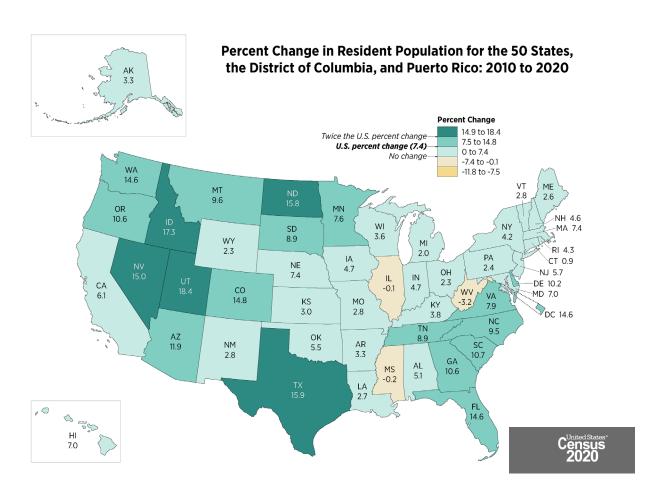


Hope for the Future The Tide Is Turning in Utah County

Dr. Jacob S. Rugh, MPA, URP, PhD

Utah Democratic Party HD 60 Chair Springville, Utah, Library 14 August 2025

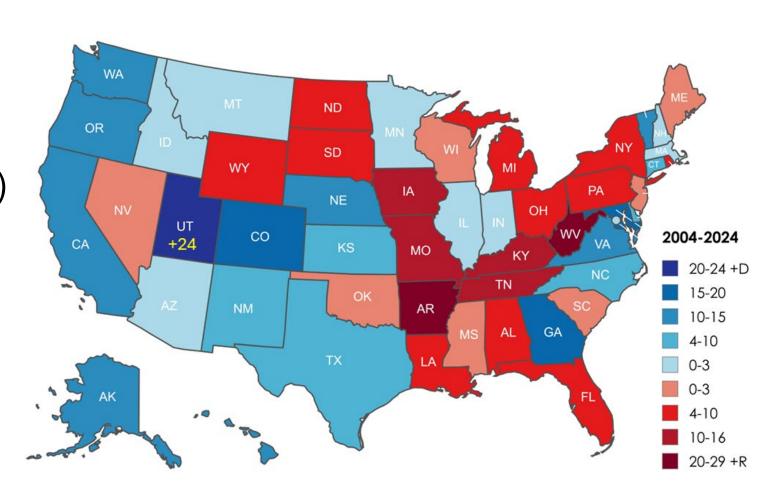
- Fastest-growing, youngest state
 - New 5th US House District in 2032
- Most educated red state
 - #13, only red state in top 20
 - 4-yr. College Degree Attainment
 - High social capital, trust
- Silicon Slopes Tech, Olympics
- Single Media Market
 - 90% urbanized, 8th most in USA



WHITE EVANGELICAL % 12% 14% 15% 10% 16% 18% 40%

- Least Evangelical state
 - All states (map is just red states)
 - 52% LDS/Mormon (vs. 70% in 2004)
- #2 most welcoming state for immigrant Dreamers, refugees
 - Only red state in the top 10
 - Index of policies like in-state tuition, driver's license access, DACA & Dreamer rights, refugee resettlement and benefits.
 - 2006-2025 Largest Pro-Immigrant Protests in Utah history

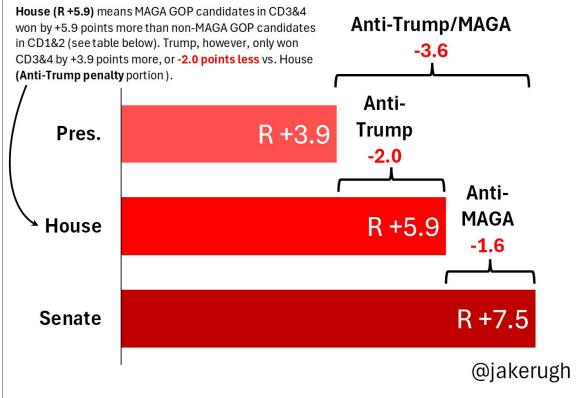
- Swung blue most of any state since 2004 & 2012
- #1 anti-MAGA/Trump penalty vs. House (-3.6 pts)
- 2nd largest penalty vs. US Senate (- 9 pts)
- 2nd smallest +R 2024 shift
- 5th smallest R-D turnout differential (+1 pt)



- Swung blue most of any state since 2004 & 2012
- #1 anti-MAGA/Trump penalty vs. US House (-3.6 pts)
- 2nd largest penalty vs. US
 Senate (- 9 pts)
- 2nd smallest +R 2024 shift
- 5th smallest R-D turnout differential (+1 pt)

Utah Anti-Trump/MAGA Penalties

Difference in 2024 Election GOP Margins: MAGA GOP (3rd & 4th CD) vs. Not MAGA GOP (1st & 2nd CD)

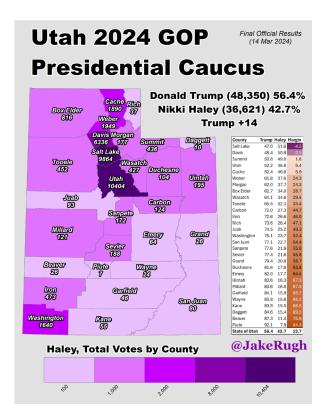


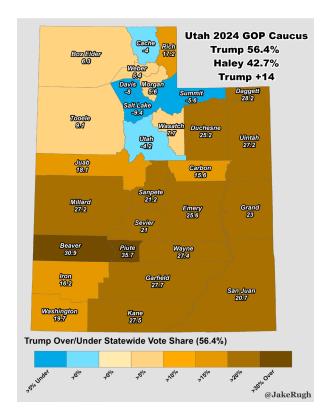
Utah Statewide 2024 Election	Anti-	Anti-	Anti-			
	Senate House Pres.				Trump	Total
Congressional Districts	(S)	(H)	(P)	HvS	PνH	PvS
Not MAGA (CD1,CD2)	R +27.5	R +27.4	R +19.1	-0.1	-8.3	-8.4
MAGA (CD3,CD4)	R +35.0	R+33.3	R +23.0	-1.7	-10.3	-12.0
MAGA vs. Not MAGA	+7.5	+5.9	+3.9	-1.6	-2.0	-3.6
Percentage of Anti-MAGA/T	45 %	55 %				

Sources: Utah Elections Division, County Clerks, calculations by Jacob S. Rugh.

2024 Utah GOP Caucus

 Nikki Haley did best in Utah of any state with >1 million pop. (by far) Won Provo & Mike Lee's precinct

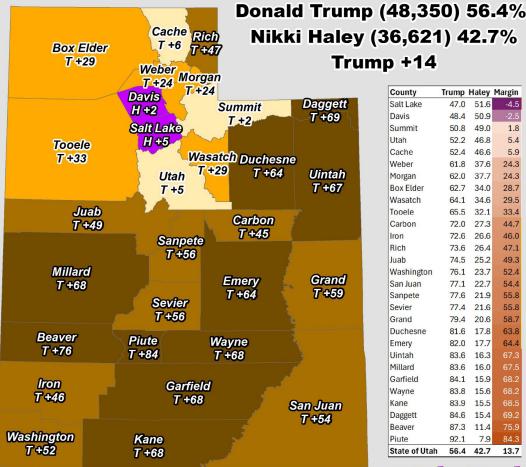




Utah 2024 GOP

Final Official Results (14 Mar 2024)

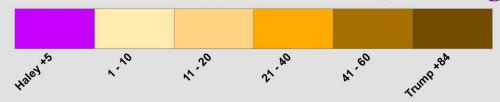
Presidential Caucus



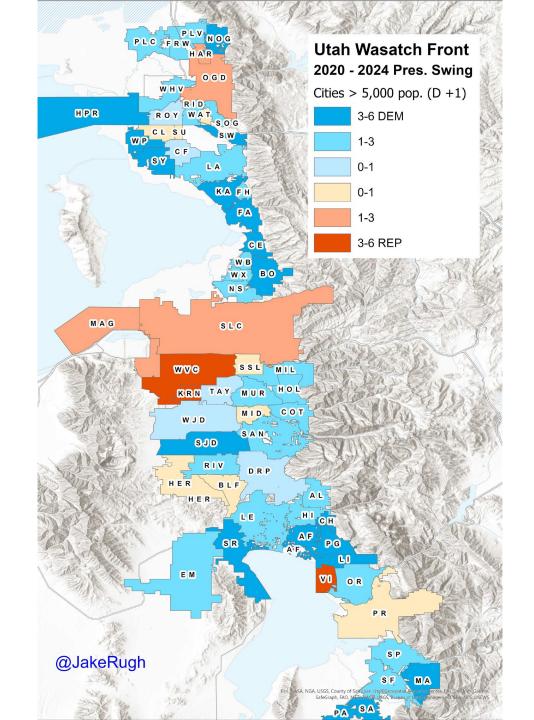
Trump Haley Margin Box Elde 73.6 26.4 77.6 21.9

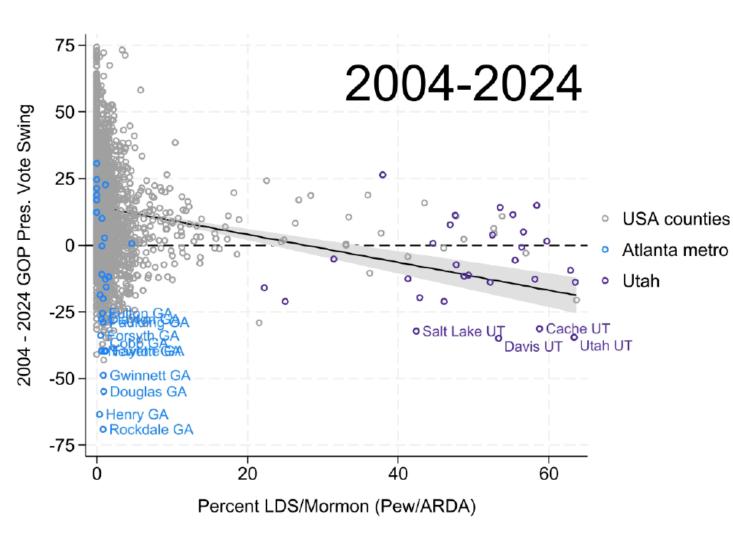
@JakeRugh

56.4 42.7 13.7



- Swung blue most of any state since 2004 & 2012
- Wasatch Front only major metro (>1M pop.) to not swing right (+0)
 - Closest runner-ups: SEA, PIT, ATL
- 2004-2024: Atlanta GA Metro and Wasatch Front UT Metro have swung left more than any other USA metros, by far



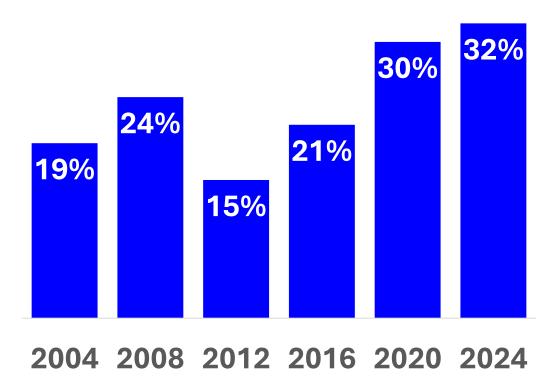


- Wasatch Front only major metro (>1M pop.) to not swing right (+0) in 2024
- Atlanta GA and Wasatch Front UT metros lead the nation in 2004-2024 swing
- LDS vote still swinging left, three elections in a row
- Davis & Utah counties swung left the most (D +36)

Vote for Democratic Presidential Candidate US LDS Vote ↑ +13 vs. 2004 (+17 vs. 2012)

US LDS Vote for Dem. Pres.

(Pew 2004, Harvard CES 2008-2024)



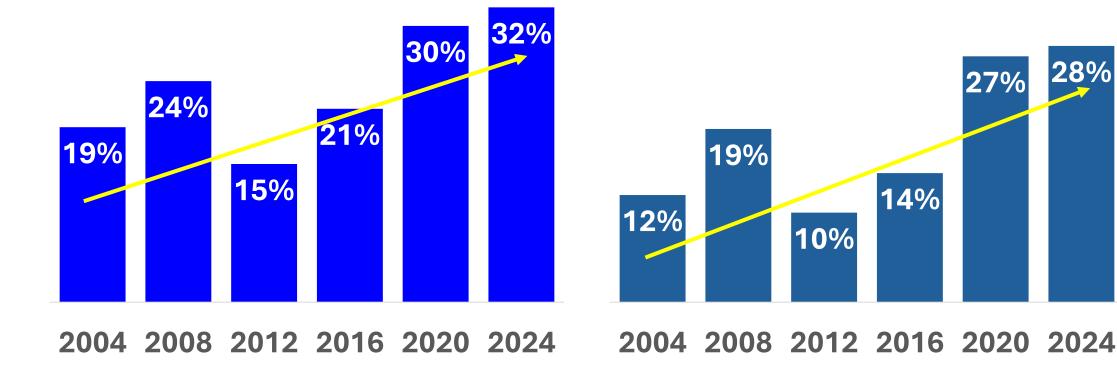


Vote for Democratic Presidential Candidate US LDS Vote ↑ +13 & Utah Co. Vote ↑ +16

US LDS Vote for Dem. Pres.

(Pew 2004, Harvard CES 2008-2024)

Utah County Vote for Dem. Pres.
(Utah County Clerk)



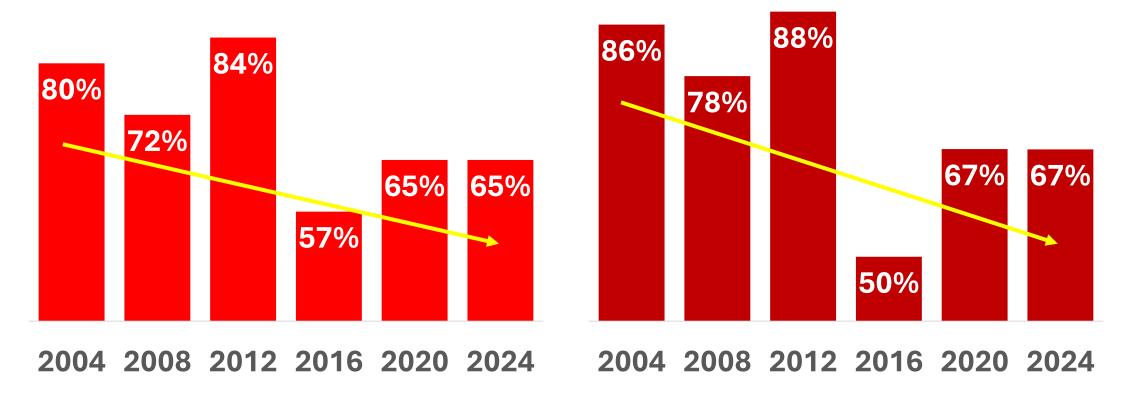
Vote for Republican Presidential Candidate US LDS Vote ↓ -15 & Utah Co. Vote ↓ -19

US LDS Vote for Rep. Pres.

(Pew 2004, Harvard CES 2008-2024)

Utah County Vote for Rep. Pres.

(Utah County Clerk)

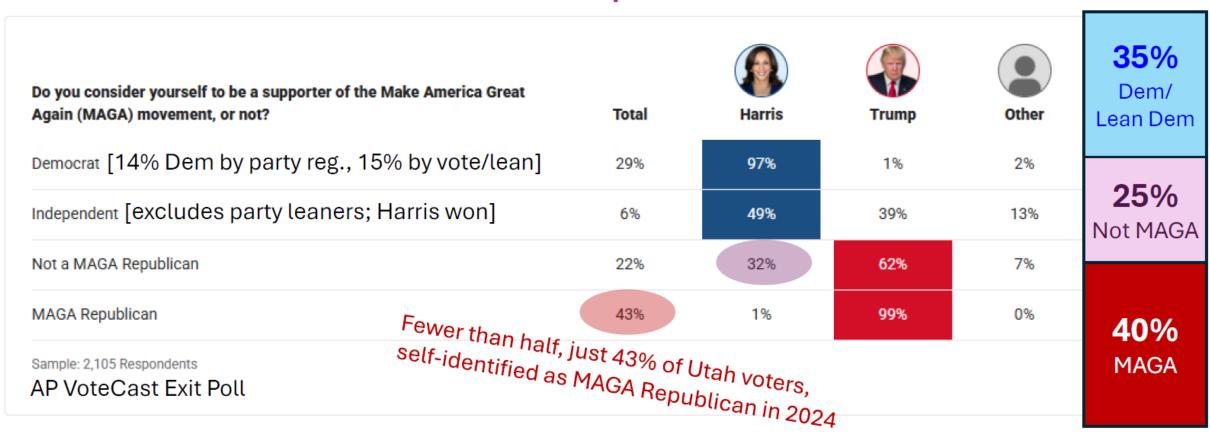


Utah Purple State Potential

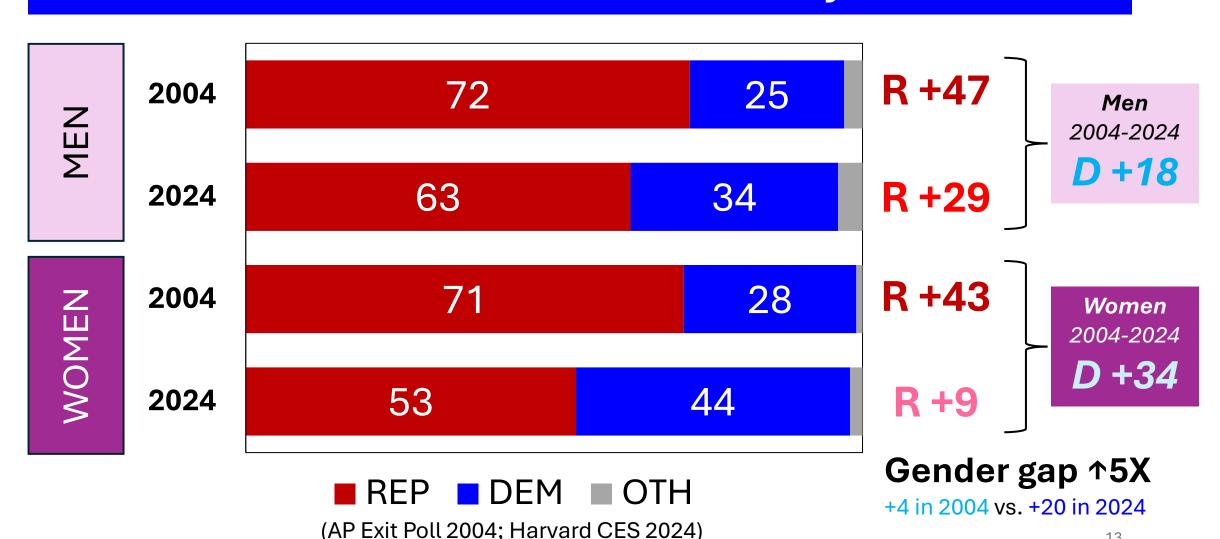
Focus of mobilization/turnout = 32% Dem/Lean Dem Focus of persuasion = NOT MAGA, 25% of all voters

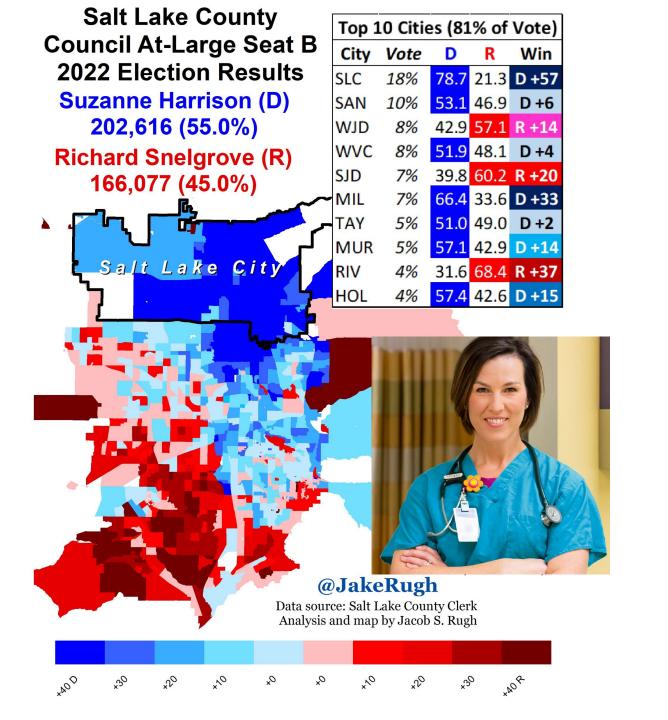
57%

- 34% of Utah Republican voters Self-ID as NOT MAGA
- 32% of these NOT MAGA Republicans voted for Harris

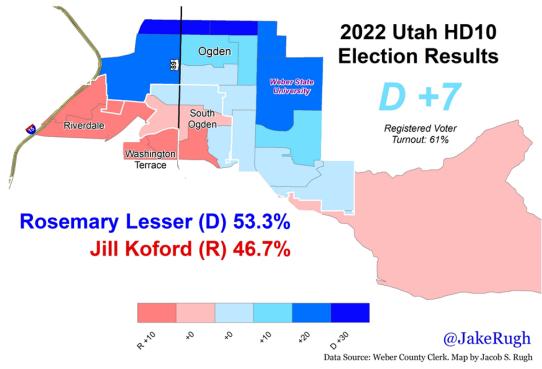


What a Difference 20 Years Makes in Utah 2004 vs. 2024 Presidential Vote by Gender

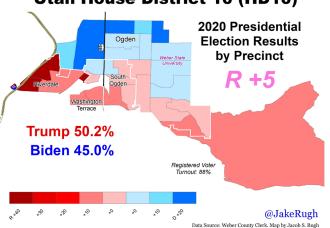




Utah House District 10 (HD10)









FYI: Utah State Legislature (2024)

DEMOCRATIC: 70% women REPUBLICAN: 18% women

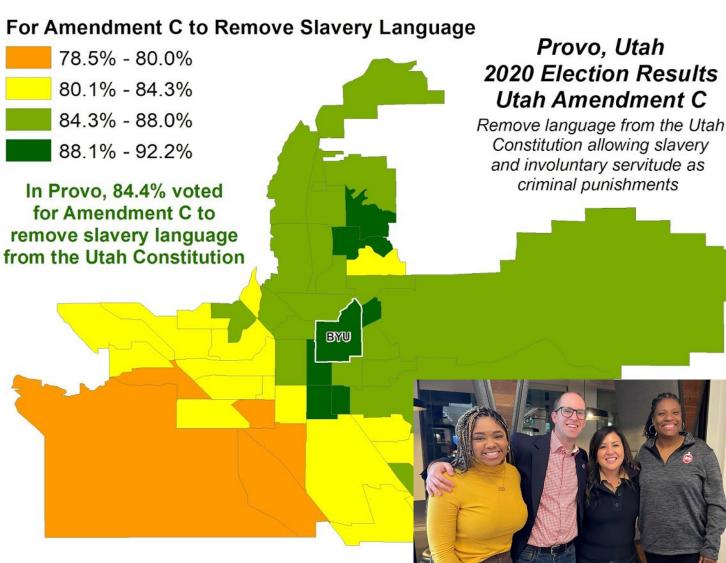
Thank you, Rep. Sandra Hollins!

Utah Educated Women of The Week

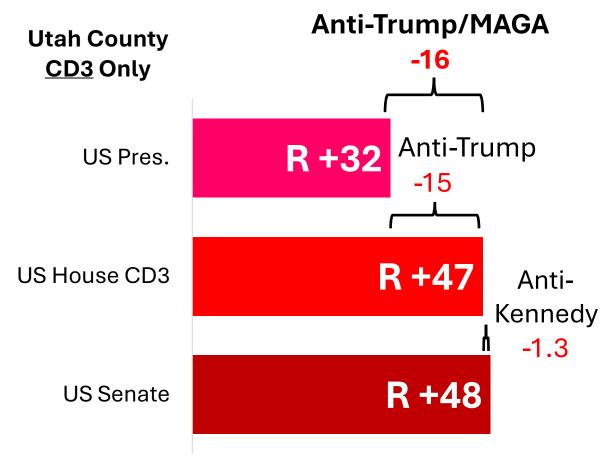








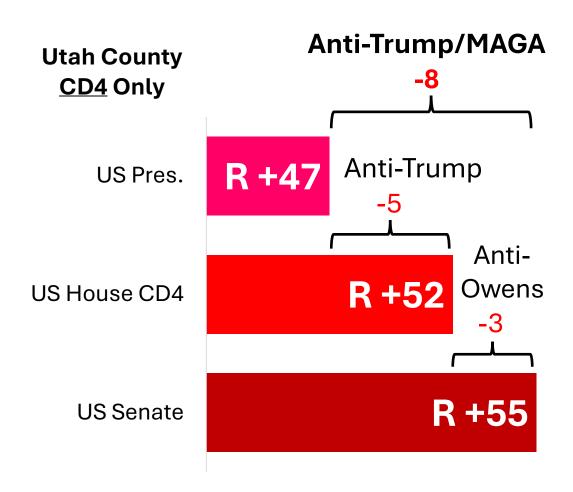
Just about Trump? Or also MAGA? Harder to Tell with Conflicted Republicans



Source: Utah County Clerk Elections Division

- CD3 in northern Utah County
 - Trump won by +32
 - Kennedy (MAGA-lite) won by +47
 - Curtis (not MAGA) won by +48
 (So, Trump trailed Curtis by -16)
- Newcomer Mike Kennedy CD3
 - Not endorsed by Trump, but endorsed by MAGA Mike Lee
 - Kennedy endorsed Trump, but also contradicted Trump (by telling truth) about Ukraine

Just about Trump? Or also MAGA? Anti-Trump ≈ 63% of Anti-MAGA penalty



Source: Utah County Clerk Elections Division

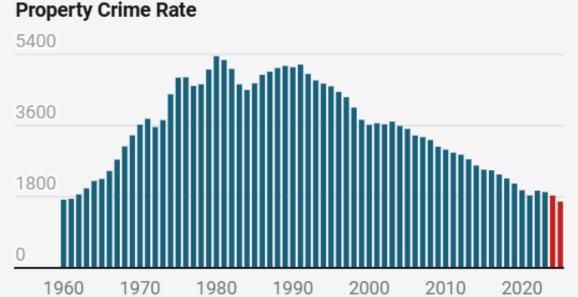
- CD4 in southern Utah County
 - Trump won by +47
 - Owens (MAGA GOP) won by +52
 - Curtis (not MAGA) won by +55
 (So, Trump trailed Curtis by -8)
- MAGA Republican: Owens CD4
 - Endorsed by Trump
 - Owens voted to overturn the 2020 election results (H.R. 11) hours after the January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol.

US violent and property crime rates are at or near historic lows

US Violent & Property Crimes Per 100k, 1960 - 2025

2024 & 2025 Preliminary Estimates

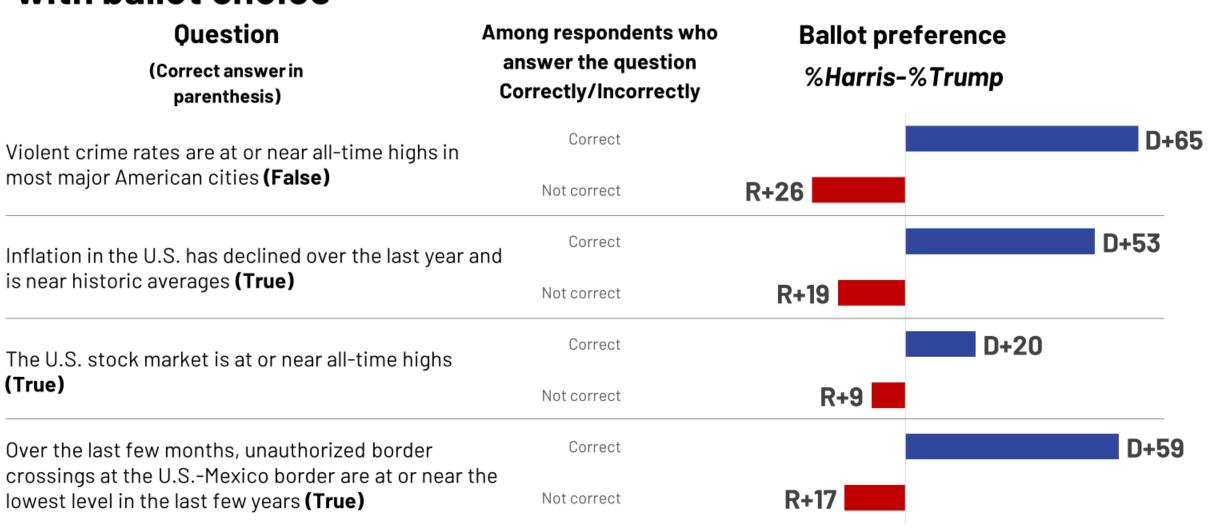
Violent Crime Rate 780 520 260 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010 2020



Preliminary estimates derived from RTCI.

Source: FBI & RTCI · Get the data · Created with Datawrapper

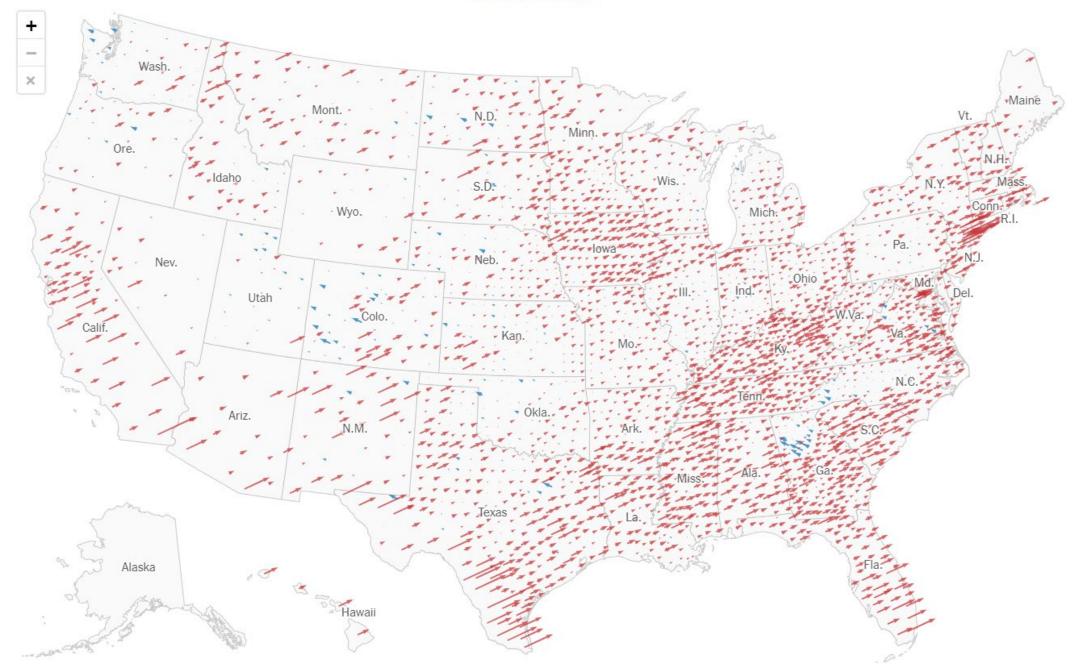
Misinformed views on immigration, crime, the economy correlated with ballot choice



Base: All Americans age 18+ (N=938)
Source: Reuters/Ipsos Core Political conducted October 11-13, 2024

Shift in margin from 2020 to 2024





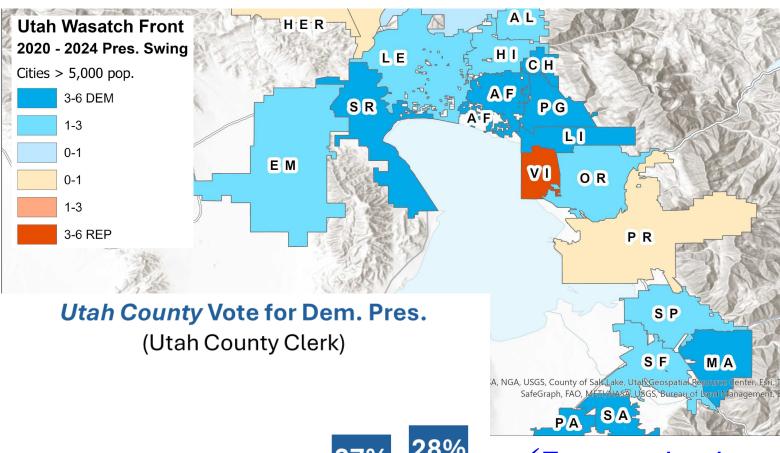
97% of large counties (>200K votes) moved RIGHT Utah County largest of 3% (5 of 180) to move LEFT

County	Metro Area	Votes Cast	Biden 2020 %	Harris 2024 %	Change
Utah UT	Provo-Orem-Lehi/ Wasatch Front	297,944	26.3	27.8	D +1.5
Waukesha WI	Milwaukee	274,845	38.8	39.5	D +0.7
Clark WA	Vancouver	274,795	51	52.1	D +1.1
Larimer CO	Denver	225,482	56.2	57.4	D +1.2
Chesterfield VA	Richmond	209,730	52.4	53.8	D +1.4

2020-2024: Utah County Utah County, 1964 - 2028 added the most residents R +35* *Goal 100,000? 2028 of any county in Utah (+96K) and Utah is the 3rd fastest-R + 392024 Harris 84,937 growing state in America R + 412020 Biden 76,033 (#1 for 2010-2020) R + 362016 28,522 R + 792012 17,281 Dem. Pres. vote R +59 2008 29,567 increased in 26/29 R + 742004 17,357 +8900 counties statewide R +68 2000 Prior to 2020, 16,445 2020-2024 Change no Dem. Pres. R +52 1996 18,291 in Dem Vote Total Despite lower turnout, candidate in R + 441992 14,090 Harris received +8,900 +8900 **Utah County** R +56 1988 more votes than Biden 18,533 + 2500 had ever in Utah County + 1800 R + 661984 14,801 received + 1000 R + 691980 12,166 30.000+ votes + 500 1976 R + 4418,327 - 600 R +53 1972 10,828 -16300 R + 251968 16,629 1964 LBJ 23,936 +7

DEM Total Presidential Votes

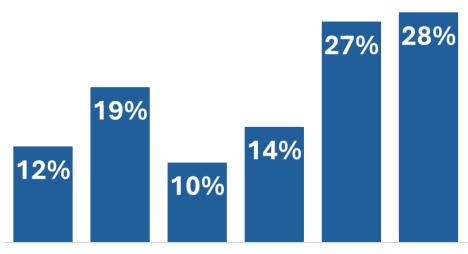
2020-2024 Vote Utah +1.1 R 2020 +20.5 R USA +6.0 R **Swing Net Trend** 2024 +21.6 R 75% of Utah +5 D +1Rresidents live in **Box Elder** Cache four counties of Weber Wasatch Front Davis R +12 in 2020, 2024 Summit Salt Lake Daggett **+6 D** vs USA (+6 R) Tooele Only metro region **Duchesne** Utah in USA to not shift Juab **Uintah** right in 2024 2020-2024 Swing Carbon +4 D 2020-2024 Trend Millard +3 **Net of USA Emery** Sevier Grand + 10 D Beaver +8 **Piute** Wayne + 5 Iron +2 **Garfield** +3 +5 + 5 Washington +4 + 4 R Kane +10 R + 4 R 23



Utah County Moved Left (Again) in 2024

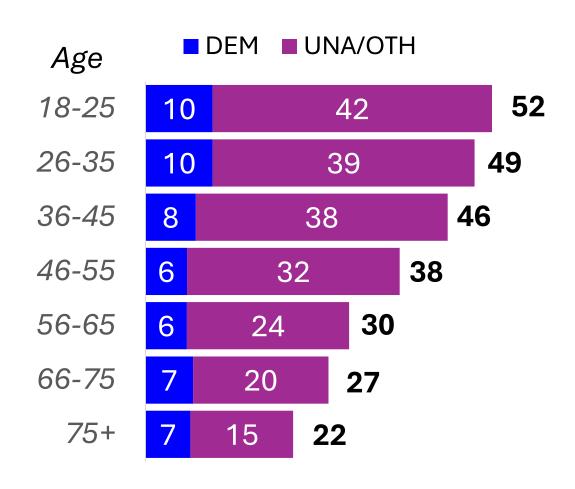
	Utah County	USA	Utah County vs. USA
2020- 2024	D +2	R +6	D +8
2004- 2024	D +36	R +1	D +38

- ✓ Every suburban city except one swung blue
- ✓ Harris > Biden Dem. Pres. vote % and total
- ✓ Provo stayed at R +18, even though it's 19% Hispanic (same % as USA population)
 - ✓ And Harris 38% > Biden 37% in Provo
- ✓ Utah Co. has swung D +36 since 2004, most of any county in Utah along with Davis Co.



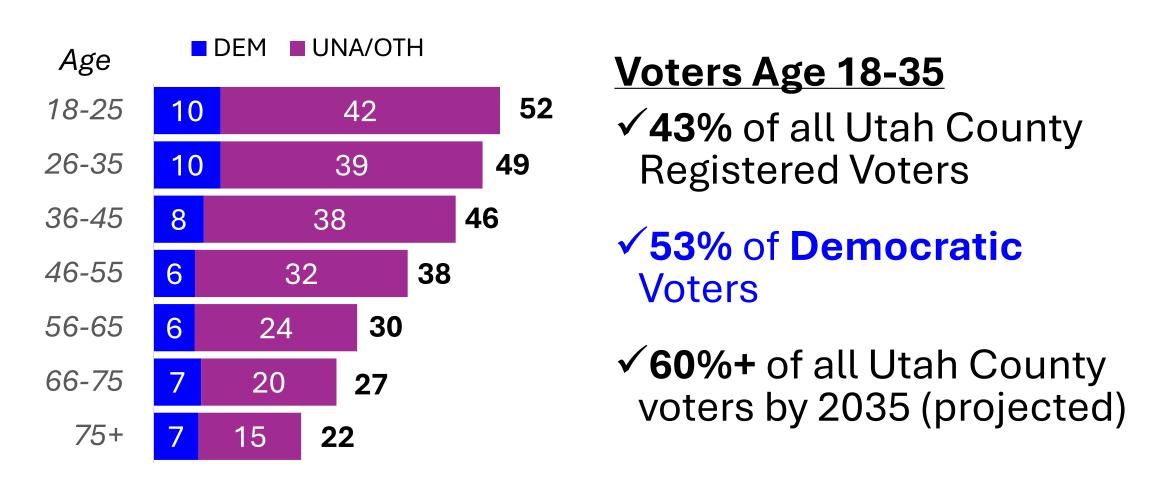
2004 2008 2012 2016 2020 2024

50% of Young Utah County Voters Age 18-35 Are Now Registered Dem/Unaffiliated/Other Double the share of voters age 65+ (25%)





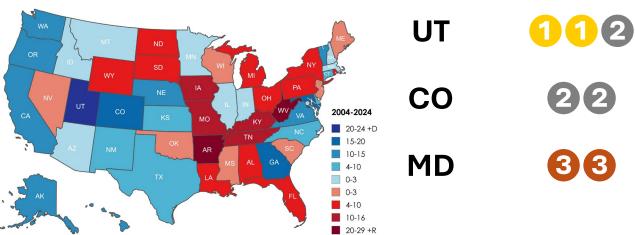
50% of Young Utah County Voters Age 18-35 Are Now Registered Dem/Unaffiliated/Other Double the share of voters age 65+ (25%)



Top 3 Medalists: "Ski Jump" Democratic Pres. Margin Shift, 2004-2024

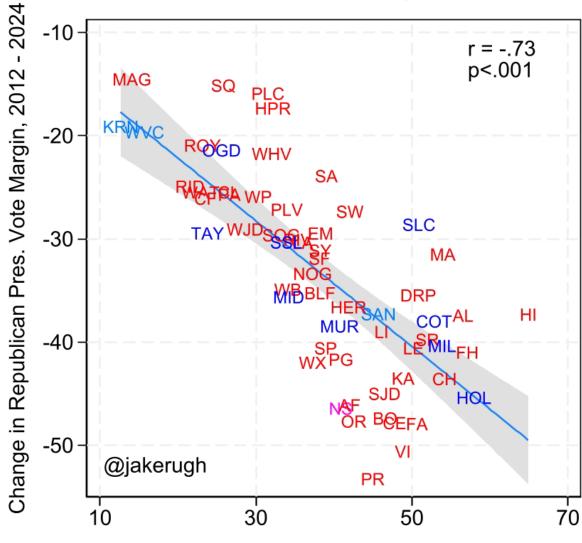






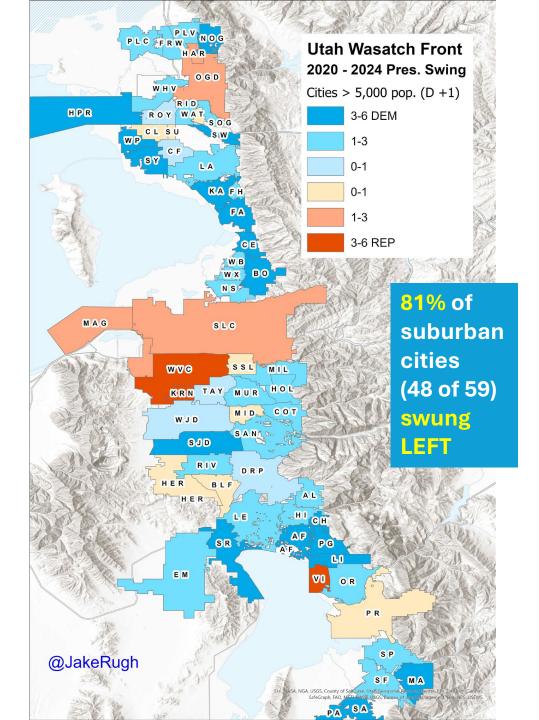
27

Cities with More College Graduates Swing Left Utah Wasatch Front Cities, 2012-2024



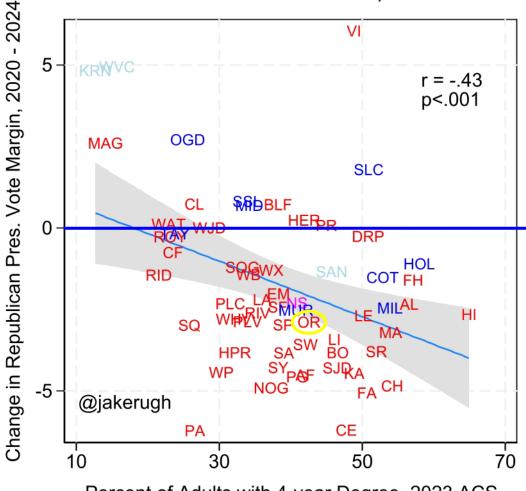
Percent of Adults with 4-year Degree, 2023 ACS

- Educational polarization (shift of college-educated voters to Democratic vote) drives swing
- 2. Suburban Utah blueshift survived 2024, unlike elsewhere: Utah only state where Harris > Biden
- 3. LDS/Mormon vote swung left in 2024, opposite of USA



2. Suburban Blue Swing Survives 2024 in Utah

Educational Polarization Continues Utah Wasatch Front Cities, 2020-2024



Red: Trump won

Blue: Harris won

Sky blue: Harris

barely won

Hot Pink: Trump

barely won

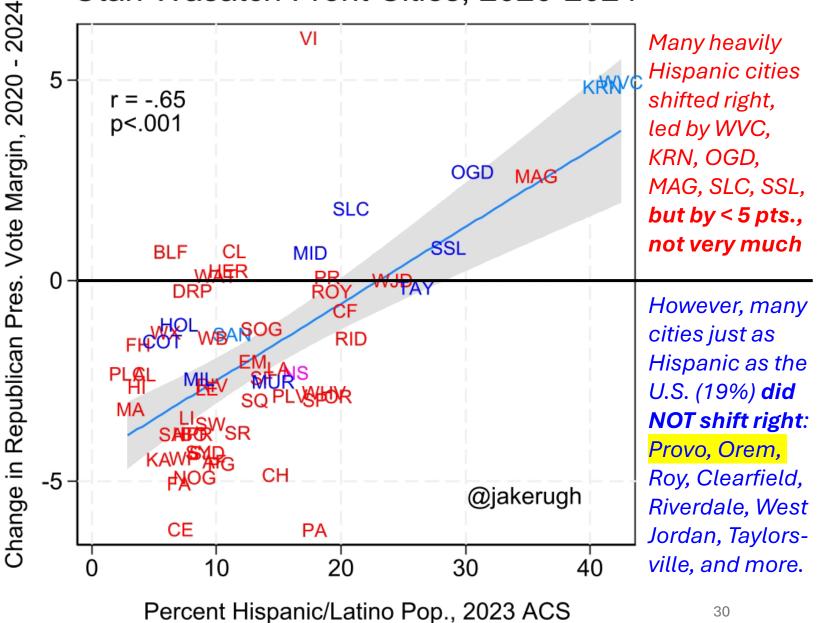
All cities below this line voted MORE DEM in 2024 than 2020

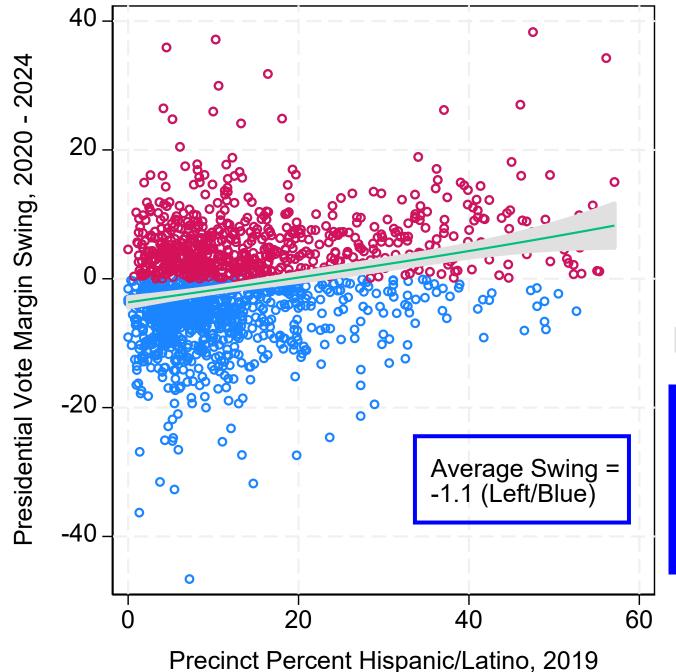
Example: Orem (OR), pop. 100K, shifted +3 DEM

Percent of Adults with 4-year Degree, 2023 ACS

More Hispanic Cities Swing Right Utah Wasatch Front Cities, 2020-2024

Big U.S. Story of 2024 was Hispanic Red **Shift:** Yet a Far Smaller Shift in Utah

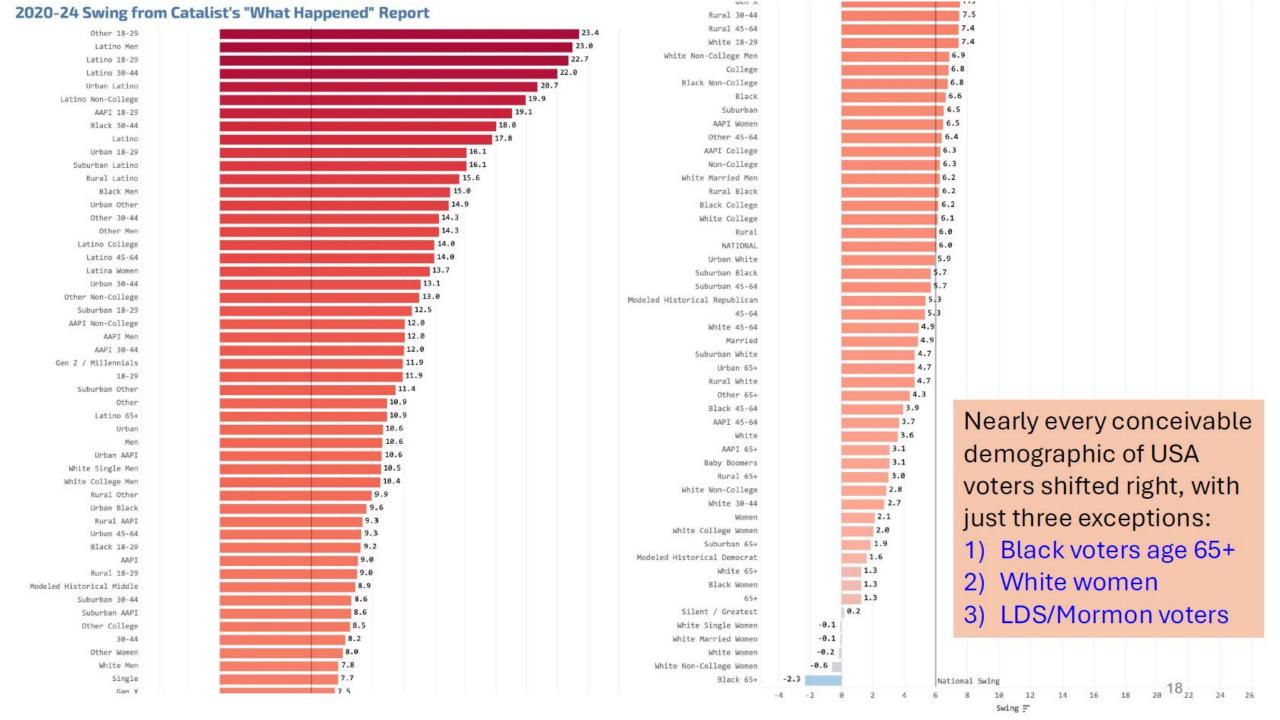




Hispanic Red Shift? Far Smaller in Utah

- Swung Left (868)
- Swung Right (649)
 - 95% CI

Most Wasatch Front metro precincts swung blue in 2024, including many heavily Latino ones

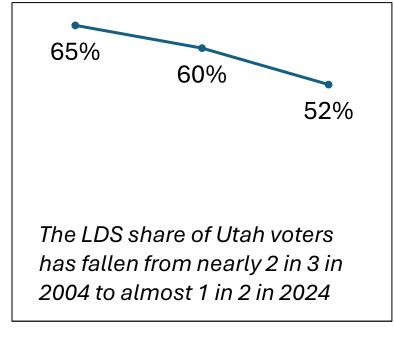


Utah Blueshift Leads the Nation LDS Vote Swings Left Three Times in a Row

LDS/Mormon vs. USA Presidential Vote, 2004-2024

	LDS/Mormon Voters			U	LDS vs.		
	DEM	REP	LDS	DEM	REP	USA	USA
_	DLM	NLF	Margin	DLM	NLF	Margin	Trend
2004	19%	80%	R +61	48.3%	50.7%	R +2.4	R +59
2008	24%	72 %	R +48	52.9%	45.7%	D +7.2	R +55
2012	15 %	84%	R +69	51.1%	47.2%	D +3.9	R +73
2016	21%	57%	R +36	48.2%	46.1%	D +2.1	R +38
2020	30%	65%	R +35	51.3%	46.8%	D +4.5	R +40
2024	32%	65%	R +33	48.3%	49.8%	R +1.5	R +32
Last 4 yrs	+2%	0%	D+2	-3.0%	+3.0%	R +6.0	D+8
2020-2024	TZ %0	U %0	D +2	-3.0%	+3.0%	h +0.0	υτο
Last 20 yrs	+13%	-15%	D+28	0.0%	-0.9%	D+0.9	D+27
2004-2024	+13 %	-13%	<i>υ</i> τ20	U.U %	-0.3%	ש +0.9	D 727

LDS Share of Utah Electorate: 2004, 2012, & 2024 (AP/CES)



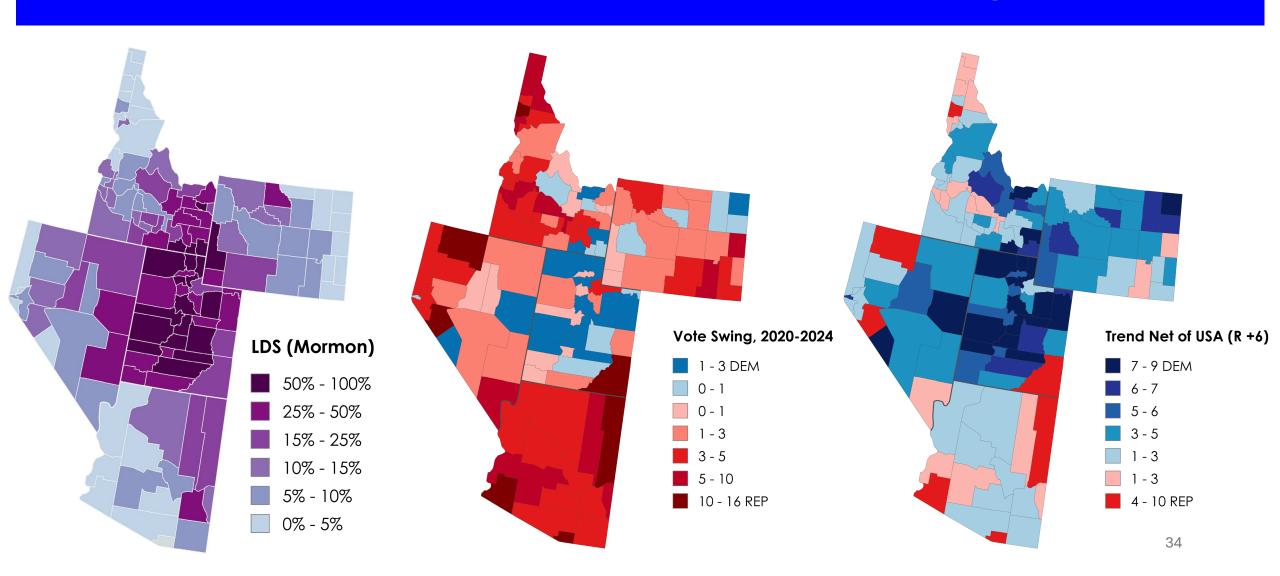
2004

2012

2024

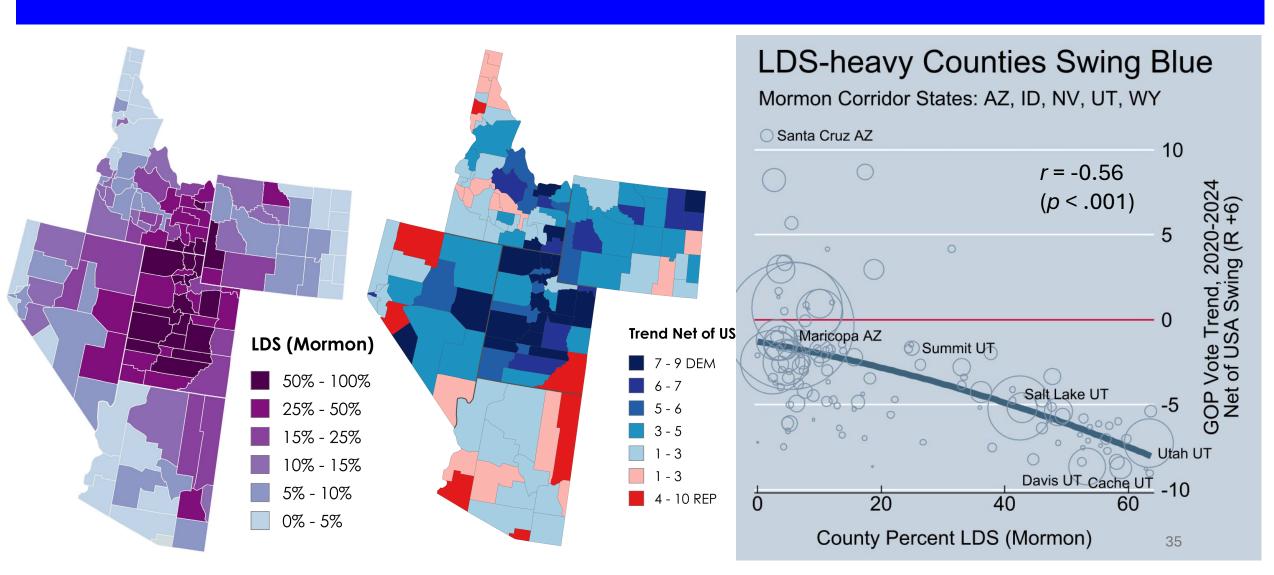
LDS/Mormon vote swung left in 2024, opposite of USA, clearly shown in Historical "Mormon Corridor" counties in AZ, ID, NV, UT, WY

+10pp. %LDS corresponded to +0.6 blueshift (left/Dem swing): 2020-2024



LDS/Mormon vote swung left in 2024, opposite of USA, clearly shown in Historical "Mormon Corridor" counties in AZ, ID, NV, UT, WY

+10pp. %LDS corresponded to +0.6 blueshift (left/Dem swing): 2020-2024

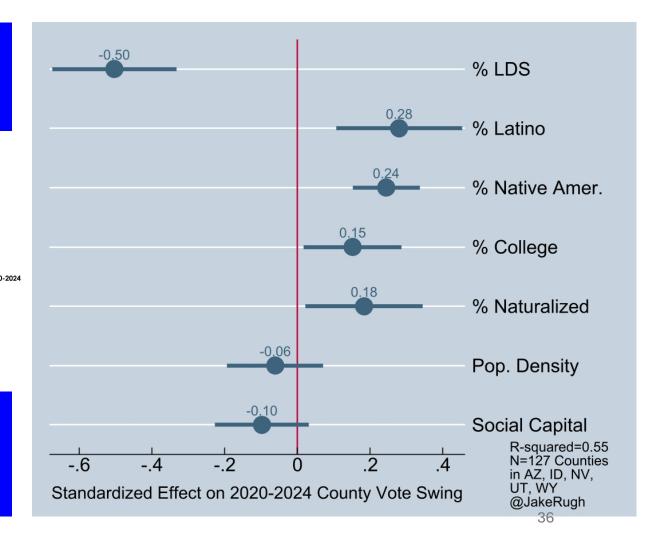


LDS/Mormon vote swung left in 2024, opposite of USA, clearly shown in Historical "Mormon Corridor" counties in AZ, ID, NV, UT, WY

LDS correlation is not spurious in a multivariate regression model (n=127) controlling for:

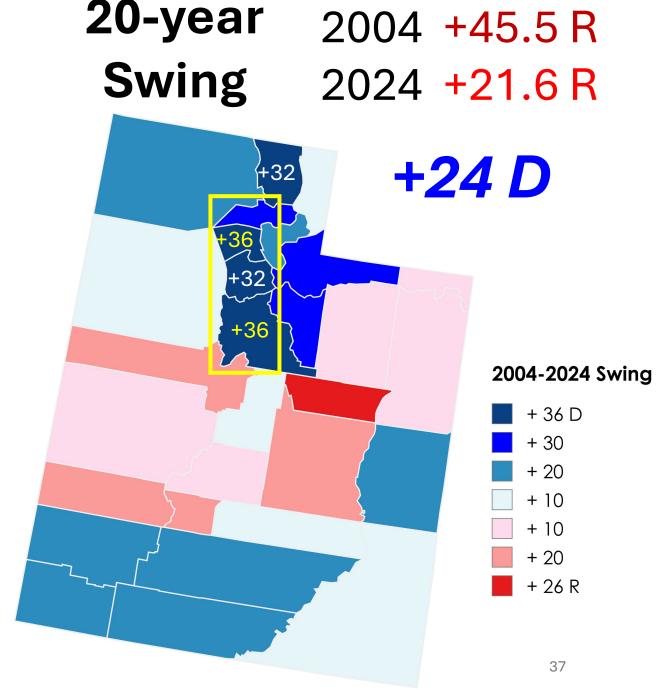
- ✓ Race/Ethnicity
- ✓ College Attainment
- ✓ Naturalized Citizenship
- ✓ Population Density
- ✓ Social Capital

LDS effect endures: Strongest association with 2020-2024 swing



- Summary: State, County, City
- 1. Utah swings blue (**D +24**) more than any state, 2004 2024:
 - -Educational, Gender Polarization
 - -Suburban Blueshift Defies Gravity
 - -LDS Vote Marches Left, Even in 2024
- Suburban/LDS Davis & Utah counties swing most (D +36)
- 3. Provo (**D** +52, Utah Co.) swings blue most of any Utah city: education/LDS/suburb effects.

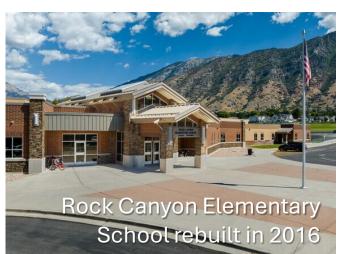
My Provo precinct was R+66 in 2004 and R+12 in 2024 (**D +54** 20-year swing).



LDS Missionary Training nter Adiacent to Precinct







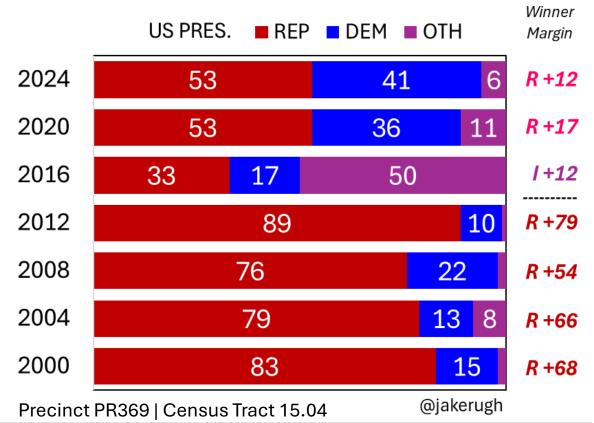


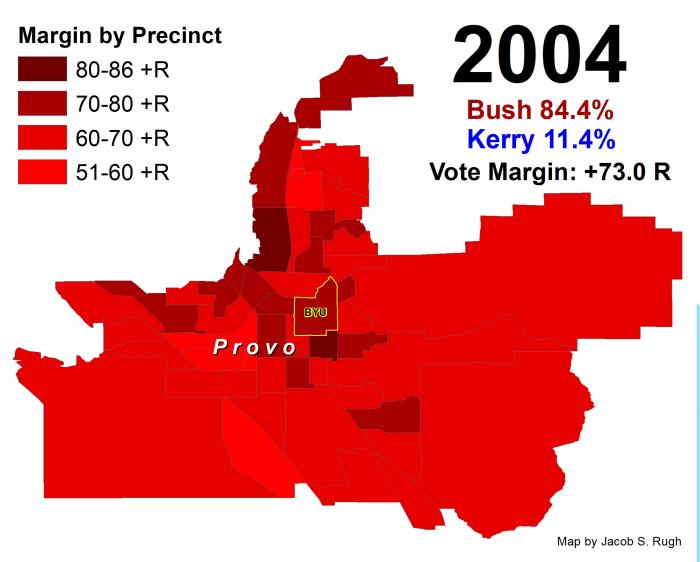
New housing built in 2022

Pleasant View, Provo LDS Sharon East Stake

High Education: 61% BA degree+ Pop. Density: 4,632 in 1.05 sq. mi. 80% white, 9% Latino, 6% Multiracial (95% white, 1% Latino in 2000)







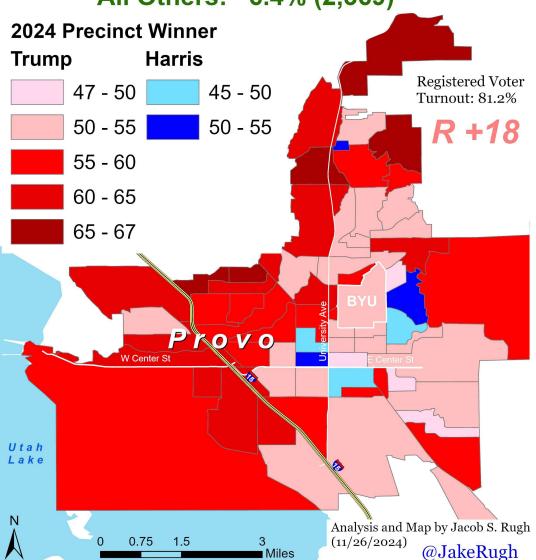
2024 U.S. Presidential Election Provo, Utah Final Official Results

Donald Trump: 55.9% (20,591)

Kamala Harris: 37.7% (13,884)

All Others: 6.4% (2,369)

2024



Higher-educated, Mostly-LDS Suburban Utah County & Provo: LDS Vote Has Plenty of Room to Swing Even Bluer, against MAGA

	US LDS/Mormon Voters Est. 2.3 million					Utah County, Utah Pop. 747,234			Provo, Utah Results Pop. 115,479		
Era	Presidential Election	DEM	REP	US LDS Voters	DEM	REP	Bountiful City	DEM	REP	Provo City	
. 4	2004	19%	80%	R +61	12%	86%	R +74	12%	82%	R +70	
Pre-	2008	24%	72 %	R +48	19%	78%	R +59	23%	72%	R +49	
_ >	2012	15%	84%	R +69	10%	88%	R +79	13%	84%	R +72	
A	2016	21%	57%	R +36	14%	50%	R +36	19%	39%	R +20	
MAGA	2020	30%	65%	R +35	26%	67%	R +40	37%	55%	R +18	
Σ	2024	32%	65%	R +33	28%	67%	R +39	38%	56%	R +18	
	2004-2024	+13%	-15%	D +28	+16%	-19%	D +36	+25%	-27 %	D +52	
Latter-day Saint (LDS) Est. 100%					75%			70%			
College Degree Attainment 39%					46%			48%			
White, Non-Hispanic 78%					78%			70%			
Hispanic/Latino			9%			13%			19%		

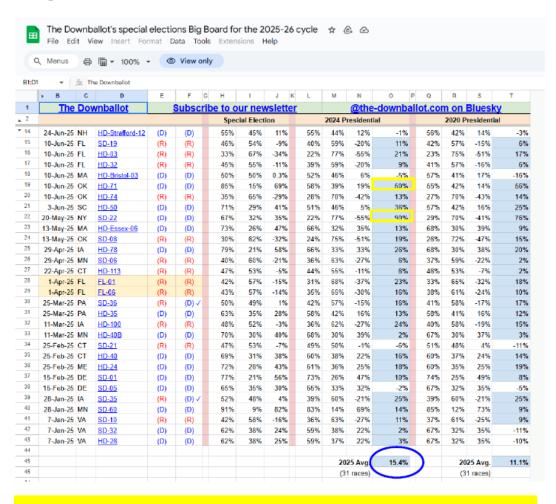
Sources: 2004 (Pew), 2008-2012 (Burge CCES), 2016-2024 (Rugh CCES/CES); Davis and Utah County Clerks; US Census 2023 ACS.

Note: Subtracting unrounded margins to arrive at change over time reported above may differ from subtracting rounded figures.

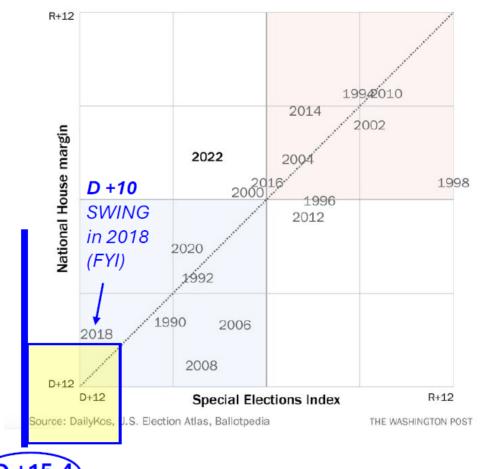


2025-26 Special Election Cycle Is Literally Off the Charts: **2026 Electorate and Outcome Will Certainly Lean DEM**

By How Much Is the Question: It was **D** +10 in 2018 vs. 2016 (D +11 SEI)



How special elections correlate to national House results

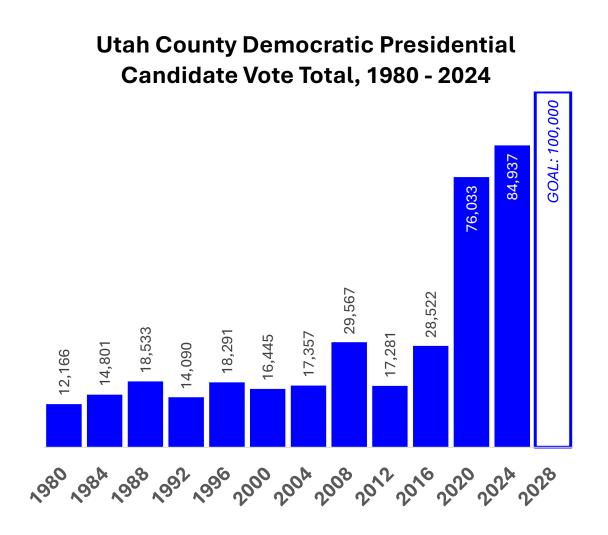


Utah County Democratic Pres. Vote Takes Off Let's Talk Goals for 2026, 2028, and Beyond

Dem. Pres. Vote total in Utah County *never* exceeded 30,000 votes before 2020

- Dem. Pres. vote skyrockets to
 76,033 in 2020
- Increases again to 84,937 in 2024, despite lower turnout

Goal for 2028 = 100,000 + votes

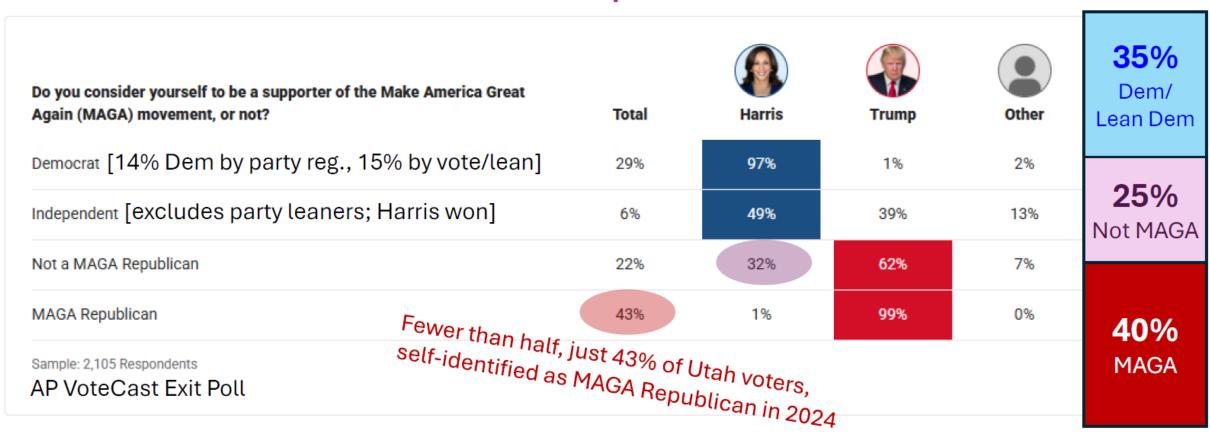


Utah Purple State Potential

Focus of mobilization/turnout = 32% Dem/Lean Dem Focus of persuasion = NOT MAGA, 25% of all voters

57%

- 34% of Utah Republican voters Self-ID as NOT MAGA
- 32% of these NOT MAGA Republicans voted for Harris





Hope for the Future The Tide Is Turning in Utah County

Dr. Jacob S. Rugh, MPA, URP, PhD

Utah Democratic Party HD 60 Chair Springville, Utah, Library 14 August 2025