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Who's Looking? Examining the Role of Gender and Rank in Faculty Outside Offers

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Outside offers, defined as comparable offers of employment at another organization, are means by which faculty determine their relative market worth and increase their salary at their home institution. Despite the career advantages associated with outside offers, little is known about the groups of faculty most likely to receive them. For example, given unexplained pay differences between men and women faculty at research universities, it is important to understand whether there are gender differences in who receives outside offers. This study used survey data from ($n = 784$) faculty respondents at a large, public university and exploratory logistic regression to examine the relationship between receiving outside offers and gender, partner status and having dependents, rank, and time in rank. Key findings suggested that rank was associated with outside offers, with those in higher ranks more likely to receive outside offers. Men were more likely to receive outside offers than women. We draw implications from this exploratory study for future research and for constructing retention policies that do not unintentionally disadvantage certain subsets of faculty.

There has been much research on faculty pay and how it differs by discipline, institutional type, gender, and time in rank. Scholars have examined issues of pay and gender equity as they relate to initial offers (Toumanoff, 2005), promotion and tenure (Perna, 2001a, 2001b) and reward for research, teaching, and service roles (Fairweather, 2005; Toutkoushian & Conley, 2005). Each of these factors contextualize, in part, the unexplained differences in pay between women and men faculty. However, few studies have considered the common practice of individuals going after and receiving outside offers and retention offers to raise their salary at their home institution. Outside offers are defined here as comparable offers of employment at another organization. In response to an outside offer, many institutions will provide a retention offer, which is an offer

with higher salary and/or benefits for the faculty member to stay employed at their institution (Matier, 1990; O'Meara, 2014).

The practice of obtaining an outside offer and an institution providing a competitive retention offer is part of a larger reward system at an institution (Fairweather, 1996; O'Meara, 2011). Despite the best of intentions, reward systems are not always fair. Research has shown that women and men faculty have different access to resources that matter to their career advancement in reward systems. In addition to unexplained pay differences with women making less than male faculty (Porter, Toutkoushian, & Moore, 2008), studies show women and men faculty experiencing different access to professional networks (Fox, 2010; Fox & Mohapatra, 2007), time for research versus teaching and service (Carrigan, Quinn, & Riskin, 2011; Winslow, 2010), and mentoring (Glazer-Raymo, 1999). Research has also documented differences between women and men, and White faculty and Faculty of Color in terms of retention and advancement to upper career ranks (Perna, 2001b). Studies have shown unconscious bias present in hiring practices in universities, with women less likely to be hired (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012). In addition, faculty on the tenure track experience different amounts of actual or perceived mobility based on their gender and whether they have partners and dependents (Lester & Sallee, 2009).

Despite the robust body of literature on academic reward systems, very little research has been done on outside offers (see Matier, 1990; O'Meara, 2014). To our knowledge, no research has explored whether there are equity issues in who receives outside offers in research universities. The purpose of this exploratory study was to understand if receiving an outside offer was associated with gender, being married and having dependents, rank, and time in rank in one research university.

GUIDING LITERATURE AND PERSPECTIVES

This article is influenced by literature on faculty careers and academic reward systems, and on the experiences of women and academic parents within research university reward systems. We begin by reviewing literature on outside offers and the career advantages that can accrue to those who obtain them. We then consider three factors that research suggests may influence who receives outside offers: gender, partner and dependent status, rank and time in rank. We end with consideration of how these factors may intersect to influence receipt of outside offers.

Being Wanted: The Benefits of Outside Offers

Outside offers are negotiated as part of relationships and contracts that individual employees have with their organizations (Ballinger, Craig, Cross, & Gray, 2011; Brandes, Dharwadkar, & Wheatley, 2004; Kahn, 1998; Maertz & Griffeth, 2004; Mitchell, Holtom, Lee, Sablinski, & Erez, 2001; O'Meara, 2014). Organizational studies have considered the issue of outside offers from multiple perspectives, including as an issue of power between employer and employee (Gardner, Stansbury, & Hart, 2010), as predicted by mobility, human capital, and organizational commitment (Gardner, 2002), and as something an employee may seek when calculative forces suggest their future at the institution will not meet their goals (Maertz & Griffeth, 2004). Calculative forces encourage individuals and institutions to make sure they are each getting

the best “deal” for their work or pay; thus employees seek external offers to get higher salaries and organizations require them to raise pay. In the latter case, the institution obtains concrete information, in the way of a peer review, that the faculty member they are trying to keep is “worth” the amount they are paying. Institutional policies shape the process by which faculty on a given campus negotiate through outside offers. For example, some institutions require faculty to obtain an outside offer before they provide a retention increase, while others provide retention increases without firm offers in hand (O’Meara, 2014). The presence of one such policy or another likely influences the prevalence of outside offers and the likelihood that outside offers result in salary increases.

Outside offers operate within institutional reward systems to offer faculty at least two career advantages. First, outside offers provide faculty the opportunity to obtain a better salary or better position. Annual pay surveys, such as one conducted by AAUP, suggest that the only real way to get a significant pay raise, especially once tenured, is to move (June, 2014). This is because, as career advice columns observe, there are very few ways to obtain a higher salary within a single institution. Faculty can negotiate a high salary at entry, advance to higher rank (which only happens twice in tenure-track careers), receive COLA raises, receive merit pay, take on additional work (e.g. extra teaching role in summer sessions), or advance into administration (Kreuter, 2012). The only other way to obtain a higher salary, which to date has been understudied, especially from an equity lens, is to receive outside offers and accept a corresponding retention offer. Alternatively, outside offers provide faculty a way to consider and obtain another faculty appointment that might be better than the one they currently hold in terms of pay, status, geographic region, and research and teaching fit. Thus outside offers may provide faculty an opportunity to obtain more desirable career conditions, regardless of whether they leave or stay.

Second, receiving an outside offer provides faculty feedback on the quality of their work and relative status that is lacking outside tenure and promotion (Baldwin, DeZure, Shaw, & Moretto, 2008; Eckes & Toutkoushian, 2006). Few research universities have “step systems” that reward faculty financially or otherwise for time in service. There are institutional awards for teaching and research and disciplinary awards in fields, yet they are few in number. Merit pay exists in some universities but is often distributed across the board, is very small, and decided in ways that faculty contest. Thus outside offers have become a critical way faculty receive feedback regarding their professional worth (Barbezat, 2004; West, 1995).

Gender

There are many reasons to explore the relationship between outside offers and gender. First, many studies have shown female faculty members earn less than male faculty members with comparable levels of measurable characteristics, such as experience, education, and research productivity (Barbezat, 1991; Bellas, 1993, 1994; Ransom & Megdal, 1993; Toutkoushian, Bellas, & Moore, 2007; Toutkoushian & Conley, 2005). Porter et al. (2008) found a 9% gap between men and women recently hired as faculty members at research universities (p. 483), with women making less in starting salary. Additionally, Porter et al. (2008) found that gender pay gaps worsen the longer faculty are on campus, with women making less over time than men. Accordingly, women faculty in research universities tend to be more dissatisfied than men with their salary (e.g. Rosser, 2004; Trower, 2012). Therefore, it might be assumed that women would be among the group of faculty most likely to obtain outside offers to increase their salary. Yet

research on gender and negotiation reveals women tend to dislike the conflict brought on by back and forth negotiations, negotiations typical of the outside offer/retention offer process (Babcock & Laschever, 2007). This dislike for negotiation may cause more women faculty to not pursue outside offers or negotiate with their campus once they have one.

A second way gender may be associated with outside offers relates to the disproportionate amount of time women faculty spend in family and household care compared with their male faculty peers (Gunter & Stambach, 2003; Misra, Lundquist, & Templer, 2012; Schiebinger & Gilmartin, 2010). Women may be less likely to pursue outside offers (that require moving) because they are more rooted in local communities and focused on family commitments. A third way gender may relate to outside offers relates to workload and research productivity. Women have been found to spend a greater percentage of their workweek on teaching and a smaller percentage on research than men (Misra, Lundquist, Holmes, & Agiomavritis, 2011; Winslow, 2010). The Association for Women in Science conducted a study of scholarly awards and found women received fewer scholarly awards than would be expected based on their proportion in the field and were over-represented relative to the available pool as winners of service and teaching awards (<http://www.awis.org/general/custom.asp?page=FactSheets#>). Likewise, studies have shown male faculty have higher research productivity (Creamer, 1998), which is likely to bring external visibility and professional networks that lead to outside offers (Fairweather, 2005; Toutkoushian, 1999). Thus, women may be less likely to receive outside offers because of their comparatively lower research productivity or related accolades. Finally, there is the issue of implicit bias against women, which could intervene in the process of applying, interviewing, and obtaining an outside offer, as it did in the case of university employers who favored a male candidate over a female candidate with the same qualifications and wanted to offer him a higher salary (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012).

Partner and Dependent Status

Research shows that organizational environments such as research universities embrace an ideal worker norm wherein the most valued faculty members are unencumbered by family needs and are able to move to where there is the best pay and benefits for their careers and talents (Acker, 2006; Misra et al., 2012; Sturm, 2006; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Winslow, 2010). It has been well documented that men are more often framed within work environments as having the characteristics of ideal workers (Colbeck & Drago, 2005; Lester & Sallee, 2009; Mason & Goulden, 2004). Thus, administrators engaged in retention offer decisions may assume men are more likely to be able to pick up and leave for outside offers. However, there is an interesting irony and intersection between gender and partner/dependent status. Toutkoushian et al. (2007) found being female was negatively associated with salary and being married/partnered was positively associated with salary. Yet a higher proportion of women faculty are unmarried than men (e.g. among tenured faculty, 70% of men are married with children versus 44% of women) (Mason, 2013). It may be that single men and single women without children are equally considered ideal workers because both can presumably move for better academic positions without having to negotiate the moves of partners and children. However, married men with children may have an advantage in obtaining outside offers and retention raises because administrators may be biased to assume a man's family will follow him to the next job and a woman's family will not.

Rank and Time in Rank

Finally, we sought to examine how rank may influence receipt of an outside offer. Faculty of higher rank naturally have more chances to accrue the publications, awards, and research grants that attract external offers than faculty of lower rank. Conversely, there may be more opportunities for faculty to obtain outside offers in early and mid-career because more universities have searches for assistant and associate professors than full professors. Time in rank may influence outside offers because faculty who are newly tenured may look more attractive to hiring committees than faculty who have been in associate rank more than the median number of years for the discipline.

Intersections Between Factors

As noted, there are many possible intersections of factors that could impact the likelihood of a faculty member pursuing and receiving an outside offer. For example, if faculty in higher ranks are more likely to receive outside offers and men are more likely than women to be of higher rank (Perma, 2001b), there may be an intersection of gender and rank such that men are more likely to receive outside offers. Likewise, if having dependents makes a faculty member less likely to pursue and receive an outside offer and more men than women have dependents (Mason, 2013), it is possible more men with dependents do not receive outside offers. We sought to explore such possible intersections in our exploratory analysis of outside offers.

METHOD

We decided to explore the issue of outside offers in a single research institution for several reasons. Prior research has shown the greatest mobility among tenured/tenure track faculty occurs within doctoral and research universities (Zhou & Volkwein, 2004). Thus, we chose to study the issue of outside offers and retention raises in an institutional type where they are more prevalent. Also, by studying one research university, we were able to examine the relationships between outside offers and our three key factors independent of institutional effects likely to differ between institutions (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995; Creamer, 1998). For example, the marketability of faculty between different types of institutions will likely affect outside offers. Although there is variability in prestige between disciplines in a single institution, there is likely to be greater variance between institutional types and geographic locations. Also, institutional policies governing salary increases influence outside offers. We chose not to study the effect of institutional policies on outside offers in this study. We have provided the institution we studied a pseudonym: Land Grant University (LGU).

Land Grant University (LGU)

LGU is in many respects a typical public research university. It is highly selective in terms of admissions, serves approximately 40,000 students (roughly 70% undergraduate), and engages in extensive research activity, with over \$500 million in research expenditures annually. It is located close to a metropolitan area, which has a high cost of living but provides significant

job opportunities for faculty partners. In the five years before this study, LGU lost on average about 2.6% of their faculty annually to resignation, not including retirement. Among those who resigned, women were significantly more likely to resign than male faculty. One potentially atypical feature of this institutional context is that at the time of this study, the institution had not had any cost of living or merit raises in four years and there had been years when employees were furloughed as a result of the recession of 2008. Also, LGU is located in a region with a significant number of colleges and universities. Thus, faculty could consider local outside offers that did not require them to relocate. This could be interpreted as adding to faculty bargaining power in negotiations.

LGU had a policy in place for the first three years after the 2008 recession that affected faculty retention efforts and outside offers. The Outside Offer Policy was put in place across an entire state system of universities, of which LGU was part, when there was a salary freeze due to issues resulting from the recession. The policy stated that salary increases (or retention offers) were only allowable with a formal written offer from another institution. Later the policy relaxed system-wide, so that a faculty member could be provided a preemptive retention raise without a written outside offer. Department chairs and deans again gained some flexibility in negotiating retention raises, in some cases before faculty had visited another campus. This created a context during the time period of this study in which faculty who wanted raises outside of advancement were almost compelled to pursue outside offers.

Sample

In order to understand the relationship between outside offers and gender, partner and dependent status, rank and time in rank in one research university, we conducted cross-sectional survey methodology (Groves et al., 2004). The first author designed and implemented a work environment survey at LGU in the spring of 2013. The instrument went through rigorous validation processes, including expert reviews and a pilot test. The survey was administered to all full-time tenure-track and tenured faculty. The provost sent the questionnaire link via e-mail and respondents provided consent and completed the questionnaire. There were 784 tenure-track respondents, approximately 47% of full-time LGU tenure-track faculty.

Among those respondents, 41% were women, almost 82% were married, and 67% had children or dependents. With regard to rank, nearly 25% of respondents were assistant professors, 31% were associate professors, and 44% were full professors. Comparing the final analytic sample to the sampled population, women faculty and assistant professors were over-represented while full-professors were underrepresented. Table 1 describes this study's final analytic sample. With the exception of the overrepresentation of women faculty, the other over- or underrepresentation was fairly minimal (2–3% difference from population). Women faculty, however, were overrepresented by 10% in the sample. To address this, sample weights for gender were used in analyses.

Variables

This study focused on the following independent variables to examine faculty outside offers: gender, faculty rank, marital status, and parental status. All respondents were asked if they had received an outside offer while at their current institution, which is this study's primary dependent variable. Gender, and faculty rank were the main independent variables of interest

TABLE 1.
Sample population demographic characteristics

<i>Demographic Variable</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Gender	
Female	41.0
Male	59.0
Appointment Rank	
Assistant Professor	25.0
Associate Professor	31.0
Full Professor	44.0
Marital Status	
Single/Divorced/Separated/Widowed	18.5
Married/Life Partner	81.5
Has children or dependents	67.0

in this study, and we also used marital and parental status variables as potential confounds to control for in regression analysis. We created a dummy variable using men as a referent group. Regarding faculty rank, we created two dummy variables for assistant and associate professors, both using full professors as the referent group. To control for marital and parental status, we collapsed response options into dummy variables for single (not married, separated, divorced, or widowed) and no children using not single (married, life partner) and has children as referent groups, respectively.

Analysis

After data cleaning and recoding from the survey instrument, we utilized cross-tabulation and Chi-squared tests to examine differences in proportions of our independent variables with respect to obtaining an outside offer. While Chi-squared tests offer insight into overall effects of a particular independent variable on the dependent variable, these tests lack the ability to control for potential confounding factors. Therefore, we utilized regression analysis to test for a predictive effect of a particular variable of interest on obtaining an outside offer, net of the effect of potential confounding variables. Given the dependent variable's binary response options (faculty either had or had not received an outside offer), we used logistic regression to estimate the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Logistic regression also allows for the comparison of odds using the odds ratio for a particular variable of interest. For example, using the odds ratio in analyses with a variable dummy coded for gender will allow us to compare the likelihood of women receiving an outside offer to that of men.

First, logistic regression was conducted on the overall sample and then for subsamples within faculty rank. After regression analyses, we verified that model assumptions were met through visual examination of plots of residuals. Additionally, given the nontrivial amount of missing data in the regression analyses (29.3% missing), we examined patterns of missing data. While much of the missing data was due to nonresponses to parental status (16.3% missing) and outside offer (11.4% missing), we did not find evidence for patterns within the missing data or for biases between missing and nonmissing samples on the dependent variable. Nevertheless, results should be interpreted with caution given the amount of missing data within the sample.

Lastly, as a follow-up to the planned analyses, we conducted ancillary analysis to examine a potential mediating relationship between two independent variables and the likelihood of obtaining an outside offer.

Limitations

There are several important limitations to this exploratory study of outside offers. First, the sample in the current study is limited to faculty members who received outside offers and stayed at their home institution. This is an important limitation because it is possible that there are gender, partner and dependent status, and rank differences among the faculty who received outside offers and stayed and those who received outside offers and left, which we cannot capture. Future research should survey faculty who left their institution for outside offers and compare them to those who stay after outside offers to examine these differences. Such research may find, for example, that women are more likely to leave once they receive an outside offer and men to stay. Although this is an important limitation, we argue that understanding gender, rank, partner and dependent status among those faculty who receive outside offers and stay at an institution is just as, if not more, important. Those who receive outside offers and stay at their institution have career advantages on campus (e.g. ability to negotiate for better pay and resources) that those who do not receive outside offers do not have. Therefore it is important to know who has had these career advantages and who has not among the standing faculty.

A second limitation is that we asked participants whether they had received outside offers while at LGU. The longer the faculty member had been at their institution and the higher the rank, the more likely it was they had received outside offers. However, future research might ask faculty about outside offers within the last three years only and about the nature of decisions made in specific cases of outside offers and retention offers. Finally, this study used a broad definition of outside offer to include all comparable offers of employment at another institution. Future research might differentiate between outside offers from institutions with lower or greater prestige and for more or less pay to understand how these factors influence the decisions made by institutions regarding retention offers.

FINDINGS

Overall Recipients of Outside Offers by Gender and Rank

Among faculty respondents at LGU, 39% ($n = 306$) of participants had received an outside offer. Table 2 describes results of outside offer by gender and rank. As shown in Table 2, 48% of men received an outside offer, whereas 37% of women received an outside offer. With regard to rank, 60% of full professors, 43% of associate professors, and 17% of assistant professors received an outside offer.

Examining the significance of these differences, men were more likely than women to have received an outside offer, $\chi^2(1, n = 698) = 7.27, p < 0.01$. Furthermore, full professors were most likely to have received an outside offer, followed by associate professors, and then assistant professors, $\chi^2(2, n = 698) = 81.30, p < 0.001$. Table 3 presents descriptive statistics of outside offer by gender, and rank, as well as Chi-squared results examining differences among recipients of outside offers.

TABLE 2.
Outside offer by gender and rank

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Men</i> (<i>n</i> = 412)	<i>Women</i> (<i>n</i> = 286)	
Received outside offer	48.1%	37.8%	
Did not receive outside offer	51.9%	62.2%	
Chi-squared Value	7.269**		

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Professor</i> (<i>n</i> = 307)	<i>Assoc. Prof</i> (<i>n</i> = 220)	<i>Assist. Prof</i> (<i>n</i> = 171)
Received outside offer	59.6%	42.7%	17.0%
Did not receive outside offer	40.4%	57.3%	83.0%
Chi-squared Value	81.304***		

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Regression for Multiple Predictors of Receiving an Outside Offer

Presented in Table 3, the results from the logistic regression model ($n = 595$) predicting outside offers indicate that faculty rank substantially influences the likelihood of receiving an outside offer. Overall the model was significant with a pseudo $R^2 = 0.164$ ($X^2 = 78.010$, $p < 0.001$). Of the predictors, the dummy variables for associate and assistant professors significantly predicted likelihood of receiving an outside offer, yielding Wald statistics of 12.772 ($p < 0.001$) and 49.438 ($p < 0.001$), respectively. The odds ratio results were 0.499 and 0.145 for associate and assistant professors, respectively. This suggests that, compared to other faculty, associate professors and assistant professors were 51.1% and 85.5% less likely to have received an outside offer, respectively, after controlling for gender, marital, and parental statuses.

TABLE 3.
Logistic regression analysis of outside offers

<i>Variable</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>Wald Statistic</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Odds Ratio</i>
Women Faculty	-0.083	0.201	0.172	0.679	0.920
Associate Professor	-0.695	0.195	12.772	< 0.001	0.499
Assistant Professor	-1.932	0.275	49.438	< 0.001	0.145
Single Faculty	-0.672	0.363	3.433	0.064	0.511
Faculty with no children	0.079	0.225	0.123	0.725	1.082
Constant	0.380	0.136	7.810	0.005	1.462
Model Chi-square	78.010	$p < 0.001$			
Pseudo R square	0.164				
<i>n</i>	595				

Note. The dependent variable in this analysis is outside offers coded so that 0 = has not received an outside offer and 1 = has received and outside offer.

Predictors of Receiving an Outside Offer within Faculty Rank

Building on the finding of rank influencing the likelihood of receiving an outside offer, we conducted logistic regression analyses to examine gender, marital, and parental status as predictors of outside offers within the three levels of faculty rank. Overall, none of the regression models demonstrated significant fit in explaining outside offers. Furthermore, the models for full professors and associate professors did not yield any significant individual predictors of outside offers.

Mediation of Faculty Rank between Gender and Receiving an Outside Offer

To summarize, we first found overall effects of gender and rank from the Chi-square analysis, which suggested that men and full professors were most likely to have received an outside offer. Additionally, logistic regression results suggest that faculty rank is the main predictor of outside offers when controlling for other variables. In light of these findings, we decided to investigate a mediator relationship between gender and rank on outside offers.

Using guidelines for examining mediating effects from Baron and Kenny (1986), we sought to establish three conditions to evidence faculty rank as mediating the relationship between gender and receiving an outside offer, as shown in Figure 1. The first condition was satisfied because there was a significant direct relationship between gender and faculty rank ($\beta = 0.169$, $p < 0.001$); women were less likely to hold higher faculty rank. The second condition was satisfied, as there was a significant direct relationship between gender and receiving an outside offer ($\beta = -0.096$, $p = 0.011$); women were less likely to have received an outside offer. Finally, the third condition was satisfied, as faculty rank ($\beta = -0.326$, $p < 0.001$) was a significant predictor of receiving an outside offer when controlling for gender ($\beta = -0.041$, $p = 0.254$); faculty members in higher ranks are more likely to have received an outside offer, controlling for gender. Therefore, the percent of the relationship between gender and outside offers mediated by faculty rank can be computed from the ratio of the indirect ($-0.096 - -0.041 = -0.055$) and direct (-0.096) effects of gender on outside offers. Given that all three conditions of Baron and Kenny's definition of mediation have been met, these findings suggest that faculty rank, which mediates 57.29% of the relationship between gender and outside offers, is a substantial mediator.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

We found academic rank to be the most predictive indicator of faculty outside offers when controlling for gender and marital/parental status. Similar to other research universities where the presence of women diminishes with higher rank, men within our study held 77% of the full professorships, 66% of the associate professors, and 57% of assistant professorships. When tested independently, full professors were found most likely to receive outside offers and thus be eligible under LGU's outside offer policy to receive retention raises, followed by associate professors and assistant professors. As mentioned earlier, these findings were predictable from the perspective that time in rank creates the opportunity for outside offers as well as enhanced social capital. We also found men were more likely to have received outside offers than women faculty. However, rank was found to be a substantial mediator between gender and outside offers.

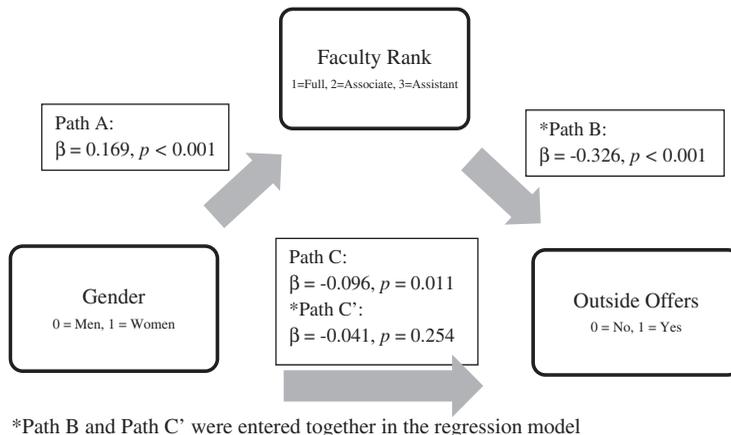


FIGURE 1. Mediation analysis of faculty rank between gender and outside offers.

*Path B and Path C' were entered together in the regression model

Note. Baron and Kenny (1986) stipulate three conditions must be present for mediating relationship. Paths A, B, and C were significant, and therefore the three conditions were met. Percent mediated by faculty rank can be calculated as indirect effect/direct effect where indirect effect is equal to subtracting the standardized coefficients of Path C' from Path C, and where direct effect is equal to the standardized coefficient of Path C.

Although the lack of gender and marital/parental differences when controlling for rank is good news from an equity perspective, it is essential to consider the barriers faced by marginalized groups in achieving tenure and promotion to full professor at research intensive universities and the strong relationship between rank and gender (Bensimon & Marshall, 2003; Perna, 2001a). Longitudinal studies of occupational segregation have shown that changes in the representation of women in universities are moving at a glacial speed because of faculty age, attrition of women faculty, and the lack of availability of new positions (Marschke, Laursen, Nielsen, & Rankin, 2007). Assuming institutions implement specific interventions in hiring, retention, and advancement to increase the representation of women, Hargens and Long (2002) predict it would take 35 years, Alpert (1989) 90 years, and Marschke et al. (2007) 57 years (in their equality scenario hiring equal numbers of women and men) for women to achieve equal representation to PhD earners in research extensive universities. These scenarios assume equity-minded interventions and do not even guarantee equal representation at all ranks. Even the most optimistic scenarios predict parity of women and men in senior roles somewhere between 35 and 90 years from now.

Therefore, what do our findings suggest for women in research universities now, who exist in gendered organizations where men will always be more likely to hold higher rank and therefore have greater access to the benefits of outside offers? Faculty view salaries as a form of recognition for their work and are concerned when their salary does not seem fair or signals a worth below what they feel they contribute (Barbezat, 2002; Fairweather, 2005; Morrison, Rudd, Picciano, & Nerad, 2011). Outside offers can be one way women experience a lack of recognition. For example, a woman associate professor who is not satisfied with her salary and feels her scholarship goes unrecognized

may be more likely to leave the organization. As a result, there are fewer women on the faculty at the associate rank, while there remain more men who are full professors.

Feminist scholars have identified a number of organizing practices and mechanisms that add to a culture where women are deterred from advancement or leave. Examples of such organizing practices are gender-based performance evaluations, gender-biased student evaluations, and include, as studied here, retention offers and salary counter-offers that reward faculty for mobility (Handelsman et al., 2005; Mason & Goulden, 2002; Valian, 1999). Privilege maintenance perspectives hold that such organizing practices not only discourage advancement for women faculty but also enhance privilege for male workers (Reskin, 2000). We believe the findings from this study explain, in part, an important missing element in gender studies of pay among professors. Both Bellas, Ritchey, and Parmer (2001) and Perna (2001a) found unexpected and unexplained differences between men and women's pay even after controlling for rank, discipline, experience, productivity, and institutional characteristics. Perna (2001a) observed that, despite attempts over the last few decades to hire faculty at more equitable salaries, "unexplained sex differences creep into the process in the years following hiring and promotion" (p. 302). The tendency for more outside offers to go to men because they are higher rank helps explain, along with other established practices such as merit pay and promotion criteria, some unexplained pay differences. If rank continues to be the main predictor of outside offers, and outside offers are the only way to get higher salaries within institutions, a system of gender inequality in pay is perpetuated (Allan, 2011; Archer, 2003; Bensimon & Marshall, 2003).

This phenomenon is exacerbated by the division of labor within research universities that tends to favor research, external grant work, international prestige, and visibility for one's research (Terosky, Phifer, & Neumann, 2008). Such "cosmopolitan activities" are also the kinds of activities that are visible when one seeks and receives an outside offer, rather than "local" contributions of teaching, mentoring, program development, and department or university service (Rhoades, Kiyama, McCormick, & Quiroz, 2008). Many studies have shown gendered differences in workloads between women and men associate professors at research universities that are further related to women's slower progress toward advancement (Misra et al., 2011; MLA, 2009; Terosky, O'Meara, & Campbell, 2014; Terosky et al., 2008).

It is also interesting to compare these results with studies of the workplace outside academe. Carter and Silva (2011) found women overall were 10% less likely than men to change jobs for a raise in salary or promotion but 10% more likely than men to change jobs because of a bad manager. Also, the same study found changing jobs accelerated compensation growth for men, but slowed it for women. Although higher education is a distinct market, this study of professional women raises the question of whether a study that included those who received outside offers and left the institution would show gender differences in what outside offers mean for retention.

With regard to future research, we argue that campuses consider allowing faculty to "opt in" to longitudinal studies of faculty career experiences at major research universities. Ideally, 10 or more institutions with like characteristics such as those in the Big 10, Association of American Universities (AAU) institutions, The Council of Independent Colleges (CIC) institutions, or American Association of State Colleges & Universities (AASCU) institutions could join together in such efforts. Researchers could then aggregate data on faculty outside offers, retention raises, and other elements of reward systems, and create evidence for the presence or lack of equity in number and kinds of outside offers and retention raises faculty receive. If such studies were voluntary, initiated at the point of hire, confidential, and reported only in aggregate, we could understand the different processes and outcomes related to outside offers in ways that

do not put individual privacy or institutions at risk and provide a richer data set to draw meaning for the creation of equitable reward systems.

In terms of implications for practice, we are cautious, as this is one study in an area that has not been fully explored. We recognize that in any free market, there will be incentives for faculty to seek higher pay. Likewise there are strategic advantages for institutions to require proof of employee marketability in order to raise salaries. However, when we situate the process of obtaining outside offers and retention raises in the extensive social science literature on gendered organizations, and experiences of cumulative disadvantage in faculty careers, there is reason to believe this process can perpetuate existing inequality regimes (Acker, 1990, 2006; Clark & Corcoran, 1986). Indiscriminate preemptive retention raises would be fiscally taxing and not serve institutional goals of rewarding faculty work that meets institutional goals. However, we do believe a transparent process could be put in place to provide deliberate preemptive retention raises. Such a process would have transparent and measurable metrics and criteria, not require outside offers, and consider all of the contributions faculty make (not only research) as members of an institutional faculty. These efforts would not replace salary compression and equity adjustments. However, these efforts could operate in such a way to reward how faculty contribute to their home institution, rather than what faculty would be worth if they left—which is better for morale and the retention of women faculty. Evaluators determining retention raises should be subject to implicit bias training as has been suggested for hiring and promotion and tenure committee members (O’Meara, 2014). This shared governance approach, informed by awareness of implicit bias, would ensure that women faculty could get raises earlier in their careers, without requiring them to wait until they are more advanced in rank. Such an approach might also decrease the departure risk when faculty pursue outside offers. In addition, transparent and measurable metrics would enhance faculty’s sense of procedural justice, which has been found important in faculty satisfaction and intent to leave (Daly & Dee, 2006; Lind, 1988; Lind & Tyler, 1988).

CONCLUSION

The practice of obtaining outside offers and retention raises as part of a larger academic reward system can benefit faculty who are looking to increase their pay and status outside of tenure, promotion, and meritorious performance salary increases. However, similar to other aspects of academic reward systems, the process of receiving an outside offer and subsequent pay raise is embedded within organizations and fields that do not provide a level playing field for subgroups of faculty such as women. Acker (1990, 2006) observes that structures and cultures that maintain inequality are often invisible and at face value appear fair. This study was the first we are aware of that explicitly studies faculty rank, gender, and marital/parental status and receipt of outside offers. Our study showed that although the predictive effect of gender disappeared when controlling for other factors including faculty rank, men were more likely to hold higher ranks and faculty with higher rank were more likely to have received an outside offer. This suggests that receipt of outside offers is associated with privilege in the academy, and thus policies governing outside offers should continue to be examined for equity.

Inequality in any aspect of academic reward systems, whether it be time to advancement, tenure outcomes, merit pay, or evaluation of scholarship constrains what Sturm (2006) has referred to as the “full participation” of all faculty in their institution. Full participation includes equal opportunity to participate in the work of the university, realize one’s capabilities, and have voice in

decision-making processes. We advocate institutional examination of the issue of outside offers and retention raises from an equity perspective to create better architecture for equitable recruitment, retention, and advancement of all faculty.

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