

Glass Ceilings & Leaky Pipelines: Gender Disparity in the Casino Industry

*Toni Repetti
Shekinah Hoffman*

Abstract

While women account for over half the hospitality workforce there is a gap in leadership positions. This study evaluates 10,950 management positions in 972 United States commercial and Native American casinos, as of December 2016. The results show women hold 35.5% of manager and above positions. Women lead in departments such as human resources, public relations, and sales and events, but lag in casino operations management. This demonstrates horizontal occupational segregation. The results also indicate women represent 46.7% of managers, but significantly less of executive leadership. Women held only 19.4% of owner, president, and chief positions. This suggests vertical occupational segregation or a potential glass ceiling. Gaps in vertical leadership occur across individual departments as well.

Keywords: Women, Gaming, Glass Ceiling, Vertical Segregation, Horizontal Segregation

Toni Repetti
Associate Professor
William F.
Harrah College
of Hospitality
Administration
University of
Nevada, Las Vegas
toni.repetti@unlv.edu

Shekinah Hoffman
Ph.D. Student
Department of
Sociology
University of
Nevada, Las Vegas
shekinah.hoffman@
unlv.edu

Introduction

Despite significant strides in and out of the workplace and the growing pool of qualified female talent as women advance in the pipeline of higher education, a gender gap in corporate leadership remains. Women are underrepresented in nearly every industry across the public and private sector. In 2016, women made up over half the population (51.7%), 46.8% of total employment, and represented 51.5% of all management and professional level occupations (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2017). The hospitality industry, and gaming specifically, was no different, with women representing over half (50.6%) of workers in leisure and hospitality and 46.8% of ‘other amusement, gambling, and recreation industries’ (BLS, 2017). Even though women make up half of the overall workforce, representation of women in management varies by occupation. In 2016, women represented 56.5% of advertising and promotions management and nearly three-quarters (74.2%) of human resource managers, yet no women were categorized as “gaming managers” (BLS, 2017). Looking further into human resources, women represented three-quarters (73%) of managers, yet only 55% of C-suite executives in 2014 (Candido, 2017). This indicates that proportionately less women advance to higher leadership positions compared to men in this field (Candido, 2017). Within S&P 500 companies in 2016, women held only 5.2% of CEO positions, 21.2% of board seats, 26.5% of executive positions, and were just 11.0% of top earners (Catalyst, 2017a). While there are no recent studies on gaming companies, the media indicates this trend exists in gaming as well. Prior to Wynn Resorts adding three new female board members in April 2018, the six largest gaming companies operating in Las Vegas collectively had only eight women out of 57 total board members. Only two companies had over the 21.2%, as averaged by S&P 500 companies (Prince, 2018).

The lack of females in leadership positions has been an issue for many women in the workplace for decades, but recently has become an even bigger concern and more public. In 2017, the #metoo movement became a “rallying cry” for women who had been sexually harassed or assaulted (Zacharek, Dockterman, & Edwards, 2017). While the #metoo movement has mainly focused on sexual harassment, it has been labeled by some as a “declaration for change,” (Warrell, 2018) bringing the women’s leadership gap and other gender issues in the workplace to the forefront. These issues are not new and the lack of balanced female representation has been stated as a reason more people have not spoken up about these issues in the past (Ell, 2018) but women and men across the world now feel empowered to stand up and speak out during this time of change, confident their voice is heard and their job is not on the line.

To address this lack of female executives, there are initiatives around the world aimed at closing the women’s leadership gap. For example, 2020 Women on Boards (www.2020wob.com) strives to have 20% female board representation by 2020 while the Thirty Percent Coalition (www.30percentcoalition.org) is committed to women holding 30% of all corporate board seats. Some countries, such as France, Germany, Norway, and Spain have implemented quotas requiring a certain percentage of women serve on boards (Richtermeyer, 2016). Some U.S. companies are proactively increasing their representation of women in management. Caesars Entertainment implemented a “50-50 by 2025” initiative, a commitment to 50-50 gender balance in executive leadership by 2025 (Sortal, 2018). While these initiatives of 20% and 30% are progress, are they enough? The United States does not currently have such national initiatives and only few U.S. companies have stepped up to support gender equality in leadership. In spite of women’s increased levels of educational attainment (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017), their increase in labor force participation, and the global advancement initiatives women are still underrepresented in senior-level executive positions in the U.S. and abroad.

Why is This Important?

The U.S. gaming industry has significantly grown in the last 10 years as the country pulls out of the Great Recession. This is not only in revenue generation, but also in number of employees and properties. According to the American Gaming Association (AGA, 2017), U.S. commercial casino gaming revenue grew to \$38.96 billion in 2016, 3.8% higher than the 2007 prerecession level. The number of commercial casinos, racinos, and tribal casinos increased from 868 to 1,015, an increase of 17% from 2006 to 2016 (AGA, 2017). According to the National Indian Gaming Commission (2017), tribal gaming generated \$31.2 billion, an increase of 19.5% since 2007.

Gambling has historically been a predominantly male pastime, but as legalized gaming expands, female participation in the leisure activity also continues to increase (LaPlante, Nelson, LaBrie, & Shaffer, 2006). The gap between male and female players is closing and in some age ranges, specifically 45-64, women now outnumber men (National Council on Problem Gambling [NCPG], n.d.). Although preferences in game play exist, specifically how much and what games, the desire to gamble is still there (LaPlante et al., 2006). In Las Vegas, the second largest gaming market in the world, women represented 50% of the total 42.9 million visitors in 2016 (Las Vegas Convention & Visitors Authority [LVCVA], 2016). This percentage has hovered between 49% and 51% for at least the last decade (LVCVA, 2016). Additionally, casino resorts no longer offer just gaming. Revenue generated from non-gaming amenities may exceed that of gaming, as seen on the Las Vegas Strip and in Nevada as a whole (Nevada Gaming Control Board, 2018). Although they may not gamble as much as men, women still make up half of Las Vegas visitors and are spending in other areas, as demonstrated by the growth in non-gaming revenue.

Despite a growing industry and a strong female customer base, this representation is not reflected in gaming leadership. Women represent the largest market opportunity in the world, driving 73% of all consumer purchases through a combination of their buying power and influence (Catalyst, 2015; Silverstein & Sayre, 2009). Female consumer purchasing power exceeds the GDP of India and China combined (Silverstein & Sayre, 2009). Senior female business decisions makers can be vital to gaming companies looking to understand - and sell to - the growing number of female casino patrons (Velotta, 2018). Kiradjian (2018) explains that since women make up a large portion of employment and consumerism, more women on boards makes travel companies better informed and equipped to give their customers top-quality service. Furthermore, on average, companies with a higher percentage of women on either their board of directors or in upper management perform better on financial indicators such as Tobin's Q, return on equity, return on sales, and return on invested capital (Catalyst, 2007; Dawson, Kersley, & Natella, 2014; Dezső & Ross, 2012; Krishnan & Park, 2005; Shrader, Blackburn, & Iles, 1997; Singal, 2014).

Highly effective managers are those who demonstrate emotional and social intelligence and on twelve key metrics of emotional and social intelligence, women consistently outperform men (Korn Ferry, 2016). These metrics include: coaching and mentoring, influence, inspirational leadership, conflict management, organizational awareness, adaptability, teamwork, and achievement orientation (Korn Ferry, 2016). Women leaders with high emotional and social intelligence enhance performance, boost employee morale, and recruit and retain talent to their companies (Korn Ferry, 2016).

When highly emotional and socially intelligent women fill higher positions, not only may gaming companies perform better, other women in the organization may benefit, as well (Acker, 2009). Research is beginning to show that when more women fill higher leadership roles, gender discrimination in the workplace and the gender wage gap may be reduced for women further down the organizational ranks (Acker, 2009). Thus, breaking the glass ceiling and occupational segregation in gaming contributes to broader gender equality goals in today's revitalized women's movement (Acker, 2009).

The three exploratory studies on women managers in casino resorts (Costen et al., 2003; Schaap, 2008, Schaap, Stedham, & Yamamura, 2008) are all 10 years or older, have relatively small sample sizes, and are not representative of today's expanded regional U.S. market. These previous studies were mainly concerned with large gaming markets such as Nevada or Atlantic City. Future gaming gender research is necessary to create awareness around important gender issues, improve gaming workplace cultures, and help gaming companies effectively reach their growing female market.

This Study

While the literature on women in business management is comprehensive, there is still little research on women in the casino industry. The casino industry shares similar attributes to those of the broader hospitality and tourism industries. All are service industries where employment is dependent largely on social skills, personality, and appearance (Schaap et al., 2008). These industries have a 24/7-business model that demands employees to work long, unsocial hours and requires frequent geographical moves—a particular challenge for working mothers trying to satisfy both work and family needs (Costa, Bakas, Breda, Durão, Carvalho, & Caçador, 2017; Mann & Seacord, 2003). Considerable research concludes that occupational gender segregation exists in the hospitality industry, however, women in gaming may face unique challenges of their own due to the industry's idiosyncratic demands (Schaap et al., 2008; Thomas, Thomas, Brown, & Kim, 2014). These demands include: a labor-intensive structure, high turnover rate, higher percentage of female employees, and below-average wages (Schaap et al., 2008; Thomas et al., 2014).

The purpose of this study is to address this identified research gap on women in casino resort management by introducing a discussion on vertical and horizontal occupational gender segregation in the industry. This paper will evaluate women working in casino properties and determine if there is a significant difference in the level of position held by women overall (vertical gender segregation or a 'glass ceiling'), percentage of women represented in each department (horizontal gender segregation), and the position titles held by women within these departments (leadership disparities in female-dominated versus male-dominated departments). By identifying gaps and strengths in departmental and overall company leadership, this exploratory research will help gaming companies understand the state of gender diversity in management within the casino resort industry.

Literature Review

Vertical Gender Segregation

Vertical occupational segregation, often referred to as the glass ceiling effect, refers to the intangible, invisible barriers that prevent qualified women from attaining senior-level leadership positions and reaching their full potential within an organization (Knutson & Schmidgall, 1999; Kogovesek & Kogovesek, 2015; Schaap, 2008). The U.S. Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) defines the glass ceiling as "the unseen, yet unbreachable barrier that keeps minorities and women from rising to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements." Freeman (as cited in Williams, 1992), Resi (2004), Acker (2009), and the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) identify three realms of external glass ceiling barriers. One, internal corporate structural barriers, promotion and recruitment methods, or organizational policies/procedures that may hinder advancement within. For example, hiring through social networks. Two, societal barriers where organizational barriers and discrimination reflect broader attitudes, stereotypes, prejudices, and bias. This could be workplace cultures dominated by male values, sexist attitudes of men in the highest positions, or stereotypical masculine images of successful leaders. Three, governmental barriers that block access of women to managerial and executive positions.

Research on the glass ceiling phenomenon has historically focused on these external barriers. However, self-imposed, internal barriers may exist, too. These barriers relate to work-life conflicts, family and household responsibilities, or gender-based factors (Boone, Veller, Nikolaeva, Keith, Kefgen, & Houran, 2013; Rani & Singla, 2015; Schaap, 2008; Wan, 2014; Weber, 1998). Struggling to juggle family and work obligations, a woman may choose a position with more flexibility, drop to part-time or remote work post-partum, or exit the work force completely during her career, thus interrupting her personal “accumulation of human capital” and advancement to senior-level positions (Boone et al., 2013). This is known as the “leaky pipeline,” in which women quit in greater numbers than men before they reach their full potential within an organization (Joecks, Pull, & Backes-Gellner, 2014). Gender-based factors relate to motivation, power, leadership, networking, work, personality, job knowledge, communication, and interpersonal skills (Boone et al., 2013; Rani & Singla, 2015; Schaap, 2008; Wan, 2014; Weber, 1998). A woman may experience a lack of self-confidence, aggression, outspokenness, or power when negotiating her value (or pay) in the workplace (Boone et al., 2013; Sandberg, 2013; Wan, 2014) or she may not believe she has the qualifications to apply for certain jobs or promotions (Mohr, 2014). In fact, internal research from Hewlett-Packard shows men will apply for a job when they meet 60% of the qualifications, but women will only apply if they meet 100% of them (Mohr, 2014). Sandberg (2013) notes women may internalize society’s negative messages and lower expectations of what they can achieve or aspire to in the workplace.

Costen, Hardigree, and Testagrossa (2003) suggested the existence of a glass ceiling and vertical gender segregation in gaming since women held only 24.8% of managerial positions in the twenty-four casinos sampled in their study. Schaap (2008) analyzed the glass ceiling effect in the Nevada casino industry where men significantly outnumbered women in senior-level leadership positions and titles. Of the 120 supervisors studied, 93.6% of the male and 77.8% of the female respondents held senior-level management positions (Schaap, 2008). Furthermore, 18.3% of the male and 11.1% of the female respondents were owner/CEOs and 28.0% of the male and 7.4% female of the respondents were general managers (Schaap, 2008). Upon evaluation by position, Schaap (2008) concluded that women accounted for 19.5% of senior-level positions, while men accounted for 80.5%. Weber (1998) looked at contributions to the glass ceiling effect and concluded that the old boys’ network, male bias and stereotyping, negative perceptions of female executives, an unhelpful boss, and insufficient career planning stood out as the internal and external career barriers for women in Las Vegas casino properties. Weber (1998) also found that career progression was “very much dependent on the women themselves,” rather than external organizational barriers.

Horizontal Gender Segregation

Despite the labor force approaching gender parity, men and women are still confined to single-sex occupations (Williams, 1992). This unequal distribution of women and men in the workplace is known as horizontal occupational gender segregation (Sparrowe & Iverson, 1999). Men and women are sorted or assigned to different types of work for a variety of legal, informal, cultural, or discriminatory reasons (Sparrowe & Iverson, 1999; Williams, 1992). The U.S. Department of Labor (2014) defines women-dominated occupations as “those in which women represent 75% or more of total employed.” These departments typically include human resources, marketing, and finance — usually positions of less status, prestige, lower salaries, and limited opportunities for advancement, despite the work being equally demanding (Costen et al., 2003; Kogovsek & Kogovsek, 2015; Weber, 1998). Women may be well-represented within a company, but are usually in lower to mid-level managerial roles in female-dominated departments (Baldwin & Ackerson, 2017). Baldwin & Ackerson (2017) note these departments are perceived to not necessarily contribute to the bottom line or require as much skill.

Acker (2009) refers to the gendered practice of assigning men to “line positions,” and women to “staff positions,” as one of the reasons women rarely reach the top. Male-dominated line positions manage the core processes of the company (ex. operations) (Acker, 2009). Top managers are usually recruited for C-suite and board-level positions from these ‘more skilled,’ ‘better performing’ departments (Acker, 2009). Women-dominated staff positions (ex. human resources) assist the core processes and line positions of the company (Acker, 1990) and employers often place a lower value on these occupations (Baldwin & Ackerson, 2017). Even if women are classified as managers and leaders within these departments, these occupations are generally not tracks to the board room and women’s careers may eventually stall (Acker, 2009). This phenomenon perpetuates the glass ceiling for women in a male-dominated workplace (Acker, 2009). Conversely, when men enter traditionally women-dominated occupations, evidence shows they are still at an advantage, despite their numerical rarity (Williams, 1992). Men in female-dominated occupations experience a “glass escalator” effect whereby they are pressured to “move *out* of these female-identified areas, and *up* to those regarded more legitimate and prestigious for men” (Williams, 1992). Often the men in Williams’ (1992) study felt they were being “kicked upstairs” into “better-paying, more prestigious” positions within their organizations (Williams, 1992).

The gaming industry is no exception to this broader business trend. Weber (1998) concluded the majority of positions held by women in gaming were in human resources, marketing, and finance, rather than gaming operations, a typically male-dominated sphere. Costen et al. (2003) evaluated 496 managers, of which 123 were female. They found that 67.5% of the women were in non-gaming and 32.5% in gaming management positions, evidence of a horizontal divide. Over half, 52.8%, were in the traditional women’s occupations of human resources, marketing, special events, conventions, or cage operations (Costen et al., 2003).

Methodology

Data was retrieved from Casino City’s *Gaming Directory* on December 22, 2016. Casino City collects and refreshes daily new information on gaming executives for over 5,000 properties worldwide. Executive information such as property information, department, position, and gender are available for 23,505 executives, 13,139 of which are in the U.S. This sample included: U.S. casinos and racinos, employees with a manager or above title, and companies with more than one employee listed. Casinos and racinos were included since both offer gaming and non-gaming amenities such as hotel and food and beverage. This dataset was comprised of commercial and Native American casinos, differing from Costen et al. (2003).

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination based on gender. However the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2018) states an “employer” in Title VII does not include an Indian tribe, their governments, or their enterprises (Allis, n.d.). Therefore, tribes who may own or operate a casino are not required to adhere to this law (Allis, n.d.). Although not required to abide by Title VII, tribal casinos may utilize the Tribal Employment Rights Ordinance (TERO). TERO enforces a business on a tribal reservation give employment preference “to qualified Indians in all aspects of employment” (Council for Tribal Employment Rights, 2018). TERO reiterates that tribes are “exempt from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and several other federal employment laws.” Therefore, both Indian and non-Indian women working at tribal properties are not protected against discriminatory hiring, promotion, recruitment or retention practices (Council for Tribal Employment Rights, 2018). In *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez*, “federal protection against gender discrimination to an Indian woman was denied,” further enforcing the vulnerability of women in the tribal casino workplace (Christofferson, 1991). Both commercial and tribal operations are included in this study, as it is concerned with the percentage of women in operations from an employment

perspective, not a legal perspective. Since this study is concerned with management positions, all supervisors and below were excluded (it is assumed supervisors and properties with one employee listed were only included in the directory for vendor contact purposes). The final dataset included 10,950 manager level and above employees from 972 U.S. properties.

Employees were assigned to department and position groupings based on their title and responsibilities, as stated in the directory. Four position groupings were created: Manager, Director, VP/General Manager, Owner/President/Chief. If an employee held more than one title, they were assigned to the highest level held. There were twenty departments in total, which includes two separate overall management departments: Owner/CEO and General Manager. If an employee had a title and responsibilities that crossed over departments, they were assigned to the department that had the highest title. If they held the same title in multiple departments, they were assigned to the first department listed in their title. There were roughly 100 employees with titles that crossed departments.

Results

In total, there were 972 U.S. casinos and racinos included with 10,950 employees at a manager position or above. The average number of executives reported per property was 11.3. Of the 972 casinos, 58.3% were commercial and 41.7% were Native American. Based on the casinos that reported property specific information, the average casino size was 55,769 square feet with an average of 909 slot machines, 31 table games, and 797 employees. Of the 10,950 managers reported, 35.5% were female. Table 1 is the descriptive statistics for the dataset.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.
Employees*	10,950	0	1	0.65	.48
Native American**	972	0	1	0.42	.49
Casino Square Footage	808	140	519,000	55,769.13	62,994.27
# of Slot Machines	869	3	7,471	909.41	868.47
# of Table Games	648	1	300	30.63	35.81
# of Employees	785	4	9,300	796.76	1,133.27

Note: *Employees: 0=Female, 1=Male; **Native American: 0=No, 1=Yes

Native American casinos had a higher overall percentage of women than the entire sample. This indicates that although Native American entities are not legally required to adhere to Title VII, they do diversify based on gender. In the dataset, females represented 37.8% of the management positions in Native American casinos and 33.6% in commercial casinos. This higher representation in tribal properties could be due to a variety of cultural or legal reasons, including the support of all qualified Indian candidates under TERO. Further investigation is necessary to understand these tribal employment complexities. In closing, these results support including commercial and tribal casinos together in this large exploratory study of employment practices.

Table 2 shows the number of reported management employees that held each of the four titles and the percentage of females at each. While females accounted for 35.5% of the dataset, they represented more managers, 46.7%, than any other title. Compared to the overall average of 35.5%, females represented a smaller percentage of positions in the three higher groupings. As the position level increased, the percentage of females decreased. Women only represented 19.4% of the highest category. This category

included the top executives, owner, president or a chief position such as chief executive officer (CEO) or chief financial officer (CFO). A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the percentage of females at each position level. The results showed there was a significant effect in explaining the variance, $F(3,10946) = 130.800, p < .0005$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that all comparisons were significantly different from one another at $p < .0005$, except Owner/President/Chief to VP/General Manager which was $p = .028$.

Table 2
Percentage of Females by Position

	Total employees	% Female	Std. Dev.
Owner/President/Chief	769	19.4%	.395
VP/General Manager	1,709	25.0%	.433
Director	4,833	33.3%	.471
Manager	3,639	46.7%	.499
Total	10,950	35.5%	.479

Table 3 shows the percentage of females reported in management positions in each of the 20 different department groupings, sorted by the lowest percentage of females to highest. The grouping with the lowest percentage of female managers at 4.5% was maintenance, which includes departments such as engineering and facilities. General management positions, which cover the overall property, were on the lower end of the spectrum; 16.0% of owner/CEO's and 20.5% of general managers were female. The casino grouping, which includes all gaming departments such as table games, slots, bingo, keno, and race and sport, had the sixth lowest percentage of females at 22.8%. Evaluating the other side of the range, the grouping with the highest percentage of female management at 89.3% was wardrobe. Due to the low number of people reported in this department, it was the only department that had no further analysis. Sales and events, public relations, and human resources had at least 75% females in management roles.

Table 3
Percentage of Females by Department

	Total employees	% Female	Std. Dev.
Maintenance	337	4.5%	.207
Information Technology	586	11.1%	.314
Security & Surveillance	1,154	13.3%	.340
Owner/CEO	564	16.0%	.367
General Manager	940	20.5%	.404
Casino	1,705	22.8%	.420
Food & Beverage	844	26.4%	.441
Entertainment	191	38.7%	.488
Risk Management	84	41.7%	.496
Purchasing	190	44.7%	.499
Hotel	487	45.8%	.499
Finance	998	47.5%	.500
Legal & Government	93	47.3%	.502
Marketing	1,198	53.8%	.499
Retail/Spa/Golf	153	63.4%	.483
Cage	297	69.4%	.462
Sales & Events	228	75.0%	.434
Public Relations	122	76.2%	.427
Human Resources	751	78.2%	.413
Wardrobe	28	89.3%	.315
Total	10,950	35.5%	.479

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the percentage of females in each grouping. The results showed there was a significant effect in explaining the variance, $F(19,10930) = 147.070, p < .0005$. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test were conducted to determine which department groupings significantly differed from each other. A table of these comparisons is included in Appendix A.

The dataset was also analyzed to see if the percentage of females was significantly different by position within departments. This test was conducted to analyze variability of positions held by women in departments that had a higher percentage of female management overall. One-way ANOVAs were conducted and followed up with Tukey HSD post hoc tests. The results of these 19 ANOVA are shown in Appendix B. The following seven department groupings showed no significant differences in percentage of females across positions: maintenance, information technology, security and surveillance, owner/CEO, general manager, entertainment, and public relations. Female representation in all department groupings with significant difference by position level, besides cage, showed a significantly higher percentage of women at the manager level than any other level.

Discussion

Results of this study support both vertical and horizontal gender segregation in gaming by providing proof of the lack of women in higher leadership positions, even within female dominated departments. Proof is often needed before action, as with the #metoo movement where there has been no legal or social change without evidence and outcry first. These results are similar to previous research (Costen et al. 2003; Weber, 1998), but with a much larger sample size indicating lack of female leadership is not a rare occurrence, and rather is predominate in the industry. This study shows that the casino department, including table games, slots, keno, bingo, and race and sports, had less than a quarter female management representation (22.8%). Results of this study are much lower than that found in Costen et al. (2003) but in that study, cage was included in the casino department. When excluding the cage, which is not a

revenue-generating department, they found 28.4% female representation in the casino departments. While this difference appears to be significant, it may be attributable to changes over time, the jurisdictions studied, the size of the properties evaluated, sample size, or a combination. This current study was conducted 15 years later and had a sample size sixty-eight times as large in casino managers and twenty-two times as large in all managers reported (Costen et al., 2003). Despite the difference in female management representation, the percentage is still low, 23% and 28% for the two studies respectively, and is the lowest percentage for any revenue-generating department within the property. If women are half of Las Vegas' visitors (LVCVA, 2016), are gambling more (NCPG, n.d.), and companies perform better when their board room and management teams match their increasing female customer base (Kiradjian, 2018), why are casinos not taking advantage of this strategic business opportunity? This study is evidence that leadership in casinos is not in line with its customer demographics. The casino department had the sixth lowest percentage of female managers out of the twenty departments analyzed, but had the most employees in the dataset. Twelve departments had significantly higher female management representation than the casino department, and three had significantly lower, indicating that the casino department is one of the most underrepresented for women. It would reap the benefits of increasing its gender diversity.

Sales and events, public relations, human resources, and wardrobe all had 75% or higher female representation, what the DOL (2014) considers the level at which an occupation is women-dominated. These results are consistent with those found in previous research (Costen et al., 2003; Schaap, 2008; Weber, 1998), but previous research also found that cage operations, marketing, and finance were female dominated (Costen et al., 2003; Schaap, 2008; Weber, 1998), which this study only partially supports. Management positions in marketing tipped towards women at 53.8%, while female finance management dips below at 47.5%. Besides the finance department, there were no large differences from past research in female-dominated departments. Management should investigate why their sales and events, public relations, human resources, and wardrobe departments attract more women or why women are being placed into these areas by upper management. These departments are often considered support departments, since all (besides sales) are nonrevenue-generating and do not directly contribute to the bottom line. As Baldwin and Ackerson (2017) and Acker (1990) note, employees from support departments are generally not recruited for executive leadership positions, as they are looked at as just assisting the core operations of the company. In gaming, these departments, and the high percentage of women in these departments, are not therefore, on career tracks to the boardroom or executive leadership. Equalizing the gender playing field between departments, or changing the outlook on the work and worth of these departments, will increase the probability of women who are promoted to executive and board-level positions within gaming companies—a practical business decision.

Since the DOL (2014) considers departments that are over 75% female to be women-dominated, the opposite could be true for departments that are 75% or higher male. This study shows that maintenance, information technology, security and surveillance, owner/CEO, general manager, and casino should be considered male-dominated departments in gaming resorts, since they are 77% - 95% male and 5% - 23% female. This, along with the four women-dominated departments, shows that 10 of the 20 departments are one-gender dominant and many gaming companies are horizontally divided by gender. Despite the DOL (2014) considering 75% as the marker, there are another four departments that appear to be heavily one-gender too, with 60% - 75% representation by a single gender. By providing evidence of the departments that are more likely to be male or female-dominated within the industry, the results of this study can assist industry executive decisions on gender diversity within companies. Casino

resort management should evaluate the departments with minimal gender diversity to understand why women or men may not feel welcome or attracted to these departments, or why they are not being actively recruited for these departments—is this an issue of skill, interest, or gender bias? It is pertinent to investigate why departments may be male or female-dominated to create opportunities for inclusion and advancement of all genders in all departments and yield higher customer service quality and performance.

Five of the seven departments with the lowest female representation showed no significant difference in female representation across positions. These departments are: maintenance, information technology, security and surveillance, owner/CEO, and general manager. This suggests a lack of advancement opportunities for women in these departments from even the lowest management level. Further research should investigate barriers to career advancement for women specifically within these departments. For the 12 departments that did show significant differences in female representation by position, the percentage of females decreased as the position grew higher. Almost all the departments that had significant differences by position had the highest percentage of females at the manager level. This was also the only management level that was above the overall female representation of the entire department. Casino resort management must evaluate their internal promotion and recruitment policies and procedure to determine why they have a high percentage of female managers, yet these managers are not advancing to the next career level.

One exception to the trend mainly found across departments of less female representation at each level up the leadership ladder, is the finance department which had more directors and managers than the entire management team average. There is not however, statistically more female representation at the chief and vice president positions in finance. While female chief and vice president representation is roughly at 30% respectively, this is significantly different from the percentage of females at director and manager levels. This department is an important example of an area that on an overall level appears to be fairly representative but when evaluating further, the leadership gaps can be seen.

Human resources and marketing have consistently shown more female representation (Costen et al., 2003; Weber, 1998). This study supports this conclusion, before looking into positions within those departments. Within human resources, while all position levels had 70% or higher female representation, the percentage of women at vice president or director level was significantly less than those at the manager level. Similar results hold true for marketing, which showed significantly different female representation at the vice president, director, and manager levels. These position level differences within individual departments further supports the notion of vertical gender segregation (Schaap, 2008) or a leaky pipeline (Joecks et al., 2014). Having just a few female-led departments or just a few women leaders, while not addressing the lack of female leadership in the majority of the company, does not fix the issues or concerns of a fair and equal workforce. This may instead be the practice of tokenism, whereas the female leaders and female-lead departments that do exist are forced to represent the ideas of an entire population. As tokens, women may feel defined by their gender, standing as symbols of progress rather than valued for their individual leadership skills and ideas. It is as if their gender is the only pertinent point of their seat at the table. As Torchia, Calabrò, and Huse (2011) note, token employees can have their ideas and thoughts marginalized when in large group settings, like business meetings. Tokenism exacerbates the issues of gender equality in the workplace, rather than addressing them. This is perhaps why Wynn Resorts decided to increase female representation on their board from one woman to four. More gaming companies should take this initiative. Further research should also investigate what career barriers exist that cause gender occupational segregation and a more male driven leadership team, including inherent gender stereotypes and implicit biases that may exist (Kiradjian, 2018). In today's

business world, there is support for more diverse leadership teams, from both a social and economic perspective. The casino industry, like many others, is facing its' own push to look within (Soral, 2018). Gaming has the opportunity to become the pioneer in ending the gender leadership gap, with the support of sound academic research (Soral, 2018).

Limitations and Future Research

Although this study has reached its aim, limitations exist. Some researchers argue that a full glass ceiling effect cannot be fully understood using cross-sectional data as many factors affect a woman's career progression, such as educational attainment or years of work experience (Jackson, O'Callaghan, & Adserias, 2014). Thus, the phenomena in this study cannot offer definitive evidence of a glass ceiling effect, as it uses cross-sectional data (Jackson et al., 2014). It is just a snapshot of the gaming workforce at one moment in time (Jackson et al., 2014). A longitudinal dataset is recommended to see if the statistical significance phenomena found here holds true over time. While this cross-sectional data may not demonstrate changes over time, it has the potential to demonstrate gender segregation and a glass ceiling at individual points in time. Further, this research exclusively analyzes differences in gender based on the limitations of the dataset. Future research should consider divisions along the lines of gender and race to analyze how intersectionality puts women of color at a unique disadvantage in the gaming workplace, particularly as it relates to vertical and horizontal segregation (Catalyst, 2007). Women of color make up just 5.0% of executive/senior-level officials and 3.8% of board seats (Catalyst, 2017b). Further investigation is necessary to see if gaming reflects this wider trend. This study briefly discussed differences in the percentage of female representation in tribal versus commercial casino management. Further investigation into where those differences are and why they exist (legal or cultural differences between tribal and commercial properties) should be explored. Finally, qualitative and quantitative investigation will help validate the existence of a glass ceiling in gaming, estimate its effects, unveil experiences of women in gaming, and identify gender disparity's root causes in the industry (internal and external barriers to women's career advancement) (Jackson et al., 2014). A qualitative approach would be beneficial to reveal hidden employee stories, thoughts, feelings, and experiences about the ways in which advancement and decision-making within gaming work, the inequality and injustices women may face in the workplace, the effects of the women's movement on gaming workplaces, and help understand why women in gaming choose the career paths they do.

References

- Acker, J. (2009). From glass ceiling to inequality regimes. *Sociologie du travail*, 51(2), 199-217.
- Allis, K. (n.d.) Federal employment laws impact tribal employers. *Indian Gaming*. Retrieved from <http://www.indiangaming.com/regulatory/view/?id=84>
- American Gaming Association. (2017). *State of the states: The AGA survey on the casino industry* [PDF document]. Retrieved from https://www.americangaming.org/sites/default/files/research_files/2017%20State%20of%20the%20States.pdf
- Baldwin, J. H. & Ackerson, A.W. (2017). *Women in the museum: Lessons from the workplace*. New York: Routledge.
- Boone, J., Veller, T., Nikolaeva, K., Keith, M., Kefgen, K., & Houran, J. (2013). Rethinking a glass ceiling in the hospitality industry. *Cornell Hospitality Quarterly*, 54(3), 230-239.
- Candido, J. (2017, July 11). Where are all the men in human resources? *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/careers/leadership-lab/where-are-all-the-men-in-hr/article35586114/>
- Catalyst. (2017a, August 22). *Pyramid: women in S&P 500 companies*. Retrieved from <http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/women-sp-500-companies>
- Catalyst. (2017b, October 12). *Women of color in the United States*. Retrieved from <http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/women-color-united-states-0>
- Catalyst. (2015). *Buying power: women in the US* [PDF document]. Retrieved from http://www.catalyst.org/system/files/buying_power_women_0.pdf
- Catalyst. (2007). *Despite law firm efforts, women of color still face workplace challenges*. Retrieved from <http://www.catalyst.org/media/despite-law-firm-efforts-women-color-still-face-workplace-challenges>
- Christofferson, C. (1991). Tribal courts' failure to protect Native American women: a reevaluation of the Indian civil rights act. *The Yale Law Journal*, 101(1), 169-185.
- Costa, C., Bakas, F. E., Breda, Z., Durão, M., Carvalho, I., & Caçador, S. (2017). Gender, flexibility and the 'ideal tourism worker'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 64, 64-75.
- Costen, W. M., Hardigree, C. E., & Testagrossa, M. A. (2003). Glass ceiling or Saran Wrap™? Women in gaming management. *UNLV Gaming Research & Review Journal*, 7(2), 1-12.
- Council for Tribal Employment Rights. (2018). *Most frequently asked questions about TERO*. Retrieved from <http://www.councilfortribalemploymentrights.org/wp/tero-faq/>
- Dawson, J., Kersley, R., & Natella, S. (2014, September). *The CS gender 3000: Women in senior management*. Zurich: Research Institute
- Dezső, C. L., & Ross, D. G. (2012). Does female representation in top management improve performance? A panel data investigation. *Strategic Management Journal*, 33, 1072-1089.
- Ell, K. (2018, January 9). Microsoft president says there would be fewer reports of sexual harassment if more women were in leadership roles, *CNBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.cnn.com/2018/01/09/more-female-leaders-may-lead-to-fewer-harassment-cases-microsoft-exec.html>
- Jackson, J. F. L., O'Callaghan, E. M., & Adserias, R. P. (2014). Approximating glass ceiling effects using cross-sectional data. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, 2013(159), 37-47.
- Joecks, J., Pull, K., & Backes-Gellner, U. (2014). Childbearing and (female) research productivity: A personnel economics perspective on the leaky pipeline. *Journal of Business Economics*, 84(4), 517-530.

- Kiradjian, F. (2018, May 21). Women on boards: Why the conversation matters. *Forbes*. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/forbeslacouncil/2018/05/21/women-on-boards-why-the-conversation-matters/#2be6bf2273a5>
- Knutson, B. J., & Schmidgall, R. S. (1999). Dimensions of the glass ceiling in the hospitality industry. *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, 40(6), 64-75.
- Kogovsek, M., & Kogovsek, M. (2015). Hospitality and tourism gender issues remain unsolved: A call for research. *Quaestus*, 6, 194-203.
- Korn Ferry. (2016, March 4). *New research shows women are better at using soft skills crucial for effective leadership and superior business performance, finds Korn Ferry Hay Group* [Press release]. Retrieved from <https://www.kornferry.com/press/new-research-shows-women-are-better-at-using-soft-skills-crucial-for-effective-leadership/>
- Krishnan, H., & Park, D. (2005). A few good women – on top management teams. *Journal of Business Research*, 58, 1712-1720.
- LaPlante, D. A., Nelson, S. E., LaBrie, R. A., & Shaffer, H. J. (2006). Men & women playing games: Gender and the gambling preferences of Iowa gambling treatment program participants. *Journal of Gambling Studies*, 22(1), 65.
- Las Vegas Convention & Visitors Authority. (2016). *2016 Las Vegas visitor profile*.
- Mann, I. S. & Seacord, S. (2003). What glass ceiling? *Lodging Management*, 59(4), 38-40.
- Mohr, T. S. (2014, August 25). Why women don't apply for jobs unless they're 100% qualified. *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved from <https://hbr.org/2014/08/why-women-dont-apply-for-jobs-unless-theyre-100-qualified>
- National Center for Education Statistics. (2017). *Digest of education statistics: 2016*. Retrieved from <https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d16/>
- National Council on Problem Gambling (n.d.). *Female Gamblers Fact Sheet*. Retrieved from http://www.ncpgambling.org/files/WOMEN_GAMBLERS_FACTS.pdf
- National Indian Gaming Commission. (2017). *Growth in Indian gaming graph 2007-2016* [PDF document]. Retrieved from <https://www.nigc.gov/images/uploads/reports/2016GrossGamingRevenueTrends.pdf>
- Nevada Gaming Control Board. (2018, January 12). *Nevada gaming abstract - 2017* [Press release]. Retrieved from <http://gaming.nv.gov/modules/showdocument.aspx?documentid=12698>
- Prince, T. (2018, March 14). MGM Resorts adds fourth woman to board of directors. *Las Vegas Review-Journal*. Retrieved from <https://www.reviewjournal.com/business/casinos-gaming/mgm-resorts-adds-fourth-woman-to-board-of-directors/>
- Rani, N., & Singla, J. (2015). Conceptualizing women's working lives: Career concerns or social comparison. *International Journal of Management Prudence*, 7(1), 38-44.
- Richtermeyer, S. B. (2016). Women in accounting: Making progress? *Strategic Finance*, 22-31.
- Sandberg, S. (2013). *Lean in: Women, work, and the will to lead*. New York: Alfred A Knopf.
- Schaap, J. I. (2008). Women executives in the gaming industry: Can they break through the glass ceiling? *Journal of Social and Psychological Sciences*, 1(2), 98-122.
- Schaap, J. I., Stedham, Y., & Yamamura, J. H. (2008). Casino management: exploring gender-based differences in perceptions of managerial work. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 27(1), 87-97.
- Shrader, C. B., Blackburn, V. B., & Iles, P. (1997). Women in management and firm financial performance: An exploratory study. *Journal of Managerial Issues*, 9(3), 355-372.

- Silverstein, M. J. & Sayre, K. (2009, September). The female economy. *Harvard Business Review*. Retrieved from <https://hbr.org/2009/09/the-female-economy>
- Singal, M. (2014). The business case for diversity management in the hospitality industry. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 40, 10-19.
- Sortal, N. (2018, January 18). Women's equality advancing in the casino world - but progress is slow. *CDC Gaming Reports*. Retrieved from <https://www.cdcgamingreports.com/commentaries/womens-equality-advancing-in-the-casino-world-but-progress-is-slow/>
- Sparrowe, R. T., & Iverson, K. M. (1999). Cracks in the glass ceiling? An empirical study of gender differences in income in the hospitality industry. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, 23(1), 4-20.
- Torchia, M., Calabrò, A. & Huse, M. (2011). Women directors on corporate boards: From tokenism to critical mass. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 102, 299-317.
- Thomas, N. J., Thomas, L. Y., Brown, E. A., & Kim, J. (2014). Betting against the glass ceiling: Supervisor gender & employee job satisfaction in the casino-entertainment industry. *Hospitality Review*, 31(4), Article 3.
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2017, November). *Women in the labor force: A databook* [Data file]. Retrieved from <https://www.bls.gov/opub/reports/womens-databook/2017/home.htm>
- U.S. Department of Labor. (2014). *Traditional (female-dominated) occupations, 2014 annual averages* [Data file]. Retrieved from https://www.dol.gov/wb/stats/nontra_traditional_occupations.htm
- U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (2018). *Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964*. Retrieved from <https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/titlevii.cfm>
- U.S. Federal Glass Ceiling Commission. (1995). *A solid investment: Making full use of the nation's human capital* [Data file]. Retrieved from https://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1117&context=key_workplace
- Velotta, R. N. (2018, May 14). Women on Wynn Resorts board host panel on diversity, equality. *Las Vegas Review-Journal*. Retrieved from <https://www.reviewjournal.com/business/casinos-gaming/women-on-wynn-resorts-board-host-panel-on-diversity-equality/>
- Wan, Y. K. P. (2014). Minding the gap in the gaming industry: Perceptions of gender disparity at work among female casino dealers. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 26(1), 130-153.
- Warrell, M. (2018, February 16). From 'me too' to 'where now?' Five ways women can press for progress. *Forbes*. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/margiewarrell/2018/02/16/from-me-too-to-where-now-five-ways-women-can-press-for-progress/#1636f1ef357c>
- Weber, K. (1998). Women's career progression in the Las Vegas casino industry: Facilitators and constraints. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, 22(4), 431-449.
- Williams, C. (1992). The glass escalator: hidden advantages for men in the "female" professions. *Social Problems*, 39(3), 253-267.
- Zacharek, S., Dockterman, E. & Edwards, H. S. (2017, December 18). Person of the year. *Time*. Retrieved from <http://time.com/time-person-of-the-year-2017-silence-breakers/>

Appendix A

Tukey HSD Comparison for Percentage of Female by Department Grouping

Department Grouping	Sig. Higher % Females	Sig. Higher % Males
Maintenance	Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage, Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing, Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	-----
Information Technology	General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage, Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing, Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	-----
Security & Surveillance	General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage, Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing, Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	-----
Owner/CEO	Food & Beverage, Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing, Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance
General Manager	Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing, Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance
Casino	Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing, Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance
Food & Beverage	Entertainment, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing, Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO

Entertainment	Marketing, Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage
Risk Management	Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino
Purchasing	Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage
Hotel	Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage
Finance	Retail/Spa/Golf, Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage
Legal & Government	Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage
Marketing	Cage, Sales & Events, Public Relations, Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage, Entertainment
Retail/Spa/Golf	Human Resources	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage, Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance
Cage	----	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage, Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing

Sales & Events	-----	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage, Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing
Public Relations	-----	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage, Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing
Human Resources	-----	Maintenance, Information Technology, Security & Surveillance, Owner/CEO, General Manager, Casino, Food & Beverage, Entertainment, Risk Management, Purchasing, Hotel, Finance, Legal & Government, Marketing, Retail/Spa/Golf

Note: Sig at $p < .05$

Appendix B

Significant Differences in Positions Held by Females by Department Groupings

Department Grouping	Position	N	% of females	Std. Deviation	One-way ANOVA sig.
Casino*	VP/General Manager ^a	178	16.3%	.370	.000
	Director ^b	716	17.9%	.383	
	Manager ^{a, b}	810	28.6%	.452	
Food & Beverage	Owner/President/Chief	2	100.0%	.000	.000
	VP/General Manager ^a	51	17.7%	.385	
	Director ^b	523	18.9%	.392	
Risk	Manager ^{a, b}	267	43.1%	.496	.045
	Director ^a	27	25.9%	.447	
	Manager ^a	57	49.1%	.504	
Purchasing*	VP/General Manager	2	50.0%	.707	.004
	Director ^a	81	30.9%	.465	
	Manager ^a	107	55.1%	.500	
Hotel*	VP/General Manager ^{a, b}	110	20.0%	.402	.000
	Director ^{a, c}	194	43.8%	.497	
	Manager ^{b, c}	183	63.4%	.483	
Finance	Owner/President/Chief ^{a, b}	172	30.8%	.463	.000
	VP/General Manager ^{c, d}	108	28.7%	.454	
	Director ^{a, c, e}	530	51.1%	.500	
	Manager ^{b, d, e}	188	63.3%	.483	
Legal & Government	Owner/President/Chief	20	45.0%	.510	.000
	VP/General Manager ^c	13	7.7%	.277	
	Director ^b	24	33.3%	.482	
	Manager ^{a, b}	36	72.2%	.454	
Marketing	Owner/President/Chief	8	37.5%	.518	.000
	VP/General Manager ^{a, b}	139	36.7%	.484	
	Director ^{a, c}	605	50.4%	.500	
	Manager ^{b, c}	446	63.9%	.481	
Retail/Spa/ Golf*	VP/General Manager	6	66.7%	.516	.001
	Director ^a	36	38.9%	.494	
	Manager ^a	110	71.8%	.452	
Cage*	VP/General Manager	3	100.0%	.000	.001
	Director ^a	62	53.2%	.503	
	Manager ^a	232	73.3%	.443	
Sales & Events*	VP/General Manager	10	50.0%	.527	.010
	Director ^a	98	68.4%	.467	
	Manager ^a	120	82.5%	.382	
Human Resources*	VP/General Manager ^a	95	69.5%	.463	.001
	Director ^b	429	76.0%	.428	
	Manager ^{a, b}	227	85.9%	.349	

Note: Matching letters specify positions with significant differences within each department

* There was 1 or less people listed in each position for this department so ANOVAs were only conducted on the other positions.