Sources, References, and Documentary Evidence

REPRO investigative report | Working source appendix | October 16, 2026

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1.A. Constitutional and judicial records

[1] Utah Constitution, Articles I, VI and XXIII

https://le.utah.gov/xcode/constitution/

Use / status: Primary constitutional text; verify cited sections.

[2] League of Women Voters of Utah v. Utah State Legislature, 2024 UT 21 (July 11, 2024)

https://law.justia.com/cases/utah/supreme-court/2024/20220696.html

Use / status: Primary judicial opinion, hosted by Justia.

[3] League of Women Voters of Utah v. Utah State Legislature, 2024 UT 40 (October 24, 2024)

https://law.justia.com/cases/utah/supreme-court/2024/20240965.html

Use / status: Primary judicial opinion, hosted by Justia; ballot description and publication.

2.B. Proposed amendments and legislative records

[4] Utah Legislature, 2026 Proposed Constitutional Amendments

https://le.utah.gov/constitutionalAmendment/2026/constitutionalamendments.pdf

Use / status: Official amendment text and reported legislative votes.

[5] H.B. 481 (2025), Publication Amendments

https://le.utah.gov/~2025/bills/static/HB0481.html

Use / status: Official bill history and text.

[6] S.B. 73 (2025), Statewide Initiatives Amendments

https://le.utah.gov/~2025/bills/static/SB0073.html

Use / status: Official bill history and text.

[7] Utah Lieutenant Governor, 2026 Voter Information Pamphlet

https://vote.utah.gov/wp-content/uploads/2026/09/2026-Voter-Information-Pamphlet.pdf

Use / status: Official voter information.

3.C. Campaign finance and PAC organization

[8] Utah Campaign Finance Disclosure Portal

https://disclosures.utah.gov/

Use / status: Official campaign finance database.

[9] Utah Taxpayers Association PAC, disclosure folder 840

https://disclosures.utah.gov/Search/PublicSearch/FolderDetails/840

Use / status: Official committee folder; organization filing screenshots separately supplied.

[10] Taxpayer SHIELD PAC, disclosure folder 1423862

https://disclosures.utah.gov/Search/PublicSearch/FolderDetails/1423862

Use / status: Official committee folder; organization filing screenshots separately supplied.

4.D. News reporting and analysis

[11] Utah News Dispatch, October 13, 2026, coverage of Amendments A and B

https://utahnewsdispatch.com/2026/10/13/utah-ballot-amendments-a-b-ask-to-change-utah-constitution/

Use / status: Secondary reporting; confirm title, attribution and claims.

[12] Deseret News, October 6, 2026, reporting on two ballot amendments

https://www.deseret.com/politics/2026/10/06/two-amendments-one-fights-utah-ballot-november/

Use / status: Secondary reporting; confirm title, attribution and claims.

5.E. Leads awaiting full citations or primary-record verification

2025 district court order concerning Proposition 4 / S.B. 200.

https://www.democracydocket.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/2025-11-10-Order.pdf

https://news.ballotpedia.org/2025/08/29/utah-district-court-rules-legislature-unconstitutionally-repealed-proposition-4-strikes-down-2021-congressional-map/

2025 UT 39 and February 20, 2026 Utah Supreme Court jurisdictional disposition.

2025 UT 39 — Stay Denial (September 15, 2025)

Citation: *League of Women Voters of Utah v. Utah State Legislature*, 2025 UT 39, 579 P.3d 287 (Utah 2025)

Docket No.	20251057
Type	Per Curiam, on Petition for Extraordinary Relief
Below	3rd Dist. Ct., Salt Lake Cnty., Judge Dianna M. Gibson, No. 220901712
Filed	September 15, 2025

Holding: Denied the Legislature's petition for extraordinary relief. The Legislature had challenged the district court's denial of its motion to stay the injunction on the 2021 Congressional Map, but its arguments focused on the *remedial process* rather than the legal standard for a stay under Rule 65B(d). The Court held no abuse of discretion was shown. *Id.* ¶¶ 5, 33–34.

Full text:

- Justia (full opinion)
- PDF (Campaign Legal Center)

February 20, 2026 — Jurisdictional Dismissal

Docket No.	20260019-SC
Panel	Chief Justice Matthew Durrant, Assoc. Chief Justice Jill Pohlman, Justice Paige Petersen
Filed	February 20, 2026

Holding: Dismissed the Legislature's appeal for lack of jurisdiction. Key findings:

1. The Legislature missed the 30-day window to appeal the district court's August 25, 2025 summary judgment order.
2. The Legislature's attempt to invoke Utah R. Civ. P. 54(b) certification to reach the appeal before final judgment failed because no complete "claim" had been finally resolved — the case was still in the remedial phase.
3. The stay request and a third-party intervention motion (Utah County Clerk Aaron Davidson) were dismissed as moot once the appeal was dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

The ruling left Judge Gibson's court-ordered Map 1 (adopted November 10, 2025) in place for the 2026 midterms.

Order:

- Democracy Docket (order link)
- Campaign Legal Center (order + download)
- State Courts Report (case tracker)

Supporting filings:

- Appellees' Motion for Summary Disposition (Jan. 16, 2026) — argues the district court's Rule 54(b) certification was improper because no finalized "claim" existed.

Utah Senate & House Leadership statements about redistricting, Amendment A & B, reported November 2025, January 2026, March 2026, and July 2026, recover original articles and quotations.

Nov. 21 — House Speaker Mike Schultz (ABC4 interview):

> "Yeah, we're gonna be doing all of it. We're going to appeal it. We're going to try to fix it. Because this goes, this precedent goes well beyond this redistricting. So, really the only way to fix this is to a Constitutional amendment in the November 2026 ballot."

- ABC4

Nov. 25 — Joint press conference (Adams & Schultz announce appeal):

> "By design or by default, Judge Gibson has authorized the most partisan and thus the most gerrymandered map in the history of the state of Utah." — Senate President Stuart Adams
>
> "This is not a turf war. It's about the trust Utahns have placed in us to carry out the most fundamental constitutional duties. We intend to honor that trust." — House Speaker Mike Schultz
>
> "We believe very firmly that the Legislature should be able to change — like it was originally intended — we have the ability to change initiatives, and people ought to clarify that." — Adams (to KSL)
>
> "Upholding our constitutional oath means taking responsibility for this task and ensuring Utahns … not outside interest groups, national organizations and last minute court interventions shapes Utah's future." — Schultz

- KSL
- Politico
- Utah News Dispatch
- KUER

January 2026

Jan. 5 — Utah News Dispatch preview ("5 key Utah redistricting issues to watch in 2026"):
Reports that "The Utah Legislature's top Republican leaders have repeatedly said they plan to appeal 3rd District Judge Dianna Gibson's rulings to the Utah Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary." Also notes leaders said they plan to "consider asking voters to consider a constitutional amendment to 'clarify' or restrict the power of voter-approved ballot initiatives."

- Utah News Dispatch

Jan. 21 — St. George News (2026 General Session preview):

"We have chaos right now." — Senate President Stuart Adams (on the redistricting situation)

"We're not anywhere close" to determining the amendment language, "but there will be a constitutional amendment." — Adams

- St. George News

Feb. 8 — Deseret News (Senate floor debate):

"It's chaos," said Sen. Scott Sandall, R-Tremonton, who chairs the Legislative Redistricting Committee. "This problem that is occurring right now is because the outcome was not what some wanted, so they attacked the process."

- Deseret News

Feb. 12 — Senate & House Democrats (response to federal amicus brief):

"Utah Senate and House Democratic leadership wholeheartedly oppose the legislature's involvement in the federal lawsuit via the amicus brief. This decision does not represent the Democratic legislators in this body."

- Utah Senate release

March 2026

The 2026 General Session ended in early March. Key reporting:

Mar. 6 — Deseret News:
Reports that "Amid controversy over ballot initiative battles to repeal Utah's redistricting laws, lawmakers passed laws to require state trainings for signature gatherers and clarifying the signature gathering and signature removal processes." This was part of the broader legislative package that included Amendment A (striking the newspaper publication requirement) and Amendment B (60% threshold for tax-related initiatives).

- Deseret News

Session-end (Adams on final night):

> "Whether we do it now or post session, if I have anything to do with it, we will have … a constitutional amendment on the ballot." — Senate President Stuart Adams

(Referenced in the July 8/9 coverage below.)

- Utah News Dispatch, Jul. 8, 2026 (quoting session-end remarks)

July 2026

Jul. 8 — Multiple outlets report Legislature shelving the "Amendment D 2.0" push:

> "We believe it's appropriate to allow the litigation to continue through the courts before considering whether any further action is necessary. Our focus remains on defending the Legislature's constitutional authority through the judicial process." — House Speaker Mike Schultz (prepared statement, Jul. 8)

> "As we continue to defend the constitutional authority of lawmakers and the voice of the people, we believe this litigation should proceed through the judicial process." — Senate President Stuart Adams

- Utah News Dispatch (Katie McKellar)
- KSL (Bridger Beal-Cvetko)
- SLTrib
- ABC4
- Fox 13 Now

Context on Amendments A & B on the November 2026 ballot:
The July 8 article from Utah News Dispatch confirms that voters "will still vote this November on a proposed constitutional amendment that would make it harder for certain citizen initiatives to pass" (Amendment B) and a second amendment "which strikes from the Utah Constitution the requirement that proposed constitutional amendments must be published in newspapers" (Amendment A).

The voter pamphlet arguments (Oct. 13, 2026) carry the leadership's most direct public endorsements:

- In favor of Amendment B: Sen. Lincoln Fillmore, and Rep. Jason Kyle wrote that voters will decide "how easy should it be for your neighbor to raise your taxes?"
- Against Amendment B: Senate Minority Leader Luz Escamilla and House Minority Leader Angela Romero wrote: "Requiring 60% approval for tax-related initiatives does not create accountability. It creates an unequal system where voters face stricter rules than the Legislature itself."
- Utah News Dispatch voter guide
- KUER explainer
- Utah News Dispatch (Amendments A & B overview)

- Direct link: vote.utah.gov — 2026 Voter Information Pamphlet (PDF)

Confirmed pamphlet language (as quoted by Utah News Dispatch, Oct. 13, 2026)

> "How easy should it be for your neighbor to raise your taxes?" — Fillmore and Kyle
>
> "Any proposal that will take more money from Utah families, workers and businesses should have widespread agreement from the people who will pay for it. Amendment B provides that safeguard by requiring statewide tax-related ballot initiatives earn 60% voter approval before becoming law. The amendment does not prevent voters from approving tax hikes they support. It simply ensures proposals affecting taxpayers statewide have broad backing before they take effect." — Fillmore and Kyle
>
> "Taxes imposed by the Legislature can be reversed by new legislators at any time, but statewide initiatives operate differently… They cannot be revised or adjusted once passed, other than by another costly initiative." — Fillmore and Kyle

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Summary of the arc: November 2025 (vow to appeal + promise constitutional amendment) → January 2026 (confirming amendment is coming, "chaos" language) → March 2026 (session ends, Amendment A & B pass, "D 2.0" language still in draft) →

July 2026 (leadership retreats from "D 2.0," says courts should decide first; A & B proceed to November ballot).

Utah Representative Anthony Loubet February 2025 public remarks on Amendment A.

Original Article (February 2025)

Deseret News, Feb. 13, 2025 — "Utah's legislative session: Changes to how Utah publishes constitutional amendments"

This is the primary contemporaneous article with Loubet's direct quotes from the 2025 session:

> "Since that's not really the best notice anymore, then the way to do that is to amend the Constitution and clarify it, you know, make it more modern with what our current practices are." — Rep. Anthony Loubet, R-Kearns
>
> "I'm a nerd, so when it's a legal, procedural thing. I read the court thing and I'm like, 'I know how to solve this.' When the court identifies and applies the law, and we look at it and say, well, the plain meaning doesn't match with what the current practice is. Well, that's our job." — Loubet

- Deseret News (full article)

Legislative Recording

House Government Operations Committee — February 20, 2025, 4:00 PM, Room 30 (House Building)

HJR 10 and HB 481 were both on the agenda for that hearing:

> "That came to light during some recent court decisions that kind of highlighted that it's supposed to be in physical, print newspapers," Loubet told the committee. "Nowadays, that's not where people get their information."

- Committee agenda (PDF)
- House Government Operations Committee 2025 — video/audio archive
- Senate Revenue & Taxation Committee, Mar. 4, 2025 (video) — Loubet also testified here

Bill status page: HJR 10, 2025 General Session

Additional February 2025 Coverage

Ballotpedia News, Mar. 12, 2025 (retrospective but quotes the Feb. committee testimony):

> "Anthony Loubet (R-27) introduced the constitutional amendment as House Joint Resolution 10 (HJR 10) in the Government Operations Committee of the Utah House of Representatives… While presenting the bill to the Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee, Rep. Loubet said that the constitutional amendment is meant to update state laws and improve legislative communication with the public, as newspapers are no longer the primary source of news consumption."

- Ballotpedia News

Fox 13, Mar. 9, 2025 (session wrap-up):

> "Anthony Loubet passed a proposed constitutional amendment to deal with a 19th century law in a 21st century world: newspapers no longer publish daily and so the 1800s-era law that requires newspaper publication is no longer relevant, he argued."

- Fox 13

Utah Public Radio reporting on Lincoln Fillmore and S.B. 73.

1. Session Wrap-Up (primary SB 73 reference)

"Passes & fails from Utah's 2025 legislative session" — March 7, 2025

> ✅ Referendums need publication in newspapers: People or groups that choose to run a ballot initiative will now be required to pay for it to appear in newspapers statewide — the same requirement the state is constitutionally bound to. It's estimated that SB73 will cost people $1.4 million to get their language published. If they don't meet that requirement, the initiative won't be valid.

URL: https://www.kuer.org/politics-government/2025-03-07/passes-fails-from-utahs-2025-legislative-session

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2. Related KUER Article (Fillmore's companion proposal, SJR 2)

"Utah lawmakers are again debating a higher bar on ballot initiatives that raise taxes" — January 29, 2025

This covers Fillmore's *companion* constitutional amendment (SJR 2 / Amendment B) at the Senate Revenue & Taxation Committee hearing, not SB 73 directly, but it provides the broader context of Fillmore's initiative-reform package:

> "How easy do you want it to be for your neighbors to raise your taxes?" — Sen. Lincoln Fillmore
>
> "There's nothing easy about Utah's current ballot initiative process… Nobody would undertake a citizens initiative in Utah casually, since the process is already one of, if not the most, rigorous of any state." — Fillmore
>
> "I think it's a dilution of our voice and a dilution of our power wrapped around this issue of 'be afraid of the tax boogeyman.'" — Sen. Luz Escamilla, D-Salt Lake City

URL: https://www.kuer.org/politics-government/2025-01-29/utah-lawmakers-are-again-debating-a-higher-bar-on-ballot-initiatives-that-raise-taxes

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Note: The most detailed contemporaneous coverage of the Senate floor vote on SB 73 itself (21–7, Jan. 24, 2025) came from Utah News Dispatch and KSL, not KUER. KUER folded it into the session wrap-up.

KUER reporting on attempted Proposition 4 repeal initiative, recover original URL and initiative records.

The initiative was filed October 24, 2025 by the Utah Republican Party (under the name Utahns for Representative Government) as a direct citizen initiative to repeal the Independent Redistricting and Standards Act (Proposition 4). It was declared insufficient on April 30, 2026 by Lt. Gov. Deidre Henderson.

Original KUER/UPR URLs (chronological)

Date	Title	URL
Oct. 16, 2025	"Utah's redistricting enters new legal fight over GOP plan to repeal Prop 4"	https://www.kuer.org/politics-government/2025-10-16/utahs-redistricting-enters-new-legal-fight-over-gop-plan-to-repeal-prop-4
Oct. 24, 2025	"Utah GOP pivots on redistricting to ask voters to repeal Prop 4, not lawmakers"	https://www.kuer.org/politics-government/2025-10-24/utah-gop-pivots-on-redistricting-to-ask-voters-to-repeal-prop-4-not-lawmakers
Feb. 5, 2026	"Out of the loop on the Prop 4 saga? We'll catch you up in 5 minutes"	https://www.upr.org/politics/2026-02-05/out-of-the-loop-on-the-prop-4-saga-well-catch-you-up-in-5-minutes

Feb. 15, 2026	"Utah GOP thinks they have the signatures to put Prop 4 repeal on the ballot"	https://www.kuer.org/politics-government/2026-02-15/utah-gop-thinks-they-have-the-signatures-to-put-prop-4-repeal-on-the-ballot
Feb. 17, 2026	"Volunteers confront Prop 4 repeal signature gatherers across Utah"	https://www.upr.org/politics/2026-02-17/volunteers-confront-prop-4-repeal-signature-gatherers-across-utah
Feb. 23, 2026	"Voters can still remove names from Prop 4 repeal petition"	https://www.upr.org/politics/2026-02-23/utah-voters-remove-signatures-petition-prop-4
Mar. 2, 2026	"Can the Utah GOP's Prop 4 repeal outlast the push to withdraw signatures?"	https://www.kuer.org/politics-government/2026-03-02/can-the-utah-gops-prop-4-repeal-outlast-the-push-to-withdraw-signatures
Mar. 3, 2026	"Daily news: The Prop 4 repeal has enough signatures — at least, for now"	https://www.upr.org/utah-news/2026-03-03/daily-news-the-prop-4-repeal-has-enough-signatures-at-least-for-now
Mar. 9, 2026	"Daily news: This last-minute change could help a Prop 4 repeal get on the ballot"	https://www.upr.org/utah-news/2026-03-09/daily-news-this-last-minute-change-could-help-a-prop-4-repeal-get-on-the-ballot
Mar. 26, 2026	"Salt Lake County district signature removals knock Prop 4 repeal off the ballot"	https://www.kuer.org/politics-government/2026-03-26/salt-lake-county-district-signature-removals-knock-prop-4-repeal-off-the-ballot
Oct. 22, 2026	"A new Utah justice signed the petition to repeal Prop 4"	https://www.upr.org/politics/2026-10-22/utah-supreme-court-proposition-4-repeal-petition-recuse

Initiative Records (Official Determination)

Field	Detail
Petition title	"Repeal of Independent Redistricting Commission and Standards Act"
Sponsors	Utah Republican Party / Utahns for Representative Government (filers: Rob Bishop, AG Derek Brown, UTGOP Chair Robert Axson)
Filed	October 24, 2025 (direct initiative; pivoted from an earlier indirect initiative filed Oct. 14)
Signature threshold	140,748 valid signatures statewide + 8% of active voters in ≥ 26 of 29 Senate districts
Signatures submitted	200,000+ (Feb. 15, 2026)
Verified signatures	161,961 valid statewide (met overall threshold)
Districts meeting threshold	24 of 29 (required 26) — failed in Senate Districts 15 and others after 10,600+ signature removal requests
Final determination	April 30, 2026 — Lt. Gov. Deidre Henderson declared petition insufficient; not placed on November 2026 ballot

Key quote from the official determination letter (via KUTV):

> "The 'Repeal of Independent Redistricting Commission and Standards Act' initiative petition obtained 161,961 valid signatures statewide, meeting the overall threshold of valid signatures. However, the initiative only met the required geographical threshold in 24 of Utah's 29 Senate districts."

Axson's response (Mar. 26, 2026):

> "Whether now or in the future, by litigation or initiative, we will repeal Prop 4. This fight is not over but just beginning."

- KUTV (official determination coverage)
- Better Boundaries (initiative tracker)
- Protect Utah Voters (opponent site)

The Weber County Hive financial analysis, original URL and independently match each claimed transaction to Utah disclosures.

The Weber County Hive is a Substack investigative publication (by Shauna Miller) that has published a series of financial analyses cross-referencing campaign finance claims against Utah's official disclosure records. Below is the full index of financial analysis articles with their original URLs, followed by a transaction-by-transaction verification worksheet. mapping each major claimed transaction to its source in the Utah Lieutenant Governor's Disclosure Portal (disclosures.utah.gov).

Original URLs (Financial Analysis Series)

Date	Title	URL
Jun. 17, 2026	THE UTAH FORWARD PAC: Developer Money, Gibson, Bolos, and the Weber County Votes That Followed	https://webercountyhive.substack.com/p/the-utah-forward-pac-developer-money
Jun. 18, 2026	Registered Lobbyist and Political Action Committee Fund Overlapping Races	linkhttps://webercountyhive.substack

		.com/p/registered-lobbyist-and-political
Jun. 29, 2026	House District 9: Funding & Disclosures Compared	https://webercountyhive.substack.com/p/house-district-9-funding-and-disclosures
Jul. 1, 2026	Follow the Money: Campaign Donations and Jake Sawyer's Committee Votes	https://webercountyhive.substack.com/p/follow-the-money-campaign-donations
Jul. 5, 2026	Financial Overview: Campaign Finance Data in the 2026 District 44 House Race	https://webercountyhive.substack.com/p/financial-overview-campaign-finance
Jul. 5, 2026	Tracking the Capital: Inside the Financial Infrastructure of Northern Utah's Legislative Pipelines	https://webercountyhive.substack.com/p/tracking-the-capital-inside-the-financial
Jul. 20, 2026	Why We Are Investigating Election Hive LLC and Tracking Utah Legislative Campaign Finance	https://webercountyhive.substack.co

		m/p/why-we-are-investigating-election
Jul. 23, 2026	THE WATER PACK MONEY TRAIL: How PAC Funding Lubricated Utah's Enacted 2026 Water Policy Shift	https://webercountyhive.substack.com/p/the-water-pack-money-trail-how-pac
Jul. 26, 2026	Campaign Finance Records Document $74,441 Paid to Veracity Enterprises by HB 60 Sponsor and Supporter	webercountyhive
Aug. 10, 2026	TWO PACS, ONE NETWORK	https://webercountyhive.substack.com/p/two-pacs-one-network
Aug. 16, 2026	House District 10: What Utah's Campaign Finance System Doesn't Show You Until It's Too Late	https://webercountyhive.substack.com/p/house-district-10-what-utahs-campaign
Sep. 27, 2026	Sixteen to One: What's Funding the Race for House District 16	https://webercountyhive.substack.com/p/sixteen-to-one-whats-funding-the

Oct. 19, 2026	We Got a Campaign Press Release. Here's What the Public Record Shows. (Crosby vs. Moore, HD-6)	https://webercountyhive.substack.com/p/we-got-a-campaign-press-release-heres

Verification portal: All state-level claims are drawn from disclosures.utah.gov (search by entity name → "Go To Public View" → itemized contributions/expenditures). Corporate filings from Utah Division of Corporations. Lobbyist records from lobbyist.utah.gov.

EDITORIAL STATUS: FINANCIAL VERIFICATION WORKSHEET

The following matrix identifies reported financial transactions, amounts, dates, and corresponding public-record sources for independent verification. These entries are investigative leads, not independently verified findings. The listed verification paths identify where supporting records may be obtained; they do not establish that each transaction has been confirmed against original filings.

Before any transaction is presented as an established fact in a published report, its amount, date, parties, and purpose must be reconciled with the original disclosure records. Any discrepancies or unresolved claims must be clearly identified.

Transaction Verification Matrix

A. Utah Forward PAC LLC (Folder 1415975)

Claimed Transaction	Amount	Date	Verification Path
Nilson Homes contribution	$20,000	2022	disclosures.utah.gov → "Utah Forward PAC" → 2022 reports → itemized contributions

Building Construction Partners contribution	$10,000	2022	Same as above
Total collections Aug 2022–Aug 2023	~$67,000	2022–2023	Sum of itemized receipts across all 2022–2023 reports
In-kind mailer to Sharon Bolos	$4,000	Aug 2023	disclosures.utah.gov → "Bolos, Sharon" → Aug 2023 report → in-kind contributions
$5,000 to Gage Froerer	2022–2023	2022–2023	disclosures.utah.gov → "Froerer, Gage" → itemized contributions
$3,000 to Ryan Wilcox	Jan. 19, 2026	Jan. 2026	disclosures.utah.gov → "Wilcox, Ryan" → Jan 2026 report → PAC contributions
$500 to Joseph Kerry	Mar. 11, 2026	Mar. 2026	disclosures.utah.gov → "Kerry, Joseph" → 2026 reports
2026 Convention Report: 3 expenditures totaling $6,000	$6,000	Filed Apr. 21, 2026	disclosures.utah.gov → "Utah Forward PAC" → 2026 Convention Report
Carryover balance $24,982.12	—	2026	PAC's 2026 Convention Report opening balance

B. NUPAC (Northern Utah PAC) / Irish Elk, LLC

Claimed Transaction	Amount	Date	Verification Path

Opening balance (origin unknown)	$90,909	Jan. 1, 2022	disclosures.utah.gov → "NUPAC" → 2022 first report
First expenditure to Irish Elk, LLC	$2,500	Jan. 1, 2022	NUPAC 2022 itemized expenditures
Single-day consolidated receipts (20 entities)	$69,000	May 25, 2022	NUPAC 2022 itemized contributions, filtered to May 25
2023 total raised	$152,600	2023	NUPAC 2023 annual report totals
2023 total spent	$63,827	2023	NUPAC 2023 annual report totals
Fees to Irish Elk, LLC (2022–mid 2026)	$71,494	2022–2026	Sum of all "Irish Elk" line items across NUPAC expenditure reports

C. Conservative Millennials PAC (District 44)

Claimed Transaction	Amount	Date	Verification Path
Total itemized receipts (2025–2026)	$31,118.12	2025–2026	disclosures.utah.gov → "Conservative Millennials PAC" → report totals
Total expenditures	$28,736	2025–2026	Same, expenditure totals
Interest income (America First Credit Union)	$518	Jan–Sep 2025	Itemized receipts, "interest" category

John Curtis for Utah contribution	$1,000	Oct. 22, 2025	Itemized contributions
Spring Canyon Capital LLC	$2,500	Sep. 16, 2025	Itemized contributions
Comcast Financial Agency Corp.	$1,500	Jun. 6, 2026	Itemized contributions
Salt Lake Bee's (vendor)	$2,000 + $8,736	Jun. 18 & Sep. 24, 2025	Itemized expenditures
Tiara Auxier for Utah	$1,000	Jan. 17, 2025	Itemized expenditures
Committee to Elect Jordan Teuscher	$1,000	May 26, 2026	Itemized expenditures
Nik Anderson for Utah	$5,000	May 27, 2026	Itemized expenditures
Committee to Elect Luke Searle	$1,000	Jun. 2, 2026	Itemized expenditures

D. Teuscher Campaign (District 44) — Direct Contributions from Conservative Millennials PAC

Claimed Transaction	Amount	Date	Verification Path
Contribution to Teuscher	$5,000	Oct. 15, 2024	disclosures.utah.gov → "Teuscher, Jordan" → 2024 reports

Contribution to Teuscher	$2,000	Nov. 2, 2024	Same
Contribution to Teuscher	$6,000	Dec. 13, 2024	Same
Contribution to Teuscher	$10,000	Jun. 5, 2026	disclosures.utah.gov → "Teuscher, Jordan" → 2026 reports
Total campaign contributions (2024–2026)	~$185,000	2024–2026	Sum of all itemized contributions

E. Veracity Enterprises / HB 60 (Ken Ivory & Keven Stratton)

Claimed Transaction	Amount	Date	Verification Path
Ivory → Veracity (8 transactions, 2024)	$40,364.37	2024	disclosures.utah.gov → "Ivory, Ken" → 2024 itemized expenditures
Stratton → Veracity (16 transactions, 2023–2025)	$34,077.11	2023–2025	disclosures.utah.gov → "Stratton, Keven" → itemized expenditures
Stratton 2025: Jan. 6 $490, Jan. 13 $2,000, Jun. 26 $750, Jul. 28 $518	$3,758	2025	Stratton 2025 itemized expenditures, "Constituent Services"
Ivory: Veracity $26,319 + In The Field $17,178 + Tactical Campaigns $25,939.97	$69,436.97 (87.8%)	2024	Ivory 2024 expenditure report

F. Jake Sawyer (HD-9)

Claimed Transaction	Amount	Date	Verification Path
2024 Convention phase raised	$2,500	Jan–Apr 2024	disclosures.utah.gov → "Sawyer, Jake" → 2024 Convention Report
2024 post-convention raised	$45,800	Aug–Oct 2024	2024 Primary + Sept 30 reports
2024 total spent	$54,864	2024	2024 General Report
In The Field, LLC	$19,936	2024	Itemized expenditures
Politix, LLC	$5,244.20	2024	Itemized expenditures
2025 off-year raised	$7,150	Sep–Dec 2025	2025 Year-End Report
2025 total spent	$793	2025	2025 Year-End Report
2026 early funding	$3,000	Through Jun. 2026	2026 Convention Report
Utah Association of Realtors	$1,500	2026	Itemized contributions
Utah Bankers Association	$500	2026	Itemized contributions

G. Election Hive LLC / Cox Spencer (Legislative Pipeline)

Claimed Claim	Verification Path
Monthly retainers >$32,000 (MacPherson campaign)	disclosures.utah.gov → "MacPherson, Matt" → itemized expenditures to "Election Hive" or "Cox Spencer"
~$800,000 annually across multiple cycles	Aggregate of all Election Hive/Cox Spencer line items across named candidate reports
Ken Ivory: $3,321 advertising during active debates	Ivory's 2025 itemized expenditures, filtered to session dates
Sheldon Birch: >$16,000 operational tracking	disclosures.utah.gov → "Birch, Sheldon" → 2025–2026 reports
Samuel Barlow: >$3,000	disclosures.utah.gov → "Barlow, Samuel" → 2025–2026 reports
Adams Leadership PAC: >$70,600	disclosures.utah.gov → "Adams Leadership PAC" → 2026 reports
All In For Utah PAC: >$34,000 ad buys	disclosures.utah.gov → "All In For Utah PAC" → 2026 expenditure reports

H. HD-10 (Alvey / Lesser)

Claimed Transaction	Amount	Verification Path

Alvey: residential parcel $884,953 (James M. & Sheryl A. Alvey Revocable Trust)	—	Weber County Assessor property search (not campaign finance)
Lesser: total contributions thru Jun. 2026	$56,934.86	disclosures.utah.gov → "Lesser, Rosemary" → 2026 reports
Lesser: David Lesser (Skyline Pkwy, Ogden) >$9,600	>$9,600	Lesser 2026 itemized contributions, filtered to "Lesser, David"
Lesser: Utah Investment Network PAC	$7,500	Itemized contributions
Lesser: Utah Women and Politics PAC	$5,000	Itemized contributions
Lesser: Fresh Air PAC	$2,500	Itemized contributions
Lesser: Education First Utah	$2,500	Itemized contributions
Alvey: 19 individual contributions totaling $2,595	$2,595	disclosures.utah.gov → "Alvey, Jim" → Aug 12, 2026 report
Alvey: ending balance $37,937.31	$37,937.31	Same report

I. HD-16 (Stevenson)

Claimed Transaction	Amount	Verification Path
Stevenson's own money	$73,594.17$ (58,655.71 + $14,938.46 loan)	disclosures.utah.gov → "Stevenson" → 2026 reports

PAC and institutional money	$91,415 (43.8%)	Itemized contributions from PACs
Individual donors	$43,654 (20.9%)	Itemized contributions from individuals
Utah Legacy Endowed Fund → CMV PAC	>$280,000 (2025–2026)	disclosures.utah.gov → "CMV PAC" → itemized contributions

J. HD-6 (Crosby vs. Moore) — Federal (FEC, not Utah)

Claimed Transaction	Amount	Verification Path
Crosby total receipts	$138,381.77	fec.gov → committee C00656264 (or Crosby's committee) → quarterly reports
Crosby from individuals	$138,206.29	FEC itemized contributions
Crosby from PACs	$0.00	FEC itemized contributions
Crosby cash on hand (Sep. 30)	$48,753.03	FEC quarterly report
Moore total receipts	$2,737,554.49	fec.gov → Moore's committee → quarterly reports
Moore from PACs	$1,565,500.00	FEC itemized contributions

Moore Q3 (Jul–Sep): $200,918.27 (56,918.27 individuals + $144,000 PACs)	$200,918.27	FEC Q3 2026 report

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How to Independently Verify

Every state-level claim maps to a specific searchable record at disclosures.utah.gov:

1. Go to disclosures.utah.gov/search/publicsearch
2. Type the entity name (e.g., "Utah Forward PAC", "Ivory, Ken", "Teuscher, Jordan")
3. Select the name → "Go To Public View"
4. Navigate to the relevant reporting period (Convention, Primary, Sept 30, General, Year-End)
5. Review itemized contributions and expenditures

For municipal/county candidates (Weber County Commission), use disclosures.utah.gov/Municipal.

For corporate filings (entity formation, officers, addresses), use the Utah Division of Corporations search.

For lobbyist registrations, use lobbyist.utah.gov.

Caveat: The disclosure portal is interactive and I cannot retrieve the actual itemized line items programmatically. The matrix above maps each claim to the exact search path where you can verify it yourself. The Weber County Hive states in its methodology sections that it downloads and cross-references these records directly.

FCC political files and related advertising records

FCC Political Files — Utah Broadcast Stations (2025–2026)

Regulatory Framework

Under 47 CFR § 73.1943 (broadcast) and § 76.1701 (cable), stations must maintain a political file containing, for each request:

Required Element	Source Document
Whether request was accepted or rejected	NAB PB-19 / Political PFD
Rate charged	Invoice / Station Order
Date and time aired	Station Order / Log
Class of time purchased	NAB PB-19 / Rate Sheet
Name of candidate/issue and office	NAB PB-19
List of officers/directors (issue ads)	NAB PB-19 (non-candidate)
Free time provided	Political PFD

Retention: 2 years minimum. Upload required "as soon as possible" (FCC interprets as "immediately absent unusual circumstances").

Station-by-Station File Index

All files are at publicfiles.fcc.gov → station profile → "Political Files" → year → category.

TV Stations (Salt Lake City market — covers all 4 congressional districts)

Station	Call Sign	2025 Files	2026 Files	URL

KSL-TV (NBC)	KSL-TV	38	68	link
KSTU (FOX)	KSTU	26	(2026 present)	link
KUTV (CBS)	KUTV	13	32	link
KTVX (ABC)	KTVX	49	—	link

Radio Stations

Station	Call Sign	2025 Files	2026 Files	URL
KSL AM 1160	KSL	156	29	link
KSL-FM 102.7	KSL-FM	157	27	link
KDUT 102.3 (Randolph/Weber Co.)	KDUT	0	—	link

Note: KDUT (Randolph, UT — Weber County) shows 0 files for 2025. Additional Ogden-market stations (KOGN, KOIN, KZJL, etc.) should be checked individually at publicfiles.fcc.gov.

Document Types & What to Extract

Each sponsor/advertiser folder contains a mix of the following (confirmed from actual file listings):

Document Type	Identifier Pattern	Dollar Data

NAB Form PB-19 (candidate)	"NAB" in filename	Rate schedule, total cost estimate
NAB Form PB-19 (non-candidate/issue)	"NAB" in filename	Same + officer/director list
Station Order	Numeric order # (e.g., "1519481", "181007")	Actual billed amount per flight
Invoice	"Invoice" in filename	Final charged amount, payment terms
Estimated cost sheet	"est" + date range (e.g., "est 329404 3 29 to 4 4")	Pre-buy estimate
Political PFD	"Political-PFD-MM-DD-YYYY"	Summary record (accept/reject, rate, class)

Confirmed 2026 Example (KSTU / Defending Our Values PAC)

Filename	Size	Date	Likely Type
Defending Our Value PAC 1519481	33.45 KB	05/28/2026	Station Order
Defending Our Values 1520776	33.43 KB	06/03/2026	Station Order
Defending Our Values 1520777	33.43 KB	06/03/2026	Station Order

Defending Our Values PAC	1,631.37 KB	05/28/2026	NAB PB-19 / comprehensive
Defending-Our-Values-PAC-Political-PFD-05-28-2026	60.53 KB	05/28/2026	Political PFD

URL: KSTU 2026 / Defending Our Values PAC

Confirmed 2023 Example (KSL-TV / Conservative Values for Utah)

Filename	Size	Date	Type
KSL-TV - Conservative Values for Utah Station Order (flight Nov 16–22) #181007	18.18 KB	11/07/2023	Station Order
KSL-TV - Conservative Values for Utah Station Order (flight Nov 8–15) #181001	18.18 KB	11/07/2023	Station Order
KSL-TV - Invoice - Conservative Values for Utah 181007-1	32.22 KB	01/02/2024	Invoice
KSL-TV - Invoice - Conservative Values for Utah 181001-1	31.26 KB	01/02/2024	Invoice
KSL-TV - NAB Form PB-19 - Conservative Values for Utah #181001	168.19 KB	11/09/2023	NAB PB-19
KSL-TV - NAB Form PB-19 - Conservative Values for Utah #181007	165.37 KB	11/09/2023	NAB PB-19

URL: KSL-TV 2023 / Conservative Values for Utah

Methodology: From Original Documents to Dollar Totals

Step 1 — Enumerate sponsors. Navigate each station's political file by year. The folder structure is:

```
Political Files → [Year] → Candidate Ads / Non-Candidate Issue Ads → [Sponsor Name]
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For the Weber County Hive investigation, target these sponsors (based on prior PAC/candidate findings):

Sponsor (as it would appear in the file)	Cross-Reference
Conservative Values for Utah / Conservative Outsider PAC	HD-16, congressional
Defending Our Values PAC	2026 issue ads
Utah Forward PAC	HD-9, HD-10
Conservative Millennials PAC	HD-44
All In For Utah PAC	Legislative pipeline
Adams Leadership PAC	Senate
[Individual candidate names]	HD-6, HD-9, HD-10, HD-16, HD-44

Step 2 — Download all PDFs per sponsor. For each sponsor folder, download every document. The dollar-relevant documents are:

- Station Orders → contain the actual per-spot rate × number of spots × number of days = flight total
- Invoices → contain the final billed amount (may include discounts, production fees, or taxes)
- NAB PB-19 → contains the agreed rate schedule and total estimated cost

Step 3 — Extract and reconcile. For each sponsor:

Field	Source
Agreed rate (per spot)	NAB PB-19, "Rate" field
Class of time	NAB PB-19, "Class" field
Flight dates	Station Order header
Spots per day × days	Station Order line items
Gross flight cost	Station Order subtotal
Discounts / LUR adjustment	Invoice line items
Net billed amount	Invoice total
Payment status	Invoice ("PAID" / "NET 30" / etc.)

Step 4 — Cross-check against campaign finance. Compare the station's billed amount to the corresponding expenditure line in the PAC/candidate's disclosure at disclosures.utah.gov. The two should match (or the disclosure should show the same vendor name and amount).

Step 5 — Aggregate. Sum net billed amounts across all stations for each sponsor to get the total broadcast ad spend. Compare to the total "broadcast television" or "broadcast radio" expenditure category in the campaign finance reports.

Key Caveats

1. I cannot download or parse the PDFs programmatically. The URLs above are the original documents — you must open each one to read the dollar figures.

2. State/local candidate ads are in the political file only if the station chose to accept them (reasonable access applies only to *federal* candidates under § 312(a)(7)). State and local candidate buys may be missing from some stations' files.
3. Issue ads (non-candidate) are only required in the file if they "communicate a message relating to any political matter of national importance" (47 U.S.C. § 315(e)(2)(B)). Purely state-local issue ads may not be filed.
4. The 2026 political window for Utah's June 23 primary opened May 9, 2026 — Lowest Unit Rates (LUR) applied to candidate buys during that window.
5. Cable/MVPD files (Comcast, DirecTV, etc.) are separate and maintained by the cable operator, not the broadcast station. These would cover paid cable ad buys and are accessible at the same publicfiles.fcc.gov under the cable system operator's profile.

Suggested Collection Order (by priority)

1. KSTU 2026 (26+ files; Defending Our Values PAC already confirmed)
2. KSL-TV 2026 (68 files — largest TV file)
3. KUTV 2026 (32 files)
4. KSL AM 2025 (156 files — radio is a major spend channel in Utah)
5. KSL-FM 2025 (157 files)
6. KTVX 2025 (49 files)
7. All stations 2025 (for the Prop 4 repeal initiative period, Oct 2025–Apr 2026)
8. Ogden-market stations (for Weber County-specific buys)

Each PDF is typically 15–300 KB and takes under 10 seconds to download. The full set across all stations and both years is likely in the range of 500–800 documents.

This appendix does not include or disclose confidential communications. All publication claims require final source-to-claim review.

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