

INDEBTED



**How Payday Lenders Buy Political Influence
In Missouri And Hurt Everyday People**

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 **PUBLIC
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Executive Summary

The payday lending industry profits by targeting low-income families and generating a cycle of debt that exacerbates economic hardship. In order to continue to thrive and minimize regulation in states, the industry has used campaign contributions and lobbying to build relationships with state legislators. This pattern is particularly evident in Missouri, which trails the nation in payday industry regulation.

In the absence of legislative action to regulate a usurious industry, Missouri citizen groups have been organizing to place and pass a measure on the November ballot that would cap payday annual interest rates at 36 percent. In response, the payday industry has also mobilized money outside the legislative process, setting up fundraising committees, including the shadowy Missourians for Equal Credit Opportunity, whose money from hidden donors dwarfs the funds raised by citizen groups.

Public Campaign took a close look at the payday lending industry's political and financial strategies to influence state policymakers over the last decade, along with some of their efforts to defeat this year's ballot initiative. This is a classic case of an industry spending big money in politics to look out for their business interests with severe costs to local people.

Key Findings

- The payday lending industry has spent more than \$1 million over the last decade to influence Missouri state elections. Lobbyists and lobbying firms working for the industry have given at least another \$648,460 to state campaigns.
- Campaign spending by the industry hit a decade high in the 2010 cycle, with at least \$371,483 in contributions to Missouri politicians, four times more than in the beginning of the decade.
- QC Holdings is the biggest campaign donor in the industry, spending at least \$343,362 between the 2000 and 2010 cycles. QC Holdings operates the most payday stores in the state and receives more of its national gross profit from Missouri residents than any other state.
- The top recipient of payday industry campaign money has been the industry's champion for keeping interest rates high. State Rep. Steven Tilley (R-106), the current House Speaker, received \$40,375 between the 2000 and 2010 cycles and at least another \$32,150 in 2011.
- In 2011, the Missouri House passed a bill that benefitted the payday industry by "capping" annual interest rates at 1,565 percent (HB 656), a hundred times higher than many credit cards. Members who voted for this pro-industry bill received nearly three times more payday money on average and nearly five times more altogether than members who voted in opposition.

Introduction

“We care about the economic dignities of people living in our community.”

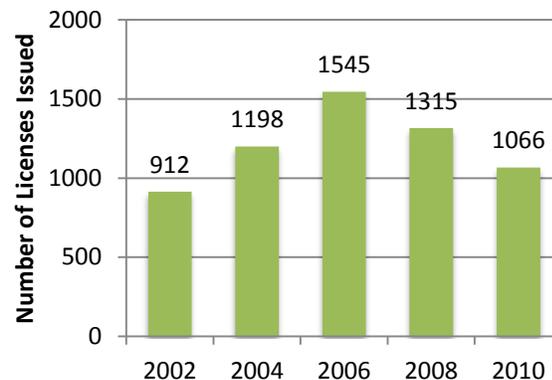
-- Rev. Jennifer Thomas, pastor of Immanuel Lutheran Church¹

Four years ago, after Elliot Clark’s wife broke her ankle and was unable to work, he turned to a payday loan to make bill payments. “Eventually one pay day loan turned into another and then another. In a short time frame, I had a total of five pay day loans, totaling \$2,500 but not being able to pay them all off at one time, I wound up paying them \$30,000 over a three year period. That’s in interest,” said Clark, a Kansas City resident who lost his home to foreclosure while paying off these payday loans.²

Since state legislatures began authorizing payday lending in the early 1990’s and 2000’s, the industry has grown rapidly. According to the Center for Responsible Lending, the payday lending industry went from 500 locations in 1990 to 22,000 locations across 35 states in 2009.³ In that year, there were more than two payday loan stores for every Starbucks nationally, and in 29 of the 35 states that allowed payday lending, their locations outnumbered McDonald’s restaurants.

Missouri, in particular, has one of the country’s highest densities of payday storefronts, more than five shops for every 10,000 households (see map in Appendix). Over the past decade, as Missouri’s legislature lagged behind other states in regulating the industry, this permissive regulatory environment turned Missouri into a leading payday state.⁴ The number of payday licenses newly issued or renewed grew from 912 in 2002 to 1,545 licenses in 2006.⁵

Figure 1. Payday Lender Licenses Issued or Renewed in Missouri by Report Period



¹ Eden, Abby, “Revival Calls for Lower Interest Cap on Payday Loans,” Fox 4 News Kansas City, March 12, 2012.

<http://fox4kc.com/2012/03/12/revival-calls-for-lower-interest-cap-on-payday-loans/>

² Walton, Christie, “Non-Profit Groups Fight Payday Loan Companies,” Fox 4 News Kansas City, January 23, 2012.

<http://fox4kc.com/2012/01/23/non-profit-groups-fights-payday-loan-companies/>

³ Leslie Parrish and Uriah King, “Phantom Demand: Short-term due date generates need for repeat payday loans, accounting for 76% of total volume,” Center for Responsible Lending, July 9, 2009. <http://www.responsiblelending.org/payday-lending/research-analysis/phantom-demand-final.pdf>

⁴ “Payday Lending in America: Who Borrows, Where They Borrow, and Why,” Pew Charitable Trusts, July 2012.

<http://www.pewtrusts.org/small-loans>

⁵ Payday Lender Survey 2011, Missouri Division of Finance, January 4, 2011.

<http://finance.mo.gov/consumercredit/documents/2011PaydayLenderSurvey.pdf>

The impact on families is a massive drain of household wealth, with Missouri families losing an estimated \$317 million each year to payday loan costs.⁶ While the payday industry defends their products by pointing out that \$20 for an advance of \$100 is less than a bounced check fee, payday loans are structured to generate much more debt than the initial fee. Most payday loans are structured to come due in full within 2 to 4 weeks, so most borrowers end up with a short-term balloon payment accounting for 25 to 50 percent of their paycheck. This often means taking out another loan to repay the first one, with the successive loans often growing in amount, setting up a cycle of debt that can be difficult to end.⁷ According to a July 2012 report from Pew Charitable Trusts, an average payday borrower is indebted to a payday loan for five months of the year and spends \$520 in interest on a typical \$375 payday loan.⁸

"By the time we have gotten to them, it's so far, so many thousand dollars in debt, many of them have no idea how they're going to get out of it. It leads to hopelessness."

-- Rev. Wallace Hartsfield II, pastor of Metropolitan Missionary Baptist Church

Source: "Petition Drive Aims At Payday Loan Rates," KMBC, March 12, 2012.

This is a business model: Payday companies actually depend on this cycle of debt for most of their revenue. The Center for Responsible Lending found repeat borrowing accounts for 76 percent of total loan volume (\$20 billion of the \$27 billion in loans originated each year). This adds up to 59 million churned loans each year, costing borrowers \$3.5 billion in fees.⁹ At a conference in 2007, Dan Feehan, CEO of Cash America International, a large payday lender, said: "The theory in the business is you've got to get that customer in, work to turn him into a repetitive customer, long-term customer, because that's really where the profitability is."¹⁰

The short-term nature of the products spells danger for many borrowers. That is why, given the hazard of these products for low-income families, several states have begun capping annual interest rates at 36 percent. But in Missouri, payday lenders can still charge an annual percentage rate (APR) of up to 1,950 percent on a two-week loan. Indeed it is no mystery that Missouri is a friendly state for the industry. The former owner of a payday business, Don Wells, serves as chair of the House Financial Institutions Committee with jurisdiction over payday lending practices. In fact, payday lending companies have strategically spent money to develop relationships with key policymakers to maintain a permissive regulatory environment. Their campaign contributions have been intentional and help create access to legislators for their lobbyists and consultants.

⁶ This figure comes from a report by the Center for Responsible Lending and refers to the cost of payday lending to borrowers who take out five or more loans per year. Robert H. Teuscher, "The Payday Loan Industry in Missouri, A Study of the Laws, the Lenders, the Borrowers, and the Legislation," Better Business Bureau of Southwest Missouri, July 2009.

<http://stlouis.bbb.org/Storage/142/Documents/PaydayLoanReport09color.pdf>

⁷ In a 2009 study, the Center for Responsible Lending found that among the more than 80 percent of borrowers who take out more than one payday loan in a given year, half of the new loans they take out are done the same day or the day after the previous loan was paid back and almost all of the new loans are taken out during the pay period right after the loan is repaid. ("Phantom Demand," Center for Responsible Lending, 2009)

⁸ "Payday Lending in America: Who Borrows, Where They Borrow, and Why," Pew Charitable Trusts, July 2012.

<http://www.pewtrusts.org/small-loans>

⁹ "Phantom Demand," Center for Responsible Lending, 2009.

¹⁰ Center for Responsible Lending, <http://www.responsiblelending.org/payday-lending/research-analysis/>

Buying Influence to Minimize Regulation

"If the legislature was doing its job, the citizenry would not have to be out in the street getting petitions signed."

-- Mary Chubb, parishioner at St. Elizabeth of Hungary Catholic Church in Crestwood, MO¹¹

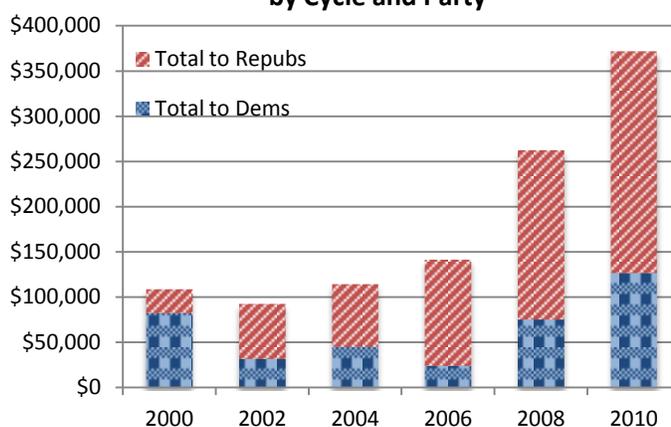
The payday lending industry has spent more than \$1 million over the last decade, between the 2000 and 2010 election cycles, to influence Missouri state elections.¹² With the exception of the 2000 cycle, these interests have given more to Republican candidates and committees than they have to Democratic ones. In the 2010 cycle and over the decade, Republicans have received nearly twice the campaign support Democrats have received from payday interests.

Table 1. Total Industry Campaign Giving by Cycle and Party

Cycle	Total	Total to Dems	% to Dems	Total to Repubs	% to Repubs
2000	\$108,635	\$82,160	76%	\$26,475	24%
2002	\$92,126	\$31,275	34%	\$60,851	66%
2004	\$114,087	\$44,725	39%	\$69,362	61%
2006	\$141,096	\$23,675	17%	\$117,421	83%
2008	\$262,060	\$74,925	29%	\$187,135	71%
2010	\$371,483	\$126,528	34%	\$244,955	66%
Total	\$1,089,487	\$383,288	35%	\$706,199	65%

Campaign money from the payday industry has grown dramatically over this period. The industry's campaign spending quadrupled between the 2002 and 2010 cycles, from \$92,126 to \$371,483. In 2001, after then State Auditor Claire McCaskill found abusive loan practices pervaded the instant loan industry, there were broad-based community calls for new legislation to rein in small loan abuses. Unfortunately, a grand compromise developed by the Missouri Legislature in 2001 and 2002 did little to curb usurious lending

Figure 2. Total Industry Campaign Giving by Cycle and Party



¹¹ Corrigan, Don, "Ecumenical Group Advocates For Social Justice," *South County Times*, December 9, 2011.

<http://www.southcountytimes.com/Articles-Features-i-2011-12-09-178185.114137-Ecumenical-Group-Advocates-For-Social-Justice.html#ixzz21Zm3nAt>

¹² All information on campaign contributions to Missouri state candidates and committees is based on analysis of data provided by the National Institute on Money in State Politics (NIMSP), accessed either through their site (<http://www.followthemoney.org>) or the Sunlight Foundation's Influence Explorer site (<http://data.influenceexplorer.com>) between January and May 2012. See Methodology section for further details.

practices and the industry gave even more political money in subsequent years to ensure continued legislative inaction.

DONORS

The ten largest organizational donors from the small, predatory loan industry, which includes payday, car title, and installment lenders, gave almost \$900,000 over this time period, representing about 80 percent of total campaign giving from the industry. The largest donors over the decade also tended to be the largest donors in the most recent cycle (see Appendix for top donor giving by cycle).

Table 2. Top Organizational Donors (2000 to 2010 Cycles)

Rank	Organization	Headquarters	Total
1	QC Holdings	Kansas	\$343,362
2	Consumer Lending Alliance	Florida	\$198,965
3	Advance America Cash Advance	South Carolina	\$84,525
4	Cash America International	Texas	\$76,425
5	TitleMax Management	Georgia	\$49,730
6	Check Into Cash	Tennessee	\$42,525
7	Missouri Consumer Lenders	Missouri	\$34,525
8	King of Kash	Missouri	\$22,350
9	Missouri Title Loans	Missouri	\$17,400
10	Select Management Resources	Georgia	\$14,250
		TOTAL	\$884,057

Topping the list is QC Holdings, a payday company based in Overland Park, Kansas that runs over 100 Quik Cash stores in Missouri, making it the largest payday operator in the state. While QC Holdings has about 500 locations across 23 states, the company has more branches in Missouri than in any other state and derives more of its gross profit from Missouri than any other state.¹³ Even as QC Holdings' national payday loan volume has declined over recent years (from \$1.0 billion in 2009 to \$844 million in 2011), its share of gross profit from Missouri has grown (from 25 percent in 2009 to 35 percent in 2011).

Given its Missouri presence, QC Holdings spends more to influence state lawmakers in Missouri than in any other state. From 1999 through 2010, the company has made at least \$343,362 in political donations. QC Holdings has been particularly active in maneuvering against increased regulation. In its 2011 annual report filed in March 2012, the company actually discusses the Missouri ballot initiative effort to cap payday loans, saying they have already spent "substantial amounts opposing the efforts to place this initiative on the ballot." They go on to say that if the initiative qualifies for the November ballot, which it has, QC Holdings will spend "substantial

¹³ QC Holdings 2011 Annual Report (Form 10-K), Filed March 14, 2012. Accessed on May 30, 2012: <http://www.qcholdings.com/investor.aspx?id=3>

additional amounts to defeat the proposal.” In addition, QC Holdings executive John Prentzler filed a lawsuit in 2011 to challenge this ballot initiative.¹⁴

The next biggest donor is Consumer Lending Alliance, an industry trade group of installment lenders, which spent \$198,965 over the decade. It is followed by two large payday lending companies, Advance America Cash Advance and Cash America International. Advance America is the largest non-bank payday loan provider in the country, with 2,313 lending centers in 30 states (as of the end of 2010).¹⁵ Cash America International, based in Fort Worth, Texas operates over 1,000 pawnshops nationally.

TitleMax is another large campaign donor, giving at least \$49,730 to influence Missouri elections in the past decade. Based in Savannah, Georgia, TitleMax operates 600 stores, mostly in the South. Other top donors include payday lender Check Into Cash, trade group Missouri Consumer Lenders, installment lender King of Kash, and car title lenders Missouri Title Loans and Select Management Resources.

RECIPIENTS

Payday lending interests have invested strategically in politicians by focusing on those in positions of power. Among current Missouri officeholders, top recipients of payday campaign money tend to be top ranking politicians and key committee chairs. The top recipients over the decade also tend to be the largest recipients in the 2010 cycle.

Table 3. Top Recipients Among Current Politicians (2000-2010 Cycles)

Rank	Recipient	Office in Missouri	District	Total
1	Steven Tilley (R)	Speaker of the House	106	\$40,375
2	Victor Callahan (D)	Senate Minority Leader	11	\$23,950
3	Ron Richard (R)	State Senator	32	\$18,125
4	Jeremiah (Jay) Nixon (D)	Governor		\$14,250
5	Mike Talboy (D)	House Minority Leader	37	\$12,375
6	Timothy Jones (R)	House Majority Leader	89	\$12,150
7	Mike Parson (R)	Senate Majority Whip	28	\$11,735
8	Jay Wasson (R)	State Senator	20	\$11,275
9	Chris Koster (D)	Attorney General		\$10,703
10	Scott Rupp (R)	State Senator	2	\$10,350

¹⁴ Hancock, Jack, “Battle looming over Missouri payday loan restrictions,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 25, 2011 (http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/battle-looming-over-missouri-payday-loan-restrictions/article_e4db6fa6-c220-5837-805f-609d92212cd5.html#ixzz1izOV3zIz). In 2010, QC Holdings and other payday lenders unsuccessfully sued the state of Montana to remove a similar initiative from the ballot (Dennison, Mike, “Trial on ‘payday’ loan initiative to begin Thursday in Polson,” *Missoulian*, September 27, 2010, http://missoulian.com/news/state-and-regional/article_cc5ef57c-cac0-11df-9563-001cc4c03286.html)

¹⁵ Advance America Cash Advance 2011 Annual Report (Form 10-K), <http://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1299704/000104746911001973/a2202472z10-k.htm>

House Speaker Steven Tilley, a champion of payday lenders in the legislature, is the top recipient of their cash from 1999 to 2010. He received \$40,375 over the period, with the bulk (\$36,500) arriving in the 2010 cycle after he became Majority Leader in the House. In 2011, he received at least another \$32,150 from the industry, bringing his total since 1999 to \$72,525. His 2011 haul coincides with the lead role he played in pushing a bill that would have benefitted the payday industry by “capping” interest rates at 1,565 percent APR (HB 656). The payday industry is such a notable contributor to Tilley that it ranks among his top 15 career contributors.¹⁶

Top recipients of payday campaign money also include Senate Minority Leader Victor Callahan, former House Speaker Ron Richard, Governor Jay Nixon, House leaders Mike Talboy and Timothy Jones, Senate Majority Whip Mike Parson, Jay Wasson (vice-chair of the Senate Financial and Governmental Organizations and Elections Committee), Attorney General Chris Koster, and Scott Rupp (chair of the Senate Small Business, Insurance and Industry Committee).

The payday industry’s strategic giving was evident during the House vote on HB 656 in 2011. Members who voted for the pro-industry bill received nearly three times more payday money on average and nearly five times more altogether than members who voted in opposition.

Table 4. Industry Giving from 2000 to 2010 Cycles to House Members Who Voted on HB 656 in 2011

Vote	Count	Average	Total
No	56	\$382	\$21,400
Yes	96	\$1,064	\$104,479
Total	152	\$828	\$125,879

Over the years, payday interests have also targeted their giving to political parties that then distribute money to key candidates. They have invested in particular in the House Republican Campaign Committee of Missouri, giving at least \$166,364 during the last six election cycles.

Table 5. Industry Giving to Political Party Committees (2000-2010 Cycles)

Party Committee	Total
House Republican Campaign Cmte of Missouri	\$166,364
Missouri Republican Party	\$94,430
Missouri Democratic Party	\$54,000
Missouri House Democratic Campaign Cmte	\$38,800
Missouri Senate Democratic Campaign Cmte	\$38,550
Senate Majority Fund of Missouri	\$36,249

¹⁶ Profile for Steven Tilley, National Institute of Money in State Politics. Accessed May 31, 2012: <http://www.followthemoney.org/database/uniquecandidate.phtml?uc=5734>

LOBBYISTS & POLITICAL CONSULTANTS

The payday industry employs a legion of lobbyists and consultants to build relationships in Jefferson City, including through campaign contributions. Missouri records show payday lending interests currently employ at least 29 lobbyists (see full list in Appendix).¹⁷ In addition, Missourians for Equal Credit Opportunity has hired a number of

political strategy and law firms, including Axiom Strategies, Graves Bartle Marcus & Garrett, Stinson Morrison Hecker, and Anthony & Middlebrook. Among these consultants, lobbyists and lawyers are generous campaign donors and political insiders with close ties to legislators. Altogether, payday lobbyists and their firms have spent at least \$648,460 over the decade on Missouri state elections to create access for their industry clients.

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- John E. Bardgett, Jr., lobbyist for QC Holdings and head of John Bardgett and Associates, is a prominent lobbyist in Jefferson City. Bardgett has personally donated at least \$78,117 to state campaigns since the 2000 cycle. His lobbying firm and other employees have given at least \$225,189 over the same period.
- Mark Rhoads, lobbyist for Cash America International, is another active campaign contributor, giving at least \$35,926 since the 2000 cycle. Rhoads, along with fellow lobbyists John Bardgett and Randy Scherr, were all invited by Don Wells to testify on behalf of the industry in April 2010.¹⁸
- Randy Scherr is a lobbyist with United Payday Lenders of Missouri. He and his firms (R.J. Scherr & Associates Scherr Winter) have donated at least \$32,804 to state campaigns.
- Michael R. Gibbons is a classic example of a revolving door legislator turned lobbyist, having served in both the Missouri House and Senate between 1993 and 2008 before becoming a lobbyist in 2009. Employed by Stinson Morrison Hecker, one of his current lobbying clients is the Online Lenders Alliance, an online payday trade group. Stinson Morrison Hecker is one of the firms working for Missourians for Equal Opportunity.
- Jeff Roe is head of Axiom Strategies. Missourians for Equal Credit Opportunity has spent \$696,640 on his firm for services that include “strategic campaign oversight” and “grassroots outreach.” Roe is a former chief of staff and long-time aide to Congressman Sam Graves (R-Mo.), who began his political career in the Missouri House of Representatives. Roe has developed a reputation for using controversial tactics and

¹⁷ Based on the Principal/Lobbyist Report by the Missouri Ethics Commission, dated May 31, 2012. Accessed May 31, 2012: http://www.mec.mo.gov/EthicsWeb/Lobbying/PrinLob_in_Excel.aspx

¹⁸ Ganey, Terry, “Payday lenders get solo hearing,” *Columbia Daily Tribune*, April 1, 2010. <http://www.columbiatribune.com/news/2010/mar/31/payday-loan-measure-moves-step-forward/>

being the consultant of choice for campaigns interested in winning “at all costs.”¹⁹ He has personally donated \$24,650 to Missouri campaigns.

- Todd Graves, former U.S. Attorney and brother of Congressman Sam Graves, is a partner at Graves Bartle Marcus & Garrett, one of the firms hired by Missourians for Equal Credit Opportunity. He is representing John Prentzler of QC Holdings in their case against the ballot initiative.²⁰ He has personally given at least \$26,925 to Missouri campaigns since the 2000 cycle.

Jewell Patek, another lobbyist and former legislator, submitted the two misleading ballot initiatives that were approved for circulation by the Secretary of State and Attorney General.²¹ These competing initiatives were designed to confuse voters and undermine the citizen-led ballot initiative. Patek, though not registered as having any payday clients, has worked alongside Jeff Roe and is known as an “aggressive and highly effective advocate for his clients.”²²

Opposition Tactics: Intimidation and Hidden Money

Between the two groups opposing the payday cap initiative, Missourians for Equal Credit Opportunity (MECO) has raised the most money by far, with \$2.1 million in receipts, based on its latest July quarterly report. Most of its money has been large, lump sums from Missourians for Responsible Government (MRG), an organization with c4 non-profit status and thus not required to disclose its donors. Aside from QC Holding’s revelation in its annual report, the interests bent on defeating the citizen-led initiative have been careful to hide their tracks.

Information on MRG is hard to come by but the practices of people connected to it echo the tactics playing out this year. Founded in 2009, the organization is headed by Patrick Tuohey, who also ran Missourians in Charge, the front group behind the TABOR push in Missouri in 2006. National Voter Outreach was hired to gather signatures. The fraudulent tactics employed for this TABOR campaign resulted in the initiative being dropped from the ballot. Missourians in Charge received most of its money from Fund for Democracy, one of the vehicles through which Howie Rich, the billionaire New York libertarian, financed TABOR initiatives nationwide.

While we cannot see who is actually funding MECO, we can get a sense of how they are spending their money. In addition to hiring the political consultants and lawyers mentioned above, this front group paid \$400,233 to Silver Bullet Group for “signature gathering” services from January through June 2012. Silver Bullet Group, based in Las Vegas, is headed by Tim Mooney and Chuck Warren and specializes in ballot initiatives. Tim Mooney played a large role in the national anti-labor “Save Our Secret (SOS) Ballot” initiative campaign, another effort with hidden donors. This campaign is likely how he and Jeff Roe met, since Roe was also a supporter.

Sources: [Kansas City Business Journal](#), May 19, 2006. [Fired Up! Missouri](#), June 2, 2006. [Ballot Initiative Strategy Center](#), [SEIU Blog](#), January 12, 2009.

¹⁹ Shelly, Barbara, “GOP mudfest is just a warmup for November,” *Kansas City Star*, August 25, 2006.

²⁰ Hancock, Jason, “Two lawsuits filed over Missouri payday loan ballot measure,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 22, 2011. http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/political-fix/article_1898f5ca-ccd5-11e0-bc25-0019bb30f31a.html

²¹ “Two initiative petitions approved for circulation,” *Lincoln County Journal*, February 2, 2012.

<http://www.lincolncountyjournal.com/?p=2524>

²² Morrow, Matt, “HBA Missouri Hires Jewell Patek as its Lobbyist in Jefferson City,” Home Builders Association of Greater Springfield, November 22, 2010. <http://www.springfieldhba.com/hba-missouri-hires-jewell-patek-as-its-lobbyist-in-jefferson-city/>

Conclusion

"It's about right and wrong and whether we are going to be a fair and righteous and just society."

-- Rev. Lee Porch, pastor of Zion United Methodist Church in St. Louis, MO²³

Darryl Howard earns \$10 an hour caring for patients full time at a St. Louis mental health center. When he needed help paying bills, Howard took out a payday loan and found himself in a spiral of debt totaling over \$15,000, with payday companies garnishing 25 percent of his already low wages. He has filed for bankruptcy due to payday loan debt.

For Missouri residents like Darryl Howard, Mary Chubb, and Elliot Clark, all mentioned in this report, the policymaking process that should be addressing their needs is not working. Their voices have less influence on Missouri lawmakers and the political process than the big money of special interests such as predatory lending companies—interests that have spent millions of dollars to avoid regulation through the legislative process *and* the ballot initiative process.

The payday industry's extensive influence strategies in Missouri, and their success thus far, point to the heightened need to change a campaign finance system that currently works best for special interests. An integral part of economic security for Missouri residents is a campaign finance system that works for everyday people, a system dependent on small donations matched by public funds where policymakers are accountable to their constituents and not wealthy, special interests.

²³ Corrigan, Don, "Ecumenical Group Advocates For Social Justice," *South County Times*, December 9, 2011. <http://www.southcountytimes.com/Articles-Features-i-2011-12-09-178185.114137-Ecumenical-Group-Advocates-For-Social-Justice.html#ixzz21Zzm3nAt>

Methodology

Campaign Contributions

All information on campaign contributions to Missouri state candidates and committees is based on analysis of data provided by the National Institute on Money in State Politics (NIMSP), accessed either through their site (<http://www.followthemoney.org>) or the Sunlight Foundation's Influence Explorer site (<http://data.influenceexplorer.com>) between January and May 2012.

- When we refer to the “payday lending industry” we are actually referring to the non-bank payday, title and installment loan industry, as categorized by NIMSP. We also include campaign contributions from additional companies and associations not captured by NIMSP's coding.
- Contributions made in 2011 and 2012 were not uniformly available and thus not included in any figures unless explicitly noted.
- Donations made by industry lobbyists are not included in industry totals unless the lobbyist was on staff with a payday company.
- When we refer to totals from a company or organization, we include any contributions from the company's PAC and employees, as well as contributions made directly by the company, which is allowed in Missouri.

Lobbyists

Information on lobbyists is based on reports provided by the Missouri Ethics Commission and accessed from their site (<http://www.mec.mo.gov/EthicsWeb/Lobbying/Lobbying.aspx>).

Ballot Initiative Money

Information on funds raised and payments made by the Missourians for Equal Credit Opportunity ballot initiative committee is based on reports accessed on the Missouri Ethics Commission site (<http://www.mec.mo.gov/EthicsWeb/CampaignFinance/CampaignFinance.aspx>).

Table A-2. Current Payday Industry Lobbyists Registered in Missouri²⁴

Lobbyist	Client(s)
Samuel G. Licklider	King of Kash
Julie Townsend	Advance America Cash Advance
Cruz Giovanni Garibay	Cash America International
Mark J. Rhoads	Cash America International
Joseph Thompson	Consumer Lending Alliance
Charles "Andy" Arnold	Consumer Lending Alliance
Mark J. Bruns	OneMain Financial, Missouri Pawn Brokers Association
James M. Foley	OneMain Financial, Missouri Pawn Brokers Association
Donald J. Soph	OneMain Financial, Missouri Pawn Brokers Association
Andrew Foley	OneMain Financial, Missouri Pawn Brokers Association, Stand Up Missouri
Chris Liese	OneMain Financial, Missouri Pawn Brokers Association, Stand Up Missouri
Gary L. Burton	OneMain Financial, Missouri Pawn Brokers Association, Stand Up Missouri
Daniel R. Pfeifer	Online Lenders Alliance
Michael R. Gibbons	Online Lenders Alliance
Tricia Workman	Online Lenders Alliance
Steve Jackson	Mid-America Title Loans, Select Management Resources
Harry Gallagher	Missouri Financial Services Association
Heath C. Clarkston	Missouri Financial Services Association
Jodi Winegar	Missouri Financial Services Association
S. Dawn Heidbreder	Missouri Pawn Brokers Association
Neal English	Missouri Pawn Brokers Association
Rodney Boyd	Stand Up Missouri
Brian J. Grace	Stand Up Missouri
Kelvin L. Simmons	Stand Up Missouri
John R. Parris	QC Holdings
John E. Bardgett, Jr	QC Holdings
Kimberly Tuttle	QC Holdings
Randy J. Scherr	United Payday Lenders of Missouri
Brian Bernskoetter	United Payday Lenders of Missouri

²⁴ Based on the Principal/Lobbyist Report by the Missouri Ethics Commission, dated May 31, 2012. Accessed May 31, 2012: http://www.mec.mo.gov/EthicsWeb/Lobbying/PrinLob_in_Excel.aspx

Public Campaign is a non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to sweeping campaign reform that aims to dramatically reduce the role of big special interest money in American politics. Public Campaign is laying the foundation for reform by working with a broad range of organizations, including local community groups, around the country that are fighting for change and national organizations whose members are not fairly represented under the current campaign finance system. Learn more at www.publiccampaign.org.

For more information, contact Adam Smith (asmith@publiccampaign.org).