An Imperfect Understanding

The Air Force’s Transition to Diversity and Inclusion

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According to Peter Brand, a character in the film Moneyball,

There is an epidemic failure within the game to understand what is happening. This is causing major league baseball teams to misjudge their players and mismanage their teams. . . . People that run ball clubs think in terms of buying players. Your goal shouldn’t be to buy players; your goal should be to buy wins, and in order to buy wins you need to buy runs. . . . What I see is an imperfect understanding of where runs come from. . . . Baseball thinking is medieval; they are asking all the wrong questions, and if I say it to anybody I’m ostracized; I’m a leper.¹

The movie, based on a true story, details how Brand, a Yale graduate with a degree in economics, convinces Billy Beane, the general manager of major league baseball's
Oakland Athletics, to restructure his team to maximize its potential. Beane and Brand face staunch resistance and encounter many people who doubt the validity of their actions. Nevertheless, together they set a tone that encourages dialogue and challenges cultural beliefs, they articulate their strategy, and they build trust by being forthright; in the end, they are highly successful.

This change initiative bears striking similarities to the Air Force’s current diversity and inclusion program. The service’s senior leaders have determined that diversity and inclusion are requisites for effective operations, and in March 2015 they unveiled new proposals for increasing them within the Air Force. Designed to strengthen the service, the nine diversity and inclusion initiatives should be a good thing. However, like Beane and Brand, these leaders face considerable resistance. Airmen are deeply concerned, and many of them have openly criticized the proposals. They have labeled these measures discriminatory quotas that will lead to preferential treatment and arbitrary actions that have little regard for second- and third-order effects. However, as in *Moneyball*, there seems to be an “imperfect understanding” of the problem in the Air Force, and the polemic nature of the topic dissuades serious, forthright discussion of the proposals.

This article does not advocate either for or against the diversity and inclusion policies. Rather, it seeks to help the Air Force transition in a way that unites Airmen instead of divides them. As mentioned above, many Airmen view these new initiatives as unfair and resist the proposed changes. For successful implementation, Air Force leaders need bottom-up support that requires (1) the right organizational tone to encourage dialogue, (2) a balanced strategy, and (3) a rebuilding of trust by addressing concerns of unfairness. The Air Force is a decidedly more complex organization than the Oakland Athletics; therefore, failure to implement the appropriate strategy could have consequences far more significant than a losing season.

**The Right Organizational Tone**

*I refuse to accept despair as the final response to the ambiguities of history. I refuse to accept the idea that the “isness” of man’s present condition makes him morally incapable of reaching up for the eternal “oughtness” that forever confronts him.*

—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The culture of today’s Air Force is radically different than the one a decade ago. In 2012 Gen Mark A. Welsh, the Air Force chief of staff, spearheaded an initiative to expunge the service of discriminatory practices. Welsh aimed this initiative at strengthening Air Force culture. This sweeping action reinforced the service’s zero-tolerance policy, and a number of high-profile firings let all Airmen know that permitting discriminatory behavior was unpardonable—a remarkable step in the right direction. Yet the Air Force still faces an uphill battle in the fight to become more diverse and inclusive.

The service recognizes the importance of diversity and is working to leverage it as a force multiplier. It defines diversity as “individual characteristics, experiences,
and abilities consistent with the Air Force Core Values and the Air Force Mission."\textsuperscript{7} The Air Force's diversity website outlines the concept as a composite of “personal life experiences, geographic background, socioeconomic background, cultural knowledge, educational background, work background, language abilities, physical abilities, philosophical/spiritual perspectives, age, race, ethnicity, and gender."\textsuperscript{8} This definition creates some issues. Although it is relatively easy to track race, ethnicity, and sex, other facets of diversity (e.g., personal life experiences, geographic and socioeconomic backgrounds, etc.) are much more difficult to distinguish. Furthermore, in an increasingly diversifying culture, today’s relatively distinguishable categories such as race, ethnicity, and gender will become harder to capture in rigid categories. This conversation is necessary and pivotal since military policies are rapidly altering in response to changing American cultural norms, as evidenced by the movement towards lifting the ban on transgender troops.\textsuperscript{9}

General Welsh proclaims that “the greatest strength of our Air Force is our airmen! The greatest strength of our airmen is their diversity! Each of them comes from a different background, a different family experience, and a different social experience. Each brings a different set of skills and a unique perspective to the team. We don’t just celebrate diversity . . . we embrace it!”\textsuperscript{10}

Individuals from dissimilar backgrounds typically have had different experiences that shape who they are and how they think. Therefore, diverse organizations have an advantage when they effectively leverage different perspectives and ideas to provide a wider range of opinions.\textsuperscript{11} With these palpable benefits, it may be easy to categorize people who are wary of diversity programs as closed-minded, racist, or sexist. However, understanding the different perspectives and addressing the legitimate concerns are essential if the Air Force diversity proposals are to gain broad support and have a lasting effect.

In their book \textit{Assignment Pentagon}, Perry M. Smith and Daniel M. Gerstein capture a truism: that the “American military reflects the values, hopes, dreams, aspirations, weaknesses, and strengths of the American culture.”\textsuperscript{12} As such, it is essential that the military remain representative of the larger American population. According to the 2010 census, minorities comprised 23.7 percent of the US citizenry.\textsuperscript{13} Furthermore, \textit{2013 Demographics: Profile of the Military Community} reports that minorities accounted for 29.0 percent of the Air Force’s enlisted members and 18.9 percent of Air Force officers.\textsuperscript{14} These overall officer and enlisted ratios are fairly close to those of the population at large. However, a closer examination reveals a larger disparity in the higher officer ranks. Whereas minorities comprise 21.2 percent of O1s–O3s, they make up only 16 percent of O4s–O6s, and 5.9 percent of O7s–O10s.\textsuperscript{15}

Some individuals have noted that this discrepancy assails good order and discipline by appearing to retain and promote at disparate rates.\textsuperscript{16} In response to this criticism, increasing the minority representation in the Air Force’s officer ranks has become a key tenet of the diversity and inclusion proposals. The service is addressing racial disparity through diversity proposals that raise the numbers of enlisted personnel selected for officer training school, by offering supplemental guidance to promotion boards, and through convening development team boards to “shape” career fields.\textsuperscript{17}
Additionally, although the Air Force had seen a continuous increase in the percentage of females across the service until 2000, the ratio has plateaued over the last 15 years. In 2000, females made up 18.8 percent of the active duty force, and in 2014, 18.9 percent.18 Elevating these numbers is another key aspect of the diversity and inclusion program. The desired change in female applicants from 25 percent to 30 percent and the stated broadening of height-waiver access are squarely aimed at augmenting female accessions.19 Furthermore, a disparity exists between female retention rates and those of males. In 2014, female officers made up 23.6 percent of total officers but only 8.3 percent of flag officers.20 Increasing deployment deferment time after pregnancy and allowing career intermission are efforts aimed at improving female retention rates.21

However, these measures have come under fire as unfair preferential treatment that discriminates against the majority.22 These troubling accusations are directed at the purported meritocratic foundation of the service. This critique is not new to American society. On the contrary, concerns about “reverse discrimination” and upsetting merit-based institutions parallel those found in the national bifurcation regarding affirmative action and related programs.23

Stereotypes often portray military members as never questioning authority and blindly following orders. Those in the military understand that this stereotype is far from reality. It is true that military leaders can gain compliance through direct orders, but effective leaders know the importance of gaining buy-in and commitment from service members. Instituting cultural change is a significant challenge for the military, given the size of the organizations, rich histories, numerous subcultures, and entrenched value systems.24 Servicewide commitment to reformed cultural norms will fully take root when individuals realize the value of the initiatives, but it cannot happen before oppositional members lower their defenses. Air Force leaders confront difficult tasks and must continue to make a compelling case to the service to demonstrate the benefits of these initiatives. Further, they must foster connection through mutual understanding with people reluctant to change.

To make a compelling case and build trust through connection, leaders must first address the current service culture. The organizational movement against discrimination in 2012 was highly effective—so effective, in fact, that it resulted in an overlooked second-order effect: the universally and explicitly acknowledged need to prevent discrimination, sexual harassment, and assault shapes the current debate about diversity and inclusion. It is understandably taboo to question antidiscrimination measures, especially since the service holds antidiscrimination in high regard. However, what seems to be occurring is a perception among Airmen that questioning the merits of the proposals equates to disputing the values of diversity and inclusion. Thus, Airmen who feel compelled to disagree with the proposals are doing so “off the record” on Internet blog sites. The choice to engage in “backdoor” objections and the view that Air Force leaders are unwilling to field concerns impede frank discussions and innovative stakeholder-generated solutions.

Most of the widespread concerns about the diversity and inclusion initiatives do not deal with whether they are good for the organization; rather, they address the details of implementation. Healthy dialogue that examines these concerns should
be encouraged. Without it, the service will be rife with ineffective followers who are
dangerous to any establishment but are especially problematic for the military.

Dr. Robert Kelley, an expert on human productivity, has identified five basic fol-
lowership styles: sheep, yes-people, alienated followers, pragmatists, and star fol-
lowers.25 The risk-averse culture shaped by the previous antidiscrimination efforts
has resulted in far too few of what Dr. Kelley refers to as star followers and far too
many sheep, yes-people, alienated followers, and pragmatists. The sheep blindly
follow. The yes-people tell leaders what they want to hear. The alienated followers
are frustrated but feel stifled by the climate, and the pragmatists stay out of the way.

The culture of tolerance and diversity, by nature, must encourage open discus-
sions that ask hard questions and value differing perspectives. Communication and
diverse opinions should be viewed as a strength in this process rather than a threat
to the proposed change. By consciously eradicating trepidation and encouraging
productive dialogue, Air Force leaders would discourage the sheep, yes-people,
alienated followers, and pragmatists. Instead, they would encourage star followers,
those Airmen who think for themselves and, when they disagree, offer constructive
alternatives.

Encouraging productive dialogue and constructive alternatives is a key compo-
nent of helping individuals deal with change. Famed author and organizational con-
sultant Dr. William Bridges discusses this importance in his transition model, de-
 fined as “the three-phase [psychological] process that people go through as they
internalize and come to terms with the details of the new situation that the change
brings about.”26 He sees transition as a largely internal process whereas change is
the external event that “happens to people, even if they don’t agree with it.”27 This
model is uniquely suited to examine the Air Force’s evolution towards a more di-
verse and inclusive culture. In his model, Bridges identifies a continuum of three
stages through which individuals progress when faced with change: “ending,”
“neutral zone,” and “new beginning.”28 The problem lies in locating individuals
along this continuum and then actively guiding the organization towards the new-
beginning stage.

Bridges summarizes the first stage, ending, as the feeling of loss and difficulty as-
associated with letting go. The goal of leaders should be to help people deal with per-
ceived losses so they can move on. The author’s neutral zone is the in-between
stage characterized by chaos and confusion where “critical psychological realign-
ments and repatterning take place.”29 The leaders’ role is to help individuals men-
tally stuck in this stage by encouraging innovation. Finally, he characterizes his
new beginning stage as the chapter that symbolizes renewal.

Bridges contends that people do not resist change so much as “the losses and
endings that they have experienced and the transition that they are resisting.”30
Therefore, Air Force leaders should examine who perceives to be losing what and
address those issues. Furthermore, Bridges asserts that discussing “how healthy the
outcome of the change will be” is unproductive.31 This notion helps explain much of
the resistance faced by Brand and Beane of the Oakland Athletics and sheds light
on why Air Force leaders cannot simply tell Airmen that things will be better under
the new proposals.
Instead of talking about the positive result, Air Force leaders should deal with the losses and endings directly. To do so, Bridges details the following measures:

- Identify who is losing what.
- Accept the reality and importance of the subjective losses.
- Don't be surprised at “overreaction.”
- Acknowledge the losses openly and sympathetically.
- Expect and accept the signs of grieving.
- Give people information, and do it repeatedly.
- Define what is over and what is not.
- Mark the endings.
- Treat the past with respect.
- Let people take a piece of the old way with them.
- Show how endings ensure continuity of what really matters.32

By taking an honest look at and respecting the validity of the internal transition process, Air Force leaders can help guide individuals towards the desired end state. By ignoring the fact that Airmen are uneasy about these initiatives, they are in essence keeping the service in the neutral zone.

These leaders must recognize and understand the concerns of their Airmen, thereby breaking down barriers and moving them through the neutral zone. Doing so will set the necessary preconditions for leaders to encourage innovation and stimulate energy in their skilled Airmen. Complemented by the building of trust, discussed later, this “alliedness” can promote the new beginnings that Bridges envisions.

**A Balanced Strategy**

*It perhaps comes as no surprise that people fear the loss of what they cherish in their particular identities—their race, their tribe, and perhaps most powerfully their religion. In some places, this fear has led to conflict. At times, it even feels like we’re moving backwards.*

—President Barack Obama

Designing an effective strategy to increase diversity and inclusion is not easy. Air Force leaders deserve praise for their current efforts and steps they have taken towards making this proposal a reality. Such an objective poses both adaptive and technical challenges. Ronald A. Heifetz and Donald L. Laurie define adaptive issues as “systemic problems with no ready answers” and no clear cause and effect
relationship. Technical problems, though, are much more straightforward and therefore easier to solve.

Heifetz and Laurie warn leaders to fight the urge to provide solutions to adaptive problems. Instead, they recommend seeking inputs from a wide range of employees. As stakeholders, the employees will be taking on new roles, and many of them may be adopting new thinking, behaviors, and values. Those who undergo the transformation will often see solutions not visible to senior leaders.

Moreover, cultural transitions that result in the questioning of one’s cultural beliefs can be distressing. However, engaged leadership can mitigate this dilemma by encouraging bottom-up solutions. Some people may argue that the Air Force is seeking input to solve these adaptive problems; however, as previously discussed, many Airmen are reluctant to voice their opinions and ideas. The rest, therefore, remain on the sidelines as sheep, pragmatists, or alienated followers.

In addition to resolving the adaptive problems posed by designing a comprehensive diversity and inclusion strategy, equally daunting technical problems also need addressing. Such issues call for a rational and analytical approach. The preponderance of the current program seeks to generate technical solutions, including much of the work the development team is doing—adjusting accession ratios and increasing enlisted personnel applications to the officer training school boards. Unfortunately, as mentioned above, some of these proposals have come under criticism for being discriminatory quotas. This criticism echoes concerns that plagued the nation in the 1990s: “Adjusting for past discrimination against one group by counter discrimination against another group may result in a never-ending cycle of compensatory preferential adjustments.” Air Force leaders must address this matter because “such a system will almost always be perceived as unfair by the members of those groups who are not currently granted preferential status.”

Regarding the second-order effect generated by the 2012 organizational movement against discrimination, a systemic shift has occurred that recognizes the value of diversity and opposes discrimination. This landscape, then, demands a diversity proposal that plays by different rules than those encountered in affirmative action programs. Rules that measure and promote people based on categories of difference (race, gender, sexual orientation, etc.) will always suffer under the aforementioned reverse-discrimination critique. That plan is not suited for the rapidly diversifying military. A cutting-edge institution such as the US Air Force needs an innovative diversity plan. The proposal here is a diversifying plan that recognizes people as people—not categories—and seeks to promote qualities and characteristics required to arm the nation for the changing nature of warfare.

This article explores how this plan can be instituted in response to the example of gender ratios. The stated diversity and inclusion goal of increasing female applicants from 25 percent to 30 percent is one of the many proposals that Airmen have criticized online because the Air Force can neither support nor provide technical data from which the “right” ratio was drawn. They have called the current ratio arbitrary. This perception is one of the factors that prevents the organization from moving through Bridges’s neutral zone.

In *The Feminine as a Force Multiplier*, Dr. Edith A. Disler provides insight into the “complementary characteristics of the masculine and the feminine” and the corresponding
strengths of each. She argues that the character of war has changed and that to be successful in current and future conflicts, the military should embrace characteristics like empathy and intuition, which are predominantly feminine. Disler suggests that measurable differences exist between sexes and the possession of feminine and masculine characteristics.

Richard A. Lippa supports this claim: “On average men and women differ in a number of personality traits. When assessed in terms of the five-factor model of personality, men score higher than women on some extraversion facets (e.g., assertiveness, dominance) but lower on others (sociability, warmth).” Sociability and warmth, along with empathy, as Disler notes, are more highly correlated with females. Sociability, warmth, and empathy are important qualities that can bolster Air Force success in a changing culture of warfare.

The Air Force could use the evidence that Disler and Lippa speak to in a new type of proposal. All human beings possess a variety of masculine and feminine traits that lie along a continuum of strength. Therefore, if one were to plot the means of individuals along a continuum, then one would anticipate measurable differences. Plotting means for all individuals would make current dispositions for the service and for individual career fields readily apparent (fig. 1). By taking this matter one step further, one could then examine the “sweet spots” or areas along the continuum from which people are historically promoted into leadership positions (fig. 2). This purposeful reflection that examines historical dispositions would allow leaders to determine where deliberate adjustments may be necessary.

![Figure 1. Example scale of personality.](This depiction is an oversimplification offered to promote a common reference from which to understand the model. The actual positioning along the continuum requires further analysis.)
Having fact-based figures derived from demonstrated needs of qualities rather than arbitrary gut feelings helps validate the need for the accession changes. This approach would alleviate some of the criticism levied on the proposed initiatives and provide a number of options—for instance, sweet spots can be deliberately shifted, widened, or validated to meet demonstrated need (fig. 3). Additionally, identifying the trends will enable more effective mentorship and grooming for individuals outside the historic sweet spot.

**Figure 2. Example scale of personality with “sweet spot” added.** (This depiction is an oversimplification offered to promote a common reference from which to understand the model. The actual positioning along the continuum requires further analysis.)

**Figure 3. Example scale of personality depicting shift and expansion of “sweet spot.”** (No change to the sweet spot may be required, but if it is necessary, this tool provides leadership a systematic approach. This depiction is an oversimplification offered to promote a common reference from which to understand the model. The actual positioning along the continuum requires further analysis.)
This is not to imply that all career fields should have the same mix of these masculine-feminine characteristics. Few people would argue that different attributes or sweet spots should not be expected, based on career fields and associated duties. For example, one would expect terminal air controllers to have a different sweet spot than acquisitions engineers, whose sweet spot would presumably be different from that of space systems officers. Admitting this fact is an important step towards having a productive discussion on the topic.

Furthermore, the existence of a clear male-to-female ratio does not guarantee that those individuals will possess the desired masculine-feminine traits in abundance. Therefore, one cannot guarantee unit effectiveness purely by sex-composition ratios. However, these ratios do offer a starting point from which to examine the problem.

An additional challenge then becomes deciding who should determine the desired sweet spot adjustments. Senior leaders would have a difficult time doing so without collaborative input, which, at a minimum, would have to come from respected leaders within each career field and career field management. However, conducting a study to help set and hasten the cultural acceptance of career-field sweet spots would reduce the chances of perpetuating old biases.

Examining sweet spots is an option for devising a technical solution to one of the many diversity and inclusion challenges, but it is not enough. Encouraging productive dialogue is essential to stimulate more bottom-up technical and adaptive ideas, which are necessary if the Air Force wishes to achieve a balanced strategy that helps bring the service together.

Rebuilding Trust

The authors of the article “Designing Trustworthy Organizations” explore the causes and possible methods of preventing trust failures:

In examining trust failures, we have found that one type of incongruence that frequently led to widespread loss of trust was the development of a company strategy . . . that either accidentally or deliberately favored the interests of one stakeholder group while betraying those of others. . . . To be sure, it is not uncommon for organizations to favor some stakeholders’ interests over those of others. Rather than simply prioritizing certain groups, however, a trust betrayal occurs when the organization actively caters to a group (or groups) but fails to uphold responsibilities to others.44

Interestingly, this passage describes many of the concerns levied in opposition to the Air Force’s diversity and inclusion initiatives. The service’s 2013 Diversity Strategic Roadmap asserts that “we intend to achieve these goals as a meritocracy, ensuring a level playing field for all.”45 However, to some individuals, the 2015 diversity and inclusion proposals seem to conflict with this premise.46

Robert F. Hurley and his colleagues suggest a framework that may be useful in assisting Air Force leaders address concerns and restore trust. They argue that people consider six signals “when deciding whether to trust a person, group, or organization”:
1. Common values: Does the trustee share our values and beliefs?
2. Aligned interests: Do the trustee’s interests coincide rather than conflict with ours?
3. Benevolence: Does the trustee care about our welfare?
4. Competence: Is the trustee capable of delivering on commitments?
5. Predictability and integrity: Does the trustee abide by commonly accepted ethical standards (such as honesty and fairness), and is he or she predictable?
6. Communication: Does the trustee listen and engage in open and mutual dialogue?47

A comprehensive strategy to rebuild trust based on aligned values, interests, benevolence, competence, predictability, integrity, and communication should be part of the Air Force’s diversity and inclusion initiatives. Designing such a strategy will not be easy, but tackling the issues head-on is a sine qua non for widespread commitment to the program.

Senior leaders have made the first step, addressing common values, a priority, as demonstrated by the following statement in the Diversity Strategic Roadmap: “Our core values of integrity first, service before self, and excellence in all we do, along with a tradition of innovation, compel us to ensure that diversity remains a priority.”48 Anchoring discourse around these core values supplies something to which all Airmen can relate.

The second step is to continue to show how diversity and inclusion are aligned interests of the entire service. However, complete cultural acceptance will happen only after individuals experience the tangible benefits. Therefore, actions consistent with the initiatives are paramount, and tangible victories should be celebrated.

The third step, showing benevolence, is multifaceted. Not only do leaders have to demonstrate that they are deeply committed to the success of minorities and females but also they must show the same regard for nonminorities and males. Treating all stakeholders equally will engender trust and result in commitment to the program.

The fourth step, showing competence, will prove difficult but is far from impossible. To demonstrate this competence, leaders must first analyze and then communicate the second- and third-order effects of the policies. For example, what is the effect on males and females without children if mothers receive a 12-month reprieve from deploying after childbirth? What is the second-order effect on nonminorities and males with regard to accession, retention, and promotion? Addressing these concerns is important since they have a genuine impact on Airmen. In the end, the return should outweigh the cost. Ultimately, performance will demonstrate competence. The initiatives must either produce the desired effects or be changed.

The fifth step, predictability and integrity, relates to concepts discussed in the previous paragraph. The service claims to be a meritocracy, but many individuals maintain that the diversity proposals affect this merit-based system.49 Leaders should confront such concerns directly. For example, how does a promotion board determine that someone has demonstrated that he or she will “nurture and lead in a diverse and inclusive Air Force culture” when performance reports do not specifically address this issue?50 Will the diversity and inclusion initiatives result in discriminatory promotion standards?51 Will increasing the applicant pool for certain groups result in a reduced effort to recruit highly qualified individuals who are not in those groups?52 Will the policies result in quotas that grant preferential
treatment? These repeatedly voiced questions warrant addressing in order to reestablish predictability and demonstrate integrity.

Finally, the last step, communication, is key to establishing trust. As previously discussed, leaders must openly address the benefits and costs of these proposals. Frank modeling of this skill can serve as an invitation for servicewide discussion and debunk the perception that concerns are not tolerated. Next, leaders must listen to and address concerns directly with openness and honesty. Doing so has the potential to establish a climate that not only follows orders but also welcomes dialogue and innovative solutions from Airmen of all ranks, career fields, races, ethnicities, sexes, and religions.

**Conclusion**

*The United States of America has helped underwrite global security for more than six decades with the blood of our citizens and the strength of our arms. The service and sacrifice of our men and women in uniform has promoted peace and . . . enabled democracy to take hold.*

—President Barack Obama, 2009

President Obama has made some poignant statements that directly relate to the diversity and inclusion debate. He notes the important role that the US military fills in the world. However, he also warns that “we lose ourselves when we compromise the very ideals that we fight to defend. And we honor—we honor those ideals by upholding them not when it’s easy, but when it is hard.” A substantial number of the ideals we fight to defend include the belief that men and women of all races, ethnicities, religions, and sexual orientations should be treated with respect and be afforded the same opportunities for success.

The Air Force’s 2015 diversity and inclusion initiatives seek to uphold these ideals. However, as with any cultural transition, challenges arise. This cultural shift must maximize inclusion and diversity and thereby increase combat efficacy. The current program is a well-intentioned attempt to leverage the strength that diversity affords. To keep the service on “glide slope,” leaders must promote an Air Force climate that encourages open dialogue, they must ensure that the strategy is balanced and reflective of the adaptive and technical aspects of the problem, and, finally, they must reestablish trust with all Airmen by addressing concerns head-on. Together, these measures will help alleviate the “imperfect understanding” of the problem and facilitate the Air Force's transition towards a more diverse and inclusive culture.

**Notes**

4. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
13. Hispanic origin is an ethnicity and therefore does not constitute a race according to the US Census Bureau and the Department of Defense.
15. Ibid., 25.
29. Ibid., 5.
30. Ibid., 24.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 25–36.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 125.
38. Ibid.
39. For the many comments made in response to the story, see Nelson, "SecAF Introduces Diversity Initiatives."
41. Ibid.
46. For the many comments made in response to the story, see Nelson, "SecAF Introduces Diversity Initiatives."
47. Hurley et al., “Designing Trustworthy Organizations,” 76.
49. Ibid., 4–5.
50. James, Welsh, and Cody, memorandum, [1]. For the many comments made in response to the story, see Nelson, "SecAF Introduces Diversity Initiatives."
51. For the many comments made in response to the story, see Nelson, "SecAF Introduces Diversity Initiatives."
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Losey, “Air Force Secretary's Diversity Plan.”
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