



**WHERE THE STORES ARE ...
AND OTHER FACTORS RELATED
TO LEGISLATIVE SUPPORT FOR
THE PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE
LOAN INDUSTRY IN ALABAMA**



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REPORT PREPARED FOR THE
ALABAMA ASSET BUILDING COALITION (AABC)
JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES

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FOREWORD

More than 1,000 payday lending storefronts currently operate in the state of Alabama, making unsecured small-dollar loans that represent an advance on a borrower's next pay check and generally have a term of two weeks or four weeks. The fee of \$15 per \$100 that is typical for a 14-day storefront payday loan is comparable to a loan with an annual percentage rate (APR) of 391 percent. Although the Alabama Deferred Presentment Services Act (ADPSA) was passed in 2003 to protect consumers from abuses related to the marketing of such loans, high interest rates and large levels of debt remain common among payday borrowers in the state.

In this report prepared at the request of the Alabama Asset Building Coalition, the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies examines the hypothesis that Alabama legislators who represent districts with the largest numbers of licensed payday lending establishments are the most likely to receive contributions (and to receive the greatest amount in contributions) from the payday lending industry and may therefore be more likely to vote for the interests of this industry. Using data from the 2010 election cycle for legislators who served in the 2014 session of the Alabama state legislature, we found that the payday lending/title loan industry contributes to the campaigns of many legislators whose districts have large numbers of payday storefronts. However, the industry also supports legislators with the following characteristics: members of committees with jurisdiction over the payday lending/title loan industry in Alabama (that is, the Banking and Insurance Committee in the Senate, and the Financial Services Committee in the House), and holders of leadership positions in the House or Senate. Campaign support provided to African-American legislators, however, is generally provided to legislators who serve districts with both sizable percentages of African-American residents and sizable numbers of payday storefronts.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report examines the theory that Alabama legislators who represent districts with the largest numbers of licensed payday lending establishments (hereafter also referred to as “payday storefronts” or “payday stores”) are most likely to receive contributions (and to receive the greatest amount in contributions) from the payday lending/title loan industry, and are therefore more likely to vote for the interests of this industry. This theory is sometimes, but not always, supported by data from the 2010 election cycle for legislators who served in the 2014 session of the Alabama legislature. The payday lending/title loan industry contributes to the campaigns of many legislators whose districts have large numbers of payday storefronts. It also supports legislators who are members of committees with jurisdiction over the payday lending/title loan industry in Alabama (i.e., the Banking and Insurance Committee in the Senate and the Financial Services Committee in the House) and holders of leadership positions in the House or Senate. Campaign support provided to African-American legislators, however, is generally provided to legislators who serve districts with both sizable percentages of African-American residents and sizable numbers of payday storefronts. The size of these contributions ranges in value considerably.

Among candidates who campaigned during the 2010 election cycle and served in the 2014 legislative session, Alabama state senators (66 percent) were more likely than state representatives (29 percent) to report having received campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry. As for the members of the Alabama legislature overall, African-American senators (86 percent) were more likely than African-American representatives (44 percent) to report industry contributions. The pattern is reversed, however, when members of the Senate Banking and Insurance Committee and the House Financial Services Committee are compared. In other words, members of the Senate Banking and Insurance Committee (42 percent) were less likely than members of the House Financial Services Committee (78 percent) to report campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle. Similarly, the sole African-American member of the Senate Banking and Insurance Committee (**Senator Hank Sanders [D-23]**) did not report contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry, although his counterparts on the House Financial Services Committee (**Representative Oliver Robinson [D-58]** and **Representative Thad McClammy [D-76]**) reported contributions.

ALABAMA STATE SENATE

- As of January 1, 2014, the number of licensed payday stores among the 35 Alabama Senate districts ranged from 48 to nine.
- Among the 35 Alabama state senators seated during the 2014 session, a 66-percent majority (23 of the 35 senators) reported contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during their 2010 election campaigns. The number of payday storefronts in the districts of these 23 senators ranged from 48 (the highest among all Senate districts) to nine (the lowest in any Senate district). The contributions received by members representing these districts ranged from \$8,100 to \$500. (See **Table 2.**)
- A total of 12 senators did not report any contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle, and a majority of these senators (seven of the 12, or 58 percent) served on the Senate Banking and Insurance Committee. (See **Table 1.**)
 - The following seven senators did not receive such contributions and are members of the Banking and Insurance Committee: **Jerry Fielding (R-11)**, **Tammy Irons (D-1)**, **Bill Hightower (R-35)**, **Hank Sanders (D-23)**, **Trip Pittman (R-32)**, **Bill Holtzclaw (R-2)** and **Paul Bussman (R-4)**.
 - These are the other five senators who did not receive contributions: **Arthur Orr (R-3)**, **Shadrack McGill (R-8)**, **Jimmy W. Holley (R-31)**, **Phil Williams (R-10)**, and **Rusty Glover (R-34)**.
- If contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry to Alabama senators were driven by the number of licensed payday stores per member district, then the number of stores and the amount of contributions would both increase or decrease together. (See **Table 2.**)
 - In some comparisons between senators, the number of payday storefronts and the value of campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry increase together, as expected. For example, **Senator Bobby Singleton (D-24)** who received the second-ranked contribution from the industry (\$7,200) serves a district with a greater number of licensed payday stores (32) than are licensed in the district of **Senator Scott Beason (R-17)** (i.e., 21 payday storefronts) who reported the third-ranked contribution (\$5,100).

-
- In other comparisons between senators, however, the number of payday storefronts and the value of campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry do not increase together. For example, **Senator Roger Bedford, Jr. (D-6)**, who received the largest amount in contributions from this industry to any Alabama state senator during the 2010 election cycle (\$8,100), serves a district with 26 licensed payday stores. **Senator Bobby Singleton (D-24)**, on the other hand, reported the second-ranked contribution of \$7,200, but serves a district with 32 licensed payday establishments, a larger number than are licensed in the district of Senator Bedford.
 - The following senators serve districts with large numbers of payday storefronts (e.g., 46, 40, 37, 35, 34, 31) and reported no campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle: **Jerry Fielding (R-11)**, **Arthur Orr (R-3)**, **Tammy Irons (D-1)**, **Shadrack McGill (R-8)**, **Bill Hightower (R-35)**, and **Jimmy W. Holley (R-31)**. Three of these senators (Fielding, Irons, and Hightower) also serve on the Banking and Insurance Committee. (See Table 1.)
 - Other senators who represent districts with large numbers of stores (e.g., 48, 45, 43, 40) report small contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry. Senators representing districts with the largest number of payday stores—**Dick Brewbaker (R-25)**, **Vivian Davis Figures (D-33)**, **Linda Coleman (D-20)** and **Priscilla Dunn (D-19)**—reported contributions of either \$750 or \$500. (See Table 2.)
 - Senators whose districts include the smallest number of payday stores (i.e., 17, 16, and 9 stores) received contributions more sizable than the \$750 and \$500 reported by senators who represented districts with the largest numbers of stores. These are the contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle to senators whose districts contained the smallest numbers of payday stores: \$2,500 to **Senator J.T. Waggoner (R-16)**, whose district has nine payday stores; \$1,500 to **Senator Slade Blackwell (R-15)**, whose district has 16 payday stores; and \$1,000 to **Senator Tom Whatley (R-27)**, whose district has 17 payday stores. (See Table 2.)
 - Industry contributions frequently are made to senators on the Banking and Insurance Committee and senators in leadership positions. **Senators Waggoner, Blackwell, and Whatley** (see preceding bullet) who received contributions of \$2,500 to \$1,000, although their districts contained small numbers of payday storefronts, are all members of the Banking and Insurance Committee. In addition, Senator Waggoner is the Senate Majority Leader. (See Table 2.)
 - Among the 12 members of the Senate Banking and Insurance Committee, 42 percent (i.e., five of the 12 members) reported contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry for their 2010 election campaigns: **Clay Scofield (R-9)**, **Roger Bedford, Jr. (D-6)**, **Tom Whatley (R-27)**, **Slade Blackwell (R-15)**, and **J.T. Waggoner (R-16)**; however, although they represent districts with mid-level numbers of payday storefronts ranging from 28 to nine, these members reported contributions ranging in value from \$8,100 to \$1,000. (See Table 3.)
 - The seven African-American senators in the Alabama legislature during the 2014 session serve districts in which the number of payday storefronts ranges from a high of 45 to a low of 25. During the 2010 election cycle, six of these seven senators reported campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry ranging in value from \$7,200 to \$500. (See Table 4.)
 - The African-American senator (**Senator Bobby Singleton [D-24]**) who reported \$7,200 in contributions (the largest among African-American senators and the second largest among all senators) serves a district in which 32 payday storefronts are licensed in 2014. (See Table 4.)
 - The two African-American senators whose districts contain the largest number of payday storefronts—45 and 43—(**Senator Vivian Davis Figures [D-33]** and **Senator Linda Coleman [D-20]**, respectively) reported \$500 and \$750 in contributions, the smallest amounts reported by any African-American senators. **Senator Priscilla Dunn (D-19)**, another African-American senator who represents a district with 40 licensed payday stores, also received \$500 in contributions. (See Table 4.)
 - The one African-American senator (**Hank Sanders [D-23]**) who did not report campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle is a member of the Senate Banking and Insurance Committee, which has jurisdiction over matters related to the payday lending/title loan industry. The population of his district is 65 percent African-American, and his district contains 29 payday lending establishments. (See Table 4.)

ALABAMA STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

- As of January 1, 2014, the number of licensed payday establishments among the 105 Alabama state House districts ranged from 26 to 0.¹ Two districts reported no licensed payday establishments as of January 1, 2014. **Representative Jim Carns (R-48)** serves one of these districts (including portions of Jefferson and Shelby counties). **Representative Dr. Jim McClendon (R-50)** serves the other district (including portions of Shelby and St. Clair counties).
- Throughout the 2014 Alabama House session, 104 representatives were seated. (The seat for House district 75 was vacated during the session.) Out of the 104 representatives, 30 reported contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle. This 29 percent of Alabama state representatives includes members whose districts contain as many as 20 and as few as one payday storefront. Contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry to representatives range in value from \$6,500 to \$500. (See **Table 5.**)
- If contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry to Alabama representatives were driven by the number of licensed payday stores per member district, then both the number of stores and the amount of contributions would either increase or decrease together. This pattern is not consistently evident among members of the House. (See **Tables 6, 7, and 8.**)
- Nine of the 30 House members who reported campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle reported contributions of \$2,000 or more (up to the maximum contribution of \$6,500). (See **Table 6.**)
 - Five of these nine representatives who report sizable contributions to their 2010 election campaign serve districts in which the number of licensed payday stores is fewer than 10 (i.e., between six and eight). (See **Table 6.**)
 - ◆ These representatives are **Mike Hubbard (R-79)**, **Mike Hill (R-41)**, **Lesley Vance (R-80)**, **Craig Ford (D-28)** and **Steve Clouse (R-93)**.
 - ◆ Although these members represent districts with 6, 6, 8, 8, and 7 payday storefronts, respectively, the campaigns contributions reported by these members are \$6,500 (the largest reported by all representatives), \$6,400, \$6,000, \$4,375, and \$3,200, respectively.
 - The four remaining representatives who reported sizable contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry to their 2010 election campaigns serve districts with more than 10 payday storefronts. (See **Table 6.**)
 - ◆ In particular, **Representative Oliver Robinson (D-58)** reported \$5,750 in contributions to his 2010 election campaign and serves a district with 17 payday storefronts.
 - ◆ **Representative Marcel Black (D-3)** reported \$4,500 in contributions and serves a district with 19 payday storefronts.
 - ◆ **Representative Steve Hurst (R-35)** reported \$2,350 in contributions and serves a district with 20 payday storefronts, while **Representative Todd Greeson (R-24)** reported \$2,000 and serves a district with 15 payday storefronts.
- An additional 12 of the 30 representatives who reported 2010 campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry, reported contributions ranging between \$1,600 and \$1,000. (See **Table 7.**)
 - Three of these 12 representatives serve on the Financial Services Committee: **Representative DuWayne Bridges (R-38)**, **Representative Thad McClammy (D-76)**, and **Representative Jack Williams (R-47)**.
 - A fourth member out of the 12, **Representative Victor Gaston (R-100)**, served as Speaker Pro Tempore of the House in 2010, a fact that may account in part for the contributions he received from the payday lending/title loan industry.
- The remaining nine of the 30 representatives who reported 2010 campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry reported contributions of between \$750 and \$500. (See **Table 8.**)

¹ Although House district 74 (part of Montgomery County) contains 26 licensed payday stores—the largest number among House districts as of January 1, 2014—it is not included in this analysis. **Dimitri Polizos**, representative for this district during the 2014 legislative session, was first elected to office in a special election held on November 19, 2013. Thus, there is no campaign finance data for him from the 2010 election cycle.

- Three of these members—**Representative George Bandy (D-83)**, **Representative Merika Coleman-Evans (D-57)**, and **Representative John F. Knight, Jr. (D-77)**—serve districts in which large numbers (17, 18, and 19) of payday stores are licensed.
 - Another three members—**Representative Barbara B. Boyd (D-32)**, **Representative Donnie Chesteen (R-87)**, and **Representative Mary Moore (D-59)**—reported contributions of \$500, \$600, and \$500, and districts with 13, 10, and 10 licensed payday storefronts, respectively.
 - The remaining three members—**Representative Rod Scott (D-55)**, **Representative John W. Rogers, Jr. (D-52)**, and **Arthur Payne (R-44)** serve districts with fewer than 10 payday storefronts.
- The number of payday stores in the districts of members of the House Financial Services Committee ranges from 20 to five. Seven of the nine members (78 percent) of the House Financial Services Committee reported 2010 campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry. (See Table 9.)
 - The two members of the Committee who did not report any 2010 contributions from this industry are **Representative Wes Long (R-27)** and **Representative Mack Butler (R-30)**.
 - Campaign contributions range from a high of \$6,000 to the Committee Chair (**Representative Lesley Vance [R-80]**) to a low of \$1,000 to the Committee Vice Chair (**Representative Jack Williams [R-47]**).
 - Members whose districts contain the largest number of payday stores (between 20 and 14) generally reported the largest contributions. This relationship is especially notable with three House Financial Services Committee members: **Representative Oliver Robinson (D-58)**, **Representative Marcel Black (D-3)**, and **Representative Steve Hurst (R-35)**.
 - The amount of contributions (\$6,000) to **Representative Lesley Vance (R-80)** (Committee Chair) seems to be related to his chairmanship more than to the number of payday storefronts in his district (only eight).
- The four Committee members—**Representative Steve Hurst (R-35)**, **Representative Marcel Black (D-3)**, **Representative Oliver Robinson (D-58)**, and **Representative Thad McClammy (D-76)**—with the largest number of payday storefronts in their districts (20, 19, 17, and 14, respectively) reported sizable contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry. (See Table 9.)
- The 26 African-American members of the Alabama House of Representatives serve districts in which the number of payday storefronts in 2014 ranges from a high of 19 to a low of two. Fifteen of these 26 representatives (58 percent) reported no contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle, while 11 of the 26 (42 percent) reported such contributions. Contributions during the 2010 election campaigns range from a high of \$5,750 to a low of \$500. (See Tables 10 and 11.)
- The two African-American members of the House Financial Services Committee (the committee with jurisdiction over matters related to the payday lending/title loan industry) are among the 11 African-American representatives who received industry contributions. **Representative Oliver Robinson (D-58)**, one of these two, reported \$5,750 in contributions. **Representative Thad McClammy (D-76)**, also a member of the House Financial Services Committee, reported 2010 election contributions of \$1,450. (See Table 11.)

INTRODUCTION

This report assesses factors that may be associated with legislative support for the payday lending/title loan industry in Alabama. The theory examined is that the payday lending/title loan industry is more likely to make campaign contributions—and to provide contributions of greater value—to candidates who seek to represent legislative districts in which there are large numbers of licensed payday lending establishments. Lobbyists for the payday lending/title loan industry may reason that these legislators would be inclined to vote for bills favorable to the industry's interests because many of the members' constituents depend on payday loans to meet chronic cash flow needs.²

This analysis finds that when the existence and magnitude of campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry and the number of payday stores are compared, legislators who represent districts with the largest number of payday stores sometimes, but not always, report these contributions. In other instances, they are no more likely (or less likely) than members representing districts with fewer payday storefronts to report contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry.

There is evidence, however, that contributions are more likely to be made by the payday lending/title loan industry to legislators who are members of relevant committees or who hold leadership positions within the state Senate and House. In particular, the receipt of contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry is associated with membership of state legislators on committees with jurisdiction over the payday lending/title loan industry in Alabama (i.e., the Banking and Insurance Committee in the Senate, and the Financial Services Committee in the House) and whether legislators hold positions of leadership in the House or Senate. Among African-American legislators, contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry are generally made to those whose districts contain sizable numbers of licensed payday establishments, although the value of the contributions varies markedly among these members.

The Alabama Asset Building Coalition requested that the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies prepare this report to assess factors that explain legislative support in Alabama for the payday lending/title loan industry. The Howard University Center on Race and Wealth (HUCRW) generated GIS maps that reflect the number of payday lending stores licensed to operate by legislative district in Alabama, along with other sociodemographic data by district. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies analyzed the data provided by the HUCRW and gathered and analyzed additional information about the members of the Alabama State Legislature during the 2014 session. The Joint Center also analyzed data on campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry to legislators during the 2010 election cycle. The Alabama state Senate and the Alabama state House are analyzed separately in this report.

² A majority of payday loan borrowers use their loans to pay recurring expenses such as rent or mortgage payments, utilities, and food. The Pew Charitable Trusts. (2012, July). Payday lending in America: Who borrows, where they borrow, and why. *The Pew Charitable Trusts*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewstates.org/research/reports/who-borrows-where-they-borrow-and-why-85899405043>.

BACKGROUND

More than 1,000 payday lending storefronts are licensed to operate in the state of Alabama as of January 1, 2014. These 1,032 establishments—known officially as Payday Loan/Deferred Presentment Provider Storefronts—make unsecured small-dollar loans that represent an advance on a borrower’s next pay check and generally have a term of two or four weeks. Across the nation, fees for payday loans average between \$10 and \$20 for each \$100 borrowed. The typical \$15 fee per \$100 for a 14-day storefront payday loan is comparable to a loan with an annual percentage rate (APR) of 391 percent. Although the Alabama Deferred Presentment Services Act (ADPSA) was passed in 2003 to protect consumers from abuses related to the marketing of short-term cash advances, high interest rates and large levels of debt remain common among payday borrowers in the state.

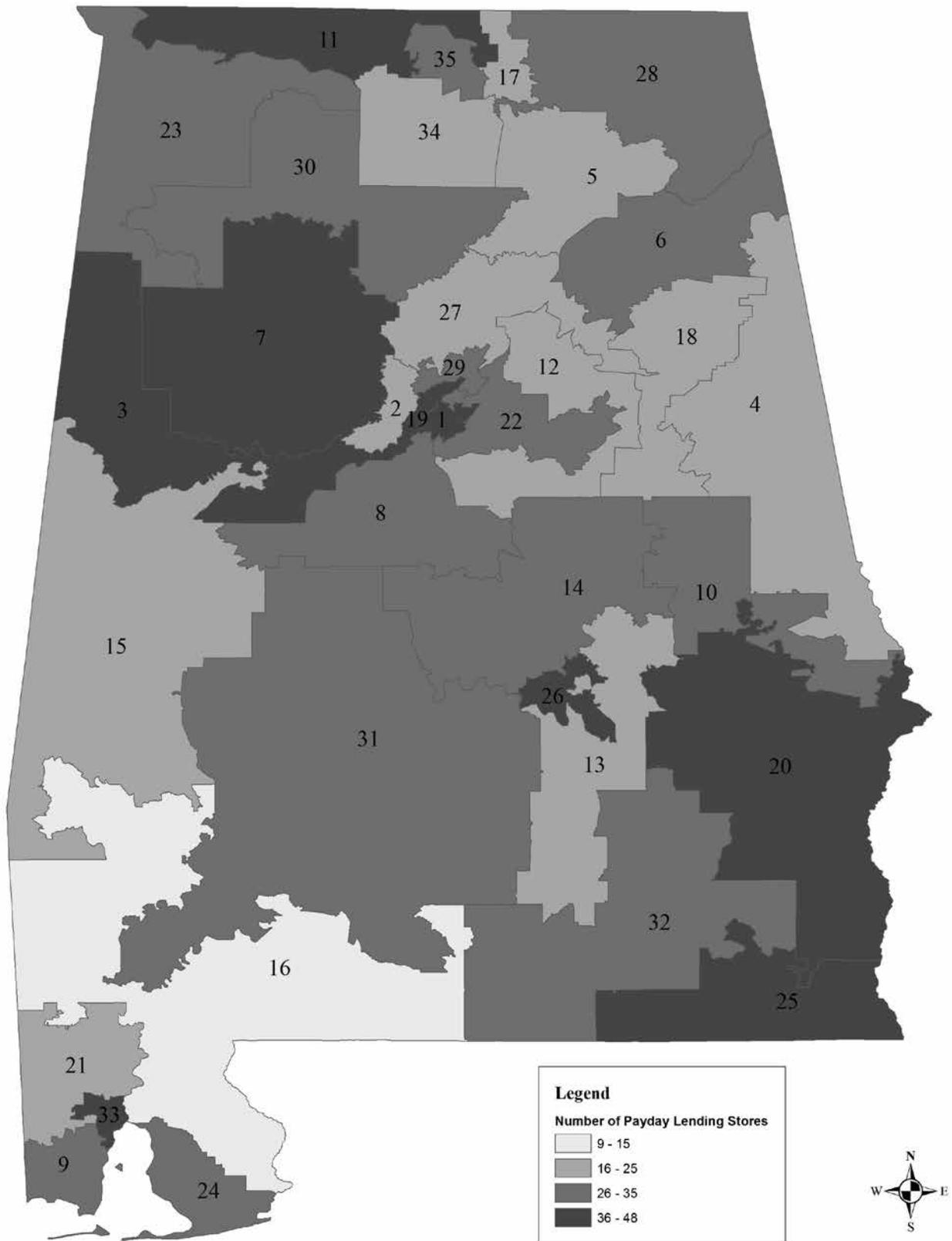
Licensed payday loan establishments (both storefronts and online) are not distributed evenly among either Senate or House districts in the state of Alabama. If distributed evenly among the 35 Senate districts in the state of Alabama, each district would contain 29 payday establishments. Instead, the number ranges from 48 to nine per district. If distributed evenly across the 105 House districts in Alabama, each district would contain nearly 10 establishments. Instead the number per House district ranges from 26 to 0. **(See Maps 1, 2 and 3.)** The ADPSA requires that all payday establishments be licensed to operate in Alabama, both as a storefront or online.

The amount of campaign financing provided to legislators by the payday lending/title loan industry also has not been evenly distributed among candidates for Alabama’s state legislative districts. During the 2010 election cycle, 23 of the winning candidates for the 35 Senate seats—a 66-percent majority of the senators elected in 2010—reported campaign contributions from this industry. These contributions range from \$8,100 to \$500 and from 2.5 percent to 0.08 percent of 2010 Senate campaign contributions from all sources. In the 104³ (out of the possible total of 105) House districts that were represented by an elected member throughout the 2014 session, 30 of the elected representatives—29 percent—reported such contributions. These contributions range in value from \$6,500 to \$500, and from 5.43 percent to 0.23 percent of House campaign contributions from all sources.

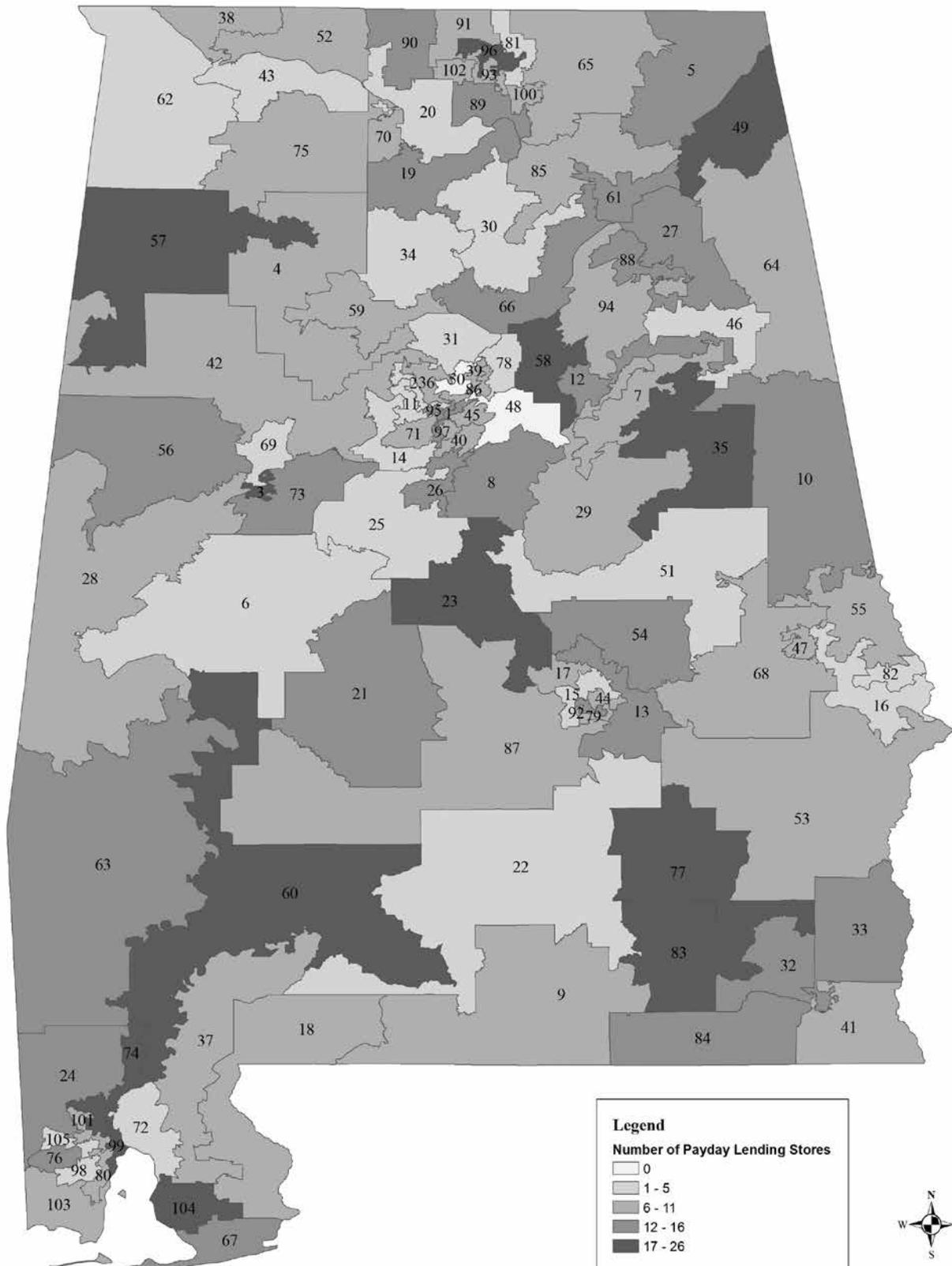
These disparities among Alabama’s elected state legislators and the districts they represent triggered interest in examining the relationship between the number of payday lending storefronts per legislative district and campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry to legislators. This examination is the subject of this report.

3 **Representative Greg Wren (R-75)** resigned from his seat in the Alabama House of Representatives on April 1, 2014, and accepted a plea deal related to an ongoing investigation of corruption in the state House. During his 2010 election campaign, Wren reported \$500 in contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry. These contributions are not included in the analysis in this paper. As of January 1, 2014, there were 10 licensed payday storefronts in district 75 (parts of Elmore and Montgomery counties).

MAP 1: NUMBER OF PAYDAY LENDING STORES BY ALABAMA SENATE DISTRICT



MAP 2: NUMBER OF PAYDAY LENDING STORES BY ALABAMA HOUSE DISTRICT



MAP 3: COUNTIES IN THE STATE OF ALABAMA



ALABAMA STATE SENATE

Among the 35 Alabama state senators serving during the 2014 session, 23 reported contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry for their 2010 election campaigns. This two-thirds (66 percent) of Alabama's state senators includes members whose districts contain between 48 and nine payday stores. Their campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry ranged in value from \$8,100 to \$500, constituting between 2.5 percent and 0.08 percent of 2010 campaign contributions from all sources.

SENATORS WHO DID NOT REPORT INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS

Twelve senators did not report any contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle, and a majority of these senators (seven of 12 [58 percent]) served on the Senate Banking and Insurance Committee. The following are the seven senators who did not receive such contributions and are members of the Banking and Insurance Committee: **Jerry Fielding (R-11)**, **Tammy Irons (D-1)**, **Bill Hightower (R-35)**, **Hank Sanders (D-23)**, **Trip Pittman (R-32)**, **Bill Holtzclaw (R-2)**, and **Paul Bussman (R-4)**. (See Table 1 on page 11.)

Interestingly, several of the senators who did not report any campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry represent districts in which the number of payday stores is sizable—46, 40, 37, 35, 34, and 31. Respectively, these senators are **Jerry Fielding (R-11)**, **Arthur Orr (R-3)**, **Tammy Irons (D-1)**, **Shadrack McGill (R-8)**, **Bill Hightower (R-35)**, and **Jimmy W. Holley (R-31)**. This finding casts doubt on the theory that contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry are greater to candidates whose districts include larger numbers of payday stores. In other words, the theory suggests that the senators representing districts with 46, 40, 37, 35, 34, and 31 payday stores should have received large industry contributions, rather than no contributions. Of the six senators who represent the districts with the indicated numbers of payday stores, three also serve on the Banking and Insurance Committees—Senators Fielding, Irons, and Hightower.

Only one of the 12 state senators who did not report 2010 campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry was African-American (**Senator Hank Sanders [D-23]**). Senator Sanders is also a member of the Banking and Insurance Committee.

SENATORS RANKED BY AMOUNT OF INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS

Among the 23 senators who served in the 2014 legislative session and who reported 2010 campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry, the relationship between the number of payday stores and the amount of industry contributions does not consistently suggest that the number of payday storefronts per district was a driving factor behind the contribution. In other words, the number of payday stores in a district and the value of campaign contributions to the senator representing that district do not always increase together, as would be expected if the number of payday storefronts per district motivated the industry to make campaign contributions.

Senators who serve districts with large numbers of licensed payday storefronts do not always report greater campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry than senators whose districts have smaller numbers of payday establishments. For example, **Senator Singleton (D-24)** reported the second-ranked contribution of \$7,200 and serves a district with 32 payday stores, a larger number of stores than are licensed in the district of **Senator Bedford (D-6)** (26 stores), who received the largest amount of 2010 industry contributions to any Alabama state senator (\$8,100). The value of the contribution and the number of stores do increase together in some instances, however. **Senator Singleton (D-24)** who received the second-ranked contribution from the industry (\$7,200) serves a district with a greater number of payday stores (32) than are licensed in the district of **Senator Scott Beason (R-17)** (21 stores) who reported the third-ranked contribution (\$5,100). (See Table 2 on page 12.)

In addition, the senators whose districts include the largest numbers of payday stores—48, 45, 43, and 40 stores—did not receive sizable contributions. Contributions of either \$750 or \$500 were reported by senators representing districts with the largest number of payday stores—**Dick Brewbaker (R-25)**, **Vivian Davis Figures (D-33)**, **Linda Coleman (D-20)**, and **Priscilla Dunn (D-19)**. (See Table 2 on page 12.)

TABLE 1: ALABAMA STATE SENATORS WHO DID NOT RECEIVE 2010 CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY (RANKED BY NUMBER OF LICENSED PAYDAY STOREFRONTS PER DISTRICT AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014), WITH OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts per District | Name, Party, District of Senator | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) | Member of Banking and Insurance Committee |
|--|----------------------------------|---|---|---|
| 46 | Jerry Fielding (R-11) | Calhoun, Coosa, Elmore, Talladega | 15 | X |
| 40 | Arthur Orr (R-3) | Limestone, Madison, Morgan | 14 | |
| 37 | Tammy Irons (D-1) | Colbert, Lauderdale | 12 | X |
| 35 | Shadrack McGill (R-8) | DeKalb, Jackson, Madison | 4 | |
| 34 | Bill Hightower * (R-35) | Mobile | 19 | X |
| 31 | Jimmy W. Holley (R-31) | Coffee, Covington, Dale, Houston | 20 | |
| 29 | Hank Sanders (D-23) | Autauga, Clarke, Conecuh, Dallas, Lowndes, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Wilcox | 65 | X |
| 27 | Phil Williams (R-10) | Cherokee, Etowah | 12 | |
| 26 | Trip Pittman ** (R-32) | Baldwin | 8 | X |
| 22 | Bill Holtzclaw (R-2) | Limestone, Madison | 24 | X |
| 21 | Paul Bussman (R-4) | Cullman, Lawrence, Winston | 2 | X |
| 20 | Rusty Glover (R-34) | Mobile | 13 | |

*Campaign contributions during the 2010 election cycle are not available for Senator Hightower, as he was elected during a special election on March 12, 2013. Senator Hightower served as Vice Chair of the Banking and Insurance Committee during the 2014 session.

**Senator Pittman is a member of the Banking and Insurance Committee. He also was President Pro Tempore Designee during 2014 session.

Furthermore, senators whose districts include the smallest numbers of payday stores—17, 16, and 9 stores—also received contributions more sizable than the \$750 and \$500 contributions reported by the senators who represented districts with the largest numbers of stores. Contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle to senators whose districts contained the smallest numbers of payday stores were \$2,500 to **Senator J.T. Waggoner (R-16)** (district with nine payday stores), \$1,500 to **Senator Slade Blackwell (R-15)** (district with 16 payday stores), and \$1,000 to **Senator Tom Whatley (R-27)** (district with 17 payday stores).

When contributions to senators whose districts contain 29 to 20 payday stores or 39 to 30 stores (mid-level numbers of payday storefronts) are examined, the findings do not support the theory that the number of payday stores is associated with the amount of contributions from the payday/title loan industry. Campaign contributions from the payday/title loan industry to members whose districts contain mid-level numbers of payday stores are not consistently less than contributions to members whose districts contain a greater number of stores, as would be expected if the number of payday stores per district were the main drivers of industry contributions.

TABLE 2: ALABAMA STATE SENATORS WHO REPORTED 2010 CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY (RANKED BY CONTRIBUTIONS), WITH NUMBER OF PAYDAY STOREFRONTS PER DISTRICT (AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014) AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Contribution from Payday Lending/Title Loan Industry (\$) | Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Name, Party, District of Senator | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| 8,100 | 26 | Roger Bedford, Jr. * (D-6) | Colbert, Fayette, Franklin, Lamar, Lawrence, Marion, Winston | 15 |
| 7,200 | 32 | Bobby Singleton (D-24) | Bibb, Choctaw, Greene, Hale, Marengo, Perry, Sumter, Tuscaloosa | 64 |
| 5,100 | 21 | Scott Beason (R-17) | Blount, Jefferson, St. Clair | 6 |
| 5,000 | 20 | Del Marsh ** (R-12) | Calhoun, St. Clair | 20 |
| 3,950 | 37 | Quinton T. Ross, Jr. (D-26) | Montgomery | 75 |
| 3,500 | 35 | Marc Keahey (D-22) | Baldwin, Choctaw, Clarke, Conecuh, Escambia, Mobile, Monroe, Washington | 21 |
| 3,500 | 25 | Rodger Mell Smitherman (D-18) | Jefferson | 59 |
| 2,700 | 33 | Billy Beasley (D-28) | Barbour, Bullock, Henry, Lee, Macon, Russell | 60 |
| 2,500 | 9 | J.T. Waggoner *** (R-16) | Jefferson, Shelby | 11 |
| 2,000 | 33 | Bryan Taylor (R-30) | Autauga, Butler, Crenshaw, Elmore, Lowndes, Pike | 23 |
| 2,000 | 28 | Clay Scofield * (R-9) | Blount, Madison, Marshall | 2 |
| 2,000 | 21 | Greg Reed (R-5) | Jefferson, Tuscaloosa, Walker, Winston | 6 |
| 1,500 | 16 | Slade Blackwell * (R-15) | Jefferson, Shelby | 15 |
| 1,200 | 30 | Cam Ward (R-14) | Bibb, Chilton, Jefferson, Shelby | 14 |
| 1,000 | 22 | Gerald Allen (R-21) | Hale, Pickens, Tuscaloosa | 15 |
| 1,000 | 17 | Tom Whatley * (R-27) | Lee, Russell, Tallapoosa | 20 |
| 800 | 27 | Harri Anne Smith (I-29) | Dale, Geneva, Houston | 15 |
| 750 | 43 | Linda Coleman (D-20) | Jefferson | 65 |
| 500 | 48 | Dick Brewbaker (R-25) | Elmore, Montgomery | 22 |
| 500 | 45 | Vivian Davis Figures **** (D-33) | Mobile | 71 |
| 500 | 40 | Priscilla Dunn (D-19) | Jefferson | 66 |
| 500 | 37 | Paul Sanford (R-7) | Madison | 27 |
| 500 | 19 | Gerald Dial ***** (R-13) | Chambers, Cherokee, Clay, Cleburne, Lee, Randolph | 22 |

*Member of Banking and Insurance Committee

**President Pro Tempore

***Member of Banking and Insurance Committee and Majority Leader of Senate

****Ranking Minority Member

*****Majority Whip

Contributions by the payday lending/title loan industry also are made to senators who serve on relevant committees or hold leadership positions within the Senate. For example, eight of the 23 senators who received contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry were either members of the Banking and Insurance Committee (with jurisdiction over the operation of the payday lending/title loan industry in Alabama) or held other Senate leadership positions. These senators are: **Roger Bedford, Jr. (D-6)**, **Slade Blackwell (R-15)**, **Vivian Davis Figures (D-33)**, **Del Marsh (R-12)**, **Clay Scofield (R-9)**, **J.T. Waggoner (R-16)**, **Tom Whatley (R-27)** and **Gerald Dial (R-13)**.

SENATE BANKING AND INSURANCE COMMITTEE

The number of payday stores in the districts of Banking and Insurance Committee members ranges from 46 to nine. Less than half of the members of the Alabama Senate Banking and Insurance Committee reported 2010 election campaign contributions from the payday/title loan industry, ranging from \$8,100 to \$1,000. Only five of the 12 committee members (42 percent) reported these contributions. Among the seven members who reported no such contributions are the Vice Chair of the Banking and Insurance Committee (**Senator Bill Hightower [R-35]**) and the Senate President Pro Tempore designee (**Senator Trip Pittman [R-32]**).

The relationship between the number of payday stores in Banking and Insurance Committee member districts and the amount of campaign contributions reported by the senator representing a district varies. (**See Table 3 on page 14.**) When members are ranked in decreasing order by the number of payday stores in their districts, those whose districts have the largest numbers of payday stores (46, 37, 34, and 29) reported no contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle. Committee members who represent the three districts with the smallest numbers of payday stores per district (17, 16, and 9) reported campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry. The Committee member who reported the largest campaign contributions from this industry (**Senator Roger Bedford, Jr. [D-6]**) represents a district with a mid-level number of payday storefronts (26). Senator Bedford's campaign contributions (\$8,100) from the payday lending/title loan industry were not only the largest reported by a Banking and Insurance Committee member, but also the largest reported by an Alabama state senator. As a six-term senator, Senator Bedford likely generates greater campaign support than some senators with less tenure.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN SENATORS

The relationship between the number of licensed payday lending/title loan storefronts and campaign contributions to African-American senators is variable. The seven African-American senators in the Alabama legislature during the 2014 session serve districts in which the number of payday storefronts ranges from a high of 45 to a low of 25. (**See Table 4 on page 15.**) During the 2010 election cycle, six of these seven senators reported campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry ranging in value from \$7,200 to \$500. The one African-American senator (**Senator Hank Sanders [D-23]**) who did not report 2010 election campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry is a member of the Senate Banking and Insurance Committee.

Four of the six African-American senators who reported 2010 election campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry were at the extremes—either with large contributions or with large numbers of payday establishments. The African-American senator (**Senator Bobby Singleton [D-24]**) who reported \$7,200 in contributions—the largest among African-American senators and the second largest among all Alabama senators—serves a district in which 32 payday storefronts were licensed as of January 1, 2014. However, the two senators (**Senator Vivian Davis Figures [D-33]** and **Senator Linda Coleman [D-20]**) whose districts contain the largest number of payday storefronts—45 and 43, respectively—reported \$500 and \$750 in contributions, the smallest amounts reported by any African-American senators. **Senator Priscilla Dunn (D-19)**, an African-American senator who represents a district with 40 payday stores, also received \$500 in contributions.

The two remaining African-American senators—one representing a portion of Montgomery County (**Senator Quinton T. Ross, Jr. [D-26]**) and the other representing a portion of Jefferson County (**Senator Rodger Mell Smitherman [D-18]**)—also reported noteworthy campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle—\$3,950 and \$3,500, respectively.

TABLE 3: MEMBERS OF SENATE BANKING AND INSURANCE COMMITTEE (RANKED BY NUMBER OF PAYDAY STOREFRONTS PER DISTRICT AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014), WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY (2010) AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Contribution from Payday Lending/Title Loan Industry (\$) | Name, Party, District of Senator | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 46 | None | Jerry Fielding (R-11) | Calhoun, Coosa, Elmore, Talladega | 15 |
| 37 | None | Tammy Irons (D-1) | Colbert, Lauderdale | 12 |
| 34 | * | Bill Hightower (R-35) | Mobile | 19 |
| 29 | None | Hank Sanders (D-23) | Autauga, Clarke, Conecuh, Dallas, Lowndes, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Wilcox | 65 |
| 28 | 2,000 | Clay Scofield (R-9) | Blount, Madison, Marshall | 2 |
| 26 | 8,100 | Roger Bedford, Jr. (D-6) | Colbert, Fayette, Franklin, Lamar, Lawrence, Marion, Winston | 15 |
| 26 | None | Trip Pittman ** (R-32) | Baldwin | 8 |
| 22 | None | Bill Holtzclaw (R-2) | Limestone, Madison | 24 |
| 21 | None | Paul Bussman (R-4) | Cullman, Lawrence, Winston | 2 |
| 17 | 1,000 | Tom Whatley (R-27) | Lee, Russell, Tallapoosa | 20 |
| 16 | 1,500 | Slade Blackwell *** (R-15) | Jefferson, Shelby | 15 |
| 9 | 2,500 | J.T. Waggoner **** (R-16) | Jefferson, Shelby | 11 |

* 2010 election campaign contributions to Senator Hightower, Vice Chair of the Senate Banking and Insurance, are not reported, because he was first elected to the Alabama State Senate in a special election on March 12, 2013.

**Senator Pittman was President Pro Tempore Designee in 2014.

***Senator Blackwell was Chair of Banking and Insurance Committee in 2014

****Senator Waggoner was Majority Leader in 2014

ALABAMA STATE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

As in the state Senate, in the Alabama House, the representatives who serve districts with larger numbers of payday stores do not necessarily report greater 2010 campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry. In other words, the value of campaign contributions and the number of payday stores in a district do not always increase or decrease together. For example, representatives who report sizable 2010 campaign contributions are as likely to serve districts in which the number of licensed payday stores is fewer than 10 as they are to serve districts with larger numbers of licensed payday storefronts. The value of campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry to members of the Alabama House seems to be associated with a member's relevant committee membership and leadership positions in the House as often as it is with the number of payday stores in the district.

Out of the 104 representatives seated throughout the 2014 Alabama House session, a total of 30 representatives reported contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry for the 2010 election cycle. (The seat for district 75 was vacated during the 2014 session.) This 29 percent of Alabama state representatives includes members whose districts contain as many as 20 and as few as one payday storefront. Contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry to representatives range in value from \$6,500 to \$500. (See Table 5 on pages 15-16.) The percent that these contributions are of all campaign contributions to representatives during the 2010 election cycle ranges from 5.43 percent to 0.23 percent.

TABLE 4: AFRICAN-AMERICAN SENATORS (RANKED BY NUMBER OF LICENSED PAYDAY STORES PER DISTRICT AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014), WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY (2010) AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Contribution from Payday Lending/Title Loan Industry (\$) | Name, Party, District of Senator | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 45 | 500 | Vivian Davis Figures * (D-33) | Mobile | 71 |
| 43 | 750 | Linda Coleman (D-20) | Jefferson | 65 |
| 40 | 500 | Priscilla Dunn (D-19) | Jefferson | 66 |
| 37 | 3,950 | Quinton T. Ross, Jr. (D-26) | Montgomery | 75 |
| 32 | 7,200 | Bobby Singleton (D-24) | Bibb, Choctaw, Greene, Hale, Marengo, Perry, Sumter, Tuscaloosa | 64 |
| 29 | None | Hank Sanders ** (D-23) | Autauga, Clarke, Conecuh, Dallas, Lowndes, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Wilcox | 65 |
| 25 | 3,500 | Rodger Mell Smitherman (D-18) | Jefferson | 59 |

*Senator Figures is Minority Leader of the Senate.

**Senator Sanders is a member of the Senate Banking and Insurance Committee.

TABLE 5: ALABAMA STATE REPRESENTATIVES (RANKED BY NUMBER OF PAYDAY STOREFRONTS PER DISTRICT AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014), WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY (2010) AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Contribution from Payday Lending/Title Loan Industry (\$) | Name, Party, District of Representative | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|----------------------|---|
| 20 | 2,350 | Steve Hurst * (R-35) | Calhoun, Talladega | 15 |
| 19 | 4,500 | Marcel Black * (D-3) | Colbert | 24 |
| 19 | 500 | George Bandy (D-83) | Lee, Russell | 55 |
| 18 | 500 | Merika Coleman-Evans (D-57) | Jefferson | 68 |
| 18 | 1,000 | James E. Buskey (D-99) | Mobile | 66 |
| 17 | 5,750 | Oliver Robinson * (D-58) | Jefferson | 72 |
| 17 | 500 | John F. Knight, Jr. (D-77) | Montgomery | 66 |
| 15 | 2,000 | Todd Greeson (R-24) | DeKalb | 2 |
| 14 | 1,450 | Thad McClammy * (D-76) | Montgomery | 75 |
| 13 | 500 | Barbara B. Boyd (D-32) | Calhoun, Talladega | 62 |

TABLE 5 (CONTINUED): ALABAMA STATE REPRESENTATIVES (RANKED BY NUMBER OF PAYDAY STOREFRONTS PER DISTRICT AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014), WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY (2010) AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Contribution from Payday Lending/Title Loan Industry (\$) | Name, Party, District of Representative | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| 13 | 1,200 | Alan C. Boothe (R-89) | Dale, Pike | 32 |
| 12 | 1,000 | Joe Hubbard (D-73) | Montgomery | 10 |
| 10 | 500 | Mary Moore (D-59) | Jefferson | 79 |
| 10 | 1,000 | Artis McCampbell (D-71) | Greene, Marengo, Sumter, Tuscaloosa | 67 |
| 10 | 600 | Donnie Chesteen (R-87) | Geneva, Houston | 9 |
| 9 | 500 | John W. Rogers, Jr. (D-52) | Jefferson | 60 |
| 9 | 1,000 | Victor Gaston (R-100) | Mobile | 16 |
| 8 | 1,300 | Johnny Mack Morrow (D-18) | Colbert, Franklin | 6 |
| 8 | 4,375 | Craig Ford (D-28) | Etowah | 29 |
| 8 | 1,550 | DuWayne Bridges * (R-38) | Chambers, Lee | 18 |
| 8 | 750 | Rod Scott (D-55) | Jefferson | 72 |
| 8 | 6,000 | Lesley Vance * (R-80) | Lee, Russell | 18 |
| 7 | 3,200 | Steve Clouse ** (R-93) | Dale, Houston | 17 |
| 6 | 1,000 | Richard J. Laird (I-37) | Chambers, Clay, Randolph | 30 |
| 6 | 6,400 | Mike Hill (R-41) | Shelby | 12 |
| 6 | 500 | Arthur Payne (R-44) | Jefferson | 10 |
| 6 | 1,000 | Jack Williams * (R-47) | Jefferson | 17 |
| 6 | 6,500 | Mike Hubbard *** (R-79) | Lee | 13 |
| 2 | 1,000 | Richard Baughn (R-14) | Tuscaloosa, Walker, Winston | 2 |
| 1 | 1,600 | Howard Sanderford (R-20) | Madison | 3 |

*Member of the House Financial Services Committee. Lesley Vance is Chair; Jack Williams is Vice Chair; and Marcel Black is Ranking Minority Member.

**Steve Clouse was formerly the Chair of the House Financial Services Committee.

***Mike Hubbard is Speaker of the Alabama House of Representatives.

TABLE 6: ALABAMA STATE REPRESENTATIVES WHO REPORTED 2010 CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY OF \$2,000 OR MORE (RANKED BY CONTRIBUTION), WITH NUMBER OF PAYDAY STOREFRONTS (AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014) AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Contribution from Payday Lending/Title Loan Industry (\$) | Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Name, Party, District of Representative | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| 6,500 | 6 | Mike Hubbard * (R-79) | Lee | 13 |
| 6,400 | 6 | Mike Hill (R-41) | Shelby | 12 |
| 6,000 | 8 | Lesley Vance ** (R-80) | Lee, Russell | 18 |
| 5,750 | 17 | Oliver Robinson ** (D-58) | Jefferson | 72 |
| 4,500 | 19 | Marcel Black ** (D-3) | Colbert | 24 |
| 4,375 | 8 | Craig Ford *** (D-28) | Etowah | 29 |
| 3,200 | 7 | Steve Clouse **** (R-93) | Dale, Houston | 17 |
| 2,350 | 20 | Steve Hurst ** (R-35) | Calhoun, Talladega | 15 |
| 2,000 | 15 | Todd Greeson (R-24) | DeKalb | 2 |

*Speaker of the Alabama House of Representatives

**Member of the House Financial Services Committee. Lesley Vance is Chair, and Marcel Black is Ranking Minority Member.

***House Minority Leader in 2010

****Former Chair of the House Financial Services Committee

REPRESENTATIVES REPORTING LARGEST INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS

Nine of the 30 House members who reported 2010 election campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry reported contributions of \$2,000 or more (up to the maximum contribution of \$6,500). In the districts of five of these nine members, the number of payday stores is small—between six and eight. Thus, the size of contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry is not always associated with the number of payday storefronts in a member’s district. (See Table 6.) This pattern holds for representatives **Mike Hubbard (R-79)**, **Mike Hill (R-41)**, **Lesley Vance (R-80)**, **Craig Ford (D-28)**, and **Steve Clouse (R-93)**. Representative Mike Hubbard reported the largest 2010 election campaign contribution from the payday lending/title loan industry (of \$6,500). However, Representative Hubbard and Representative Clouse (whose 2010 contributions totaled \$3,200), may have received campaign contributions because they currently hold or have held leadership positions on a relevant committee or in the House at large—for example, Hubbard as Speaker of the House, and Clouse as former chair of the House Financial Services Committee.

Representative Hill was first elected to the House in 1986 and has served for 28 years, a factor that may be associated with the magnitude of his contributions (\$6,400) more than the number of payday stores in his district (six). For Representative Lesley Vance, the \$6,000 in contributions received from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle may be linked to the fact that he is chair of the Financial Services Committee. For Representative Ford, the \$4,375 in contributions is in marked contrast to the eight payday stores in his district. The size of his industry contributions may reflect the fact that he was House Minority Leader in 2010.

TABLE 7: ALABAMA STATE REPRESENTATIVES WHO REPORTED 2010 CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY BETWEEN \$1,600 AND \$1,000 (RANKED BY CONTRIBUTION), WITH NUMBER OF PAYDAY STOREFRONTS (AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014) AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Contribution from Payday Lending/Title Loan Industry (\$) | Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Name, Party, District of Representative | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1,600 | 1 | Howard Sanderford (R-20) | Madison | 3 |
| 1,550 | 8 | DuWayne Bridges * (R-38) | Chambers, Lee | 18 |
| 1,450 | 14 | Thad McClammy * (D-76) | Montgomery | 75 |
| 1,300 | 8 | Johnny Mack Morrow (D-18) | Colbert, Franklin | 6 |
| 1,200 | 13 | Alan C. Boothe (R-89) | Dale, Pike | 32 |
| 1,000 | 18 | James E. Buskey (D-99) | Mobile | 66 |
| 1,000 | 12 | Joe Hubbard (D-73) | Montgomery | 10 |
| 1,000 | 10 | Artis McCampbell (D-71) | Greene, Marengo, Sumter, Tuscaloosa | 67 |
| 1,000 | 9 | Victor Gaston ** (R-100) | Mobile | 16 |
| 1,000 | 6 | Jack Williams *** (R-47) | Jefferson | 17 |
| 1,000 | 6 | Richard J. Laird (I-37) | Chambers, Clay, Randolph | 30 |
| 1,000 | 2 | Richard Baughn (R-14) | Tuscaloosa, Walker, Winston | 2 |

*Member of House Financial Services Committee

**In 2010, he was elected Speaker Pro Tempore of the House.

***Vice Chair of House Financial Services Committee

REPRESENTATIVES REPORTING MID-LEVEL INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS

Twelve of the 30 representatives who reported campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle reported contributions of between \$1,600 and \$1,000. Three of these 12 representatives also serve on the Financial Services Committee—**Representative DuWayne Bridges (R-38)**, **Representative Thad McClammy (D-76)**, and **Representative Jack Williams (R-47)**. In addition, **Representative Victor Gaston (R-100)** served as Speaker Pro Tempore of the House in 2010, a fact that may have enhanced the likelihood that he received contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry that year. The number of payday storefronts within the districts served by these members, however, varies markedly and thus cannot be directly associated with the amount of the industry’s campaign contribution. (See Table 7.)

TABLE 8: ALABAMA STATE REPRESENTATIVES WHO REPORTED 2010 CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY OF LESS THAN \$1,000 (RANKED BY CONTRIBUTION), WITH NUMBER OF PAYDAY STORES (AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014) AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Contribution from Payday Lending/Title Loan Industry (\$) | Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Name, Party, District of Representative | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| 750 | 8 | Rod Scott (D-55) | Jefferson | 72 |
| 600 | 10 | Donnie Chesteen (R-87) | Geneva, Houston | 9 |
| 500 | 19 | George Bandy (D-83) | Lee, Russell | 55 |
| 500 | 18 | Merika Coleman-Evans (D-57) | Jefferson | 68 |
| 500 | 17 | John F. Knight, Jr. (D-77) | Montgomery | 66 |
| 500 | 13 | Barbara B. Boyd (D-32) | Calhoun, Talladega | 62 |
| 500 | 10 | Mary Moore (D-59) | Jefferson | 79 |
| 500 | 9 | John W. Rogers, Jr. (D-52) | Jefferson | 60 |
| 500 | 6 | Arthur Payne (R-44) | Jefferson | 10 |

REPRESENTATIVES REPORTING SMALLEST INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS

Nine of the 30 representatives who reported campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle reported contributions of between \$750 and \$500. (See Table 8.) Three of these members (**Representative George Bandy [D-83]**, **Representative Merika Coleman-Evans [D-57]**, and **Representative John F. Knight, Jr. [D-77]**) serve districts in which large numbers (19, 18 and 17) of payday stores are licensed. Another three members (**Representative Barbara B. Boyd [D-32]**, **Representative Donnie Chesteen [R-87]**, and **Representative Mary Moore [D-59]**) report contributions of \$500, \$600, and \$500, and districts with 13, 10, and 10 licensed payday storefronts, respectively. The remaining three members (**Representative Rod Scott [D-55]**, **Representative John W. Rogers, Jr. [D-52]**, and **Arthur Payne [R-44]**) serve districts with fewer than 10 payday storefronts.

HOUSE FINANCIAL SERVICES COMMITTEE

Among members of the House Financial Services Committee, the relationship between the number of payday stores and the size of campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry is noteworthy. Members whose districts contain the largest number of payday stores (between 20 and 14) generally reported the largest 2010 campaign contributions from the industry.

The number of payday stores in the districts of members of the House Financial Services Committee ranges from 20 to five. Seven of the nine members (78 percent) of the House Financial Services Committee reported campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle. The two members of the committee who did not report any contributions from this industry for their 2010 election campaigns are **Representative Wes Long (R-27)** and **Representative Mack Butler (R-30)**.

TABLE 9: MEMBERS OF HOUSE FINANCIAL SERVICES COMMITTEE (RANKED BY 2010 CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY), WITH NUMBER OF PAYDAY STOREFRONTS (AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014) AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Contribution from Payday Lending/Title Loan Industry (\$) | Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Name, Party, District of Representative | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|----------------------|---|
| 6,000 | 8 | Lesley Vance * (R-80) | Lee, Russell | 18 |
| 5,750 | 17 | Oliver Robinson (D-58) | Jefferson | 72 |
| 4,500 | 19 | Marcel Black ** (D-3) | Colbert | 24 |
| 2,350 | 20 | Steve Hurst (R-35) | Calhoun, Talladega | 15 |
| 1,550 | 8 | DuWayne Bridges (R-38) | Chambers, Lee | 18 |
| 1,450 | 14 | Thad McClammy (D-76) | Montgomery | 75 |
| 1,000 | 6 | Jack Williams *** (R-47) | Jefferson | 17 |
| None | 12 | Wes Long (R-27) | Marshall | 2 |
| None | 5 | Mack Butler **** (R-30) | Etowah, St. Clair | 5 |

*Chair of House Financial Services Committee

**Ranking Minority Member of House Financial Services Committee

***Vice Chair of House Financial Services Committee

****Mack Butler was elected to the Alabama House of Representatives in a special election on December 12, 2012, and therefore did not report campaign contributions during the 2010 election cycle.

Campaign contributions range from a high of \$6,000 to the Committee Chair (**Representative Lesley Vance [R-80]**) to a low of \$1,000 to the Committee Vice Chair (**Representative Jack Williams [R-47]**). (See Table 9.) The amount of contributions to Representative Lesley Vance (Committee Chair) seems to be related to his chairmanship more than to the number of payday storefronts in his district (only eight). The relationship between the number of stores and magnitude of contributions, however, is striking for three House Financial Services Committee members: **Representative Oliver Robinson (D-58)**, **Representative Marcel Black (D-3)**, and **Representative Steve Hurst (R-35)**.

The four Committee members (**Representative Steve Hurst [R-35]**, **Representative Marcel Black [D-3]**, **Representative Oliver Robinson [D-58]**, and **Representative Thad McClammy [D-76]**) with the largest number of payday storefronts in their districts (20, 19, 17, and 14, respectively) reported sizable contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry. Although contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry to Representative Oliver Robinson (\$5,750) were not the largest in value to a committee member, these contributions constitute a larger percentage (5.4 percent) of the total contributions reported by Representative Robinson than did the \$6,000 contribution from the payday lending/title loan industry to Representative Lesley Vance, Chair of the Committee. The \$6,000 in contributions received by Representative Vance constitutes only 2.3 percent of the total contributions he received during the 2010 election cycle, while the 5.4 percent for the \$5,750 total of campaign contributions reported by Representative Robinson is the largest percentage that any contribution from the payday lending/title loan industry is of all campaign contributions to any state representative.

TABLE 10: AFRICAN-AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES WHO REPORTED NO 2010 CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY (RANKED BY NUMBER OF PAYDAY STOREFRONTS AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014), WITH OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Name, Party, District of Representative | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| 18 | Juandalynn Givan (D-60) | Jefferson | 70 |
| 16 | Laura Hall (D-19) | Madison | 60 |
| 13 | Lawrence McAdory (D-56) | Jefferson | 67 |
| 13 | Darrio Melton (D-67) | Dallas | 69 |
| 12 | Berry Forte (D-84) | Barbour, Bullock, Russell | 52 |
| 10 | Adline Clarke * (D-97) | Mobile | 59 |
| 10 | Dexter Grimsley (D-85) | Henry, Houston | 49 |
| 9 | Joseph Mitchell (D-103) | Mobile | 67 |
| 8 | Chris England (D-70) | Tuscaloosa | 60 |
| 6 | Thomas E. Jackson (D-68) | Choctaw, Clarke, Conecuh, Marengo, Monroe | 65 |
| 5 | Alvin Holmes (D-78) | Montgomery | 69 |
| 5 | Ralph Howard (D-72) | Bibb, Hale, Marengo, Perry | 65 |
| 4 | Napoleon Bracy, Jr. (D-98) | Mobile | 61 |
| 2 | David Colston (D-69) | Autauga, Dallas, Lowndes, Wilcox | 66 |
| 2 | Pebblin W. Warren (D-82) | Bullock, Lee, Macon | 61 |

*Adline Clarke was elected to the Alabama House in a special election held on May 21, 2013 and, thus, did not report any campaign contributions for the 2010 election.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES

The 26 African-American members of the Alabama House of Representatives⁴ serve districts in which the number of payday storefronts in 2014 ranges from a high of 19 to a low of two. Fifteen of these 26 representatives (58 percent) reported no contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle, while 11 of 26 (42 percent) did.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN MEMBERS WITH NO INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS

The 15 African-American members who did not report contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle (out of the 26 African-American members in the House in 2014) represent a range of counties and could become champions around the state for legislative initiatives against payday and title lending. These members represent such counties as Dallas (**Representative Melton [D-67]**), Jefferson (**Representative Givan [D-60]** and **Representative McAdory [D-56]**), Madison (**Representative Hall [D-19]**), Mobile (**Representative Bracy [D-98]**, **Representative**

⁴ **Representative Anthony “Alann” Johnson (D-53)** is not counted among the African-American members in the Alabama House of Representatives because the district he serves has been abolished due to redistricting. He did not campaign for election in 2010. District 53 contained 7 licensed payday storefronts as of January 1, 2014.

TABLE 11: AFRICAN-AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES WHO REPORTED 2010 CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PAYDAY LENDING/TITLE LOAN INDUSTRY (RANKED BY CONTRIBUTIONS), WITH NUMBER OF PAYDAY STORES (AS OF JANUARY 1, 2014) AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

| Contribution from Payday Lending/Title Loan Industry (\$) | Number of Licensed Payday Storefronts | Name, Party, District of Representative | Counties in District | Percentage African-American in District (%) |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| 5,750 | 17 | Oliver Robinson * (D-58) | Jefferson | 72 |
| 1,450 | 14 | Thad McClammy * (D-76) | Montgomery | 75 |
| 1,000 | 18 | James E. Buskey (D-99) | Mobile | 66 |
| 1,000 | 10 | Artis McCampbell (D-71) | Greene, Marengo, Sumter, Tuscaloosa | 67 |
| 750 | 8 | Rod Scott (D-55) | Jefferson | 72 |
| 500 | 19 | George Bandy (D-83) | Lee, Russell | 55 |
| 500 | 18 | Merika Coleman-Evans (D-57) | Jefferson | 68 |
| 500 | 17 | John F. Knight, Jr. (D-77) | Montgomery | 66 |
| 500 | 13 | Barbara B. Boyd (D-32) | Calhoun, Talladega | 62 |
| 500 | 10 | Mary Moore (D-59) | Jefferson | 79 |
| 500 | 9 | John W. Rogers, Jr. (D-52) | Jefferson | 60 |

*Member of House Financial Services Committee

Clarke [D-97], and Representative Mitchell [D-103]), Montgomery (Representative Holmes [D-78]), and Tuscaloosa (Representative England [D-70]). African-American representatives also serve districts that include parts of multiple counties, such as Autauga, Choctaw, Clarke, Conecuh, Lowndes, and Perry. (See Table 10 on page 21.)

AFRICAN-AMERICAN MEMBERS WITH INDUSTRY CONTRIBUTIONS

Less than half (11 out of 26 [42 percent]) of all African-American representatives reported contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry for their 2010 election campaigns. These contributions ranged in value from \$5,750 to \$500. The two African-American members of the House Financial Services Committee (the committee with jurisdiction over matters related to the payday lending/title loan industry) are among the 11 African-American representatives who received industry contributions. (See Table 11.) **Representative Oliver Robinson (D-58)** (one of these two members) reported \$5,750 in contributions, constituting 5.4 percent of his total campaign contributions during the 2010 election cycle. **Representative Thad McClammy (D-76)**, also a member of the House Financial Services Committee, reported contributions of \$1,450 (0.87 percent of his total 2010 contributions) during the 2010 election.

Although most members with 13 or fewer payday stores within their districts reported no industry contributions, five members did. These members reported contributions of between \$1,000 and \$500 from the payday lending/title loan industry during the 2010 election cycle.

CONCLUSION

Many factors appear to be associated with the value of campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry to Alabama state legislators. If there were a strong association between the number of payday establishments and the value of the industry's contributions, the number of licensed payday establishments per district would decrease or increase with the amount of campaign contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry. This pattern is not always observed. Thus, the number of licensed payday establishments per legislative district is not a consistent driving force behind the industry's contributions. Other factors that are significant to the amount of contributions from the payday lending/title loan industry are membership on relevant committees in the House (Financial Services) and Senate (Banking and Insurance), and holding leadership positions in the House and Senate.

METHODOLOGY

To assess the factors associated with contributions to Alabama state legislators from the payday lending/title loan industry, the following data were used:

- Campaign finance data
- Numbers of licensed payday lending establishments
- Information about legislators
- Sociodemographic characteristics of each legislative district

Campaign finance data were accessed by the Joint Center via the website www.followthemoney.org, maintained by the National Institute on Money in State Politics. Data for the 2010 election cycle were used because 2010 was the most recent prior year for which a full year of data is available and in which elections were held in Alabama for all 35 state Senate seats and all 105 state House seats. Contributions from Political Action Committees (PACs) are not included in this analysis, because it was not possible to determine whether a given PAC exclusively represented the interests of a single industry, such as the payday/title loan industry.

The number of licensed payday loan establishments (that operate either as storefronts or online in Alabama) is from the Alabama Deferred Presentment Services Act (ADPSA) Licensees Database, maintained by the State Banking Department of Alabama (http://216.226.177.103/ADPSA_Licenses2.asp?VTI-GROUP=0&search=%25&submit1=Search). The ADPSA Licensees Database provides the licensee number, company name, address, and issue date for each licensed payday storefront. The Database was established under the ADPSA passed by the Alabama legislature in 2003 and amended in 2013 to require that lenders operating in the state (whether physically located in Alabama or online) have a deferred presentment service license in order to issue loans. This Database was retrieved by staff at the HUCRW on January 31, 2014, and it was used to generate GIS maps and accompanying data spreadsheets that present the number of payday storefronts by legislative district.

Information about Alabama's state legislators was obtained by the Joint Center from the Official Website of the Alabama Legislature (www.legislature.state.al.us). Details about party affiliation, counties in each legislative district, committee memberships, and legislative leadership positions for the 2014 legislative session were extracted from this website for all state senators and state representatives in Alabama. These data were subsequently merged with the number of payday establishments by district from the ADPSA Licensees Database.

Sociodemographic information specific to each legislative district (such as the percentage of black residents) was generated by the HUCRW staff using the American Community Survey, an annual survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. The data provided are 5-year estimates, based on data from the surveys conducted in 2008 through 2012. These sociodemographic data were also merged with the number of payday establishments by district from the ADPSA Licensees Database and the legislator data.

ABOUT THE JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES

The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies conducts research and policy analysis on topics of concern to African Americans and other people of color. Initially founded to encourage African-American political participation and to support newly elected black public officials in the wake of the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Joint Center continues to promote civic and political engagement and to support black leadership as a primary route to greater equality and opportunity.

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Wilhelmina A. Leigh, a senior research associate at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, analyzes issues related to asset building (or wealth creation), retirement security and health within communities of color. She has been the project director for the Joint Center's activities as a resource grantee under the Building Economic Security Over A Lifetime Initiative of the Ford Foundation. Leigh also has been an elected member of the National Academy of Social Insurance since 1996 and a Fellow of the TIAA-CREF Institute since 2012. Dr. Leigh received her PhD in economics from the Johns Hopkins University and her AB, also in economics, from Cornell University.



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