



UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND HEALTH SCIENCES

Assessment of Job Quality at Massachusetts Casinos, 2022

Prepared by the UMass Donahue Institute's
Economic & Public Policy Research Group

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Executive Summary

Through the establishment of the casino industry in Massachusetts, lawmakers provided avenues for the creation of new jobs, revenue, and economic growth in the state. The Social and Economic Impacts of Gambling in Massachusetts (SEIGMA) study, of which the Economic and Public Policy Research unit at the University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute (UMDI) is a part, strives to understand the impact of the casinos on the people and economy of the Commonwealth. The purpose of this report is to examine workforce conditions at the Commonwealth's three casinos, Encore Boston Harbor (EBH), MGM Springfield (MGM), and Plainridge Park Casino (PPC), and analyze the extent to which Massachusetts casino jobs are benefiting the casino workforce, or otherwise assess the quality of casino jobs.

To do so, this analysis utilizes payroll data to analyze patterns in hiring, compensation, mobility, and turnover at the Commonwealth's casinos from January 2022 through December 2022. While some of these conditions will require deeper investigation and data collection, the detailed payroll data provided to the Massachusetts Gaming Commission by the casino operators provides insight into the current state of the Massachusetts casinos' workforce. Therefore, the goal of this analysis is to explore the conditions experienced by the casino workforce and identify questions for future research related to the quality of casino jobs in Massachusetts.

In this report, we first describe the three casinos and their regional workforce context followed by an overview of the composition of the workforce in Massachusetts as well as within the Accommodations and Food Services sector. With operator data from the casinos, we then describe the characteristics and composition of the industry's workforce, pertinent to the discussion of job quality. The final section examines the quality of casino jobs, both across the industry and at individual casinos, by analyzing selected indicators of good jobs in the categories of recruitment and hiring, wages, turnover, promotions, and diversity, equity and inclusion. It is important to note that this assessment does not feature any data from the employees, such as interview or survey data, and only analyzes payroll data with information on hours, wages, and demographics. As our conclusion will suggest, qualitative data representing the opinions of the operators and employees themselves would complement this analysis and should be considered in future job quality research.

What is the composition of the casino workforce?

The casino industry in Massachusetts employed up to 5,000 people at any given time, growing gradually throughout 2022.

- The casino industry is made up mostly of workers who are people of color (52.3%), though white workers are the largest racial group (32.6%).
- Workers are mostly men (55.7%), full-time (67.6%), and hourly (87.1%), though there are major demographic nuances across the three casinos.
- The largest division by share of employees is Gaming & Recreation (37.9%), and most workers are at the junior staff level (45.5%).
- Of the 6,601 employed in the industry, 39.1 percent make a living wage or higher with the median hourly wage at \$28.31.

Massachusetts casino workers live throughout New England and are heavily concentrated in the Boston and Springfield areas.

- There are large contingents of very local workers at MGM and EBH while PPC's workers are less concentrated around the casino.
- At all three casinos, there is a portion of workers who commute from lower-cost counties within and outside of Massachusetts.

How well do jobs at the casino adhere to principles of good jobs?

Recruitment and Hiring: Based on the employee population in 2022, casinos are meeting or exceeding their hiring goals for minority, veterans, and local workers, while hiring for women continues to fall short.

- With workforce targets set at 40 percent minority workers, 3 percent veterans, and 50 percent women, EBH exceeded its goal for hiring minority workers by 36.4 percentage points, was just 0.67 percentage points shy of its goal for hiring veterans, and 5.2 percentage points shy of its goal for hiring women.
- EBH surpassed its goal of hiring 75 percent of its workforce from a 30-mile radius with 89.5 percent of its employees coming from within this distance of the casino.
- With workforce targets at 50 percent minority workers, 2 percent veterans, and 50 percent women, MGM exceeded its goal for hiring minority workers by 7.3 percent, exceeded its goal for hiring veterans by 2.9 percentage points, and was 7.4 percentage points shy of its goal for hiring women.
- MGM met its goal of hiring 35 percent of its workforce from the City of Springfield, with 39.6 percent of its employees coming from Springfield.
- With workforce targets of 15 percent minority workers, 2 percent veterans, and 50 percent women, PPC exceeded its goal for hiring minority workers by 8.5 percentage points, exceeded its goal for hiring veterans by 2.8 percentage points, and was 8 percentage points shy of its goal for hiring women.
- PPC was just shy of its goal of hiring 35 percent of its workforce from host and surrounding communities with 31.2 percent coming from these communities.

Wages: Accommodation and food services industry typically pays the minimum wage or less, but with Massachusetts' historically high cost of living, minimum wage is insufficient for most households to afford basic needs. Thirty-nine percent of workers across the casinos make at or above the living wage for their respective cost of living, but there is a large difference across individual casinos (43.6%, 33.8%, and 18.0% at EBH, MGM, and PPC, respectively).

- In the top 20 percent of earners, people of color are represented in similar proportions to the hiring targets for minority workers (40%, 50% and 15% for EBH, MGM, and PPC respectively). In the bottom 20 percent of earners, however, people of color are overrepresented.
- Though the distribution of genders across wage quintiles is relatively evenly split between men and women, there are more men in the top earning categories – 100th and 80th percentiles – across the industry.
- Casinos tend to employ more full-time workers than part-time workers (67.6% vs 32.4%), and full-time workers make higher wages than part-time workers.

- Casinos tend to employ fewer salaried workers than hourly workers (12.9% vs 87.1%), and salaried workers make higher wages than hourly workers.

Job Security and Working Conditions: Compared to the Accommodations and Food Services industry as a whole, turnover rates at casinos are surprisingly low (28.6% vs 115%).

- Overall, turnover is lower among the higher wage quintiles, and higher among the lower wage quintiles.
- Turnover rates seem to be strongly influenced by wages, as turnover rates were much higher among workers making less than the living wage, hourly workers, and part-time workers.
- Across casino divisions, Gaming & Recreation workers tend to leave employment at the lowest rate overall, and also tend to make higher wages than any other division.
- When comparing turnover rates by race and ethnicity, Asian workers had the lowest turnover rates across all the casinos, followed by White workers, and all other race groups turned over at similar rates.
- Looking at all three casinos, most workers work within a range of full-time hours. Over half (57.7%) of casino employees are scheduled between 31 and 40 hours per week, which reflects the proportion of employees who are hired on full-time status (67.6%).
- Generally, there is stability in the average number of hours worked from paycheck to paycheck for all workers, though there is more variation for part-time workers.

Career Advancement: Promotions were not common across the industry in 2022.

- Promotions, defined in this report as an increase in average hourly wage in combination with job title changes, were awarded to only 2percent of workers across the industry.
- Of the small share of workers who did get promotions in 2022, there appear to be few discrepancies in promotion rates across race groups.

Diversity Equity Inclusion & Accessibility: At the industry level, men make up the slight majority of workers across job levels, and the share of minority workers consistently becomes smaller as seniority increases.

- Women are well represented at the executive level but are otherwise underrepresented in the director and manager levels. At the other end of the spectrum, gender patterns vary: most service workers at PPC are women (60%), at EBH there is a nearly even split with women at 49 percent, and at MGM most service workers are men (55%).
- Minority workers are well represented at the junior staff, senior staff, and manager levels; however, they are also generally overrepresented at the service worker level and underrepresented at the director and executive levels.

Introduction

The Economic and Public Policy Research (EPPR) team at the University of Massachusetts Donahue Institute (UMDI), as a part of the Social and Economic Impacts of Gambling in Massachusetts (SEIGMA) research team, is tasked with producing various analyses of economic and fiscal impacts in fulfillment of the Massachusetts Gaming Commission's (MGC) research agenda and mandates. The purpose of this report is to examine workforce conditions at the Commonwealth's three casinos, Encore Boston Harbor (EBH), MGM Springfield (MGM), and Plainridge Park Casino (PPC), and analyze the extent to which Massachusetts casino jobs are benefiting the casino workforce, or otherwise assess the quality of casino jobs.

Previous SEIGMA reports have reported on hiring and wage patterns at individual casinos, though these reports have been aimed at analyzing the casinos' economic impact on the Commonwealth and evaluating how closely hiring is aligned with commitments made during the application process. In the last few years, a number of economic and demographic shifts, including the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, have led to a more robust conversation around job quality. One of the reasons that expanding gaming in Massachusetts was so appealing was that the casinos would serve as a major source of new jobs and drive economic health. As large employers, casino operators can support economic health, but the extent to which they bolster economic conditions depends on how much the jobs created pay, how stable they are, and whether they empower workers to develop their careers and move into better paying jobs, either within or outside of the organization. Therefore, the goal of this report is to explore the conditions experienced by the casino workforce and identify questions for future research related to the quality of casino jobs in Massachusetts.¹

To explore workforce conditions, this report utilizes payroll data to analyze patterns in hiring, compensation, mobility, and turnover at the Commonwealth's casinos from January 2022 through December 2022. While some of these conditions will require deeper investigation and data collection, such as benefits, work environment, and professional development, the detailed payroll data provided to the MGC by the casino operators provides insight into the current state of the Massachusetts casinos' workforce.

It is uncommon for a research team to have access to payroll data for purposes of analyzing job quality. Much of the academic work on job quality or worker well-being relies on either secondary data reported by state and federal government agencies or survey data which captures a small sample of workers across the whole economy. Business literature, particularly around human resources, has some examples of analyses of detailed data, but those analyses are generally geared toward advancing the interests of the firm rather than educating a broader group of stakeholders.

A report titled *6 Job Quality Metrics Every Company Should Know* from the Brookings Institution suggested a list of metrics that a firm might measure to improve worker well-being. The Brookings report identified three main categories of worker well-being: job quality, economic mobility, and job equity. Job quality is characterized by the percentage of workers that earn a living wage and have healthcare and by the number of new, good jobs created each year at each wage quintile. Economic mobility is defined by access to steppingstone jobs, the percentage of workers that transition from earning low wages to high wages, and the percentage of workers that cross the one-year mark in the

¹ It is important to note, the analysis in this report does not aim to label any job at any of the casinos as meeting or failing to meet specific job quality criteria, but rather aims to be a first assessment and benchmarking of the range of job conditions at the casinos using selected indicators of quality jobs.

company. Job equity looks at workforce demographic gaps in the company's high-wage occupations and gaps in wage mobility across demographic groups. The Brookings Institution report suggests that measuring, tracking, and compiling metrics like these will allow firms to assess their baseline of workforce well-being, measure impact, and set goals accordingly.

To the same end, the U.S. Department of Labor has partnered with the Department of Commerce in the creation of *The Good Jobs Initiative*. In efforts to identify what comprises a good job, they have created a framework of eight principles for workers, businesses, researchers, advocates, and governments to define a shared vision of job quality. There are eight principles that define a good job. These are: **Recruitment and hiring**, the principle that qualified applicants are actively recruited, especially from underserved communities, and applicants are free from discrimination; **Benefits**, the principle that family-sustaining benefits that provide economic security and mobility are provided to full- and part-time staff; **Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Accessibility**, the principle that all workers have equal opportunity, are respected, empowered, and treated fairly, and that systemic barriers against individuals from underserved communities do not exist in the workplace; **Empowerment and Representation**, the principle that workers can form and join unions and that unions are protected from retaliation by employers; **Job Security and Working Conditions**, the principle that workers have a safe, healthy, and accessible workplace and that workers have job security without arbitrary or discriminatory discipline or dismissal as well as adequate hours and predictable schedules; **Organizational Culture**, the principle that all workers belong, are valued, contribute meaningfully to the organization, and are respected, especially by leadership; **Pay**, the principle that all workers are paid a stable and predictable living wage before overtime, tips, and commissions, and that wages increase with increased skills and experience; **Skills and Career Advancement**, the principle that workers have equitable opportunities and tools to progress to future good jobs within their organizations or outside of them, and that workers have transparent promotion or advancement opportunities.

Of these indicators, many can easily be measured using payroll data while others would require a more extensive qualitative data collection process which was out of the scope of the present study. This report explores the following selected indicators gleaned from both sources and based on data limitations:

- **Recruitment and Hiring:** Workforce diversity goals and assessment of hiring targets
- **Wages:** The degree to which casino jobs pay living wages; Wage distributions across demographic groups
- **Job Security and Working Conditions:** Turnover rate analysis; Hours and work schedules
- **Career Advancement:** Promotions
- **Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion:** Analysis of demographic distribution across occupation hierarchy

For a deeper explanation of indicators used and their sources, see Appendix B – Job Quality Measures.

In this report, we first describe the three casinos and their regional workforce context followed by an overview of the composition of the workforce in Massachusetts as well as within the Accommodations and Food Services sector. With operator data from the casinos, we then describe the characteristics and composition of the industry's workforce, pertinent to the discussion of job quality. The final section examines the quality of casino jobs, both across the industry and at individual casinos, by analyzing selected indicators of good jobs as bulleted above. It is important to note that this assessment does not include any qualitative data from the employees, such as interview or survey data, and only analyzes payroll data with information on hours, wages, and demographics. As our conclusion will suggest,

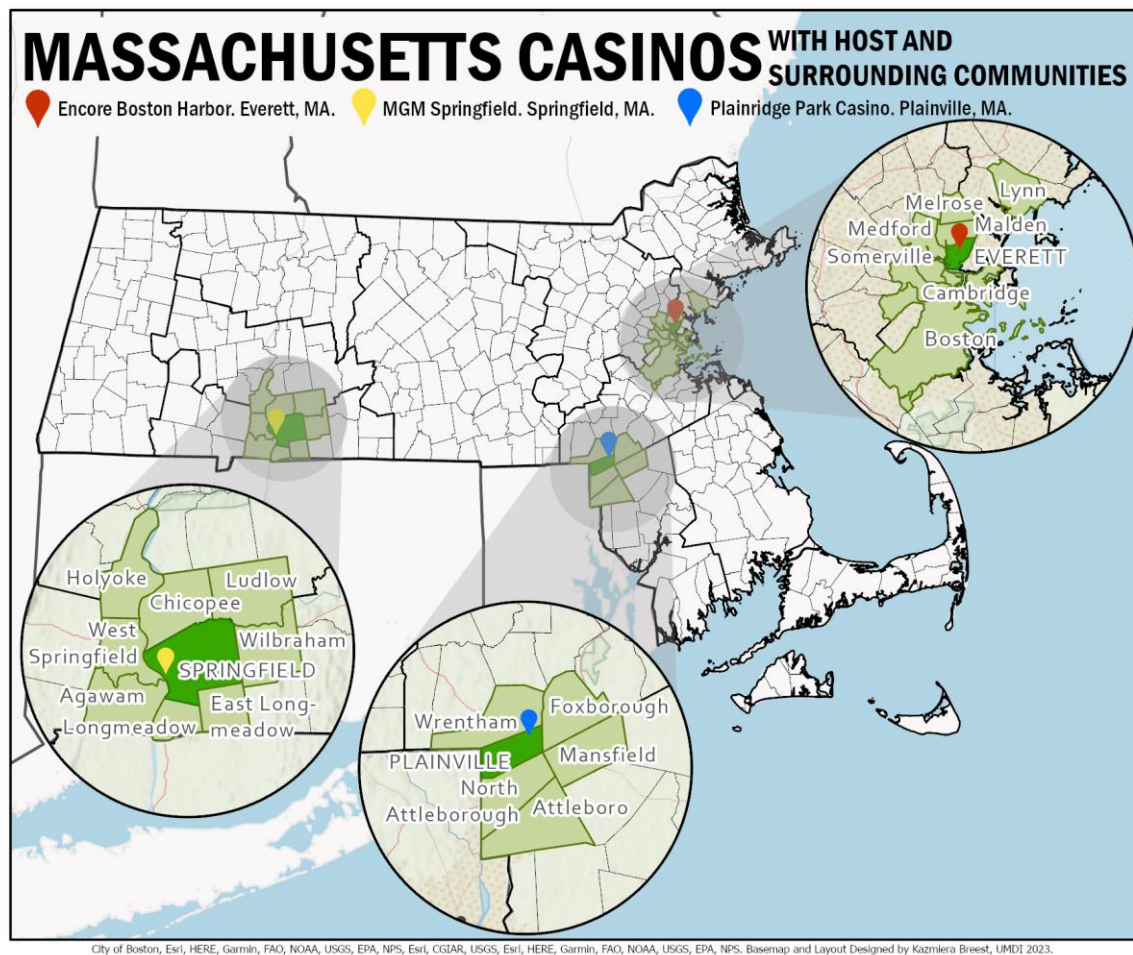
qualitative data representing the opinions of the operators and employees themselves would complement this analysis and should be considered in future iterations of this report.

Regional Workforce Context

Each of the Commonwealth's three casinos are located in very different parts of the state and each facility is comprised of different features, attractions, and magnitudes of operation (Figure 1). Similarly, the three casinos are located in very different labor markets which shape their respective workforces. In this section, we situate each casino within its host and surrounding communities, the local population, and describe the nature of their facilities and operations. A following section provides additional context regarding the composition of the broader labor force in Massachusetts, as well as the workforce composition within the Accommodation and Food Services industry.

The Massachusetts Casino Industry

Figure 1: Reference Map of The Massachusetts Casino Industry with Host and Surrounding Communities



Source: Massachusetts Gaming Commission, UMDI Analysis

The first casino to open in Massachusetts was Plainridge Park Casino, which opened to the public on June 24, 2015, in the town of Plainville, Massachusetts. Corporate owner Penn National Gaming was awarded the Commonwealth's first and only slots-parlor casino license in 2014. PPC is home to the only live harness racing track in Massachusetts as a part of its integrated racing and gaming facility. The gaming area features 1,250 slot machines, video poker, video blackjack, and other electronic gaming attractions. On-site entertainment includes a lounge bar with appearances from local and regional

bands, seasonal food and wine festivals, and simulated game shows. The facility is open 24 hours a day, every day including weekends and holidays. Parking is complimentary and built to serve 1,620 visitors.

The city of Plainville is located in Norfolk County on the border with Rhode Island. Bordering the city are municipalities with Surrounding Community designations from the MGC, namely Attleboro, Foxborough, Mansfield, North Attleborough, and Wrentham. The county population has a much higher level of educational attainment than the state as a whole, with 57 percent of the population 25 or older holding a bachelor's degree or higher. The local unemployment rate is 3.3 percent, slightly lower than the state overall. Regarding demographics, 51 percent of the population is female, and 49 percent male. The majority (72%) of the population is White, followed by Asian (12%), Black or African American (7%), American Indian or Alaskan Native (0.2%), and Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (0.02%); 3 percent of the population identifies with Some Other Race, and 6 percent identifies with two or more races. The Hispanic or Latino population, of any race, is 5 percent.

In the south-western part of the state, MGM Springfield opened its doors in the City of Springfield on August 24, 2018. MGM Springfield is one of many gaming establishments owned by MGM Resorts International, a global gaming entertainment company with 30 properties worldwide, and the first resort-style casino to open in the Commonwealth. The casino is normally open 24 hours a day and for all days during the week, including holidays and weekends. MGM Springfield features 2,500 slot machines, 93 gaming tables, and 23 poker tables. Located off East Columbus Avenue in the heart of Springfield's downtown, this facility offers non-gambling recreational activities and a variety of non-gambling services and amenities, including a 251-room hotel, spa, several restaurants, bars, and shops, convention space, movie theater, bowling alley, seasonal ice-skating rink, farmers market, and live entertainment. Valet parking and free self-parking is available at the casino's multi-level parking garage on MGM Way.

The city of Springfield is located in Hampden County, which is in the southern part of the Pioneer Valley in Western Massachusetts. Bordering the city are municipalities with Surrounding Community designations from the MGC, namely: Agawam, Chicopee, East Longmeadow, Holyoke, Longmeadow, Ludlow, West Springfield, Wilbraham. The county population has a much lower level of educational attainment compared to the state as a whole, with 31 percent of the population 25 or older holding a bachelor's degree or higher. The local unemployment rate is 4.8 percent, significantly higher than the state overall. Regarding demographics, 52 percent of the population is female, and 48 percent male. The majority (65%) of the population is White, followed by Black or African American (9%), Asian (3%), American Indian or Alaskan Native (0.5%), and Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (0.1%); 13 percent of the population identifies with Some Other Race, and 10 percent identifies with two or more races. The Hispanic or Latino population, of any race, is 26 percent.

Encore Boston Harbor opened for business on June 23, 2019, just north of Boston in Everett, Massachusetts. Located on 33 acres along the Mystic River, the Commonwealth's third resort-style casino is owned by Wynn Resorts. Encore Boston harbor is an integrated resort that includes a hotel, harbor walk, restaurants, casino, spa, retail outlets, and meeting and convention space. The harbor walk is accessible year-round and provides various public amenities including a picnic park, paths for bikers and pedestrians, viewing decks, waterfront dining and retail establishments, a performance lawn, floral displays, boat docks, and public art. Encore Boston Harbor offers nearly 2,500 slot machines, 203 table games, and 24 poker tables. The facility is open 24 hours a day, every day including weekends and holidays.

The city of Everett is located directly north of Boston in Middlesex County. Bordering the city are municipalities with Surrounding Community designations from the MGC, namely Boston, Cambridge,

Chelsea, Lynn, Malden, Medford, Melrose, and Somerville. The county population has a much higher level of educational attainment than the state as a whole, with 59 percent of the population 25 or older holding a bachelor's degree or higher. The local unemployment rate is 3 percent, slightly lower than the state overall. Regarding demographics, 51 percent of the population is female, and 49 percent male. The majority (68%) of the population is White, followed by Asian (13%), Black or African American (5%), American Indian or Alaskan Native (0.2%), and Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (0.03%); 5 percent of the population identifies with Some Other Race, and 8 percent identifies with two or more races. The Hispanic or Latino population, of any race, is 9 percent.

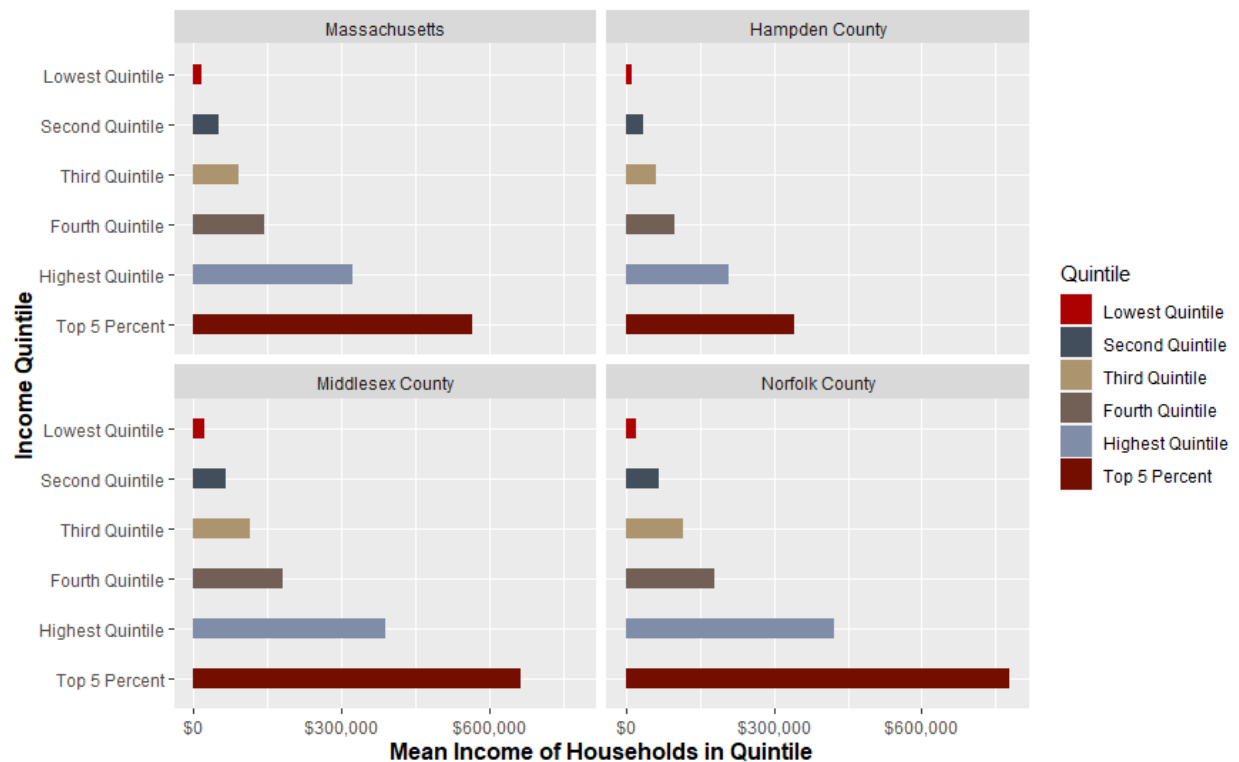
Composition of the Massachusetts Workforce

Massachusetts has the most highly educated workforce in the country, with 46.6 percent of the population over 25 holding a college degree. The state also enjoys a low unemployment rate of 3.5 percent, putting it in the top half of the country, and a relatively strong labor force participation rate of 64.5 percent, placing it 15th in the country. Regarding demographics, 51 percent of the population is female, and 49 percent male. The majority (70%) of the population is White, followed by Asian (7.2%), Black or African American (7.0%), American Indian or Alaskan Native (0.3%), and Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (0.03%). Nine percent of the population identifies as Two or More Races, and 7 percent as Some Other Race. The Hispanic or Latino population, of any race, is 13 percent.²

Massachusetts has the highest per capita income in the country, but ranks fifth highest in childcare costs, fifth in housing value, fourth in electricity costs, and third in natural gas costs. As a result, the living wage requirement for a family of four with two working parents is one of the highest in the country at \$32.46/hour per parent, or a total annual household income of over \$135,000.

² Data in this section are from the American Community Survey, 1-Year data, 2021, U.S. Census Bureau.

Figure 2: Mean Household Income by Wage Quintile for Massachusetts and Each County Other Than Dukes and Nantucket



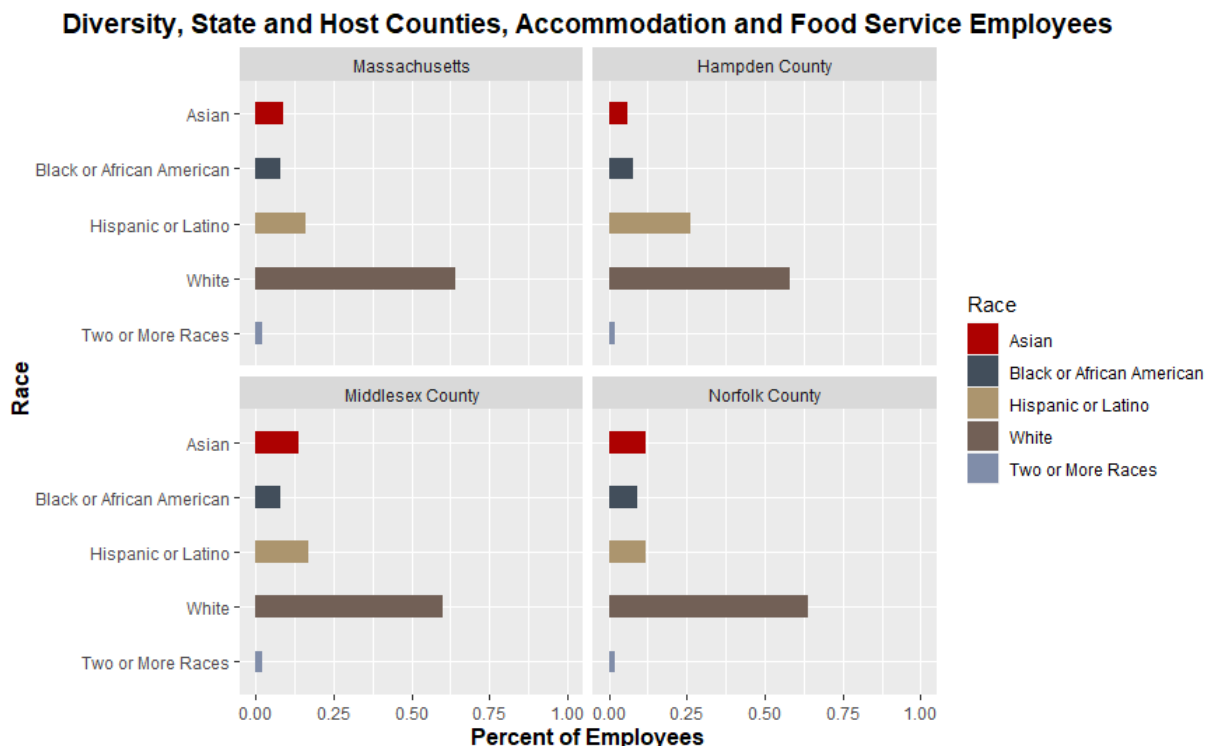
Source: US Census Bureau, ACS 1-Year 2021, UMDI Analysis

Norfolk and Middlesex Counties, home to PPC and EBH, respectively, are the two wealthiest counties in Massachusetts, while Hampden County, home to MGM, is below the state average. The living wage requirement in Hampden is slightly lower than the state average (\$27.91/hour per parent) for a family of four with two working parents, and higher in Norfolk (\$36.77/hour per parent) and Middlesex (\$33.36/hour per parent) counties.

Industry Trends for Accommodation and Food Services

This report also considers broader industry conditions in which the casino industry is a part. Rather than survey the Massachusetts workforce, we focused on the Accommodation and Food Services industry, specifically those businesses that fall under North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) code 72.³ Casinos and casino hotels fall under this classification, and we assume that the skills and experience of the larger industry workforce are largely transferrable to most casino positions.

Figure 3: Share of Workers by Ethnicity in Accommodation and Food Services for MA and Each County

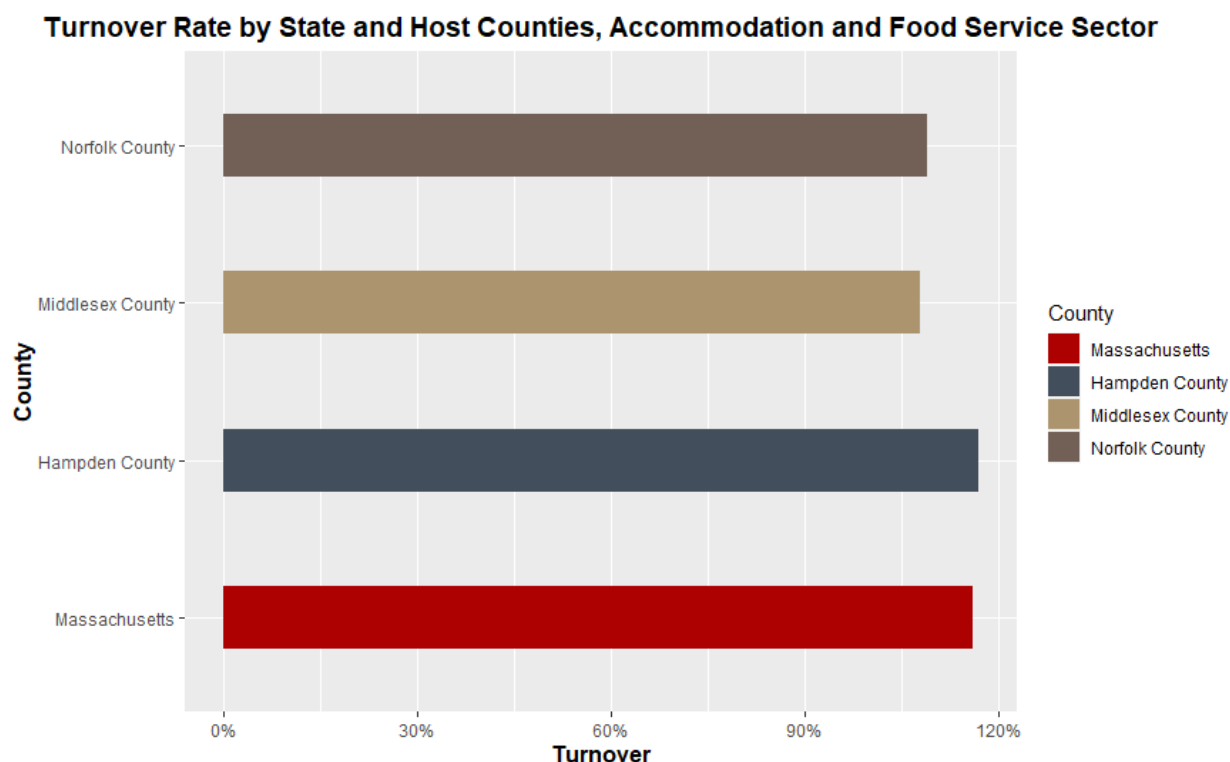


Source: Lightcast, UMDI Analysis

The racial diversity of Accommodation and Food Services workers in Norfolk, Middlesex, and Hampden counties is similar to or slightly greater than that of the state overall, with Middlesex and Hampden counties having a larger nonwhite population, at 40 percent and 42 percent respectively, and both Norfolk County and the state overall at 36 percent (Figure 3). Hampden has a significantly higher population of Hispanic or Latino Accommodation and Food Services employees than other geographies, at 26 percent compared to 16 percent in the state as a whole. Middlesex and Norfolk in turn have significantly higher percentages of Asian workers, at 14 percent and 12 percent compared to 9 percent in the state as a whole.

³ The Accommodation and Food Services sector comprises establishments providing customers with lodging and/or preparing meals, snacks, and beverages for immediate consumption. The sector includes both accommodation and food services establishments because the two activities are often combined at the same establishment. Excluded from this sector are civic and social organizations; amusement and recreation parks; theaters; and other recreation or entertainment facilities providing food and beverage services.

Figure 4: Turnover in the Accommodation and Food Services Industry Sector for MA and each County



Source: Lightcast, UMDI Analysis

Note: Due to their high concentration of seasonal workers, Barnstable, Dukes, and Nantucket counties were excluded.

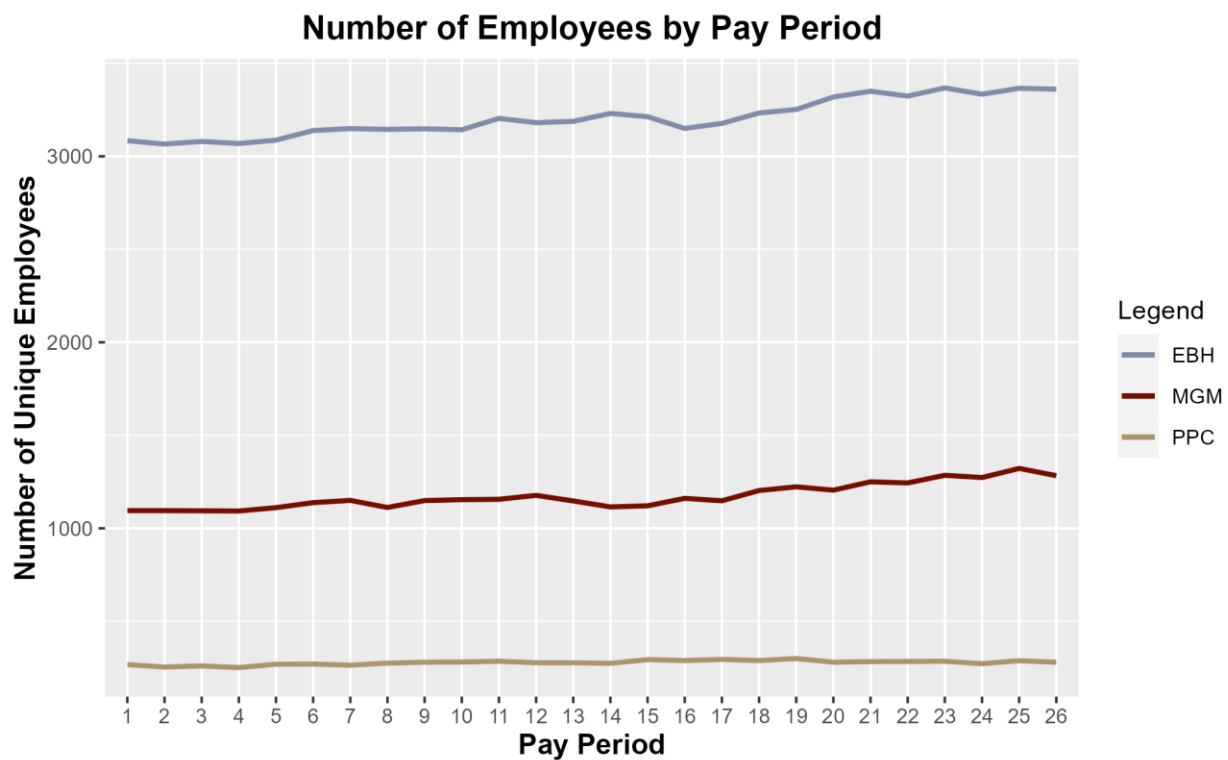
Turnover rates in the Accommodation and Food Services industry tend to be higher than turnover rates in the overall job market (115% vs. 54%) due to seasonal changes in patronage and hours of operation, employing many first-time, part-time, seasonal and student workers, and low barriers to entry with relative flexibility (Figure 4). Additionally, upward mobility is usually accomplished by finding a new position with a higher paying employer, rather than internal promotion. The turnover rate in the Accommodation and Food Services industry is above 100 percent in every county. Norfolk (109%) and Middlesex (108%) Counties have slightly lower turnover than the state as a whole (115%), while Hampden County (117%) is slightly higher. A turnover rate of over 100 percent indicates that the number of workers who left the industry sector in the past year exceeded the annual average number of employees in that sector. However, because new workers are constantly entering the sector, a turnover rate over 100 percent does not on its own indicate that the sector is shrinking.

Casino Workforce Composition and Characteristics

The purpose of this section is to inform the discussion of job quality by describing the characteristics and composition of the casino workforce using payroll data from casino operators. Looking at employment levels throughout the year, employee residences, as well as counts, median wages, and the share of populations making a living wage by demographic groups, we describe the kinds of workers employed across the industry and at each individual casino.

Figure 5 below shows employment levels on a bi-weekly basis throughout 2022. The casino industry in Massachusetts employed between 4,400 and 5,000 people at any given time in calendar year 2022, growing gradually throughout the year.⁴ The largest casino, EBH, employed between 3,100 and 3,400 people on average on any given day throughout the year, while MGM employed about 1,100 to 1,300 people on average (Figure 5). PPC, the smallest of the three, employed between 250 and 300 employees. These numbers reflect operations after all restrictions for COVID-19 were lifted from the casinos in May of 2021.⁵

Figure 5: Number of Employees by Pay Period by Casino in Calendar Year 2022



⁴ Employment totals in a given pay period, calculated on a bi-weekly basis, differ from the total annual headcounts in Table 1.

⁵ For more information about how the COVID-19 pandemic effected the gambling industry, please see our COVID Impacts report (https://www.umass.edu/seigma/sites/default/files/SEIGMA%20Covid%20Impacts%20Report_FINAL.pdf).

Table 1 shows employee totals, median wages, and shares above living wage for various groups of employees using a total headcount of employees who were employed at *any point* throughout 2022. Looking at all three casinos the largest groups in the casino industry are workers who are people of color (52.3%, though white workers are the largest racial group 32.6%)⁶, males (55.7%), full-time (67.6%), hourly (87.1%) workers, though there are major demographic nuances across the three casinos. The largest division of work by share of employees is Gaming & Recreation (37.9%), and most workers are at the junior staff level (45.5%). Of the 6,601 employees in the industry, 39.1 percent make a living wage or higher with the median hourly wage at \$28.31. A look at payroll shows that EBH generally pays the highest wages, but not all of its workers are making a living wage due to the high cost of living where most of its employees live.⁷

EBH is the most racially diverse casino with the largest race group being Asian workers (25.9%). Male (55.1%), full-time (69.3%), and hourly (87.8%) workers make up the majority of EBH's workforce. The largest division of work by share of employees is Gaming & Recreation (40.2%), and most workers are at the junior staff level (50.1%). Of the 4,256 employees at EBH, 43.6 percent make a living wage or more with the median hourly wage at \$30.89. Compared to the overall Accommodation and Food Services sector in Middlesex County, EBH is much more diverse (23.5% of workers are white compared to 60% of the overall sector) and pays much higher wages (\$30.89/hr vs. \$17.54/hr).

MGM is made up of mostly white workers (42.7%), males (56.5%), full-time (64.0%), and hourly (87.8%) workers. The largest division by share of employees is Food & Beverage (31.9%), and most workers are at the service worker level (45.2%). Of the 1,912 employees at MGM, 33.8% make a living wage or more with the median hourly wage at \$21.51. MGM's workforce is more diverse than the overall Accommodation and Food Services sector in Hampden County (42.7% of workers are white compared to 58% of the overall sector) and pays higher wages as the industry overall (\$21.51/hr vs. \$17.05/hr).

PPC is made up of mostly white workers (76.4%), males (58.0%), full-time (66.1%), and hourly (78.5%) workers. The largest division by share of employees is Gaming & Recreation (43.2%), and most workers are at the junior staff level (46.2%). Of the 433 employees, 18.0 percent make a living wage or more with the median hourly wage at \$18.21. PPC's workforce is less diverse than the overall Accommodation and Food Services sector in Norfolk County (76.4% of workers are white compared to 64% in the overall sector) and make slightly higher wages than the industry overall (\$18.21/hr vs. \$17.29/hr).

⁶ People of color are defined as non-white race groups, though Other/Declined Response is not included in calculations for either people of color or White workers. Percentages do not sum up to 100% due to a 15.1% share attributed to "Other/Declined Response".

⁷ Note: calculated living wages based on where the employees live unless they lived outside of New England, in which case the living wage for the county that the casino is in was used. See Appendix A – Methodology.

Table 1: Casino Workforce Characteristics, 2022

Headcount, Median Hourly Wage, and Share of at/above Living Wage by Race, Division, Full/Part Time, and Hourly/Salary for Industry and each Casino.

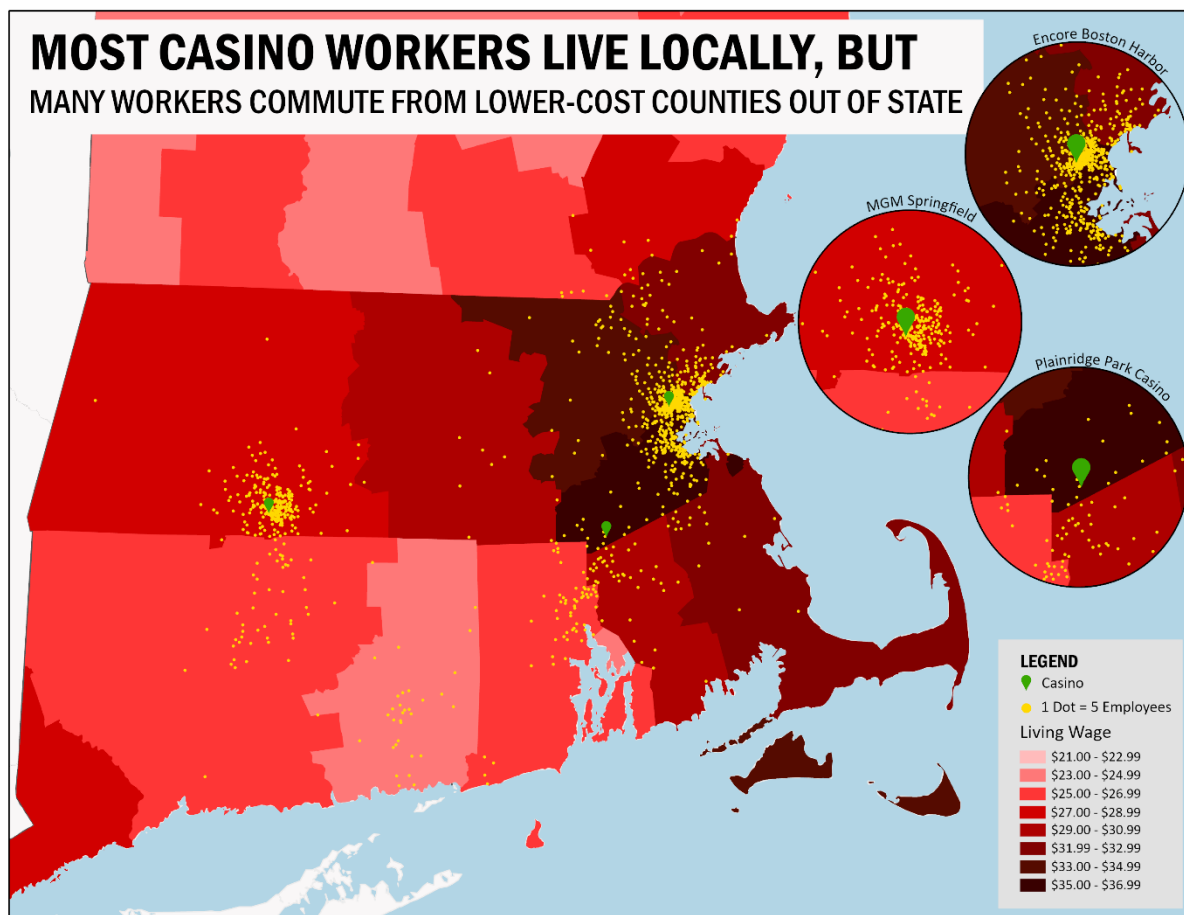
	All			Encore Boston Harbor			MGM Springfield			Plainridge Park Casino		
	Massachusetts Living Wage \$32.46			Middlesex Living Wage \$33.36			Hampden Living Wage \$27.91			Norfolk Living Wage \$36.77		
	Headcount	Median Hourly Wage	Share above Living Wage	Headcount	Median Hourly Wage	Share above Living Wage	Headcount	Median Hourly Wage	Share above Living Wage	Headcount	Median Hourly Wage	Share above Living Wage
Total	6,601	\$28.31	39.1%	4,256	\$30.89	43.6%	1,912	\$21.51	33.8%	433	\$18.21	18.0%
Share	100%	-	-	64.5%	-	-	29.0%	-	-	6.6%	-	-
Race/Ethnicity												
Asian	1,255 (19.0%)	\$37.13	58.5%	1,102 (25.9%)	\$37.31	58.2%	138 (7.2%)	\$36.56	65.9%	15 (3.5%)	\$16.79	13.3%
Black or African American	812 (12.3%)	\$25.77	23.2%	469 (11.0%)	\$28.03	25.2%	298 (15.6%)	\$19.28	20.8%	45 (10.4%)	\$17.70	17.8%
Hispanic or Latino	1,205 (18.3%)	\$25.87	23.3%	655 (15.4%)	\$28.05	26.0%	521 (27.2%)	\$19.59	20.9%	29 (6.7%)	\$17.24	6.9%
White	2,149 (32.6%)	\$28.64	45.6%	1,001 (23.5%)	\$36.53	57.0%	817 (42.7%)	\$24.34	42.1%	331 (76.4%)	\$18.53	19.6%
Two or more races	183 (2.8%)	\$27.92	41.5%	104 (2.4%)	\$34.74	51.9%	70 (3.7%)	\$20.98	30.0%	9 (2.1%)	\$19.61	11.1%
Other/Declined Response	997 (15.1%)	\$27.83	32.2%	925 (21.7%)	\$28.01	32.5%	68 (3.6%)	\$21.86	29.4%	< 5	\$16.39	0.0%
Gender												
Male	3,679 (55.7%)	\$28.86	42.8%	2,347 (55.1%)	\$32.26	47.3%	1,081 (56.5%)	\$22.22	38.3%	251 (58.0%)	\$18.51	20.7%
Female	2,905 (44.0%)	\$27.87	34.4%	1,909 (44.9%)	\$29.84	39.0%	814 (42.6%)	\$20.75	28.1%	182 (42.0%)	\$18.00	14.3%
Declined response	17 (0.3%)	\$20.23	23.5%	-	-	-	17 (0.9%)	\$20.23	23.5%	-	-	-
Division												
Gaming & Recreation	2,504 (37.9%)	\$37.63	66.2%	1,713 (40.2%)	\$38.15	73.4%	604 (31.6%)	\$32.50	60.3%	187 (43.2%)	\$17.77	19.3%
Food & Beverage	1,825 (27.6%)	\$25.28	19.4%	1,083 (25.4%)	\$27.93	22.3%	610 (31.9%)	\$19.83	16.2%	132 (30.5%)	\$16.07	9.8%
General & Administrative	1,275 (19.3%)	\$25.93	30.0%	851 (20.0%)	\$26.69	29.6%	339 (17.7%)	\$21.57	30.7%	85 (19.6%)	\$21.27	30.6%
Hotel	703 (10.6%)	\$27.74	15.2%	566 (13.3%)	\$28.09	17.0%	137 (7.2%)	\$16.33	8.0%	-	-	-
Retail	49 (0.7%)	\$21.22	14.3%	43 (1.0%)	\$21.86	16.3%	6 (0.3%)	\$15.91	0.0%	-	-	-
Entertainment	207 (3.1%)	\$16.93	33.3%	-	-	-	207 (10.8%)	\$16.93	33.3%	-	-	-
Other	38 (0.6%)	\$18.16	7.9%	-	-	-	9 (0.5%)	\$15.17	0.0%	29 (6.7%)	\$18.87	10.3%
Full/Part-Time Status												
Full-Time	4,460 (67.6%)	\$29.50	43.3%	2,951 (69.3%)	\$31.79	46.0%	1,223 (64.0%)	\$23.98	41.4%	286 (66.1%)	\$20.15	24.8%
Part-Time	2,141 (32.4%)	\$25.77	30.2%	1,305 (30.7%)	\$28.91	38.2%	689 (36.0%)	\$18.17	20.5%	147 (33.9%)	\$16.26	4.8%
Hourly/Salary Status												
Hourly	5,751 (87.1%)	\$27.41	34.3%	3,735 (87.8%)	\$29.35	39.6%	1,676 (87.7%)	\$20.36	28.1%	340 (78.5%)	\$17.35	5.9%
Salary	850 (12.9%)	\$36.06	71.6%	521 (12.2%)	\$40.08	72.0%	236 (12.3%)	\$31.98	74.6%	93 (21.5%)	\$30.04	62.4%
Hierarchy												
Executives	40 (0.6%)	\$110.81	95.0%	25 (0.6%)	\$131.87	92.0%	11 (0.6%)	\$69.41	100.0%	< 5	\$99.17	100.0%
Directors	106 (1.6%)	\$55.03	97.2%	47 (1.1%)	\$76.16	95.7%	51 (2.7%)	\$42.58	98.0%	8 (1.8%)	\$59.16	100.0%
Managers	345 (5.2%)	\$38.08	68.1%	234 (5.5%)	\$42.33	67.9%	91 (4.8%)	\$30.06	62.6%	20 (4.6%)	\$39.19	95.0%
Senior Staff	839 (12.7%)	\$32.10	51.8%	559 (13.1%)	\$35.85	58.0%	212 (11.1%)	\$26.27	45.3%	68 (15.7%)	\$21.83	22.1%
Junior Staff	3,015 (45.7%)	\$29.46	44.0%	2,133 (50.1%)	\$35.70	53.4%	682 (35.7%)	\$21.43	25.8%	200 (46.2%)	\$17.90	7.0%
Service Workers	2,255 (34.2%)	\$26.25	19.5%	1,258 (29.6%)	\$27.39	13.2%	864 (45.2%)	\$17.98	29.6%	133 (30.7%)	\$16.93	13.5%

Source: MGC, 2022 casino operator data; UMDI analysis.

Note: see Appendix A – Methodology for definition of job hierarchy categorization

Massachusetts casino workers live throughout New England and are heavily concentrated in the Boston and Springfield areas. As shown in the map below (Figure 6), there are large contingencies of very local workers at MGM and EBH, but at all three casinos, there is a portion of workers who commute from lower-cost counties within and outside of Massachusetts. Nearly all abutting counties to Massachusetts have lower costs of living. It is possible that EBH's higher wages allow workers to live closer to the casino despite the high cost of living.

Figure 6: Living Wage by County Map and distribution of Worker Residencies for Industry



Esri, TomTom, Garmin, FAO, NOAA, USGS, EPA, NPS, USFWS. Basemap and Layout designed by Kazmiera Breest, 2023.

Note: living wage calculations are for a household of four with two incomes. See Appendix A for full methodology.

Source: MGC, 2022 casino operator data; MIT living wage calculator; UMDI analysis

Casino Job Quality

This section examines the quality of casino jobs by analyzing selected indicators of good jobs. First, we discuss recruitment and hiring, investigating the extent to which casinos recruit and hire employees from underserved communities such as minorities, women, veterans, and residents of host and surrounding communities. Second, we assess the quality of wages paid by casino jobs by measuring how well the casinos pay employees a stable, predictable, and equitable wage using the MIT living wage calculator (see Appendix A – Methodology). We also examine the distribution of workers across wage quintiles by different demographic groups. Following wages is a discussion of job security and working conditions, addressing how well the casinos provide adequate hours and predictable schedules and whether the rate at which employees are retained is equitable and expected for the industry. Then we analyze career advancement, examining how well casinos provide equitable opportunities for advancement, and the accessibility of advancement opportunities by different demographic groups. Finally, we examine diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility to assess how well the casino provides equal opportunities to all types of workers, and whether systemic barriers exist for workers from underserved communities.

Recruitment and Hiring

As major employers in their respective regions, Massachusetts casinos have the potential to support economic health in the regions in which they operate by creating new, high quality employment opportunities with low barriers to entry. To be sure that these benefits are accessible to all workers, the MGC monitors each casino's adherence toward their stated hiring goals targeting underserved and local communities.⁸ The operators report hiring data regularly to the MGC, ensuring they are responsible for meeting certain quotas in their hiring demographics.⁹ This also incentivizes them to actively recruit qualified applicants from diverse backgrounds and therefore create quality jobs for people who might not otherwise find these opportunities. The nature of many casino jobs, which offer on-the-job training, minimizes unnecessary educational, credential, or experience requirements. Given that these goals are set by referencing demographic data from host and surrounding communities, we use these targets as a benchmark of the magnitude of new, good jobs created for underserved and local communities in which the casinos operate.

With workforce targets set at 40 percent minority workers, 3 percent veterans, and 50 percent women, EBH exceeded its goal for hiring minority workers by 36.4 percentage points, was just 0.6 percentage points shy of its goal for hiring veterans, and 5.2 percentage points shy of its goal for hiring women (Table 2). EBH has surpassed the goal of hiring 75 percent of its employees from a 30-mile radius around the casino, with 89.5 percent of its employees coming from within this distance. With hiring goals of 50 percent minority workers, 2 percent veterans, and 50 percent women, MGM exceeded its goal for hiring minority workers by 7.3 percentage points, exceeded its goal for hiring veterans by 2.9 percentage points, and was 7.4 percentage points shy of its goal for hiring women. MGM met its goal of hiring 35 percent of its workforce from the City of Springfield, with 39.6 percent of its employees coming from Springfield. With hiring goals of 15 percent minority workers, 2 percent veterans, and 50 percent women, PPC exceeded its goal for hiring minority workers by 8.5 percentage points, exceeded its goal for hiring veterans by 2.8 percentage points, and was 8 percentage points shy of its goal for hiring

⁸ <https://massgaming.com/wp-content/uploads/MGC-Annual-Report-2022.pdf>

⁹ For background on the diversity hiring initiatives in the casino industry, see Appendix A – Methodology

women. PPC was just shy of its goal of hiring 35 percent of its workforce from host and surrounding communities with 31.2 percent coming from these communities.

Table 2: Hiring Goals and Results

	EBH			MGM			PPC		
	Goal	Actual	✓	Goal	Actual	✓	Goal	Actual	✓
Minority Workers	40%	76.4%	✓	50%	57.3%	✓	15%	23.5%	✓
Veteran Workers	3%	2.4%		2%	4.9%	✓	2%	4.8%	✓
Women Workers	50%	44.8%		50%	42.6%		50%	42.0%	
Local Workers	75%*	89.5%	✓	35%**	39.6%	✓	35%***	31.2%	

*EBH is committed to hiring 75 percent of its workforce from a 30-mile radius around the facility

**MGM is committed to hiring 35 percent of its workforce from the Springfield workforce.

***PPC is committed to hiring 35 percent of its workforce from its Host and Surrounding Communities

Source: MGC Annual report 2022

Wages

The average wage in the Accommodation and Food Services industry is \$17.66/hour,¹⁰ slightly higher than the Massachusetts minimum wage of \$14.25¹¹. However, this average represents all levels of employment in the industry, and many employers in this sector are allowed to pay the minimum wage or less. Additionally, with Massachusetts' historically high cost of living, minimum wage – though higher in Massachusetts than most other states – is insufficient for most households to afford basic needs.

An approach for measuring job quality, regardless of industry, is to compare wages to living wage standards. MIT's living wage calculator considers a range of expenses from food and housing to childcare and transportation to estimate the local wage rate that a full-time worker requires to cover the costs of their family's basic needs where they live.¹² Currently, the estimated hourly wage per individual required to cover the cost of living for two children and two adults (both working) is \$32.46 for Massachusetts as a whole, over twice the average wage in the Accommodation and Food Services industry. Living wage estimates are different across counties in New England, and for this report, an employee makes at or above the living wage if their average hourly wages are at or greater than the living wage for their home county.¹³

Living Wages

Some jobs at the casinos are tipped, and tips, bonuses, and gratuities are included in casino payroll data in addition to base wages when available.¹⁴ With this in mind, our analysis finds that less than half of workers across casinos make at or above the living wage for their home county's cost of living, though the shares of those who make at or above a living wage are lower at MGM and PPC than at EBH (Figure 7). With 43.6 percent of its workers making a living wage, EBH is most likely to pay sustainable wages

¹⁰ Lightcast, see Appendix A – Methodology

¹¹ Note that \$14.25 was the minimum wage in Massachusetts for 2022, which increased to \$15.00 on January 1, 2023.

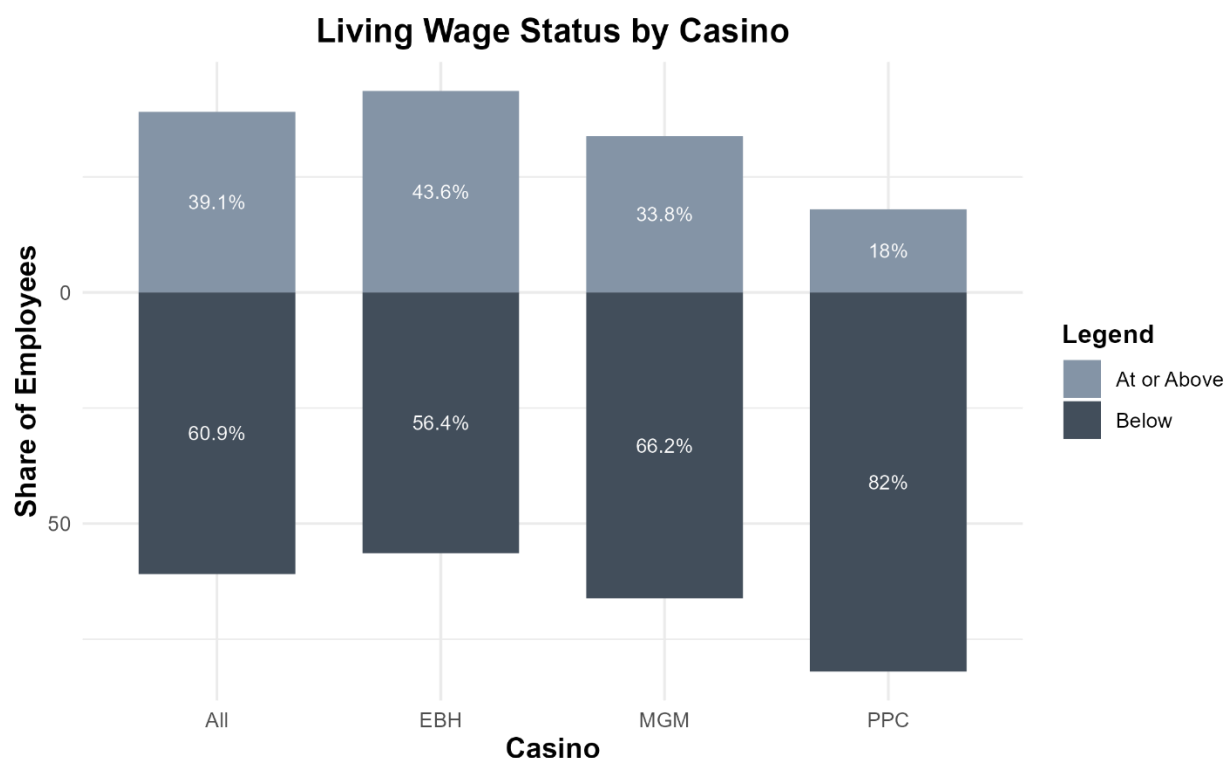
¹² MIT living wage calculator, see Appendix A – Methodology

¹³ An exception is if the employee lives outside of New England, where the determination is made by the living wage for the county in which the employing casino is located. For more information on living wage statistics, see Appendix A – Methodology

¹⁴ Wages are reported differently across casinos. PPC only included tips in payroll data if those tips were pooled among employees.

within the casino industry. Comparatively, about 34 percent of MGM workers and 18 percent of PPC workers make sustainable, living wages. Looking at the share of workers who make at or above a living wage by race, higher shares of Asian workers earn a living wage than any other race at both EBH and MGM, while higher shares of white workers earn a living wage at PPC (Table 1). Conversely, Hispanic or Latino workers at PPC earn a living wage at lower rates than any other race, while the Black or African American workers at EBH and MGM make a living wage at lower rates than any other race.

Figure 7: Share of Workers making at/above vs below County Living Wage by Casino



Wage distributions

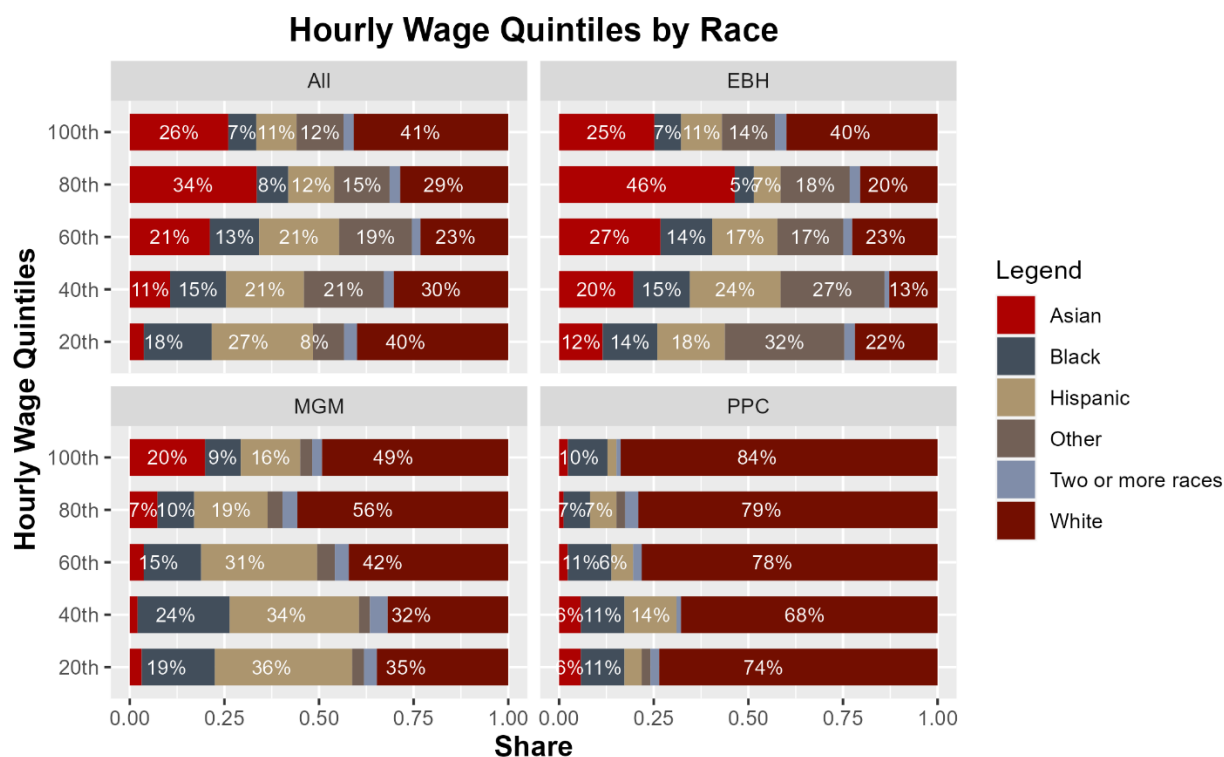
To get a sense of how much workers are being compensated relative to their coworkers, we constructed wage quintiles for each casino and the industry. Workers in the 100th percentile represent the top 20 percent of earners, while workers in the 20th percentile represent the bottom 20 percent of earners. For information on the dollar range for these quintiles across casinos, see Appendix A – Methodology.

Figure 8 shows the distribution of workers by race group across wage quintiles. In the top 20 percent of earners, people of color are represented in similar proportions to the hiring targets for minority workers (40%, 50% and 15% for EBH, MGM, and PPC respectively). While trends vary between casinos, workers of color tend to be more heavily represented in the lower wage quintiles than in the higher ones, with the exception of Asian workers.

At the industry level, people of color make up the majority of workers in all quintiles and comprise the majority of workers in the highest wage category at EBH and MGM. Overall, Black or African American and Hispanic workers are strongly represented in the 40th and 20th percentiles across casinos, corresponding to the lower 40 percent of earners. Asian workers tend to be heavily represented in the

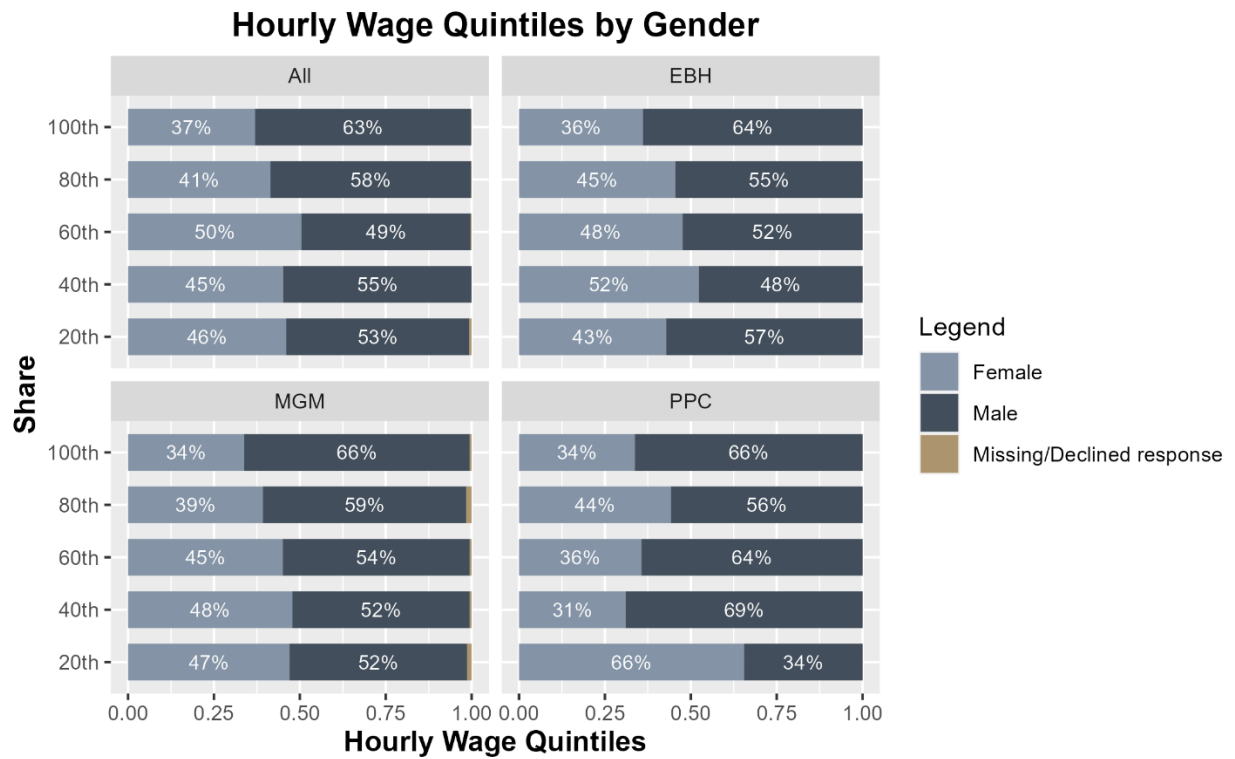
top 40 percent of earners (in the 80th and 100th percentiles), making up nearly half (46%) of the workers in the 80th percentile at EBH and between 20 and 25 percent of workers in the 100th percentile at MGM and EBH. However, they make up very small shares of higher wage quintiles at PPC and in all other quintiles at MGM.

Figure 8: Share of Workers by Wage Quintiles by Race for Industry and each Casino



Men are overrepresented in most wage quintiles, especially in the top earning categories – 100th and 80th percentiles – across the industry (Figure 9). Men are overrepresented in all wage quintiles at MGM. Women make up the slight majority of workers in the 40th percentile at EBH, and in the 20th percentile of earners at PPC.

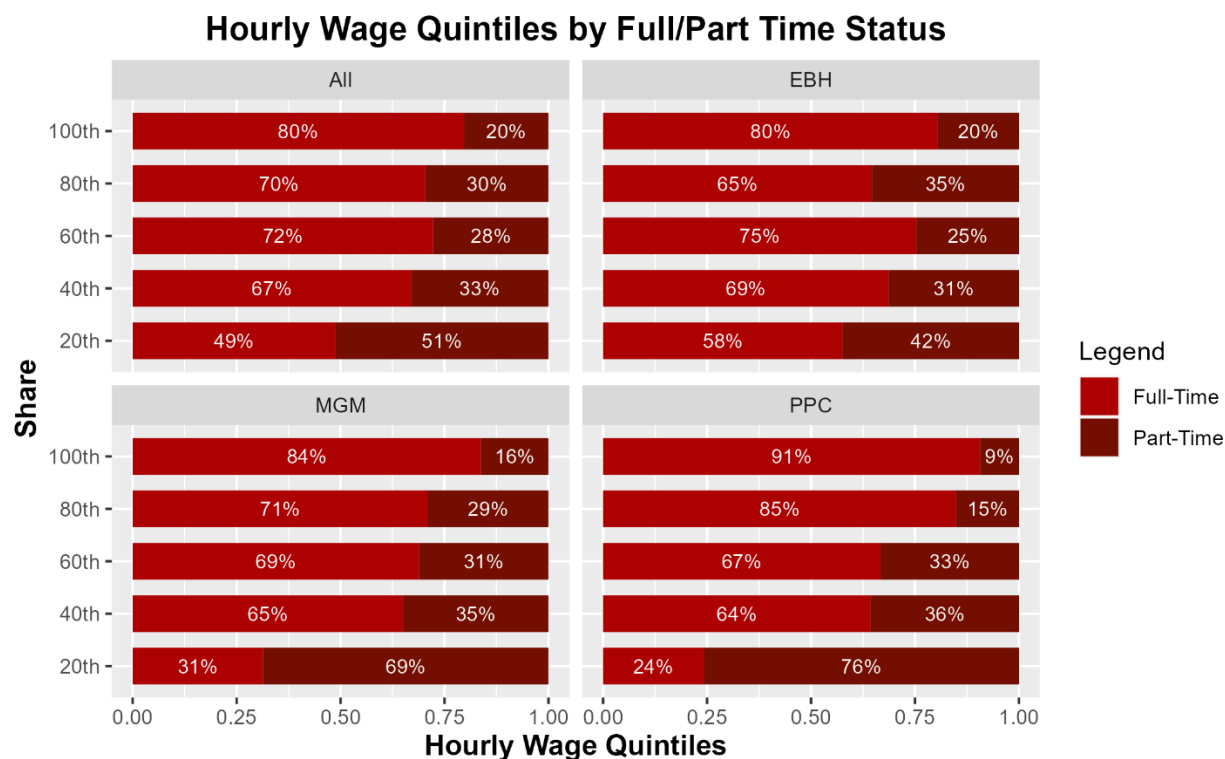
Figure 9: Share of Workers by Wage Quintiles by Gender for Industry and each Casino



Note: declined to respond was only offered at MGM

Casinos tend to employ full-time workers over part-time workers (67.6% vs 32.4% in Table 1), and full-time workers have higher incomes than part-time workers, both due to the number of hours they work and wages earned per hour.¹⁵ Across the Massachusetts casino industry, full-time employees at the casinos work an average of 35.5 hours per week and part-time workers an average of 25.5 hours per week (Figure 18). Full-time workers make up the majority of workers across wage percentiles, though they make up a smaller share of the bottom 40 percent of earners (in the lower 40th and 20th percentiles), and larger shares of the top 20 percent of earners (in the upper 80th and 100th percentiles).

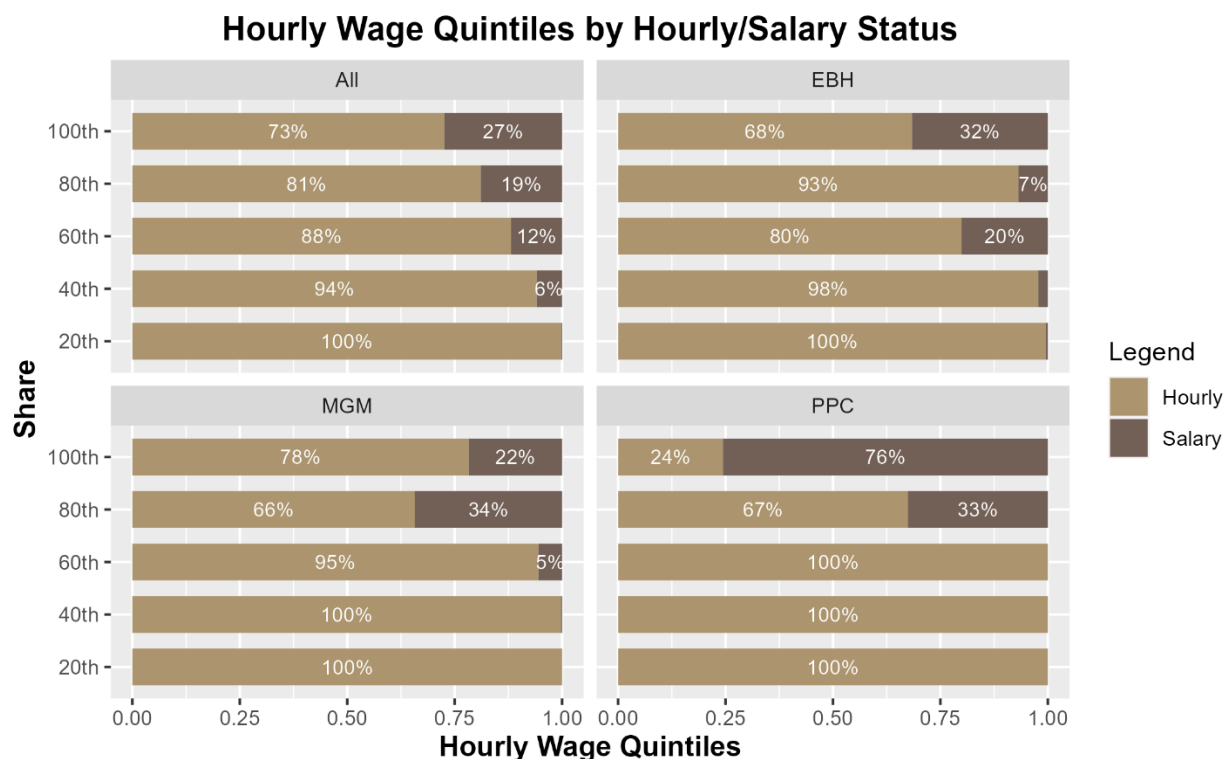
Figure 10: Share of Workers by Wage Quintiles by Full/Part Time for Industry and each Casino



¹⁵ Average hourly wages are calculated to allow full- and part-time workers to be compared.

Casinos tend to employ fewer salaried workers than hourly workers (12.9% vs 87.1% in Table 1), and salaried workers make higher wages than hourly workers (Figure 11). Unsurprisingly, most workers who are salaried earn wages in the highest wage percentiles. At the 20th percentile for all casinos and the industry overall, there are no salaried workers aside from a very small percentage at EBH. At PPC, the majority of workers (76%) in the 100th percentile are salaried.

Figure 11: Share of Workers by Wage Quintiles by Hourly or Salary for Industry and each Casino



Job Security and Working Conditions

An employee should be able to expect that they will continue to be employed so long as their job is in good standing and that they will be scheduled to work as often and consistently as they are able to. One indicator of job security is the rate at which employees turn over, or are separated, at a particular employer or in an industry. Turnover rates alone do not determine job quality, since some industries – including Accommodations and Food Services – are more likely to hire new employees without requiring a time commitment from the employee. This allows people who need flexible, seasonal or temporary employment to find quality jobs. However, low turnover rates reinforce job security since employees can expect their employment, and source of income, to remain constant. Predictable scheduling and adequate hours, such as consistency in the hours or days worked week to week, is an indicator of working conditions. Consistency in the timing of shifts is also an important indicator of job quality, though it is unable to be measured using payroll data. Most workers in part-time or even full-time positions are paid hourly, and so it is important that hours are offered consistently throughout the year so that an employee can expect a regular paycheck. It is common that the number of hours worked per week may differ for any given employee, but most stable jobs minimize the variation in hours worked and therefore wages.

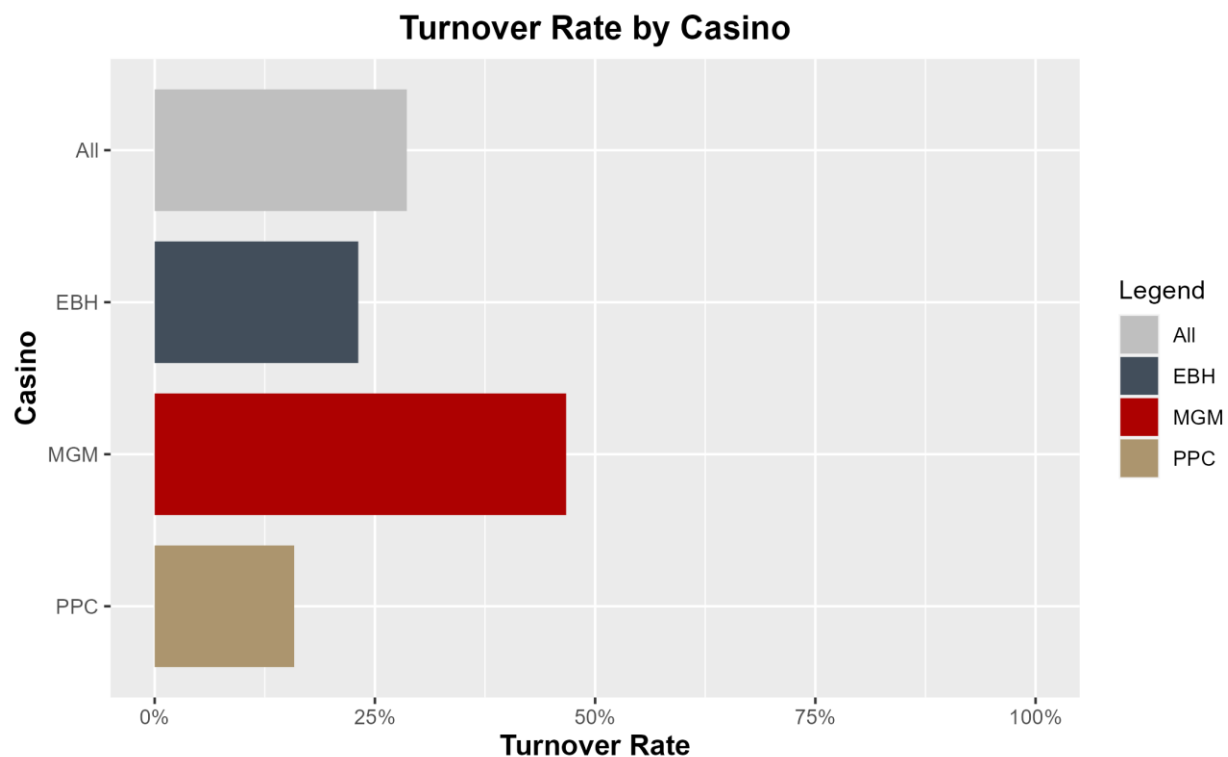
Turnover rates

As discussed in earlier sections, establishments in the Accommodation and Food Services industry tend to have higher turnover rates than average (115 percent vs. 54 percent in the overall job market) due to seasonal changes in patronage or hours of operation. This is also true in arts, entertainment, and recreation-based industries with a similar make up of service work to casinos, which have a turnover rate in Massachusetts of 104 percent¹⁶

The turnover rate compares the portion of workers who have termination dates within 2022 to the average number of workers employed in that same year, regardless of the reason for leaving employment. The analysis shows that 28.6 percent of employees in the casino industry in Massachusetts turned over during 2022 (Figure 12). The turnover rate was higher at MGM (46.7%), lower at EBH (23.1%), with PPC being the lowest (15.8%). For perspective, turnover rates at all three casinos are lower than those of the broader Accommodations and Food Services industry in their respective counties.

It is difficult to speculate on the causes of the differences between turnover rates. While data on compensation, hours worked, or opportunities for career advancement – all topics covered in this report – might play a role in the differences between casinos, regional labor markets and qualitative working conditions in the casinos may also play a part and may be opportunities for future research.

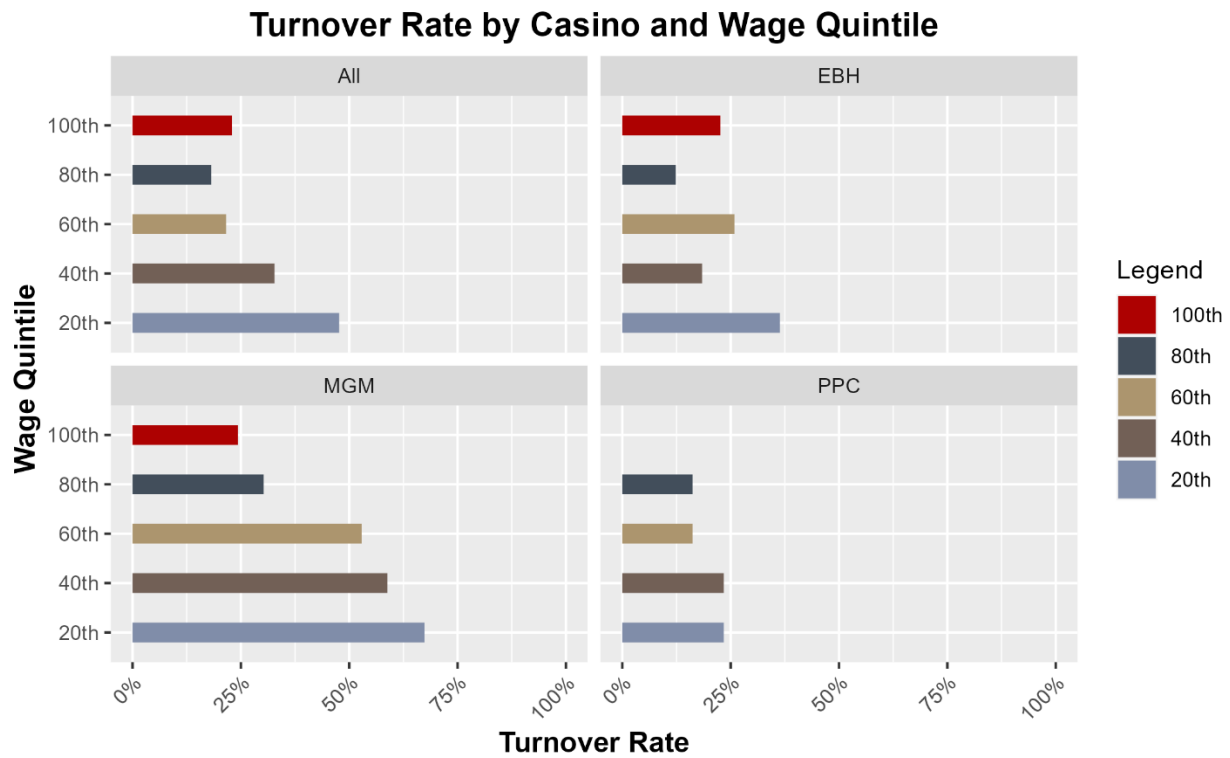
Figure 12: Turnover Rate by Casino



¹⁶ Lightcast, 2022.

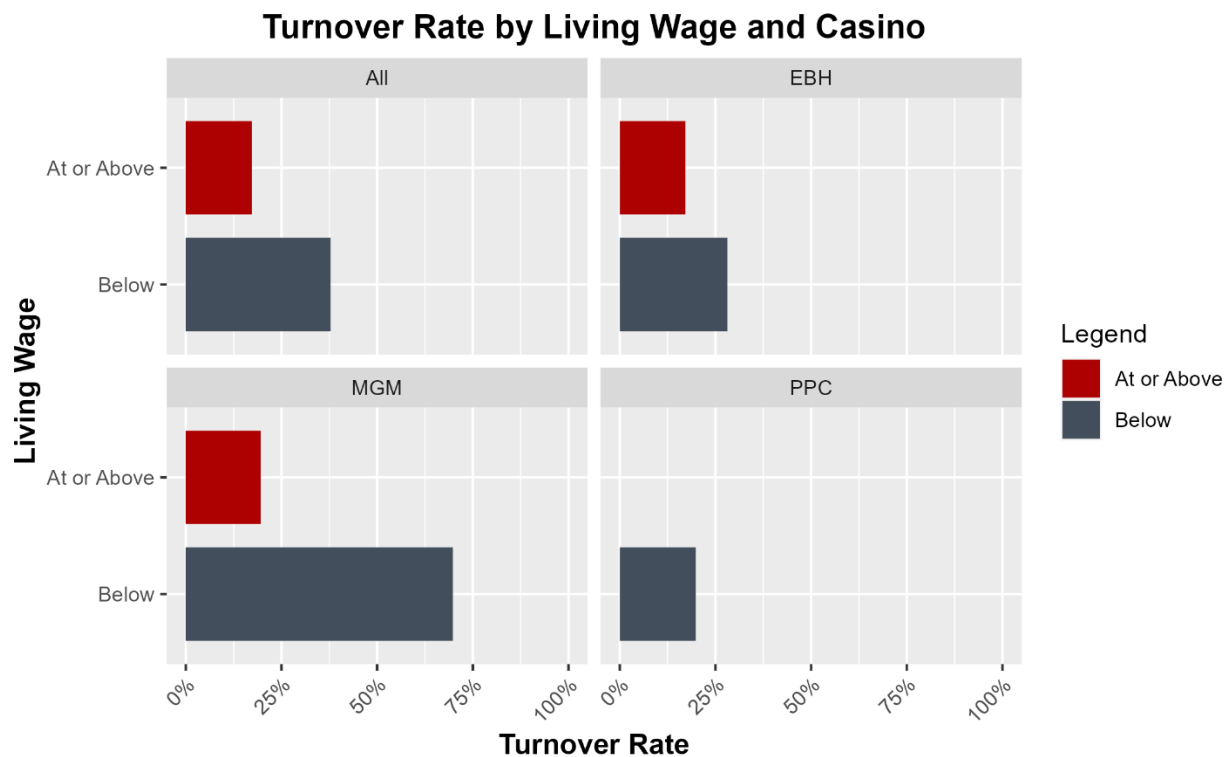
Figure 13 shows turnover rates for each wage quintile. Overall, turnover is lower among the higher wage quintiles, and higher among the lower wage quintiles. Presuming workers earning higher wages are less likely to leave their career, it makes sense that those at lower wage quintiles experience higher turnover rates. Also, these lower wage jobs are more likely to be service work jobs, which are particularly susceptible to fluctuations in patronage and seasonal operations or individual employment needs.

Figure 13: Turnover Rate by Wage Quintile for Industry and each Casino



Turnover rates seem to be strongly influenced by wages, as turnover rates were much higher among workers making less than the living wage (Figure 14), hourly workers, and part-time workers.¹⁷ Turnover among hourly workers was lower than turnover among salaried workers at EBH but higher everywhere else, which could be due to EBH's higher wages. In contrast with previous years, more part-time workers were hired in 2022 than full-time workers, which could be due to higher turnover rates for part-time workers.¹⁸ Turnover rates at EBH were about 17.1 percent for those earning a living wage and higher for those earning below a living wage at 28.1 percent. MGM's turnover rate for workers earning above a living wage was 19.5 percent and higher for those earning below a living wage at about 69.7 percent. At PPC, no workers who earned above a living wage had termination dates during 2022, and turnover for those making below a living wage was lower than MGM or EBH at 19.8 percent.

Figure 14: Turnover Rate by Living Wage for Industry and each Casino



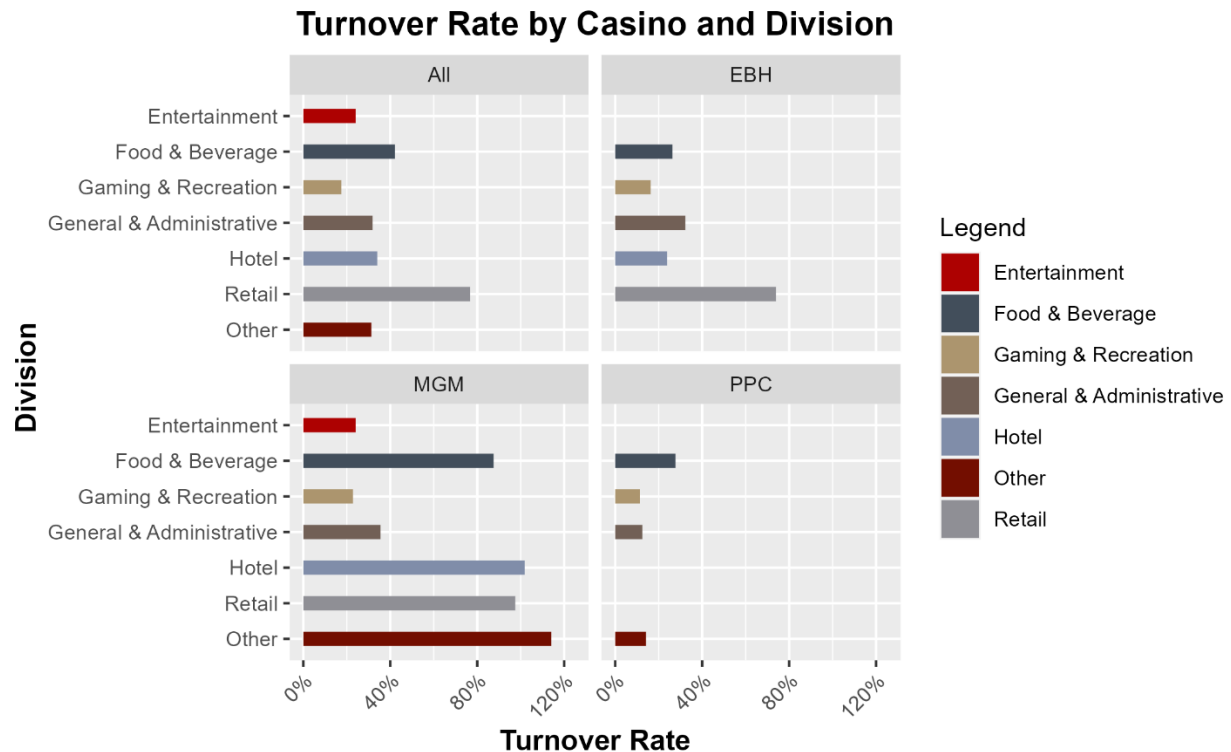
Note: This calculation includes only employees for whom living wage calculations were possible, which may be different from overall turnover rates.

¹⁷ See Appendix B – Job Quality Measures for turnover rates by hourly/salary status and full/part-time workers.

¹⁸ See Appendix B – Job Quality Measures for hiring by full/part-time workers from previous years compared to 2022.

Across casino divisions, Gaming & Recreation workers tend to turn over at the lowest rate overall, and also tend to make higher wages than any other division, reaffirming the relationship between wages and turnover rates (Figure 15). Food and Beverage workers tend to turn over at high rates, which is typical for other food and beverage jobs in the industry. Turnover was highest in the Retail division at EBH, while the Hotel, Food and Beverage, and Retail divisions were top at MGM aside from other divisions. Food and beverage workers turned over at higher rates at PPC. Otherwise, turnover rates by division varied by casino.

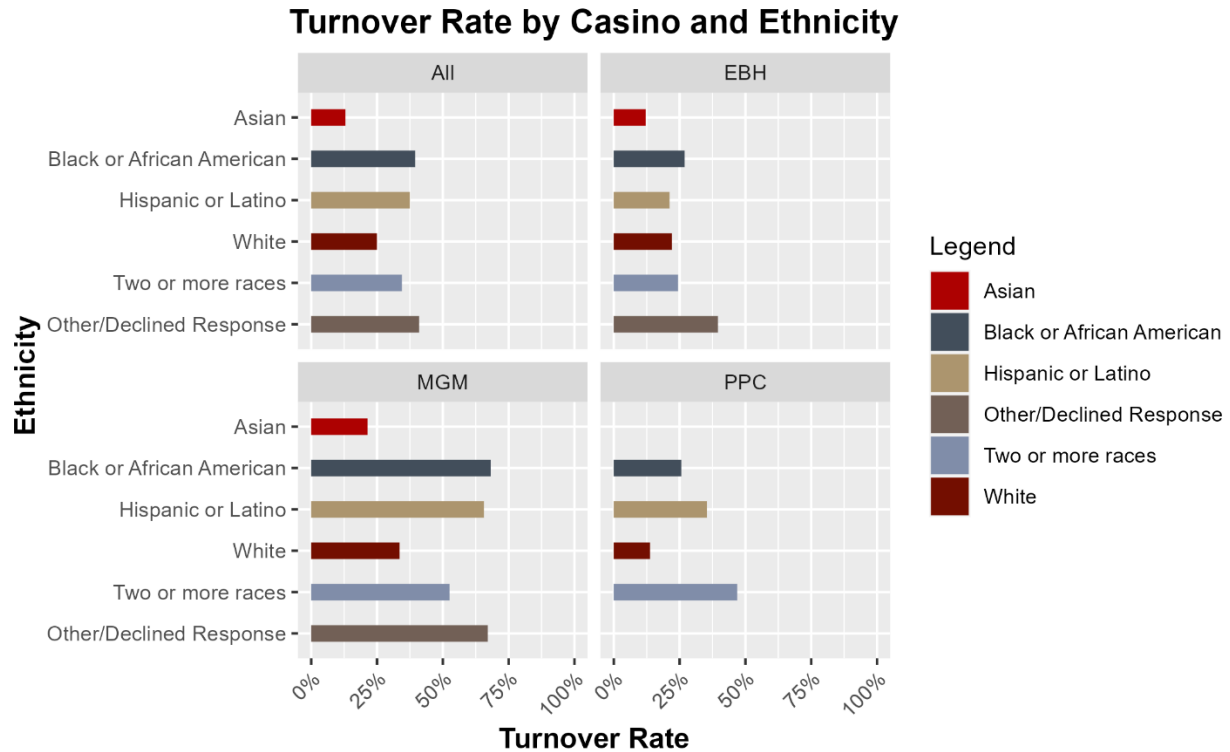
Figure 15: Turnover Rate by Division and Casino



Note: not every casino has employees in every division listed above, which is why some data are missing.

When comparing turnover rates by race and ethnicity, Asian workers had the lowest turnover rates across all the casinos followed by white workers, while all other race groups turned over at higher rates (Figure 16). Across the industry, turnover rates were higher for those who identify as Other races or who declined to give their race. White workers turned over at far lower rates than any other race at PPC, while rates across race groups did not vary as much at EBH. MGM experienced similar rates of turnover among Black and Hispanic workers, as well as workers who identified as being two or more races, some other race, or who declined to give their race.

Figure 16: Turnover Rate by Ethnicity and Casino

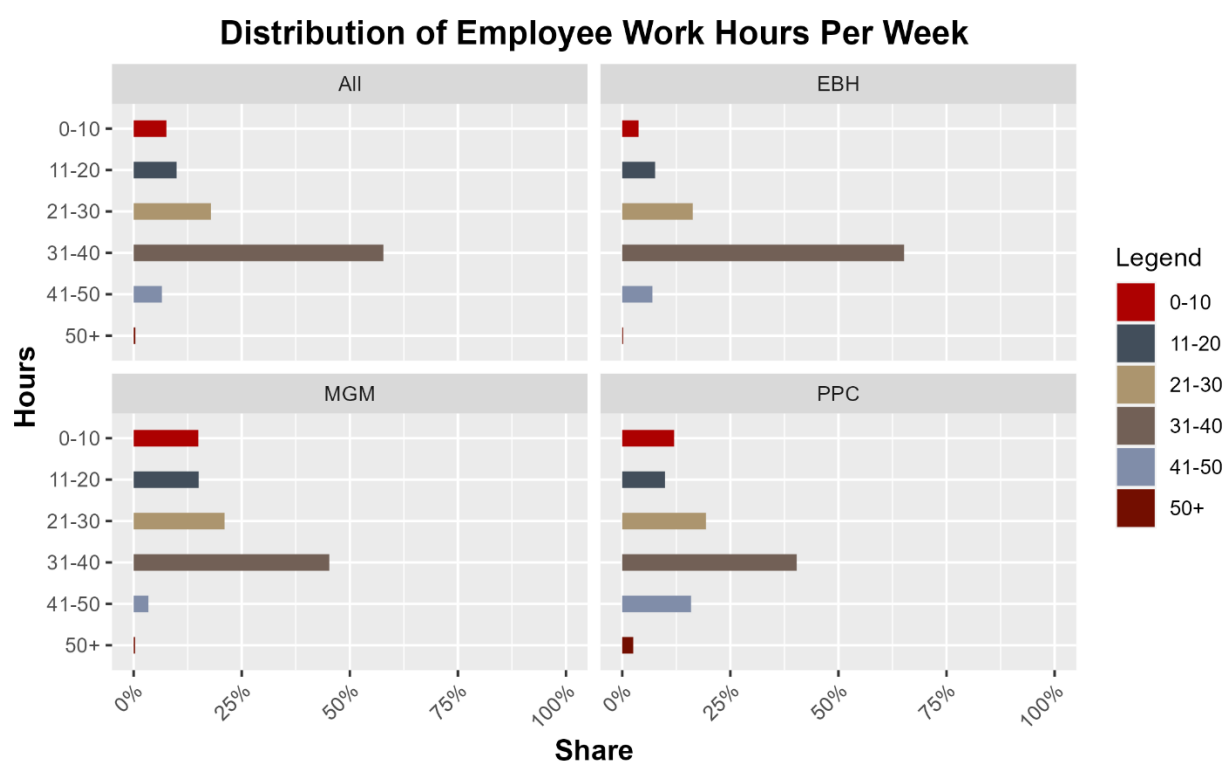


Note: If a bar is missing, the analysis showed no turnovers for that ethnicity group.

Distribution of hours

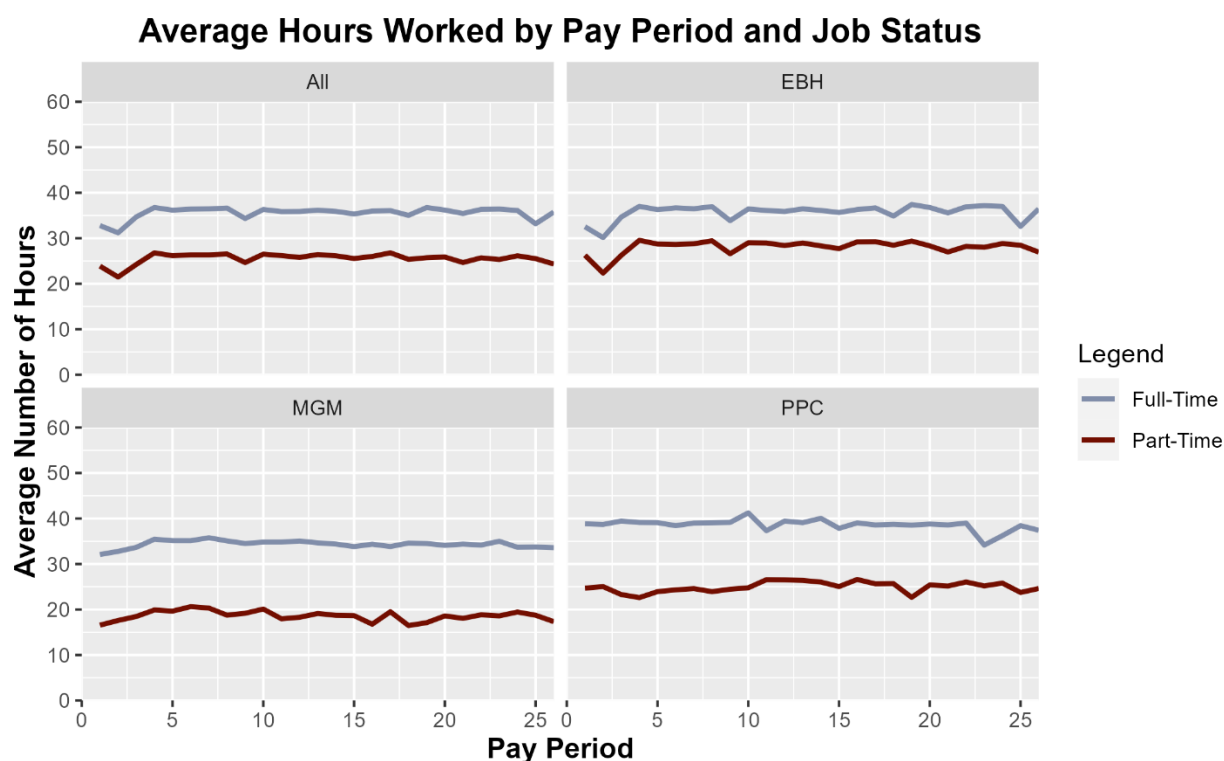
Looking at all three casinos, most workers work within a range of full-time hours (Figure 17). Just over half (57.7%) of casino employees are scheduled between 31 and 40 hours per week, which reflects the proportion of employees who are hired on full-time status (67.6%). The distribution of workers across categories of hours worked is much smaller in categories that are less or more than typical full-time work schedules. The proportion of workers who work between 0-10 hours per week is less than ten percent, and the proportion that work more than 40 is 7 percent. EBH has higher rates of workers who work between 31 and 40 hours and a smaller portion of workers who work less than 20 hours compared to the other casinos. PPC has fewer workers working between 31 and 40 hours, offset by higher shares in the 0-10 and 11-20 categories, though PPC also has a higher share of workers working 41-50 hours than any other casino (15.9% at PPC vs 6.9% at EBH and 3.4% at MGM). PPC is the only casino with a group of employees averaging more than 50 hours at 2.5 percent (EBH and MGM are at 0.1% and 0.3%, respectively), however, because of PPC's smaller number of overall employees, this still only amounts to 11 workers.

Figure 17: Work Hours Distribution: Share of Employees by Weekly Work Hours for Industry and each Casino



Since many of these workers work on an hourly basis, it is important to look at the consistency and predictability of work hours throughout the year. Generally, there is stability in the average number of hours worked from paycheck to paycheck for all workers (Figure 18). Full-time workers work on average around 35.5 hours per week from pay period to pay period, while part-time workers can expect to work around 25.5 hours per week on most pay periods. EBH tracks nearly identical to the overall industry numbers for both full- and part-time workers (35.7 and 28.0 hours respectively). Full-time workers at PPC average slightly more hours at 38.5 per week, while part-time workers average around 25 hours per week. MGM workers follow the industry average for full-time workers (34.3 hours), but part-time workers see slightly fewer hours, averaging 18.5 per week.

Figure 18: Average Hours Worked by Job Status for Industry and each Casino in 2022



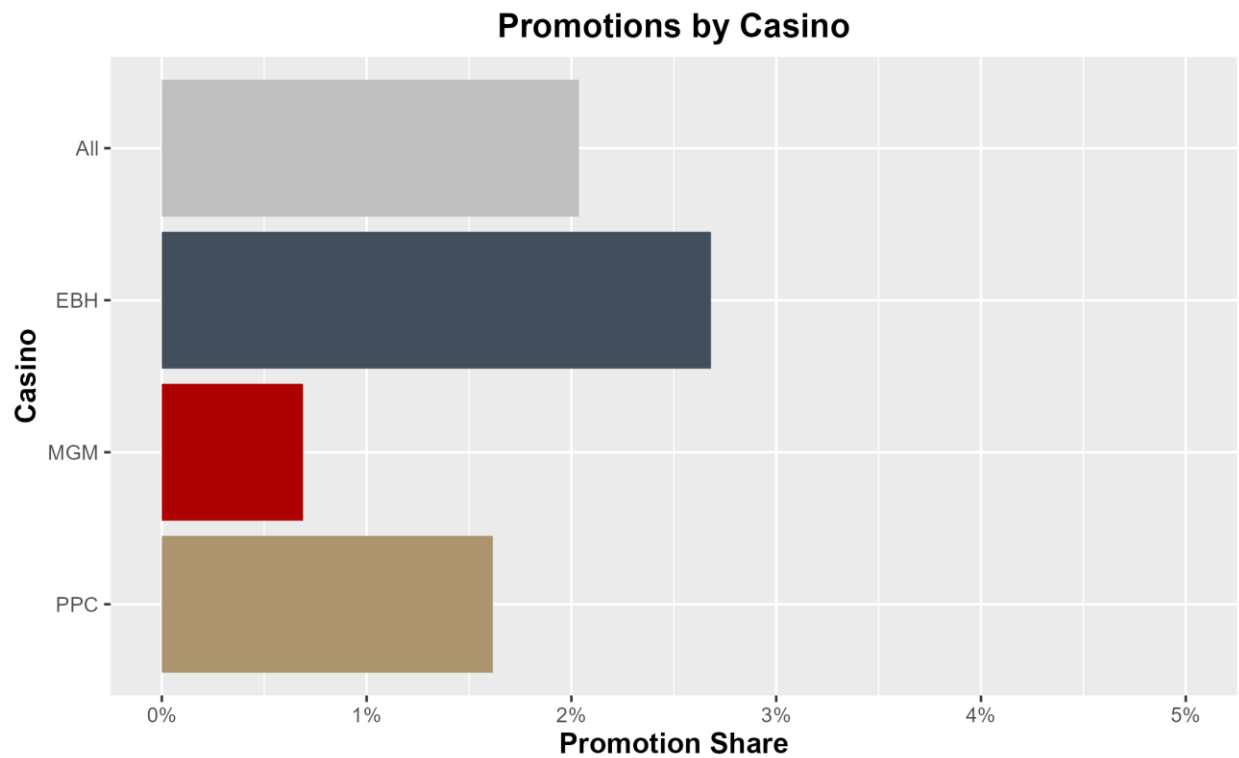
Career Advancement

Rates at which promotions are awarded provide a basis for analyzing career advancement. In particular, the rate at which promotions are awarded to different demographic groups can be an indicator of the casino's ability to provide accessible and equitable opportunities for advancement. Increases in average hourly wages are often a sign that a worker's contributions are valuable to the company, and many workers can expect a raise in increments. However, casino wage data may include base pay, tips, and/or bonuses, so it is impossible to differentiate raises from wage increases including tips or bonuses. Therefore, this analysis will focus on promotion rates. Though typically less frequent, promotions are typically awarded to workers who demonstrate the ability to take on duties at higher levels of volume and importance. Promotions ought to be awarded based on employee performance, and not by race or gender. Therefore, we would expect to see similar but perhaps not identical rates of promotions by demographic group at an equal opportunity employer.

Promotions

In this report, a positive increase in average hourly wage from one pay period to the next paired with a job title change (to a title further up in the hierarchy) is considered a promotion.¹⁹ Promotions were not common across the industry in 2022. With an overall promotion rate of 2percent across all three casinos, EBH had a higher rate of promotions (2.7%), while MGM and PPC workers had comparatively lower rates of promotions (0.7% and 1.6% respectively) (Figure 19).

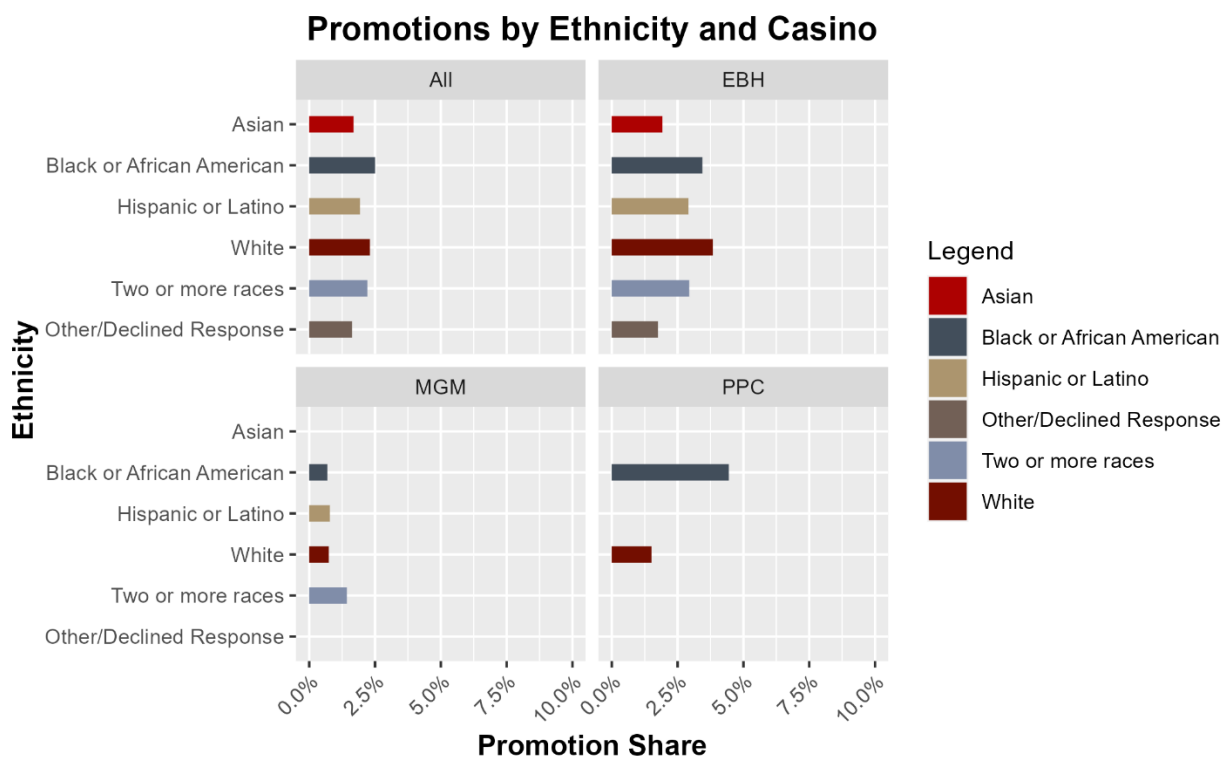
Figure 19: Share of Promotions for Industry and each Casino, 2022



¹⁹ For methodology notes about promotions, see Appendix A.

Of the small share of workers who did get promotions in 2022, there seem to be few differences in promotion rates across race and ethnicity groups, though the industry's results are heavily influenced by promotions at EBH (Figure 20). For those who did obtain promotions, promotions at MGM were awarded evenly across employees of most race and ethnicity groups, though employees with two or more races appear to earn promotions at a slightly higher rate than other race groups. EBH demonstrated a broad distribution of promotions across various ethnicities, while PPC promotion rates for Black or African American workers were higher, though employee counts were low.

Figure 20: Share of Workers who got a Promotion by Ethnicity for Industry and each Casino



Note: If a bar is missing, the analysis showed no promotions for that ethnicity group.

Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Accessibility

Previous sections in this report have evaluated job quality indicators across gender and race and ethnicity groups and have concluded that individuals from underserved communities have opportunities for getting hired, getting promotions, and making living wages. What these indicators do not show, however, is the types of jobs that workers across groups are getting. All workers should have equal opportunities to earn not just a job, but career-advancing roles, including in senior positions and positions with the power to influence organizational culture.²⁰

To understand how accessible jobs at all levels of seniority are to all workers, we sorted job titles into hierarchical ranks of seniority. The main criteria for deciding into which level a job title fits were based on the rank of the employee's direct supervisor and the number of superiors that exist above that job

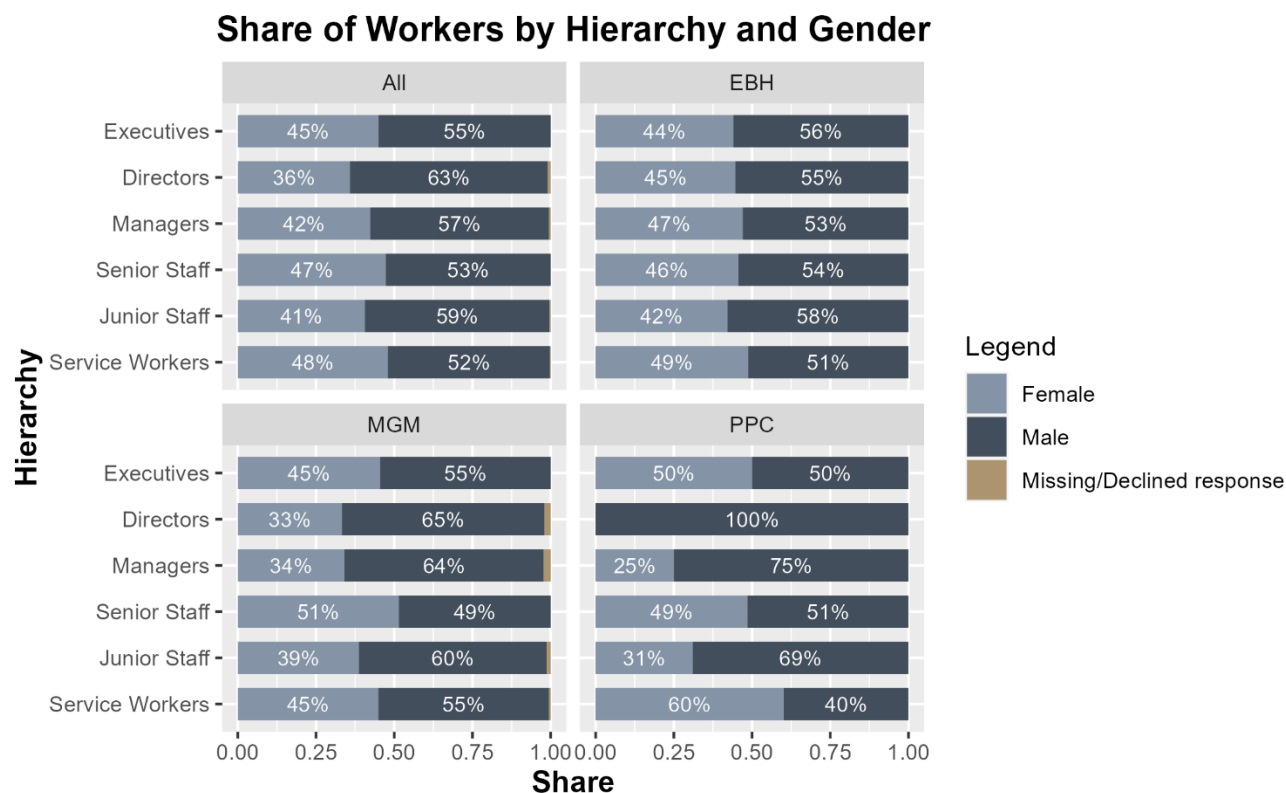
²⁰ <https://www.dol.gov/sites/dolgov/files/goodjobs/Good-Jobs-Summit-Principles-Factsheet.pdf>

title. Executives like CEOs and VPs are at the top of the hierarchy given that they oversee all departments and have no other positions above them. Below them are directors, who are typically heads of divisions or general managers and report to executives. The next level are managers, who are typically in charge of departments such as master or executive chefs and report to directors. Below managers are senior staff, who are experienced workers with some low-level leadership responsibilities such as supervisors or coordinators and report to managers. The next level are junior staff, typically entry level positions or those who are specialists in their respective departments and may take orders from senior staff. At the bottom of the hierarchy are service workers such as attendants, drivers, or servers who support all other levels of the hierarchy and for whom experience is seldom required.²¹

This section looks at how well women and people of color are represented across all levels of hierarchical structure to address the degree to which systemic barriers may exist within the casino workforce.

At the industry level, men make up the slight majority of workers across job levels, but across job levels at individual casinos the shares vary (Figure 21). Women make up a larger share of executive level workers than workers at the director and manager levels. At the other end of the spectrum, gender patterns vary: most service workers at PPC are women (60%), at EBH there is a nearly even split with women at 49 percent, and at MGM most service workers are men (55%).

Figure 21: Share of Workers by Gender by Rank for Industry and each Casino

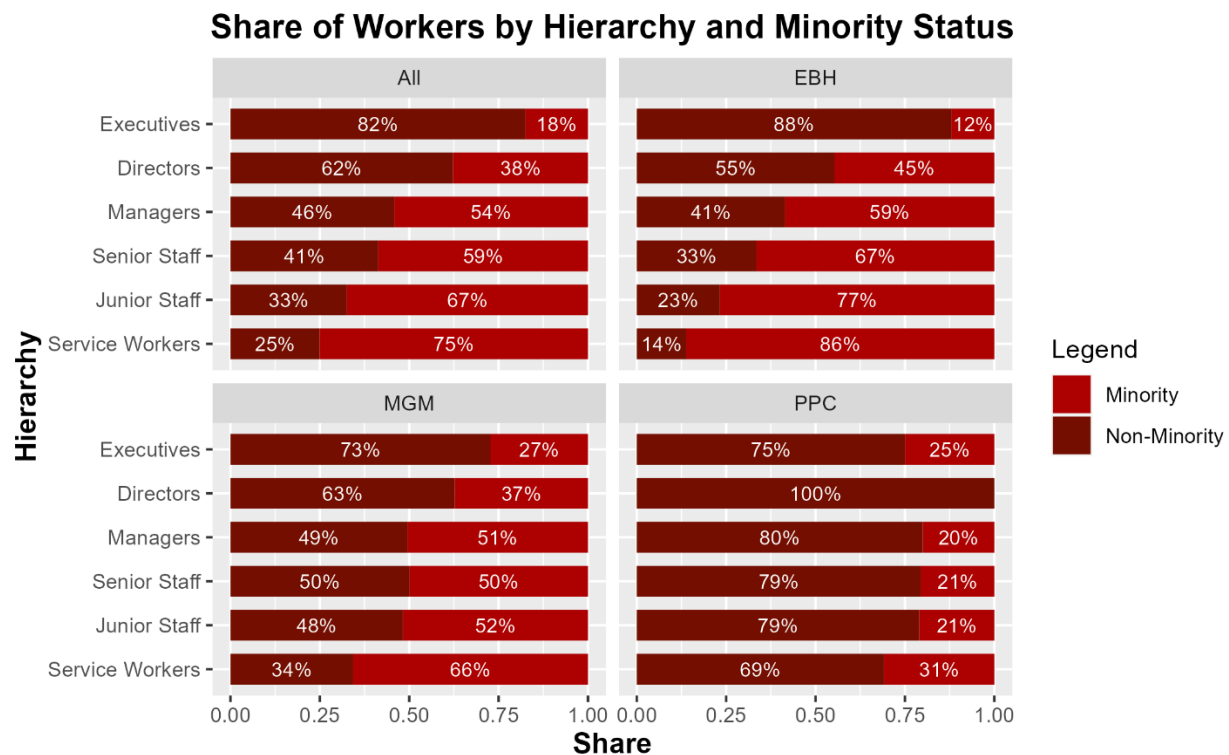


Note: declined to respond was only offered at MGM

²¹ For a detailed methodology on job title ranking across hierarchy, see Appendix A.

The pattern is more predictable when it comes to racial and ethnic diversity. At the industry level, the share of minority workers consistently becomes smaller as seniority increases (Figure 22). Minority workers are well represented at the junior staff, senior staff, and manager levels; however, they also are generally overrepresented at the service worker level and underrepresented at the director and executive levels. Minority workers are represented at the executive level at PPC, but directors are solely white. At MGM, workers of color are fairly equally represented at the manager, senior staff, and junior staff levels. At EBH, workers of color are overrepresented at the service worker, junior staff, senior staff, manager levels, and underrepresented at the director and executive levels.

Figure 22: Share of Workers by Minority Status by Rank for Industry and each Casino



Conclusion

Overall, casino operators in Massachusetts are committed to their local economies and to their goals of recruiting and hiring a diverse workforce, evidenced by planning, and ongoing monitoring, recruiting, and hiring efforts. Casino jobs offer flexibility in scheduling, low barriers to entry, and career advancement for women and minority workers. Casino workers are well compensated in comparison to other jobs in the accommodation and food services industry and have far lower rates of turnover. The analysis suggests that hiring across job title hierarchy is intentionally geared toward gender equity, though equity across this hierarchy for people of color has yet to be achieved.

Encore Boston Harbor well surpassed its hiring goals for minority and local workers, though it missed its targets for hiring women and veteran workers. Forty-four percent of its workforce was paid wages at or above a living wage, which is significant considering the high cost of living in the area. Turnover at EBH was relatively low, and rates were similar across race groups. There was a small percentage of workers who worked more than 40 hours, and full-time workers on average work about 36 hours each week. EBH had the highest promotion rate overall. There appears to be evidence of intentional hiring across job hierarchies with women making up close to 50 percent of each hierarchy, though the rates at which people of color found senior jobs was low.

MGM Springfield surpassed its goals for hiring minority, local and veteran workers, though it was shy of its goal for hiring women. Thirty-four percent of its workforce earned at or above a living wage, and women tended to earn less than men overall. MGM had the highest rate of turnover compared to any other casino, and people of color had higher turnover rates than white workers. Part-time workers tend to work around twenty hours per week. MGM promoted the smallest share of workers than any other casino; less than 1 percent of the workforce was promoted. Men were higher earners, but the casino provides an option for gender outside of the binary men and women, showing some evidence of attention to gender equality. Shares of minority workers were relatively high at the top of the job title hierarchy, and at the other levels, MGM showed a more even distribution of minority and non-minority workers than any other casino.

Plainridge Park Casino surpassed its goal for hiring minority and veteran workers, though it was shy of its goal for hiring women and local workers. Eighteen percent of workers earn at or above a living wage, and relatively few people of color are represented at the top wage quintiles for earners. Women make up the largest shares of the lowest wage earners. Turnover at PPC was the lowest across the industry. There is a larger share of employees who work more than 40 hours per week than any other casino. Otherwise, hours are steady and predictable for full- and part-time workers. Higher rates of workers got promoted at PPC than at MGM, though lower than EBH. PPC had the highest percentage of female executives among casinos. PPC has the largest percentage of non-minority employees at the service worker level and maintain relatively consistent proportions of minority and non-minority staff across job title hierarchy levels.

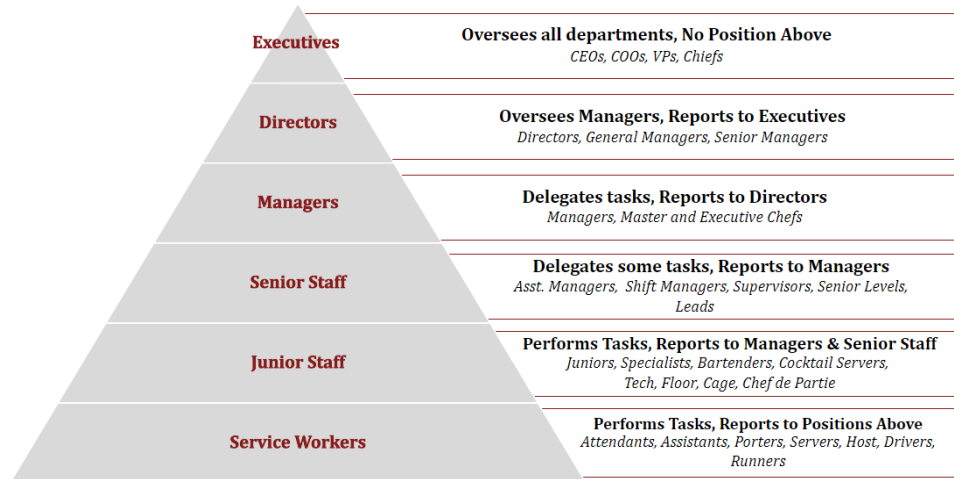
To thoroughly assess job quality at the casinos, there are several qualitative measures that could be addressed going forward. Additional job quality and equity metrics that would be interesting for future research include the presence and nature of benefits including paid time off (PTO), and other types of paid or unpaid leave, retirement, maternity or paternity leave and family related responsibilities or Employee Assistance Programs (EAP); accommodation for people with disabilities or unique circumstances; the presence and adequacy of career pathways, including opportunities for on-the-job training and professional development; transparency in performance management related to bonuses,

raises, and promotions; and the reasons that employees decide to continue their employment or why others quit or were terminated. Follow-up research using other sources of data could address these types of additional questions to develop a fuller picture of job quality in the Commonwealth's casino industry.

Appendix A – Methodology

Job Title Hierarchy

The six-level hierarchical structure was developed based on the job responsibilities associated with employee job titles and the reporting relationships within the division and department. An overview of the employee structure is outlined below:



The hierarchical pyramid was designed to mirror similar organizational structures found in the casino industry. The purpose of this exercise was to standardize hierarchy across the casino operators, so this hierarchy does not perfectly match individual organizational terminology but does accurately reflect occupational levels related to job titles. This was achieved by conducting external research into casino organizations, while also taking into consideration the specific job titles utilized by EBH, MGM, and PPC casinos. Once the structure was formulated, each job title was classified by hand into one of the six levels.

Wage Quintiles

Casino employees were divided into five equal groups based on the distribution of average hourly wages to calculate wage quintiles. This division was carried out independently for both the industry as a whole and each individual casino. Top earners at all three casinos made \$100+ per hour, though actual values for the top of the 100th percentile are suppressed to maintain anonymity. The minimum and maximum dollar amounts for each wage quintile are presented below:

Quintile	All	EBH	MGM	PPC
100th	\$39.45+	\$42.96+	\$31.18+	\$26.09+
80th	\$31.40 - \$39.45	\$37.74 - \$42.89	\$20.00 - \$31.14	\$19.79 - \$25.84
60th	\$26.17 - \$31.40	\$29.20 - \$37.74	\$14.54 - \$20.00	\$17.41 - \$19.78
40th	\$18.57 - \$26.16	\$25.93 - \$29.20	\$8.80 - \$14.54	\$16.00 - \$17.41
20th	\$3.83 - \$18.56	\$8.86 - \$25.93	\$3.83 - \$8.79	\$7.29 - \$16.00

Living Wage Calculations

The SEIGMA team collected data from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's living wage calculator²² to assess the casino's ability to pay a living wage. The living wage calculator estimates typical expenses for a household based on prices for each county in the United States. With an estimate of expenses, the living wage shown is the hourly rate that an individual in a household must earn to support him- or herself and their family. The assumption is the sole provider is working full-time (2,080 hours per year).²³ In this report, living wage rates for a household of four with two working adults was used for analysis. The living wage for the county in which an employee resides was used to determine if their average hourly wage was either at, above or below the living wage. For cases in which employees live outside of New England, the living wage for the county in which the employing casino exists was used. A variable was calculated for each employee comparing their average hourly wage to their assigned living wage. If the difference between the average hourly wage and living wage was smaller than -0.5, the employee was marked as making below the living wage. If the difference between the average hourly wage and living wage was greater than 0.5, the employee was marked as making above the living wage. If the difference between the average hourly wage and living wage was between -0.5 and 0.5, the employee was marked as making at the living wage.

Turnover Rates

The SEIGMA team calculated turnover rate as the number of separations over the course of a year, divided by the average number of people employed by an establishment or industry. While there are other methods for calculating turnover, the SEIGMA team chose to emulate the method used by Lightcast²⁴ in their industry-level turnover rate estimates, as these estimates were used to provide a broader context to turnover trends in Massachusetts. The three casino operators provided the SEIGMA team with paycheck level data which includes hire and termination dates, so the SEIGMA team recorded a separation for each employee ID with an associated separation date in 2022. Average annual employment at the casinos was calculated by taking the number of employees who received paychecks in each pay period, and then taking the average across all of those pay periods. In order to produce turnover rate calculations at a higher level of detail, we simply filtered both the separations and the average employment by the relevant characteristics. For example, to calculate the turnover rate among hotel workers, we took the number of separations among hotel workers over the course of the year and divided it by the average number of hotel workers employed at the casino.

Promotions

A promotion is defined as an employee who has an increase in average hourly wage and moves up at least one level in the hierarchy from a previous pay period to a subsequent one. For a promotion to be recognized, it is essential that the employee's job title changes and that the new title reflects an increase in rank within the hierarchical structure.

Promotion shares are calculated by dividing the total number of employees who have received a promotion by the total number of employees in the casino, which has led to the shares to be exceedingly small (between 0% to 6%). Average hourly wage increases are determined by the means of all marginal differences between biweekly average hourly wages for each unique employee. Marginal

²² <https://livingwage.mit.edu/>

²³ <https://livingwage.mit.edu/states/25>

²⁴ More information about Lightcast and its labor market data products can be found here: <https://lightcast.io/about/data>

differences in pay refer to the difference between the average hourly wages of the current period and those of the preceding one. The average of these marginal differences for each unique employee is computed and determines if there was an increase during the year. If the average of the marginal differences is positive, it is considered an increase, while a value of 0 or negative is not considered an increase.

Industry Trends

This report uses Lightcast to obtain granular labor market data providing a range of information on business and industry, occupations, the workforce, and recent hiring. Lightcast is a proprietary data system formerly known as EMSI. The system includes major employment and wages data series including the Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW), County Business Patterns, Current Employment Statistics, County Business Patterns, BEA State and Local Personal Income reports, National Industry-Occupation Employment Matrix (NIOEM), American Community Survey, Non-employer Statistics, and others.

Background on Diversity Hiring Initiatives

The MGC utilizes the 'All-In Diversity's All-Index', an internationally recognized benchmarking tool tailored for the gaming sector, to measure diversity initiatives against global industry standards. Their primary goal is achieving 25% diversity representation in their workforce, which they have accomplished successfully. However, they acknowledge a concerning downward trend in hiring women. The MGC actively participates in supplier diversification programs through the Commonwealth's Supplier Diversity Office and collaborates with stakeholders to promote inclusivity and diversity within the gaming industry. Under the 2011 Expanded Gaming Act, casino applicants must establish training programs for a diverse workforce and set hiring goals for racial minorities, women, and veterans. They must also include specific targets for engaging minority-, women-, and veteran-owned businesses as contractors in all phases of building and operating. The MGC diligently monitors compliance through required statistical reports from casinos, ensuring regular, detailed updates on their workforce and vendor network.

Casino proposals from MGM, PPC, and EBH give insight into how their diversity metrics of success were developed. MGM Springfield utilizes the Executive Office for Administration and Finance Administration Bulletin No. 14 as the basis for defining their metrics of success concerning diversity percentages. Proposals for PPC clarified that they would actively pursue a workforce diversity goal that reflects the demographics of the community around them. In contrast, EBH based their diversity goals on a thorough review of the demographics of the host and surrounding communities. This approach ensures that their hiring and recruitment strategies are well-aligned with the local population, fostering a workforce that is representative of the communities in which they operate.²⁵

²⁵ For more information: [MGM's Diversity & Affirmative Action Marketing Program](#); [PPC's Operations plan](#); [EBH's Workforce Development Plan](#); [Workforce Development Plan](#)

Appendix B – Job Quality Measures

Workforce Report	Department of Labor	The Brookings Institute
Casino Job Quality Analysis	Principles of Good Jobs ²⁶	Measures of Worker Well-Being ²⁷
Recruitment and Hiring	Recruitment and Hiring	Job Quality
Discussion of workforce diversity goals and assessment of targets	Qualified applicants are actively recruited – especially those from underserved communities – and are free from discrimination, including unequal treatment or application of selection criteria that are unrelated to job performance.	Number of new good jobs created each year
Wages	Pay	Job Quality
Living wage analysis	All workers are paid a stable and predictable living wage before overtime, tips, and commissions.	Percentage of workers that earn a living wage and have healthcare
Analysis of wage distributions across demographic groups		Job Equity Gaps in wage mobility across demographic groups
Job Security and Working Conditions	Job Security and Working Conditions	Economic Mobility
Turnover rate/retention analysis	Workers have a safe, healthy, and accessible workplace, built on input from workers and their representatives. Workers have job security without arbitrary or discriminatory discipline or dismissal. They have adequate hours and predictable schedules. The use of electronic monitoring, data, and algorithms is transparent, equitable, and carefully deployed with input from workers. Workers are free from harassment, discrimination, and retaliation at work. Workers are properly classified under applicable laws. Temporary or contractor labor solutions are minimized.	High rates of retention and both internal and external promotion
Distribution of hours and work schedule analysis		

²⁶ <https://www.dol.gov/general/good-jobs/principles>

²⁷ <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/6-job-quality-metrics-every-company-should-know/>

Career Advancement	Skills and Career Advancement	Economic Mobility
Promotion analysis	Workers have equitable opportunities and tools to progress to future good jobs within their organizations or outside them. Workers have transparent promotion or advancement opportunities.	Access to steppingstone jobs: percentage of workers that transition from earning low wages to high wages
Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion	Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Accessibility	Job Equity
Analysis of demographic distribution across occupation hierarchy	All workers have equal opportunities. Workers are respected, empowered, and treated fairly. DEIA is a core value and practiced norm in the workplace. Individuals from underserved communities do not face systemic barriers in the workplace.	Racial and gender equity in job transitions and at the top of the ladder
		Workforce demographic gaps in the company's high-wage occupations
Not analyzed due to data limitations	Benefits	Job Quality
	Full-time and part-time workers are provided family-sustaining benefits that promote economic security and mobility.	Healthcare Benefits, Percentage of workers that have healthcare
	Empowerment and Representation	
	Workers can form and join unions. Workers can engage in protected, concerted activity without fear of retaliation.	
	Organizational Culture	
	All workers belong, are valued, contribute meaningfully to the organization, and are engaged and respected especially by leadership.	

Appendix C – Turnover & Hiring Rate Detail

Figure 23: Turnover Rate by Hourly/Salaried Status and Casino

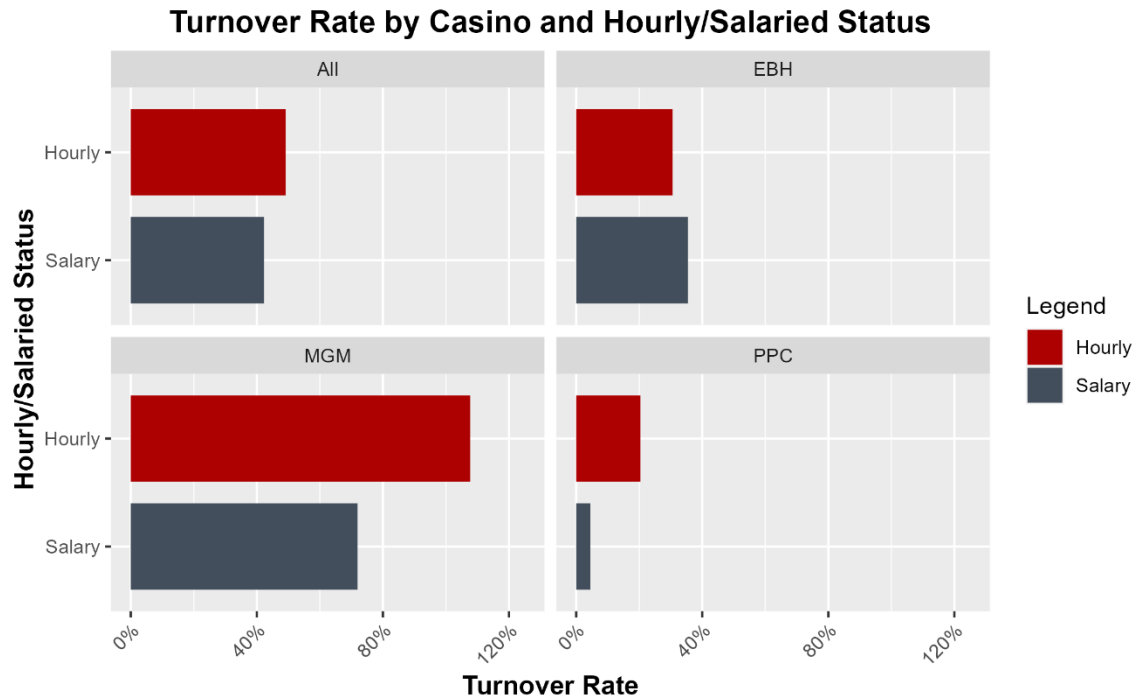


Figure 24: Turnover Rate by Full/Part Time Status and Casino

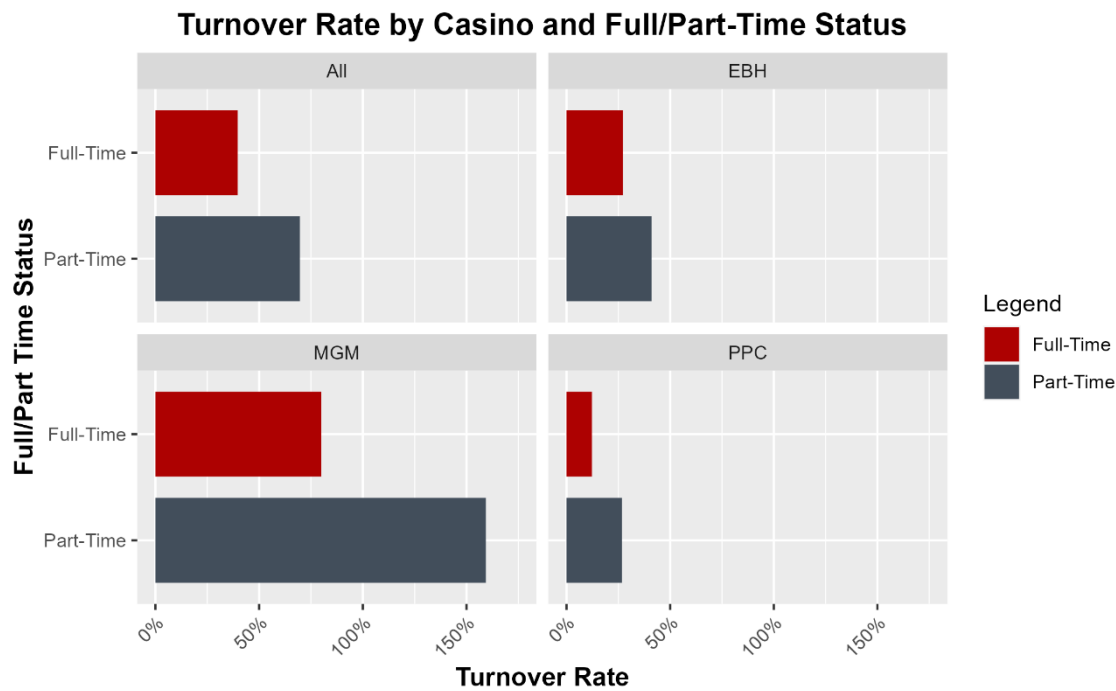


Figure 25: 2022 and Previous Hires by Full-Part Time

In 2022, both the industry and each casino experienced an increase in the hiring of part-time workers compared to their existing share of workforce’s job status.

