported that the chief gift Naikan had given her was memory recall. Before, she had only been able to remember sadness, abuse and disappointment in her childhood. Yet by going through the process—over two hundred hours—of remembering what her mother had given her, she began to recover memories of happiness and well-being. Her childhood had not all been abuse and pain. There were many moments of joy there as well.

Furthermore, Naikan prompts the practitioner to remember their past from the perspective of another person—in this case, C.'s mother. This encourages empathy. C. began to see her mother not just as her mother, but as a young woman struggling to raise a child on her own, disappointed by C.'s father, who never left his own family to join theirs. As she saw the larger context and remembered all the kindness her mother had shown her over the years, her image of her mother and therefore her image of her own past changed.

The following quote comes after C. had engaged in CBCT and also a 30-day period of daily Naikan practice. She refers to one of the topics of Cognitively-Based Compassion Training—self-compassion—which in CBCT involves recognizing that suffering and happiness come largely from our own perspectives, attitude, and emotional reactions, and that we have the ability to transform them and thereby emerge from suffering. In CBCT, it is a secularized analogue to the concept of renunciation of the inner causes of suffering, or *ngas bsyung*, in Buddhism. After these experiences, C. wrote:

“Self-compassion and learning how to cultivate it is helping to free me from an inner prison emotionally and spiritually. I find that I am a lot happier and I am more direct and decisive in my decision making. I am noticing also that I am not as easily disturbed and short of patience with others or with myself. I am genuinely enjoying the company of others and can now respect them for who they are and how they are without attempting to change them and without judgment. I can now accept their beliefs and perspectives respectfully, even if they differ from my own.

“Learning self-compassion and how to cultivate it has given me a desire to extend compassion to others. I no longer want to be consumed with unhealthy, destructive emotions and behavior. Learning to view and interpret my past horrific childhood experiences in a different way makes me confront and acknowledge these experiences for what and how they were, yet not be controlled and overwhelmed by them. My experiences have given me a passion and desire to share my story and to be of help to those who suffer or have suffered in similar ways as I.

“For me, forgiveness has been the most profound act of self-compassion that I have experienced thus far. I am experiencing that when you start to understand the pain of

those who cause you suffering and choose to let it go, forgiveness comes naturally. The cup of poison that I drank from for years is now officially emptied and retired. What a refreshing, liberating relief!

“One of the things that I gained from doing the Naikan practice for 30 minutes, 30 days, is realizing that the past is already gone and can’t be changed, and the future is yet to come and isn’t promised to anyone. Grasping onto this reality makes me want to acknowledge my past without letting it affect and overwhelm me, accept it for what and how it was, and move on from it, instead of being stuck in it. It also makes me not want to focus on a future that isn’t promised because in doing so, you miss the beauty, blessings, joy, healing and transformation of right NOW! Learning to live my life in the present moment has made me more appreciative and mindful of my surroundings, myself and others.”

There are many important insights here that are common to those who have engaged in Naikan practice, as has been chronicled elsewhere in research on Naikan (Ozawa-de Silva, 2006). I want to focus on only a few. C. points out that a violation of moral order occurs within the context of expectations about reality. One assumes that people will act a certain way: that a person will not kill an innocent; that a mother will not allow her child to be abused; that a commanding officer will not allow an atrocity, much less order one to be committed; that one would never harm another irreparably oneself, under any circumstances; that people will behave well regardless of circumstance and that the world is basically safe.

In reality, these assumptions do not reflect reality, since all these things do in fact happen. When one learns to see that reality and when one therefore stops assuming and taking for granted certain levels of decent moral behavior, that does not lead to a breakdown in one’s moral universe. On the contrary, it appears to lead to a greater appreciation for the good in one’s life. As C. writes, the reality she “grasps onto” is that the past is gone and can’t be changed, and the future is uncertain. It appears that the thinking is like this: When I no longer assume that I will make it home safely every time I leave work and drive back, I will appreciate with great gratitude each time I do make it home. When I no longer take it for granted that I will live to tomorrow, I appreciate today.

The characteristic that comes from seeing reality, and that results in self-acceptance, courage, an ability to bear and withstand hardship and injury, and forgiveness, is called *k ānti* (Skt) or *bzod pa* (Tib) in the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist tradition. Often simply translated as “patience,” it means an inner fortitude that allows one to bear suffering without buckling under or retaliating with anger. It one of the six “perfections” that bodhisattvas must practice in the Mahāyāna, and would appear to be the key virtue of relevance in discussing moral injury. The lasting consequences of moral injury appear to come from an inability to sustain and recover from the suffering that comes from inflicting or witnessing others inflict acts of harm on others. A path to moral repair, therefore, may be the cultivation of *bzod pa*. Chiefly, in the Indo-Tibetan tradition, this is done through practices of habituated cognitive-reframing. The most famous text on *bzod*

pa today is the sixth chapter of śāntideva's *bodhicāryāvatāra* (Entrance to the Bodhisattva's Way), a key text for the Lojong tradition in which the author conveys a number of strategies of cognitive reframing in order to help practitioners overcome anger and cultivate *bzod pa*. This would also suggest that holding on to anger might be an important feature of moral injury that could bear further investigation.

Interestingly, although there is no word in English for *bzod pa*, a very similar concept exists in Arabic in the term *hilm*. Like *bzod pa*, *hilm* indicates an inner strength, fortitude and courage that allows an individual to not be provoked by other individuals or by adverse circumstances. And again like *bzod pa*, *hilm* is translated as forbearance, forgiveness, and tolerance, yet it is more of a positive quality of inner strength (Isutsu, 2002). *Al-halim* is one of the 99 names of God in Islam, and is typically translated as "The Patient," "The Forgiving," or "The Non-Precipitate and Clement." Like *bzod pa* in Tibetan, the opposite of *hilm* in Islam and pre-Islamic Arabic is anger, or *jahl*. And again like *bzod pa*, *hilm* allows for the exercise of reason, whereas anger (*jahl*) is associated with ignorance and an incapacity to use reason and act correctly.

Izutsu notes that *hilm* was "one of the most highly esteemed virtues among the old pagan Arabs."¹ He writes that a 14th century Arabic dictionary by al-Zabidi defines *hilm* as "the act of reining in one's soul and holding back one's nature from the violent emotion of anger," and in a 19th century dictionary by al-Bustani as "the state of the soul remaining tranquil, so that anger cannot move it easily; and its being unperturbed by any calamity that occurs," "the state of calm tranquility notwithstanding the attack of anger," and "being slow in requiting the wrong-doer."² He glosses it as "tranquility of the soul" and likens it to the Greek concept of *ataraxia*, although the latter does not seem to be a close equivalent.

Bzod pa, often translated as "patience," is perhaps better translated in some instances as "acceptance." In the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist tradition, three types of *bzod pa* are typically enumerated: acceptance of suffering; acceptance of not retaliating harm done to oneself; and acceptance from seeing reality. In each of these cases, acceptance better translates *bzod pa* than patience. Also, a translation of *bzod pa* as acceptance better explains situations seen as exemplary manifestations of *bzod pa*, such as the case of Richard Moore, the man the Dalai Lama refers to as his "personal hero." After Richard Moore was shot and blinded at the age of ten by a British soldier while walking home from school in Derry, Northern Ireland, he remarkably did not respond with anger towards his assailant, nor distress and despair at his new circumstances as a blind person. Rather, he says, he simply accepted it. Although the term "forgiveness" captures part of this experience, "forgiveness" also masks certain elements of the story. For example, the term "forgiveness" implies that Richard was first angry at the soldier who shot him, but then forgave him. Yet in Richard's own telling of the story, he didn't feel anger towards the soldier in the first place; therefore the term "acceptance" is better (and is the one Richard

¹ Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'an*, p. 31.

² Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'an*, p. 30.

himself used and continues to use). It was only over 30 years after the shooting that Richard met the soldier who shot him and expressed his forgiveness.

“Acceptance” is also better in explaining negative uses of the word *bzod pa*, such as an inability to accept the suffering of another: *gzhan gyi sdug bsngal ma bzod pa*, which is a condition for, and precursor of, compassion. Here the word “patience” and “forgiveness” are clearly inadequate. “Forbearance” also leads one to translate the aforementioned phrase as “an inability to bear the suffering of another,” but this connotes too much, in my opinion, a sense that the person is himself or herself suffering. Finding another’s suffering unbearable seems to indicate more a state of empathic distress, but the term *gzhan gyi sdug bsngal ma bzod pa* should not imply such personal distress. Rather, it denotes that the witness is not indifferent to the suffering of another, but is deeply moved by it.

There are problems, however, with using “acceptance” as a translation of *bzod pa*. “Acceptance” points more to an act rather than an inner state of strength that can be cultivated. More correctly, *bzod pa* points not to just acceptance itself, but the inner strength, courage, and understanding of reality that allow for acceptance. Like *hilm*, it is that which prevents anger and a lack of acceptance from arising within an individual.

The fact that religious and contemplative traditions consider this characteristic to be a supreme virtue that is very important to cultivate suggests that we should pay attention to it, and may wish to develop a psychological construct for it. It is clear that the existing constructs of forgiveness, self-forgiveness, forbearance, patience, and resilience—while all necessarily involved in *hilm* and *bzod pa*—do not individually capture the full meaning of this construct. Moreover, since it connotes an understanding of reality that makes an individual less vulnerable to psychological harm, it may be especially important within the context of preventing and treating moral injury.

What is the connection of Naikan to this Buddhist theory? When we look at the Naikan practice, we see that it is essentially focusing on the key step of the seven-limb cause and effect method, *rgyu 'bras man ngag bdun*. By key step I mean the second step: *drin dran pa*, remembering the kindness of others. It is this meditation that naturally gives rise to gratitude, and which therefore makes possible the subsequent steps, since profound gratitude naturally gives rise to affection and affection gives rise to compassion.

In contemporary, and particularly western contexts, some have argued that meditation on the kindness of one’s mother is inappropriate because mothers are not always kind. This is true. However, the very point of this meditation is to focus on the kindness of the person as a way to contextualize their harmful or injurious acts. If one ignores that, and instead tries to find a person who has never done anything wrong, and then meditates on the kindness of that person, then a large part of the point of the meditation would appear to be lost. In the case of moral injury, this would appear to be especially relevant. It is in the very confrontation of an individual who *has* committed wrong that moral repair can take place, because it lies in the recognition that even those who have committed wrongs

have also done things that are beneficial and kind. Can a person who has done wrong still be a good person? That is the fundamental question. When one recognizes this, then one can also apply it to oneself. Although I have done wrong, I have also done things that were kind; I am like everyone else; having done wrong once, or even multiple times, does not make me forever a bad person at my core.

Two of my colleagues have just completed a Cognitively-Based Compassion Training (CBCT) course with veterans. These veterans' moral injury largely has been a feeling of being betrayed, lied to, and injured by the US government. One of them had been in combat for 808 days. They reported that they had thought they were the good guys, but—tragically—had come to see themselves as bad guys, killers. The government told them one thing, but they found they were doing something else. After being trained to kill, when their usefulness was over, they were simply moved along and discarded. And they felt used; they felt a profound sense of betrayal. One of them said, “I don't even feel like a human being. I have no self-esteem.” What will it take for him to be able to feel gratitude; to be able to see the good things that the US government has done in addition to the bad things it has done to him? One thing comes to dominate the mind: the injury. But there is more—there are always good things; there is always another side, another perspective. But all that is lost in the moral injury. The moral injury reduces everything to that one violation, which comes to dominate the person's mind. Part of the harm caused by moral injury is that it blinds the individual to the good that exists in their past, in their present and in their future.

A positive aspect of Lojong in dealing with moral injury is that it places agency back in the hands of the individual. Sometimes we are uncomfortable with this, because it seems like victim-blaming, or asking someone who has been victimized to take on another burden. But it is quite possible that moral injury is a wound that no one can heal except the victim him or herself. Because forgiveness—be it of self or of others—is something that no one can accomplish except the person who forgives.

Naikan and CBCT involve *dran pa* (mindfulness, memory, recollection)—indeed we have seen that Naikan is essentially the *drin dran pa* (recollection of kindness) step of the *rgyu 'bras man ngag bdun* (seven-limb cause and effect method) in Lojong. Therefore, they can rightfully be considered mindfulness practices if the term “mindfulness” is understood more broadly and more in line with its original Buddhist usages (Ozawa-de Silva, 2015). In my estimation, it is likely that it is these forms of mindfulness practice—rather than only those promoted in mindfulness-based interventions such as MBSR (Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction) that are most likely to be of value in dealing with the profound harm caused in cases of moral injury. Just as the body can “remember” a physical wound long after it occurs, moral injury seems to be retained when we cannot let go of the memory of a psychological wound. Memory is therefore a central aspect of moral injury, and secularized practices derived from contemplative traditions that engage and deal with memories may be very effective in helping people with moral injury. As C. said beautifully in one of her journal entries, “I truly do believe that gratitude is the moral memory of mankind.”

These incarcerated women may have much to teach us on moral injury and its relationship to Buddhist-derived contemplative practice. Some of the women have taken multiple courses in CBCT and taught it themselves to others in their dorms. In writing on the Buddhist concept of “refuge,” one of these students-turned-instructors wrote: “When we reach the ability to withstand pain or seemingly bad situations with a mind that is still positive and unwavering, this is refuge—refuge within ourselves and our ability to endure and overcome. I take refuge in my own wisdom. I know that without a doubt, I have the innate potential to be happy and free from suffering in any circumstance.”

This remarkable statement parallels very closely with the quote on self-compassion above, and also with the idea of cultivating *bzod pa*, the ability to withstand suffering. It seems to be a mental attitude that is the very opposite of moral injury; it is the hope and conviction that one can overcome one’s present situation and future situations of difficulty and emerge with happiness. That type of moral courage would appear to be an essential ingredient in moral repair.

We have been looking at moral injury on an individual level, but one of the characteristics of moral injury in the context of war veterans is the larger scale involved. Is there an analogue that can be found with regard to the use of contemplative techniques from *Lojong* (mind training) and other traditions on a larger scale?

The Tibetan refugee population in India provides one such opportunity. This is a population that was forced into exile following the Chinese takeover of Tibet, an occupation that involved brutal murder, rape, imprisonment, and the destruction of most of Tibet’s one thousand monasteries. Some estimate that about twenty per cent of Tibet’s population—or about one million Tibetans—lost their lives as a result. Despite taking an overall conciliatory attitude towards China in the hope of reaching a peaceful settlement to the Tibet issue, even the Dalai Lama has called China’s occupation of Tibet a “cultural genocide.” In addition, those who have left for India and come to the refugee settlements had to undergo very long and dangerous journeys across the Himalayas, leaving almost everything behind.

Despite this, numerous researchers have concluded that Tibetan refugees, who are almost all Buddhist, are less prone to PTSD symptoms than other refugee survivors of torture, even given comparable traumatic experiences (Crescenzi et al., 2002; Holtz, 1998; Keller et al., 2006; Terheggen et al., 2001). On the basis of one study with Tibetan refugees in Dharamsala, Sachs et al. (2012) write:

In light of the hardships reported by study participants, the low levels of psychological distress are particularly striking. Average symptom severity ratings typically fell between *not at all* and *a little* on standardized measures, with only 10% (n=77) of the sample demonstrating clinically significant depression or anxiety. Among torture survivors, anxiety and depression were more common, but still occurred in only 12% (for anxiety) and 9.6% (for depression) of this

subgroup. Perhaps most surprisingly, only one study participant (0.1%) had clinically significant PTSD symptoms. In short, this study suggests an unusual degree of resilience among Tibetan refugees, even those who had survived torture.

Sara Lewis is an anthropologist who has engaged in ethnographic research on the Tibetan refugee population in Dharamsala, India [REF]. According to Lewis, the resilience exhibited by Tibetans is not merely a product of their culture and religion in general, but also the specific use of coping mechanisms drawn from the *Lojong* tradition. These take place largely in the form of cultural idioms, rather than active engagement in practices such as formal meditation. Yet they involve the same use of cognitive reorientation to achieve a different perspective on the past and to let go of anger, resentment and hurt. Moreover, many of the qualities Lewis describes in refugee Tibetans seem to align closely to the idea of *bzod pa* or *hilm* (forbearance, acceptance, resilience). For example, Tibetan refugees reflect on the pervasiveness and inevitability of suffering and on existential facts such as impermanence—practices that would lead to the cultivation of an attitude of acceptance and resilience to suffering, i.e. *bzod pa*.

Some *Lojong* texts employ the use of slogans, and these sayings are often memorized by Tibetans. They include things such as, “Always maintain a joyful mind.” Four lines from the popular *Lojong* text “Seven Point Mind Training” read:

*When the world is filled with wrongdoing, transform all misfortunes into the path of enlightenment.
Banish all blame to the single source,
And towards all beings, contemplate their great kindness.
Seeing ignorance as the four bodies of the Buddha, emptiness is the ultimate protection.*

Most of these lines do not require commentary to be understood, but the term “single source” here is interesting, because it points to self-cherishing as the cause of all suffering. Since anger arises as a result of self-cherishing, *Lojong* texts admonish their readers to avoid anger, and instead reflect on the kindness of others.

Lewis’s ethnographic work is supported by research by Sachs et al. (2008) who found in a study of 855 Tibetan refugees in Dharamsala that coping activity appeared to mediate the effect of trauma exposure on PTSD symptoms. The case of Tibetans’ use of *Lojong* is interesting from the perspective of massive trauma on the level of an entire population, and the fact that it may have a salutary effect with regard to resilience, even when not actively practiced through meditation but rather as a cultural set of beliefs and perspectives, suggests further that these contemplative traditions may have something to offer us in our investigation of moral injury.

In conclusion, although more attention has been given to practices such as mindfulness as defined in mindfulness-based interventions and lovingkindness meditation, other

practices—such as refuge, the cultivation of *bzod pa*, recollection of kindness, and self-compassion—may have as much, if not more, to offer us in dealing with the particular challenge of moral injury. Furthermore, the work presented here suggests that attention to moral injury should not be limited to veterans, but rather that the concept can be very helpful in addressing other forms of traumatic violations of moral expectations in high-stakes situations and the long-term effects that such experiences can induce in individuals.