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Herrens Veje: A catalyst to reflect upon military chaplaincy and ecclesial issues in a Nordic context

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Herrens Veje: A catalyst to reflect upon military chaplaincy and ecclesial issues in a Nordic context

Abstract

This article is based on an analysis of the first season of the Danish series *Herrens Veje* (The Way of the Lord; Price 2017). The series portrays the young, idealistic pastor and military chaplain August, who is deployed to a conflict zone with a military unit. He accompanies the unit on a patrol to win the trust of the soldiers. During the patrol, they engage in combat and August kills an innocent civilian woman. Upon return, the transition from military to civilian life proves to be increasingly challenging and troublesome. As the series proceeds, August's mental health deteriorates and his suffering increases. In this article, August's traumatic transition is analyzed by using four different conceptual perspectives that uncover the specifics of trauma and identity: PTSD, moral injury, spiritual injury and the combat trauma itself. We argue that several factors are portrayed in the series as unnecessarily complicating and worsening August's condition and life situation. Firstly, he is affected by a harmful theological understanding of mental health due to combat trauma, and secondly, by ecclesiological and folk church specifics such as a bureaucratic mindset and a focus on hierarchy and status. The implications of the analysis are discussed both on micro and macro levels. Our aim with analyzing trauma in fiction material is to demonstrate how fiction presents real life dilemmas and situations in concentrated, often dramatized ways. This makes such material useful for reflections on 'actual' military chaplaincy and ecclesiology.

Keywords

Military chaplaincy, identity, PTSD, moral and spiritual injury, ecclesiology

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Author Notes

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Introduction

Religious caregivers have been an integral part of military forces since ancient times. War and combat-related anxieties, worries, traumas, and deaths produce a need for religious practices (e.g., military sermons, prayers, blessings, shared bereavement, funeral services) and spiritual and pastoral care and counseling.¹ As war and combat sadly remain part of social reality, these timeless moral and spiritual struggles call for the services of religious caregivers.² Today these religious caregivers (e.g., priests, pastors, imams, rabbis) are called military chaplains (henceforth MCs) when they serve military personnel within a military context. Across the world, military chaplaincy has developed into a specialized yet diverse branch of religious, spiritual and even humanist caregivers ready to provide care and counsel for service members amid war zone deployment, at the home base or in military/veteran health care settings.³

In this article, we argue that the fictional Danish television series *Herrens Veje* (2017, translated as *The Way of the Lord*) serves as useful and relevant material in pastoral theological reflections upon military chaplaincy, which in turn resonates with identity struggles, tensions and challenges. We do so by focusing on the development of August, one of the main characters, who is an ordained minister in the Danish Folk Church and an MC who is deployed to a war zone. Initially, August has difficulties adjusting his mindset to the military context and being accepted as an MC by the troops. In order to win their trust, he arms himself and joins a squad on a seemingly safe mission. However, during this mission the squad comes under attack and August becomes involved in heavy combat, in which he kills an innocent civilian. He thus earns the trust of the squad, but there is a price to pay. Over the remaining episodes, August wrestles with transgressions related to both an individual and collective ecclesial identity.

To explore the complexities of August's case, a combination of ecclesiological, clinical, and psychological perspectives is warranted. We suggest that a dialogue between these perspectives is necessary to understand the complications of trauma which unfolds on both the

individual and the ecclesial level, in this case that of the Nordic folk churches. Our basic argument is that the series provides insights into the ways in which the identity of the minister, who answers to ecclesial expectations, may be in conflict with expectations related to other identities, such as the military identity of the MC, and relational identities, such as child, sibling, and lover. These expectations are moreover related to different ideals of masculinity, leadership, professional ethics and lived religion. A failure to bring these various aspects of identity into harmony may complicate the already precarious process of coping with trauma.

The advantage of fictional material is that it presents these dilemmas and situations in concentrated and dramatized ways which bring to the surface mechanisms that may otherwise remain obscure. Of course, it is essential that the portrayal is credible and, though we are dealing with the genre of televised drama, at least to a large extent realistic. We find that *Herrens Veje* meets these criteria. Our task in this article is not to *explain* what happened to August, because it is fiction. However, the story presents the viewer with identity dilemmas, conflicts, and challenges which real missions as an MC also contain, albeit to various degrees and not identical to the story of August. Additionally, we suggest that there are good arguments for utilizing popular culture for pastoral theological reflection, because scripted fiction invites the viewer to imagine alternative plots and other possible chains of events in which trauma might have been approached differently. It is this imaginative aspect evoked by televised drama which we find helpful in the context of pastoral theology. The following research question will inform the analysis:

- In what ways is August's identity as a pastor affected by his assignment as an MC and his experience of combat trauma in the first season of *Herrens Veje*?

This article will continue by describing military chaplaincy and its relationship to identity, followed by a description of the applied method, a synopsis of *Herrens Veje* and a

brief discussion of its reception in the media, after which we present our results and a discussion.

Military culture and identity

A significant amount of research has illustrated that military culture shapes powerful military identities which are designed to enable service members to carry out their missions even under the most stressful circumstances, including *crossing the cultural taboo of killing other humans*.⁴ In this article we understand the concept of identity in terms of a *narrative identity* sculpted by specific values, meanings and practices.⁵ Additionally, several studies indicate that the transition from military back to civilian life may be an equally challenging process, which is complicated by the fact that service members are often left to their own devices to navigate this process individually.⁶ This is in stark contrast with the option of reenlistment, where the entire military community joins forces to build up a powerful military identity.

According to the Geneva Convention, MCs wear a uniform but are in fact non-combatants, and some may have ranks, while others do not. Although MCs across the world are usually unarmed, some exceptions exist. For instance, in the UK some MCs were armed with a handgun during the most intense phases of the war in Afghanistan. In contrast to the majority of western countries, the Nordic countries have a more liberal and voluntary approach when it comes to being armed as an MC. Sweden stands out, since Swedish MCs are generally armed with an assault rifle and a hand gun during deployment to conflict zones.⁷ Swedish MCs therefore develop a salient cultural military identity alongside their identity as a pastor, which has been portrayed as a hybrid identity in empirical research.⁸ This hybrid identity is less pronounced in the Danish armed forces, but the same principle applies, and a Danish MC can, like August, be armed during specific situations. This suggests that Danish MCs, in comparison

to Swedish ones, may be considerably less prepared to engage in actual combat, both mentally and in terms of acquired *skills and drills*.

If MCs are armed, this is not without potential challenges. Findings suggest that identity issues may follow from navigating both ecclesial and military cultural worlds as an armed MC.⁹ The situation is layered. An MC in the Swedish Armed Forces (henceforth SAF) tends to be an ordained minister in the Church of Sweden. Thus s/he has formed an ecclesial identity as an ordained minister. However, military culture offers another powerful context in which to form salient *military identities*.¹⁰ An MC may thus cultivate cultural identities which, to varying degrees, correspond to a potentially radicalized military culture or *warrior culture* while in uniform and armed for many months amid war zone deployment.¹¹ As a result, s/he may transgress deeply held individual and/or collective ecclesial values while accompanying a unit on patrol and/or participating during camp defense amid assault. As for military personnel and veterans, such transgressions may in hindsight develop into identity issues,¹² moral injury,¹³ spiritual injury,¹⁴ or even posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) according to the American Psychiatric Association.¹⁵ With our analysis of the character August in *Herrens Veje* we aim to disentangle these complexities in ways that are fruitful for the future training and deployment of MCs.

Conceptualization of moral injury and spiritual injury

The concept of moral injury was coined in the 1990s by psychologists who had spent a long time working with American war veterans (from the Vietnam era) with complex PTSD.¹⁶ The term encompassed an inner moral conflict that demanded a different approach than the traditional treatments for PTSD available at the time. Their definition of moral injury consisted of three modes of *feeling betrayed*, namely (a) in relation to what was considered morally right in the local military culture; (b) by someone who was granted legitimate authority to make

decisions in the social system they belonged to; (c) in high-risk situations. This definition came to focus heavily on inadequate leadership in a local military intervention culture in which a discrepancy between certain given ideals and values about what is morally right and the reality of conflict led to feelings of betrayal in the aftermath of deployment.¹⁷

Roughly a decade later, another group of researchers formulated a new, more individualized definition of how a potential moral injury might occur. They stated that moral injuries could occur if an individual *fails to prevent, witnesses, or gains knowledge of*, actions that conflict with their own deeply held moral beliefs and expectations.¹⁸ This need not be limited to how the individual feels in the moment itself: actions, events, or knowledge that may not initially have been perceived as harmful can, over time, be viewed in a new light and retrospectively be considered violations of the individual's personal moral compass. This second formulation has become perhaps the most accepted definition of moral injury today.

The most recent development of the concept of moral injury is very clearly and distinctly tied to the concept of *identity*, and is propounded by Hazel Atuel et al.¹⁹ and Grimell.²⁰ Here, the emphasis is on how a moral failure can undermine an individual by challenging their morally charged identities. Such identities, when functioning as they should, help an individual to navigate through life with an intact, unharmed conscience regarding what is considered right and wrong. Violations of what is considered morally right, however, can harm one or several identities and make it impossible to maintain these identities in credible ways.

In addition to the concept of moral injury, Berg coined the term *spiritual injury*²¹ to refer to an event that damages a person's relationship with God, self, or others. The consequence of a spiritual injury is therefore that it alienates a person from what gives him or her meaning in life. The distinction between moral injury and spiritual injury is the transcendent dimension which is implied in a spiritual injury. This serves our methodology well, since a moral injury gravitates to what can be considered right and wrong in regards to socially constructed

identities, while a spiritual injury involves one's faith in and relationship and dialogue with God or a higher reality.

To sum up, moral and spiritual injuries speak to different domains and may therefore need slightly different support and counseling. Moral injury can benefit from both secular and spiritual counseling, but a spiritual injury needs spiritual care and counseling.²² A clinical and psychiatric diagnosis such as PTSD may coexist with a moral injury and a spiritual injury, which suggests the need for an *interdisciplinary* approach.²³

The Nordic and Danish Folk Churches

In order to understand the ecclesial context that informs much of the plot in *Herrens Veje*, we briefly expand upon the history and presence of the Nordic folk churches in general, and the Danish context in particular. Historically, the Nordic borders looked quite different. Finland, Norway, and Denmark belonged to Sweden during the Swedish great power era in the 1600-1800s. Norway became independent from Sweden in 1905. Additionally, the southern part of Sweden belonged to Denmark for a time in the 1600s. The territorial boundaries are thus not so old, while the Lutheran church structure is both older and from a historical perspective was long shared among the Nordic countries.²⁴ Unsurprisingly, then, the Nordic folk churches have many similarities and often cooperate, including when it comes to military chaplaincy. There is, for instance, an annual meeting among the Nordic chief chaplains in order to discuss shared concerns. The Nordic folk churches are Evangelical Lutheran and belong to the Lutheran World Federation.

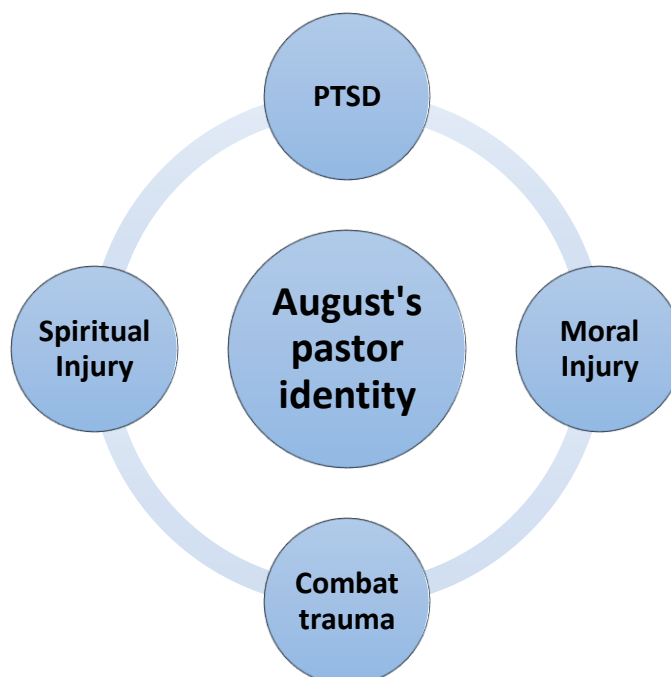
Yet there are also important distinctions. While the Church of Sweden lost its capacity as a State Church in the year 2000, the Danish Folk Church is still officially a State Church to which approximately 74 per cent of Denmark's population belongs.²⁵ In its capacity as State Church, the Danish Folk Church carries out many of the tasks that were previously also handled

by the Church of Sweden, such as the registration of name changes, births, and deaths.²⁶ Additionally, recent research by Lemos and Puga-Gonzalez suggests that secularization is *more advanced in Sweden* than in Denmark and Norway. Although both disaffiliation and disbelief in God also increased in Denmark, Lemos and Puga-Gonzalez's results suggest that this erosion of belief in God was slightly less intense than in Norway and Sweden. Also, in Denmark, the type of *living community* that exists is still a significant (albeit weak) predictor of belief in God.²⁷

Method

This series analysis emerged through a conversation between the researchers (JG and MVDB) as they were analysing combat trauma among veterans in films (Van den Berg and Grimell, forthcoming). As an extension of that project, it was decided to revisit all ten episodes of the first volume of *Herrens Veje*, through four main lenses, as illustrated in figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Four analytical lenses of August's case.



Analytical notes were taken individually as the researchers returned to the episodes. The next step was a *think-tank* online meeting (due to COVID limitations and geographical distance) across a day when the researchers discussed the case of August through the four different lenses. The outcome of the day was a detailed timeline of August's identity issues and development across the episodes. To us, identity appeared to be the ideal and overarching lens into which concepts such as moral injury, spiritual injury, and PTSD should be integrated in order to boost a pastoral theological reflection on military chaplaincy. This resonates with the most recent research on combat trauma among veterans.²⁸ As in real life, August as a character inhabits different identities (e.g., pastor, MC, son, partner, brother, etc.) which illustrate varying *narrative identity claims* of who he is, where he is going, and his place in the world.²⁹ Identity claims, issues, changes and related trauma concepts will be presented in the results section below, where the timeline of August is illustrated. First, however, we turn to a synopsis of the series and briefly discuss its reception in the Danish press.

Synopsis and reception

Herrens Veje was created by Adam Price, who had previously directed the immensely popular Danish series *Borgen*, which is the story of Denmark's (fictitious) first female prime minister Birgitte Nyborg. *Herrens Veje* is the story of four members of the Krogh family. Father Johannes is a well-known pastor from a long line of pastors, who enjoys a great amount of influence. However, he also has to face the challenge of increasing secularization as well as personal defeat when, against all expectations, not he but a female colleague is elected as the new bishop of Copenhagen, a prestigious position. As a response and in order to deal with his disappointment, Johannes resorts to alcohol and extra-marital relations. Mother Elisabeth (arguably the least developed character of the four), discovers that she has romantic feelings for a female friend and starts exploring her sexuality. Eldest son Christian struggles to finish his

studies. When he finally does, he is caught plagiarising in his thesis. He is dismissed from the university and travels to Tibet, where he has a profound spiritual experience. Changed, he returns to Denmark to write a book about his newfound spiritual insights and gives lectures to inspire others. Youngest son August, on whom we focus in this article, has followed in the footsteps of his father and the generations before him by becoming a pastor. While fulfilling his father's wish to continue the family tradition, he finds that it is hard to truly please Johannes, whose focus is on attaining positions of power and influence within the church, while August seems more interested in providing spiritual support and being an inspiration to others in everyday life situations. As mentioned in the introduction, August starts working as an MC and is quite soon deployed to a conflict zone in Afghanistan. When the unit that August joins is engaged in heavy combat, August finds himself forced to use his assault rifle to kill a person dressed in a niqab who is marked as a potential terrorist, but who later turns out to have been an unarmed civilian woman. Once back home, August finds it difficult to talk about this moment which was very traumatic for the woman's relatives, but also for him. When his father, whom he finally confides in, advises him to remain silent about this event for fear of what it might do to his career if he opens up, August finds himself more and more *isolated* with his trauma.

The first season of *Herrens Veje* received moderately positive reviews in the Danish press. It was praised for its craftsmanship, casting, and the high quality of acting, especially by Lars Mikkelsen in the role of Johannes.³⁰ Critics noted that the series' uncompromising focus on religion was unexpected and refreshing in a society that had believed itself to be on a one-way street towards secularization.³¹ As theologian Heiner Lützen Ank argues, the popularity of a series that centres around the Christian faith should be viewed as an excellent opportunity for clergy to pro-actively approach the media and share first-hand experiences of religious life.³² On the other hand, it was feared that viewers might not always be equipped with the appropriate

knowledge to fully appreciate the more in-depth theological debates and discussions the series portrays. As critic Henrik Palle³³ argues: Danish viewers have become used to viewing demanding television, having been confronted with highly acclaimed *dark thriller* series such as *The Bridge* and *The Killing*. Those series, however, included elements of relatable drama from ordinary life such as the loss of loved ones. In contrast, *Herrens Veje*, in making religion central but approaching it in a rather abstract manner and in relation to difficult themes such as guilt, shame, and self-disclosure, may not hit home among most viewers. Karen Dyssel, writing for *Kristeligt Dagblad* (Christian Daily), argues in a similar manner that the series did not live up to its own promise to be spiritually relevant.³⁴ As it progressed, religion became more and more symbolic and hard to grasp, while the characters became increasingly stereotypical. This is why, she argues, viewing figures dropped as the series proceeded. Finally, not all viewers could appreciate the final episode, which we discuss more in-depth below, but which ends rather too dramatically for the taste of some critics (e.g. Queitsch³⁵).

The timeline of August's identity development in *Herrens Veje*

In our analysis we follow the character development of August, paying specific attention to the ways in which his various identities (of civil pastor, MC, son, brother, partner) are in harmony or conflict and how this affects his chances of dealing with the effects of his trauma. We do not have sufficient space to discuss all the layers and complexities that the series has to offer, and will discuss the development of other characters only insofar as they are relevant for the story of August.

The start: identities in harmony

As we come to know August in the first episode, his dominant identity is that of a traditional ecclesial pastor who embodies values, meanings, and practices that resonate with the Danish

Folk Church. August is young and very promising as a pastor, which is confirmed by loved ones, church attendees, and fellow clergy. He continues the Krogh dynasty identity of 250 years of pastors favourably. August proves to have a less pronounced identity as an MC. The assignment as an MC at this point consumes very little time, and allows plenty of room for August's other salient identities as a husband, son, and brother.

The new bishop of Copenhagen offers August employment at the Marmor church (Marble Church), an exclusive *trophy church* traditionally led by older and more experienced pastors. August is moving fast up the career ladder, overtaking his father, who is a vicar in another more rural area of Denmark. However, August is called to the office of the chief of chaplains who unexpectedly asks if he would like to be deployed to a conflict zone on a short notice, because the present MC is scheduled for leave. Suddenly, August must choose between an identity path as a career pastor in Copenhagen or the less rewarding path of a MC. After consulting with his wife, Emilie, he chooses to be deployed as an MC and hence declines the offered ministry in the Marmor church, a surprise to many of his loved ones (e.g., wife, brother, father).

Combat: moving deeper into a military identity while shielded from the civilian world

August's story continues with his deployment to a conflict zone in Afghanistan. Here an initial tension between his identities presents itself. August first approaches the assignments from his traditional pastor identity, which sits uneasily or even in conflict with the radicalized military culture he encounters in the deployment context. Clearly the warrior culture among the service members reflects a mindset which is far removed from the ecclesial identity of a pastor. August gets criticized by the platoon commander, a sergeant who fears that August's preaching confuses the troops and make them less prone to do a good job. At the same time, they clearly need spiritual support because of the hardships of facing combat. However, August refuses to

bless weapons and combat vehicles, which the troops struggle to understand. When a driver is killed in an ambush, the troops give up on the MC entirely and avoid and even despise him. This sets the stage for August's cultivation of a radicalized military identity as an MC. Before deployment he already cultivated a boxing identity and he can now use this particular skill, often associated with machismo masculinity, to earn the sergeant's *trust and favor*. The sergeant suggests that August should accompany the troops on a lighter mission, and he agrees. The mission turns out to mark a turning point in his cultivation of a military identity. Soon after, the aforementioned incident takes place where August is urged to use his assault rifle and shoots a supposed enemy who is in fact an innocent woman. While August is now fully accepted by the troops as their trusted MC, having proven himself in combat, his integrity and identity as a pastor is deeply violated and transgressed.

The return: Struggling with moral transgressions, identities and mental health

After returning from deployment, August needs to transition back to civilian life, which includes post-deployment readjustment. By then, August struggles with PTSD symptoms. He suffers from insomnia, gets sweaty and stressed when deployment is brought up, and is restless, unable to talk about his experiences with any depth, and unable to perform sexually. His stress levels during the post-deployment phase accelerate when a formal investigation is ordered of the killing of an innocent civilian woman. On top of that, the media publish a story in which it becomes public that August blessed weapons during combat.

However, there is much more to say about his situation than 'merely' the combination of PTSD symptoms, investigation, and media stress. The killing of an innocent unarmed woman involves a transgression of a deeply held ethical demarcation between combatants and non-combatants. The moral struggle which follows is typical for combat veterans and is conceptualized as a moral injury.³⁶ Moreover, August's blessing of weapons, participation in

combat, and shooting of another human being comes down to an ultimate transgression of the traditional pastor identity of the Danish Folk Church. His acts are an operationalization of moral injury and cause violations of deeply held moral beliefs and his moral identity as a pastor. An aggravating aspect of this complexity for August is that he, in an attempt to come clean, confesses to his father Johannes what he did during combat. But Johannes forbids him to say anything about it, arguing that the family dynasty is more important than coming to terms with God. August struggles with classical identity questions: *who am I, where do I belong, where is my place in the world?* He also struggles with deep agony which includes clinical, moral, and ecclesial dimensions.

In the fourth episode, Johannes offers August a position as a pastor in the Bovang church (within Johannes' parish). This temporarily resolves some identity issues, since August now becomes a pastor with a church and can now focus on and commit to this calling and purpose. Thus, for the time being, the classical identity questions can be answered. In this role, August attempts to return to his old pastor identity and corresponding patterns. However, the PTSD symptoms (e.g., anxiety, panic attacks) make it difficult to maintain this old identity and life. With the help of his wife Emilie, who works as a doctor in a clinical healthcare setting, August starts to self-medicate in order control his PTSD. Yet he struggles deeply with living his life as he used to. His father's *unhealthy theological approach* to trauma (e.g., rejection of psychiatry) and pastoral advice (e.g., trauma is a test by God, you must be strong) further isolates August and worsens his clinical, moral, and spiritual struggles. When he finally reaches out to a psychiatrist, he is misdiagnosed with depression because the psychiatrist fails to read the symptoms of PTSD and does not ask adequate questions about August's experiences during deployment. August is now provided with medication that reduces the stress symptoms, which is good. Yet there is a price to pay, as he still cannot have sex in the way he would prefer (he struggles with erectile dysfunction) and his emotions have been blunted. The whole situation is

impregnated by feelings of *guilt, shame, weakness and silence* – emotions typical for military and veterans with moral injury and PTSD.³⁷

A new identity: the rebel pastor

As the following episodes continue, August begins to gradually develop a new identity as a pastor, different from the traditional ecclesial pastor identity. This new pastor identity takes the form of a rebellious and non-conformist character. While at the beginning of his career August was a dutiful and conformist pastor, he now finds that he enjoys coloring outside the lines. A scene that illustrates this well is when August hosts a group of teens who are being prepared for confirmation. He asks them to express what God means to them and writes the answers on a whiteboard. “God is beer and sex,” says one of the boys, clearly in order to provoke August. He, however, does not even flinch and simply writes down “God is beer and sex”, to the amusement of the youth, who find it easy to connect to this undogmatic pastor. August once again becomes accepted by a group, but while in the military setting this included a boundary crossing into an identity and a form of masculinity August was not actually comfortable with, it seems to be different this time. August appears comfortable in his new role as a provocative, slightly indifferent pastor who has a sense of humour and knows how to put things into perspective.

In the meantime, August stops taking antidepressants in order to perform sexually with his wife. Another important identity, that of the (sexually capable) husband, is the driver of this decision. However, as a result of stopping the medication, his body again begins to *struggle* with returning PTSD symptoms. Simultaneously, the social pressure from various private and professional relational webs increases. August struggles once again with his mental health. This struggle starts to spill over into his professional performance. During a sermon, August asks why God sometimes appears to be silent. He is moved by his own question, starts blaming God

for being silent, and shouts to the congregation attending the sermon. During this event, August's reaction illustrates and suggests a *deeper spiritual struggle* or even a spiritual injury.³⁸ Due to this and other incidents, August is summoned by the bishop, who has received complaints. August confidently assures her that the church needs a pastor like him. With the help of his brother Christian, who was always the rebel of the family, August carves out a space for this new identity—namely, as an official 'street pastor.' As the bishop agrees to create this position for him, he experiences at least some space to maneuver and act in a freer, more undogmatic and non-conformist way as a pastor. This development seems to heal his spiritual injury and he reconnects with God. August acts, in the words of the bishop, as though the spirit has come over him.

Overwhelming complexities: Being blessed while unhealed trauma resurfaces

The life and identity of a street pastor works well for August for some time. This resonates with research on veterans who have a hard time readjusting to a normally structured life after trauma and live their lives on the streets, even as homeless people.³⁹ However, it soon turns out that his combat trauma is only temporarily abated.

Two brothers, both refugees, whom he happens to meet on the streets and decides to help reactivate August's combat trauma, and PTSD symptoms once again overwhelm him. *Repressed guilt* (e.g., moral injury) results in returning hallucinations, and he starts exhibiting *risky behavior* (one of the symptoms of PTSD). His actions put his loved ones at great risk, but he takes no notice of the potential consequences. For example, Emilie risks losing her job and/or medical legitimation when August wants her to treat an ill refugee with medical drugs from the hospital. Additionally, he puts himself in danger by helping refugees who are wanted by the police for reasons unknown to him. At the same time, his risky behavior fits the identity as a street pastor, which requires a certain amount of fearlessness and decisiveness.

In this complex situation Johannes becomes fully convinced that the spirit has blessed August. Johannes in turn blesses August by a kiss on his forehead, which reads as a token of confirmation and recognition. August now finally has the support of his father, for which he has been so desperate all along. This leaves August in a difficult situation. His identity as a street pastor is blessed by his powerful father but his repressed PTSD and moral injury of killing an innocent woman continues to resurface and begs to be addressed and shared, something his father is likely to disapprove of. The combat trauma is compounded when one of the refugees that August has cared for is taken in by the police and deported. This is a stressful and painful situation for August. He then decides, with the support of Johannes, to hide the deported refugee's little brother.

When the little brother is also arrested by the police, August is devastated and ends up in a psychotic state. In hallucinations, August meets the woman he killed. He is able to talk to her and seems to make a deal with her. This appears to resolve some of the painful moral injury which has haunted him since his return from deployment. However, Emilie comes home to find August talking to an imaginary woman, and is understandably shocked. August then decides to open up fully and *confesses* to Emilie what he did during deployment.

The series here briefly opens up the possibility of some form of *recovery and healing* from the moral injury. This is a potential turning point. It is unfortunate (and in terms of narrative a bit of a stretch, even in the world of drama) that the script writers decide to complicate the situation once more by including in the script the news that the deported refugee (the older brother) has been killed. This news suggests that August is responsible for yet another life that was taken and serves as a brutal trigger of his moral injury. August's full focus now turns to saving the little brother of the assassinated refugee. His behavior at this point becomes that of an activist, fanatic, extremely dedicated pastor, someone who is trying to compensate for the death of others and who is fighting to prevent another moral and mental breakdown as

well as another person's death. Additionally, August's spiritual health falters and his previous spiritual injury (e.g., the silent God) seems to return for a short while. Miraculously, the flight is cancelled at the last moment and the little brother is saved from deportation, at least for the time being.

The spirit grows stronger: August's behavior deepens the gap to the church

In the last episode, August drifts further away from *organized religion* and the Danish Folk Church. He is again *spirited*, works with enthusiasm among the homeless people, and feels guided by a calling to serve people on the streets in the name of the Lord. He attends a Pentecost service in Johannes' parish, where the bishop delivers a sermon. During the sermon, August is overcome by the spirit and starts to speak in tongues. While the development of the unruly character of a street pastor was accepted when it took place in the outer sphere of the organized church, speaking in tongues in the space of a church is clearly deemed to be an unacceptable act. It challenges the ecclesial identity of the Church of Denmark and is understood as suspect both from an ecclesial and secular perspective. August thus meets with a lot of criticism after his performance of publicly speaking in tongues.

Though passionately defended by Johannes, August decides to resign, hands his white collar to the bishop and leaves the church. In this act August loses his identity as a pastor. When August finally comes home, he is exhausted and sleeps for a long time. When he wakes up, he is without a clear compass tailored to his *identity*. His unresolved and unhealed combat trauma seems to have *alienated* August from his ordinary life, his relationship with Emilie and with the church, and several other meaningful identities. Christian comes to pick him up by car and the brothers go out for a drive. August appears reckless, driving dangerously fast. This episode ends with a short stop in the countryside. During this stop, August begins to walk along the

road and eventually, when a truck comes driving towards him, he sees the woman he killed, reaches out to take her hand, and steps in front of the truck and dies.

His *suicide* is an act that is common among veterans suffering from PTSD and moral injury.⁴⁰ We suggest that August's untreated combat trauma grew so destructive and painful that the loss of meaningful identities made it impossible to carry the burden any further. This is partly also caused by the inability of those close to him (with the exception of Emilie) to provide August with a safe environment in which to disclose what happened and help him find an identity or set of identities that could have helped him cope with the aftermath of trauma in less destructive ways.

Discussion

Our discussion of the timeline of the character of August enables us to think about three pressing issues. First, we find it important to explicate that the series overall takes a distinctly *Danish and Eurocentric perspective*. Afghanistan and its inhabitants form the background against which the character of August develops. What the war, including the presence of the Danish military, means for the people in Afghanistan is not a topic that the series explores at all. Afghans do not get to speak, do not develop meaningful characters, and do not in any significant way influence the plot. The woman whom August kills does reappear, but she is a phantom with very little agency. Afghanistan, in sum, is 'needed' in order for August to become traumatized, but the traumas of the Afghan people do not seem to be of interest to the writers of the series. This is problematic because as a cultural product, *Herrens Veje* perpetuates rather than challenges Eurocentric perspectives on 'the East.'

The second issue is related to the involvement of *pastors in the military*, and in particular the possible conflict between *ecclesial and military identities*, which may come under pressure in the experience of (or even participation in) combat. This second issue is related to the tension,

dramatized in the series but also reflected in recent studies, between secularization tendencies in the Nordic folk churches and the need for subversive theologies that challenge the unwanted consequences of inner secularization.

We thus continue our discussion with some reflections on chaplaincy and combat involvement. To be *armed* as an MC is not common among the majority of military chaplaincy services across the globe, but it is more common among Nordic chaplains, leading to specific challenges. In particular, the series *Herrens Veje* serves as an important point of departure for further reflection on the question of whether armed chaplains are compatible with both an ecclesial understanding of chaplaincy services and the ordination vows made by pastors in Nordic folk churches. We suggest that the portrayal of August throughout the series can act as a prototypical case to reflect upon for all Nordic MCs who may be armed during deployment and accompany units on lighter missions. To be armed as an MC entails potential risks of *radicalisation* and of being engaged in combat, which can have a profound impact on the identity of a pastor, generate invisible wounds (e.g., moral and spiritual injuries) and lead to severe clinical conditions. Additionally, to use weapons to harm others is likely to violate the ordination vows that were taken to become a pastor. Such a violation may result in a warning or even the loss of the right to exercise the office of ministry. In a Lutheran tradition, it is the church that owns the ministry and not the individual. If a pastor misbehaves or transgresses his/her ordination vows, the church may withdraw that right to practice ministry.⁴¹

Obviously, not all Nordic pastors/MCs come from a fictional unbroken 250-year-old chain of pastors, which serves as an imperative for August to protect the unbroken line and family *narrative identity*. But we would rather emphasize the more general clash between theology and psychiatry. This observation leads to the toxic theological approach to combat trauma that rejects psychological and psychiatric care while a deteriorating mood can be described as a test of God, here represented in the character of Johannes. At present, there is no

evidence to suggest that putting the lid on a complex combat trauma is a viable strategy. On the contrary, research today shows that a combined approach of psychological and spiritual care can be very fruitful and is recommended if the trauma concerns a person of faith with a salient religious and spiritual identity.⁴² August seems to fit such an approach.

Our third remark concerns how *organized religion* is portrayed in the series. That is, organized religion comes across as rigid, bureaucratic, and status and rule-driven. The systemic or macro level provides us with an important lens for understanding which types of ecclesial identities are welcome and accepted (by the church) and which are questioned or even potentially rejected. This foregrounds the type of identity that the Nordic folk churches claim in relation to other traditions of piety. Such identity claims emerge in close interaction with society and overall societal processes such as secularization. Here, then, there is an interplay between societal processes, church identity claims at a systemic level, and identities at the micro or individual level that are welcome among pastors.

The uptight Christianity of the bishop leaves little room for the *spirit*. This may seem like a zealous image and appears to confirm popular images of the church as a rigid and strict institution. However, within the Nordic folk churches, a fairly traditional Lutheran ecclesiastical practice did in fact emerge that, for example, involves speaking in tongues. This charismatic Christian practice is embraced by the Pentecostal tradition of the ‘free churches’ outside of mainstream Christianity. This suggests that August could in fact have found a place where he might have practiced his spiritually reshaped identity as a spirited pastor. The defrocking process was dramatic but it did not have to be definitive. The pastoral responsibility of the bishop (or anyone else appointed by the bishop) could have been to assist August in finding a new context for his perceived calling.

In addition, we cannot find any evidence in the final episode that suggests God had left August. In fact, the spirit seemed to be very much in him during the final scenes. It was rather

the church that had washed its hands of him. His moral and spiritual injury was uncomfortable and disruptive. This leads us to one final aspect from August's case to reflect upon from a pastoral and ecclesial perspective. On the *micro level*, it can be lethal for someone who is suffering due to a combat trauma to be rejected by his/her community of believers, because it equates to a loss of identity. To stand alone in pain and suffering, without a meaningful identity, may simply suggest that life is not worth living. From a pastoral and ecclesial perspective, to allow this to happen is far removed from what we understand to be Christian principles: love for one's neighbour, caring for those in suffering and pain, and being attentive to those who are rejected or seen as outcasts by society. Though we are aware that *Herrens Veje* is a dramatic portrayal of the church that partly depends on its stereotypical representation, its implicit critique points to a conversation that needs to take place about the church at the *macro level*.

The series asks important questions about:

- The church as a rigid and bureaucratic folk church.
- A management culture where local churches with few church attendees will be closed in order to save money, which suggests that the church is guided by a business-like mindset.
- A constant concern about reduced membership affecting the financial situation of the church.
- Internal power struggles between competitors or rivals over higher positions in the organization of the folk church.
- A tacit consensus in which what is said and seen must not challenge power structures or church orders, and a kind of superficial theology wherein God only acts in certain predetermined ways decided by the church.

This critique of the Danish Folk Church is not unique but shared with other Nordic folk churches such as the Swedish one. However, recent research on secularization suggests that Denmark is less secularized than Sweden, which stands out as the most secularized Scandinavian country (e.g., Norway, Denmark, Sweden). Secularization in the Swedish context has also influenced the Church of Sweden and this development within the Church of Sweden has been the subject of repeated *criticism*. Many researchers in practical theology have strong feelings about the political and bureaucratic evolution of the folk church organization, labelling this an internal secularization of the core of the folk church.⁴³ The symptoms of the inner secularization of the church resonate with the bullet points above, again turning the church into a business instead of a *community of believers*.⁴⁴ Such a pronounced debate among theological researchers has not yet been observed in Denmark, but the growing process of secularization suggests that a similar debate may soon begin there as well.⁴⁵

The scripts writers of *Herrens Veje* seem to raise a similar question: in a church governed by a *business-like paradigm*, is there any room left for the spirit, in its many possible manifestations, but particularly in the form of a counter-cultural, rebellious attitude that poses uneasy questions and challenges ecclesial status and authority? The tension between the secular and the spiritual is playfully and thoughtfully depicted across all episodes in *Herrens Veje*. This is sometimes done in a dramatic fashion and in other cases much more subtly. For instance, when August is engaged in combat, his mother seems to be able to feel the presence of August via the movements on the surface of a water glass. Both are standing and looking at the surface of water glasses: August in a room in an apartment building engaged in combat, Elisabeth in the family home in Denmark. When Elisabeth feels August's distress, she assembles the whole family in the home in order to pray for him. In each and every episode, such spiritual fragments are embedded in the everyday lives of the characters. So, across the episodes we (and other viewers) have to decide how to interpret all these events; from a *secular perspective* (where

such fragments would be hallucinations and imaginations), or a *spiritual perspective* (where these fragments would serve as transcendent patterns).

We argue that these fragments of *the sacred* may serve as provocations which actualize deeper ecclesial reflections. A folk church and theological practice which become more and more affected by secularization will still preach and talk about God but may not leave much room for transcendent patterns of the holy spirit. Such an ecclesial development may suggest that the openness for the spirit to act within the folk church is dying under the burden of bureaucracy and church regulations, which overrule transcendent patterns of action and meaning. This ecclesial struggle on a macro level is sublimated into August's individual struggle as we try to understand his mental health. Is his spiritual renewal and sensitivity only pathological? Or can it also be spiritual due to the suffering and pain which amplified his spiritual sensitivity? The script writers invite us to interpret August's symptoms, and depending on the lens and etiology at hand, different conclusions can be drawn.

Perhaps it is no wonder that August thrived best outside the rule-driven traditional church context after his combat trauma. In fact, a common denominator between MCs and street pastors is that they operate *outside* of the traditional ecclesiastical context where the rules are relatively unwritten and where the space itself leaves room for creativity, improvisation, and life, but also violence, death, suffering, and pain. As suggested by McGuire, there are also *darker* aspects of spirituality and we should avoid romanticizing certain embodied practices as spiritual and as fitting within the framework of lived religion and others as not.⁴⁶ There is also room for *darker spiritual practices* or *darker elements* in lived religion.⁴⁷ The spirit is not bound to human theories and church rules. Without rules and bureaucracy, the spirit can move more freely, coming and going as it pleases. In such a context—without norm-driven behaviors, fixed practices, and interactions according to certain given social frameworks—it can be easier to be

open to and follow the spirit, even if it leads to a path that goes beyond accepted norms, practices, and church rules.

Notes

¹ As discussed by Lindsay B. Carey, Timothy J. Hodgson, Lillian Krikheli, Rachel Y. Soh, Annie-Rose Armour, Taranjeet K. Singh, and Cassandra G. Impiombato, “Moral injury, spiritual care and the role of chaplains: An exploratory scoping review of literature and resources.” *Journal of Religion and Health*, 55 (2016), 1218–1245.

² As discussed by Beth A. Stallinga, “What spills blood wounds spirit: Chaplains, spiritual care, and operational stress injury.” *Reflective Practice: Formation and Supervision in Ministry* 33 (2013), 13-31.

³ As discussed by Lorraine A. Smith-MacDonald, Jean-Sébastien Morin, and Suzette Brémault-Phillips in “Spiritual dimensions of moral injury: Contributions of mental health chaplains in the Canadian Armed Forces.” *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 9 (2018), 1–7.

⁴ As presented by Shannon French, *The code of the warrior: Exploring warrior values past and present* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005, 4); Joshua Goldstein, *War and gender: How gender shapes the war system and vice versa* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 9–10); Gerhard Kümmel, “Identity, identity shifts and identity politics: The German soldier facing a pre/post-Westphalian world risk society, ambitious national politics, an ambivalent home society and a military under stress.” In *Core values and the expeditionary mindset: Armed forces in metamorphosis*, edited by Henrik Fürst and Gerhard Kümmel (Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2011, 52); Hew Strachan, “Morale and modern war.” *Journal of Contemporary History*, 41 (2006), 217; Joadia Verrips, “Dehumanization as a double-edged sword.” In *Grammars of identity/alterity: A structural approach*, edited by Gerd Baumann, and Andre Gingrich (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006, 145–150); Peter Wilson, “Defining military culture.” *The Journal of Military History*, 72 (2008), 21–22.

⁵ As discussed by Jan Grimell in previous studies “Aborted transition between two dichotomous cultures as seen through Dialogical Self Theory.” *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, 33 (2019), 188–206, “Advancing an understanding of selves in transition: I-positions as an analytical tool.” *Culture & Psychology*, 24 (2018), 190–211, and “A service member’s self in transition: A longitudinal case study analysis.” *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, 30 (2017), 255-269.

⁶ As suggested by Lisa Burkhart and Nancy Hogan in “Being a female veteran: A grounded theory of coping with transitions.” *Social Work in Mental Health*, 13 (2015), 108-127; Martha Bragin, “Can anyone here know who I am? Co-constructing meaningful narratives with combat veterans.” *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 38 (2010), 316-326; Howard Brotz and Everett Wilson, “Characteristics of military society.” *The American Journal of Sociology*, 51 (1946), 371-375; Jan Grimell, “Revisiting Living in Limbo to illustrate a Pastoral Psychological understanding of transition from military to civilian life.” *Pastoral Psychology* 68 (2019), 393-405; Robert J. Lifton, *Home from the war: Learning from Vietnam veterans (with a new preface and epilogue on the Gulf War)* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992); and Jonathan Shay, *Odysseus in America: Combat trauma and the trails of homecoming* (New York: Scribner, 2002).

⁷ See articles by Jan Grimell, “Military chaplaincy in Sweden: A contemporary perspective.” *Journal of Health Care Chaplaincy*, 28 (2020), 81–94 and “An interview study of experiences from pastors providing military spiritual care within the Swedish Armed Forces.” *Journal of Health Care Chaplaincy*, 28 (2022), 162–178.

⁸ Jan Grimell, *Uniformer, identiteter och militära själavårdare: En intervjustudie om prästers erfarenheter av institutionssjälavård i Försvarsmakten* (Skellefteå, Sweden: Artos, 2021).

⁹ Jan Grimell, “An interview study of experiences from pastors providing military spiritual care within the Swedish Armed Forces.” *Journal of Health Care Chaplaincy*, 28 (2022), 162-178.

¹⁰ As described by Lynn K. Hall in “The importance of understanding military culture.” In *Advances in social work practice with the military*, ed. Joan Beder (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2012, 3-17) and Lynn. K. Hall, “The military lifestyle and the relationship.” In *Handbook of counseling military couples*, ed. Brett A. Moore (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2012, 137-156). See also Rachel Woodward

and Neil K. Jenkins, "Military identities in the situated accounts of British military personnel." *Sociology*, 45 (2011), 252-268.

¹¹ See the publication by Craig J. Bryan and Chad E. Morrow, "Circumventing mental health stigma by embracing the warrior culture: Lessons learned from the defender's edge program." *Professional Psychology, Research and Practice*, 42 (2011), 16-23. See also Håkan Edström, Nils Terje Lunde, and Janne Haaland Matlary, *Krigerkultur i en fredsnasjon* (Oslo: Abstrakt Förlag, 2009) and Mark Malmin, "Warrior culture, spirituality, and prayer." *Journal of Religion & Health*, 52 (2013), 740-758.

¹² See Jan Grimell, "I-position as a tool to advance the understanding of pastors and deacons who navigate contrasting identities as chaplains: A narrative analysis." *Journal of Health Care Chaplaincy*, 28 (2022), 310–327 and Jan Grimell, *The invisible wounded warriors in a nation at peace: An interview study on the lives of Swedish veterans of foreign conflicts and their experiences with PTSD, moral injuries, and military identities*. (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2022).

¹³ As discussed by Kent Drescher et al. "An exploration of the viability and usefulness of the construct of moral injury in war veterans." *Traumatology*, 17 (2011), 8–13. See also Brett Litzet al. "Moral injury and moral repair in war veterans: A preliminary model and intervention strategy." *Clinical Psychology Review*, 29 (2009), 695-706. and Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat trauma and the undoing of character*. (New York: Scribner, 2003).

¹⁴ See Gary Berg, "The relationship between spiritual distress, PTSD and depression in Vietnam combat veterans." *Journal of Pastoral Care and Counseling*, 65, 6, (2011), 1-11.

¹⁵ As presented in American Psychiatric Association. *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (5th ed.)* (Washington: Author 2013).

¹⁶ See Jonathan Shay and James Munroe, "Group and milieu therapy for veterans with complex posttraumatic stress disorder." In *Posttraumatic stress disorder: A comprehensive text*, ed. Philip. A. Saigh, and Douglas J. Bremner (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1998, 391-413).

¹⁷ See Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat trauma and the undoing of character* (New York: Scribner, 2003) and *Odysseus in America: Combat trauma and the trails of homecoming* (New York: Scribner, 2002) by the same author.

¹⁸ See Brett Litz et al. "Moral injury and moral repair in war veterans: A preliminary model and intervention strategy." *Clinical Psychology Review*, 29 (2009), 695-706.

¹⁹ See Hazel Atuel et al. "Understanding moral injury from a character domain perspective." *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*, 41 (2021), 155–173.

²⁰ See Jan Grimell, *The invisible wounded warriors in a nation at peace: An interview study on the lives of Swedish veterans of foreign conflicts and their experiences with PTSD, moral injuries, and military identities*. (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2022).

²¹ As described by Gary Berg, "The relationship between spiritual distress, PTSD and depression in Vietnam combat veterans." *Journal of Pastoral Care and Counseling*, 65, 6, (2011), 1-11.

²² See Jan Grimell, *The invisible wounded warriors in a nation at peace: An interview study on the lives of Swedish veterans of foreign conflicts and their experiences with PTSD, moral injuries, and military identities* (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2022).

²³ As discussed by Nicholas Barr. Hazel Atuel, Shabby Saba, and Carl Castro, "Toward a dual process of moral injury and traumatic illness." *Frontiers in Psychiatry*, 13 (2022), 1–11.

²⁴ See Carl Henrik Martling, *De nordiska nationalkyrkorna från Kalmarunionen till Borgådeklarationen* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1997).

²⁵ As described by Carlos Lemos and Ivan Puga-Gonzalez, "Belief in God, confidence in the Church and secularization in Scandinavia." *Secularism and Nonreligion*, 10 (2021), 1–21.

²⁶ See Hans Raun Iversen, "Det folkekirkelige i den danske folkekirke: Organisation, baggrund, egenart og pejlemærke." In *Ecclesiologica & alia*, ed. Erik Berggren, and Maria Eckerdal (Skellefteå: Artos & Norma bokförlag, 2016, 125–140).

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- ²⁷ As described by Carlos Lemos, and Ivan Puga-Gonzalez, “Belief in God, confidence in the Church and secularization in Scandinavia.” *Secularism and Nonreligion*, 10 (2021), 17.
- ²⁸ See Hazel Atuel et al. “Understanding moral injury from a character domain perspective.” *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*, 41 (2021), 155–173 and Jan Grimell, *The invisible wounded warriors in a nation at peace: An interview study on the lives of Swedish veterans of foreign conflicts and their experiences with PTSD, moral injuries, and military identities* (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2022).
- ²⁹ As described by Dan P. McAdams, Ruthellen Josselson, and Amia Lieblich, *Identity and story: Creating self in narrative* (Washington, DC: APA Books, 2006). See also Jan Grimell, “Advancing an understanding of selves in transition: I-positions as an analytical tool.” *Culture & Psychology*, 24 (2018), 190–211.
- ³⁰ See Hendrik Palle, ”Tro, tvivl og tilværelsens tyngde.” *Politiken*, 2017, 25 September.
- ³¹ See Gunhild Agger, ”Hvem ringer klokken for? anmeldelse af Herrens veje” *Kommunikationsforum*, 2017, 5 October and Kim Skotte, ”Præsten som supermenneske.” *Politiken*, 2017, 9 October.
- ³² See Heiner Lützen Ank, ”Herrens Veje er folkekirkens chance – grib den.” *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 2017, 5 May.
- ³³ See Henrik Palle, ”Seerne svigter - tro er ikke familievenligt nok.” *Politiken*, 2017, 25 October.
- ³⁴ See Karen Dyssel, ”Herrens Veje afsnit 10: Serien begyndte fabelagtigt, men endte middelmådigt.” *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 2017, 5 May.
- ³⁵ See Henrik Queitsch, ”Herrens veje skuffede til sidst.” *Ekstrabladet*, 2017, 26 November.
- ³⁶ See Hazel Atuel et al. “Understanding moral injury from a character domain perspective.” *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*, 41 (2021), 155–173. See also Jan Grimell, *The invisible wounded warriors in a nation at peace: An interview study on the lives of Swedish veterans of foreign conflicts and their experiences with PTSD, moral injuries, and military identities* (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2022).
- ³⁷ As discussed by Jan Grimell, *The invisible wounded warriors in a nation at peace: An interview study on the lives of Swedish veterans of foreign conflicts and their experiences with PTSD, moral injuries, and military identities* (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2022). See also Edward Tick, *War and the soul: Healing our nation’s veterans from post-traumatic stress disorder* (Wheaton, Illinois: Theosophical Publishing House, 2005); Jonathan Shay, *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat trauma and the undoing of character* (New York: Scribner, 2003); Jonathan Shay, *Odysseus in America: Combat trauma and the trails of homecoming* (New York: Scribner, 2002); and Jan Grimell, *Veteranhälsans Limbo: En intervjustudie om försämrat mående och lidande hos svenska utlandsveteraner* (Skellefteå, Sweden: Artos Academic, 2023).
- ³⁸ See the article of Gary Berg, “The relationship between spiritual distress, PTSD and depression in Vietnam combat veterans.” *Journal of Pastoral Care and Counseling*, 65, 6 (2011), 1-11.
- ³⁹ As discussed by Alison B Hamilton, Ines Poza, and Donna L. Washington in “Homelessness and trauma go hand-in-hand: Pathways to homelessness among women veterans.” *Women’s Health Issues* 21 (2011), 203–209. See also Jack Tsai, *Homelessness among U.S. veterans: Critical perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).
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⁴⁴ As described by Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The cost of discipleship* (New York: MacMillan, 1959).

⁴⁵ See Carlos Lemos and Ivan Puga-Gonzalez, “Belief in God, confidence in the Church and secularization in Scandinavia.” *Secularism and Nonreligion*, 10 (2021), 1–21.

⁴⁶ See Meredith McGuire, *Lived religion: Faith and practice in everyday life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, 118).

⁴⁷ See Meredith McGuire, *Lived religion: Faith and practice in everyday life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, 117).

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