CHANGING MORE THAN THE PLUMBING: INTEGRATING WOMEN AND GENDER DIFFERENCES INTO MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR COURSES*

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There's an old joke that the only change universities needed to make when they went coed was to change the lavatory plumbing. Although universities have modified their physical structures to accommodate the growing number of women students, few changes have been made in the content of business courses to reflect the implications of these demographic changes (Rosener & Pearce, 1989).

This article addresses the integration of women and gender differences into management and organizational behavior (OB) courses in two major ways: through modifications of course content and adaptations of the class process. Emphasis is placed on providing specific suggestions for changing not only the "plumbing" of the course (e.g., use of exercises, cases, and examples), but for dealing with problems that may arise when changing the teaching process itself (e.g., interactions among students, interactions between teacher and students).

The changing of class content and process to integrate women and gender differences into management and OB courses is important for several reasons. First, the number of women in the work force is growing. By the end of the century, women will make up almost half the work force (Hudson Institute, 1987). Second, women still experience discrimination in salary, assignment decisions, and access to promotional opportunities (Devanna as cited by Benokraitis & Feagin, 1986; Hudson Institute, 1987). For example, a study by Fortune magazine found that 30% of women with MBAs surveyed had left their jobs in large corporations because of perceived pay inequity and lack of promotion opportunities for women (Taylor, 1986). Furthermore, a recent Business Week survey shows that a female with an MBA will earn 12% less in her first year after graduation, than will a male with an MBA (Roman, 1990). Women continue to suffer from the "glass ceiling" effect in that promotion decisions still limit their access to the top echelons of management (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987). Finally, although women no longer sex-type managerial jobs, men continue to adhere to male managerial stereotypes (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, & Schein, 1989; Schein, 1973, 1975). These studies, as well as other research (e.g., Heilman, 1983; Schein, 1978; Schoen & Winocur, 1988), suggest that sex stereotypes continue to influence employment decisions, performance evaluation, and salary determination.

Strategies for Integrating Gender Issues in Management and OB Courses
Statistical trends demonstrating the increased participation of women in the labor force, coupled with the continuance of discrimination and sex stereotyping, suggest that instructors must increase their efforts at preparing students for equitably managing a diversified work force. Instructors can help prepare students by changing both the content and the process and procedures of management and OB courses.

Changing the Content of Management and OB Courses
Management and OB courses should increase a student's awareness of contexts in which traditional sex stereotypes influence perceptions and decisions in business and everyday life. Calling attention to unconscious biases often helps to reduce their potency. The Journal of Management Education contains many examples of the use of exercises and role plays to reduce biases and introduce gender differences into management and OB course materials (for comprehensive review of additional sources, see Hai, 1984; Powell & Hai, 1984). Our purpose here is not to reiterate these articles but to suggest some new and specific strategies for using these and other material to more fully integrate gender issues into the management and OB curriculum.

1. Present gender differences as part of mainstream management and OB topics. Gender differences can be directly integrated into such commonly covered management and OB topics as decision making and perceptions. For instance, when the class is covering decision making, the effect of sex and attractiveness on employment decisions can be discussed by reviewing the results of studies such as "The Eye of the Beholder" (Cash, Gillen, & Burns, 1977; Cash & Janda, 1984; Cash & Kilcullen, 1985) and "When Beauty is Beastly" (Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979). Examining findings indicating that attractiveness is an advantage for men across job types but is only an advantage for women in nonmanagerial jobs is a very good way of stimulating class discussion. Furthermore, Kellogg, Spelman, and Crary (1984) suggest the use of an exercise illustrating gender bias in students' decision making based on Rosen and Jerdee's (1974) findings regarding the influence of gender on managerial decisions. In a classroom application of this exercise conducted by one of the authors, results demonstrated that the MBA class members' employment decisions continued to be influenced by gender. One particularly useful strategy with this exercise is to discuss how bias can also work against men in decisions concerning paternity leave and in jobs stereotyped as female. Discussing this aspect of the gender issue can help win the confidence of men in the class who sometimes feel angry, threatened, or blamed when women's issues are discussed.

In the section of the course concerning perceptions and stereotypes, humorous examples of stereotypes can be used to highlight the different ways in which the same behavior is interpreted depending on whether it is exhibited by a man or a woman. For example, if "he" is away from his desk, "he" must be in an important meeting. However, if "she" is away from her desk, "she" must be in the bathroom. Similarly, if "he" is going on a business trip, it's good for his career, whereas if "she" is going on a business trip, what will her husband say? (Powell, 1988). Students often relate, have heard, or have said some of the comments. Humor helps to dissipate the possible feelings of embarrassment or accusation that may occur when discussing stereotypes (e.g., Koller, 1989; Wagner & Goldsmith, 1981).

The instructor may also creatively use different materials such as talk shows, news programs, newspapers, and films to illustrate the prevalence of stereotypes in our society. For example, questions about the difference between sexual harassment and office romance often are raised when these topics are discussed. Because of the controversial nature of these topics, students are often unwilling to share their personal experiences, either out of fear of reprisals from their employing firms or negative reactions from their fellow students. Showing clips from talk shows and news programs, where people relate their experiences and express their feelings, brings home to the students that these are real problems affecting working individuals.[1] The talk show clips usually heighten student interest and enhance retention of the facts. Moreover, talk shows and news programs can be combined with the use of exercises such as the Janis/Jerome Case (Gandz & Howell, 1989) that examines gender issues and dual career couples, the "Sex-Role" Role Play (Inderlied, 1979), and Ramsey's (1984) exercise on dispelling myths. Combining factual information and exercises with the use of interesting television programs emphasizes the realities and importance of these issues.

2. Present gender differences in discussions of research findings. When presenting the results of research, it is important to acknowledge that theories were often developed based on studies primarily of men and may not be generalizable to women. For example, Kohlberg (1969) suggested a six-stage universal theory of moral development that was based on a study only of men. In contrast, Gilligan (1982), by studying both men and women, identified two different, gender-based systems of moral reasoning (Calas & Smircich, 1989). Similar comparisons can be made when discussing such topics as McClelland's (1985) need for achievement and Levinson's (1978) stages of life/career development.

3. Provide role models. For those faculty who present management and OB in an historical context, a discussion of the lives and contributions of such women as Lillian Gilbreth, Mary Parker Follett, Rosabeth Moss Kanter, and Nancy Badore (a top executive at Ford Motor Company) can provide role models of successful women in a business context. Furthermore, a review of recent management books written by women, such as Kanter's (1977) Men and Women of the Corporation and When Giants Learn to Dance (1989), Cunningham's (1984) Powerplay: What Really Happened at Bendix, Mainiero's (1989) Office Romance: Love, Power, and Sex in the Workplace, Hagberg's (1984) Real Power: The Stages of Personal Power in Organizations, Harrigan's (1977) Games Mother Never Taught You: Corporate Gamesmanship for Women, and profiles of women managers in such publications as Working Women and Executive Female, can also be used.

In addition, instructors should use management and OB cases with women as the protagonists. The use of cases in which women are faced with problems of leadership, motivation, and other common management and OB topics should be used not just to illustrate gender but to balance the number of times that students discuss men and women in managerial positions. Varying the use of men and women in cases, just as we vary the use of the pronouns he and she, helps students to implicitly learn, over time that both men and women occupy management roles.[2] Additionally, the importance of cases, photos, and examples of men and women in a variety of managerial and decision-making roles should be used as a criteria in selecting a course text or readings. Such issues should be discussed with the representatives of publishing companies so

that they realize faculty are looking for materials that equally and fairly represent men and women workers.

4. Use special projects. There are numerous projects that could be used to integrate gender differences into the management and OB curriculum. For instance, students could complete case studies of women in management positions, women and their mentors, or dual-career couples. In addition to case studies, students could conduct minisurveys. For example, students ask friends or co-workers to complete a questionnaire on topics including attitudes toward working for a male/female boss or perceived desirability of male/female dynamics. Students could then present their findings to the class for discussion (Sekaran, 1984).

5. Deal with sexism directly. The issue of sexism can be directly examined by the administration of Klein's (1979) opinion questionnaire. The questionnaire asks for agreement/disagreement with statements such as "I believe women with children should not work outside the home," and "I would rather not work for a woman" (p. 45). Similarly, Kirkham's (1989) diagnostic guide provides suggestions for class discussion on defining sexist behavior and what constitutes tangible proof of gender issues. She outlines possible student emotional responses to such questions as "What really is . . . sexist?" and "What is the real problem and how big a problem is 'it'?" (p. 49).

Changes in Class Procedures and Processes
In spite of the numerous exercises on gender issues in management and OB courses, instructors still struggle with effective style. The series of articles (Lindsay & Enz, 1989; Roberts, 1989) on teaching women in management stimulated by Bartolome's (1989) discussion of the conflicts he experiences as a male professor teaching women students about the experiences of women, suggests that changing course content is not enough. Although many instructors may recognize the need for discussing topics related to gender differences in their management and OB courses, they still do not know how to apply this knowledge to the management of their own classroom processes.

Instructors sometimes inadvertently treat male and female students differently. For example, instructors may focus eye contact on men, allow interruptions of women's comments, rephrase women's comments, give greater public praise to men, and ask women "lower-order" factual question while reserving the "higher-order" critical thinking questions for men (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Hall & Sandler, 1982). Because the way a course is taught conveys a message about who is valued in the classroom, instructors must insure that both verbal and nonverbal behaviors encourage equal participation opportunities for all class members. In addition, instructors serve as role models for students. If instructors reinforce stereotypical perceptions of women as less competent, the negative views of some male students will be reinforced. Male students may, in turn, be less likely to recognize the contributions of their female colleagues, to work with them collegially, or to offer support (Hall & Sandler, 1984). Ultimately, women may drop out of unwelcoming business courses, switch majors, or lower career aspirations (Hall & Sandler, 1982). Therefore, instructors need to be conscious of exhibiting behaviors that encourage all students to learn from and contribute to class discussions. Instructors can exhibit behaviors that demonstrate equal regard for male and female students in several ways, as described next.

1. Establish ground rules. On the first day of class it is important to establish ground rules for discussion. Setting up ground rules can convey the message that the views of women are respected by the instructor and that "put-downs" are not appropriate classroom behavior. Cannon (1989) suggests a number of ground rules concerning classroom conduct that can facilitate discussion. These ground rules consist of such factors as the students' agreement not to interrupt each other, to combat myths and stereotypes about women and minorities, to encourage communication and cooperation in the classroom, and to establish time limits for each student's input to discussions so that wider participation and greater diversity of perspectives are encouraged. Similarly, Spelman, Crary, and Weathersby (1986) suggest such ground rules as "students and instructors will be open to learning about themselves and others . . . nobody will try to convince anybody else of anything . . . nobody will 'beat up' on anybody else" (p. 93). To generate commitment, the class should discuss the ground rules and if necessary modify them to address specific student concerns. Once the ground rules have been clarified, each student should agree to abide by them for the term (Cannon, 1989).

Cannon (1990) suggests combining the ground rules with other exercises to increase their validity and to illustrate that the course will be different from other courses students may have had in the past. For example, when students introduce themselves, they can detail what skills and knowledge they have that will be useful in the course. These introduction should be timed so that every class member is given an equal number of minutes. The timing of the introductions reinforces the ground rule that class time will be equitably shared and not dominated by certain individuals.

Why establish ground rules? Research indicates that women in educational settings tend to be less assertive in class discussions than are men (Sternglanz & Lyberger-Ficek, 1977). According to work completed by Belenky and associates (1986), many women are reared to believe that "women should be seen and not heard." Findings from their in-depth interviews of 135 women suggest that women worry that the development of their own abilities and powers will be at the expense of others. Therefore, the role of women is to support the achievement of others. Moreover, because cultural norms and family interactions often reinforced the idea of women as unassertive subordinates, women tend to believe that knowledge originates outside themselves. Therefore, if knowledge comes from others, especially those in authority (e.g., instructors), one should be a listener rather than a speaker. As a result of beliefs about the place of women in society and how knowledge is acquired, women speak less often in mixed gender groups. When women do speak, they often use a hesitant and question-posing style. Their ideas may be discounted because their concern for interpersonal issues is often devalued by men and women alike (Belenky et al., 1986). By establishing ground rules that reinforce acquiring knowledge by integrating information from one's "inner voice" as well as information from others, instructors can help women develop greater self-confidence and knowledge.

In addition, the use of the ground rules can help reduce student anxiety associated with dealing with controversial issues. Because it is assumed from the first day of the course that class members are trying to do their best and that everyone has learned misinformation about women, students feel more comfortable in expressing opinions. Additionally, because the ground rules permit instructors to be up-front about what behaviors will and will not be tolerated in the class,

students are less likely to make sexist remarks or become belligerent. The ground rules force students to think critically about their beliefs and what they are saying. Integrating the importance of the ground rules into topic discussions throughout the course also helps to remind students of the commitment they made to uphold these rules (L. Cannon, personal communication, September 9, 1990). Thus students are less likely to make sexist remarks or dominate the discussion.

2. Encourage students to participate. The first day of class can set the tone for the term. The instructor can facilitate an open atmosphere by encouraging every student to talk. One strategy of increasing participation in the opening class is to ask students to present themselves and to talk about some unique aspect about themselves. This approach enhances students' awareness of their strengths and helps the students get to know each other. Women students may not be as aware of their strengths as are men. Research has shown that men are more likely to attribute their successes to ability, whereas women attribute theirs to luck or effort (Nieva & Gutek, 1980). Additionally, these attributions may be reinforced by instructors that tell high-achieving males that they are competent and high-achieving females that the work was easy (Sandler, 1986). Such attributions do little to enhance women's expectations for future success. Increasing women's awareness of their strengths can augment feelings of self-confidence about future educational and career success.

Moreover, because women tend to be more alert to the supportiveness of environments than are men, it is important to create a classroom climate that encourages women to participate. For instance, instructors tend to wait longer for men than for women to answer a question before moving to another student, coach men but not women by asking for additional elaboration or explanations to questions, call directly on male students but not on women students even when women volunteer, and respond more fully to men's than to women's comments (Hall & Sandler, 1982; Sandler, 1986). Ignoring women while recognizing men can lead women to feel invisible (Sandler, 1986). Because cultural and societal norms reinforce women as listeners rather than speakers (e.g., Belenky et al., 1986), the instructor may wish to speak individually with more reticent female students to encourage their contributions. In especially large classes, it may be helpful to come to the classroom 15 to 20 minutes early and circulate among the students, interacting with them on a one-to-one basis (Weingart & Serey, 1984). Furthermore, it is important to call all students by their names to demonstrate the instructor's recognition of each student as an individual. Instructors tend to call male students by name more often than female students and usually know the names of proportionately more male than female students (Sandler, 1986). Hammer and Johnson (1979) provide some suggestions for facilitating the process of learning students' names, including the use of index cards. Each student provides that instructor with a 3 x 5 in. index card that displays the student's picture on one side and student information (e.g., name, major, career goals, favorite book) on the reverse side. These cards can be used like "flash cards" helping the instructor to master a large number of names relatively quickly.

3. Reinforce class participation. In mixed sex groups, men talk more than women, interrupt women more frequently than women interrupt men, and exert more control over the topic of conversation (Hall & Sandler, 1984; Sandler, 1986; Zimmerman & West, 1975). Instructors should use positive nonverbal behaviors and verbal reinforcements to encourage all students to

participate in discussions. The Project on the Status and Education of Women studied the atmosphere in classrooms and identified many instructor behaviors that treated women differently from men in ways that "may lead women to lose confidence, lower their academic goals, and limit their career choices" (Hall & Sandler, 1984, p. 2). There are a number of instructor behaviors that can discourage female students, such as maintaining more eye contact with men, frequently interrupting women, making sexist jokes, and adopting a posture of attentiveness when talking with men (e.g., leaning forward), but the opposite when talking with women. The message conveyed by this differential treatment is that women students' input is not valued as highly as men's. Women may respond by becoming more reluctant to participate in the future. Additionally, such common behaviors as using the generic he pronoun when presenting examples can exclude women. Research indicates that use of the masculine pronoun leads people to think that the information provided refers to men rather than to men and women. Additionally, use of male pronouns may encourage restrictions in perceptions of job titles and workplaces (Hall & Sandler, 1984; Sandler, 1986). Sexist language, such as calling women students "girls," should be avoided (Association of American Colleges, 1986). Such references imply that the women in the class are not on a par with their male colleagues. To help break down stereotypical perceptions of appropriate male and female behavior, instructors should use examples of men and women in a variety of situations and roles and should avoid the use of stereotypes as examples (e.g., women as secretaries, men as managers).

4. Be prepared for sexist comments. Throughout the term, instructors must tactfully handle situations when misinformation is presented or sexist comments are made. Sexism is a controversial issue, often generating heated reactions of anger from some women and defensiveness, aggression, and hostility from some men. Bowen, Seltzer, and Wilson (1987) assert that the emotional arousal resulting from discussion can enhance learning and thus should be encouraged rather than stifled. They recommend that the first step for the instructor is to help the student articulate his or her feelings. Other students should be encouraged to express their (similar or opposing) feelings about the issue in turn. The rest of the students should be encouraged to listen to the speaker's viewpoint without feeling any obligation to subscribe to that perspective. After all viewpoints are expressed, the class can then turn its attention to analyzing the perspectives expressed. This process should help validate the perspectives of both men and women.

Similarly, in her discussion of strategies for coping with sexist comments, Cannon (1989, 1990) advocates a strategy of validating the speaker but contradicting the statement. In this approach, the instructor begins by expressing appreciation that the student expressed an opinion. Next, to separate the person from the comment, the instructor discusses the comment's sexist component, reviews the historical context for development of the stereotype, and details the implications of the comments for the group it is demeaning. If participation has been encouraged, students will often question the sexist remarks of others and provide examples from their own experiences that help to dispel misconceptions.

But what if a student becomes angry or belligerent? Cannon (personal communication, September 9, 1990) offers multiple suggestions. First, begin by validating the speaker but contradicting the comment. Provide evidence that the sexist comment is not accurate and why the belief is harmful to women. If this strategy does not work, acknowledge the student's emotion

by asking: "Why are you so angry?" Often, this approach disarms students, and they explain the reasons behind their comments. If the student is still angry, recognize that the student may want attention and be dominating the class to get it. The instructor should acknowledge that enough time and energy has been given to the student and that the class needs to move on. If the student's anger was extreme, the instructor may speak with him or her privately and suggest that the student be quiet and listen to the class discussion for the next 2 weeks.

Conclusion

Changing course content and teaching style is seldom easy and often risky. Therefore, is attending to gender issues in both the content and process of management and OB courses worth the time and effort? We answer a resounding "Yes!" for several reasons. First, integrating gender differences into management and OB courses is necessary because many students are not aware of gender issues. For example, one of the authors informally polled her undergraduate introduction to management course, asking if the students believed that sex discrimination occurs in the workplace. Almost 90% of the class believed that discrimination rarely occurs, and none of these juniors and seniors had personally experienced discrimination. The results from the MBA class were somewhat different; women in the class believed that discrimination frequently occurs, and 50% had themselves experienced such discrimination. However, most of the male MBA students thought that only older men (which they defined as over 45) still discriminated against women. The men questioned or dismissed the women students' accounts of workplace discrimination. Additionally, most students were surprised to hear that a 16-year study reported in the Los Angeles Times found that two thirds of 16,000 women workers surveyed reported experiencing sex discrimination (Morrison & Von Glinow, cited in Betters-Reed & Moore, 1989). Some students may be under the false impression that the Civil Rights Act, Affirmative Action, and other legal protection have eliminated the problem of sex discrimination in the workplace. Thus we may not be adequately preparing students for the realities of the workplace when issues such as gender differences, sex stereotypes, and discrimination are not discussed.

Second, a greater emphasis on women and gender differences in management and OB courses may help future leaders manage the diverse work force they will be directing. The changing demographics of the labor force have already begun to cause management to evaluate policies on such issues as dual-career couples, office romance, child care, and elder care. As future leaders and employees, students need to be aware of such issues and be prepared to deal with these concerns. The result could include higher productivity, increased workplace equity, and avoidance of legal problems such as sexual harassment suits.

Universities that simply changed the plumbing and physical design of their buildings to become coed institutions were certain to have problems unless their cultures were also changed to recognize its new organizational members. Similarly, instructors will find that it is not enough to simply modify the course content by adding an exercise or two on gender issues.

Adding such "token" recognition of the gender issue without also changing the ways in which class is managed may perpetuate the belief that women's experiences and feelings of discrimination and exclusion are not valid. The purpose of attending to classroom processes and procedures as well as to content is to increase students' awareness of the influence of gender in business. This knowledge and understanding can empower students to deal with misinformation

about men and women. We have suggested just a few of the strategies for integrating women and gender differences into management and OB courses—there are numerous other possibilities.

Notes

1. Some programs, such as *Nightline* and *20/20,* provide transcripts and videocassettes.
2. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion about the use of men and women in case examples.

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