Logical and Statistical Fallacies, Factual Distortions, and Downright Lies in

Claims about Election Fraud in 2020

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**Karl Popper is perhaps most famous for his views on what is truth in science. He says that theory cannot be proven true, but can be falsified. Scientific inquiry requires a theory to be falsifiable. Absence of evidence that something is false does not make it false. One can present a theory, that theory can be subject to empirical or experimental evidence, which can either be shown to be false, or give evidence that it is not false. Some theories might be falsified only with evidence that is not measurable, i.e., latent evidence, while data that might show a theory to hold credence is not available at all. Because theories can only be shown to be false but not true, misinformation often permeates into discussions. Politicians are well known liars; as the old adage goes “How do you know a politician is lying? His lips are moving”. Another adage captures the essence of this essay: "There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics."**

**We concern ourselves here with the logical fallacies associated with claims of election fraud. Broadly defined, election fraud is any incidence in which an election is not free or fair. It may be that a vote is cast by someone ineligible to cast a vote, or it can be the choose of a voter is changed without their approval. It may be something more systematic, such as election officials neglecting to count some set of votes, or by counting some set of votes more than once. Some might include in their definition of fraud more general claims such as including those who were prohibited from casting a ballot through voter suppression or other means, though for our purposes we will include only the former set of claims. Claims of fraud can be as narrow as “this person voted illegally” to “this election was stolen from one candidate”.**

**Correlation is not causation. <- IF WE DECIDE TO GO BEYOND CLAIMS OF FRAUD, WE COULD ALSO TALK ABOUT THIS FALLACY. AN EXAMPLE WOULD BE THAT THE RIOT ON THE CAPITOL WAS PERPETUATED BY WHITE NATIONALISTS, BUT IT COULD BE THAT WHITE NATIONALISM IS CORRELATED WITH THOSE WHO BELIEVE THEIR WAS FRAUD.**

**TO CUT - People are quick to dismiss claims of massive voter fraud because the probability that these claims are correct are low; but the probability is not zero. Karl Popper's "critical rationalism" requires that a scientific inquiry requires a theory to be falsifiable. When it comes to voter fraud, the theory is "there is no voter fraud in the 2020 election". To falsify, we need to only find a case of voter fraud, which there are at least one (https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/23/technology/Pennsylvania-voter-fraud-bartman.html). The scope of the fraud is what is controversial. First, many of the claims are not testable, since the evidence require either does not exist (votes were changed by election administrators). Second, finding these claims in many cases would require identifying individual's vote choices, which would be unethical and illegal.**

**Several** remarkable claims **have been made about how massive fraud facilitated the election of Joe Biden instead of the re-election of President Trump in 2020.** Some of these claims are based on numerous instances **and affidavits** of eyewitness evidence of supposed ballot tampering. But, when Trump’s lawyers were given the opportunity to present this evidence in court, no state **or federal** court found the witness claims credible.[[1]](#footnote-1) Trump’s attorneys also offered legal arguments that state laws about election administration were violated, e.g., in allowing extra time for receipt of properly postmarked mail ballots -- justified by state officials because of post office slowdowns linked to the pandemic, or in allowing voters the opportunity to fill in missing data on the envelopes of otherwise legal mail-in ballots. But, when these legal arguments were made in the appropriate forums, namely state courts, they were also rejected.[[2]](#footnote-2) No violations of state law were found.

Trump supporters also made some disturbing factual claims about electoral discrepancies that turned out, in fact, to be just plain wrong -- such as the claim that more ballots were cast in Pennsylvania than there were voters. The Pennsylvania claim was based on using a data source that had not yet been updated with information on the final number of completed ballots.[[3]](#footnote-3)

Similarly, claims that a tabulation station in **Fulton County, Georgia** was flooded and thousands of additional ballots were rolled in and added in the confusion is simply a lie. **Fulton County is the home to Atlanta and voted overwhelmingly for Joe Biden (+46 points).** Indeed, there was no flood at the claimed site **but instead was a leaky toilet. Republican poll watchers left after being told that counting would be paused, but counting continued. [[4]](#footnote-4)**

**Ken Paxton, in his rule as Attorney General of the state of Texas, sued the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the state of Georgia, and the state of Wisconsin. The suit claims that “Non-legislative actors’ purported amendments to States’ duly enacted election laws, in violation of**

**the Electors Clause’s vesting State legislatures with plenary authority regarding the appointment of presidential electors.” 126 members of the House of Representatives[[5]](#footnote-5) filed an amicus brief with the court repeating this claim that state courts and governors had no constitutional authority to alter election laws in the first place, which alone invalidates Trump’s losses. The U.S. Supreme Court, which had original jurisdiction in the case ruled in an unsigned brief that “has not demonstrated a judicially cognizable interest in the manner in which another state conducts its elections” (*Texas v. Pennsylvania*, 592 U.S. \_\_\_).**

Our focus in this essay will be limited to those claims where the election data being referenced in support of the fraud claim is itself not in dispute. Rather what is in error is the asserting that these election facts provide proof of massive election fraud. The claims in question have as their general form: “The only way Biden these election results could have happened is if there was massive fraud.” We will show that these arguments either involve logically fallacious reasoning, or reasoning that might be logically valid but has one or more false premises. In the latter instances what is fallacious are the erroneous implications drawn from the data. **The claims we address are by no means exhaustive of all those that were made, since many were made through misinformation channels in which we are not aware.**

Let us begin with two of the most nonsensical of the various statistically based claims made by those who assert massive election fraud– though choosing which of the claims is the silliest is not at all an easy call.

Dr. Charles Cicchetti, an expert witness in a Republican lawsuit (***Texas v. Pennsylvania*, 592 U.S. \_\_\_)** challenging results in Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin asserted that he could demonstrate beyond any possibility of error that the vote share for Joe Biden in 2020 differed from that of Hillary Clinton. Well, he’s certainly right about that fact. But what that shows about election fraud is -- exactly nothing!

Dr. Cicchetti also found that, in some states, President Trump’s share of the vote declined as more ballots were tabulate, and he found the difference between early vote share for Trump and later vote share for share for Trump to be statistically significant beyond any reasonable doubt. And about that fact he is quite correct.

In states where the late-tallied ballots were disproportionately mail-in ballots Dr. Cicchetti apparently took the fact that the mail-in votes were more Democratic than in-person votes to be evidence that the mail-in ballot reflected pro-Biden vote fraud. The best way to characterize this argument is:

If there were fraud that disproportionately affected mail-in votes and tilted them in a pro-Biden direction (A),

then there would be a difference between mail-in votes and in-person votes, with Biden doing better in the latter (B).

There was such a difference in the predicted direction (B).

Therefore, there was fraud (A).

It is easy to see that this argument is simply an example of the well-known logical fallacy of *affirming the consequent.*

A difference in support among voters who vote in person and voters who vote by mail proves nothing noting about fraud. There is no reason to think that the mail ballots and the in-person ballots should be have identical distributions of Trump votes. The likelihood of casting a ballot by mail varies across areas within a state, with Democratic leaning areas (cities and counties) more likely to cast mail ballots (**Foley 2013[[6]](#footnote-6)**). Consequently, it was expected well in advance of the final tabulations in 2020 that, in most states, mail-in ballots would disproportionally tend Democratic. This pattern was also found in 2016, **and moreover, was predicted in advance of the 2020 election (Foley and Stewart 2020[[7]](#footnote-7))**.

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Another set of arguments has to do with the failure of the 2020 election to match patterns found in previous elections.

For example, Trump supporters such as Shurk (2020)[[8]](#footnote-8) noted that no incumbent who has won more than 75% of the primary vote has lost **her** election. Therefore, since Trump had won 94% of the primary vote, he must have won re-election. **Internal links to the claim on Twitter say that the first primary was in 1912 and that Trump had received a higher percentage of the primary vote than Eisenhower, Nixon, Clinton, and Obama. Moreover, only five incumbents have received at least 90% of their primary vote.[[9]](#footnote-9)** Shurk (2020) also observes that no incumbent in over 100 years who has gained votes in his reelection bid has lost his quest for reelection.

**It would be equally valid for use to** claim that no incumbent whose overall presidential approval rating was as low as that of President Trump had ever won re-election.**[[10]](#footnote-10)** Therefore Trump *must* have lost. Unfortunately for this type of argument, there is no guarantee that what was true in the past will be true in the future. **We must note that any statistical test of this hypothesis would be limited since the sample size of presidential elections is small, and ever more limited is the set of elections where a candidate had no major rival in the primary, or where their approval ratings were low. Indeed, when a candidate’s approval rating is as low as President Trump’s was at the time of the general election, they are likely headed to defeat.[[11]](#footnote-11)** And the only way to be certain about what an election result will be is to conduct that election.

A related fallacious argument is that winning presidential candidates have coattails that aid members of their party in the House of Representatives to gain seats. But the Democrats lost 12 seats in the House, so Biden must not have won the election and thus there must have been massive multi-state fraud. The structure of this argument is

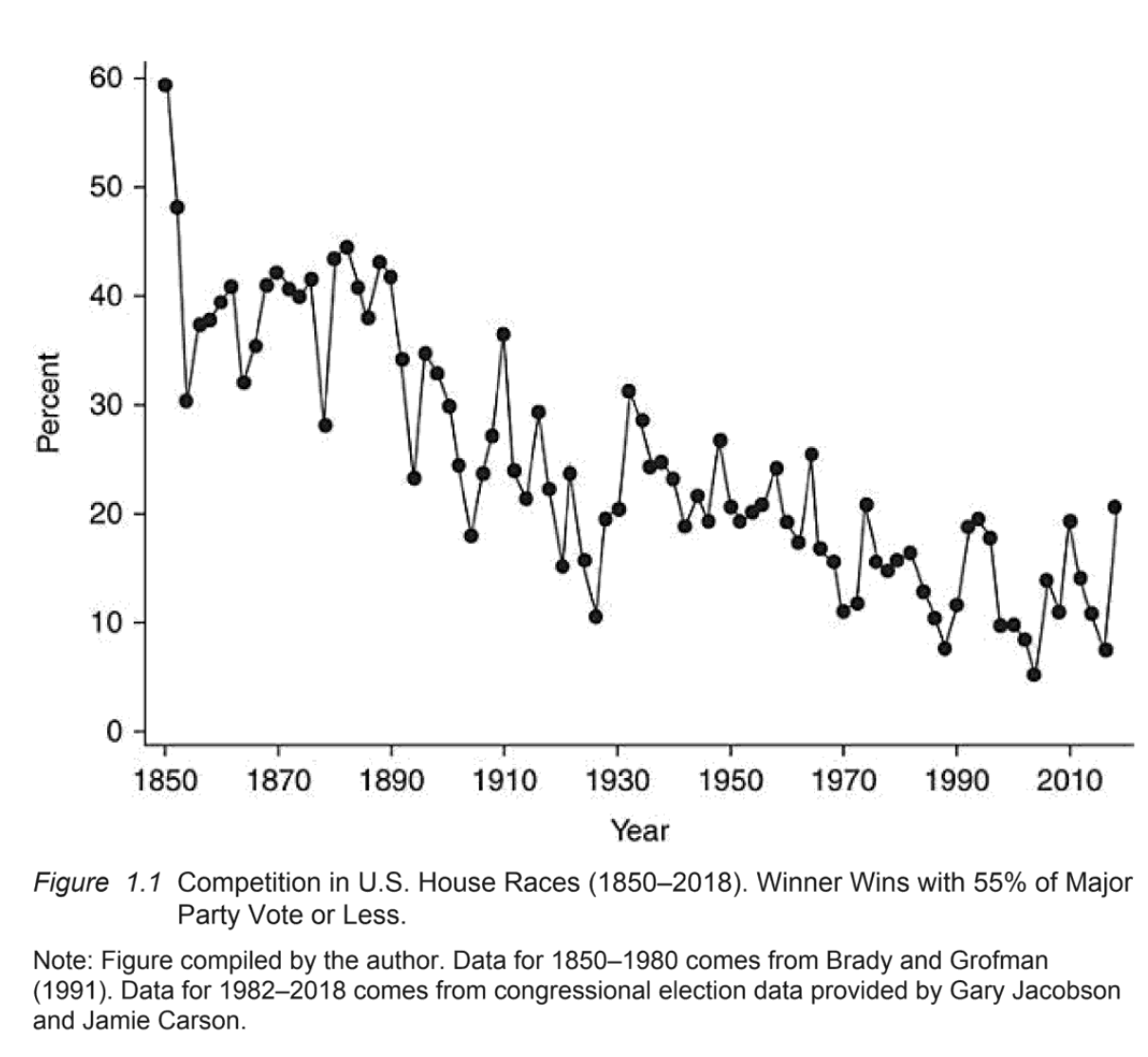
If a presidential candidate wins election (A),

then there will be a gain in the number of members of his party in the U.S. House of Representative (B).

There was no gain for the Democrats in the House in 2020 (not B)

Therefore, Biden must have lost the election (not A)

This is a valid argument. It is an example of *denying the consequent*. However, the premise on which is built, that presidential coattails are inevitable, is false. **By coattails, we are referring to increasing the number of members in the U.S. House of Representatives that share the incoming president’s party (Campbell 1986[[12]](#footnote-12)). But negative coattails are not uncommon. Since 1868,** there have been **13** elections where a president has had negative coattails (**including 2016 and 2020**). Negative coattails are more likely when (a) elections are close in popular vote (b) there is substantial partisan bias against the party of the presidential winner in the House, (c) a substantial portion of the votes for the winning presidential candidate are wasted in states that are won by large margins, and (d) there are many more seats won by the previous president in the election four years earlier which have a sitting House member of the other party than there are seats lost by the previous president in the elections four years earlier which have a sitting House member of his party. All four of these features are found in 2020. Biden’s share of the popular vote was only 52.27%; the estimated partisan bias in 2020 in the House of Representatives in 2020 was **2.7**%.[[13]](#footnote-13) **Congressional districts have become far less competitive in recent elections, leaving fewer chances for a president to provide coattails large enough to flip seats.[[14]](#footnote-14)**

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If we eliminate **the states that gave the widest raw margin to Biden,** California and New York from the calculations, Trump has a majority of the vote in the remaining states -- we would not expect to see Biden coattails in those **remaining** states. Democratic gains in the House in the 2018 midterm **were significant, and turnout was a level not seen before universal adult franchise (Jacobson 2019[[15]](#footnote-15)).** There were 35 House constituencies carried by Trump in 2016 but with a Democratic House member elected in 2018[[16]](#footnote-16), and only 5 House constituencies lost by Trump in 2016 but with a Republican House member elected in 2018[[17]](#footnote-17). Thus, Democrats in 2020 had many more vulnerable House seats than did the Republicans. Moreover, up through 2016 there is a time trend of decreasing presidential coattails which, when projected onto 2020 would create an expectation of a negative coattail in the 2020 election.

**BG, THERE HAS ALSO BEEN AN ARGUMENT MADE THAT TRUMP INCREASED THE NUMBER OF COUNTIES HE WON IN 2020, SO HE COULDN’T POSSIBLY HAVE LOST! https://apnews.com/article/fact-checking-afs:Content:9848943909**

Another similar argument is that Biden lost most of the counties that had been bellwether counties, therefore since bellwether counties predict presidential elections, Biden must really have lost the election. Again we can write this argument as

If a presidential candidate wins the election (A)

then they can be expected to carry almost all the bellwether counties (B),

Biden lost almost all of the bellwether counties (not B)

Therefore, Biden must have lost the election (not A)

This, too, is actually a valid argument -- another example of *denying the consequent*. However, even though “not B” is empirically accurate, once again, the premise on which the argument is built, namely that bellwethers predict elections, is false. Tufte (1974: 47) observes that, over the course of four decades, the psephologist Louis Bean wrote four books premised on the notion that “as goes X, so goes the country,” where the X in question was some unit of political geography such as a country or a state. Tufte (1974, chapter 3; 1975) wrote a devastating rebuttal to Bean that should have staked the myth of bellwethers for all time, since Tufte showed that, over the period 1916-1968, there were no real state level bellwethers and the U.S. counties identified as presidential bellwethers at time t had no better track record at the next election than the non-bellwether counties.[[18]](#footnote-18) And yet, belief in bellwether units of geography, more particularly in the existence of bellwether counties, refuses to die.[[19]](#footnote-19)

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A third example of fallacious argument based on comparisons of past and present election results is based on the empirically accurate observation that the spoiled ballot rate of mail-in ballots was much lower (sometime more than an order of magnitude lower) than in 2016. This fact is taken to be evidence of mail-ballot fraud by Trump supporters. But it is not.

We can write the argument as

If there is ballot fraud involving mail-in ballots (A),

then the spoilage rate among mail-in ballots will be lower than in the past(B).

The spoilage rate among mail-in ballots was lower than in the past (B)

Therefore, there was ballot fraud involving mail-in ballots (A).

Here we once again have the fallacy of *affirming the consequent*.

There are good reasons why ballot spoilage was lower in 2020 than in 2016, namely much greater effort on the part of election administrators to inform voters of what they needed to do to cast a valid ballot (**CITES NEEDED**). **For instance, popular late night comedy Stephen Colbert created a rather sophisticated website aimed as informing those in all 50 states about the specifics for casting a ballot in each of those states.[[20]](#footnote-20) His “Better Know a Ballot” also aired in many times in the months before the elections on his number one rated show “A Late Show”. Ads developed by the states themselves aired on television channels and as ads on streaming services.[[21]](#footnote-21) The Democratic National Committee also spent millions of dollars on television ads with information about returning mail-in ballots.[[22]](#footnote-22)**

And, in some states, there were greater efforts to ensure that those who submitted a mailed-in ballot with an envelope which had some correctable error that would prevent the ballot inside the still unopened envelope from being counted were informed of the error and given the opportunity to correct it. **Eighteen states allowed voters to “cure” their ballots if there is a discrepancy.[[23]](#footnote-23) These states are disproportionately Democratic; Trump won just 5 of the 18. But of course every state has the right to enact their own laws, and since electors are allocated at the state level, voters in one state are not advantaged over those in another. ~~Moreover, the spoiled ballot rate of mail-in ballots was dramatically lowered both in states where election administration was under Republican control as in states where it was under Democratic control~~****~~IS THIS TRUE?~~**

**Cherry-picking:** Another class of arguments raised by Trump supporters involved cherry-picking the data. For example, it is true that minority support for Biden was lower than for Hillary Clinton, but support among categories of white voters, namely the college educated and those living in suburbs, was higher for Biden than for Hillary Clinton. **Context is also missing, since it is also true that a similar proportion of increased support among minority voters and white voters is not the same, since white voters make up a much larger percentage of the electorate. Moreover, increase are often expressed as percentage higher support, but since Trump support among minorities was so low in 2016, a small number of raw votes can translate into very large percentage change.**

Similarly, there were some urban areas where support for Biden was lower than for Hillary Clinton but there were also urban areas where support for Biden was higher than for Hillary Clinton. It is the combination of all the subgroup patterns of voting and the pattern of their geographic location as it affects Electoral College outcomes that matters. Looking only at some subsets of voters, or only some geographic areas, is misleading and can lead to ridiculous claims that the candidate who received more votes did not actually receive more votes.

In sum, the evidence and arguments used by President Trump and his followers to support the claim that there was massive fraud in the 2020 election and that Donald Trump was the rightful winner are, to paraphrase Jeremy Bentham, not just nonsense, but “nonsense on stilts.”[[24]](#footnote-24)

There is, however, one last logical fallacy to parse concerning claims of voter fraud in 2020 that needs to be addressed. It goes like this:

Only a madman would make over and over and over again the kinds of claims of massive fraud that President Trump has made, and go to the lengths President Trump has gone to litigate those claims, to insist his fellow Republicans endorse the claims, and to fire those in federal employ who publicly dispute those claims, unless he truly believed those claims about massive election fraud.

Donald Trump is not insane or mentally incompetent.

Therefore President Trump believes there was massive election fraud.

This, is a valid syllogism, but its first premise is false. A very sane and very calculating politician who cared only about himself and not about the country could choose to press claims about fraud that he knew very well to be false to (a) preserve himself from the taint of being called a “loser”, (b) to maximize his continued influence as the dominant figure in the Republican party even after he leaves office, and (c) to maximize his potential for gaining the Republican nomination in 2024 with a highly motivated based believing he was cheated in 2020 and committed to assuring his second coming by any means necessary.[[25]](#footnote-25)

**BLM and riots in the summer v. that at the Capitol: After protestors attending the “Stop the Steal” rally in Washington D.C. on January 6, 2021 were told to march to the Capitol building, some large number of protestors decided to siege the Capitol. Some of these rioters had zip ties, ostensibly to restrain Members of Congress to prevent them from certifying Joe Biden as President. Much of the Capitol was desecrated during the raid, including windows broken, documents stolen, and one police officer was murdered, while a number of others were injured or died due to the violence. Afterward, commentary on right-wing media and even members of Congress suggested it was Antifa and not Trump’s supporters who stormed the Capitol.[[26]](#footnote-26) Though the claims made are widely disputed, one the floor of the House, Matt Gaetz, said that he had heard that a facial recognition identified rioters as members of antifa. This type of misinformation relies on the public’s misconception of such technology, and pries on their fears about the use of the technology by the government as a way of limiting their freedoms. By linking the Capitol riot to antifa, a left-wing group with a militant bent, they sought to connect it to violence over the summer that was used widely in pro-Trump ads perpetuated by left-wing radicals. While there is plenty of evidence that those involved in the January 6th Capitol attack had planned in advance their actions and that antifa was not present, they have tried to equivocate the event to those Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests, suggesting that they are the same. We argue that this logic is flawed, since, although violence may always be frowned on, only one of these attacks sought to overturn the election results, or potentially initiate a coup de ta or an autogolpe.[[27]](#footnote-27) Moreover, while the BLM protestors who committed acts of violence against businesses, those at the Capitol did so against the federal government, which has led to the Department of Homeland Security issuing a warning that “false narratives” are leading some to commit acts of domestic terrorism.[[28]](#footnote-28)**

1. **As of this writing, there were 62 cases brought to state or federal courts, with Republican claims being refuted or denied standing in 61 of the cases. The sole win was when a Pennsylvania judge ruled that voters could not “cure” their ballot if they failed to provide identification within three days of the election. (https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/politics/elections/2021/01/06/trumps-failed-efforts-overturn-election-numbers/4130307001/).** [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. **For a full accounting of lawsuits, see** [**https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Post-election\_lawsuits\_related\_to\_the\_2020\_United\_States\_presidential\_election**](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Post-election_lawsuits_related_to_the_2020_United_States_presidential_election)**; see also “Current Litigation”, January 15, 2021, *American Bar Association*, https://www.americanbar.org/groups/public\_interest/election\_law/litigation/.** [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Ali Swenson**, “There were not more votes than voters in Pennsylvania”, December 29, 2020, *AP News,* https://apnews.com/article/fact-checking-afs:Content:9887147615.** [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Brie Stimson, “**Georgia investigating vote counting delayed by flooding in Democratic county”, November 18, 2020, *Fox News*, https://www.foxnews.com/politics/georgia-investigating-vote-counting-delayed-by-flooding-in-democratic-county-gop-poll-watchers-told-counting.** [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. **Motion for Leave to File Brief Amicus Curiae and Brief Amicus Curiae of U.S. Representative Mike Johnson and 125 Other Members of the U.S. House of Representatives in Support of Plaintiff’s Motion for Leave to File a Bill of Complaint and Motion for a Preliminary Injunction, December 10, 2002, http://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/22/22O155/163550/20201211132250339\_Texas%20v.%20Pennsylvania%20Amicus%20Brief%20of%20126%20Representatives%20--%20corrected.pdf.** [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Foley, E. B. (n.d.). A Big Blue Shift: Measuring an Asymmetrically Increasing Margin of Litigation The Voting Wars: Elections and the Law from Registration to Inauguration. *Journal of Law & Politics*, *28*(4), 501–546. https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/jlp28&i=517 [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. ﻿**Foley, E. B., & Stewart III, C. (2020). Explaining the Blue Shift in Election Canvassing. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=3547734** [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. 5 More Ways Joe Biden Magically Outperformed Election Norms, **https://thefederalist.com/2020/11/23/5-more-ways-joe-biden-magically-outperformed-election-norms/** [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. **This claim links to Twitter user David Chapman (@davidchapman141), a self-proclaimed “Author & Historian”. This “thread” is filled with statistics purportedly showing how Biden is the historic underdog going into the 2020 election. Other such claims include “Incumbents are 6-6 when facing re-election during civil unrest [undefended], but 4-0 when facing a pandemic and civil unrest”. See more: https://twitter.com/davidchapman141/status/1315440579485069314?s=20** [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Shurk (2020) asserts that Trump’s supporters were more enthusiastic than Biden’s but, of course, it is whether Democrats and Republicans and independents voted and how they voted, not whether they held their nose while doing so that matters. And, even if many Democrats were not that enthusiastic about voting for Biden, many Democrats were highly motivated to vote against Trump. It is the perceived relative merits of the two candidates that determines for whom a voter will cast a ballot, and disgust can be at least as strong a motivator of turnout as attachment. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. **Our** **historical records of presidential approval only go back to the 1940s when public polling first cropped up in a scientific way. This limited data shows that presidents with approval ratings below 50% tend to lose re-election. Jeffrey M. Jones, “Presidential Job Approval Related to Reelection Historically”, May 29, 2020, *Gallup,* https://news.gallup.com/poll/311825/presidential-job-approval-related-reelection-historically.aspx.** [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. ﻿**Campbell, J. E. (1986). Predicting Seat Gains from Presidential Coattails. American Journal of Political Science, 30(1), 165. https://doi.org/10.2307/2111299** [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. **For more details on Biden’s overperformance compared to U.S. House Democratic candidates, see William A. Galston, “Why did House Democrats underperform compared to Joe Biden?”, December 21, 2020, *Brookings*, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2020/12/21/why-did-house-democrats-underperform-compared-to-joe-biden/.** [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. **See Erik Engstrom “Congressional Elections: Electoral Structure and Political Representation” in ﻿New Directions in American Politics, eds Jamie Carson and Michael Lynch.** [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. ﻿J**acobson, G. C. (2019). Extreme Referendum: Donald Trump and the 2018 Midterm Elections. Political Science Quarterly, 134(1), 9–38. https://doi.org/10.1002/polq.12866** [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. **An increase of 22 from 2016.** [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. **A decrease by 19 from 2016.** [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Tufte opens his 1975 article with this trenchant historical quote: “Prior to the 1936 presidential election, the conventional political wisdom had it that as Maine voted, so went the rest of the nation. After the 46-state landslide, James Farley, Roosevelt's campaign manager, revised the theory: ‘As goes Maine, so goes Vermont’.” Tufte (1974: 50) observes: “Sometimes previously accurate districts do better than just any collection of districts; sometimes they don't. The [county level] retrospective bellwethers were particularly poor in the close elections of 1960 and 1968.” [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. While Tufte (1974: 50) debunks the theory that bellwethers can predict the future, he is clear that he does not expect his rebuttal to be definitive. “Perhaps each time one hears of an area with a spectacular predictive record in the past, a glimmer of hope and curiosity arises suggesting that surely this fine record couldn't be mere chance -- there must be *something* going on .” Of course, Tufte then goes on to say: “Whatever that something might be, it isn't a high degree of prospective accuracy.” [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. “Better Know a Ballot”, Accessed January 29, 2021, *A Late Show with Stephen Colbert,* **https://www.betterknowaballot.com/.** [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. **In Pennsylvania, this included pointing viewers to a website developed by the Department of State. Ads featured prominent actors and athletes from the state. https://www.votespa.com/Pages/default.aspx** [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. “DNC Launches New Digital Ads in PA Reaching Vote-By-Mail Voters: “How to Return Your Ballot!””, September 24, 2020, *Democratic National Convention,* **https://democrats.org/news/dnc-launches-new-digital-ads-in-pa-reaching-vote-by-mail-voters-how-to-return-your-ballot/.** [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. September 21, 2020, *National Conference of State Legislatures*, **https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/vopp-table-15-states-that-permit-voters-to-correct-signature-discrepancies.aspx.** [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. **Bentham, Jeremy, *Rights, Representation, and Reform: Nonsense upon Stilts and Other Writings on the French Revolution*, ed. Schofield, P., Pease-Watkin, C., and Blamires, C., Oxford, 2002 (*The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham*), pp. 317–401.** [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. The reader can judge for herself or himself whether the second premise is also false [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Tio Armus, **“Rep. Matt Gaetz and other GOP politicians baselessly suggest antifa is to blame for pro-Trump mob rioting into Capitol”, January 7, 2021, *The Washington Post*, https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2021/01/07/antifa-capitol-gaetz-trump-riot/.** [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. **Nicole Narea, “3 scholars say Trump isn’t staging a coup — but he still poses a threat to democracy”, November 14, 2020, *Vox*, https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2020/11/14/21561952/trump-coup-2020-election-biden-president.** [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. **Mike Levin, “DHS uses federal alert system for 1st time in a year to warn of domestic terrorist threat”, January 27, 2021, *ABC News*, https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/dhs-federal-alert-system-1st-time-year-warn/story?id=75517886.** [↑](#footnote-ref-28)