



## Evolving CAF Beyond Culture Change

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#### JCSP 49 DL

#### Exercise Solo Flight

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## EVOLVING CAF BEYOND CULTURE CHANGE

Organizational culture, by its nature, is continually evolving. Over history, the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) has changed and grown to meet Canadian's expectations and adapt to ever-evolving global and domestic security situations. The CAF has embarked on a great number of designated culture change endeavors, but the degree of success of each is unclear. This is unsurprising, as organizational change actions are rarely effective at creating genuine change.

Actions to address systemic shortcomings with respect to sexual misconduct in the CAF are unquestionably necessary. There are, however, negative consequences for the CAF stemming from the prolonged pursuit of broad culture change. Members are fatigued. Marketing and media coverage of the Sexual Misconduct Class Action, amidst calls for sweeping change, depict a fractured organization. These reports have eclipsed narratives that showcase the very best CAF values. While the mandated change has nudged the institution forward, it is no longer helpful to frame the process in terms of a formal change. Building on the momentum gained, CAF's culture will continue to improve to the benefit of all Canadians. The organization will profit from a period of stability and an opportunity to reinforce positive identity.

## WHAT IS ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

Culture is defined as: "The way of life of a people, including their attitudes, values, beliefs, arts, sciences, modes of perception, and habits of thought and activity."<sup>1</sup> Organizational climate (culture) is a manifestation of the employee's perception of it.<sup>2</sup> In Sayers and Smollan, sub-cultures within organizations are described as having unique value systems, often based on "hierarchy, department, professional identities, or ethnicity and gender."<sup>3</sup> Cultures are influenced by employee perception and the degree of engagement in their respective sub-cultures, as well in the broader organization.<sup>4</sup> Culture is linked to values, even if contested or evolving, which are linked to emotions.<sup>5</sup> Cultures are not static, but change in concert with people's attitudes, emotions, values and beliefs. Organizations shift as people come and go.

## ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE CHANGE PROCESS

Human nature makes us naturally resistant to uncertainty and change. According to a study, uncertainty causes more stress for people than pain they know is coming.<sup>6</sup> This is theorised to be an evolutionary response, useful when exploring dangerous things in the environment.<sup>7</sup> As a result of this tendency, changing culture is exceedingly difficult. According to McKinsey, 70% of culture change programs fail, because initiatives are overwhelming in size,

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<sup>1</sup> Oxford Reference <https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/oi/authority.20110901080526139>

<sup>2</sup> By Allen, quoted in Sayers, Janet Grace, and Smollan, Roy K. "Organizational Culture, Change and emotions: A qualitative Study." *Journal of Change Management*, December 2009, 9 (4), 435-457. Accessed 21 May 2024: 2.

<sup>3</sup> Sayers and Smollan: 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> University College London. "Uncertainty can cause more stress than inevitable pain." ScienceDaily. ScienceDaily, 29 March 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

with broad, intangible goals.<sup>8</sup> Often there are too many stakeholders involved, making for a cumbersome process, or they get trapped in the communications stage, which fails to drive the desired behaviour change. People are reluctant to alter their habits and default to what they have always done.<sup>9</sup> Beer and Nohria agree with McKinsey, stating that 70% fail.<sup>10</sup> They contend that managers tend to rush into change, lose focus and end up “immersing themselves in an alphabet soup of initiatives.”<sup>11</sup> According to Oakes, only 15% of companies succeed.<sup>12</sup> Kotter is more generous, concluding that a few efforts that he has studied have been successful, a few have been “utter failures,” but most fell somewhere in between, with a “distinct tilt toward the lower end of the scale.”<sup>13</sup> Kotter characterises change efforts as, “messy and full of surprises.”<sup>14</sup>

Labels like transformation or change are not recommended. According to Oakes, it is important to fully appreciate the elements that are the foundation of what makes the organization great to begin with.<sup>15</sup> To succeed in changing culture, he advocates for renovating what exists, rather than suggesting a need to start from scratch. According to Oakes, 57% of organizations that were highly successful in their renovation efforts started by intentionally and respectfully preserving the best norms, fundamental values and history.<sup>16</sup>

It also matters how the change came about and who is leading the charge. According to Walker and Soule, “culture change can’t be achieved through a top-down mandate. It lives in the collective hearts and habits of people and their shared perception of ‘how things are done around here.’ Culture change needs to happen through a movement, not a mandate.”<sup>17</sup> A change must be more than widely communicated, it must be widely felt and embraced to be adopted.

## **CAF CULTURE CHANGE HISTORY**

Over the CAF’s history, there have been a slew of undertakings to reform CAF culture. In the late 60s/70s, there was unification under General Hellyer. In the 80s, long before 2017’s Strong Secure Engaged Defense Policy, the CAF had been striving to integrate women. In 2017, the average proportion of women in military service amongst our NATO partners was 11.1%, yet

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<sup>8</sup> Chris Holmes. “Culture Change is Broken. Here’s how to fix it.” *HR Magazine*, 8 May 24.

<sup>9</sup> David A. Garvin, and Micheal A. Roberto. “Change Through Persuasion.” *In HBR’s 10 Must Reads – On Change Management*. Harvard Business Review Press, Boston, 2011:17.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Beer, and Nitin Nohria. “Cracking the Code of Change.” *In HBR’s 10 Must Reads – On Change Management*. Harvard Business Review Press, Boston, 2011: 137.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Kevin Oakes. *Culture Renovation: 18 Leadership Actions to Build an Unshakeable Company*. New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2020: XX.

<sup>13</sup> Kotter, John P. “Leading Change: Why Transformation Efforts Fail.” *In HBR’s 10 Must Reads – On Change Management*. Harvard Business Review Press, Boston, 2011:1.

<sup>14</sup> Kotter: 16.

<sup>15</sup> Kevin Oakes. *Culture Renovation: 18 Leadership Actions to Build an Unshakeable Company*: XIX.

<sup>16</sup> Oakes: 53.

<sup>17</sup> Brian Walker and Sarah A. Soule. “Changing Company Culture requires a movement, not a mandate.” *Harvard Business Review*, 20 Jun 2017.

Canada was one of 15 nations who exceeded the average.<sup>18</sup> Creating opportunities for greater inclusion of women is important to Canadians, the reflection of Canada's values.

After shameful incidents including the beating to death of Shidane Arone, hazing, a lack of professionalism and leadership failures, the Somalia Commission of the early 1990s resulted in the implementation of culture reforms aimed at addressing toxic culture.<sup>19</sup> In the late 90s, the Standing Committee on National Defence and Veteran's Affairs (SCONDVA), launched a culture change initiative that extended more than 20 years, until the Ombudsman's final report in 2013. It was in response to serious failures that caused low morale and poor quality of life for members: inadequate pay and support for members' families, frequent deployments/separations, and deficient equipment.<sup>20</sup> In the mid-2000s, change resumed with General Hillier's CF Transformation, established to refocus on the primacy of operations after the cold war. It was touted as the "most significant culture change in over half a century."<sup>21</sup> The organization has strived nearly ceaselessly to accelerate the evolution.

### **CAF CULTURE CHANGE - PAST DECADE**

In 2015, former Justice Deschamps called for the transformation of the CAF with respect to the management of sexual misconduct, with the overarching goal of reminding all in uniform of the "ethical foundations of the Canadian profession of arms."<sup>22</sup> In 2016, seven plaintiffs initiated a class action lawsuit (Heyder and Beattie) against the Government of Canada, claiming that they were subjected to sexual discrimination and misconduct while serving. This resulted in a 2019 final settlement that included an obligation to pay affected persons up to \$900M, provide an opportunity to participate in a Restorative Engagement Program, and finally a commitment from the CAF to embark on "culture change" to address "sexual misconduct."<sup>23</sup> The settlement does not define any parameters for the change, nor does it suggest when culture change would be concluded. It does not specify the end state or against what standard the it would be benchmarked. It is therefore completely subjective to identify when measures taken will be sufficient.

As the settlement took hold, the CAF was plagued with cases of senior leaders who were alleged to have committed various forms of sexual misconduct.<sup>24</sup> If there was any doubt as to the extent of the problem before, widespread media attention ensured that Canadians, and CAF

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<sup>18</sup> Karen Davis, Frank Brundtland-Steder, Joanna Harvey, and Laura Chewning. "Integration of Women in Ground Combat Units." *DGMPRA*, Apr 21: 2-2.

<sup>19</sup> Richard Shimooka. "The lessons Canada's military didn't learn from the Somalia Inquiry." *National Post*, 12 May 2021.

<sup>20</sup> SCONDVA. Standing Committee on National Defence and Veteran's Affairs. (SCONDVA) Real Commitment – Addressing the underlying causes of low morale and the poor quality of life in the Canadian Forces, October 1998.

<sup>21</sup> Michael K. Jeffery. "Inside Canadian Forces Transformation." *Canadian Military Journal*, Vol 10, No. 2, 2010:9.

<sup>22</sup> Gerson Flor. "So we Speak: Language and Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces." *Canadian Military Journal*, Vol 17, No. 3, Summer 2017: 76.

<sup>23</sup> For the purpose of the settlement, "sexual misconduct" includes sexual harassment, sexual assault, and discrimination on the grounds of sex, gender, gender identity, or sexual orientation. Heyder, Beattie and Attorney General of Canada. Final Settlement Agreement. 10 July 2019: 9.

<sup>24</sup> Ashley Burke, Murray Brewster. "A Military in Crisis: Here are the Senior Leaders Embroiled in Sexual Misconduct Cases." *CBC News*, 3 October 2023.

members among them, understood the wholesale nature of the sexual misconduct plight. As Janzen notes, in today's fast-paced and unrelenting media cycle, "issues that would scarcely be noticed in the private sector become full blown political crises in the present sensationalized media landscape."<sup>25</sup> The intensity of the media coverage created the impetus for quick action, at times at the expense of due process. Some senior leaders, Vice Admiral Baines, Major General Dawe, Lieutenant General Rouleau, were "embroiled" in the crisis, despite no allegations that they committed sexual misconduct.<sup>26</sup> Two others faced charges but were subsequently found not guilty, Major General Fortin and Lieutenant General Whelan. Both of these officers have since filed claims against the organization for defamation, violation of their Charter rights, and loss of their careers.<sup>27</sup>

In March 2021, the closeout of OP HONOUR was announced alongside the stand up of the Chief Professional Conduct and Culture. (CPCC) CPCC was created as the functional authority for CAF "culture change and consultation," one of its four "pathways to progress."<sup>28</sup> CPCC's website describes its efforts as being on "two tracks." The first being the "remediation of harm," and the latter, "culture change."<sup>29</sup> CPCC defines the goal for the change as, "prevention-focused programs and policies aimed at setting the conditions for improving the work environment for all Defence Team members and targeting the full spectrum of harms and misconduct." The scope of the change effort has thus expanded to include all manner of work environment improvements, including initiatives not directly linked to the settlement's task. It has come to include everything from the revised annual performance evaluation process, to the implementation of the Defence Team's "Total Health and Wellness Strategy," to updates to the CAF Leave Policy Manual.<sup>30</sup> It seems that nearly any new policy or improvement could therefore be linked to the change, which dilutes the meaningfulness of the originally intended purpose.

While leaders are grappling with the breadth in applying higher intent, for others, just getting a sense of what is changing for them personally is elusive. Duval-Lantoine and Imre-Millei suggest that the call for culture change, if not regularly and properly explained, is a "vague, daunting task" of "herculean proportions." Although they propose some guidelines, they tend to be shaped more for the strategic level, rather than for the sailor, soldier, or aviator. They outline the task as, "asking the CAF to reshape service members' attitudes and behaviours in order to create a new set of values and beliefs," and add that the CAF needs to, "address how it

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<sup>25</sup> Jay Janzen. "What if the Pen is a Sword? Communicating in a Chaotic, Sensational, and Weaponized Information Environment." *Canadian Military Journal*, Vol 19, No.4, Autumn 2019: 5.

<sup>26</sup> Ashley Burke, Murray Brewster. "A Military in Crisis: Here are the Senior Leaders Embroiled in Sexual Misconduct Cases." *CBC News*, 3 October 2023.

<sup>27</sup> Opinion by Special. "Canadian General accused of sexual misconduct sues to 'get a chance to tell my side of the story.'" *National Post*, 21 May 24.

<sup>28</sup> The Honourable Louise Arbour, on Chief of Professional Conduct and Culture website. "Defence Team Conduct and Culture Consultation." 25 November 2022.

<sup>29</sup> Chief of Professional Conduct and Culture. "Conduct and culture change Tracker." 27 November 2023. Accessed on 23 May 2024.

<sup>30</sup> Department of National Defence. "Spotlight on culture change initiatives for military personnel." *The Maple Leaf, Defence Stories*. 28 March 2022.

functions as an institution and system.”<sup>31</sup> Duval-Lantoine and Imre-Millei conclude that despite 30 years of recommendations, CAF culture change has not been possible due to “pre-existing ideas of procedure and doctrine,” that they feel have, “prevented the safety and inclusion of marginalised groups.”<sup>32</sup> Given the extensive scope, it is fathomable that at least another 30 years will be needed, the length of a long career. By then, CAF members will be an entirely new generation.

## IMPACT OF CHANGE ON MEMBERS

In today’s workplace, the rate of change that people are asked to adopt is skyrocketing. According to Morain and Aykens, the average employee experienced 10 planned enterprise changes in 2022, up from just 2 in 2016.<sup>33</sup> The result of the change saturation is that while employees’ willingness to change was 74% in 2016, by 2022, it was down to 43%.<sup>34</sup> Leaders need to manage change fatigue and deliberately build in periods of rest in order to sustain engagement. Otherwise, burn-out or quiet quitting are legitimate risks to effectiveness. There are many factors that reduce change tolerance. Consider the effects of the pandemic, which forced significant changes overnight. Then there is the reality that members are operating short of personnel in almost every domain, reducing their capacity to undertake supplementary projects. Fatigue and capacity must be considered and outcomes finite and realistically defined when ordered.

Most of the CAF identify as men, whom the CAF needs committed to the change in order to succeed. Yet, CAF has struggled to communicate clearly what part of masculine identity it seeks to change. Unfortunately, particularly in academic work, masculinity has been depicted as inherently bad or harmful, a circumstance that risks alienating those who identify with those traits. Traditionally masculine traits are no better or worse than those traditionally thought of as feminine. According to Emba, in order to thrive, men who may have seen the “denegation of masculinity,” in repeated references to it being toxic or militarised, need to instead be shown an aspirational vision of what it means to be a man.<sup>35</sup> Emba asked men about their aspirational identity, and responses included strength, self-mastery, leadership, responsibility, and care of others.<sup>36</sup> Traits linked to masculinity can also be ascribed to women, there is no need to box the two terms in or consider them as opposing or exclusive.<sup>37</sup> It must further be recognised that important gender inequalities run in both directions, and all require sensitivity and empathy in their consideration. For example, in 1972, the US measured a gap of 13% less women than men graduating with bachelor’s degrees, but by 2019, the gap was inversed, with women earning 15% more degrees than men.<sup>38</sup> In our society, men are underrepresented in the fields of health and

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<sup>31</sup> Charlotte Duval-Lantoine, Charlotte, and Bibi Imre-Millei. “Comprehensive Culture Change in the CAF: From Buzzword to Actionable Items.” *Canadian Global Affairs Institute*, May 2021: 1.

<sup>32</sup> Duval-Lantoine and Imre-Millei: 5.

<sup>33</sup> Cian O. Morain and Peter Aykens. “Employees are Losing Patience with Change Initiatives.” *Harvard Business Review*, 9 May 23.

<sup>34</sup> Gartner study, cited in Morain and Aykens.

<sup>35</sup> Christine Emra, “The disappearance of Men.” (YouTube) posted by “Big Think,” 3 May 2024. 8:20.

<sup>36</sup> Christine Emra. “The disappearance of Men.” 9:07.

<sup>37</sup> Emra, 11:08.

<sup>38</sup> Richard V. Reeves, 3. *Of Boys and Men: Why the Modern Male is Struggling, Why it Matters, and What to do about it*. Washington, D.C The Brookings Institution, 2022:3.

education.<sup>39</sup> Societal cultural norms enabling men to remain involved with their children after a separation have decreased rather than increased.<sup>40</sup> Most alarmingly, suicide rates in Canada are 3 times higher among men as compared to women.<sup>41</sup> Genuine inclusiveness in the organization requires open discussions about all gender inequalities.

## IMPACT ON PUBLIC IMAGE

Media headlines calling repeatedly for comprehensive or substantial change, the need for a rebuild, or repair, imply and promote an image of CAF that is damaged, wrong, and broken. This does not tell the whole story of this complex organisation and deters applicants from joining. According to a Glassdoor study, 77%, potential employees will evaluate an organization's culture before applying, and 56% rank culture as more significant than their pay.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, the manner in which the public, and among them prospective applicants or influencers of applicants, perceives the CAF is very impactful to the sustainment of the organization.

Significant resources were invested into the marketing campaign to inform CAF and veterans about the existence of the Heyder Beattie Class Action. As part of the settlement, an "Oversight Committee" was established to identify opportunities to validate affected persons experiences, increase awareness of the harms of sexual misconduct, and influence culture change within the CAF.<sup>43</sup> Two million dollars were committed for consultations, and the difference between claims paid and the full designated amount, up to \$23M, was reserved for "additional awareness and promotion of culture change initiatives."<sup>44</sup> It is unknown what resources were actually expended, but coupled with the organic media attention, the word very effectively got out.

The CAF will be challenged to recruit Gen Z (born 1995-2012) into the CAF, given the inherent risks of service, because they have a higher expectation of safety than previous generations.<sup>45</sup> This is attributed to parents having had only one or two children and more carefully protecting them. As a cohort, they demonstrate safer behaviour, including lower instances of getting drunk, less participation in physical fighting and fewer car accidents.<sup>46</sup> On the rise is also a call by Gen Z for "safe spaces" to protect from "emotional injury," a trend at universities as students expect to be protected from views or speech that they may deem offensive.<sup>47</sup> It would be reasonable to deduce that the media articles depicting the CAF as riddled with sexual misconduct would be repelling to Gen Z prospects.

According a 2022 Quorus study, the public's overall impression of the CAF remains predominately positive, with 64% describing their opinion of the CAF as somewhat or strongly

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<sup>39</sup> Reeves: 150.

<sup>40</sup> Reeves: 41.

<sup>41</sup> Public Health Agency of Canada. "Suicide in Canada: Key Statistics. (Infographic)" Accessed on 21 May 2024.

<sup>42</sup> Kevin Oakes. *Culture Renovation: 18 Leadership Actions to Build an Unshakeable Company*: 76.

<sup>43</sup> Heyder, Beattie and Attorney General of Canada. Final Settlement Agreement. 10 July 2019. Section 8.01, 30.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Jean M. Twenge, Jean M. Generations: *The Real Differences Between Gen Z, Millennials, Gen X, Boomers, and Silents – and What They Mean for America's Future*. New York: Atria, 2023: 384.

<sup>46</sup> Twenge: 387.

<sup>47</sup> Twenge: 385.

positive.<sup>48</sup> Only 40% of those surveyed had recently seen, read, or heard something about the CAF. When those respondents were asked to identify what they had seen, allegations of sexual misconduct were the most memorable, at 37% in 2022, and 48% in 2021, as compared to only 3% of the responses in 2020.<sup>49</sup> The next most seen topic was recruitment, observed by only 19%. This means that those who had heard about the CAF in 2022 had nearly twice the likelihood of having seen the sexual misconduct media than of having noticed the well-resourced marketing materials for recruitment. Respondents who had seen allegations of sexual misconduct had a 60% instance of having a negative overall impression, and 57% of them had an unfavorable view of joining the CAF.<sup>50</sup> The report further states that, “public perception of sexual harassment in the military is considered morally reprehensible, and related incidents thus undermine public confidence in military organisations.”<sup>51</sup>

## RECOMMENDATIONS

According to Meyerson, research has shown there are two ways that organizations change: through drastic action or through evolutionary adaptation.<sup>52</sup> The former is often mandated from the top, in response to emerging or critical technological, regulatory, or legal or political innovations or pressures. Drastic action will be characterised as quick and painful. The latter, evolutionary adaptation, is gentle, decentralised, and incremental, and it produces a broad and lasting shift with less disruption. The evolutionary approach to culture change is a powerful one, but it requires time, commitment and patience.

Nearly 5 years after the final settlement, and 9 years after the suit was filed, it is time for the CAF to celebrate the many concrete measures taken that have changed the landscape for those who will suffer sexual misconduct in the organization. It is time to depart from change nomenclature and plan to officially conclude the change initiative. This will afford members certainty, stability and relief from change. This will not mean that CAF culture will cease to change, just the opposite, momentum garnered over the past 5 years has boosted and accelerated ongoing evolutionary adaptation. The effort should be reframed as part of a continuous improvement model, already part of CAF practice. High awareness of the impetus to incorporate diversity, equity and inclusion measures as part of all processes will ensure those actions are carried forth. As Holmes expressed, “culture is continually growing and evolving, and perpetual innovation is the beating heart of any successful organisation. Culture needs to be viewed through an innovation lens.”<sup>53</sup> To assure that the CAF doesn’t slip back, strong emphasis needs to

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<sup>48</sup> Qorus Consulting Group for Department of National Defence. “Views of the CAF 2022-2-23.” February 2023: 10.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid: 38.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid: 39.

<sup>51</sup> Karen Davis, Frank Brundtland-Steder, Joanna Harvey, and Laura Chewning. “Integration of Women in Ground Combat Units.” 2-7.

<sup>52</sup> Debra E. Meyerson. “Radical Change, The Quiet Way.” In *HBR’s 10 Must Reads – On Change Management*. Harvard Business Review Press, Boston, 2011: 63.

<sup>53</sup> Chris Holmes. “Culture Change is Broken. Here’s how to fix it.”

be placed on accountability and enforcement of new and/or previously existing administrative and disciplinary processes. As described by Beer, Eisenstat, and Spector, once employees and processes are in alignment, there comes a time in change when it is best to shift away from abstractions and focus the change energy on the work itself, in this case, building a capable CAF for the future.<sup>54</sup>

In order to attract Gen Z, branding that showcases aspects of the CAF that will appeal to their strong preference for employment where they will be helpful to others and do work that is worthwhile to society will be required.<sup>55</sup> According to Mayer, in order to attract new members, the CAF must brand itself as being, “welcoming, accepting, and empowering, with excellent career progression and organization culture” for all of its diverse members.<sup>56</sup> The emphasis must be placed on the meaningfulness of the work and the CAF’s contribution to Canadian and North American Defence and security.<sup>57</sup> The CPCC team has been conducting engagements to gather feedback and suggestions, including the six-month Defence Team Conduct and Culture Consultation. Through this process, CPCC reported having been consistently told by 9000 Defence Team members that they have an enormous sense of pride in the CAF/DND as an organization. CPCC grouped their inputs into four themes that have a lot of positive connotations: Service before self, Warrior Identity, Leadership, and Teamwork.<sup>58</sup> While imperfect in their application at times, these are themes that can be promoted as part of CAF’s shared identity, providing an example of what members should model, as well as a fairer portrayal of the organization to the public.

## CONCLUSION

For decades the CAF has been enacting culture change initiatives, with low likelihood that they will substantially expedite culture evolution. While CAF culture has benefited from nudges at times, letting change actions linger too long diminishes their power and effectiveness. Once the change period is concluded, the organization will be able to patiently embrace the more realistic and lasting evolution that will emerge over time, through regrowth and attrition. Stability for the organization will support the work needed to reinforce identity, reconstitute and restore military capabilities.

While it is important to openly acknowledge the organization’s shortcomings, take responsibility, and make amends to persons who have been harmed, that can’t indefinitely be the focus of the organization. Diversity, equity and inclusion efforts, established now as integral to CAF culture, will continue to be incorporated into the effects and capabilities that CAF is mandated to deliver. A rising tide will lift all boats.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Michael Beer, Russell A. Eisenstat, and Bert Spector. “Why Change Programs Don’t Produce Change.” *In HBR’s 10 Must Reads – On Change Management*. Harvard Business Review Press, Boston, 2011: 179.

<sup>55</sup> Twenge: 470.

<sup>56</sup> Paxton Mayer. “What’s in a Soldier? How to Rebrand the Canadian Armed Forces.” *Canadian Global Affairs Institute*, October 2020: 6.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Chief of Professional Conduct and Culture. “Defence Team Conduct and Culture Consultation.”

<sup>59</sup> Attributed to John F. Kennedy, October 1963.

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