

Optimization of State Revenues through the Introduction of Casino Gambling

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Optimization of State Revenues through the Introduction of Casino Gambling

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I. Introduction

With the prospect of increasing budget deficits, many state governments are now considering the introduction of casino gambling within their states in order to raise revenues. The amount of budget deficits is staggering. Just in the New England region, general revenues, especially those from the personal income tax, fell sharply in every New England state except New Hampshire in FY2002. All six states closed the fiscal year with deficits. According to the Boston Federal Reserve Fiscal Facts, Massachusetts collected \$20.7 billion in revenues in FY2002, down by \$1.2 billion from FY2001. While revenues fell, spending continued to climb, reaching \$23 billion for the entire fiscal year and creating a \$2.3 billion hole in the state budget. Connecticut ended FY2002 with a budget deficit of \$817 million, or 6.8 percent of general fund spending. Maine closed FY2002 with a \$93 million deficit in its general fund budget; an additional \$150 million deficit is predicted for FY2003. The state will likely end its biennial budget cycle in June 2003 with a \$243 million insufficiency in its \$5.3 billion general fund budget, comprising roughly 5.5 percent of the state's general fund expenditures. Vermont's general revenues declined by 10 percent from FY2001 to FY2002 and caused a budget gap for FY2002 of \$25 billion or 3 percent of general fund spending. Finally, New Hampshire will end FY2002 with a \$62.6 million deficit (2.7 percent of budgeted expenditures), and Rhode Island experienced shrinking revenues for FY2002 and FY2003 by \$92.9 million and \$74.6 million, respectively.

It is clear that there is a tremendous potential for revenue generation in the gambling industry. It is projected that Connecticut will bring in almost 500 million

dollarsthisyear¹. (Thisisestimatedbytakingaquarterof2billiondollar expectedslot
 machinerevenuefrom its instatecasino s,FoxwoodsandMoheganSun.) Furthermore,
 gambling itselfisahugeindustry.In1995,gambling income intheUnitedStates
 grossedover\$40billion.Thesameyear,theestimatedreceiptsforamusementparks
 were\$7billion,includingadmissionfees,s alesoffoodandbeverages,andothersales.
 Theestimatedreceiptsformovietheaterswere\$5.5billion.²Outofthatnumber,casino
 gamblingaccountedfor88%ofallUSgamblinghandle³and52 %ofgrossprofits⁴.
 Casinogamingisthelargestpartoft hecommercialgamblingmarket.In1997,10states
 hadlegalizedsomeformofcommercial,non -tribalcasinogambling ,and22stateshad
 allowedIndiantribalgambling . In2000,14stateshad legalizedcommercial casino
 gambling.⁵ Definitiveevidenceof t hegrowthpotentialofthecasinoindustryisinthe
 examinationofthetrendfrom1982to1995. In1982,Casinogamblinghadahandleof
 101.4billiondollars.By1995thatamounthadrisento422billiondollars.⁶

Theincreasingdeficit shave prompted manystatestoreviewtherevenuestream s
 ofnearbystatestoseeiftheremight beanychanceforinstaterevenues.Adrivingfactor
 intheentranceintothecasinoindustryisthesuccessofanearbystatecoupledwitha
 desperateneedforalargerrevenuestream. Withinthe NewEngland region,
 Connecticut,havingmadeacompactwiththeIndiantribeswhohaveoperatingrightsfor

¹ <http://www.osc.state.ct.us/reports/economic/2001cmprpt/financial.htm>
 ConnecticutStateBudgetOffice –StateBudgetRecommendations

²TheUnitedStatesGross AnnualWager, InternationalGamingandWageringBusiness vol.17,no.8
 (August1996),p.45

³Handlerefers tothetotalamountofmoneythataplayerspendsplayingcasinotablegamesorslot
 machines.Sincethetotalamountincludeswinnings,itissam uchlargernumberthanwhatplayersactually
 lose.

⁴Grossrevenuesorprofitsrefertotheamountofmoneythatbettorslosegambling.Itisalsoknownas
 consumergamblinglosses.Itistheactualnetincomeretainedbytheoperatorafterthepayment ofprizes,
 butbeforedeductingtheothercostsofoperatingthegamblingestablishment.

⁵NationalConferenceofStateLegislaturesurveyofCommerceClearingHousesummaryofstatetax
 laws,2000

⁶ebid., InternationalGamingandWageringBusiness

Foxwoods and Mohegan Sun, received 319 million dollars from casino payments to the state in the FY2000, and that payment rate had an annually compounded growth of 18.6% over 5 years.⁷ Citing the success that Connecticut has had, a majority of the remaining New England states are now considering the introduction of casinos. Massachusetts is considering negotiating a pact to allow the Wampanoag tribe to operate casinos.

This thesis will try to determine whether any state could benefit from the introduction of casino gambling, and if so, how much extra funds could be expected. Massachusetts residents spend an estimated \$620 million at Connecticut's two casinos -- Foxwoods and Mohegan Sun, and they are dropping an additional \$726 million at out-of-state gambling facilities each year.⁸ If this sum were to be spent in-state, Massachusetts would be able to reap a significant percentage of that amount for its state revenues. The same can be said for Rhode Island. West Warwick, Rhode Island is merely 45 minutes away from Foxwoods, and Mohegan Sun is about an hour away, and for a state with a huge deficit, the profit that RI could reap from an in-state casino could make the introduction of casinos a worthwhile venture.

However, estimating profit is not just as simple as calculating a percentage of the nearby market's gross revenues. There are many different variables that affect whether the states could earn significant revenues from casino gambling. One point of measure is the market saturation point. A partial reason for Foxwoods' and Mohegan Sun's relative success is their prime location in the Northeast. If many new casinos were built nearby, such as in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York, they would certainly

⁷ <http://www.osc.state.ct.us/reports/economic/2001cmprpt/financial.htm>

Connecticut State Budget Office -- State Budget Recommendations

⁸ http://www.eagletribune.com/news/stories/19990305/FP_007.htm

Beth Quimby, Eagle Tribune, March 5, 1999, "Bay State gamblers dump millions in N.H., Connecticut"

draw away the profits from Connecticut's business and result in decreased revenues for all parties involved. Another consideration in the equation is the multiplier effect of other revenue sources. The determination of whether the introduction of casinos would result in increased tax revenues from alcohol, cigarettes, or even highway tolls from increased traffic is another factor worth considering. Also, increased visitors would surely mean increased hotel stays, increased shopping revenues, etc. Countering the multiplier effect argument is that of the substitution effect. The substitution effect states people will spend their income on casino gambling rather than spending the money on other goods and services. The substitution effect states that the introduction of casinos would take away money from local businesses and overall the local economy will be affected negatively, since local businesses will have lower income.

And finally, on the expenditure side, the earmarked funds for gambling problems must also be considered. These can include any factors ranging from state-run addiction programs to increased crime control to new infrastructure costs, among a variety of other aspects. The socio-economic analysis of casino gambling can play a huge factor in the valuation of a policy to legalize and institute casino gambling.

This paper will focus on the optimization of state revenues, taking into account all the factors mentioned above. In layman's terms, this paper wants to see if it would be feasible and profitable for a state to institute casinos within the states. The states that will be studied will be Rhode Island and Massachusetts, two states in the New England region that are reconsidering the introduction of casinos. Furthermore, once the quantitative research on profit optimization has been complete, it will be supplemented by a qualitative model examining the extent of materialization for these optimal findings.

This paper contends that the reduction of casino gambling would have some positive effect on state revenues; however, it will not be the panacea that people have been expecting.

II. Background Information

In determining these different factors, it is advisable first to evaluate the relative success of traditional gambling sources and how they have alleviated the deficit problem by utilizing the share of state revenues from their gambling industries. Then the examination of different types of casino gambling formats will follow that will serve as a model for establishing the optimal revenue scheme. These formats will include the private firm format, prevalent in Las Vegas and Atlantic City, Riverboat gambling, both moored and floating, and Indian Reservations, with Connecticut's two large locations serving as primary examples.

Legalized casino gambling in the United States began in 1931, when Nevada became the first state to allow unlimited stakes casino gambling in Las Vegas. In the late 1950s, the state first permitted publicly held companies to own and operate gaming facilities, which eased the entrance of public companies such as Hilton and Ramada. Currently, gaming in Nevada, especially in Las Vegas, has become a multi-billion dollar industry that attracts millions of people each year. In 1999, state gambling revenue exceeded 9.5 billion dollars, with an annual growth of 11.2 percent; and proportionately, visitor volume exceeded 50 million people, with a growth of 10.2 percent. It is not surprising to note that visitors into Clark County, the county that includes Las Vegas, comprise 85% of those who visited Nevada in that year. In fact, from 2001–2003, the Executive Budget General Fund Revenue derived over 40% directly from gaming and casino entertainment taxes, making those taxation the largest source of revenues. Clearly, this is a model which has succeeded in reaping benefits from Casino gambling to

bolster the state budget. However, empirically it has been shown that this model is the exception, not the norm. The second state in the US to legalize gambling was New Jersey, which introduced unlimited stakes casino gambling in 1976. While Atlantic City can boast visitor volume close to that of Las Vegas, New Jersey only reaps a fraction of what Nevada gains in state revenues, with less than 5% of state revenues coming from 'gaming' revenues. While this may be attributed to the size of the state (in terms of population, geography, etc) it is important to note the improbability for another state to have the revenue resembling that which Nevada collects. However, with expected casino revenue of 360 million dollars, it is not a trivial amount. Mississippi, which started out its in-state casino gambling with the riverboat format, now has more gambling square footage than Atlantic City. These three states are special in that they derive a large amount of their customer base from remote locations, and thus can be characterized as national destinations.

On a more regional level, starting in 1989, many states have instituted legalizing smaller operations. South Dakota, in 1989, legalized limited-stakes casino gambling in Deadwood, a historic mining town, and in 1990, Colorado followed by approving limited-stakes casino gambling in three former mining towns: Cripple Creek, Black Hawk, and Central City. Many states including Iowa, Illinois, Missouri and Indiana have introduced riverboat casino gaming. In 1989, Iowa and Illinois legalized riverboat casino gaming (docked), and in April 1991, Iowa launched the first gaming vessel in recent US history.⁹ The advent of riverboat gaming was complemented by increased Indian gaming, when Indian tribes were allowed to operate the same kinds of gambling allowed within a state by the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. Indian tribes have used their

⁹Roger Dunstan "Gambling in California," California Research Bureau, California State Library.

position as sovereign entities to develop a number of gaming establishments. In 1994 there were approximately 150 – 175 casinos and bingo halls in operation, and in 1997, 22 states had Indian casinos.¹⁰

Special regional focus in New England should go to Indian gaming, the format utilized by Connecticut, with Foxwoods and Mohegan Sun, run by Mashantucket Pequot and Mohegan tribes, respectively. Robert Goodman quotes a \$6 billion figure as his estimate of the gross revenues for Indian gambling, however, numbers on other reports vary from 2 to 8 billion dollars. For states, conflict exists because both the state and the Indian tribe are sovereign entities. As it is, states cannot force the tribe to pay taxes or exercise jurisdiction over activities on tribal lands. The right for a tribe to operate casinos on tribal lands has depended upon different litigation over the years. Currently Indian gaming is enforced by the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA). IGRA divides gaming into three categories; casino gambling lies within the jurisdiction of Class III. In order for a tribe to offer Class III gaming, the state in which the reservation is located must permit the same specific gaming activities that are permitted; the tribe must pass an ordinance authorizing the gaming activities; and the gaming must be conducted in conformance with a compact entered into by the tribe and the state. This third clause allows the state to reap some of the revenues from the tribal gaming. As stated, Connecticut's compact with its Indian tribes allows for a quarter of the revenues to be transferred back to the state. Moreover, states get some tax revenues from Indian gaming in the form of income tax for employees, who are not Indian or reservation residents. Furthermore, states have also used tribal gaming as a way to influence their relations with neighboring states. New York threatened to legalize high stakes Indian gambling which

¹⁰Richard L. Worsnop, "Gambling Boom," CQ Researcher, 8 March 1994, p. 243

would have competed with Atlantic City should New Jersey lure the Yankees away from New York.¹¹ California had considered trying to engage Nevada into a revenue sharing plan in lieu of legalizing casinos in Southern California. A similar offer was extended by Massachusetts governor, Mitt Romney, to Connecticut legislature.

¹¹Roger Dunstan, Gambling in California. California Research Bureau, pg IV

III. Literature Review

There are a plethora of research papers devoted to the topic of casino gambling, both about Indian gaming and about the publicly-owned firm model.

A widely quoted source is Robert Goodman's "Legalized Gambling as a Strategy for Economic Development," which explores the case against the growth of exponential growth of state-sanctioned and state-sponsored gambling. In 1992, Goodman became the director of the United States Gambling Study, an organization concerned with offering economic planning advice to policymakers. His paper, published in 1994, is effective in outlining the existing infrastructure in terms of casino gambling. It also provides an adequate history of casino gambling. Goodman's main purpose is to provide fodder for his argument that legalized gambling does not make sense in terms of money because of the ancillary social costs, which undermine the increased revenues. He also provides a great foundation regarding issues of Indian gaming, gaming regulation, and economic impact of gambling.

Furthermore, in his book, *The Luck Business: The Devastating Consequences and Broken Promises of America's Gambling Explosion*, Goodman argues that governments that turn to legalized gambling in an effort to boost local economies are ignoring a multitude of hidden costs. This notion mirrors the argument presented in the above document. While his arguments are bolstered by convincing statistics in both cases, one must observe that there is a flaw in trying to take the existing literature at face value.

Many times, literature is commissioned for certain purposes. Much literature supporting casino gambling is put out by the firms that operate casinos. Also, literature

can be biased towards the author's viewpoint on gambling. There exists data that both support and deny the effectiveness of gambling in establishing sound economies or researching the socio-economic factors of gambling. Anyone can skew the existing information to support his or her argument. Also, Goodman's paper and book were published almost 10 years ago, so either new investigation or an update to his original argument may be required.

Another useful document is "Indian Gaming in the United States: A Permanent or a Transitory Method of Economic Development" by Robert P. Morin, Department of Political Science, University of Nevada published in 1994. This document serves as a great source for background information on Indian gaming. Morin puts forth the argument that despite its popularity and widespread availability, the future of Indian gaming is unsettled and could become illegal again. This possibility, Morin argues, is due to the conflict that exists between states and Indian tribes, coupled with the status of the "new buffalo," that is earned by casinos on Indian land because it is a single source capable of feeding and clothing the Indians. Another good article on Indian gambling is "Economic Impact of Native American Gaming in Wisconsin" published by the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute in 1995 written by William Thompson. This paper explores the same possibility as Morin's paper, but focuses on the economic consequences from Indian gaming in Wisconsin. Here he reaches the conclusion that benefits to the tribes are short-lived, and in the long-run will become marginalized.

Another article on gambling is the paper put out by the California Research Bureau in 1997. Roger Dunstan's "Gambling in California" offers a comprehensive viewpoint for California in researching the effectiveness of gambling. The paper tries to

analyze whether gambling is advantageous to California. In doing so, he reviews the history of gambling, defines different types of existing gambling (among them casino gambling, riverboat gambling, lotteries, In dianga ming, etc.), and analyzes the economic and social impacts of gambling. Dunstan arrives at the conclusion that it is difficult to forecast the future of California gambling. In his conclusion, he offers research options by which he will try to gather more material before a final judgment can be passed. He offers regulatory options, including those that would deal with social costs such as prevention of pathological gambling.

"The Effects of Casino Gaming on Consumer Spending" put out by the WEFA Group in 1994, analyze consumer spending in towns where a casino is present. The object of this paper is to test the existence of the substitution effect in areas with a casino. This report tries to prove that the substitution effect is not a factor in considering the revenues that a casino will learn. It states that the substitution effect has been assumed erroneously because consumer budgets are not limited or fixed over time. This thesis states that just simply because people spend money at casinos does not translate to lower spending at other businesses. The paper also states that the money spent in a casino is not sterile, and remains an active part of the economy. Additionally, in a report prepared by Christiansen/Cummings Associates for the 1994 Gross Annual Wager, it was pointed out that "These consumer expenditures on commercial games pay the wages and salaries of the hundreds of thousands of employees, provide a return on the equity component of the tens of billions of dollars invested in casinos and racetracks and companies that vend computerized wagering systems, service the debt component of these investments, support the stock prices of the hundreds of publicly owned companies involved with

gambling, and, in sum, are the motivating force of an economic engine that is most visible in Nevada but that less visibly drives an annually growing portion of the American leisure economy."

My research is different from these existing literatures in that I will attempt to provide a quantitative model for calculating the maximum revenues nearby states can reap from casino gambling. It is also unique from some of the papers listed above in that it focuses on specific states in the New England region, something that has not been explored to the depth that I hope my research will. A qualitative model afterward will try to best fit the approximation for revenue stream for some of the states in the region. It will include a analysis of study on the interstate leaching effect as well as the multiplier effect. Market saturation and neighboring state competition will also be discussed, which I hope will objectively discuss the available funds that are available for the state. Furthermore, these models will be optimized utilizing different forms of gambling that is available to determine which will be most effective in maximizing revenues.

IV. Methodology and Results

This paper is interested in exploring quantitatively the maximum revenue that New England states, especially Massachusetts and Rhode Island, could expect if casinos are introduced in each state. The first subsection will examine what type of casinos will be most beneficial. The second subsection is going to analyze the current contribution to revenue that the forms of gaming are providing to both Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Then the contribution to the state of Connecticut will be examined, which will be used to analyze further the Rhode Island and Massachusetts data. This subsection will also discuss the external factors and issues that may impact the states fiscally.

1. Type of Casino

There are three types of casinos that are prevalent in the United States: Private firm, Indian -run, and riverboat gambling. It is important to examine what type of casinos a state wants to institute because different types of casinos can mean different amounts of revenues. Casinos on Indian reservations qualify as a sovereign entity and do not pay any taxes. The only way a state can recuperate any money from an Indian casino is to negotiate a compact, in which the casino agrees to pay the state a certain percentage or amount. This negotiation is mandatory for an Indian tribe to establish a casino within its reservation under the rules passed by the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. (IGRA) For the New England region, it is safe to say that the likeliest percentage of casino revenue that

can be realized by the state is 25%, the same percentage that Connecticut receives from the tribes that operate Foxwoods and Mohegan Sun. However, privately run casinos must comply with the state's tax codes on commercial gambling. The table on the preceding pages shows the current rate of taxation on commercial gambling for 11 different states. As the table shows, different states collect taxes at different rates, with the range being between about 7 to 30 percent. It is important to note that the states that have higher gaming revenues generally have tax rates that are lower, in some cases much lower. Furthermore, in addition to the direct taxes on, or contributions from, gambling activities, casinos will bring in further tax revenues through taxes on hotel room rentals, meals, and shopping sales. This amount can be collected at both the local and state level. Furthermore, if the private-firm type of casino is introduced, the states would need to spend money on regulating these casinos. Compared to the potential for tax revenues using the private firm format, the earnings of Indian casinos, the tribes operating the endeavors on tribal land, and the earnings of individual tribal members cannot be taxed. Therefore, any state that is considering placing new casinos within its borders should consider the various options for maximum potential revenues.

In addition to choosing the right people to run the casinos, policymakers will also need to consider whether the casino that would be introduced is a large destination casino, or smaller convenience casinos. National casino destinations, such as Las Vegas and Atlantic City, offer more possibilities of outside tourists visiting the area, which will result in positive gains. Also, large casinos might benefit the region by recapturing the amount of money that local residents would otherwise spend outside the region. Convenience or localized casino gambling aims to capture a limited geographic market

and may not result in any significant earnings. According to the National Gambling Impacts Study Commission's Final Report, "No economic benefit to either place or a person was advanced by proponents of convenience gambling. There are no national statistics that indicate the specific impacts of neighborhood gambling."¹² If a casino is not a destination draw, then the NGISC study shows that the convenience casino simply re-circulates local dollars.

2. Current Contributions

i. Rhode Island

Rhode Island is one of the states that are currently considering placing a casino within its borders. In outlining the possible benefits and costs that casino gaming could add to Rhode Island revenues, it is important to first examine the current contributions that the state is receiving from its gaming operations. Currently Rhode Island receives money from its traditional Lottery system, Keno, and Video Lottery Terminals (VLTs) that are operational in its two racinos, located in Lincoln Downs and Newport Jai Alai. The introduction of VLTs into Rhode Island in July 1997 has had a substantial effect for Rhode Island, because the vast majority of gaming revenue that Rhode Island receives comes directly from the VLT contributions. The graph on the following page shows the progression from July 1997 until the present of total Rhode Island gaming revenue, as well as its component games, VLTs, Keno, and Traditional Lottery.

The data that was used to formulate this graph as well as the following trend analysis that will be discussed in a later section consists of monthly revenues received by

¹²National Gambling Impact Study Commission: Final Report

the state for all the component games that contribute to gaming revenues for the state for the period between July, 1997 and December, 2002. This includes Video, Keno, and 9 forms of Traditional Lottery (Instant tickets, Power Ball, Wild Money, Roll Down, Numbers, Instant Match, Money Roll, Easy Win, and Daily Millions)

It is evident from this graph, that Keno and Lottery have not had much growth for the past 5 plus years, however, the growth of gaming revenues can be attributed mostly to the rise in the Video revenues. There is clearly a correlation between the Video and Total Revenues.

An analysis that incorporates a trend component will determine whether the actual forecasted effect of each component on the total revenue. The general mathematical representation of the model for decomposition approach is:

$$Y_t = f(S_t, T_t, E_t)$$

where Y_t is the time series value (actual data) at period t ,
 S_t is the seasonal component (or index) at period t ,
 T_t is the trend-cycle component at period t , and
 E_t is the irregular (or remainder) component at period t .

The data for Rhode Island incorporates all three of these components; the decomposition plot for this data can be seen in the Appendix A. Seasonal sub-series show the seasonal component plotted. For each month, the values of these seasonal component are collected together to form a sub-series. For the multiplicative decomposition, these seasonally adjusted data are recomputed by dividing by the seasonal component, leaving only trend-cycle and irregular components.

$$Y_t / S_t = T_t * E_t$$

The following tables show the seasonality of the Rhode Island data. It is notable that the data is surprisingly seasonal:

Seasonal Indices – Rhode Island data, July 1997 – December, 2002					
July	105.677	November	96.069	March	106.583
August	103.266	December	92.947	April	103.504
September	98.213	January	94.750	May	104.730
October	100.388	February	95.035	June	98.837

These seasonal components reveal that the warm weather months have higher indices – translated as higher revenues. In establishing a casino or promoting the current racinos, that time period is optimal because it is the time period where the majority of vacation time is spent. If an introduction of casino(s) will bear similar seasonality, then a destination casino will be an option that is worth considering.

The trend component of the data is as follows:

Equations, Trend by segment – Rhode Island data, July 1997 – December, 2002		
Total:	$922,372t + 45,136,455$	(t = time in months)
Video:	$821,517t + 31,505,650$	(t = time in months)
Lottery:	$55,362t + 9,755,577$	(t = time in months)
Keno:	$48,147t + 3,846,858$	(t = time in months)

Analyzing these equations, again, shows that the total revenue is driven by the Video component. During the period of analysis, Total gaming revenues showed an average increase of about 925,000 dollars per month, and 90% of this increase was

attributed to the Video component. The trend equations for the Lottery and Keno numbers further support the view from Chart 1, that Lottery and Keno have shown relatively limited growth, and do not represent a majority of the growth in the Rhode Island gaming revenue.

It is evident that Rhode Island currently is very reliant on the VLTs as a source of revenue. Therefore, it is imperative that the effect of the introduction of casinos on VLT play be considered. This ‘cannibalization’ of existing gaming opportunities is a major factor on whether casinos offer a viable option for greater revenues. Cannibalization is the deterioration of one product’s sales as a result of the introduction of another product or, conversely, the increase in sales of one product (game) at the expense of another.

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Currently, the state government collects 51% to 57% of EGD revenues at Lincoln Downs and Newport Jai Alai, with 1% given to the local town or city that hosts the various sites. From Table 1, it was evident that no states currently benefit at those high rates and that casinos will not be able to compensate the states at that level. If a casino, or casinos, is introduced into Rhode Island, the government must consider many different things.

1. What rate of collection is necessary for maximum realization of revenues?
 - How much revenue should be expected of a casino that is introduced?
 - Will this rate allow the casino operator a fair rate of return?
 - What type of casinos should be introduced?
2. What effect will the casino have on the existing revenue stream of the VLTs?

¹³McGowan, Richard A. Evaluating a State’s Gambling Strategy: The Relationship between Lottery Sales and Casino Gambling

- What level of decline will be shown for the VLTs?
 - Will the rate of collection have to be lower in the future for the VLTs?
3. Will these measures keep Rhode Island gaming competitive with neighboring states?

ii. Massachusetts

Another state in the New England region that is considering the introduction of casino is Massachusetts. Massachusetts has the highest absolute deficit projected data figure well over 2 billion dollars. Also, it is important to note that Massachusetts residents spend over 1.3 billion dollars at out-of-state gambling facilities each year.¹⁴ (This considers the estimated \$620 million spent at Connecticut's two casinos – Foxwoods and Mohegan Sun and an additional \$726 million spent at other gambling facilities/venues.) It has been argued by pro-casino factions that if this amount could be spent in-state, then the state should be able to recoup gaming revenues in the hundreds of millions of dollars.

Currently, Massachusetts collects significant amounts of revenues from different forms of Traditional Lottery. On a per capita basis, Massachusetts is the national leader among states, exceeded only by the District of Columbia.¹⁵ The below table shows some data about the state's Lottery program.

¹⁴ http://www.eagletribune.com/news/stories/19990305/FP_007.htm
Beth Quimby, Eagle Tribune, March 5, 1999, "Bay State gamblers dump millions in N.H., Connecticut"

¹⁵ Gold, Steven – Casinos are No Panacea for Ailing State Budgets

Table2. Massachusetts Lottery program information	
Year Lottery Founded:	March 1972
Sales FY1997:	\$3,214 million
Sales FY1998:	\$3,225 million
Sales FY1999:	\$3,365 million
Sales FY2000:	\$3,715 million
Sales FY2001:	\$3,969 million
Sales FY2002:	\$4,211 million
Games Offered:	Instant games, 3-digit game, 4-digit game, The Big Game, Keno, Cashlot to (Mass Cash/matrix: 5/35), Pull tabs, Megabucks (matrix: 6/42) & Mass Millions
Beneficiaries:	Approximately 25% to 30% go to cities & towns, compulsive gambling, arts council and the state general fund.
Jurisdiction:	State of Massachusetts USA

Source: <http://www.lotteryinsider.com.au/lottery/massach.htm>

Clearly, the sales amount for the Lottery program is significant. Furthermore, significant percentage of the Lottery sales is returned to the Massachusetts general Fund.

Revenue generated from Lottery sales is used for three purposes.¹⁶

1. A minimum of 45% of revenues stays in the State Lottery Fund to be paid out in prizes. Currently, the Lottery's prize percentage is over 69%.

2. A portion of revenues is transferred to the Commonwealth's General Fund for the expenses incurred in administering and operating the Lottery. The administrative and operating expenses of the Lottery are appropriated by the legislature as part of the annual state budget. Operating expenses cannot exceed 15%. Currently, operating expenses are under 8%. These operating expenses include 5.8% in commissions and bonuses paid to the sales agents who sell the tickets and under 2% in administrative expenses due to Lottery operation.

¹⁶ Massachusetts Lottery Commission - <http://www.masslottery.com/>

3. After prizes and expenses, the remaining Lottery revenues (approximately 23%) is transferred to the state's General Funds, which can be used to finance the Local Aid Fund and returned to the cities and towns of the Commonwealth in the form of local aid.

In FY2002, Massachusetts received about \$850 million dollars from the state's Lottery program. The data used for analysis on the current contributions of Massachusetts gaming revenue is the Lottery sales data from January, 1998 to February, 2003. This includes all the component games of the Lottery program, Instant tickets, Mass Millions, Megabucks, Mass Cash, The Big Game, Keno, and Daily Numbers. The chart on the following page graphically presents the data. Just as the Rhode Island data, the total gaming revenue is affected primarily just by one component. In Massachusetts' case, Instant tickets clearly constitute the vast majority of Lottery revenue. The other components of the Lottery program remain relatively steady and do not show any significant fluctuations. The significance, in terms of introduction of casinos, of the dominance of instant tickets of the total lottery sales will be discussed in a following section.

Once again, the data will be analyzed using a seasonal decomposition and trend analysis. This will allow existing Massachusetts revenues to be analyzed at the same manner as Rhode Island. The following tables show these seasonal indices for the Massachusetts Lottery program.

Seasonal Indices –Massachusetts Lottery Data ,January,1998 –February,2003					
January	108.353	May	94.409	September	90.897
February	94.882	June	97.250	October	96.227
March	105.926	July	91.440	November	101.326
April	106.921	August	90.742	December	121.627

From these seasonal analyses, it becomes clear that the lottery data is seasonal. The higher revenue months are clearly the cold weather months. As in the case with Rhode Island, this seasonality pattern is favorable. If a casino's seasonal index is geared for higher revenues in the warm weather months, Massachusetts might be able to take advantage of the lottery program in the colder months and casino revenues in the warmer months, thereby giving the state a chance to maximize revenues for the entire year.

The trend component offers further analysis. The trend equations are as follows:

Equations, Trend by Segment –Massachusetts Data, January, 1998 –February, 2003		
Total:	$1,514,072.6t + 266,000,000.00$	(t=time in months)
Instant:	$1,402,655t + 170,000,000.00$	(t=time in months)
All Other Games:	$194,085.3t + 94,860,591.00$	(t=time in months)

During the period that was analyzed, Massachusetts government has seen lottery revenues increase by an average margin of over 1.5 million dollars per month. And as was expected from the chart, instant ticket games revenue increase constitutes about 93% of the total revenue increase. That is clearly a dominating factor in driving the Lottery

revenue. All other games remain steady; however, the significance of their contribution to the overall Lottery revenue has decreased over time.

Once again, the cannibalization of existing gaming revenues is a concern when considering the introduction of a new avenue of gaming opportunity. If cannibalization exists between lottery games and casino gambling, then the introduction of casinos will negatively affect existing lottery sales. Richard McGowan's study of the relationship between lottery sales and casino revenues in 5 states, which introduced new forms of localized casino gambling, studies the effect of cannibalization. He concludes that "every state that used instant games as the building block of its lottery experienced decreases in instant sales as a result of the start of casino gambling. In the two states with unlimited casino gaming, the instant lottery suffered a permanent decrease in sales."¹⁷

Massachusetts' lottery program is clearly one that is instant game dependent. It stands to reason that with the introduction of casinos, Massachusetts will see a decrease in lottery revenues.

As Table 2 and the following explanations showed, Massachusetts currently collects about 23% of the Lottery revenues for the state's coffers. Since some states collect more than 23% of casino tax revenues, (including compacts with Native American tribes) it is conceivable that depending on the size of the expected casino revenue, that Massachusetts can recuperate all lost Lottery revenue and receive more tax revenues as a result. However, having brought in over \$4 billion dollars in Lottery revenue in the year 2002 (with instant games comprising about \$3 billion dollars in sales) it is unlikely that Massachusetts government will be able to reclaim all lost revenues. Simply put, it would

¹⁷McGowan, Richard A. Evaluating a State's Gambling Strategy: The Relationship between Lottery Sales and Casino Gambling

belike exchanging \$850 million dollars for the mysterybo x. Just as Rhode Island, Massachusetts policymakers should answer a similar line of questioning before they deem casinos a viable option for its state.

1. What rate of collection is necessary for maximum realization of revenues?
 - How much revenue should be expected of a casino that is introduced?
 - Will this rate allow the casino operator a fair rate of return?
 - What type of casinos should be introduced?
2. What effect will the casino have on the existing revenue stream of the Lottery program, especially instant games?
 - What level of decline will be shown for instant games?
 - Will casinos be able to compensate for the loss in instant games, and if so, by how much?
3. Will these measures keep Massachusetts gaming competitive with neighboring states?

iii. Connecticut

Connecticut's foray into the gambling industry has been phenomenal. Since 1972, the first year of the state's Lottery program, Connecticut government has allowed the introduction of pari-mutuel facilities (1976-1977), both Greyhound racing in 2 locations and Jai Alai in 3 locations, off-track betting, and finally Indian-run casinos. Foxwoods opened its doors in 1993 and Mohegan Sun followed in 1997. Starting in 1972, when the Lottery program contributed \$8.15 million dollars to the Connecticut

General Fund, the contribution from gaming has exploded. In the Fiscal Year 2002, Connecticut collected nearly \$650 million dollars, with the two casinos contributing about \$370 million dollars to that total. The chart on the preceding pages shows the contributions of all the component games for the state of Connecticut. It is important to note that the Lottery program has dominated the revenue stream for the state coffers until the inception of the casinos in 1993. Appendix 1 includes some of the data that were used for the analysis. All data are from the Department of Special Revenues in Connecticut.

Pari-Mutuel Facilities

In Connecticut, there are Greyhound racetracks in Plainfield and Bridgeport. There are also three Jai Alai locations in Hartford, Milford and Bridgeport. The data that I used to analyze the pari-mutuel facilities are annual data from 1976, the year of the introduction of these facilities in the state. (Milford Jai Alai opened in 1977.) Until 1987, Pari-mutuel revenue steadily increased. Since then, there has been a decline in the amount that the state has been able to collect. The charts on the next two pages show the sales and the contribution to the state from these venues, and the percentage of collection (the contribution over the total sales at these venues) from 1976 to 2002. While the decrease in overall sales cannot be significantly connected with the opening of Foxwoods in 1993, the decrease in percentage of collection is very apparent. From 1993, when Foxwoods opened, the state has collected between 1-2 percent of total sales. When one compares this figure to the pre-casino era, when the state had been able to

collect over 6 percent, it becomes clear that the competition that the pari-mutuel venues faced from the casino has driven down its sales and the state's revenues. In fact, the state of Connecticut has had to subsidize some of these venues to keep them from closing.

Lottery

Connecticut's Lottery Program began in 1972. The data that were used to analyze the state's Lottery program is annual data from 1972. There are both sales data and the amount contributed to the state for all the component games of the program: Weekly numbers, Instant tickets, Daily Numbers, Lotto, Cash Lotto and Powerball. The graph on the following pages shows the total lottery sales by component games from 1972 to 2002. It is important to note that until 1993, total lottery sales have been driven by a combination of Lotto, daily numbers, and instant ticket sales. Since 1993 there has been a direct correlation between the total lottery sales and the sale of instant lottery tickets, signifying that the increase in lottery sales revenue is largely due to instant ticket sales growth. The following trend equations quantify this correlation.

Trend Equations, Connecticut Lottery, Sales 1972 – 2002		
Total Sales =	$32,233,330t - 104,000,000$	(t = time in years)
Instant Ticket Sales =	$(23,783,305.89)^{(.1135t)}$	(t = time in years)

It's important to note that over the whole period from 1972 – 2002, Instant Ticket Sales have accounted for 60% of total sales. From 1993 on, the graphs show a greater portion of total sales being comprised of instant ticket sales. This indicates that, like Massachusetts, Connecticut's Lottery Program is mainly driven by instant ticket sales.

The published study by Richard McGowan stated that the introduction of a casino leads to a decline in instant ticket sales. This phenomenon then drives the overall lottery sales down. In Connecticut's case, this has not happened. The exponential trend equation¹⁸ shows that the latter years, (especially 1993 on) have shown an explosion in the amount of sales. As opposed to the states explored in McGowan's study, Connecticut introduced a new approach for instant ticket sales. In this approach, Connecticut released higher priced games (up to \$10 per game) and returned a greater percentage as winnings. This approach might explain the growth of instant ticket sales, even with the competition coming from the casinos.

However, it is important to note that the competition has had an effect on the state's coffers. While the total amount of Lottery sold has increased by a large margin (\$552 million in 1993 to \$907 million in 2002), the amount that the state has been able to get from these games has not shown significant growth. (\$221 million in 1993 to \$271 million in 2002) In fact, the trend for percentage of lottery collection has had a steady decline.

¹⁸Exponential model is one of the possible models for explaining non-linear trend for the data. The general equation for the model is $Y_i = \exp(a + bX_i + e_i)$. Another model that can be used is a piecewise linear model, which divides the data into two sections, depending on whether the datum is above or below the condition.

$$Y_i = \begin{cases} a_1 + b_1 X_i + e_i & \text{when } X_i \leq \text{certain condition} \\ a_2 + b_2 X_i + e_i & \text{when } X_i > \text{certain condition} \end{cases}$$

	Trend, Percentage Collected – Connecticut Lottery, 1972 – 2002	
Total=	$0.481 - 4.877E - 03t$	(t=time in years)
	(1/2% decline each year)	

Casinos

No matter how much the Lottery has influenced Connecticut's revenues, since the inception of both Foxwoods and Mohegan Sun, it is very apparent that the contributions from the casino is the main factor in measuring the amount of transfers to the General Fund. Examining the annual data from 1993 quantifies this statement.

	Trend Equations, Annual Contributions to the State, 1993 – 2002	
Total=	$39,301,370t + 265,000,000$	(t=time in years)
Lottery=	$4,556,523t + 226,000,000$	(t=time in years)
Casino=	$36,183,521t + 20,439,971$	(t=time in years)

These trend equations show that casino collection makes up over 92% of the total contribution growth to the state annually from 1993. Compared to this, the amount that the Lottery provides has meant very little in terms of growth.

The following charts show Connecticut's casinos' Monthly Contributions to the State. It becomes evident that there is a steady growth in these numbers. The

multiplicative seasonal decomposition shows that the data is seasonal for warmer weather months. The indices are as follows.

Seasonal Indices (Sales) – Foxwoods & Mohegan Sun		– Monthly, 1993 / 1997 - 2002	
Foxwoods		Mohegan Sun	
January	88.505	January	88.715
February	92.191	February	95.895
March	100.108	March	101.737
April	100.526	April	100.090
May	102.174	May	103.353
June	98.788	June	99.904
July	117.391	July	111.056
August	114.829	August	110.577
September	103.126	September	98.682
October	102.119	October	102.559
November	95.327	November	94.805
December	84.915	December	92.626

This shows that the casinos will see more money go through the casinos in the warmer months, which is in line with the idea that the warmer months will see more visitor traffic. The next box shows the trend equations for the deseasonalized data. The emphasis is on the growth of the contribution to the state, which is growing at a combined \$200,000 per month.

Trend Total Handle – Connecticut Casinos

Foxwoods: $4,172,427t + 399,000,000$ (t=time in months)

Mohegan Sun: $6,280,385t + 297,000,000$ (t=time in months)

Trend Total Collected – Connecticut Casinos

Foxwoods: $77,017t + 8,533,312$ (t=time in months)

Mohegan Sun: $132,435t + 5,628,013$ (t=time in months)

The analysis of the annual data shows that casinos are indeed cannibalizing the other components of the state gaming venues. Pari-mutuel facilities have seen steady decreases, with the venues having to be subsidized to be kept open. Lottery, even though it has seen some growth in terms of overall sales, has seen the contribution to the state shrink to merely 10% of total growth. As it becomes clearer that Connecticut is dependent on casinos, an examination of both Rhode Island and Massachusetts is in order to decide whether a casino would mean the optimization of revenues for each state.

Rhode Island Conclusion

As stated before, Rhode Island relies heavily on the revenues from the VLTs from its two racinos. Collecting at 51 – 57% of the EGD revenues, 90% of the state’s gaming revenues come from this source. The introduction of casinos has reduced Connecticut’s pari-mutuel facilities’ revenues considerably. Compare the 51 – 57% collection rate to

Connecticut's 1 -2% collection, one can easily see that the racinos will see a large decline in revenues with the introduction of casinos in Rhode Island. The introduction of casinos within Rhode Island would probably depend on whether the legislature values the current collection of revenue over the possible Casino revenue collection.

Massachusetts Conclusion

Massachusetts relies on its lottery program, mostly driven by instant ticket sales, for gaming revenues. Massachusetts has a similar policy in terms of instant ticket sales (larger percentage of winnings & more expensive ticket sales for ticket sale growth) as Connecticut does. If Massachusetts could be compared to Connecticut, a valid argument could be made that the Lottery Program in Massachusetts will see a decline in the importance for gaming revenues. The casinos' contribution to Connecticut grows at a much larger rate than its Lottery Program. The legislature in Massachusetts, then, also has to decide between existing revenues from the Lottery, which in FY 2002 amounted to over a billion dollars, over the potential benefits a casino may provide. In the end, it is my conclusion that Massachusetts will not gain much by introducing casinos in state.

V. Conclusion

Since the early 1990s, the movement authorizing various forms of casino gambling has picked up a great deal of momentum. This movement was spurred possibly by the need for greater revenues. The success of Connecticut in realizing positive returns from its Indian casinos, Foxwoods and Mohegan Sun has made other states in the New England region, Rhode Island and Massachusetts among them, considering following suit.

The determination as to the 'success' of casino gaming introductions should be discussed in three different manners. The first way is the direct impact of casino development for public sector revenues. This impact quantitatively determines whether casinos will have immediate positive or negative impact on the state's revenue collection. The second method is to study the impact of casinos on jobs and income. State government could indirectly bring in extra revenues to the state through taxation of income of casino workers. If new jobs are created through casinos, the state might stand to gain more than just the direct tax on gaming. And finally, the social costs associated with casinos cannot be ignored, because they may play a key role in determining whether casinos offer a viable option for new revenues.

Proponents for casino gambling state that casinos can offer immediate positive revenues for the state. They argue that casinos offer a service much in demand by consumers (evident by the amount of gambling that is done in the US - \$40 billion in revenues in 1995) and that there are no pre-existing suppliers of the service. Also, since casinos follow the locational effect, they are said to create demand for labor and land.

Opponents, on the other hand, argue that the casinos do not produce any substantial revenues for a sustained period of time, and that ancillary costs associated with casino gambling, in the long -run, may produce a negative effect on state budgets. A study by the Florida's Office of Planning and Budgeting in 1994 provides estimates that annual projection of state revenues related to casinos would cover only 8 -13 percent of annual minimum projected costs.¹⁹ While this figure factors in huge sums of social costs, it illustrates a point that some governments have decided that casinos will not become a viable source for revenue.

The quantitative study performed in the previous sections shows that casinos will not be a no -strings-attached pot of gold for state treasuries. Rhode Island will surely see a cannibalization of its VLTs and Massachusetts will see a drop -off in its instant games component of its lottery sales. **The claim of this paper remains that casino gambling is not the cure -all for state budget deficits.** Casinos have remained a small part of the state's fiscal revenues (excepting Nevada) and the study on the cannibalization of existing gaming opportunities shows that casinos might not provide the fiscal solution to the huge budget deficits. Even if a state can predict budgetary gains for a proposed casino, there are more factors that come into play. These factors deal with intra -state concerns. Currently, Connecticut's niche as the only state in the New England region with large casinos allows for the state to earn a significant amount of revenue. However, if large casinos are established elsewhere in the region, then policymakers must also consider the leakage effect. If Massachusetts builds a closer casino, then Foxwoods and Mohegan Sun will surely see a decrease in its revenues. There is a level at which the

¹⁹Florida Office of Planning and Budgeting, 1994 Casinos in Florida: An Analysis of the Economic and Social Impacts. Tallahassee.

market for casino gaming reaches a maximum, called the saturation point. After this point is reached, any more entries into the market will result in lower revenues for the participants. This will hinder the state treasury from collecting the optimum amount of money from casino gambling.

Building casinos are also said to create jobs and boost income of people who live in the region where the casinos are built. Casinos have many people working for them and their incomes become taxable and eventually state revenues. If this is the case, then the introduction of casinos will have positive effects again. The multiplier effect says that the total economic impact of a casino must include the indirect and induced spending that results from the introduction of new money. Each newly spent dollar is 'multiplied' as it travels through the economy and can bring more taxes for the state. Studies (mentioned in the literature section) have shown that the multiplier effect is especially apparent in areas that host larger, more elaborate casinos. This idea follows the argument that a larger casino with stores, restaurants, and hotels will induce more spending.

The substitution effect states the opposite. Even if casinos are creating opportunities for spending, they can negatively affect the community because the money that is spent on casinos is merely a transfer of money that might be spent elsewhere in the community. "Gambling involves simply sterile transfers of money or goods between individuals, creating no new money or goods."²⁰ If the increase in jobs in casinos is matched by loss of jobs in the community, then the substitution effect says the casino has zero gain and there will be no multiplier effect. The benefit for a region is if there is transfer of money from outside the region. Grinol's study testifies to this notion. Few of the jobs at casinos are filled by individuals who are unemployed at the time of opening;

²⁰Roger Dunstan. Gambling in California

and some jobs are filled by individuals from outside the local area. Economic development does not appear to be the primary economic consideration relating to the introduction of a casino.

Finally this thesis touched upon some top ical social relevance. On the positive side, economists argue that the legalization and introduction of casinos results in positive consumer surplus. Consumer surplus is the difference in the total value that an individual places on a commodity and the price he pays to the market to acquire it. The concept of consumer surplus is especially relevant in valuing public projects, but can work in the case of casinos. The benefit to people who want to gamble is a matter of social freedom, or consumer sovereignty. The more prevalent focus on the social side has been to examine the tangible social costs. Problem and pathological gambling may be an invisible or silent disease but it is not a costless disease. Social costs include such items as fraud, theft, bad loans, bad checks, lost work time, unemployment and welfare benefits, medical costs and criminal justice system costs. More unquantifiable costs might be increased rates of suicide, car accidents or family problems.

With all these factors in place, the reason that policymakers would want to introduce casinos is a classic case of Prisoner's Dilemma. If no state had gambling, there would be no negative effects of gambling anywhere. However, if one region can institute gambling, then it can gain at other state's expense. This creates a chance for certain regions to make large sums of money, which induce the introduction of other states. Furthermore, the majority of the costs associated with casinos do not appear in the short term, making casinos seem like free money. However, it is best to remember that in economics and politics, 'there is no such thing as a free lunch.' While it would be wise to

remember this adage, the short nature of political cycles might be the factor in succeeding in introducing casinos into the region.

VI. Further Research

This paper has tried to measure the impact of casino introduction into 2 states in the New England region. While this paper has concluded that the casinos may not have a large impact on state budgets, there are many areas that could be researched further.

On the quantitative side, the inter-state leaching effect could be more carefully observed. Since there are no casinos set up in Rhode Island or Massachusetts, it is difficult to calculate the decrease in revenues that Connecticut casinos will face. New York State has recently approved legislation allowing certain cities in the Catskill Mountains to operate large casinos. Future studies can focus on the impact of nearby facilities and the threshold to the saturation point for the casino market.

Definitive research on both the substitution effect and multiplier effect can also be areas of possible research. Utilizing the data that was present for Rhode Island and Massachusetts, the aim of this paper was to estimate the direct costs/benefits of a casino; however, the secondary impact of casinos on regional economy can be substantial.

Another topic of focus is to research the result of introductions of casinos into poor regions. Many research papers have tried to determine whether a casino can economically benefit a poor region by introducing new infrastructure (buildings, roads, etc) and attracting more visitors and increasing revenues. However, this author has not been able to find authoritative results on this issue. Also, there has been little amount of research that focuses on the New England region. However, if there are introduction of new casinos into the region, there will clearly have to be further research on how this region will respond to the new opportunities.

This paper has not focused on the social costs, because of the difficulty in quantifying much or even all of the costs. However, future studies can focus on the actual relationship between casinos and social factors, such as crime, addiction, unemployment among a plethora of other issues. While there have been numerous studies that have tried to quantify the socio-economic issues, definitive answers have not been forthcoming. Studies on the rate of increase of pathological gamblers or gambling addiction, rate of increase on crime relating to the region that has introduced casinos, or rate of increase of unemployment or correlation between addiction and unemployment can all be ideas that may quantify some of the social issues.

Consideration was also not given to the political aspect of casinos. Researching whether policymakers are willing to support or reject casinos based on political platforms might also be an important issue when deciding the ultimate decision to introduce casino gambling. A study that incorporates this notion should, on a larger scale, also survey the general population to see if there is any effect that popular opinion has on deciding the fate of the casinos.

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