

# Glass Ceiling Or Saran Wrap™? Women In Gaming Management

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## Abstract

This study explores women's representation in gaming management in the 24 highest gross revenue gaming establishments in America. While almost 54% of foodservice and lodging employees are women, and approximately 44% of the managers in foodservice and lodging are women, one area of hospitality seems to be lagging—gaming. Our data indicated that women held 123 of 496 positions or 24.8% of casino management positions. Almost 68% of these female managers were in non-gaming positions. Our findings appear to support social closure theory since 11 of the 40 women in gaming management positions were in the cage department, and 4 of the 5 managers in Keno departments were women.

Keywords: gaming, management, women, social closure, dual economy, periphery industries

## Introduction

Despite comprising approximately 49% of the labor force, women are still underrepresented today in high levels of business management. This phenomenon is true in spite of women's increased levels of human capital, as measured by educational attainment and labor market experience (Reskin, McBrier, and Kmec, 1999; Anker, 1998). According to dual economy theory, the hospitality industry, as a secondary or peripheral industry, should contain a significant number of women because research has shown that the majority of the workers in these industries are women (Tiggs, 1987). Consequently, one would expect to find a higher representation of women in management. This seems to be occurring. Almost 54% of foodservice and lodging employees are women, and approximately 44% of the managers in foodservice and lodging are women (Current Population Survey, 2001).

However, one area of hospitality that seems to be lagging is gaming. The casino or gaming segment of the hospitality industry has long been considered a male-dominated industry. As such, some think there is a "glass ceiling" in the industry. Jane Silker, President of the Louisiana casino consulting firm, JSS Solutions asks and answers "Is there a glass ceiling (for women employees)? Absolutely" (Ferguson, 2001, p. 3C). Sara Beth Brown referred to the glass ceiling in the gaming industry as "one actually made of Saran Wrap™" (Ferguson, 2001, p. 3C). Furthermore, Weber (1998) reports that women executives in the casino industry mentioned the old boys' network as one of the key constraints to their career progression.

Not only does the gaming or casino segment of the hospitality industry appear to have a lower representation of women in management, but there is also an absence of research in this area. While conducting a literature search to serve as the foundation for this research, only two articles on women in gaming were uncovered (Ferguson, 2001;

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Weber, 1998). Thus, one of the purposes of this paper is to provide some preliminary findings that will shed light on the importance of exploring women's representation in gaming management in prominent casinos in the United States.

## Theoretical Framework

As mentioned above, while the literature on the representation of women in management is comprehensive, there has been little research on women managers in gaming. Therefore this research draws on the organizational literature to frame the discussion.

### Human Capital

Human capital theorists posit that differences in education, training, experience, tenure, and age explain wage and occupational inequality in the United States. As such, people determine the amount of time they want to invest in developing their human capital (Browne, 1999). This time investment translates to promotions into upper level positions in the business hierarchy with increased wages. Neoclassical economists argue that women *choose* jobs that will have less depreciation of human capital, thereby minimizing losses due to intermittent employment (England, Farkas, Kilbourne, & Dow, 1988). These jobs (secretaries and bank tellers, for example) compensate women through lower skill demands, pleasant working conditions, and higher starting salaries (England, et al., 1988).

In fact, research indicates that human capital does not reduce inequality in the U.S. Specifically, education and experience do not seem to pay off for women (England, et al., 1988; Edin and Harris, 1999; Cintron-Velez, 1999). England, et al. (1988) found that starting wages were *lower* in traditional female occupations. Further, traditional female occupations received a lower return on experience than male occupations. Even when the researchers controlled for human capital, the starting wages in female occupations were still lower (England, et al., 1988). Moreover, controlling for human capital, skill demands, and work conditions, people in traditional female occupations earned less. Organizations did not compensate women as predicted by human capital theory (England, et al., 1988). More importantly, some research has discovered that human capital characteristics account for almost none of the labor process disadvantage women experience (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993). When controlling for human capital, women were found in more routine and less complex jobs with less supervisory authority (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993).

**Traditional female occupations received a lower return on experience than male occupations.**

### Social Closure

Social closure is another explanation for organizational inequality. Social closure theorists argue that those in power (in gaming, typically white males) secure their powerful positions from those not considered part of their in-group. This process results in closed relationships between in-group and out-group members.

Relationships tend to be closed when organizational members believe they can improve their situation through monopolistic measures (Weber, 1978). The primary motives for closed relationships are an interest in maintaining the prestige or honor of the group, and a growing scarcity of opportunities and resources (Weber, 1978). In the labor market, exclusionary practices ensure that the best jobs and most highly sought after opportunities are reserved for the most powerful status groups (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993). Advantaged groups actively attempt to preserve their advantage because subordinate groups are constantly attempting to usurp the dominant group's power (Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993; Parkin, 1994). In an effort to appease subordinate groups and

to not appear monopolistic, dominant groups do not attempt to control *all* jobs. Instead, they aim to reserve only the best jobs for themselves and those like them.

**Gender is one of the most readily available characteristics upon which to exclude others.**

Typically, organizational members will take an externally identifiable characteristic of the competitors for their position and use this as a basis to exclude those outside their group. Gender is one of the most readily available characteristics upon which to exclude others. Sex categorization, “the process by which actors classify one another as male or female on the basis of physical sex criteria”, is an automatic part of a person’s perception (Ridgeway, 1997, p. 219). Sex categorization serves as a basis for differentiation, which as Weber (1978) and Bourdieu (1984) indicate, leads to exclusion. Exclusion becomes problematic when it is based on ascribed characteristics and results in disparate outcomes such as the gender wage gap or the underrepresentation of women in positions of power and authority in the workplace.

Boundary drawing is another form of social closure. By erecting barriers and drawing boundaries, superordinate groups also create status differentials. Since the barriers prevent outsiders from gaining pertinent resources, they are ascribed a lower status (Weber, 1978). This status differential is evident in the workplace.

Boundary drawing and the resulting status differential are even more pronounced when the categories are dichotomous, as between men and women. In this instance the dominant group uses dichotomous boundaries to marginalize other groups and prevent their access to valuable resources (Tilly, 1999). Men, the dominant group in professional occupations, use inclusionary closure to exclude women from the most prestigious jobs, but permit women to enter related jobs that have lower status, prestige, and salaries

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(Witz, 1992). Epstein (1981) found that women attorneys were clustered into domestic relations, child custody, voluntary legal defense, and government work. These legal areas offer far less prestige, status, and therefore, smaller wages than corporate legal work and prosecution, which are dominated by men. Perhaps this is why women professionals make less money than their male counterparts, because they are excluded from practicing in the more lucrative specialties (Cohn, 1985).

Male managers practice gender exclusion to protect their own positions from becoming “women’s jobs”, thereby reducing the power, prestige, status, and pay of their occupation (Bradley, 1989). Despite men’s attempts to exclude women from key jobs, women still attempt to gain entry. As women in gaming break into more male-dominated occupations, such as casino operations, table games, and slot operations, men will impose more barriers to entry. In Tomaskovic-Devey’s (1993) work, as the desirability of the job increased, women were more likely to be excluded. In every sector of the economy, women have been relegated to the lowest rungs of occupational hierarchies and women are severely underrepresented in the top-tiered jobs (Bradley, 1989).

**Dual Economy**

The dual economy approach suggests that labor market segmentation or the separation of workers into non-competing occupational groups, explains the significant differences in wages between these groups (Tiggs, 1987). Averitt (1968), arguably the father of the dual economy tradition, described the U. S. economy as consisting of two different types of businesses. According to Averitt (1968), core firms have high productivity, high profits, and intensive utilization of capital. Workers in the core sector have relatively higher wages, above average working conditions, and fringe benefits (Tolbert, Horan, and Beck, 1980). Core sector firms, also called center or primary, are those in oligopolistic markets with large-scale economies, and long-range planning

capabilities (Kaufman, 1986). A center firm's assets allow them to "spend and lose more money, as well as maintain better geographic and product diversification" (Tiggs, 1987, p. 34). Core firms can better weather economic downturns, have better access to credit, and access to the mass media (Tiggs, 1987). Primary firms provide "job ladders, on the job training, and a differential wage structure" (Tolbert, et al., 1980, p. 1096).

Periphery firms are found mostly in the service sector, and possess attributes opposite of core sector firms (Kaufman, 1986). Firms in the periphery absorb risk (Tiggs, 1987). Firms on the economic periphery are smaller, labor intensive, have low profits and productivity, intense product competition, and lower wages (Tolbert, et al., 1980, p. 1096). The secondary sector is "characterized by low skill jobs and employment instability" (Tolbert, et al, 1980, p. 1096).

According to Tolbert, et. al. (1980), the hotel and motel industry, and the entertainment and recreation industry are classified as members of the periphery economic sector. This is significant because workers in peripheral industries received lower rates of return for education and age (Tiggs, 1987). In fact, the expansion of the service economy created more dead-end, low paying jobs, which resulted in greater earnings inequality (Tiggs, 1987). Many of the opportunities in the service economy are part-time, nonunion, sex segregated and low wage.

### **An integrated theoretical approach**

Using the above frameworks, this paper seeks to lay the foundation for exploring the representation of women in gaming. Employing human capital theory, if women are underrepresented in the gaming segment of the hospitality industry, one would expect to find a significant difference in education, job and organizational tenure, and age. From a social closure perspective, we would expect to find women in management positions in gaming establishments, but perhaps not in the *right* positions (those possessing significant fiduciary responsibility and decision-making authority). Finally, given that gaming establishments are part of the secondary economic sector, there should be a greater proportion of women in general in gaming, which should also imply a greater proportion of women in gaming and casino management.

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### **Data**

In order to explore women's representation in gaming management, we identified twenty-four casinos in the United States. This sample included dockside and land-based casinos, but not traditional riverboat cruise casinos or Native American gaming establishments. Native American casinos were excluded because they are not governed by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination against any employee because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Particularly, 42 U.S.C. §2000e(b) indicates that "the statute specifically excludes an Indian tribe from the definition of an employer". As a result, Foxwoods Resort Casino and Mohegan Sun Resort are not included in this dataset.

Identifying these casinos was a difficult task because there is no single list of prominent casinos in the U. S., nor any statistics that rank order U. S. gaming establishments. Also, many U. S. casinos are components of large conglomerates. For example, MGM Mirage, Inc. operates MGM Grand, The Mirage, and eight other properties. The selection process was particularly challenging when assessing casinos in Nevada, where gaming conglomerates are not required to report gross gaming revenue for each individual property. As a result, Park Place Entertainment properties in Nevada are not included in this sample because we were unable to obtain individual property gaming revenues.

To further complicate the process of selecting a sample, there are also discrepancies in the reporting of casino square footage, number of hotel rooms, number of employees, number of slot machines, and number of table games. Finally, there is no uniformity in the reporting of such information as some is self-reported, some is reported by government institutions, and still other data are gathered by researchers and/or periodicals. In order to systematically identify our sample, we selected the top 24 U. S. casinos in terms of 2001 gross gaming revenue. This information is compiled in Table 1.

**Table 1**  
**Top 24 casinos in the U.S. by gaming revenue in thousands (000)**

<b>Region</b>	<b>Casino Name</b>	<b>2001 Revenue (in \$1000's)</b>
<b>Atlantic City, New Jersey</b>	Trump Taj Mahal Casino Resort	535,313
	Bally's - Atlantic City	520,798
	Tropicana Casino and Resort	418,305
	Trump Plaza Hotel and Casino	332,975
	Trump Marina Hotel Casino	272,288
	Showboat Hotel and Casino	354,373
	Sands Hotel and Casino	236,832
	Resorts Casino Hotel	243,750
	Harrah's Atlantic City	413,067
	Caesars Atlantic City	489,520
	Atlantic City Hilton Casino Resort	326,705
<b>Las Vegas, Nevada</b>	Bellagio	355,100
	Mandalay Bay Resort and Casino	198,900
	MGM Grand Hotel Casino	284,800
	The Mirage	382,100
	Venetian Resort Hotel and Casino	228,900
	MGM Grand Detroit Casino	355,100
	Motor City Casino	309,000
<b>Other Regions</b>	Harrah's New Orleans Casino	249,857
	Horseshoe Casino and Hotel	246,867
	Isle of Capri Casino	202,833
	Harrah's Joliet Casino Hotel	300,874
	Hollywood Casino Aurora	232,227
	Ameristar Casino and Hotel	210,500

Source: Gaming Business Directory, (2001).

### **Methodology**

Once we identified the sample, we sought datasets that would provide us with control variables and the opportunity to conduct advanced statistical analyses. Unfortunately, there are no datasets that include gaming revenue and management positions by property, in addition to the traditional human capital control variables of age, sex, education, and job or organizational tenure. Another approach is to conduct a case study exploring women's representation in gaming management in a particular gaming organization. It is hard to gain access to this type of information in gaming establishments, however, due to the potentially damaging findings. Discussions with another researcher uncovered the possibility of using a directory of gaming establishments that could permit at least some measurement of women's representation. Following this perspective, we used the 2001 *Gaming Business Directory* (GBD), which lists each casino's management team by title, name, and position, to determine not only

the percentage of women in key positions in these casinos, but also the positions women held. The positions listed in the GBD include the titles of President/Chief Operating Officer, Vice President, General Manager, Director, Manager, and Supervisor. We counted the number of positions in each casino, and tracked the number of women on the casino's management team, as well as which positions women held. The findings are discussed below.

### Results

The sex composition of the management positions is listed in Table 2. There were a total of 496 positions in the 24 casinos in the sample, and women comprised 123 or 24.8% of the casinos' management teams. More specifically, women held 32% of the gaming management positions. Almost 68% of the women were in non-gaming management positions. The largest representation of women managers in a casino was 42.1%. Only four of the 24 casino properties in the study had a woman in general management. One Atlantic City casino had two women (President, and General Manager); another Atlantic City casino had one

**Only four of the 24 casino properties in the study had a woman in general management.**

**Table 2**  
Sex composition of management positions by gaming establishment

Casino Name	Total Management Position	Total Women in all Management Positions	Total Gaming Management Positions	Women in Gaming
Trump Taj Mahal	18	3	5	0
Bally's - A.C.	24	4	7	1
Tropicana	25	10	6	0
Trump Plaza	13	1	4	1
Trump Marina	15	1	3	1
Showboat	12	5	3	1
Sands	15	4	3	0
Resorts Casino	17	7	3	1
Harrah's - A.C.	19	8	7	5
Caesars- A.C.	14	1	3	0
A.C. Hilton Casino	16	5	2	1
Bellagio	33	10	8	2
Mandalay Bay	26	8	8	3
MGM Grand	28	6	10	5
The Mirage	42	11	7	3
Venetian	42	5	9	2
MGM Grand - Detroit	14	5	4	2
Motor City Casino	19	5	7	3
Harrah's - New Orleans Casino	21	6	6	3
Horseshoe	18	5	4	1
Isle of Capri Casino	17	3	4	1
Harrah's - Joliet	16	4	2	2
Hollywood Casino - Aurora	16	2	6	1
Ameristar	16	4	4	1
<b>TOTAL POSITIONS</b>	<b>496</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>40</b>

Source: Gaming Business Directory, (2001).

woman (President/COO); a Las Vegas casino had one woman (Vice President); and a casino in Michigan had one woman (General Manager). The management positions that women held are compiled in Table 3.

**Table 3**  
**Most frequently held management positions by women<sup>1</sup>**

POSITION	NUMBER OF WOMEN
VP Human Resources	11
VP Marketing	9
Cage/Credit Manager	6
Human Resources Director	6
Special Events Director	6
Director of Cage Operations	5
Director of Conventions & Sales	5
Special Events Manager	5
VP Casino Operations	4
Director of Security/Surveillance	4

Source: Gaming Business Directory, (2001).

The most frequently held position by a woman manager is Vice President of Human Resources, followed by Vice President of Marketing. In terms of gaming management however, women were most frequently found in the Cage or Credit Manager position or the Director of Cage Operations position. This data is gathered in Table 4.

**Table 4**  
**Most frequently held gaming management positions by women**

POSITION	NUMBER OF WOMEN
Cage/Credit Manager	6
Director of Cage Operations	5
VP Casino Operations	4
Director of Slot Operations	3
Poker Room Manager	3
Director of Table Games	3
Keno Manager	3

Source: Gaming Business Directory, (2001).

Departmental sex composition is depicted in Table 5. We found that women constituted 80% of the Keno department, 60% of the human resources department, 52.6% of the conventions department, and 47.8% of the cage department.

<sup>1</sup> The 38 other management positions held by women each had a frequency of less than 4.

**Table 5**  
Percentage of women managers by department

All Hotel/Casino Departments	Total Managers By Department	Female Managers By Department	% Female Managers By Department
General Manager	52	5	9.62
Casino Operations	30	8	26.67
Cage	23	11	47.83
Slots	39	8	20.51
Table Games	14	5	35.71
Keno	5	4	80.00
Poker	8	3	37.50
Race & Sports Book	6	1	16.67
Security	45	7	15.56
Marketing	47	15	31.91
Human Resources	30	18	60.00
Purchasing	19	3	15.79
Finance	36	3	8.33
MIS	23	3	13.04
Hotel	24	4	16.67
Food & Beverage	27	2	7.41
Facilities	23	2	8.70
Conventions	19	10	52.63
Events/Entertainment	26	11	42.31
<b>TOTAL MANAGERS</b>	<b>496</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>24.80</b>

Source: Gaming Business Directory, (2001).  
Some regional differences were also identified, and these are shown in Table 6.

**Table 6**  
Sex composition of management positions by region

Region	Total Management Positions	Total Women in Management Positions	Percentage of Women in Management
Atlantic City, NJ	188	49	26.06%
Las Vegas, NV	171	40	23.39%
Other Regions	137	34	24.82%
<b>TOTAL POSITIONS</b>	<b>496</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>24.80%</b>

Source: Gaming Business Directory, (2001).

Approximately 38% of all the management positions in the study were located in Atlantic City. Of these positions, women accounted for 26%. Over 34% of the management positions we studied were located in Las Vegas, and 23.4% of these positions were held by women. Casinos outside of Atlantic City and Las Vegas accounted for 27.6% of all management positions and women were located in 24.8% of these positions.

There were also regional differences in terms of gaming management positions, and these are shown in Table 7. Although Las Vegas had a lower percentage of women in management, 35.7% of the women in gaming positions were located in Las Vegas. Almost 24% of the women in gaming management positions were in Atlantic City, and 37.8% were in casinos outside of Atlantic City and Las Vegas.



**Table 7**

**Sex composition of gaming management positions by region**

<b>Region</b>	<b>Total Gaming Management Positions</b>	<b>Total Women in Gaming Management</b>	<b>Percentage of Women in Gaming Management</b>
Atlantic City, NJ	46	11	23.91%
Las Vegas, NV	42	15	35.71%
Other Regions	37	14	37.84%
<b>TOTAL POSITIONS</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>32.00%</b>

Source: Gaming Business Directory, (2001).

**Discussion**

So what do these findings really mean? On the surface, these findings appear to support social closure theory. While almost 25% of the managers in these gaming establishments were women, the majority (67.5%) of these women were in non-gaming management positions. Over half (52.8%) of the women were in human resources, marketing, special events, conventions, or cage occupations. These positions are typically considered “women’s occupations” and hence where one would expect to find a large representation of women. Of the 40 women in gaming management positions, 11 were in the cage department. Moreover, four of the five managers in Keno departments were women. These findings are consistent with Weber (1998). She reported that 50% of the women in casino operations were in Keno. In her study, women were predominately found in the human resources, cage, and marketing departments (Weber, 1998).

Social closure theorists argue that women are not excluded from all positions, only those that are essential to the business. Additionally, as women enter male-dominated arenas such as the gaming industry, they are often given opportunities in typical women’s jobs, or related fields with less status, prestige, and lower salaries. These exploratory findings indicate that this practice may indeed be occurring in the gaming industry. Cage operations consist of “maintain[ing] the integrity and security of cash, tokens and chips on deposit” (Eade and Eade, 1997, p. 255), and “ensuring the security of money or valuables left on deposit with the cage via safe deposit boxes, the vault, etc.” (Eade and Eade, 1997, p. 255). These tasks, similar to those of bank tellers and clerks, have often been considered women’s work since women entered the workplace in the 1920s (Savage and Witz, 1992). Furthermore, Keno is similar to Bingo and is not considered a traditional gaming department like slots or table games.

Although the gaming industry is part of the secondary economic sector as defined by dual economy theory, it seems to be lagging behind the rest of the hospitality industry in some aspects of women’s representation in management. According to the January 2001 Current Population Survey (CPS), women comprise 53.7% of the eating and drinking, and lodging industries. Women also constitute 44.4% of the managers in these industries (Current Population Survey, 2001). Unfortunately, there are no CPS data on the gaming industry because it does not possess its own industry code, however, in this study, women fill only 24.8% of all management positions in gaming establishments, and hold 32% of the gaming management positions.

The dataset does not include information on age, tenure, education, and experience, thus we are unable to measure human capital’s impact. We can, however, draw inferences about the consequences of these findings. Women fill 18.8% of the upper management positions (those with the title of Vice President or higher, including General Manager, President, etc.) in these casinos. Most of these positions however, are traditional women’s jobs, which typically pay less than mainstream men’s jobs. For

example, of the ten most frequently held positions, only two (VP Casino Operations and Director of Security/Surveillance) were not traditional women's positions. This finding offers some support for the continued gender wage gap. The most frequently held positions by men were President (19), VP of Finance and VP of Marketing (16), VP Slot Operations and Director of Facilities (14). Table 3 depicts the average salaries for some of these positions.

**Table 3**  
**Position salaries for men and women**

POSITION	AVERAGE SALARY
President	\$1,072,238
VP Finance	\$174,070 <sup>2</sup>
VP Marketing	\$138,090
VP Human Resources	\$96,780

Source: Kefgen and Mahoney, (1996).

The difference between the average salary of the most frequently held men's positions and the most frequently held women's positions is \$38,645<sup>3</sup>. Hence women are in positions that earn significantly less money than men.

These findings suggest that there may indeed be a glass ceiling in the gaming segment of the hospitality industry. Recent research suggests that women still have a tougher time attaining the highest ranks within their professions (Dailey, 2002; Pattington, et al., 1999). While women are making great strides into management, "the glass ceiling has been raised from the entry and staff level, but still remains at the highest levels [in organizations]" (Heard, 2001, p. 56). One of the explanations for the continued existence of the glass ceiling is that women have traditionally had fewer opportunities for key assignments, and women tend to be in positions that have less visibility, risk, and breadth of responsibility than men (McDonald and Hite, 1998). The results of this preliminary investigation indicate that women in gaming may be encountering these types of situations.

### Future Research

While this project was clearly exploratory in nature, we believe it has revealed some key areas for future research. The findings indicate that the majority of women in management in casinos are in non-gaming departments. What are the processes that lead to this outcome? Are there any barriers to women entering gaming management positions? Which positions are important for progression to senior management or the executive office? Understanding the specific dimensions of the glass ceiling, and uncovering the career development experiences necessary to eliminate the effects of the glass ceiling would provide valuable insight to gaming corporations (Knutson and Schmidgall, 1999; McDonald and Hite, 1998).

From a human capital perspective we would encourage research that explores the impact of gender, age, job and firm tenure, experience, and education on what management positions women hold. Such research will require partnering with casinos

<sup>2</sup> This mean was reached by using the 2000 Gaming Wage Survey for Las Vegas. Since Atlantic City GMs earned 17.9% more than Las Vegas GMs (Kefgen and Mahoney, 1996), we maintained the same differential for the VP of Finance position and calculated the average salary.

<sup>3</sup> The average salary for VP Finance and VP Marketing = \$156,080, while the average salary for VP Human Resources and VP Marketing = \$117,435. The average salary for President was deleted due to the large disparity in salary.

or gaming industry associations to gain access to demographic information in addition to job and occupational information.

This research is important because the findings indicate that the gaming segment of the hospitality industry is lagging behind the other segments in terms of women's representation in management. Women in the lodging industry indicate that theirs is an industry where gender has less of an impact on an individual's success (Mann and Seacord, 2003).

Sara Beth Brown's comment about the glass ceiling in the gaming industry actually being made of Saran Wrap™ is telling (Ferguson, 2001). When we contacted her for further explanation, she responded that she was a visual person, and when she thought of someone getting through a glass ceiling, she envisioned the glass "shattering and opening up for everyone" (Brown, 2002). From her perspective, this has yet to happen in the gaming industry, but women have made substantial strides. In her mind's eye, when someone pushes through plastic wrap, it stretches, but does not necessarily open a gaping hole through which everyone can pass. Thus, she believes that while some women are rising to the top positions in casinos, not all women seem to be gaining access to these senior positions.

Richard J. Goeglein, Managing Partner of Evening Star Hospitality, LLC, concurred with another senior human resources executive in stating that the gaming industry has traditionally been male-dominated. According to Goeglein, "The Industry is making some progress in joining the rest of the business world but not very quickly" (Goeglein, 2003). The gaming industry's sluggish response to the workforce's changing demographics could potentially impact the industry's ability to attract top talent.

If gaming establishments want to hire the best managers, they will need to acknowledge that not all of the best candidates will be male, and explore why there are fewer women managers in their organizations. Otherwise, they may be ineffectively using their available human capital. Finally, this research could also offer further insight into the gender wage gap. If women managers in the gaming industry continue to hold traditionally female jobs with significantly less pay than their male colleagues, this finding could offer support for why there is a gender wage gap.

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