

May 6, 2019

Office of the Attorney General Government Accountability Unit Attn: Evan Daniels 2005 N Central Ave Phoenix, AZ 85004-1592 Evan.daniels@azag.gov

Matter No.: SOS-LOB-2019-010, Lobbying Within One Year of Leaving Office

Respondent: Todd Clodfelter

Dear Mr. Daniels:

On February 12, 2019, the Secretary of State was contacted by the Arizona Capitol Times regarding potentially unlawful lobbying activity by former Representative Todd Clodfelter on behalf of the Arizona Cosmetology Association ("ACA"). A letter that Mr. Clodfelter published on the ACA website and subsequent statements made by Mr. Clodfelter to the media further indicated that Mr. Clodfelter may have violated A.R.S. § 41-1233(2), which prohibits a person from "[l]obby[ing] the legislature for compensation within one year after" leaving office.

The Secretary of State provided Mr. Clodfelter an opportunity to submit a written response and supporting documents in response to the concerns raised by his letter on the ACA website and his statements to the media, and the accusations in the resulting media reports. *See* February 22, 2019 Letter to Todd Clodfelter, attached hereto as Exhibit 1.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Clodfelter's response relies on inconsistent and questionable factual assertions for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Secretary of State also asked Mr. Clodfelter to respond to whether ACA may have violated A.R.S. 41-1232(A) by failing to disclose Mr. Clodfelter as a lobbyist. As explained in Section 2 of the Analysis below, however, the Secretary of State concludes that there is no reasonable cause to believe that such a violation occurred.

which he provided no supporting materials or documentation. In particular, he asserts that he did not violate A.R.S. § 41-1233(2) because: (1) although he attended lobbying meetings with legislators, he did not actually speak with legislators in any of the meetings or elsewhere; and (2) contrary to statements he reportedly made to the media, he received no compensation for his work on behalf of Tag Team Strategies, LLC ("Tag Team"), his wife's lobbying firm that is registered with the Secretary of State's office as the lobbyist for ACA. See March 22, 2019 Response of Todd Clodfelter, attached hereto as Exhibit 2. Contrary to dispelling any concerns, Mr. Clodfelter's response raises more questions than it answers and highlights the need for a further investigation. Accordingly, the Secretary of State finds that there is reasonable cause to believe Mr. Clodfelter violated A.R.S. § 41-1233(2) and, pursuant to A.R.S. §§ 41-1237.01(A) and 41-1239(A)(2), refers this matter to the Attorney General for investigation.

#### FACTUAL BACKGROUND

#### 1. ACA Letter and Media Reports

Mr. Clodfelter was first elected to represent District 10 in the Arizona House of Representatives in 2016 and served in that position during the 2017 and 2018 legislative sessions.<sup>2</sup> He lost his bid for re-election in November 2018.<sup>3</sup> At least as early as February 13, 2019, just months after losing the election, Mr. Clodfelter posted a letter to ACA members on the ACA website describing how he and his wife, Karla Kestner-Clodfelter, had "been working very hard" to get certain bills "drafted, dropped, and supported." Mr. Clodfelter wrote: "We have spoken to numerous legislators, mostly in the senate [sic] . . . , but we have a lot of appointments this coming week with additional Senate and House members." Exhibit 1, Ex. I. The letter went on to describe the bills at issue and the responses received from specific legislators, and urged members to email and call certain legislators, listing their contact information. *Id*.

On February 13, 2019, the Yellow Sheet Report reported that Mr. Clodfelter told its reporter that he was being paid by Tag Team, which had an agreement with ACA "to handle its management and lobbying activities," but he was being paid as ACA's executive director, and as his wife's secretary, while his wife was being paid to do the lobbying. Exhibit 1, Ex. E. According to the report, Mr. Clodfelter also acknowledged that being "in the room with lawmakers while his wife lobbies for an organization he founded puts him in a gray area," but that, after asking the House attorney where the line is, he believed he had not crossed the line. *Id.* According to the report, Mr. Clodfelter also acknowledged that he had asked Senator Karen Fann

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> <a href="https://www.azleg.gov/house-member/?legislature=53&legislator=1756">https://www.azleg.gov/house-member/?legislature=53&legislator=1756</a> (last visited May 3, 2019); <a href="https://www.azleg.gov/MemberRoster/?body=H">https://www.azleg.gov/MemberRoster/?body=H</a> (last visited May 3, 2019) (showing Mr. Clodfelter as a member of the House of Representatives during legislative sessions in 2017 and 2018).

https://azsos.gov/sites/default/files/2018%201203%20Signed%20Official%20Statewide%20Can vass.pdf (last visited April 30, 2019).

if she would consider not assigning cosmetology bills to Senator Michelle Ugenti-Rita's Senate committee. *Id.* 

#### 2. Mr. Clodfelter's Response

In his response, Mr. Clodfelter explained that he is the executive director of Tag Team, and in that role, serves as the company's "volunteer administrator," while his wife conducts the lobbying. Exhibit 2 at 3. In particular:

[Mr. Clodfelter] assists with presentation material, communications, scheduling appointments and maintaining the company calendar. He also conducts research, enters data, tracks bills, and creates documents and presentations. Mr. Clodfelter reports to the ACA board on the current status of Ms. Kestner-Clodfelter's lobbying efforts as well as any other work that Tag Team is doing for ACA.

*Id.* Further, contrary to statements he reportedly made to the media (*i.e.*, that he *was* paid by Tag Team, but only to serve as ACA's executive director, not for lobbying), Mr. Clodfelter states in his response that he "receives zero compensation from Tag Team." *Id.* 

Mr. Clodfelter does not dispute that he, along with his wife, attended lobbying meetings with legislators. He asserts however, that "he did not communicate with lawmakers during those meetings." *Id.* at 4. Mr. Clodfelter further insists that "the lawmakers involved confirmed his account." *Id.* The response goes on to state: "We are confident that, should the Secretary's Office inquire, the Legislators in these meetings would also confirm Mr. Clodfelter's account." *Id.* Notably, however, Mr. Clodfelter declined to provide the Secretary of State with any sworn or signed statements or affirmations from those legislators in support of his assertions.

As to the letter Mr. Clodfelter posted on the ACA website describing how he and his wife had "been working very hard" to get certain bills "drafted, dropped, and supported," and stating: "We have spoken to numerous legislators," Mr. Clodfelter's response concedes that "it is admittedly careless to use 'we' when describing speaking 'with numerous legislators," but asserts that "Mr. Clodfelter is affirming to [the Secretary of State's] office that he did not speak to legislators concerning any bills." *Id.* at 5. Notably, however, in addition to declining to include any sworn or signed statements from any legislators involved, Mr. Clodfelter also declined to include any such statement from his wife or even himself affirming these facts.<sup>4</sup>

#### **ANALYSIS**

#### 1. Prohibition on Lobbying Within One Year of Leaving Office

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mr. Clodfelter's response is signed by his attorney and is not a sworn or signed statement from him.

Arizona law prohibits a person from "lobby[ing] the legislature for compensation within one year after the person ceases to be a member of the senate or house of representatives." A.R.S. § 41-1233(2). Therefore, because Mr. Clodfelter was a member of the House of Representatives in 2018, he is prohibited from "lobby[ing] the legislature for compensation" during the 2019 legislative session. As relevant here, lobbying is defined as "attempting to influence the passage or defeat of any legislation by directly communicating with any legislator . . ." A.R.S. § 41-1231(11)(a). Though the statute does not expound on what constitutes lobbying "for compensation," guidance can be taken from A.R.S. § 41-1231(13), which defines a "[l]obbyist for compensation" as "a lobbyist who is compensated for the primary purpose of lobbying on behalf of a principal and who is listed by the principal in its registration . . . ."

Accordingly, whether Mr. Clodfelter violated A.R.S. § 41-1233(2) turns on whether Mr. Clodfelter "directly communicat[ed]" with legislators and whether any part of his compensation was "for the primary purpose of lobbying."

#### a. Whether Mr. Clodfelter "Directly Communicat[ed]" with Legislators

Mr. Clodfelter insists that he did not speak with any legislators about any bills. The Secretary of State, however, cannot credit that assertion and cannot, based on that bald assertion alone, decline to refer this matter for investigation. First, Mr. Clodfelter provided no sworn or signed statements affirming this fact—not from any legislators, even though he claims they would confirm his account; not from his wife, who also attended those meetings; not even from himself. Second, the assertion contradicts Mr. Clodfelter's statements to the media that he had asked Senator Fann not to assign cosmetology bills to Senator Ugenti-Rita's committee and his own statements in his letter posted on the ACA website describing how he and his wife had "been working very hard" to get certain bills "drafted, dropped, and supported," and stating, "We have spoken to numerous legislators." See Exhibit 1, Exs. E and I.

Mr. Clodfelter's response argues that it "does not seem so unreasonable" for him to write, "We have spoken with numerous legislators," even though he now claims he *did not* speak to any legislators, because he did, in fact, schedule, prepare materials for, and attend those legislative meetings. Exhibit 2 at 5. This argument highlights Mr. Clodfelter's acknowledgment that he engaged in *just about every aspect of the lobbying activity at issue short of speaking in the meetings*, and so much so that it was not "so unreasonable" for him to use the first-person plural pronoun "we" when describing speaking "with numerous legislators." Thus, even if the Secretary of State credited Mr. Clodfelter's assertion that he did not speak to any legislators, the question remains as to whether he "directly communicated" with legislators through the written materials he admittedly prepared and shared with the legislators and/or his presence at the meetings, which clearly communicate his support for the positions advanced by his wife, even if, technically, the words came out of her mouth and not his.

#### b. Whether Mr. Clodfelter Was Compensated for Lobbying

Mr. Clodfelter insists that he received no compensation from Tag Team for his work on behalf of ACA. Again, however, Mr. Clodfelter provided no documents supporting this assertion—no sworn or signed statement from Tag Team, no financial documents from Tag Team, no communications, contracts, or engagement letters between himself and Tag Team and/or ACA as to his compensation arrangement, nothing. And again, the statement contradicts Mr. Clodfelter's statements to the media that he *was* paid by Tag Team, as ACA's executive director and as his wife's secretary, while his wife was being paid to do the lobbying. *See* Exhibit 1, Ex. E.

Apparently, Mr. Clodfelter was operating under the assumption that a former lawmaker who recently left office, but nonetheless seeks to lobby his former colleagues in the legislature, can do an end-run around A.R.S. § 41-1233(2)'s clear prohibition on such activity by simply claiming, without bothering to provide even one piece of supporting material, that someone else did the literal speaking and someone else was formally paid for the lobbying activity—here, *his wife*. The Secretary of State disagrees. At the very least, the totality of the circumstances here warrant a referral to the Attorney General for further investigation.

#### 2. Registration Requirements

The Secretary of State's February 22, 2019 letter to Mr. Clodfelter also asked him to respond to whether ACA may have violated A.R.S. 41-1232(A) by failing to disclose Mr. Clodfelter as a lobbyist in its principal registration.

Under Arizona law, before any lobbying occurs on its behalf, a principal like ACA is required to register with the Secretary of State and disclose, among other things, the names and business addresses of any designated lobbyist, lobbyist for compensation, or authorized lobbyist employed by, retained by, or representing the principal. A.R.S. § 41-1232(A)(2)-(4).

A "designated lobbyist" is statutorily defined as a person designated by the principal as the single point of contact and listed as the designated lobbyist in the principal's registration. A.R.S. § 41-1231(3). A "lobbyist for compensation" is defined as a lobbyist who is compensated for the primary purpose of lobbying for a principal and who is listed as a lobbyist for compensation by the principal in its registration. A.R.S. § 41-1231(13). An "authorized lobbyist" is defined as any person, other than a designated lobbyist or lobbyist for compensation, who is employed by, retained by, or representing a principal, with or without compensation, for the purpose of lobbying, and who is listed as an authorized lobbyist in the principal's registration. A.R.S. § 41-1231(1).

Whether intended or not, under the plain text of the applicable statutory provisions, designated and authorized lobbyists and lobbyists for compensation are required to be disclosed on a principal's registration, but a person is only a designated or authorized lobbyist or lobbyist

for compensation if he or she is listed as such in the principal's registration. See A.R.S. § 41-1232(A)(2)-(4); A.R.S. § 41-1231(1), (3), (13).

Given the perplexingly circular nature of the statutory definition and registration provisions, because Mr. Clodfelter is not listed as a designated lobbyist or authorized lobbyist or lobbyist for compensation on ACA's registration with the Secretary of State, he does not meet the statutory definition for those designations. Accordingly, the Secretary of State concludes that there is no reasonable cause to believe that ACA violated A.R.S. § 41-1232(A) by failing to list Mr. Clodfelter as a lobbyist, even if he otherwise engaged in lobbying for compensation in violation of A.R.S. § 41-1233(2).

#### **CONCLUSION**

Based on the foregoing, the Secretary of State has reasonable cause to believe that Mr. Clodfelter violated A.R.S. § 41-1233(2) and refers this matter to the Attorney General for further investigation pursuant to A.R.S. §§ 41-1237.01(A) and 41-1239(A)(2).

Sincerely,

Sambo (Bo) Dul

State Elections Director

anso De

Arizona Secretary of State Katie Hobbs

cc:

James E. Barton II Torres Law Group 2239 W. Baseline Rd. Tempe, Arizona 85283

Todd Clodfelter
Executive Director
The Arizona Cosmetology Association, Inc.
11287 E. Placita Molino
Tucson, AZ 85749

# Exhibit 1



February 22, 2019

#### Via US Mail and Email

Todd Clodfelter
Executive Director
The Arizona Cosmetology Association, Inc.
11287 E. Placita Molino
Tucson, AZ 85749
tc@tc4az.com
tc@tagteamstrategies.com
info@azcosmo.org

Re: SOS-LOB-2019-010 - Lobbyist Complaint

Dear Mr. Clodfelter:

The Secretary of State's office received an inquiry from the Arizona Capitol Times on February 12, 2019 alleging that you may be conducting lobbying activities on behalf of the Arizona Cosmetology Association, Inc. (the "ACA") (see Exhibit A) and may be a participating member of the registered lobbying firm Tag Team Strategies, LLC ("TTS") (Lobbyist ID # 3612203) (see Exhibit B). Subsequent media reports (see Exhibits C-H) and a letter you published on the ACA website (see Exhibit I) further indicate that you may be in violation of A.R.S. § 41-1233(2), which prohibits a person from "lobby[ing] the legislature for compensation within one year after the person ceases to be a member of the senate or house of representatives," and the ACA may be in violation of A.R.S. § 41-1232(A)(4), which requires principals to register with the Secretary of State's office and disclose its lobbyists and/or employees of its lobbyists before causing any lobbying to occur on their behalf.

Pursuant to A.R.S. §§ 41-1237.01(A) and 41-1239(A)(2), the Secretary of State's office must notify and refer to the Attorney General's office for investigation "any matter which the secretary of state has reason to believe constitutes a violation of any of the provisions of" the lobbying laws. Before doing so, we wanted to give you the opportunity to respond to these allegations. You may submit a written response and supporting documents to our office by Friday, March 8, 2019 (14 days from this notice). Thereafter, the Secretary of State's office will

1700 West Washington Street, Floor 7 Phoenix, Arizona 85007-2808 Telephone (602) 542-4285 Fax (602) 542-1575 www.azsos.gov SOS-LOB-2019-010 – Lobbyist Complaint February 22, 2019 Page 2

evaluate all information received, determine whether there is reasonable cause to believe that Arizona law was violated, and notify you of our determination.

Thank you for your attention to this matter. Please contact our Lobbying Specialist, Gina Swoboda, at <a href="mailto:gswoboda@azsos.gov">gswoboda@azsos.gov</a> or 602.364.3219 if you have any questions.

Very truly yours,

Sambo (Bo) Dul

State Elections Director

Arizona Secretary of State Katie Hobbs

bdul@azsos.gov 602.542.8683

BD/gw enclosures

# Exhibit A



### PRINCIPAL/PUBLIC BODY REGISTRATION STREET OF STATE

Initial/Renewal Application for Lobbying

Attention: Election Services Division

1700 W. Washington Street, 7th Fl., Phoenix, AZ 85007 (602) 542-8683 (800) 458-5842 (within Arizona) Website: www.azsos.gov

Check One

Secretary of State Please fill out both sides of this form. File this form between Dec. 1 of every even-numbered year through the second Monday of January of every odd-numbered year.

INITIAL RENEWAL

File with: Arizona Secretary of State Michele Reagan 2019 Jan 10 20 20 12

PRINCIPAL/PUBLIC BODY REGISTRATION ~ A.R.S. §§ 41-12	

Please type or print clearly.	
NOTICE: A Principal/Public Body r	nust file an amended registration reporting any change in the information prescribed on this form
within five business days, See A.R.	S. § 41-1232(C). Use Amendment Form to file an amended registration.
	] PUBLIC BODY
P/PB ID NUMBER	E-Mail Address of Contact Person

Check One: E PRINGIPAL	L LODEIC BOD I				
P/PB ID NUMBER	E-Mail Address of Contact tc@azcosmo.c		n		
NAME OF PRINCIPAL/PUBLIC The Arizona Cosmet	вору ology Association, Inc.		BUSINESS TELEPHONE (520) 906-5059	BUSIN	ESS FAX
BUSINESS ADDRESS		CITY	STAT	E	ZIP CODE

8987 E Tanque Verde Rd., 309-442, Tucson AZ 85749

DESIGNATED LOBBYIST/DESIGNATED PUBLIC LOBBYI	ST BUSINES	SS TELEPHONE	E-MAIL ADDRESS
Tag Team Strategies, LLC		906-5059	tc@tagteamstrategies.com
BUSINESS ADDRESS	CITY	STA	ATE ZIP CODE
8987 F Tanque Verde Rd., 309	3-442.	<b>Fucson</b> A	AZ 85749

#### PRINCIPALS ONLY Please explain the nature of the primary business or activity, issue, interest, or purpose of the principal: To educate, advance, protect and promote the cosmetology industry. ☑ Indefinite Term of engagement of designated lobbyist: ☐ From List the state entities the lobbyist has been engaged or designated by the principal to lobby, including the legislature and state agencies, boards, commissions or councils (or attach list if necessary): Arizona State Legislature Arizona Allornay General Arlzona Governor PRINCIPALS AND PUBLIC BODIES Expenses for which designated lobbyist/designated public lobbyist is to be reimbursed: (Check all that apply) ☑ Lodging☑ Out of Pocket Expenses ☑ Meals ☑ Travel ☐ Other (Please describe)

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The Principal is responsible for filing all required reports until termination papers are filed with the Secretary of State.

SECKETHAY OF STATE



# State of Arizona PRINCIPAL/PUBLIC BODY REGISTRATION JAN 10 74 CH2 Initial and Renewal Application for Lobbying Page 2



YOUR REGISTRATION CANNOT BE ACCEPTED WITHOUT THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT  Current list of Lobbyists for Compensation, Authorized Lobbyist and Employees who are retained or represent the Principal/Public Body.  \$25.00 check (payable to Arizona Secretary of State)	S V
STATE OF	
SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO (Affirmed) before me on the 9 of January 2017  OB-28-7070  My Commission Expires  Notary Public	

(affix seal)

THE STATE OF THE S

Omri Childs Notary Public Pima County, Arizona My Comm. Expires 03-28-2020

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE



# State of Arizona PRINCIPAL/PUBLIC BODY/LOBBYIST Record of Lobbyists - Attachment

To be completed, attached and filed with the Principal/Public Body Registration Application. Additional pages may be used and attached as necessary.

Check One:

☐ PRINCIPAL ☐ PUBLIC BODY ☑ LOBBYIST (not an individual)

STOREMARY OF STATE
200 JAN 10 Pm 2:42

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY - REV. 1/05/15

PRINCIPAL/PUBLIC BODY/LOBBYIS	BT ((NOT AN INDIMIDUAL) ~	RECORD OF LOBBYISTS							
Please type or print clearly.									
The Arizona Cosmetology As	sociation	THE PART OF THE PA							
NAME OF PRINCIPAL/PUBLIC BODY/LOBBYIST (I	,	INCIPAL/PUBLIC BODY/LOBBYIST ID #							
NAME OF LOBBYIST Tag Team Strategies    Section 2009   BUSINESS TELEPHONE   E-MAIL ADDRESS   tc@tagteamstrategies.com   Compared to the compar									
BUSINESS ADDRESS 8987 E Tanque Verde Rd. 309-442, Tucson AZ 85749									
TYPE OF LOBBYIST (CHECK ONLY ONE )									
☐ Employee for (Name of Lobbyist who is not an individual)	bbyist / Authorized Public Lobbyist	,							
EXPENSES FOR WHICH LOBBYIST IS TO BE REIMBURSI	ED (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)								
□ Meals     □ Other (Please describe)	□ Lodging	Out Of Pocket Expenses							
NAME OF LOBBYIST Karla Kay Kestner-Clodfelter BUSINESS ADDRESS	RUSINESS TELEPHONE 1/520) 906-5032	E-MAIL ADDRESS karla.clodfelter@gmail.com							
BUSINESS ADDRESS 8987 E Tanque Verde Rd. 309-442, Tucson	city n AZ 85749	STATE ZIP CODE							
TYPE OF LOBBYIST (CHECK ONLY ONE )  ☐ Lobbyist for Compensation ☐ Authorized Lo ☐ Employee for (Name of Lobbyist who is not an individual	bbyist / Authorized Public Lobbyist ) Tag Team Strateglas, LLC								
EXPENSES FOR WHICH LOBBYIST IS TO BE REIMBURS	ED (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY) 冒 Lodging	■ Out Of Pocket Expenses							
NAME OF LOBBYIST	BUSINESS TELEPHONE	E-MAIL ADDRESS							
BUSINESS ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP CODE							
TYPE OF LOBBYIST (CHECK ONLY ONE )  Lobbyist for Compensation  Authorized L  Employee for (Name of Lobbyist who is not an individual	obbylst / Authorized Public Lobbylst								
EXPENSES FOR WHICH LOBBYIST IS TO BE REIMBURS    Meals	SED (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)  □ Lodging	☐ Out Of Pocket Expenses							
NAME OF LOBBYIST	NAME OF LOBBYIST BUSINESS TELEPHONE E-MAIL ADDRESS								
BUSINESS ADDRESS	CITY	STATE ZIP CODE							
TYPE OF LOBBYIST (CHECK ONLY ONE )  Lobbyist for Compensation	Authorized Lobbyist for Compensation Authorized Lobbyist / Authorized Public Lobbyist								
EXPENSES FOR WHICH LOBBYIST IS TO BE REIMBUR	SED (CHECK ALL THAT ADDI VI								



Secretary of State Michele Reagan Arizona Department of State, 1700 West Washington Street, 7th Floor PHOENIX, AZ 85007 602-542-8683 https://www.azsos.gov

Cashier: Teresa J. 10-Jan-2019 3:47:03P

Total

\$25.00

CHECK SALE

\$25.00

Station: Election Services Division

Order K1JT5M02H4R9W

Thank you for your business!

Online: https://clover.com/p/ FG.IRX74SW2NRP

# Exhibit B

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY - REV. 1/05/15



State of Arizona

### LOBBYIST REGISTRATION & RENEWAL SECRETARY OF STATE

Initial Registration & Renewal Application File with: Arizona Secretary of State Michele Reagan

Attention: Election Services Division

1700 W. Washington Street, 7th Fl., Phoenix, AZ 85007 (602) 542-8683 (800) 458-5842 (within Arizona)

Website: www.azsos.gov

Secretary of State

Please type or print clearly.

LOBBYIST ID#

File this form between Dec. 1 of every odd-numbered year through the second Monday of January of every even-numbered year. Refer to the Lobbyist Handbook for more information.

Check One PINITIAL RENEWAL

2010 10110 111 2142

LOBBYIST REGISTRATION ~ A.R.S. § 41-1232.05 E-mall Address tc@tagteamstrategies.com BUSINESS TELEPHONE **BUSINESS FAX** 

NAME OF LOBBYIST Tag Team Strategies, LLC (520) 906-5059

BUSINESS ADDRESS 8987 E Tanque Verde Rd. 309-442, Tucson AZ 85749

CHECK ALL THAT APPLY:

□ DESIGNATED LOBBYIST

□ DESIGNATED PUBLIC LOBBYIST

■ LOBBYIST FOR COMPENSATION

IF REGISTRANT HAS EMPLOYEES WHO ACT AS LOBBYISTS, CHECK BOX AND ATTACH A COPY V OF THE RECORD OF LOBBYISTS LISTING THOSE EMPLOYEES.

I HAVE READ THE LOBBYIST HANDBOOK. V

> STATE OF LOCA TOLE COUNTY OF \_\_

I, the undersigned, being duly sworn state that this Lobbyist Registration is complete, and that to the best of my knowledge and belief the information above is true and correct.

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO (Affirmed) before me on the \_9\_

3 - ZE - ZOZO

My Commission Expires

Notary Public

(affix seal

Omri Childs Notary Public Pima County, Arizona Comm. Expires 03-28-2020

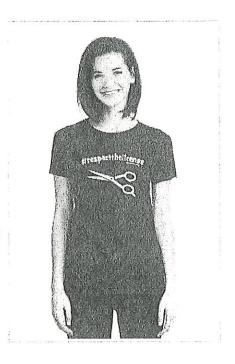
# Exhibit C

### YELLOW SHEET REPORT

#### #RESPECTTHELICENSE

⊙ February 13, 2019 4:32 pm ๑0

The Arizona Cosmetology Assn is funded through annual memberships ranging from \$30 for students to \$500 for beauty schools and vendors. On Arizona Cosmetology Assn's website, Clodfelter lists himself as "currently an Arizona State Representative serving Legislative District 10 in Tucson" and says he has been involved in the cosmetology industry for 40 years, although he's not a licensed cosmetologist. The site notes that Karla Clodfelter is a licensed cosmetologist, instructor and certified laser technician, and the two have owned and operated salons of their own in the past and have helped build and manage over 18 salons through Karla's family's business. The Arizona Cosmetology Assn website also includes a page selling merchandise, such as t-shirts, hats and stickers, including a logo with a pair of scissors and the group's lobbying slogan, "#RespectTheLicense." Clodfelter is a screen printer by trade and said his company makes the shirts, hats and stickers.



#### **RELATED ARTICLES**



MR. DUCEY GOES TO WASHINGTON

February 22, 20194:19 pm

WAIT, WHO'S
RUNNING THIS
INVESTIGATION?

⊙ February 22, 2019 4:18 pm

jarenski kalin skom

IT DEPENDS ON YOUR DEFINITION OF LIAISON

February 22, 20194:17 pm

ARTIONANEWS STEVICE

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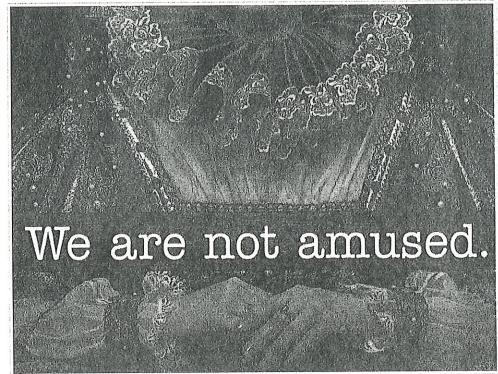
## Exhibit D

### YELLOW SHEET REPORT

### OHHHHH, YOU MEAN LIKE THE ROYAL WE

⊙ February 13, 2019 4:33 pm ๑0

As for the



letter, which seems to openly acknowledge his role in lobbying lawmakers, Clodfelter said the repeated reference to "we" implies the association – not himself and his wife. Although he wrote that "Karla and I are all over it and on Monday our campaign of resistance will be well presented," he said that doesn't mean he's lobbying; rather, he's acting as the executive director of the association for which his wife is lobbying. When our reporter noted that seems to be a distinction without a difference, considering he's meeting with lawmakers, Clodfelter disagreed. "I don't have meetings with [lawmakers]. My wife does. I sit in on them," he said. As for his meeting in Gowan's office yesterday, Clodfelter said he and his wife met with Gowan's secretary, and insisted he never personally approached the lawmaker to run S1287 and S1288. He said that his wife has Gowan's number, and connected with the appro chair herself, as she has done in the past. Gowan has long been a friend to the cosmetology industry, he noted, and has sponsored several cosmetology related bills over the years. "I sit in [Gowan's] office. Yeah, he's a friend," he said.

RFLATED ARTICLES



MR, DUCEY GOES TO WASHINGTON

o February 22, 2019 4:19 pm WAIT, WHO'S RUNNING THIS INVESTIGATION?

February 22, 20194:18 pm

IT DEPENDS ON YOUR DEFINITION OF LIAISON

February 22, 20194:17 pm

ARRIONA NEWS SERVICE

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January, es alem

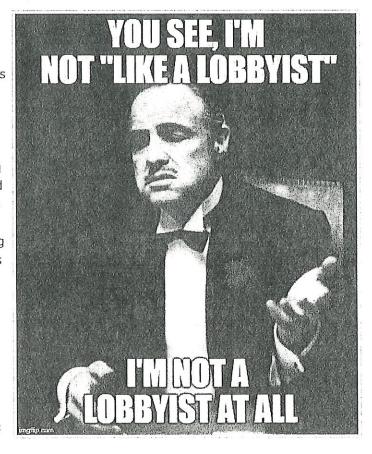
## Exhibit E

### YELLOW SHEET REPORT

#### RECOLLECTIONS DIFFER

⊙ February 13, 2019 4:33 pm ๑0

Despite the letter and the meetings with lawmakers, Clodfelter told our reporter he's not lobbying. He said he's getting paid by Tag Team Strategies, which set up an agreement with the Cosmetology Assn to handle its management and lobbying activities. But he is being paid as the association's executive director, and as his wife's "secretary," while she is being paid to lobby. How much he's being paid is none of our reporter's business, he said, but his wife earns more. "She's working [bills]. I carry the briefcase," he said. The very fact that Clodfelter is in the room with lawmakers while his wife lobbies for an organization he founded puts him in a gray area, he



acknowledged. But Clodfelter said he asked the House attorney where the line is, and "I think I've gotten up to [the line] maybe, but I'm on my side of the line." Clodfelter said he sets up meetings for his wife – not using his legislative influence, but like a secretary would do – and attends many of the meetings, but stays silent throughout. When our reporter noted that they heard Clodfelter asked Fann to not assign cosmetology bills to Ugenti-Rita's Senate com, he acknowledged that he had asked her if that is an appropriate committee for those bills, but said that isn't lobbying. "I asked if she would consider it, if that was something she was open to doing. She didn't do it," he said, adding "It was a question. That's not lobbying." When our reporter pointed out that is exactly what a lobbyist would do, Clodfelter replied, "I guess that's a matter of opinion." Fann however, denied that the former lawmaker said anything in her meeting with his wife. "He sat quietly in the back, because he said, 'I am not here for any reason other than to say hi to my old colleague and I'm my wife's driver.' So, he completely sat back," she told our reporter. When our reporter said Clodfelter admitted to asking about the bill assignments, Fann said that's not how she remembers the interaction, and reiterated that he was quiet in the meeting.

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Exhibit F

## YELLOW SHEET REPORT

#### IT'S LIKE A PRE-INVESTIGATION

⊙ February 13, 2019 4:34 pm ๑0

C. Murphy Hebert, spokeswoman for Hobbs, said if the former lawmaker is being paid for the "actions described in that letter," that would be a potential violation of the law. ARS 41-1233 plainly states that "no person shall... lobby the legislature for compensation within one year after the person ceases to be a member of the Senate or House of representatives." Hebert said the Secretary of State's Office just had a preliminary conversation about whether it appears Clodfelter is violating the law, and the office still needs to "see if there needs to be an investigation." ARS 41-1239 says the Secretary of State's Office "shall refer to the attorney general or county attorney for investigation any matter which the secretary of state has reason to believe constitutes a violation of any of the provisions of this article." The Attorney General's Office did not return calls from our reporter as of deadline. ARS 41-123 states that knowingly violating the law is a class 1 misdemeanor.

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# Exhibit G

### YELLOW SHEET REPORT

#### SURPRISE - THERE'S A GOWAN CONNECTION

o February 13, 2019 4:34 pm ๑0

Clodfelter's letter also notes that he and his wife are working with Gowan on two cosmetology-related bills, S1287 (cosmetic laser procedures; direct supervision) and S1288 (hairstylists; cosmetology board; schools). "We have gotten 100% support so far for SB1287 and SB1288, and don't anticipate anything different from this point on!" Clodfelter wrote. A railbird spotted both Clodfelters in Gowan's office yesterday. In the letter, Clodfelter identified himself as



working for both the Arizona Cosmetology Assn and Tag Team Strategies, listing his email address as TC@tagteamstragegies.com.

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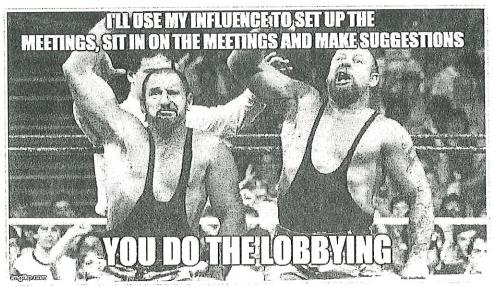
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Exhibit H

### YELLOW SHEET REPORT

#### AND THEY HAD THE GALL TO CALL IT 'TAG TEAM'

⊙ February 13, 2019 4:35 pm ๑0



Former lawmaker Todd Clodfelter has been spotted at the Capitol lately with his wife, former Arizona Cosmetology Board member Karla Kestner-Clodfelter, who just started a new lobbying firm, "Tag Team Strategies." Clodfelter founded the "Arizona Cosmetology Association, Inc." which is listed in the Secretary of State's lobbyist database as the sole client of Tag Team Strategies. In a letter to the organization's members posted on its website (LINK), Clodfelter wrote that he and Karla have been working to kill Ugenti-Rita's S1401 (cosmetology; licensing exceptions). "We have spoken with numerous legislators, mostly in the Senate, as this is where the bills originated, but we have a lot of appointments this coming week with additional Senate and House members," Clodfelter wrote. As a former lawmaker who has been out of office for just over a month, Clodfelter is barred by state law from lobbying "for compensation" until one year after he left office. His letter strongly indicates he is lobbying. "Several of you have already contacted your representatives and we appreciate that. Karla and I are all over it and on Monday our campaign of resistance will be well presented," he wrote, offering a form letter people can send to members of Senate com, which approved S1401 last week. Clodfelter accused Ugenti-Rita of purposefully filing the bill at the last minute, saying she is orchestrating a "sneak attack." "This doesn't give us much time to rally the troops... Fortunately, our contacts from last year are already in place to help us defeat it again this year," he wrote.

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ARCOMETER TO THE SERVICE

# Exhibit I

#### SB1401 - Info For Opposition

Hello, Everyone!

Karla and I were very pleased with the last meeting we had at the PBA office. We hope the information that was shared was worth your while and investment. We have been working very hard to get the bills we discussed drafted, dropped and supported. We have spoken with numerous legislators, mostly in the senate as this is where the bills originated, but we have a lot of appointments this coming week with additional Senate and House members.

We have gotten 100% support, so far for SB1287 and SB1288, and don't anticipate anything different from this point on! Two stakeholders' meetings have been set for two other bills that we are concerned with and oppose (HB2031, SB1328) and we are keeping an eye on HB2231 and HB2463; we have heard that they are not very popular nor functional, but something to watch and address.

On another note, you have probably heard that a legislator, well known to our industry, has dropped a new bill, SB1401 – a repeat of the infamous HB2011 from 2018, AKA "The Blow Dry Bill". Yes! Now Senator Michelle Ugenti-Rita (former Representative) has reintroduced this bill for the first session of 2019.

This is the bill that even Governor Ducey was behind and supported intensely. This bill was (and likely still is) being supported by the Goldwater Institute (fish pedicures) and the Institute for Justice. The bill, although passed in committee (2018), was soundly defeated by never getting called to a vote on the house floor as they couldn't whip the votes needed! This is one of those bills indicating the future- the "Camel's nose under the tent". If this one gets by, the next will be for less hours, certificates over licenses and eventually no licenses or certificates at all. A strong presence is what we set out to do this year by being ever present, in plain view and focused on efforts that would show more reform and less deregulation. Deregulation for the sake of deregulation is a very bad idea but reform has value for everyone.

Has Senator Ugenti-Rita just lobbed a grenade to test the waters? Not sure.....however, we cannot let it go unnoticed and unaddressed. Several of you have already contacted your representatives and we appreciate that. Karla and I are all over it and on Monday our campaign of resistance will be well presented. Legislation like this is the first ingredient to a recipe for disaster for Public Health, Public Safety and Consumer Protection (and your industry) – all of which governor Ducey promised to protect. (Watch the video from 2018 – https://azcosmo.org/issues-answers/ (https://azcosmo.org/issues-answers/))

This bill was likely dropped last Thursday, January 31 and entered into the system on Friday 1 February – where it was discovered. I think this is a sneak attack as it was dropped late and is already assigned to her own Commerce Committee (tentatively – we are looking into that as well and will advise). This doesn't give us much time to rally the troops, but unless this is preplanned and well-orchestrated, Senator Ugenti Rita doesn't have much time either. Fortunately, our contacts from last year are already in place to help us defeat it again this year.

What we need from you, your students, your employees and anyone else who wants to protect this industry is to call *AND* email the members of the Senate Commerce Committee (list below), copy and paste the email address or, click on the name of the Senator and an email should open for you, – you know the drill. The phone numbers all begin with (602) 926- the extensions are the four numbers in the last column.

Here is a paragraph that identifies some items that might be pointed out -mix 'n match, use as is, or make up your own version.

"This bill, SB1401, was a bad idea in 2018 as HB2011 and is still a bad idea today. There is merit in training and education. Allowing untrained, uneducated and unlicensed people to perform hair services on the general public is a recipe for disaster. This bill promotes the concept of "Buyer Beware" with no oversight and protection as supported by Governor Ducey in his state of the state address in 2018 and removes the protection that licensing and regulation preserves; Public Health, Public Safety and Consumer Protection. Untrained individuals using improper sanitation methods and improperly cleaned and sanitized implements can help to spread numerous highly contagious diseases such as MRSA, Scabies, Ringworm, Head Lice and many, many more. Being trained and educated in the identification of these and other potentially communicable diseases is paramount to safe practices when offering personal, physical services to the public. Arizona has over 100,000 licensed Cosmetologists and this effort is counterproductive and dangerous. Please do not support this bill, it is unwarranted and irresponsible. Thank you for your consideration."

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The Commerce Committee meets on Thursday, February 7 at 9:30 am in the Senate building, Hearing Room 1. We don't anticipate the hubbub that arose last year, but it would be good to fill the room with those who can and will testify. To testify, you MUST register with the RTS (Request To Speak) system and post a position and agree to speak, if you choose to do so. If you need help with this, please let me know. You can register from your home computer, but your account MUST be activated at the capitol by signing on to a local computer at the capitol. I will be very happy to do this for you once you have registered and you supply me with the information I need to finish the job so you don't have to be come to the capitol for this. We need you to register and sign in BEFORE Tuesday 5 pm so the members of the committee can review comments and see who is in favor or opposes and is willing to speak. Yes, the legislators look at that closely. Here is the RTS registration link: https://apps.azleg.gov/Account/SignOn (https://apps.azleg.gov/Account/SignOn).

Call AND email your representatives. Calling is better, both is best. Follow this link to see who your Legislator is if you don't know. https://www.azleg.gov/findmylegislator/ (https://www.azleg.gov/findmylegislator/)

If you have trouble looking them up, please let me know your residence address (does not apply if you live out of state) and the address(es) of your school(s)/salon(s) so you can contact the legislators for both locations, and I will help you.

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Here is a list of the Bills in the mill as they relate to Cosmetology:

HB2031 - apprenticeships; licensure; licensing authorities

HB2231 - non-health professions; occupations; regulations

HB2463 - occupational regulations; licenses; communications; notice

SB1287 - cosmetic laser procedures; direct supervision

SB1288 - hairstylists; cosmetology board; schools

SB1328 - barbers; cosmetologists; licensure; reciprocity; apprenticeships

SB1401 - cosmetology; licensing exceptions

I hope this information is helpful to you. Please let me know how I may be of service or if you have any needs or questions.

Please feel free to share this with other schools, salons and licensed professionals.

Sincerely,

Todd Clodfelter
The Arizona Cosmetology Association
Tag Team Strategies, LLC

520.906.5059 Todd

520.906.5032 Karla

tc@tagteamstrategies.com (mailto:tc@tagteamstrategies.com)

karla@tagteamstrategies.com (mailto:karla@tagteamstrategies.com)

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## Exhibit 2

Torres Group, PLLC

An Arizona Law Firm

Israel G. Torres James E. Barton II Saman J. Golestan Kirin T. Goff

March 22, 2019

Via Email & U.S. Mail

Honorable Katie Hobbs Arizona Secretary of State Sambo Dul, State Elections Director 1700 West Washington Street, Fl. 7 Phoenix, Arizona 85007-2808 bdul@azsos.gov

Re: SOS-LOB-2019-010 - Lobbyist Complaint

Dear Director Dul:

Our firm has been retained by Tag Team Strategies, LLC and Todd Clodfelter to respond to the above captioned complaint. This letter is in response to your correspondence dated February 22, 2019.

Background

Because the terms used in the lobbying context from Title 41 are quite particular, we will identify what role each of the various parties involved in the complaint play. First, per A.R.S. § 41-1231(16), the only Principal relevant to this matter is the Arizona Cosmetology Association, Inc. (the "ACA"). The ACA is registered under Principal ID Number 107727 and has engaged a lobbyist; thus, it is a principal. The ACA has engaged Tag Team Strategies, LLC ("Tag Team") to lobby on its behalf. Tag Team is the only lobbyist the ACA engaged and is the ACA's Designated Lobbyist per A.R.S. §

41-1231(3). When the lobbyist is an entity rather than an individual, the lobbyist must identify an employee of the entity to act as the lobbyist and be registered as an "Employee of Lobbyist." Arizona Secretary of State, Lobbyist Handbook at 5 (2013). Tag Team has registered Karla Kestner-Clodfelter for that position. Her registration number is 763401. Finally, Mr. Clodfelter is employed by Tag Team as its Executive Director, but is not registered or authorized to lobby on behalf of the ACA for Tag Team.

## The ACA Is a Registered Principal

Turning to the specific allegations of the February 22, 2019, letter, you raised two concerns. First, you assert that the ACA may be in violation of the requirement to register as a principal prior to conducting lobbying operations. Exhibit A of your letter demonstrates that the ACA is a registered principal as of January 2019. All of the material submitted related to Mr. Clodfelter are in February. It seems to be establish without dispute that the ACA was and is a registered principal.

## Todd Clodfelter Is not a Lobbyist

Next, you assert that Mr. Clodfelter may have conducted lobbying activities either by being "a participating member" of Tag Team or based on activities captured in the *Yellow Sheet*.

No *Per Se* Lobbying. The fact that Mr. Clodfelter is the executive director of an entity that conducts lobbying, among other activities, does not mean that he is a lobbyist. There is no such provision in Arizona's lobbying code. Furthermore, the Secretary's Lobbying

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tag Team is properly identified as the designated lobbyist on the ACA's principal registration. However, on Tag Team's registration the box "Lobbyist for Compensation" is checked. Although Tag Team is, of course, a lobbyist for compensation, even under the definition found at A.R.S. § 41-1231(13), Tag Team is more properly identified as a Designated Lobbyist. Tag Team will amend this registration if the Secretary's Office would like for it to do so.

Handbook makes clear that when a lobbyist is an entity, that entity must designate an employee to be registered as the lobbyist. This would not be necessary if every employee of the entity were by operation of law, a lobbyist. Finally, Tag Team has complied with this requirement and designated an employee to be the individual conducting lobbying business: Ms. Kestner-Clodfelter.

As Tag Team's Executive Director, Mr. Clodfelter serves as the company's volunteer administrator. He assists with presentation material, communications, scheduling appointments and maintaining the company calendar. He also conducts research, enters data, tracks bills, and creates documents and presentations. Mr. Clodfelter reports to the ACA board on the current status of Ms. Kestner-Clodfelter's lobbying efforts as well as any other work that Tag Team is doing for ACA. Note: Although more as a function of being her husband rather than of being the Executive Director, he also assists Ms. Kestner-Clodfelter with physical needs following surgery.

Mr. Clodfelter receives zero compensation from Tag Team. Thus, even if the Secretary's Office were to create a new rule that being employed by an entity engaged in lobbying makes one a lobbyist, there would be no violation of A.R.S. § 41-1233(2), which prohibits one from "[l]obby[ing] the legislature for compensation within one year after the person ceases to be a member of the senate or house of representatives." (Emphasis added.)

Mr. Clodfelter's role at Tag Team does not make him a lobbyist.

No *De Facto* Lobbying. "Lobbying," under Arizona law, "[m]eans attempting to influence the passage or defeat of any legislation by <u>directly communicating</u> with any legislator or attempting to influence any formal rulemaking proceeding. A.R.S. § 41-

1231(11) (emphasis added). Exhibits C through H provide several examples of "News Notes and Gossip" from the *Yellow Sheet*. Some of the innuendo found therein reiterates the misconception that Mr. Clodfelter's position at Tag Team necessarily makes him a lobbyist. As described in the section above, there is plenty of work that Mr. Clodfelter can do, even in support of the cause supported by the ACA, that is not lobbying.

Most of news notes and gossip, however, relate to the fact that Mr. Clodfelter accompanied his wife, Ms. Kestner-Clodfelter, while she was lobbying elected officials. In addition to the fact that *Yellow Sheet* reports are not sufficient for the Secretary's Office to act on, the reports themselves demonstrate that Mr. Clodfelter made clear that he did not communicate with lawmakers during those meetings; and that the lawmakers involved confirmed his account. A report of the observations of a "railbird" is not credible and should not play any part in the Secretary's evaluation of this matter.

We are confident that, should the Secretary's Office inquire, the Legislators in these meetings would also confirm Mr. Clodfelter's account. This eliminates any evidence of lobbying by Mr. Clodfelter from the news notes and gossip provided in the February 22, 2019 letter, especially when coupled with the fact that Mr. Clodfelter has received zero compensation for his work at Tag Team.

This leaves the note published on the website attached as Exhibit I to the February 22, 2019 letter. Of course, a communication to the general public is not lobbying under Arizona law, and the complaint concerns enforcement of Arizona's rules concerning registration and the one-year ban on former legislators lobbying for compensation.

This leads to the question of whether use of the first person plural on a website note amounts to an admission by Mr. Clodfelter that he was lobbying. First, nothing in the

note suggests that Mr. Clodfelter was paid by Tag Team because he was not. Thus, there is nothing to suggest a violation of A.R.S. § 41-1233(2). However, it is admittedly careless to use "we" when describing speaking "with numerous legislators." As a factual matter, Mr. Clodfelter is affirming to your office that he did not speak to legislators concerning any bill. That, just as he explained to the Yellow Sheet reporters, he attended the meetings in a supporting role with his wife.

Furthermore, to write, "We have spoken with numerous legislators," when Mr. Clodfelter prepared materials for - and scheduled a meeting for - and attended with Ms. Kestner-Clodfelter - does not seem so unreasonable. This public communication is not required to carry the precision of a legal briefing.

## Conclusion

It is undisputed that the ACA is registered as a principal. It is undisputed that Mr. Clodfelter, who receives no income from Tag Team Strategies, has not violated the oneyear ban on paid lobbying by former legislators. All those who attended the meetings challenged in the complaint letter affirm that Mr. Clodfelter did not speak to the legislators during the meetings. Thus, the only question before you is whether every employee of a registered lobbyist who attends a meeting with legislators must also register as an "Employee of Lobbyist" with the Secretary of State. We urge you not to take such a position that seems unnecessarily and unhelpfully cumbersome, and, in any case, would be a new position. Thus, we urge you to find that there is no reasonable cause to believe that Arizona law was violated.

Sincerely,

Lames E. Barton II