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Two "Fires" of Leadership: Is it Possible to Listen and Lead Parish Cultural Change?

Hannah Vaughan-Spruce

Abstract: Pope Francis has claimed that "we are living through a change of epoch, the deepest level of which is cultural." "A change of epoch" entails much change in Catholic parishes especially across the Western world. Change can be chosen or unchosen. Actively chosen change is explored in this paper. Examples include parishes self-consciously adapting to become more mission-focused or purposefully adopting more traditional liturgical styles. Drawing on empirical case studies of British parishes undertaken in the course of my doctoral research in 2017 and 2018, this paper explores two different styles of leadership using Pope Francis's metaphor of two "fires." While "powerful flame" stands for bold, visionary leadership, "charcoal fire" represents more mild and tender listening. I consider questions such as: what is the cultural impact on a community when listening is engaged in, and when it is not? How might listening impact a parish's direction of travel if intentional change is pursued? And what limitations to change might a listening approach entail?

POPE FRANCIS HAS CLAIMED THAT "WE ARE LIVING THROUGH a change of epoch, the deepest level of which is cultural."[1] Sociologically, this "change of epoch" has had profound implications on the Catholic Church in Britain. In the fifteen years up to 2022, Mass attendance in Britain decreased by more than half, to 594,000.[2] To place this figure in stark comparison, the average weekly live attendance at a football match is 830,000.[3] Such decline is reflected in the radical and pressing decisions dioceses find them-

[1] Jorge Bergoglio, *The Aparecida Document*, Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM, 2007), 44.

[2] In 1999, typical weekly Mass attendance across England, Wales, and Scotland was 1,264,000. While 2022 Mass attendance data for Scotland is not available, if the "Covid hit" is similar there to England and Wales, the average weekly Mass attendance across Britain in 2022 was 594,000. T. Kinnear, "Statistical Appendices," in *The Oxford History of British and Irish Catholicism*, Vol. 5: *Recapturing the Apostolate of the Laity, 1914–2021*, ed. A. Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 357–376.

[3] In 2021–2022, the average attendance at a live football match from one of England's top six tiers was 834,724.

selves forced to make. One diocese is restructuring from 111 parishes to 52 in the next two years. Another is reducing from 87 down to 25. Every local church faces much upheaval and change in the coming decade. Few Catholics will be untouched either by the closure of their parish or amalgamation with another.

This sociological "change of epoch"—extraordinary decline in the Western church, which some claim is catalysed by the forces of secularism—is experienced by each of us. Yet there is a parallel "change of epoch" taking place, less visible, but surely more powerful, originating not from secularism but, I would argue, the Holy Spirit. I want to call this the pneumatological "change of epoch." It is a return to forms of community life and leadership characteristic of the New Testament and early church.[4] The sociological "change of epoch" converges with the pneumatological "change of epoch" in a new apostolic age.

In this new apostolic age, the church's visible, sociological transformation once again into a humble, afflicted minority is deeply complementary to her invisible, pneumatological transformation into a synodal, missional church. While her visible, sociological form in the west increasingly reflects the form of the early church, the Holy Spirit calls the church to inner renewal, a pastoral conversion. In this pneumatological transformation, the new apostolic church is called to recapture not only the synodal ways of living and leading of the early church, but also her apostolic fire, the "fiery mission," in Pope Francis's words.[5] "Synodality is ordered to mission,"[6] we are consistently reminded and, "Synodality has its origin and ultimate purpose in mission: it is born of mission and directed to mission."[7] In other words, this pneumatological renewal of the church is ordered towards going out, to counter the "self-referential," "atrophied" sickness that led to the sociological decline in the first place.[8]

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[4] Synod of Bishops, Synthesis Report, "A Synodal Church in Mission," 2023, Part 1, 1a, www.synod.va/en/news/a-synodal-church-in-mission.html.

[5] Pope Francis, "Homily, Ordinary Consistory for the Creation of New Cardinals," August 27, 2022, www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/homilies/2022/documents/20220827-omelia-concistoro.html.

[6] "A Synodal Church in Mission," Part 1, 2e.

[7] Pope Francis, "Address to Participants in the Conference Organised by the Dicastery for Laity, Family, and Life," February 18, 2023, www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2023/february/documents/20230218-convegno.html.

[8] One of many examples: "The community of disciples of Jesus was born apostolic and missionary. The Holy Spirit moulds her outwardly—a Church which goes forth, which goes out—so that she is not closed in on herself but outgoing, a contagious witness of Jesus." Pope Francis, General Audience, January 11, 2023, www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/audiences/2023/documents/20230111-udienza-generale.html#:~:text=Today%20we%20begin%20a%20new,%2C%20born%20missionary%2C%20not%20proselytizing.

In this article, I explore the role of leadership in the context of these parallel "changes of epoch" we are experiencing. Specifically, I explore leadership at the parish level, in keeping with my experience coaching and witnessing change in over one hundred parishes across Britain through the Catholic ministry Divine Renovation.[9] Even more specifically, I home in on the question of listening in leadership. A "change of epoch" calls for visionary and courageous leadership at the parish level. Is it possible to couple listening to diverse voices with bold leadership? I ask whether there are tensions between the two. What practical steps might be taken to mitigate these tensions?

My data originates from empirical research undertaken in two British and one Canadian parishes in 2017–2018, preceding the global synodal process.[10] While the parishes had not encountered the concept of "synodality" and, therefore, did not explicitly refer to "synodal" ways of leading or listening, the realities are present or absent, while not being named as such.

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE RESPONSES TO THE "CHANGE OF EPOCH"

As with any period of change, in the context of the two parallel "changes of epoch"—the sociological and pneumatological—parishes may respond differently. Broadly, they may respond actively by choosing intentional adaptation which may take myriad different forms, or they may respond passively by choosing not to adapt. The sociological evidence indicates that those who respond passively, maintaining their current forms, will likely wither, closing or amalgamating with another parish.[11]

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[9] See www.divinerenovation.org.

[10] My empirical methods consisted of three successive weeks spent in each parish. My primary method was one of participant observation, being immersed in the daily life, activities, and liturgies of the parish. I conducted formal, semi-structured interviews with six parishioners, one of whom was the parish priest. From these interviews, certain espoused values and beliefs of the parishioners emerged, and I presented these back to three representative focus groups. These focus groups were intentionally drawn from highly engaged through to highly disengaged populations of parishioners, in order to understand a range of outlooks and experiences. The methods received written approval from Prof. Conor Gissane, Chair of the Ethics Sub-Committee, St. Mary's University, Twickenham, on September 8, 2017. Written agreements were signed between each parish and me as researcher, as well as with each interviewee and focus group participant.

[11] These parishes display the reality that, in Pope Francis's words, "When Christian life loses sight of the horizon of evangelization, the horizon of proclamation, it grows sick: it closes in on itself, it becomes self-referential, it becomes atrophied" (General Audience, January 11, 2023).

I focus here on those parishes that respond actively.[12] In the work of our ministry, we observe that there as many ways of responding actively as there are personalities and leadership styles. I do not want to be prescriptive, but rather highlight one or two types of response—pointing to the interplay between leadership and listening—and indicating the characteristics, advantages, and disadvantages of each.

To do this, I propose a metaphor from Pope Francis's homily at the 2022 Consistory. Drawing on Jesus's image of fire in Luke 12:79—"I came to bring fire to the earth, and how I wish it were already kindled!"—Pope Francis indicates two images for "bringing fire to the earth" we surely need in this "change of epoch." The first image is the "powerful flame" or "consuming fire" of the Holy Spirit—the "fiery mission . . . not only for *what* he came to accomplish but also for *how* he accomplished it." This fire is "apostolic courage," "zeal for the salvation of every human being," and "magnanimity," Jesus' "boundless and unconditional love, for his heart is afire with the mercy of the Father." The Holy Father comments that, "This is the same powerful fire that impelled the Apostle Paul in his tireless service to the Gospel, in his "race," his missionary zeal constantly inspired by the Spirit and the Word.[13]

As well as this "powerful flame," there is another type of fire: the charcoal fire of the post-Resurrection breakfast (John 21:9). "The Lord also wants to share this fire with us, so that like him, with *meekness*, *fidelity*, *closeness*, and *tenderness*—this is God's style: closeness, compassion, and tenderness—we can lead many people to savour the presence of Jesus alive in our midst." It is the "mild kind of fire," "kept aflame by simple, 'homemade' prayers, gestures, and tender gazes, and by the love that patiently accompanies their children on their journey of growth."

I want to propose these two types of fire as images expressing something of the types of leadership that are proving fruitful in the "change of epoch." The "powerful flame" of "fiery mission" stands

[12] I want to briefly introduce the reasons behind the choice of three parishes and their sociological characteristics, while recognising the impossibility of doing full justice in the context of a short article. The suburban Canadian parish was chosen for its surprising flourishing in a context in which Christianity was otherwise declining. Importantly, its sociodemographic realities were not dissimiliar from the two British parishes which were, on the contrary, seeing normal levels of decline. The level of Catholic disaffiliation and the percentage of Nones in the wider population of each of the three parishes were roughly similar (all were located in areas where the percentage of Nones was between 24.5 percent and 29.7 percent). Immigration did not affect the Canadian parish significantly at the time of the study and the population was majority white and Canadian.

[13] Pope Francis, Ordinary Consistory, August 27, 2022, www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/homilies/2022/documents/20220827-omelia-concistoro.html.

for the bold, visionary, and sometimes uncomfortable leadership that corresponds to the powerful movement of the Holy Spirit. It might (crudely) be classified as "top-down" leadership. The mild, charcoal fire stands for compassionate and tender listening corresponding to the intimate closeness of the Holy Spirit: perhaps classified as "bottom-up" leadership. Where the first style stands for the "mission" aim of the global synodal process, I propose that the second style stands for "communion" and "participation." All three are needed. While one style of leadership might cause tensions in the other, they are not mutually exclusive, and both are needed for the pneumatological transformation of parishes at this "change of epoch."

"POWERFUL FLAME" LEADERSHIP

In the context of late secularisation in which we find ourselves in Britain, distinctiveness from the wider culture is a characteristic of small religious subcultures that tend to survive. Sociologist Christian Smith developed "subcultural identity theory" to indicate the social reality where minorities find their drive for meaning and belonging satisfied by locating themselves within "social groups (or subcultures) that sustain distinctive, morally orienting collective identities."[14] Smith's theory makes sense of the trend in Catholic parishes to develop a distinctive vision: a picture of the future of the parish that inspires passion and gives a direction of travel. One parishioner whose parish priest had shared a vision with the parish said, "I feel like [Father X] has a vision—I'm in a business environment and no one will do anything without a vision." He commented that when there is no vision, "it's so discouraging sometimes for us Catholics . . . we think, 'okay, it's no point' whereas I feel here, there is a vision."[15]

It is perhaps unsurprising that, in a time of much societal and cultural upheaval, a clearly outlined vision is welcomed by parishioners for whom it reinforces the "distinctive, morally orienting collective identity" of which Smith speaks. A parishioner from another parish commented that the leadership team had "been really good at fostering 'you're a part of it.' It's not just a responsibility. 'You're a part of the mission.' We have a clear vision and get excited about doing missionary work because the vision's so clear."[16]

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[14] C. Smith, M. Emerson, S. Gallagher, P. Kennedy, and D. Sikkink, *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 90.

[15] Hannah Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas: Cultural Characteristics of Parishes that Thrive," (PhD Thesis, Liverpool Hope University, 2021), research.stmarys.ac.uk/id/eprint/6447.

[16] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."

Yet a parish's adoption of a distinctive vision also carries risks. Faced with sociological decline and passionate for change, a visionary leader can do damage through leading change too abruptly, non-collaboratively, or towards a vision that is extreme in its distinctiveness. In these situations, rather than promote "collective identity," any sense of identity can be destabilised. At the end of 2018, I was a participant observer in a British suburban parish across several months as a newly-arrived parish priest shared his vision.[17] Already he had galvanised some sense of outward-looking mission among parishioners, and I joined a group of around twenty of them one freezing cold evening a few days before Christmas. Led by the parish priest wearing a black cape and biretta, parishioners sang carols around a new estate near the church. As we stopped on street corners to sing, faces appeared at lit, upstairs windows. A few people bravely opened their front doors to the cold to hear more clearly. When they asked if we were collecting money, the response was always no, but a card with Christmas Mass times was handed out.

Over the course of Advent, the new parish priest passionately introduced a vision for the parish that centred around traditional liturgy, a form of liturgical expression that was unknown to most parishioners. The unfolding scenario in this parish displayed how extreme distinctiveness has advantages (parishioners travelled from further afield and the number of new people grew) and disadvantages (current parishioners experienced alienation). Some parishioners tried to embrace the changes. One lady said that she had been at an event outside the parish where they had sung the Salve Regina. She said, "Twelve months ago I would have rolled my eyes and gone, 'Oh, I'm not singing this, I don't know Latin, I don't care about this.' But because I've learnt a lot this year, it's opened my ability to participate prayerfully in some of the more traditional services."[18]

For many, though, that Advent season was an experience of destabilisation and bewilderment. A catechist shared the words of a parishioner in her twenties: "'You never taught any of this to us when we were doing our Confirmation.'" The catechist said, "So she's struggling even more than me."[19] Other parishioners commented, "I've felt very troubled this year,"[20] and, "[The] spirit of the church has gone."[21] An exchange between two parishioners epitomises the

[17] This parish is suburban, founded in the mid-1950s, and lying to the west of a large, southern English town. Average weekly Mass attendance in the year I studied the parish was 250, and 31 percent of households in the parish were counted as deprived.
[18] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."
[19] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."
[20] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."
[21] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."

experience. The first parishioner said, "I might be the only one in church who doesn't like it but I'm being honest that's all." "You're not the only one," the second replied. "I don't understand it and to me it's a dead language," said the first parishioner.[22]

The parish priest experienced the outcomes of his abrupt changes when he tried to raise parishioner commitment levels. He told me, "I've said to them that, really, everyone in the parish should have at least one thing that they're doing, that they're involved with, a group they're committed to, or a programme they're working with, or some catechesis they're helping with, that indicates a level of commitment beyond Sunday Mass."[23] But the response was resistant, parishioners mentioned "nagging" and "Catholic guilt" tactics.[24] A catechist commented, "A lot of them went, 'woah!' [pulls back] A lot of them felt they couldn't respond, and some said, 'We're just here for the First Communion programme.'"[25]

We see here the pitfalls of "fiery mission." Leaders can lean towards a "coercive style" of leadership suitable in a crisis or emergency scenario but not in a community setting seeking to respond to the "change of epoch."[26]

We might contrast this example to the Canadian parish that displayed leadership with vision but with greater appreciation for a listening approach. The parish priest said, "As a pastor, [there is a] real art of leading change in a parish. . . . The point is it's got to be gradual." He uses the metaphor of houses built on stilts in Louisiana. He said, "when a leg is beginning to rot out they put a new one in beside the old one, and let the old one just disintegrate and wash away. They don't take a sledgehammer to knock it out. And I think that's an important image of how culture shift works. Because it's often very slow, it happens slowly. And if you take a sledgehammer to it, people get hurt."[27]

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[22] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."
[23] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."
[24] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."
[25] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."
[26] See Daniel Goleman, "Leadership that Gets Results," *Harvard Business Review*, March–April 2000, hbr.org/2000/03/leadership-that-gets-results.
[27] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas." More recently, a South African parish priest shared about the synodal process his parish undertook to develop vision, displaying the possibility of developing a vision and clear direction of travel through consultative means. During a homily, he reminded his parishioners of the five areas of direction for the parish over the coming years that emerged from synodal consultation: to be a parish that worked in teams, to focus on young people, to increase faith formation, to build community with the marginalised more intentionally, to assist the poor and unemployed. See Fr. Brett Williams, "How Synodal Listening Transformed this Preacher's Homilies and Faith Community,"

This parish experienced little of the resistance experienced by the British parish to promote commitment. On the contrary, the parishioners' language reflected a sense of their belonging coupled with responsibility. Typical phrases heard from parishioners included: "a sense of belonging to something that's bigger than us," "We're equipped to go and do the same that was done for us," "You're a part of the mission" and, "You feel loved within the mission, because we feel like we're a part of it." Strikingly, the global synodal themes of "communion" and "participation" are heard in these comments, complementing the drive towards greater mission.[28]

Fascinatingly, a parishioner who admitted she was not supportive of the vision said, "I think part of why we've adapted or able to change is that there's often a good sales pitch that goes with it. [Laughter.] There's preparation, and things are intentionally done. Whether you agree with them or not, you know that someone has probably intended to make the changes, it's not haphazard and they're going to prepare you. Whether you agree with it or not."[29] Her comments are an encouraging indication that intentional leadership need not alienate, that there is room "on the bus" even for those who are not enthusiastic about the direction in which it is heading.

"CHARCOAL FIRE" LEADERSHIP

I am using the "charcoal fire" image as shorthand to express leadership that is "bottom-up," and collaborative, and fostering inclusive listening. It is a style embodied in the Canadian parish thanks to a period of upheaval caused by an overplaying of the "powerful flame" leadership. The parish suffered some chaos through an overabundance of activity and difficulties caused by the parish priest's entrepreneurial leadership style and frequent travel. One staff member remembered, "There was gossip behind people's backs, . . . and arguments, and . . . you tried to avoid certain people. Nobody knew what each other's ministry was doing, you know. . . . There was no support for each other."[30]

America, October 2, 2023, www.americamagazine.org/faith/2023/10/02/podcast-synod-synodality-listening-homily-246182.

[28] The parish undertook a social scientific assessment that indicated the level of engagement of parishioners. Within two years, the parish's engaged:disengaged ratio rose from 0.83:1 to a high of 2.93:1. That is, the number of engaged parishioners (described as having a strong psychological connection to their parish) to every one actively disengaged parishioner (who rarely shows up or is otherwise hostile about the parish). While perhaps a crude tool, it is an indication of the parish's success towards achieving greater "communion" and "participation."

[29] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."

[30] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."

Everything came to a head, triggering a crisis team meeting. At this meeting, the parish priest, seeing the chaos and confusion he had caused, profusely apologised. The staff member recalled, "He said, 'I'm so sorry I have allowed this to happen . . . I'm going to change."[31] Subsequently, the parish developed a focus on healthy conflict, being able to disagree with one another and talk through the disagreement. A parishioner said, "We call them critical conversations, or crucial conversations . . . what we want to work towards is a solution together."[32] Arrived at through crisis, we see a demonstration of "powerful flame" leadership being corrected through the vulnerability and humility of the "charcoal fire," allowing parishioners' experiences and voices to shape direction of travel. Not only did this episode result in change for the parish priest, it also modelled for parishioners how to build close and trusting relationships that bore fruit for the mission.

In a second, British, suburban parish, "charcoal fire" leadership has been promoted for decades. It is evidenced in the vast lay involvement, with 88 parish activities listed on their organisational chart, and over 200 parish volunteers.[33]

One Sunday afternoon in early February 2018, I travelled with the parish priest to a scout hut in a nearby neighbourhood. We dropped in on one of the parish's twelve small communities that meet regularly. Inside the scout hut, around 30 people enjoyed a buffet lunch, almost all families with children. Children ran around, while adults chatted at the sides of the rooms. Some knew each other quite well already while others were new. Others were busy in the kitchen. This particular small community did not experience too much emphasis on faith formation. The parishioner coordinating small communities told me that the approach of this group is, "We don't do prayers outside of Mass—that kind of thing!—fine. I don't mind meeting people but none of that. So [they] do more social type activities."[34]

It became evident that this small community, in marginalising reference to faith in their meetings, was misaligned with the Pastoral Council's desire to see a greater emphasis on growth in faith through these small communities. Yet, in the Pastoral Council's reluctance explicitly to offer visionary or bold leadership, and out of a desire to honour the "bottom-up" approach, highly valued across the parish, their presence in the parish unintentionally came to be experienced as

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[31] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."
[32] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."
[33] This is a large southern urban parish with four churches. The average weekly Mass attendance in the year I studied the parish was 1071. The parish was more affluent with a large proportion of the population being white British (92 percent).
[34] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."

one of benign neglect. One parishioner, very active in leading groups and events, remarked, "They seem to do thinking upstairs somewhere but there's not much engagement. . . . We're all getting on with what we're doing. Each of them in theory has a role, but there's not much contact between the two. . . . There's no real kind of engagement with 'what does this mean,' or where it's going."[35]

For parishioners who highly prized their autonomy and empowerment, a perhaps surprising wistfulness was expressed for more explicit (we could say "top-down") leadership. Repeatedly, parishioners spoke to me of the confusion that was rife: poor communication, blurred lines, silo mentalities. One parishioner referred to "meetings for the sake of meetings." The parish priest, fairly new to the parish, perceived the manifold difficulties and commented, "Everybody is willing, everybody's kind and everybody's wanting to do things . . . I don't think there's a clearly articulated vision of where the parish is moving towards. . . . There's lots of energy . . . to move things forward . . . [but] there's not always a great harnessing of that energy to go in the same direction. I mean sometimes you're going here, there, and everywhere."[36] He added, "One of my primary objectives . . . [is] to start to get some . . . structures in place so that people know who's making decisions and how those decisions are communicated." In other words, he proposed to correct the overplayed "charcoal fire" leadership with more directional, "powerful flame" leadership.

The example of this second British parish arguably confirms Smith's theory about the need for "distinctiveness" for religious subcultures to survive. The scout hut community, resisting distinctiveness through reluctance to incorporate the faith dimension, bore little resemblance to the self-consciously "distinctively" Catholic parishioners singing carols and handing out Christmas Mass cards on the new estate. Yet, in articulating a desire for clearer direction (to know "'what does this mean,' or where it's going"), parishioners at the second British parish seemed to express a desire for greater distinctiveness or "collective identity."

CHARACTERISTICS OF PNEUMATOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

I commented at the outset that a parish in the declining western church will be forced to undergo unchosen adaptation thanks to sociological forces beyond its control. The question is whether it will embrace the pneumatological transformation prompted at this "change of epoch" in a new apostolic age. Our brief survey has indicated

[35] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."
[36] Vaughan-Spruce, "From Sacred Canopy to Sacred Umbrellas."

characteristics of parishes that are intentionally undergoing an invisible, cultural transformation that complements the visible, sociological one. This inner transformation is marked by a distinctiveness: a parish that knows what it offers that is different from the wider neighbourhood in which it is situated and expresses this by sharing vision. This vision might be bold, and yet it is most fruitfully brought about slowly, with humility and vulnerability where needed, and yet with persevering direction that offers unity and purpose. These characteristics seem to be summarised in the global Synod's key-words: communion, participation, mission.

At this "change of epoch," it is possible to overplay both "powerful flame," intentional leadership and "charcoal fire," inclusive leadership. My examples from British and Canadian parishes demonstrate that both extremes can be corrected. I propose that bold, visionary leadership is required to foster communities marked by a "distinctiveness" that contributes towards their survival in a late secular environment. Yet, without the softening of inclusive, listening approaches, a bold leader can unwittingly alienate and destabilise a parish community. Likewise, an inclusive, listening leadership approach—with no strengthening from a courageous and explicit vision—can leave parishioners directionless, lacking the distinctive, "collective identity" they likely seek in a bewildering time of change. Both dimensions of leadership can be combined to ensure that the pneumatological "change of epoch" accompanies the sociological one: both are critical for our new apostolic age. M

Hannah Vaughan-Spruce is executive director of global mission at Divine Renovation, a Catholic ministry inspiring and equipping parishes around the world to become mission-focused. She read theology at Cambridge and was awarded her PhD from St. Mary's University, Twickenham in the area of sociology of religion and theology in 2021. She has published a number of books, including co-authoring, *Why Catholics Leave, What They Miss, and How They Might Return* (Paulist, 2019), *Handbook for Catechists* (CTS, 2018), and the forthcoming *After Secularisation: The Present and Future of British Catholicism* (CTS, 2025). She is a consecrated virgin based in the Diocese of Plymouth, UK.