
The Model of Inner Peace for World Peace

by Buddhist Peaceful Means

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Abstract

Contemporary peacebuilding has generated substantial advances through diplomacy, legal frameworks, and institutional reform. Nevertheless, persistent cycles of polarization, distrust, and violence indicate that external mechanisms alone are insufficient to secure sustainable peace. This qualitative study investigates inner peace as a foundational condition for world peace and proposes an integrative framework, *the Vipassanā–Bridge–Integration–Global (V-B-I-G) Model*, to explain how Buddhist peaceful means may be operationalized for peacebuilding across multiple levels. Data were derived from documentary analysis of Pāli Canon sources and related scholarly literature, as well as semi-structured interviews with 20 key informants, including five Vipassanā meditation masters and fifteen experienced practitioners. The data were analyzed using thematic analysis.

The findings indicate that inner peace should not be understood as a temporary emotional state, but as a cultivated capacity for non-reactive awareness, ethical self-regulation, and wise intentionality. Three interrelated mechanisms emerged as central to this process: (1) mindfulness-based deceleration, which interrupts impulsive and conflict-escalating reactions; (2) ethical discipline (sīla), which functions as a preventative moral structure for trust and social stability; and (3) hiri-ottappa (moral conscience and moral caution), which serve as forms of internal governance that inhibit harmful conduct even in the absence of external control. The findings further suggest that shared contemplative practice can operate as a trans-cultural bridge by softening rigid identity formations and fostering empathic dialogue. Synthesizing textual and empirical insights, the V-B-I-G Model conceptualizes peace as a sequential and interdependent process that moves from inner transformation to relational connection, ethical integration in everyday life, and broader global responsibility. The study contributes to contemporary peace discourse by foregrounding the causal significance of inner cultivation in peacebuilding and offers

implications for peace education, leadership development, and future empirical validation of the proposed model.

Keywords: Inner peace; World peace; Buddhist peaceful means; Vipassanā; Sīla; Hiri–ottappa; Peacebuilding; Contemplative studies

Introduction

Although human societies have long aspired to peace, contemporary life remains marked by interpersonal hostility, structural inequality, and periodic escalation into overt violence. This paradox persists despite significant scientific and technological advancement: many communities report rising anxiety, polarization, and fragile social trust (Barash & Webel, 2014). Peace is often framed as a political achievement, secured through negotiation, deterrence, or law—yet the daily reproduction of conflict frequently occurs at the level of perception, emotion, and intention (Lederach, 1997). From a Buddhist standpoint, this suggests a structural omission in many peace projects: the inner causes of violence are insufficiently addressed within peacebuilding design (Harvey, 2000; Payutto, 2016).

Peace studies have clarified that the absence of war is not equivalent to peace. Galtung’s distinction between negative peace (the absence of direct violence) and positive peace (the presence of justice and supportive social relations) remains foundational (Galtung, 1969, 1996), while conflict transformation emphasizes relational healing and sustainable reconciliation (Lederach, 1997). Yet a recurring limitation in current peace studies is that structural and institutional analyses often under-specify the micro-level processes, reactive affect, identity fixation, moral disengagement, and escalation through speech—by which harm is enacted and normalized in everyday life. Without a clearer account of these psychological-ethical mechanisms, peacebuilding designs may remain vulnerable to relapse even when external structures improve.

In parallel, Buddhist peace research has developed rich ethical and contemplative resources for nonviolence, emphasizing the weakening of greed (lobha), hatred (dosa), and delusion (moha) through training in conduct, mind, and wisdom (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 1994; Harvey, 2000). However, a second gap is evident: Buddhist peace discourse often presents inner peace as a normative ideal or general ethical principle, but less frequently translates it into an operational causal architecture that (a) can be compared with peace-studies constructs such

as positive peace and conflict transformation, and (b) can be evaluated through indicators across educational, organizational, and community settings.

Contemporary psychology and contemplative science provide convergent plausibility for inner training as a contributor to prosocial functioning and nonviolent response under stress. Evidence suggests that mindfulness and compassion cultivation can strengthen emotional regulation, perspective-taking, and prosocial behaviour (Condon et al., 2013; Grossman et al., 2004; Shapiro et al., 2006), with neuroimaging studies reporting structural and functional correlates in regions associated with learning and emotional regulation (Hölzel et al., 2011; Lazar et al., 2005). These findings do not “prove” Buddhist doctrine, but they support the practical claim that inner capacities can condition outer peace-relevant behaviour (Gross, 2015; Shapiro et al., 2006).

Against this background, the study sharpens a dual research gap: (1) in contemporary peace studies, macro-level accounts of positive peace and institutional reform often under-specify the micro-level psychological–ethical mechanisms that reproduce conflict in everyday life; and (2) in Buddhist peace research, inner peace is frequently advanced as a normative ideal but less often translated into an operational causal architecture that can be compared with peace-studies constructs and evaluated across settings. Accordingly, this qualitative, model-building study asks: How can cultivated inner peace scale into relational and institutional conditions for world peace through Buddhist peaceful means? Using documentary analysis of canonical and scholarly sources and semi-structured interviews with 20 key informants (five Vipassanā meditation masters and fifteen experienced practitioners), the study proposes the Vipassanā–Bridge–Integration–Global (V-B-I-G) model as a staged causal pathway linking inner governance to social repair and ethical stewardship. The model is presented as a theory-informed framework intended for application and future validation, rather than as an evidence-proven national intervention.

Research Objectives

1. To study concepts and theories of inner peace for world peace.
2. To study Buddhist peaceful means, promoting inner peace for world peace.
3. To present the model of inner peace for world peace by Buddhist peaceful means.

Literature Review

Dependent origination and the micro-causal “entry point” for peace

Buddhism approaches peace by analyzing suffering (*dukkha*) and its causes. In the Four Noble Truths framework, craving and clinging are conditioned by ignorance, which shapes perception and patterns of reaction (Harvey, 2000; Payutto, 2016). Dependent origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) provides a fine-grained causal account: contact conditions feeling, feeling conditions craving, and craving conditions grasping and becoming (Payutto, 2016). Peacebuilding relevance lies in methodology: Buddhism identifies points in experience where reactivity can be interrupted—especially at the level of feeling tone and intention (Harvey, 2000; Shapiro et al., 2006). This helps explain why peace interventions that begin only after escalation are often less effective than preventive training in mindful response.

Tri-sikkhā as peace architecture

The Noble Eightfold Path is often organized into the threefold training (*tri-sikkhā*): ethical discipline (*sīla*), mental cultivation (*samādhi*), and wisdom (*paññā*) (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 1994; Harvey, 2000). Each targets a different layer of the causality of conflict. *Sīla* functions as a preventive moral infrastructure, reducing the probability of harm and stabilizing trust. *Samādhi* stabilizes attention and reduces emotional volatility, supporting non-reactive response. *Paññā* transforms perception by loosening identity fixation and absolutism, common drivers of intergroup conflict and dehumanization (Lederach, 1997; Payutto, 2016).

Brahmavihāras and the relational psychology of peace

Beyond restraint and insight, Buddhism offers constructive cultivation of relationships through the *brahmavihāras*. Loving-kindness and compassion counter hostility and cruelty, while sympathetic joy and equanimity counter envy and partiality (Harvey, 2000; Payutto, 2016). Empirical research indicates that compassion training can increase compassionate behaviour in everyday settings (Condon et al., 2013), aligning with Buddhist claims that authentic inner peace expresses itself as non-harm and care.

Lokapāla dhamma: conscience and caution as “world-protecting” governance

A distinctive Buddhist contribution to peace theory is the pair *hiri* and *ottappa*, moral conscience and moral caution, often described as “world-protecting” dhammas because they restrain harm even without external surveillance (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 2012; Harvey, 2000). This is especially relevant in contexts where institutions are weak or impunity is normalized; internal moral governance can become a critical driver of trust and nonviolence (Galtung, 1996; Harvey, 2000).

Peace studies: positive peace, structural violence, and the psychological substrate

Positive peace emphasizes transforming structural conditions that produce harm (Galtung, 1969, 1996). Conflict transformation further highlights relational healing and sustainable reconciliation (Lederach, 1997). Buddhist peaceful means complement these approaches by specifying micro-mechanisms—reactivity interruption, ethical self-governance, compassion cultivation—through which structural reforms become socially stable rather than undermined by resentment or corruption (Harvey, 2000; Payutto, 2016).

Evidence base: mindfulness mechanisms and neuroplasticity

Mindfulness effects are often theorized as “reperceiving” or decentering—observing thoughts and emotions as events rather than identities—enabling more flexible and values-consistent action (Gross, 2015; Shapiro et al., 2006). Meta-analytic evidence suggests mindfulness training benefits multiple psychological and physical outcomes (Grossman et al., 2004). Neuroimaging studies also associate meditation experience with changes in cortical thickness and gray matter density in regions relevant to learning and emotional regulation (Hölzel et al., 2011; Lazar et al., 2005). These findings support the plausibility of inner training as a contributor to prosocial behaviour and nonviolent response under stress (Gross, 2015; Shapiro et al., 2006).

Inner Development Goals as a contemporary bridge language

The Inner Development Goals (IDGs) initiative proposes inner competencies (Being, Thinking, Relating, Collaborating, Acting) intended to enable progress toward complex global challenges (Inner Development Goals, n.d.). Although not a UN framework, it offers pragmatic bridge language for communicating Buddhist peaceful means in secular and multi-faith contexts and

for connecting inner development with global responsibility agendas (Inner Development Goals, n.d.; United Nations, 2015).

From applied models to an integrative architecture

Buddhist peaceful means can be operationalized through process models in educational contexts. For example, Irawan et al. (2024) proposed the PKRW process (Peaceful facilities, Kind community, Right communication, Wise heart) to promote peace among undergraduates through integrated training in ethics and mind cultivation. Building on this applied orientation, the present study proposes an integrative model that specifies how inner peace scales to world peace through a staged causal architecture.

Model Operationalization: Operational Definition of the V-B-I-G Model

To enhance clarity and applicability, the V-B-I-G model is operationalized as a staged causal framework with defined inputs, processes, mechanisms, and outcomes. Table 1 summarizes the stages, candidate indicators, and expected outcomes.

Table 1. Operational definition of the V-B-I-G model.

Stage	Core Process	Key Mechanism	Measurable Indicators	Expected Outcomes
Vipassanā (inner governance)	Non-reactive awareness	Mindfulness; insight (paññā)	Emotional regulation; reduced reactivity	Reduced impulsive behaviour
Bridge (relational platform)	Interpersonal engagement	Empathy; dialogue; compassion	Trust levels; communication quality	Reduced interpersonal conflict
Integration (daily protocols)	Ethical habituation	Sīla; hiri–ottappa	Consistency of ethical behaviour	Social stability and accountability
Global (ethical stewardship)	Institutional application	Compassionate leadership	Governance integrity; justice indicators	Sustainable peace outcomes

Methodology

Research design

This qualitative study employed an interpretive, model-building design integrating two data streams: (1) documentary analysis of Buddhist canonical teachings and related scholarship, and (2) semi-structured interviews with experienced practitioners. The aim was to synthesize doctrinal principles (pariyatti) with lived practice (paṭipatti) into an operational peace model suitable for peace education and leadership contexts (Harvey, 2000; Payutto, 2016).

Participants and sampling

Purposive sampling recruited informants with sustained engagement in Vipassanā meditation and ethics-based practice. The sample included 20 key informants: five Vipassanā meditation masters and fifteen experienced practitioners, selected for (a) depth of practice, (b) ability to articulate peace-relevant mechanisms, and (c) demonstrable application in family, community, or organizational settings.

Data collection

Semi-structured interviews were conducted on December 23, 2025. The interview guide covered four domains: (1) practice background, (2) meanings and markers of inner peace, (3) peaceful means used in conflict and daily life, and (4) recommendations for scalable peace education and model components. Documentary data focused on teachings related to tri-sikkhā, brahmavihāras, and hiri–ottappa (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 1994, 2012; Harvey, 2000; Payutto, 2016), and on peace-studies constructs relevant to positive peace and conflict transformation (Galtung, 1969, 1996; Lederach, 1997).

Data analysis

Data were analyzed using a four-stage thematic analysis consisting of open coding, axial coding, selective coding, and model synthesis. Triangulation was conducted across documentary sources and interview data, and between master and practitioner interviews, to enhance analytical validity and reduce interpretive bias. The resulting model was iteratively refined by checking its consistency with doctrinal causal logic (dependent origination; tri-sikkhā) and with positive peace assumptions (Galtung, 1969, 1996; Harvey, 2000).

Trustworthiness and rigor

To support trustworthiness, the study used (a) source triangulation (texts versus interviews), (b) within-sample triangulation (masters versus practitioners), (c) reflexive memoing to document analytic decisions, and (d) a theoretical

consistency check to ensure coherence with Buddhist doctrine and peace theory. Where feasible, interpretive summaries were discussed with practitioners as a form of member reflection to reduce misrepresentation.

Conceptual methodology framework

The study's conceptual methodology combines: (1) text-to-practice triangulation (candidate mechanisms identified from canonical and scholarly sources and then refined through field accounts), (2) causal pathway mapping from micro (non-reactive awareness) to meso (relational bridging) to macro (institutional stewardship), aligned with positive peace logic (Galtung, 1969, 1996; Lederach, 1997), and (3) a model construction and validation loop in which components are defined with plausible indicators and future evaluation pathways (Gross, 2015; Shapiro et al., 2006). Figure 1 presents the conceptual methodology (schematic).

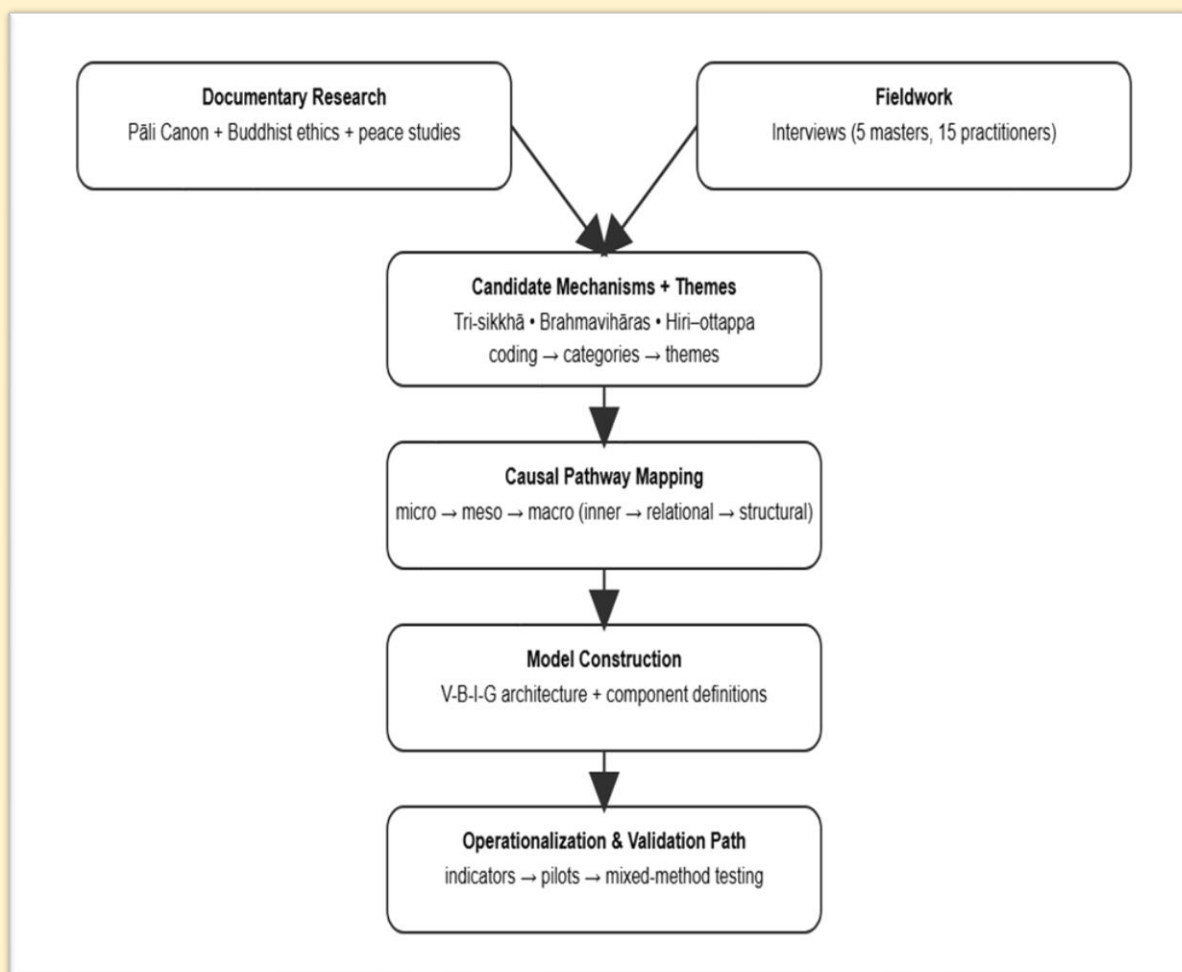


Figure 1: The conceptual methodology

Research Results

Objective 1: To study concepts and theories of inner peace for world peace

Finding 1.1: Inner peace as a causal capacity

Across documentary sources and interview accounts, inner peace was described as a cultivated capacity for non-reactive awareness with ethical clarity—the ability to observe feeling, thought, and intention without being compelled into grasping or aversion. Practitioners frequently emphasized “pausing before responding” as a practical marker of this capacity, especially in response to provocation such as criticism, disagreement, uncertainty, or perceived injustice. This description is consistent with Buddhist psychology, in which conflict arises from conditioned reactivity, and peace emerges when reactivity is interrupted by mindfulness and wisdom (Harvey, 2000; Payutto, 2016).

Finding 1.2: Micro-causality (dependent origination) and peace architecture (tri-sikkhā)

Documentary analysis positions dependent origination as a key explanatory mechanism: contact conditions feeling; if feeling is met with untrained reactivity, craving and identity defense follow, escalating into harmful speech and action (Payutto, 2016). Informants interpreted inner peace as the trained ability to meet feeling tone (vedanā) with awareness, preventing automatic escalation. This mechanism is operationally supported by the threefold training: sīla reduces the probability of harm; samādhi stabilizes attention; and paññā transforms perception, weakening rigid identity and absolutism (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 1994; Harvey, 2000).

Finding 1.3: World peace as positive peace requiring structural and psychological foundations

From peace studies, world peace is not only the absence of direct violence (negative peace) but also the presence of justice, trust, and relational stability (positive peace) (Galtung, 1969, 1996). Informants similarly described peace as a condition in which individuals and communities can live without fear and humiliation, and in which institutions operate with integrity. These findings suggest that inner peace functions as a psychological-ethical substrate that supports positive peace: without internal governance, structural reforms remain vulnerable to corruption, resentment, and dehumanization (Galtung, 1996; Lederach, 1997).

Objective 2: To study Buddhist peaceful means, promoting inner peace for world peace

Finding 2.1: Decelerative mindfulness (“slowing down”) as a peace protocol

A dominant practice-based theme was deliberate deceleration—slowing speech, decisions, and attention. Informants described “slowing down” as creating a gap between stimulus and response, allowing recognition of emotional arousal and intention. This corresponds to contemporary emotion-regulation models in which pausing enables reappraisal and values-based action rather than impulsive reaction (Gross, 2015), and aligns with mindfulness mechanisms such as decentering/reperceiving (Shapiro et al., 2006). In Buddhist terms, deceleration supports right speech and prevents unwholesome verbal kamma by interrupting movement from feeling to craving to harmful action (Payutto, 2016).

Finding 2.2: Sīla as preventive moral infrastructure

Informants consistently framed ethical discipline as foundational rather than secondary. The Five Precepts were described as producing predictable non-harm, reducing fear, and strengthening trust, conditions associated with sustainable relational stability (Galtung, 1996). Documentary analysis similarly positions sīla as the necessary base for stable mental cultivation and wisdom (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 1994; Harvey, 2000). Practitioners reported that strengthening sīla reduced the frequency of interpersonal conflict, minimized regret, and improved the quality of communication.

Finding 2.3: Hiri–ottappa as internal governance and accountability

Informants emphasized moral conscience (hiri) and moral caution (ottappa) as “world-protecting” regulators that restrain harm even when external rules are weak. They described hiri as self-respect that rejects wrongdoing and ottappa as wise awareness of the consequences for self and others. This aligns with canonical ethical framing and Buddhist ethics scholarship emphasizing internal restraint as a stabilizer of social order (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 2012; Harvey, 2000). Practitioners connected this mechanism to workplace integrity, anti-corruption behaviour, and responsible leadership—pathways relevant to positive peace at the institutional level (Galtung, 1996).

Finding 2.4: Brahmavihāra cultivation and relational repair

Informants described loving-kindness, compassion, and equanimity as essential for preventing dehumanization and enabling forgiveness and dialogue. This aligns with empirical findings that compassion cultivation can increase prosocial

responses to suffering (Condon et al., 2013), supporting the claim that inner peace is not a privatized calm but a basis for ethical relational action (Harvey, 2000).

Finding 2.5: Meditation as a trans-cultural bridge

Many informants emphasized that shared silence and mindfulness practice can reduce ideological rigidity and identity defensiveness, enabling deeper listening and respectful dialogue. This is consistent with conflict transformation approaches that emphasize trust-building and relational repair (Lederach, 1997) and with mindfulness frameworks that emphasize decentering from self-narratives (Shapiro et al., 2006). The findings indicate that Buddhist peaceful means can be applied in interfaith and multicultural contexts when framed as voluntary and experiential rather than doctrinally coercive.

Objective 3: To present the model of inner peace for world peace by Buddhist peaceful means

Finding 3.1: V-B-I-G as a staged causal pathway

Based on triangulation between texts and interviews, the study proposes the V-B-I-G model (Vipassanā–Bridge–Integration–Global) as an operational architecture:

Vipassanā (inner governance): non-reactive awareness and insight that weaken greed, hatred, and delusion (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 1994; Payutto, 2016).

Bridge (relational platform): mindful dialogue and shared contemplative practice that reduces identity defensiveness and increases empathic communication (Lederach, 1997; Shapiro et al., 2006).

Integration (daily protocols): “slowing down,” sīla, and hiri–ottappa embedded as habitual conduct and organizational norms (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 2012; Harvey, 2000; Gross, 2015).

Global (ethical stewardship): compassionate leadership and structural care that support positive peace outcomes (Galtung, 1996; United Nations, 2015).

Finding 3.2: Mechanisms and expected outcomes across levels

The model specifies how peace scales across levels. At the micro-level, it predicts reduced reactivity, improved emotion regulation, and wise speech (Gross, 2015; Shapiro et al., 2006). At the meso-level, it predicts increased trust, improved capacity for dialogue, and reduced conflict escalation (Lederach, 1997). At the macro-level, it predicts stronger integrity, reduced tolerance for harm and corruption, and justice-oriented stewardship (Galtung, 1996).

Finding 3.3: Positioning V-B-I-G within JIBSC applied peace scholarship

The V-B-I-G pathway can host institutional processes such as the PKRW model previously developed in the JIBSC context, positioning PKRW as an applied

implementation within the Bridge and Integration dimensions (Irawan et al., 2024). This strengthens comparative evaluation across contexts and supports future mixed-method validation.

Discussion

The findings support the central claim that inner peace is a causal condition for sustainable peace, since conflict reproduction is driven by conditioned reactivity at the levels of feeling and intention (Payutto, 2016). By specifying the micro-causal entry point (feeling → craving → action), Buddhist theory offers a mechanism often underdeveloped in macro-structural peace analyses. Peace studies emphasizes positive peace, justice, trust, and structural conditions that prevent harm (Galtung, 1969, 1996), yet these conditions depend on moral agency within institutions. Without inner governance, reforms can be undermined by resentment, dehumanization, and corruption (Galtung, 1996). Accordingly, the present study contributes an integrative perspective: positive peace requires inner capacities, not only external arrangements (Lederach, 1997).

Across interviews and texts, Buddhist peaceful means appear to operate through prevention, regulation, and transformation. “Slowing down” functions as a teachable protocol that enables mindfulness and reduces impulsive aggression, consistent with emotion regulation and mindfulness-mechanism models (Gross, 2015; Shapiro et al., 2006). Sīla functions as a preventive moral infrastructure that stabilizes trust (Galtung, 1996; Harvey, 2000). The prominence of hiri–ottappa highlights a distinctive Buddhist contribution: internal accountability that restrains harm even where external enforcement is weak (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 2012; Harvey, 2000). Compassion cultivation (brahmavihāras) addresses affective drivers of dehumanization and supports reconciliation, aligning with evidence that compassion training increases prosocial responses (Condon et al., 2013).

The V-B-I-G model advances both theory and application by organizing these peaceful means into a staged causal architecture. Vipassanā provides the psychological foundation; Bridge provides the relational platform; Integration supports durability through daily habits and governance norms; and Global articulates an ethical horizon of compassionate stewardship consistent with positive peace and global responsibility agendas (Galtung, 1996; United Nations, 2015). This structure helps move beyond “meditation as private wellness” toward peace as public ethics and structural care.

Nevertheless, the model has limitations. The reliance on experienced practitioners may constrain generalizability to broader populations, and the proposed pathways to societal-level peace remain to be empirically validated. Future research should therefore test V-B-I-G mechanisms using quantitative and longitudinal designs and examine how implementation conditions shape outcomes across settings.

Knowledge from Research

This study contributes an integrative explanation of peace as (a) inner causal transformation, (b) relational bridging, (c) daily ethical integration, and (d) global stewardship. By providing a higher-level framework that can host localized process models (e.g., PKRW), V-B-I-G supports comparative evaluation across contexts and clarifies candidate indicators for future mixed-method validation.

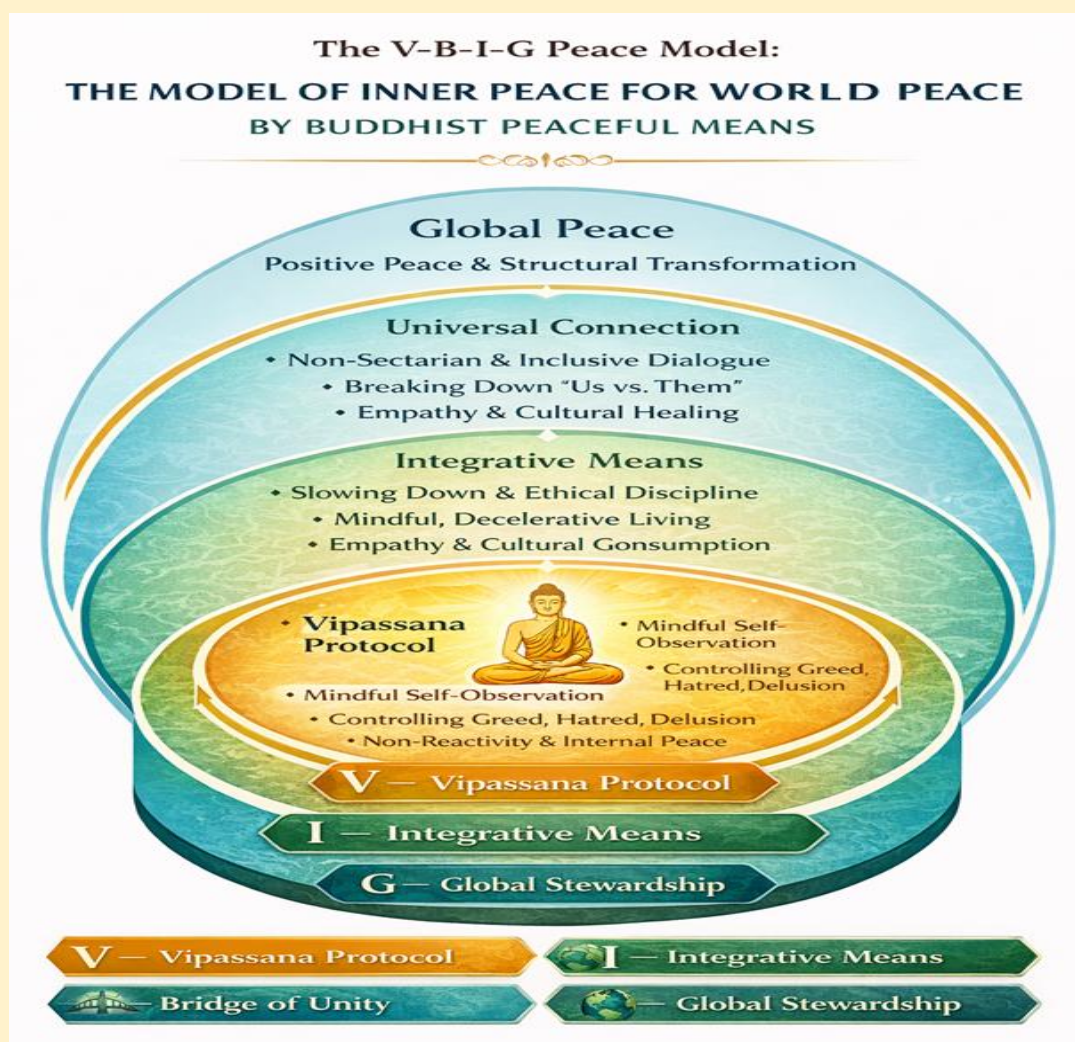


Figure 2: The V-B-I-G model schematic

Conclusion

This study argues that sustainable world peace requires an inner causal foundation: disciplined cultivation of non-reactive awareness, ethical restraint, and moral conscience. Peace studies have long shown that peace cannot be reduced to the absence of war; it must include conditions of justice and relational trust that prevent violence from re-emerging. The present findings extend this insight by specifying a practical micro-foundation: when the mind is dominated by fear-based identity, craving, or resentment, even well-designed institutions can be undermined by corruption, dehumanization, and reactive decision-making. Conversely, when inner governance is strengthened, individuals gain the capacity to respond to provocation without escalation, to communicate with care, and to act with integrity under pressure, capacities that stabilize social peace in daily life and in institutional leadership.

The V-B-I-G model synthesizes doctrinal and empirical insights into a scalable architecture. Vipassanā develops non-reactive awareness and insight as an internal form of governance. Bridge emphasizes shared contemplative practice and mindful dialogue as a trans-cultural platform for reducing identity defensiveness and strengthening empathic relations. Integration operationalizes peace through decelerative mindfulness (“slowing down”), *sīla*, and *hiri–ottappa* as preventive moral infrastructure and internal accountability. Global frames peace as ethical stewardship expressed through compassionate leadership and structural care consistent with positive peace and global responsibility.

Finally, the model is offered as theory-informed and practice-informed rather than as an evidence-proven national intervention. Future mixed-method research should validate V-B-I-G mechanisms using measurable indicators across education, organizations, and intergroup settings.

Suggestions for Further Studies

1. Quantitative validation of the V-B-I-G model through scale development and causal testing (e.g., structural equation modeling).
2. Longitudinal studies (6–24 months) examining durability and spillover effects from private practice into workplace ethics, civic participation, and conflict behaviour.

3. Experimental or quasi-experimental trials in educational settings comparing V-B-I-G training with control conditions (e.g., communication skills only).
4. Comparative studies across Buddhist traditions and cultural contexts to refine the Bridge and Global dimensions for intercultural transferability.
5. Mechanism-focused studies testing whether decelerative mindfulness mediates the relationship between training and reductions in aggressive speech or behaviour.
6. Organizational case studies examining how hiri–ottappa can be translated into integrity cultures and anti-corruption practices.
7. Intergroup and interfaith peacebuilding trials combining shared contemplative practice with facilitated dialogue (practice + dialogue versus dialogue only).
8. Mixed-method studies linking inner training to structural peace indicators (trust, participation, conflict incidents) alongside qualitative narratives of moral choice.

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