

Indian Gaming—

Are Tribal Employees Being Promoted to Management Positions in Arizona Casinos?

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This study surveyed Arizona's Native American casinos and discovered that only at the level of hourly line employees do Native Americans edge out non-Native Americans.

Passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 (IGRA) advanced the sovereignty and self-determination of Native Americans and provided them a means to achieve self-sufficiency. After the U.S. Supreme Court reaffirmed the principle of tribal sovereignty in the crucial 1987 *California v. Cabazon* case, the IGRA codified that sovereignty. Under the IGRA, tribes were permitted to establish gambling casinos on their own territory. For many of the nations that have opened casinos, gaming has proven enormously successful at providing

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economic development and self-sufficiency. In fact, for helping accomplish those objectives, Indian gaming has earned the nickname "new buffalo."

The economic benefits of Indian gaming are undeniable. It is a \$6-billion industry in this country. The Dakota tribe's Mystic Lake casino in Minnesota, for example, had profits of \$70 million in 1994 and awarded a stipend of \$500,000 to each tribal member for that year. The Connecticut Pequot tribe has used the \$1-billion annual gross from its Foxwoods casino to employ every member of the tribe at jobs paying \$50,000 to \$60,000 a year. The Prairie Island Sioux tribe's Treasure Island casino pays all tribal members \$2,000 to \$4,000 a month.

Twenty-six U.S. tribes have established colleges and scholarships for Native American students. Casino revenues provide for health care, housing, improvement of reservation infrastructure, and other important tribal-community needs for some Native American nations. For many tribes, particularly those whose casinos are located near large urban population centers, the economic benefits of gaming have been enormous.¹

For other tribes, however, gaming proceeds have made little fundamental difference in reservation economies. Since gaming has been legalized in many states, the competition for gambling dollars is increasing.² Indeed, though Native Americans own some of the most successful casinos in the world, they also own some of the least

successful. Faced with those facts, some tribes have decided not to establish casinos at all. The Navajo Nation—the largest U.S. tribe, with 200,000 members and unemployment rates of about 50 percent—has voted against gaming several times, fearing it might increase crime, destroy Navajo culture, and exacerbate gambling addictions and other social problems.³

Arizona's Hopi tribe also voted against gaming for cultural and religious reasons, and for fear that the benefits might not be shared equally.⁴ In New York State the Onondaga Nation has resisted gaming, even though the neighboring Oneida Nation, related by family connections and by membership in the former Iroquois Confederacy, runs a casino.⁵

Thus, ten years after passage of IGRA the effects and the future of Indian gaming remain in question. The "new buffalo" faces extinction from several directions. The U.S. Congress annually considers bills aimed at limiting all gaming, many states refuse to negotiate compacts with tribes, and the social costs of gambling are beginning to take their toll on reservation communities. For instance, studies have shown "pathological gambling" to be significantly higher among Native Americans than in the general population.⁶ Nevertheless, some

type of Indian gaming is now offered in 26 states and in about half of the 545 federally recognized tribes (some put the number of tribes at 557). The Indian gaming operations include all three classes of gaming allowed by IGRA:

- Class I—social games with prizes of nominal value;
- Class II—bingo and lotto games; and
- Class III—full Las Vegas-style gambling, including casino games, slots, card games, and pari-mutuel wagers on horse and dog races.⁷

Providing Employment for Native Americans

From the beginning, one of the principal arguments for Indian gaming has been that it would provide much-needed employment on Native American reservations, where unemployment rates often are ten times the national average and in some tribes have reached 80 percent.⁸ Supporters asserted that gaming would be one of the few economic-development efforts that could effectively provide jobs. Moreover, the employment of tribal members was the most obvious way to fulfill the IGRA mandate that all revenue from gaming be reinvested in tribal communities.

By the mid-1990s, at a time when welfare reform was being inaugurated throughout the country, it was the promise of jobs, perhaps more than any other factor, that helped sell the idea of Indian gaming, especially to western U.S. senators and representatives with large reservation populations in their districts. While states generally have moved to legal-

¹ William G. Flanagan and James Samuelson, "The New Buffalo—But Who Got the Meat?," *Forbes*, Vol. 160, No. 5 (September 8, 1997), pp. 148–152; and Jon Magnuson, "Casino Wars: Ethics and Economics in Indian Country," *Christian Century*, Vol. 111, No. 5 (1994), pp. 169–172.

² Gary K. Vallen, "Gaming in the U.S.: A Ten-Year Comparison," *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 6 (December 1993), pp. 51–58.

³ S. Harvey, "Two Models to Sovereignty: A Comparative History of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation and the Navajo Nation," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1996), pp. 147–194.

⁴ M. Davidson, "Hopis Balk at Blackjack, Dance to Different Drum," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 19, 1995, p. 3.

⁵ As related by the late Roy Elm, an Oneida by birth who married an Onondaga woman and lived his long life in the Onondaga Nation. As an Oneida, Elm could have shared in the proceeds of the tribe's Turning Stone casino but chose not to.

⁶ See, for example: Don A. Cozzetto and Brent W. Larocque, "Compulsive Gambling in the Indian Community: A North Dakota Case Study," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1996), pp. 73–86.

⁷ For a more complete description of the three classes, see: Vallen, p. 53.

⁸ www.indiangaming.org/proceeds, which is the official website of the National Indian Gaming Association (NIGA), which represents 150 sovereign Indian Nations. The site contains much information, including the NIGA case for Indian Gaming, history of gaming, statistics, state and federal regulation, economic benefits, and more.

ize gambling to boost declining state revenues, in the case of Indian gaming the more important objective was to provide reservation employment and self-sufficiency for the tribes.⁹

Therefore, proponents assumed not only that casino jobs would be filled by Native Americans to the extent possible but also that tribal employees would progress from entry-level jobs into management positions. That would help individual tribe members and might also blunt criticism that outside management companies, perhaps with ties to organized crime, were infiltrating and running the casinos—or even cheating the tribes out of their profits.¹⁰

On the question of organized crime's role in Indian gaming, the evidence is mixed. Some researchers have argued that the regulatory structure of the National Indian Gaming Commission, the federal agency IGRA created to oversee Indian gaming, was never sufficiently transparent to allow outsiders to determine what entities were investing in and running Indian casinos. Further, Indian sovereignty stipulated that public financial statements were not required.¹¹ Others have called the organized-crime connection a myth, concluding that the tribes have been vigilant at enforcing the regulations of IGRA.¹²

The IGRA placed restrictions on the tribes to ensure that tribal governments would be the sole owners

and primary beneficiaries of reservation gaming operations. Casino management, however, requires specific business skills. The act therefore allowed reservation casinos to be operated by national gaming organizations that could get the casinos up and running, but contracts generally stipulate that full casino operation be turned over to tribe leaders after three or four years.¹³

So, for example, the Southern Ute tribe's Sky Ute Casino opened in 1993 in Ignacio, Colorado, under a management contract with another firm, GWC. Through an aggressive tribal management plan the tribe dissolved the contract in March 1997, four years after opening, and today it practices casino self-management, just as envisioned by IGRA.¹⁴

Over time, therefore, tribal members were expected to learn the casino business and take over management responsibilities. Since 1988 private firms, such as Tribal Gaming Management of New Jersey, have been created to provide various management-training programs for tribal casino employees. The focus of Tribal Gaming Management is to equip tribal members with the skills "to assume total control of casino operations."¹⁵ Many tribes also have internal management-development programs and mentoring programs.

In 1994 Vincent Eade of the University of Nevada at Las Vegas conducted a nationwide survey of casino employees to identify the training needs considered most important. The number-one need identified by Native American respondents was for administrative or management-development skills.

For non-Native Americans the greatest need was identified as knowledge of internal controls or gaming regulations.¹⁶ The Eade study confirmed the importance Native Americans placed on building the skills necessary to assume operation of casinos.

Literature Review

Is the planned transition to tribal management taking place? Several recent studies have documented the number and percentage of casino employees who are Native American. Marks found that 44 percent of the 4,500 employees in Wisconsin casinos were non-Indian, that 75 percent of the 9,975 employees in Minnesota casinos were non-Indian, and that 38 percent of Michigan's 1,931 casino workers were non-Indian.¹⁷ (At the time that Marks made those employee counts, all the casinos were Indian casinos. In Wisconsin and Minnesota all casinos continue to be Indian-owned. In Michigan, however, three Detroit-area casinos recently were approved that will be operated by MGM Grand and Circus Circus.)

The percentage of Native American casino employees is a function of the size of the tribes and the size of the casinos. A tribe's population may not be sufficient to provide the labor pool needed to staff the casinos. In Connecticut, for example, only a few hundred Mashantucket-Pequot Indians (with at least one-sixteenth Pequot blood) are available to staff Foxwoods, the largest and most profitable casino in the Western world,¹⁸ and the first Indian casino to duplicate Las Vegas-style gambling. Pequot tribe members constitute only a small percentage of its workforce.

⁹ Flanagan and Samuelson, p. 9.

¹⁰ Lincoln H. Marshall and Denis P. Rudd, *Introduction to Casino and Gaming Operations* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1996), p. 122.

¹¹ Don A. Cozzetto, "The Economic and Social Implication of Indian Gaming: The Case of Minnesota," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1995), p. 125.

¹² Dennis P. Gauger, "Regulation and Auditing of Indian Gaming Operations," *Gaming Research and Review Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1995), p. 48; and www.indiangaming.org

¹³ Magnuson, p. 169.

¹⁴ Joseph Pluchinota, "Tribal Casinos' Management Training Programs," *Indian Gaming*, Vol. 7, No. 10 (1997), pp. 40–41.

¹⁵ www.indiangaming.org

¹⁶ Vincent H. Eade, "Human Resource Issues in the Gaming Industry," *Gaming Research and Review Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1994), p. 48.

¹⁷ Marshall and Rudd, p. 121.

¹⁸ Flanagan and Samuelson, p. 148.

Exhibit 1 Native American employees in casinos and size of tribe

	N	Native Americans	Tribal population*
Casino 1	296	78%	>7,000
Casino 2	190	73%	1,000–6,000
Casino 3	353	80%	1,000–6,000
Casino 4	236	30%	<1,000
Casino 5	667	69%	1,000–6,000
Casino 6	1,141	18%	<1,000
Casino 7	898	81%	>7,000
Casino 8	621	23%	<1,000
Casino 9	284	75%	>7,000
Casino 10	237	9%	<1,000
<i>Total</i>	<i>4,923</i>	<i>51%</i>	

*Based on the 1990 census. To assure tribal anonymity, population is shown as a range.

Few studies have looked beyond the percentages of Native American and non-Native American employees to examine the issue of Native Americans in management positions. We found only one other study that addressed that question directly. A presentation in 1988 by M. Rumbolz, at the Seventh International Conference on Gambling and Risk Taking, concluded that it was rare to find Native Americans in any tribal-casino supervisory or management position.¹⁹ That finding, however, is ten years old; at the time it was made IGRA had just been passed. In the decade since then, has the situation improved?

Our Survey

This study attempted to measure how successful Arizona's 16 Native American casinos have been at promoting Native American employees into managerial and supervisory positions. We prepared a three-page survey and sent it to human-resources officers at each casino. The survey requested data on:

- total casino employees;
- numbers of Native American and non-Native American employees

¹⁹ Marshall and Rudd, p. 122.

in three categories—senior and midlevel management, entry-level management, and hourly line staff—for the opening year and the current year;

- the likelihood of finding qualified applicants for those three categories; and
- the existence of mentoring or management-development programs for tribal members.

Ten of Arizona's 16 casinos responded to the survey. To ensure confidentiality, this report will refer to the casinos by number, 1 through 10. All 10 casinos offer class-III gaming (e.g., video slots, slots, card games, pari-mutuels). They opened for business between 1992 and 1995.

Who Is Employed?

For the 10 casinos that responded, the percentage of Native American employees is only slightly more than half (51 percent) of the total employees (see Exhibit 1). In six casinos at least two thirds of the employees are Native Americans, while in the other four casinos fewer than a third are Native Americans. That those four casinos employ so few Native Americans appears to be a function of the tribal population (they are the four tribes with the smallest popula-

Exhibit 2 Native Americans in casino management positions

	Senior and midlevel managers		Entry-level managers	
	N	Native Americans	N	Native Americans
Casino 1	40	60%	35	83%
Casino 2	17	29%	26	73%
Casino 3	26	77%	86	72%
Casino 4	14	21%	52	27%
Casino 5	47	55%	59	47%
Casino 6	47	26%	35	14%
Casino 7	54	56%	106	13%
Casino 8	28	0%	137	12%
Casino 9	15	20%	36	42%
Casino 10	13	54%	29	28%
<i>Total</i>	<i>301</i>	<i>43%</i>	<i>601</i>	<i>35%</i>

tions). That is, they are unable to staff the casinos from the tribal population.

Casino size (measured by total employees) does not appear to be a determining factor in this measure. In fact, two of the largest casinos (casinos 6 and 7) are exact contrasts in the category of Native American and non-Native American hourly line staff.

Tribal population, however, may be the explanatory factor. Tribes with large populations employ large percentages of Native Americans in hourly line positions, and tribes with small populations must reach outside the tribe to staff their casinos and therefore employ more non-Native Americans in line positions.

Managers. What about Native Americans in management (see Exhibit 2)? More non-Native Americans are employed as managers. Of senior and midlevel managers, 43 percent are Native Americans. Of entry-level managers, 35 percent are Native Americans.

There is, however, considerable variation among the casinos. In half the casinos Native Americans are in the majority in the senior- and midlevel-manager category.

Exhibit 3
Relationship between tribe size and numbers of Native Americans employed in casinos

	<i>N</i>	Mean	Standard deviation	Chi-square*	<i>p</i> value
Senior and mid-level managers	10	13.0	11.045	0.5769	0.303
Entry-level managers	10	21.1	16.237	5.1562	0.076
Hourly employees	10	249.5	206.36	4.7091	0.092

*With 2 degrees of freedom.

Exhibit 4
Changes in percentage of Native Americans in senior and midlevel management

	Opening year		Current year		Net added employees	Percentage Native Americans
	<i>N</i>	Native Americans	<i>N</i>	Native Americans		
Casino 1	14	71%	40	60%	26	54%
Casino 2	21	24%	17	29%	-4	0
Casino 5	33	55%	47	55%	14	57%
Casino 7	10	50%	54	56%	44	57%
Casino 9	9	33%	15	20%	6	0
Casino 10	12	17%	13	54%	1*	100%
<i>Total</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>43%</i>	<i>186</i>	<i>51%</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>60%</i>

*Five Native Americans were added to this employment roster while four Non-Native Americans were removed.

Native Americans have made advances into senior and midlevel management positions over time.

Casino size (measured by total employees) does not appear to be a determining factor in senior and midlevel management. For example, two of the largest casinos (casinos 5 and 7) employ more Native Americans than non-Native Americans at that level. Two other large casinos (casinos 6 and 8) employ more non-Native Americans than Native Americans. In fact, casino 8 employs no Native Americans as senior or midlevel managers.

Neither does a clear pattern emerge among the smaller casinos. Two small casinos (casinos 1 and 10) employ more Native Americans as senior and midlevel managers, while others (casinos 2, 4, and 9) employ more non-Native Americans at that level.

In the category of entry-level management a more distinct pattern emerges. In seven of the ten casinos most entry-level managers were *not* Native Americans. Overall, entry-level manager positions are staffed by nearly twice as many non-Native Americans as Native Americans. If one assumes that senior managers are generally promoted from the ranks of entry-level managers, that statistic does not bode well for moving more Native Americans into higher levels of management.

Significance. To test whether the relationship between differences in tribe size and differences in employment of senior managers, entry-level managers, and hourly line employees was statistically significant, we used the Kruskal Wallis Test for singly ordered data, a nonparametric test for small samples that indicates significant differences but not the direction of those differences.²⁰ To test for differences, we assumed the null hypothesis that there were no differences between tribes of different sizes with respect to the number of Native Americans employed in tribal casinos.

Interestingly, the test found no statistically significant relationship ($p = .303$) between the number of Native Americans employed as senior managers and the size of the tribe managing the casino (see Exhibit 3). On the other hand, the test did find a significant relationship between the number of Native Americans employed as entry-level managers and the size of the tribe ($p = .076$) and the number employed as line staff and the size of

²⁰ S. Siegel and N.J. Castellan, *Nonparametric Statistics for Behavioral Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), p. 35.

Exhibit 5
Changes in percentage of Native Americans in entry-level management

	Opening year		Current year		Net added employees	Percentage Native Americans
	N	Native Americans	N	Native Americans		
Casino 1	7	100%	35	83%	28	79%
Casino 2	23	74%	26	73%	3	67%
Casino 5	42	48%	59	47%	17	47%
Casino 7	14	71%	106	13%	92	4%
Casino 9	7	29%	36	42%	29	45%
Casino 10	30	20%	29	28%	-1*	—
<i>Total</i>	<i>123</i>	<i>50%</i>	<i>291</i>	<i>39%</i>	<i>168</i>	<i>30%</i>

*Two Native Americans were added to this employment roster while three non-Native Americans were removed.

Exhibit 6
Changes in percentage of Native Americans in hourly line positions

	Opening year		Current year		Employees added, opening year to current year	
	N	Native Americans	N	Native Americans	N	Native Americans
Casino 1	102	77%	296	78%	194	79%
Casino 2	181	62%	190	73%	9*	100%
Casino 5	465	69%	667	69%	202	69%
Casino 7	130	93%	898	81%	768	79%
Casino 9	123	85%	284	75%	161	68%
Casino 10	231	10%	237	9%	6**	100%
<i>Total</i>	<i>1,232</i>	<i>62%</i>	<i>2,572</i>	<i>70%</i>	<i>1,340</i>	<i>77%</i>

*Twenty-six Native Americans were added to this employment roster while 17 non-Native Americans were removed.

**One Native American was removed from this employment roster while seven non-Native Americans were added.

the tribe ($p = .092$); in both cases the relationship was significant at the $p < .1$ level. To staff those job levels, smaller tribes had to look outside their tribal populations.

Are Native Americans Being Promoted?

Respondents were asked to provide opening-year and current-year employment figures for the same three categories. Only six of the 10 casinos provided those figures. Employment changes between opening and current years show that Native Americans have made advances into senior and midlevel management (see Exhibit 4). Overall, Native Americans constituted 43 percent of senior and midlevel management at opening; they now constitute 51 percent. Thus there has been a 19-percent improvement.

The numbers of employees added between the opening and current years shown in Exhibit 4 demonstrate that Native Americans have made advances into senior and midlevel management positions over time. That is, about 60 percent of senior- and midlevel-management employees added since the casinos' openings have been Native Americans. Thus, Native Americans in those positions now tend to out-

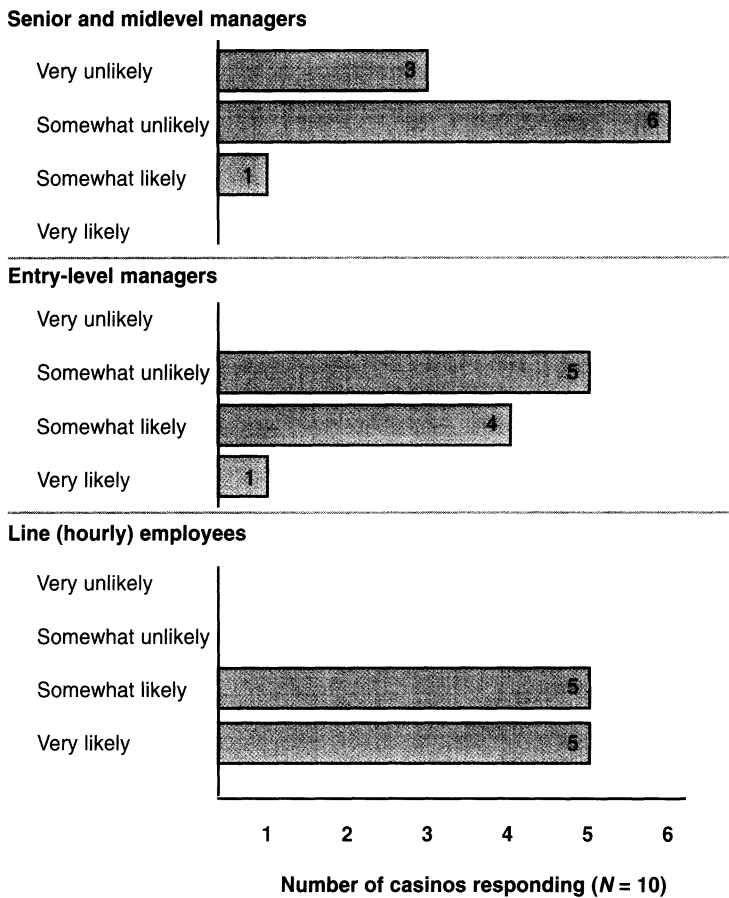
number non-Native American managers (see the "Percentage Native Americans" column in Exhibit 4).

There was considerable variation among casinos. The hypothesis again might be that large tribes tended to promote more Native Americans because they had more qualified people from which to choose. However, that theory does not hold. Casino 7, which has a large tribal population, saw its employment of Native Americans as senior and midlevel managers increase only 6 percentage points while the overall number of managers employed rose from 10 to 54. Casino 10, however, although it has a small tribe, was able to increase by one the number of Native American senior and midlevel managers while eliminating four managerial positions overall.

In the category of entry-level managers (Exhibit 5), 70 percent of the entry-level managers added between opening year and the current year were non-Native Americans. This finding tends to confirm the results for current entry-level managers at all casinos (see Exhibit 2), which found that considerably

Exhibit 7
Likelihood of finding qualified Native American applicants

Number of responses, from “very unlikely” to “very likely.”



more non-Native Americans were employed in this category.

A clear pattern of employment change occurred in the category of hourly line employees (see Exhibit 6). Over time, the percentage of Native American hourly employees increased considerably more than did non-Native American hourly employees. This was particularly true in large casinos, such as casino 7, that require large numbers of employees. In this case, the casino had a large tribal population on which to draw.

The evidence from these Arizona casinos suggests no definitive pat-

tern of promoting Native American employees into management positions. While the percentage of Native Americans in senior and midlevel management and in hourly line positions increased, the percentage of Native Americans in entry-level management—which feeds senior management and is in turn fed by hourly employees—declined.

Are There Qualified Native American Applicants?

Respondents were asked several questions about the availability of qualified Native American applicants for casino positions. All 10 casinos responded. The results were that finding qualified Native Americans for senior and midlevel management jobs was between “somewhat unlikely” and “very unlikely”; for entry-level management jobs, between “somewhat likely” and “somewhat unlikely”; and for hourly line jobs, between “very likely” and “somewhat likely” (see Exhibit 7).

In recognition of the difficulty of finding qualified Native Americans to assume casino-management positions, the questionnaire asked human-resources officers at the 10 casinos whether they have a mentorship training program for Native American workers. Of the 10 casinos, four indicated they do have such a program, and a fifth indicated it was in the process of developing one.

A follow-up question asked, “Have you identified key Native American individuals as fast-track potential managers?” Half the casinos indicated they had identified members of the tribe as potential managers. In other words, only about half of these tribal casinos have any kind of internal mentoring networks or management-development programs for Native Americans.

A Mixed Record

Native Americans constitute about half the employees in Arizona's tribal casinos. More non-Native Americans than Native Americans are employed at senior-management levels (3:2 ratio). In entry-level management positions, the same ratio applies. Only at the level of hourly line employees do Native Americans edge out non-Native Americans.

The record of promoting Native Americans to management has been mixed. Of those casinos that provided opening-year versus current-year figures, Native Americans have made advances into senior-management positions since the opening of those Arizona casinos (43 percent Native Americans at opening versus 51 percent at the time of our study). In fact, Native Americans now outnumber non-Native Americans as senior managers at selected casinos (although not for the entire sample). At the level of hourly employees, the percentage of Native Americans has also increased, from 62 percent at opening to 70 percent today. In the case of entry-level managers, however, the percentage of Native Americans has decreased, from 50 percent at opening to 39 percent today.

Human-resources officers indicated they were relatively unlikely to find qualified Native American applicants for senior and midlevel management, somewhat more likely to find qualified Native Americans for entry-level management, and considerably more likely to find them for hourly entry-level jobs. Thus all Arizona tribes need to make greater efforts, through mentoring and management-development programs, to increase substantially the numbers of Native Americans in casino management positions.

Arizona's Indian gaming casinos do provide reservation employment

Additional Comments

Respondents were asked to comment on the issue of Native American employees and their promotion to supervisory positions. The following comments provide some insight.—*G.V., C.C., and T.C.*

- "Management positions are mostly technical and require previous experience. Tribal members know they will be rehired in 30 days when they quit and also after most terminations. That gives them no incentive to keep their job."
- "The Native Americans we have in management have proven to be our best, most willing to learn, and very fair."
- "It is very difficult to find qualified managerial-level Native American candidates. We have developed several management-training programs to identify and prepare current employees for greater responsibility."
- "High turnover is our major problem."
- "It's a new experience for the Native American; fast-track development is hindered due to lack of experience in gaming. Native American managers find difficulty in corporate structures. Experienced and seasoned professionals in gaming experience some difficulty in mentoring tribal employees."
- "Problems include high turnover rates, retention, wages, work and life incentives, and differentiation of tribal administration and casino management."
- "Many employees are promoted to management positions based on their technical expertise but lack basic management skills (project management, business writing, business ethics, and so on)."
- "Management in the gaming industry should be the same as in any other industry. Native Americans would be better at it if they all experienced working at entry-level positions. There should be more minorities. A major problem is good attendance and keeping employees for the long term."
- "Since gaming is relatively new to Arizona and the tribes, the skills needed are going to be difficult to obtain by textbook. Long-term apprenticeship with seasoned professional gaming personnel may be the only training programs that will be genuinely effective. There's no substitute for experience. That's true in many complicated businesses, particularly in businesses as regulated as this one is."
- "In this particular tribe, members of working age are very limited (about 50). Obviously, not all of them are senior-management material, but they must be promoted anyway. Other tribes have larger memberships and hold onto their better-qualified and better-educated members, so we have had little luck in attracting them to our positions. This does not seem to have a solution. Moreover, those of working age have families and cannot go away to school for any length of time, nor do they want to."

that did not exist before. Some progress has also been made in promoting Native Americans to management positions, as intended by the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. However, human-resources officers in Arizona's casinos indicated that many Native American managers lack the training in basic business skills that is required of casino managers. Perhaps it is not reasonable to expect such an educational and cultural shift to have occurred in a matter of a few years.

Clearly, tribal representation in casino management is an evolving issue that deserves further study. **CQ**