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WHO REALLY WON THE 2020 ELECTION?

Measuring the Effect of Mail-in Ballot Fraud in the Trump-Biden Race for the White House

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Impartial elections are absolutely essential to a cohesive and fruitful society. Historically, Americans have generally trusted that national elections have been free, fair, and secure, as well as bereft of widespread fraud. For generations, the majority of Americans have trusted that the electoral results delivered to the public were an accurate reflection of the will of the people. However, this time-honored tradition changed after the 2020 election. In the wake of the COVID-19 global pandemic, dozens of states significantly altered their voting processes. In many cases, these changes occurred imprudently, without serious consideration of their potentially adverse effects and without the consent of the people's elected representatives in state legislatures.

These abrupt and hasty changes to voting procedures in the months before the 2020 election occurred despite the fact that ample evidence showed that mass mail-in voting, unsecure ballot drop boxes, ballot harvesting, and lack of signature verification would result in a flood of fraudulent ballots that would undermine the accuracy of the election results.

This paper examines the likely impact that fraudulent mail-in ballots cast for both Joe Biden and Donald Trump in the 2020 election could have

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had upon the overall electoral results, based upon recently unearthed evidence indicating widespread mail-in voter fraud indeed occurred in the 2020 election. After summarizing the problems associated with mail-in voting, we discuss the results of a groundbreaking poll conducted by The Heartland Institute and Rasmussen Reports in November/December 2023, which attempted to assess the degree of fraudulent voting that took place in the 2020 election.

The results of the survey are nothing short of stunning, and upon their release, they sparked numerous conversations about the amount of fraud in the 2020 election and the potential impact of mail-in ballot fraud in future elections. For example, former President Trump referred to the poll as "the biggest story of the year" and "the most important poll released in the past 20 years." According to the results of the survey, a massive number of voters who cast ballots by mail admitted to committing at least one form of voter fraud in the 2020 election. Some of the most important findings from the poll include:

- 21 percent of mail-in voters admitted that in 2020 they voted in a state where they are "no longer a permanent resident."

- 21 percent of mail-in voters admitted that they filled out a ballot for a friend or family member

- 17 percent of mail-in voters said they signed a ballot for a friend or family member "with or without his or her permission."

- 19 percent of mail-in voters said that a friend or family member filled out their ballot, in part or in full, on their behalf.

After analyzing the raw survey data, we were also able to conclude that 28.2 percent of respondents who voted by mail admitted to committing at least one kind of voter fraud. This means that more than one-in-four ballots cast by mail in 2020 were likely cast fraudulently, and thus should not have been counted.

Because Joe Biden received significantly more mail-in votes than Donald Trump, we conclude that the 2020 election outcome would have been different in the key swing states that Donald Trump lost by razor thin margins in 2020—Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—under the 28.2 percent scenario. We also analyzed the electoral results for those six swing states under every integer from 27 percent fraud down to 1 percent fraud, allowing readers to see the impact that fraudulent mail-in ballots might have produced under each scenario.

We made a number of assumptions and gathered our data from a variety of sources in addition to our poll, which is detailed in the methodology and data sections.

The results of our analysis are outlined below.

- 28.2 percent fraud

  o Trump wins Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

  o Trump wins the Electoral College 311-227.

- 27 percent fraud through 14 percent fraud

  o From 27 percent fraud down through 14 percent, the overall results are identical to the 28.2 percent fraud scenario (though Trump's margin of victory in each state shrinks as the overall mail-in ballot fraud integer shrinks).

- 13 percent fraud through 6 percent fraud

  o Trump wins Arizona, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, but loses to Biden in Michigan and Nevada.

  o Trump wins the Electoral College 289-249.

- 5 percent fraud and 4 percent fraud

  o Trump wins Arizona, Georgia, and Wisconsin, but loses to Biden in Michigan, Nevada, and Pennsylvania.

  o Trump and Biden tie the Electoral College 269-269. As described in more detail in the paper, Trump would likely have won the resulting vote in the House of Representatives, because Republicans controlled more state delegations in the wake of the 2020 election.

- 3 percent fraud

  o Trump wins Arizona and Georgia, but loses to Biden in Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

  o Biden wins the Electoral College 279-259.

- 2 percent fraud and 1 percent fraud

  o Trump does not win any states. Biden wins Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

  o Biden wins the Electoral College 306-232.

We also include a scenario in which Trump and Biden voters committed fraud at different rates, stemming from the differences in self-admitted mail-in voter fraud among Trump and Biden voters from the Heartland/Rasmussen survey. However, due to its small sample size, the margin of error for these estimates is too high to produce statistically reliable results. Our analysis indicates that at the 28.2 percent fraud rate, Biden voters admitted to committing at least one form of fraud at a rate of 23.2 percent, and Trump voters self-admitted fraud rate was 35.7 percent. Even under this scenario, Trump would have defeated Biden in Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, and won the Electoral College 278-260.

> **Ultimately, our study shows that of the 29 different scenarios presented in the paper, Trump would have won the 2020 election in all but three.**

Ultimately, our study shows that of the 29 different scenarios presented in the paper, Trump would have won the 2020 election in all but three (when mail-in ballot fraud is limited to 1–3 percent of the ballots counted). Hence, even if the level of fraud detected in our survey (28.2 percent of all mail-in ballots) substantially overstates the actual level of fraud that occurred, Trump would likely have won the 2020 election anyway. We have no reason to believe that our survey overstated voter fraud by more than 25 percentage points, and thus, we must conclude that the best available evidence suggests that mail-in ballot fraud significantly impacted the 2020 presidential election, in favor of Joe Biden. In other words, had the 2020 election been conducted like every national election has been over the past two centuries, wherein the vast majority of voters cast ballots in-person rather than by mail, Donald Trump would have almost certainly been re-elected.

The paper concludes with a list of commonsense policy recommendations states should establish to improve or maintain election integrity.

- Proactive policies

  o States should update and verify election registration rolls annually.

  o States should require identification to vote in person.

  o States should encourage in-person voting.

  o States should require a witness or notary signature on all mail-in ballots.

  o States should minimize mail-in voting by requiring a valid excuse to cast a ballot by mail.

- Preventative policies

  o States should outlaw ballot harvesting.

  o States should forbid unattended and unsecure election drop boxes.

  o States should require signature verification for mail-in voting.

  o States should establish agencies to investigate claims of election law violations.

  o States and/or the federal government should pass laws that impose harsh penalties for those who commit voter fraud.

We believe policies designed to thwart mass mail-in balloting are the best way for states to ensure the integrity of future elections, considering that more than one-in-four mail-in ballots in the 2020 presidential election were cast fraudulently, based on the aforementioned poll results.

It is our view that there are only two ways to ensure that mail-in voter fraud does not have a substantial impact in future elections. First, states should require that most people vote in person, unless they have a valid excuse. Interestingly, according to the previously cited poll, 94 percent of voters said they

would vote in-person if their state banned mail-in voting in future elections. Although in-person voting remains the best option to prevent mail-in fraud from having an outsized effect on election results, in some states, mandating that most voters go to the polls in person is not a realistic option. Therefore, our second method of improving election integrity should be strongly considered: lawmakers should pass legislation that makes mail-in voting significantly more secure.

The best way to prevent fraud in mail-in balloting is to require that mail-in voters have their ballot signatures verified by a notary. States that choose to require a notarized signature for mail-in ballots might also consider a policy that makes government notaries available for free for mail-in voters, or perhaps a program that reimburses notary costs related to verifying ballot signatures. State lawmakers could also

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consider programs that provide notaries remotely, or that send notaries to homes in extraordinary circumstances. The costs of these and other, similar programs should be minimal, but even if they were not, lawmakers should not put a price limit on election integrity. Another valid but much less secure option would be to mandate that mail-in ballot envelopes include the address and signature of an adult witness, who would attest under law that he or she saw the voter sign the ballot envelope.

The 2023 Heartland Institute/Rasmussen voter fraud survey and the deductions from this paper clearly demonstrate that mail-in ballot fraud is a significant issue, which must be addressed sooner than later. If state lawmakers fail to solve this problem, Americans' confidence in the legitimacy of elections in 2024 and beyond will likely decrease, paving the way for societal chaos and civil unrest.

INTRODUCTION

Free, fair, and secure elections serve as the bedrock of any functioning democratic society, and America's democratic republican model of government is no different. For generations, Americans could trust that their elections were free from widespread fraud, and thus that the results delivered to the public were an accurate reflection of the will of the people. All that changed during the 2020 election, however. In the wake of the COVID-19 global pandemic, the vast majority of states significantly altered their voting processes. In many cases, these changes occurred erratically, without a serious study about their potential effects and without the consent of the people's elected representatives in state legislatures.

Although numerous changes to election systems were made in 2020, perhaps the most important were those related to absentee balloting (also commonly referred to as "mail-in balloting"). Election laws vary from state to state, but some of the most consequential changes by state officials included mail-in voting policies that allowed for the use of ballot drop boxes, which often lacked surveillance or included policies that did not make proper use of surveillance.[1] Some states eliminated or relaxed signature verification processes, while others permitted ballot harvesting, a practice that allows individuals to collect ballots for other voters and then transport them to a ballot drop-off location.[2]

Prior to the 2020 election, it was generally accepted across the political spectrum that in-person voting was the most secure method to cast and count ballots.

Several states even engaged in mass-mailing practices, whereby millions of ballots were sent to registered voters, regardless of whether they applied to receive a mail-in ballot.[3] Often, the voter registration rolls used to conduct these mailings were outdated and included numerous errors.[4]

To make matters worse, these and other questionable policies were typically implemented through regulatory fiat by state officials, such as secretaries of state, despite the fact that the U.S. Constitution explicitly declares that state legislatures are the only state institutions that can make or change election laws. According to Article I, Section 4, Clause 1 of the U.S. Constitution, "The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof."[5]

Prior to the 2020 election, it was generally accepted across the political spectrum that in-person voting was the most secure method to cast and count ballots. In fact, experts and government officials on both sides of the political aisle expressed significant concern that the rise of mail-in voting could result in higher degrees of voter fraud. For instance, the Commission on Federal Election Reform—which was chaired by former President Jimmy Carter and former U.S. Secretary of State James Baker— issued a 2005 report titled "Building Confidence

in U.S. Elections," in which the authors noted that mail-in voting "increases the risk of fraud" and that it "has been one of the major sources of fraud."[6]

In 2012, *The New York Times* published an article titled "Error and Fraud at Issue as Absentee Voting Rises," which similarly concluded that "votes cast by mail are less likely to be counted, more likely to be compromised and more likely to be contested than those cast in a voting booth."[7] NPR admitted in mid-2020, "Mail-in voting … is fraught with potential problems."[8] In September 2020, then-U.S. Attorney General Bill Barr, while appearing on CNN, stated that the mass mailing of ballots "is very open to fraud and coercion." He also said, "It's reckless and dangerous, and people are playing with fire."[9]

Despite the cacophony of voices advising against mass mail-in voting, the use of mail-in ballots increased modestly for decades, and then spiked in 2020.[10] By 2016, according to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission, 23.7 percent of ballots—approximately 33 million—were submitted by mail.[11] In 2020, that number nearly doubled, with Americans casting approximately 65.5 million ballots by mail, by far the highest figure recorded in U.S. history.[12]

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Interestingly, the previous narrative about mail-in ballots potentially being fraught with fraud completely reversed in the weeks and months before the 2020 election, with most major media organizations and many on the political left asserting that mass mail-in voting was perfectly safe and secure. For instance, *The New York Times* ran an article in May 2020 stating that mail-in voting "may actually be even more secure than in-person voting."[13] In August 2020, the *Times* Editorial Board published an article titled "Voting by Mail Is Crucial for Democracy," in which it stated that "voting by mail is the surest path to a more inclusive, more accurate and more secured election."[14]

Moreover, as reported by the Associated Press, Joe Biden noted during an online campaign fundraiser in April 2020, "We have to make it easier for everybody to be able to vote … and it's going to require us to provide money for states and insist they provide mail-in ballots." Biden also condemned President Donald Trump's efforts to raise concerns about potential mail-in ballot fraud, calling them "un-American."[15] In August 2020, Biden posted on Twitter (now X), "Voting by mail is safe and secure."[16]

THE 2020 ELECTION

In the aftermath of Biden's victory over Trump—and the subsequent uproar from many Republicans alleging mail-in voting fraud—the new narrative about mail-in voting continued. The 2020 election was declared to be "the most secure in American history" by the Department of Homeland Security's Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA), and other members of the intelligence community and national security apparatus made similar claims.[17] Anyone who challenged the official narrative about the election's security or mail-in balloting was quickly branded an "election denier." Several of the largest social media platforms banned and/or censored content that suggested election fraud could have been a factor in the 2020 election, labeling it "misinformation."[18] Interestingly, recently unearthed legal documents indicate that CISA "knew mail-in and absentee voting are less secure than in-person," "knew there was no credible evidence to support the claim that in-person voting would spread COVID-19," and "relied upon Deloitte... to gather disinformation 'narratives' regarding vote-by-mail across social media for the purpose of monitoring and censorship."[19]

However, despite the recent claims about the secure nature of mail-in balloting, there were

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many legitimate reasons to be worried about mail-in voter fraud in the 2020 election. For instance, states mailed out tens of millions of ballots to their respective citizens based on notoriously inaccurate voter registration rolls; many states sent ballots to every single registered voter, regardless of whether that voter requested an absentee ballot or provided a reasonable excuse for why he or she could not vote in person.[20] In 2012, the Pew Center on the States analyzed state voter registration rolls and found, "Approximately 24 million—one of every eight— voter registrations in the United States are no longer valid or are significantly inaccurate. More than 1.8 million deceased individuals are listed as voters. Approximately 2.75 million people have registrations in more than one state."[21]

Moreover, the aforementioned 2005 report by the Carter- and Baker-helmed Commission on Federal Election Reform found that "a substantial number of Americans are registered to vote in two different states."[22] This is problematic for a host of reasons, not the least of which is that it clearly illustrates that many states have done a poor job of clearing their registration rolls of people who are deceased or have moved to other states. As a result, in 2020, it was very difficult for state officials

to determine, for example, when a person living in State A fraudulently voted by mail in State B using a previous address on file with state election officials. This is especially true in cases where that address belonged to a close friend or family member who still resided at the location.

In addition, very few states in 2020—and the same is true today—had policies in place that could catch mail-in ballot fraud occurring within a household. If, for instance, a spouse cast a ballot on behalf of his or her husband or wife, it is highly unlikely that ballot could have been identified as fraudulent by state officials, despite the fact that Americans are not allowed to give away their votes, even to family members. Some might claim that signature verification processes would have prevented this kind of fraud, but in many instances, it likely didn't. According to a report by the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), last updated March 15, 2022, only 27 states require and conduct signature verification.[23] And just three states require that a mail-in voter have his or her ballot signature notarized, the gold standard for verification.[24]

Further, many states that already do require and conduct signature verification relaxed their policies for the 2020 election, as noted in the introduction to this paper. For instance, according to *The Detroit News*— which quoted a 2021 ruling from State Court of Claims Judge Christopher Murray—Michigan Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson "instructed clerks who were matching signatures that they 'must perform' their duties under the 'presumption' that the signature is valid and uphold the signature's validity if there were 'more matching features than nonmatching features.' Whenever possible, clerks and election officials were instructed to resolve slight differences 'in favor of finding that the voter's signature was valid.'"[25] Murray ultimately ruled that Benson's guidance was invalid,

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though the potential damage had already been done.

Moreover, even if a signature is identified as problematic by election officials, most states do not automatically discard the ballot. The NCSL reports, "Almost two-thirds of states require election officials to notify voters when there is a missing signature or a signature discrepancy—and require that voters must be given an opportunity to correct it."[26] This process has the advantage of allowing voters who made an honest mistake to fix a ballot that contains an error, but it also allows people who vote using others' ballots within a single household—as well as friends and distant family members— to get away with fraud, as it is unlikely a person would admit a family member or friend filled out his or her ballot and thus committed fraud. The vast majority of states have no procedures in place to deal with this problem. In fact, as of January 2024, of the 10 highest-scoring states in The Heritage Foundation's current "Election Integrity Scorecard," only two—Oklahoma and Missouri—have adopted policies designed to prevent this kind of fraud.[27]

Despite numerous reasons to be concerned about mail-in voting in 2020, election officials rejected a shockingly low number of ballots. According to an MIT analysis of the U.S. Election Assistance Commission's Election Administration and Voting Survey, only 0.79 percent of mail-in ballots were rejected by election workers in the 2020 general election.[28] Of the seven "swing states"—Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—only one had a ballot rejection rate greater than 1 percent. Pennsylvania rejected 1.29 percent of mail-in ballot submissions, Nevada rejected 0.84 percent, North Carolina rejected 0.76 percent, Michigan rejected 0.74 percent, Georgia rejected 0.36 percent, Arizona rejected 0.26 percent, and Wisconsin rejected 0.23 percent.[29]

Mail-In Ballot Rejection Rates

	2020
Pennsylvania	1.29%
Nevada	0.84%
North Carolina	0.76%
Michigan	0.74%
Georgia	0.36%
Arizona	0.26%
Wisconsin	0.23%

All of these concerns are amplified by the fact that in the 2020 election, mail-in voters typically voted at disproportionately high rates for Democrats, including for Joe Biden. It is vital to note that if widespread ballot fraud did occur in 2020, it would almost certainly have benefited the Biden campaign and other Democrats far more than Donald Trump or other Republicans, an assertion we will explore further in the results section of this paper. According to the Pew Research Center, 58 percent of Biden voters voted by mail, compared to 32 percent of Trump voters.[30] As mentioned previously, approximately 65.5 million ballots were cast by mail in the 2020 election. This means that if Trump and Biden supporters committed fraud at roughly equivalent rates in 2020, Biden's vote total was supplemented by fraudulent ballots at a ratio of nearly two to one, compared to Trump's vote total.

Although many Americans have expressed significant concern about mail-in voter fraud in the 2020 election over the past three years, until now, there has been little evidence showing that widespread mail-in ballot fraud occurred on a significant scale in states throughout the country. The remaining sections of this paper show clearly that such evidence does now exist, and if it accurately reflects what occurred in 2020, it is clear that the results of the presidential election, and likely many other local, state, and federal races, would have been substantially different.

HEARTLAND/RASMUSSEN POLL: VOTER FRAUD IN THE 2020 ELECTION

In November and December of 2023, The Heartland Institute and Rasmussen Reports conducted a landmark survey of U.S. voters in an attempt to definitively assess the degree of fraudulent voting that occurred in the 2020 election. The results of the survey are nothing short of stunning, and upon their release, they sparked numerous conversations about the amount of fraud in the 2020 election and the potential impact of mail-in ballot fraud in future elections. For example, President Trump referred to the poll as "the biggest story of the year" and "the most important poll released in the past 20 years."[31]

> **In November and December of 2023, The Heartland Institute and Rasmussen Reports conducted a landmark survey of U.S. voters in an attempt to definitively assess the degree of fraudulent voting that occurred in the 2020 election.**

According to the results of the survey, a massive number of voters who cast ballots by mail admitted to committing at least one form of voter fraud in the 2020 election.[32] Some of the most important findings from the poll include:

21% of mail-in voters admitted that in 2020 they voted in a state where they are "no longer a permanent resident."

21% of mail-in voters admitted that they filled out a ballot for a friend or family member.

17% of mail-in voters said they signed a ballot for a friend or family member "with or without his or her permission."

19% of mail-in voters said that a friend or family member filled out their ballot, in part or in full, on their behalf.

8% of all voters said that a "friend, family member, or organization, such as a political party," offered to pay or reward them for voting.

Immediately following the publication of the poll, several of Heartland's analysts—including the authors of this study—reported that when taken together, the results of the 2023 Heartland/Rasmussen survey suggest that one-in-five mail-in ballots cast in the 2020 presidential election were likely fraudulent.[33] As shocking as it might sound, this was a *conservative* estimate, because, among other reasons,[34] our initial analysis did not include the most comprehensive set of data from Rasmussen's survey. We settled on the "one-in-five" figure because one of the fraud questions on its own yielded a result of 21 percent, setting the floor for the rate of mail-in fraud in the 2020 election.[35]

However, after receiving the raw survey data from Rasmussen and engaging in a more thorough analysis, we were able to determine that the poll showed more fraud than we initially reported, a conclusion Rasmussen has since confirmed. As will be discussed more thoroughly in the next section of this paper, we determined that approximately *28 percent* of respondents who voted by mail admitted to committing at least one kind of voter fraud. This means that more than *one-in-four* ballots cast by mail in 2020 could have been fraudulent, rather than one-in-five, as we initially asserted.

Many questions remain to be answered. One of the most important is the chief subject of this paper: What impact did the voter fraud discovered in our survey likely have on the outcome of the 2020 presidential election? Using the additional data about our poll provided by Rasmussen Reports, as well as numerous other data from national surveys and state and federal election officials, we analyze below the extent to which the election fraud uncovered in our survey could have impacted the 2020 election results.

As we will show in subsequent sections, we believe the best available evidence shows that it is highly likely that mail-in ballot fraud had a substantial impact on the results of the presidential election in key swing states in 2020. We have further determined that had mail-in ballot fraud been mostly or entirely prevented or caught by election officials, it is highly likely that Donald Trump, not Joe Biden, would have captured a sufficient number of Electoral College votes to be re-elected to a second term.

> **We believe the best available evidence shows that it is highly likely that mail-in ballot fraud had a substantial impact on the results of the presidential election in key swing states in 2020.**

METHODOLOGY

This study seeks to show the potential impact mail-in voter fraud had on the 2020 presidential election, based on the results of an important survey of voters conducted in late 2023.

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From November 30 to December 6, Rasmussen Reports conducted a national survey of 1,085 likely voters authored by analysts at The Heartland Institute. The survey asked voters a series of questions about voting in the 2020 election. One of the questions asked respondents if they voted in the presidential election by mail in 2020. If they responded "yes," and 30 percent of respondents did, they were then asked questions about voting behaviors that are, under most circumstances, illegal. The survey questions about mail-in voting behaviors appear below, along with the topline results:

1. During the 2020 election, did a friend or family member fill out your ballot, in part or in full, on your behalf?

> 19% yes
> 79% no
> 2% not sure

2. During the 2020 election, did you fill out a ballot, in part or in full, on behalf of a friend or family member, such as a spouse or child?

> 21% yes
> 78% no
> 0% not sure

3. During the 2020 election, did you cast a mail-in ballot in a state where you were no longer a permanent resident?

> 17% yes
> 82% no
> 1% not sure

4. During the 2020 election, did you sign a ballot or ballot envelope on behalf of a friend or family member, with or without his or her permission?

> 17% yes
> 81% no
> 1% not sure

Each of the questions listed above was designed to ask respondents about different kinds of actions that would ordinarily constitute voter fraud.[36] The percentage of respondents who answered "yes" ranged in each of the questions from 17 percent to 21 percent.

However, these questions were not mutually exclusive, meaning that the real-world fraud captured by these results was likely higher. For instance, while there is certainly some cross-over between fraud categories, some voters who admitted in the survey that they committed fraud by filling out a ballot belonging to a friend or family member also said that they did *not* commit fraud by casting mail-in ballots in a state in which they were no longer a permanent resident, and vice versa.[37] Thus, to ascertain a proper estimate of voters who committed *at least one type of fraud*, we needed to conduct a deeper analysis of the raw survey data collected by Rasmussen Reports. After filtering the responses and properly applying weights to those data,[38] we found 88 out of 311 mail-in voters committed at least one of the four types of fraud asked in our survey, which equates to 28.2 percent of respondents who cast mail-in ballots.[39]

As you will see in our results, our estimate that 28.2 percent of mail-in voters committed fraud is the starting point for our analysis, but it isn't the only possibility that we consider. We also show how the 2020 presidential election would have turned out in the key swing states that Donald Trump lost in 2020—Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—under a multitude of other scenarios. In addition to the 28.2 percent scenario, we analyzed the electoral results for the six swing states under every integer from 27 percent fraud down to 1 percent fraud, allowing readers to see the impact that fraudulent mail-in ballots might have produced under each scenario.

In each of those scenarios, we applied the estimated fraud rate to the reported *or* estimated

number of mail-in ballots cast by Americans for Donald Trump and Joe Biden, giving us a total number of fraudulent ballots for each candidate. We then subtracted the fraudulent ballot count for each candidate from his overall vote total in each of the six swing states, to make new estimations about which candidate would have won had mail-in fraud been prevented from occurring. Ultimately, this allowed us to develop new Electoral College vote counts for each candidate under each fraud percentage scenario.

We also show how the 2020 presidential election would have turned out in the key swing states that Donald Trump lost in 2020

We did not analyze the impact of mail-in fraud on non-battleground states or in North Carolina, which was frequently categorized as a battleground state. The reason we excluded non-battleground states is because it's less likely that the final result of the presidential election in those states would have been different had mail-in fraud been prevented from occurring, although other races within those states likely would have been impacted. We chose to exclude North Carolina because Donald Trump won North Carolina, Joe Biden depended on mail-in votes in North Carolina at a much higher rate than Trump,[40] and thus, it's highly unlikely mail-in fraud would have overturned Trump's victory in that state.[41]

Assumptions

Our analysis includes five important assumptions. Before providing our results and data, it is important we outline those assumptions for readers' consideration.

First, many states in 2020 did not report how Biden, Trump, or any other candidate performed among mail-in voters alone. In some cases, official election results intermingled in-person voting with mail-in voting. In Arizona, for example, mail-in voting and in-person early voting were reported under one category.[42]

Among the six states included in our analysis, Georgia and Pennsylvania provided official candidate-specific mail-in vote totals, but Arizona, Michigan, Nevada, and Wisconsin did not.[43, 44, 45] To determine the number of mail-in voters who cast ballots for Trump and Biden in those four states, we relied on extensive exit polling analyses conducted by the Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, a nonpartisan research center headquartered at the University of Chicago.[46]

In 2020, the AP-NORC Center's VoteCast project "conducted more than 130,000 interviews with registered voters in all 50 states to tell the story of the 2020 general election."[47] The surveys, which included generic questions about mail-in voting, were "conducted between Oct. 26 and Nov. 3, 2020, concluding as polls closed on Election Day."[48] In the instances in which states did not report official numbers, we used the AP-NORC Center's data about mail-in voting in the 2020 presidential election to fill in those gaps and provide reliable estimates for the mail-in voting numbers used in this report.

We thus assume that the AP-NORC exit polling results about mail-in voting are accurate and reflective of what occurred during the 2020 election. Because of our reliance upon the AP-NORC Center's information, we spent considerable time analyzing their raw polling data and methodology, which is publicly available.[49, 50] We successfully replicated their exact results for each of the four states in which we relied upon their data.

Second, our main analysis assumes that voter fraud occurred at identical rates among Trump and Biden mail-in voters. Because we don't have reliable data about the different rates of fraud among each group, we believe the best and fairest approach is to assume the fraud occurred at identical rates among voters for both candidates in each of our scenarios. It should be noted that the raw polling data from the Heartland/Rasmussen survey does indicate different propensities for fraud between self-identified Trump and Biden voters, though the sample size for

those groups was too small to obtain a statistically reliable result.[51, 52] In order to determine accurate mail-in voter fraud rates among supporters for each candidate, another survey would need to be conducted, one with a larger overall sample size or one that excludes voters who voted in person. Having said this, we did still analyze the 28.2 percent fraud scenario using the statistically unreliable Trump/Biden fraud percentage rates, which can be found after our primary analysis in the next section of this paper.

Third, we assume that our "blanket" fraud rates apply equally to each state. For instance, we assume that voters in Arizona committed fraud at equal propensities to voters in Wisconsin. As with the second assumption, in order to determine accurate mail-in voter fraud rates on a state-specific basis, another survey or series of surveys would need to be conducted that isolate voters within each of the six swing states under study.

Fourth, we assume that when Rasmussen Reports conducted its polling, it did not oversample exceptional situations that could skew perceptions of the results. For example, it is legally permissible in many states to help physically disabled voters fill out their ballots, when they provide permission to do so. In many states, voters are ordinarily not supposed to fill out or sign ballots for those physically capable of filling out their own ballots. Situations such as these are rare, however, and we assume in our analysis that Rasmussen's pollsters did not oversample these and other, similarly exceptional cases. We have no reason to believe that was the case.

Fifth, our analysis assumes that the only mail-in voter fraud that occurred during the 2020 election was the fraudulent activities captured by the 2023 Heartland/Rasmussen survey. We do not take into account other forms of alleged fraud, such as fraud that might have occurred at a polling place or the effect of stolen ballots.
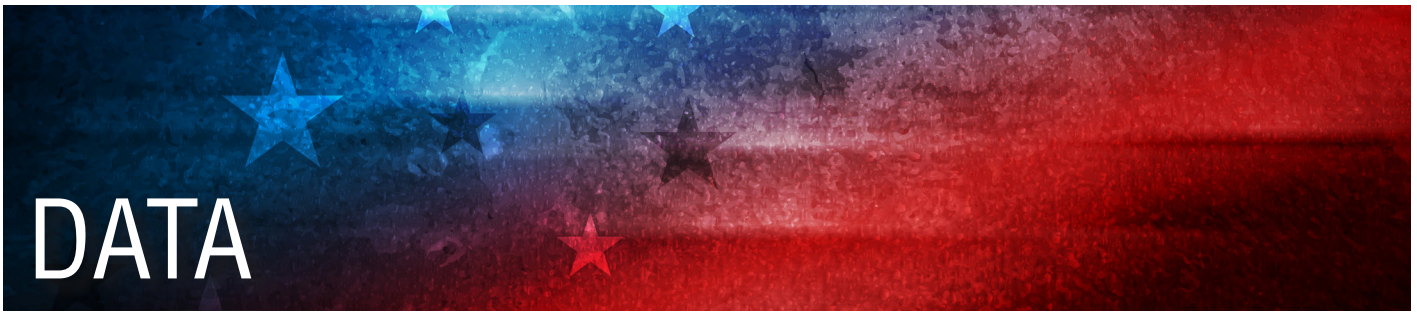
DATA

As alluded to in the prior section of this paper, the data we used often varied on a state-by-state basis. The only source that we used for every state was the presidential results published by CNN,[53] which we used to record overall vote totals (not mail-in totals) for Biden and Trump. It should also be noted that for each state, the total mail-in ballot count references the number of mail-in ballots that were counted, not submitted, as election officials did reject a small number of mail-in ballots in each state.

Below is a breakdown of the sources we used by state, as well as the numbers we used for our analysis.

Arizona

Arizona does not have official statistics for the total number of mail-in votes cast in the 2020 presidential election or for the splits by candidate. For the total number of mail-in ballots in Arizona, we used the U.S. Election Assistance Commission's estimate.[54] For the breakdown by candidate, we used the aforementioned AP-NORC Center's survey data, which estimates that 56 percent of mail-in votes were cast for Biden, compared to 42 percent for Trump.[55]

- 2020 Vote Total (Biden): 1,672,143

- 2020 Vote Total (Trump): 1,661,686

- Total Mail-in Ballots: 2,931,164

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Biden): 1,641,452

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Trump): 1,231,089[56]

Georgia

Georgia has official statistics for both the total number of mail-in votes cast in the 2020 presidential election and the splits by candidate.[57]

- 2020 Vote Total (Biden): 2,473,633

- 2020 Vote Total (Trump): 2,461,854

- Total Mail-in Ballots: 1,315,294

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Biden): 848,726

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Trump): 450,522

Michigan

Michigan has an official statistic for the total number of mail-in votes cast in the 2020 election,[58] but not for the splits by candidate. For the breakdown by candidate, we used the AP-NORC Center's survey data, which estimates that 63 percent of mail-in votes were cast for Biden, compared to 36 percent for Trump.[59]

- 2020 Vote Total (Biden): 2,804,040

- 2020 Vote Total (Trump): 2,649,852

- Total Mail-in Ballots: 3,300,000

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Biden): 2,178,000

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Trump): 1,056,000

Nevada

Nevada has an official statistic for the total number of mail-in votes cast in the 2020 presidential election,[60] but not for the splits by candidate. For the breakdown by candidate, we used the AP-NORC Center's survey data, which estimates that 67 percent of mail-in votes were cast for Biden, compared to 30 percent for Trump.[61]

- 2020 Vote Total (Biden): 703,486

- 2020 Vote Total (Trump): 669,890

- Total Mail-in Ballots: 671,965

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Biden): 450,217

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Trump): 201,590

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania has official statistics for both the total number of mail-in votes cast in the 2020 presidential election and the splits by candidate.[62]

- 2020 Vote Total (Biden): 3,459,923

- 2020 Vote Total (Trump): 3,378,263

- Total Mail-in Ballots: 2,616,012

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Biden): 1,995,691

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Trump): 595,538

Wisconsin

Wisconsin has an official statistic for the total number of mail-in votes cast in the 2020 presidential election,[63] but not for the splits by candidate. For the breakdown by candidate, we used the AP-NORC Center's survey data, which estimates that 71 percent of mail-in votes were cast for Biden, compared to 27 percent for Trump.[64]

- 2020 Vote Total (Biden): 1,630,866

- 2020 Vote Total (Trump): 1,610,184

- Total Mail-in Ballots: 1,346,731

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Biden): 956,179

- Total Mail-in Ballots (Trump): 363,617

RESULTS

To determine the effects that mail-in fraud might have had on the 2020 presidential election, we applied the aforementioned specified range of fraud percentages to the collected election data highlighted in the previous section. This yielded an estimated number of fraudulent ballots, which we then subtracted from overall 2020 vote totals to generate a new estimate for vote totals. The following subsections reveal the impact mail-in fraud had on the presidential election under various ranges of fraud, from 1 percent to 28.2 percent. As we noted previously, our survey showed that 28.2 percent of mail-in voters admitted to committing at least one kind of voter fraud.

28.2 Percent Fraud

In Arizona, we estimate that 462,889 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 347,167 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new vote total is:

Official 2020 Results		Secure 2020 Results
Biden: 1,672,143	**AZ**	Trump: 1,314,519
Trump: 1,661,686		Biden: 1,209,254
11 Electoral Votes for Biden		**11 Electoral Votes for Trump**

In Georgia, we estimate that 239,341 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 127,047 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new vote total is:

Official 2020 Results		Secure 2020 Results
Biden: 2,473,633	**GA**	Trump: 2,334,807
Trump: 2,461,854		Biden: 2,234,292
16 Electoral Votes for Biden		**16 Electoral Votes for Trump**

In Michigan, we estimate that 614,196 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 297,792 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new vote total is:

Official 2020 Results	**Secure 2020 Results**
Biden: 2,804,040	Trump: 2,352,060
Trump: 2,649,852	Biden: 2,189,844
16 Electoral Votes for Biden	**16 Electoral Votes for Trump**

In Nevada, we estimate that 126,961 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 56,848 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new vote total is:

Official 2020 Results	**Secure 2020 Results**
Biden: 703,486	Trump: 613,042
Trump: 669,890	Biden: 576,525
6 Electoral Votes for Biden	**6 Electoral Votes for Trump**

In Pennsylvania, we estimate that 562,785 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 167,942 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new total is:

| **Official 2020 Results**	**Secure 2020 Results**
Biden: 3,459,923	Trump: 3,210,321
Trump: 3,378,263	Biden: 2,897,138
20 Electoral Votes for Biden	**20 Electoral Votes for Trump**

In Wisconsin, we estimate that 269,642 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 102,540 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new total is:

Official 2020 Results	**Secure 2020 Results**
Biden: 1,630,866	Trump: 1,507,644
Trump: 1,610,184	Biden: 1,361,224
10 Electoral Votes for Biden	**10 Electoral Votes for Trump**

Overall, at the 28.2 percent fraud level—assuming equal propensities for fraud amongst Biden and Trump supporters—Trump wins all six swing states by a relatively large margin. The new Electoral College vote total is:

BIDEN: 227   TRUMP: 311
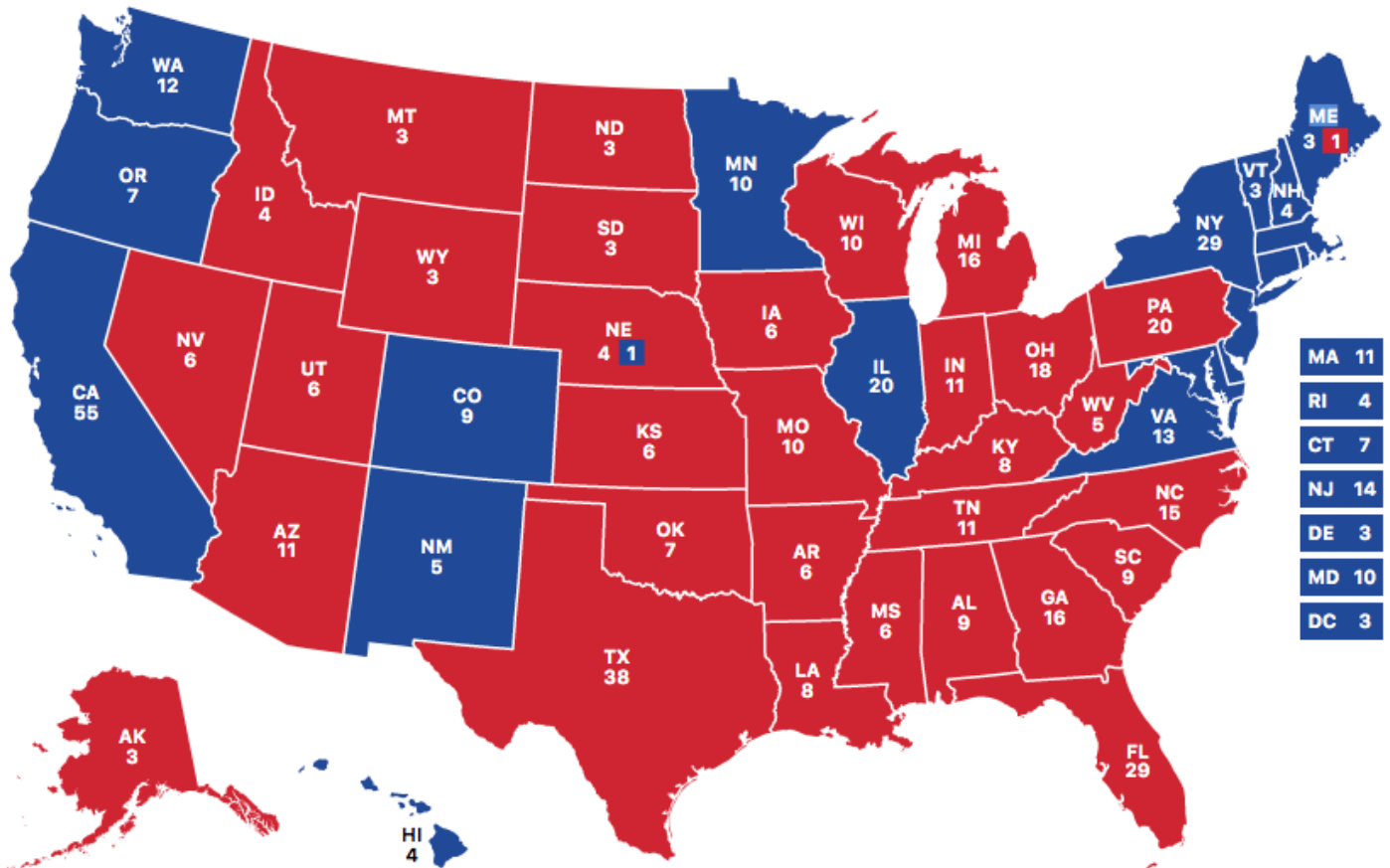
Map generated using 270towin.com

27 Percent Fraud through 14 Percent Fraud

As discussed earlier, in addition to calculating the electoral implications at the 28.2 percent fraud level, we also analyzed the results at every fraud percentage integer from 27 all the way through 1 percent. Each of these 27 additional scenarios yields different totals of fraudulent ballots per candidate and thus new vote totals. Consult Appendix A on page 34 and the charts in the supplemental Excel file linked in Appendix B to see the specific results for every voter-fraud scenario.

As readers will see when reviewing the different voter-fraud scenarios presented in the Appendix B file, under many scenarios, Donald Trump wins all six of the swing states examined. More specifically, in scenarios with mail-in ballot fraud rates ranging from 14 to 28.2 percent, Trump wins all six states—Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—though his margin of victory shrinks as the fraud percentage decreases.

13 Percent Fraud through 6 Percent Fraud

At the 13 percent fraud level, Trump wins Arizona, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. However, he would have lost to Biden in Michigan and Nevada. Under this scenario, Trump wins the Electoral College 289 to 249. Importantly, though Trump's margin of victory shrinks increasingly more with each descending fraud integer, Trump wins the same four states mentioned above, and thus the Electoral College, all the way down to the 6 percent level.

BIDEN: 249   TRUMP: 289
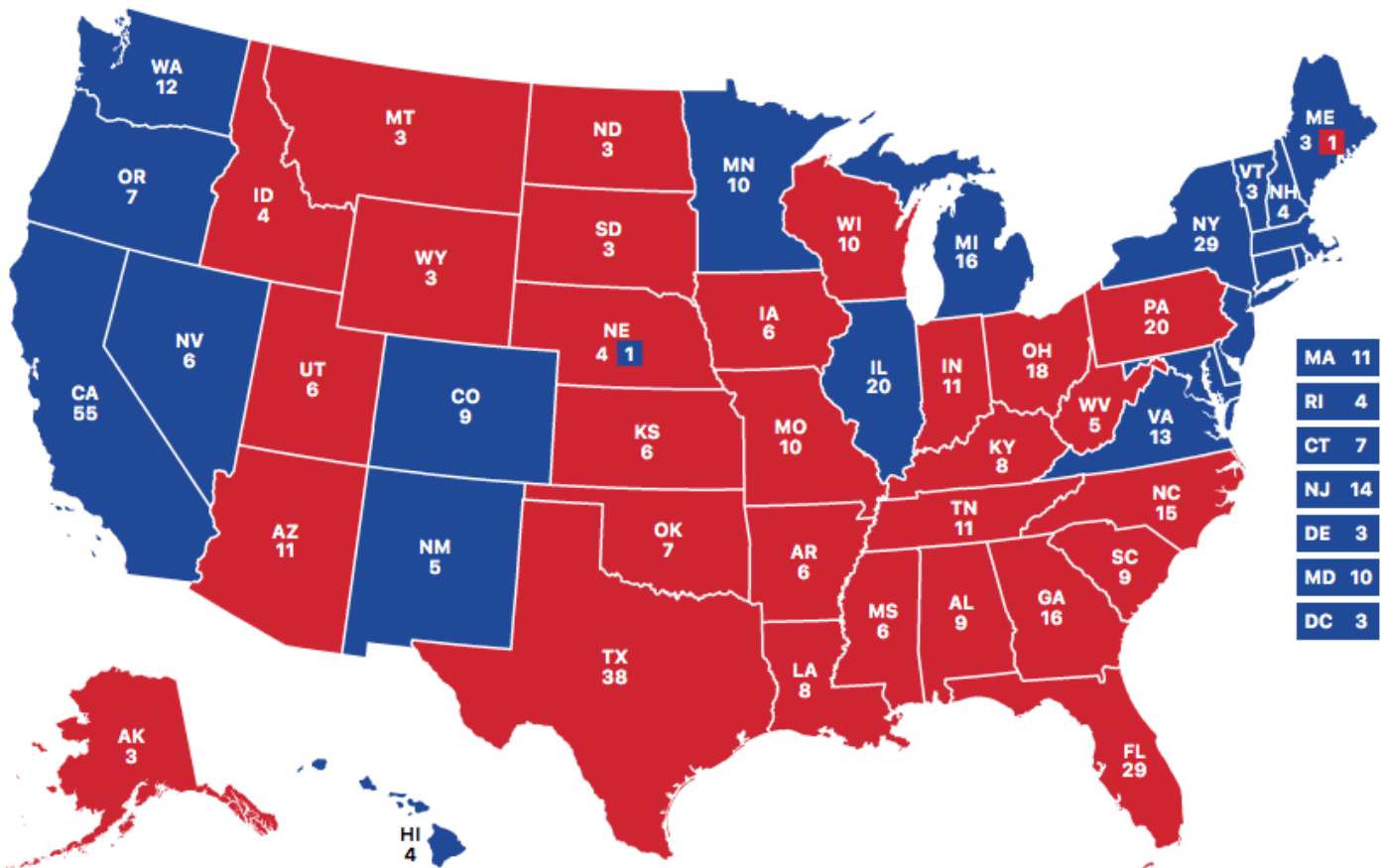
Map generated using 270towin.com
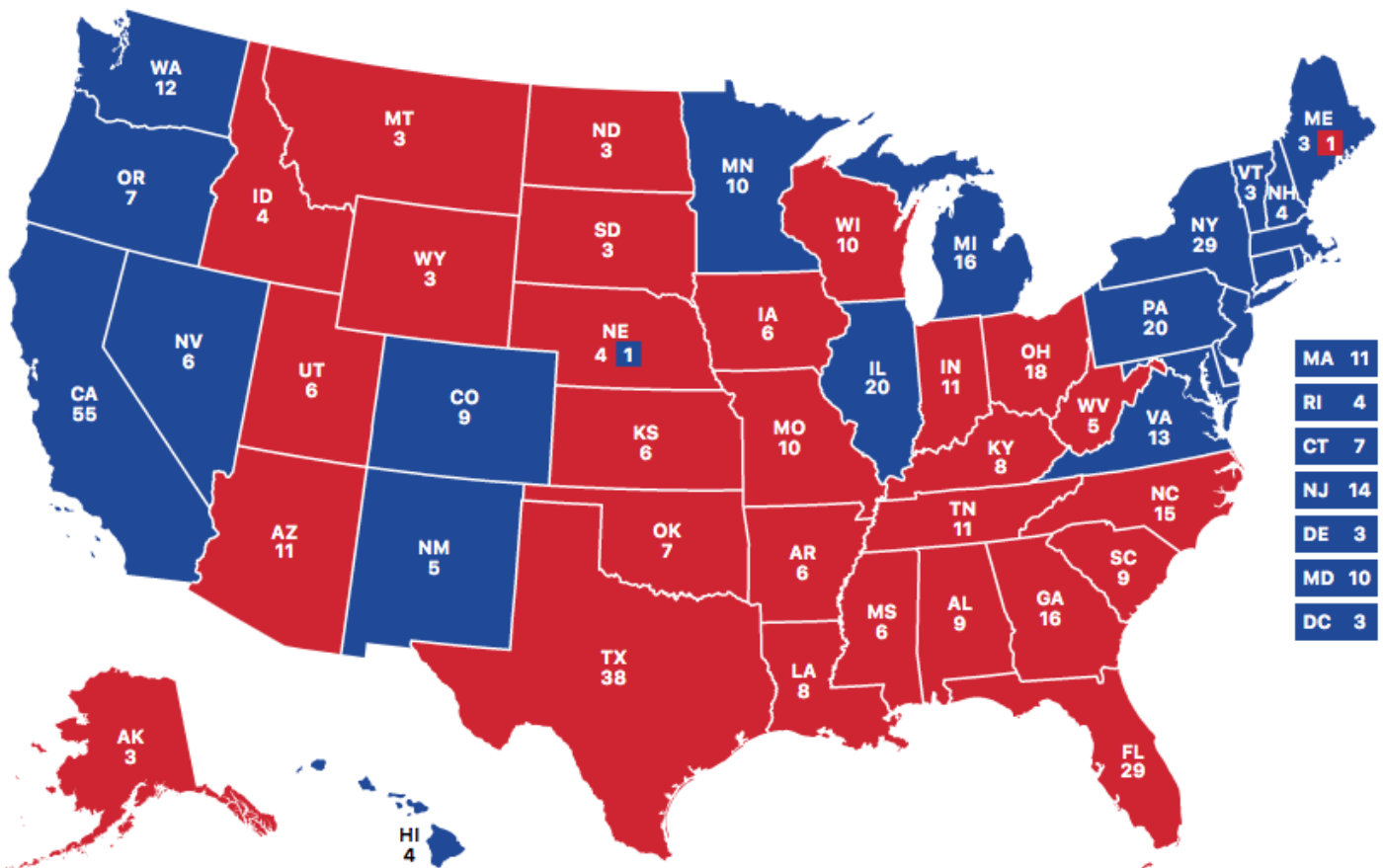
5 Percent Fraud and 4 Percent Fraud

In the 5 percent and 4 percent fraud scenarios, Trump wins Arizona, Georgia, and Wisconsin, but he now loses Pennsylvania to Biden, in addition to Michigan and Nevada. Trump and Biden each receive 269 electoral votes under this scenario, tying in the Electoral College. The U.S. Constitution requires that when neither candidate reaches the 270-electoral vote threshold, the House of Representatives decides the election, though not by an up-or-down vote of all members. Instead, each state delegation receives a single vote, and votes would continue to be cast until a new president is chosen.

Because Republicans controlled more state delegations in the wake of the 2020 election, it seems likely that had neither Biden nor Trump won the required 270 Electoral College votes, Trump would have been chosen as president by Republicans. This, of course, is speculative, but we think it's a reasonable guess.

BIDEN: 269   TRUMP: 269
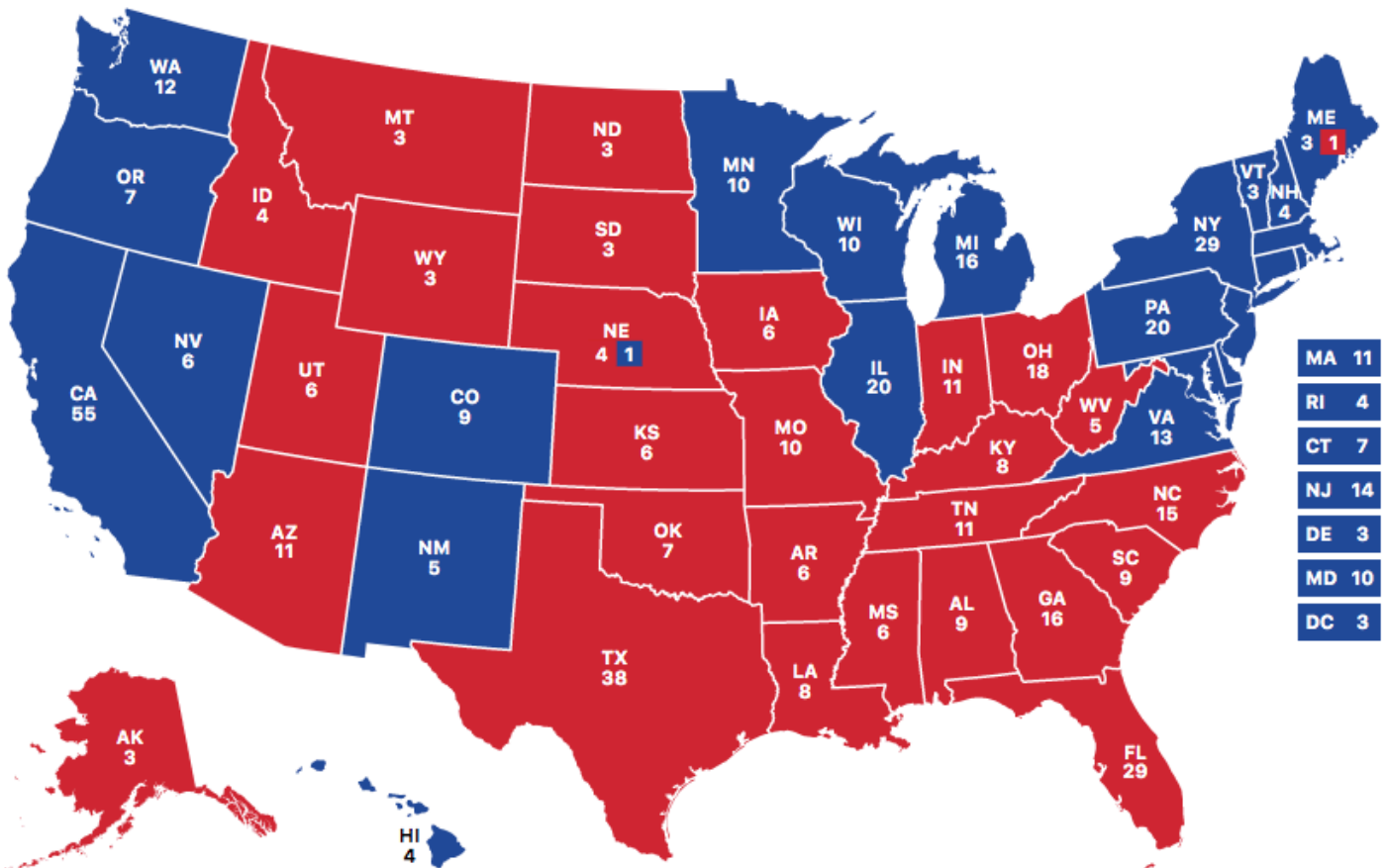

Map generated using 270towin.com

3 Percent Fraud

Under the 3 percent fraud scenario, Trump wins Arizona and Georgia, but now loses Wisconsin, in addition to Michigan, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. Biden wins the Electoral College 279-259 under this scenario.

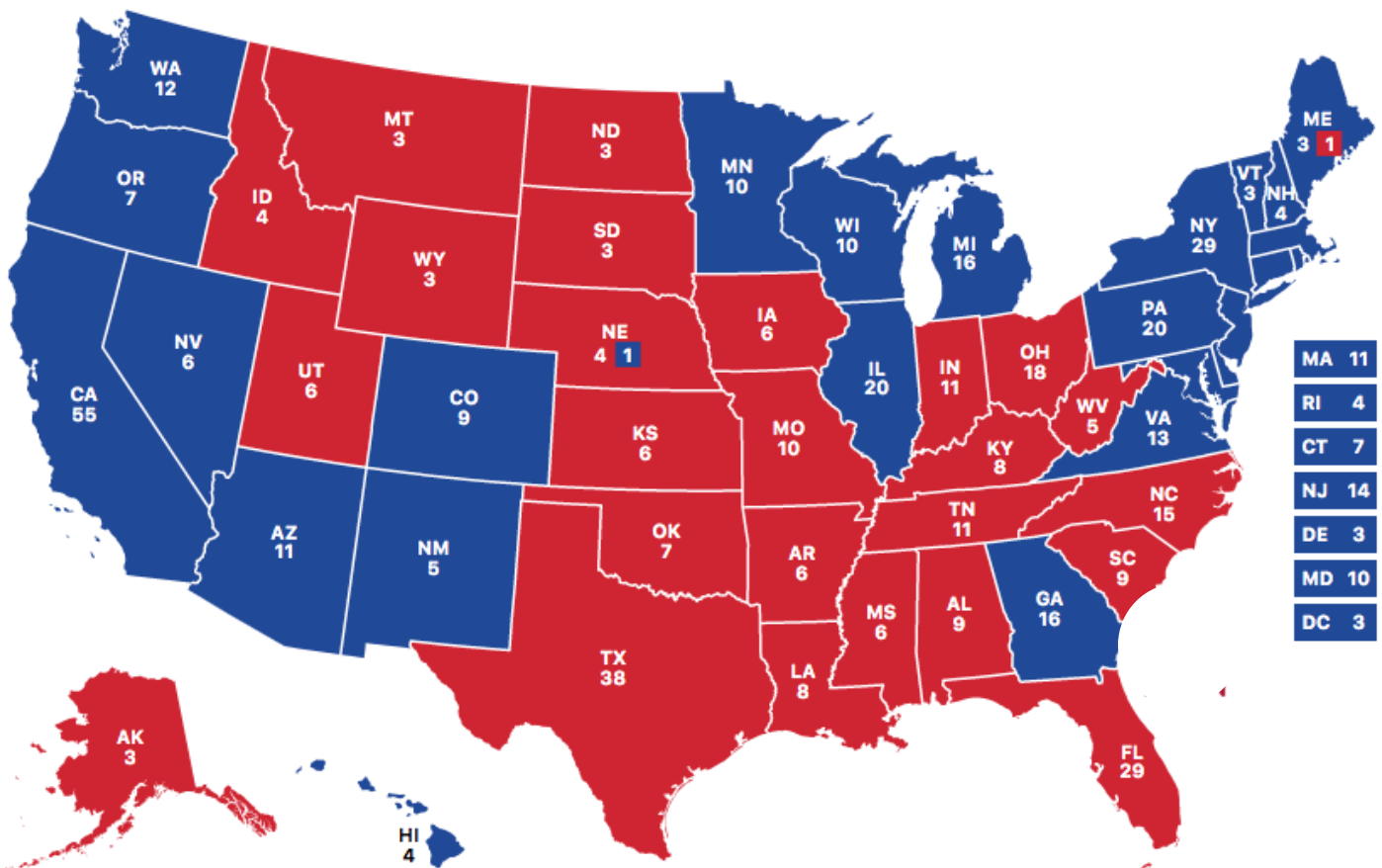## BIDEN: 279   TRUMP: 259

Map generated using 270towin.com

2 Percent Fraud and 1 Percent Fraud

Under both the 2 and 1 percent fraud scenarios, Biden wins all six swing states, capturing the Electoral College by a count of 306-232.

BIDEN: 306

TRUMP: 232

Map generated using 270towin.com

28.2 Percent Fraud, with Different Fraud Levels by Trump/Biden Voters

As mentioned earlier in the paper, the Heartland/Rasmussen survey data does show a difference in levels of self-admitted fraud by Trump and Biden voters. Unfortunately, due to sample size issues, the margin of error for these estimates is too high to produce statistically reliable results.

That said, to maximize transparency, we have analyzed and published below the electoral implications at the 28.2 percent fraud rate using these unreliable statistical results. Our analysis indicates that at the 28.2 percent fraud rate, after adjusting for weights, Biden voters admitted to committing at least one form of fraud at a rate of 23.2 percent, and Trump voters self-admitted fraud rate was 35.7 percent. The electoral results shown below use those figures to calculate new election results.

Arizona
In Arizona, we estimate that 380,817 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 439,499 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new vote total is:

Biden: 1,291,326   Trump: 1,222,187

Georgia
In Georgia, we estimate that 196,904 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 160,836 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new vote total is:

Biden: 2,276,729   **Trump: 2,301,018**

Michigan
In Michigan, we estimate that 505,296 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 376,992 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new vote total is:

Biden: 2,298,744   Trump: 2,272,860

Nevada
In Nevada, we estimate that 104,450 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 71,968 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new vote total is:

Biden: 599,036   Trump: 597,922

Pennsylvania
In Pennsylvania, we estimate that 463,000 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 212,607 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new total is:

Biden: 2,996,923   **Trump: 3,165,656**

Wisconsin
In Wisconsin, we estimate that 221,834 mail-in ballots cast for Biden were fraudulent, with 129,811 cast for Trump also being fraudulent. After subtracting these ballots from 2020 vote totals, the new total is:

Biden: 1,409,032   **Trump: 1,480,373**

Overall, at the 28.2 percent fraud level—assuming *different* propensities for fraud among Biden and Trump voters—Trump wins Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, while Biden wins Arizona, Michigan, and Nevada. Under this scenario, the Electoral College vote total would have been:

Biden: 260   **Trump: 278**

As the results throughout this paper indicate, when taking into account different rates of fraud for Biden and Trump voters, the results are much closer. Trump, however, still wins. This is because a significantly higher number of mail-in votes went for Biden overall.

However, as we noted previously, we urge readers to treat this final subsection in our Results analysis with skepticism, due to the extremely high margin of error.

CONCLUSION

As the previous sections included in this study indicate, if the voter fraud captured by our 2023 Heartland Institute/Rasmussen survey was indicative of what occurred in the 2020 presidential election, there is a high likelihood that had mail-in ballot fraud been severely limited, Donald Trump would have won the election. In fact, as our study shows, of the 29 different scenarios presented in this paper, Trump wins in all but three (when mail-in ballot fraud is limited to 1–3 percent of the ballots counted). That means that even if the level of fraud shown by our survey (28.2 percent of all mail-in ballots) substantially overstates the true level of fraud that occurred, Trump would still have won in most of the likely scenarios, with only three exceptions, as noted above. We have no reason to believe that our survey overstated voter fraud by more than 25 percentage points, and thus, we must conclude that the best available evidence suggests that mail-in ballot fraud significantly impacted the 2020 presidential election, in favor of Joe Biden.

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POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Election integrity is crucial for a free society to function properly. Without it, governments are often perceived to lack the level of legitimacy needed to maintain the confidence of the people. Therefore, it is vital that state officials ensure that every legal vote is counted. It is also the responsibility of every state to limit fraud as much as possible without reducing civil liberties.

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There are many policies states can establish to improve or maintain election integrity. The following is a brief list of recommendations.

Proactive Policies

• States should update and verify election registration rolls annually.

• States should require identification to vote in person.

• States should encourage in-person voting.

• States should require a witness or notary signature on all mail-in ballots.

• States should minimize mail-in voting by requiring a valid excuse to cast a ballot by mail.

Preventative Policies

• States should outlaw ballot harvesting.

• States should forbid unattended and unsecure election drop boxes.

• States should require signature verification for mail-in voting.

• States should establish agencies to investigate claims of election law violations.

• States and/or the federal government should pass laws that impose harsh penalties for those who commit voter fraud.

Of all the recommendations listed above, we believe that recommendations targeting mail-in balloting are the most important. If it's true that more than one-in-four mail-in ballots in the 2020 presidential election were cast fraudulently, then it's impossible to reasonably argue otherwise.

It is our view that there are only two ways to ensure that mail-in ballot fraud does not have a substantial impact on future elections. The first is simply to require that most people vote in person, unless they have a good excuse, such as a physical disability, that would prevent someone from easily traveling. Although this remains the best option to stop mail-in fraud from having an outsized effect on election results, in some states, mandating that most voters go to the polls in person is not a realistic option. In those cases, our second method of improving election integrity should be strongly considered: lawmakers should pass legislation that makes mail-in voting significantly more secure.

The best way to prevent fraud in mail-in balloting is to require that mail-in voters have their ballot signatures verified by a notary. A notary is a public official who has been trained and authorized to approve the validity of signatures and the identities of those signing documents. Many legal, real estate, adoption, and other important documents require signatures to be notarized before being accepted by major institutions or government agencies. Most bank branches and many government offices have notaries available. Additionally, many banks offer the service for free to their customers with active accounts.

The 2023 Heartland Institute/Rasmussen voter fraud survey shows that mail-in ballot fraud remains a significant issue, one that must be addressed if Americans are to have confidence in the validity of elections in 2024 and beyond.

States that choose to require a notarized signature for mail-in ballots might also consider a policy that makes government notaries available for free for mail-in voters, or perhaps a program that reimburses notary costs related to verifying ballot signatures. State lawmakers could also consider programs that provide notaries remotely, or that send notaries to homes in extraordinary circumstances. The costs of these and other, similar programs should be minimal, but even if they are not, lawmakers shouldn't put a price limit on election integrity. Three states currently require a notarized signature for mail-in ballots: Mississippi, Missouri, and Oklahoma.[65]

Another valid but much less secure option would be to mandate that mail-in ballot envelopes include the address and signature of an adult witness, who would attest under law that he or she saw the voter sign the ballot envelope. Nine states—with varying political, ideological, and geographical compositions—currently require a witness signature on ballot envelopes, *not* including those states that mandate the use of a notary: Alabama, Alaska, Louisiana, Minnesota, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Virginia, and Wisconsin.[66]

The 2023 Heartland Institute/Rasmussen voter fraud survey shows that mail-in ballot fraud remains a significant issue, one that must be addressed if Americans are to have confidence in the validity of elections in 2024 and beyond. There are simple legislative options to solve this important problem; the only question that remains is: will lawmakers act?

ENDNOTES

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4   For a comprehensive list of these changes, see: Ballotpedia, "Changes to election dates, procedures, and administration in response to the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic, 2020," last accessed January 3, 2024, https://ballotpedia.org/Changes_to_election_dates,_procedures,_and_administration_in_response_to_the_coronavirus_(COVID-19)_pandemic,_2020

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31   See Justin Haskins et al., "Heartland/Rasmussen Poll: One-in-Five Mail-In Voters Admit to Committing at Least One Kind of Voter Fraud During 2020 Election," heartland.org, The Heartland Institute, December 13, 2023, https://heartland.org/opinion/heartland-rasmussen-poll-one-in-five-mail-in-voters-admit-to-committing-at-least-one-kind-of-voter-fraud-during-2020-election

32   The full results of the survey are available at the following source: Justin Haskins et al., "Heartland/Rasmussen Poll: One-in-Five Mail-In Voters Admit to Committing at Least One Kind of Voter Fraud During 2020 Election," heartland.org, The Heartland Institute, December 13, 2023, https://heartland.org/opinion/heartland-rasmussen-poll-one-in-five-mail-in-voters-admit-to-committing-at-least-one-kind-of-voter-fraud-during-2020-election.

33   The full results of the survey are available at the following source: Justin Haskins et al., "Heartland/Rasmussen Poll: One-in-Five Mail-In Voters Admit to Committing at Least One Kind of Voter Fraud During 2020 Election," heartland.org, The Heartland Institute, December 13, 2023, https://heartland.org/opinion/heartland-rasmussen-poll-one-in-five-mail-in-voters-admit-to-committing-at-least-one-kind-of-voter-fraud-during-2020-election.

34   Another reason we consider this to be a conservative estimate is because we suspect it is likely that at least some of the respondents lied when they said they did not engage in voter fraud, because they did not want to admit to committing a crime. On the other hand, it is very hard to believe a significant number of respondents would lie about breaking state and/or federal laws.

35   Twenty-one percent of mail-in voters in the Heartland/Rasmussen survey admitted that they filled out a ballot for a friend or family member. In most, but not all, situations, that would constitute fraud. In many states, there are exceptions for people with disabilities, for example.

36   We wrote "ordinarily" because there are exceptions in some or many state or federal statutes, depending on the kind of fraud in question, that could provide an alternative explanation for why a law-abiding citizen would answer "yes" to one of the questions referenced in this paper. For instance, in many states — perhaps all states — individuals are allowed to help physically disabled voters to fill out their absentee ballots. These kinds of exceptions, however, rarely apply and likely had no substantial impact on the findings of our national survey.

37   Additionally, our survey did not ask respondents whether they engaged in these activities on multiple occasions, so it is conceivable that, for example, a respondent who answered "yes" to our question about filling out another person's ballot (Question 2) could have performed that type of fraud on the ballots of 10 different people.

38   This involved, among other things, creating a new binary (0/1) variable that separated mail-in respondents by whether they said "no" to all four questions (0) or whether they said "yes" to at least one of the four questions. Weights were assigned by Rasmussen to each individual respondent.

39   This number was independently confirmed by Rasmussen polling experts.

40   In North Carolina, 70 percent of those who submitted absentee ballots voted for Joe Biden, compared to 23 percent for Donald Trump. See: The New York Times, "North Carolina Voter Surveys: How Different Groups Voted," last accessed January 15, 2024, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/ap-polls-north-carolina.html

41   The only way the final result in North Carolina would change due to mail-in voter fraud is if the vast majority of the fraud committed was by supporters of Donald Trump. We are not aware of any evidence that suggests that occurred in North Carolina or elsewhere.

42   Nathaniel Rakich and Jasmine Mithani, "What Absentee Voting Looked Like In All 50 States," FiveThirtyEight, fivethirtyeight. com, February 9, 2021, https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/what-absentee-voting-looked-like-in-all-50-states.

43   "2020 Presidential Election: Official Returns," Department of State, State of Pennsylvania, electionreturns.pa.gov, last accessed January 4, 2024, https://www.electionreturns.pa.gov/General/SummaryResults?ElectionID=83&ElectionType=G&IsActive=0.

44   "November 3, 2020 Presidential Recount," Office of the Secretary of State, State of Georgia, results.enr.clarityelections.com, last accessed December 21, 2023, https://results.enr.clarityelections.com/GA/107231/web.264614/#/detail/5000.

45   Nathaniel Rakich and Jasmine Mithani, "What Absentee Voting Looked Like In All 50 States."

46   "About," Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, apnorc.org, last accessed January 4, 2024, https://apnorc.org/about.

47   "AP VoteCast 2020 General Elections," Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, apnorc.org, last accessed January 4, 2024, https://apnorc.org/projects/ap-votecast-2020-general-elections.

48   "AP VoteCast 2020 General Elections," Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research.

49   "AP VoteCast 2020 General Elections," Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research.

50   Each of the states we analyzed had a statistically robust sample size, ranging from 2,700 to 3,700 individual respondents.

51   This determination was verified by Rasmussen Reports in an e-mail to our research team dated January 4, 2024. According to Rasmussen, the margin of error for Trump mail-in voters, for example, is "over +/-9%," because "Trump mail-in voters were only 10.5% of the poll."

52   To see the crosstabs for the Heartland Institute/Rasmussen Reports survey, visit "Questions - Voters Fraud - Heartland December 2023," RasmussenReports.com, December 2023, last accessed January 4, 2024, https://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/partner_surveys/questions_voters_fraud_heartland_december_2023.

53   CNN, "Presidential Results," last accessed January 15, 2024, https://www.cnn.com/election/2020/results/president

54   U.S. Election Assistance Commission, "2020 EAVS Data Brief: Arizona," last accessed January 15, 2024, https://www.eac.gov/research-and-data/studies-and-reports

55   "AP VoteCast 2020 General Elections," Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research; to view the published survey results, see: The New York Times, "Arizona Voter Surveys: How Different Groups Voted," last accessed January 15, 2024, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/ap-polls-arizona.html

56   The Biden and Trump mail-in totals do not add up to the total mail-in ballots counted because some mail-in ballots were submitted for other third-party candidates. Vote totals for other candidates are not relevant to our analysis. This holds true for every state.

57   Georgia Secretary of State, "November 3, 2020: Presidential Recount," last updated December 7, 2020, https://results.enr.clarityelections.com/GA/107231/web.264614/#/detail/5000

58   State of Michigan, "Audits of the November 3, 2020 General Election," Department of State, April 21, 2021, pp. 1-2, https://www.michigan.gov/-/media/Project/Websites/sos/30lawens/BOE_2020_Post_Election_Audit_Report_04_21_21.pdf?rev=a3c7ee8c06984864870c540a266177f2

59   "AP VoteCast 2020 General Elections," Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research; to view the published survey results, see: The New York Times, "Michigan Voter Surveys: How Different Groups Voted," last accessed January 15, 2024, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/ap-polls-michigan.html

60   NVSOS.gov, "2020 General Election Turnout," Mail Ballot Information, Office of Nevada Secretary of State Barbara K. Cegavske, Updated 11/25/2020, https://www.nvsos.gov/sos/home/showpublisheddocument/9058/637437166448530000

61   "AP VoteCast 2020 General Elections," Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research; to view the published survey results, see: The New York Times, "Nevada Voter Surveys: How Different Groups Voted," last accessed January 15, 2024, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/ap-polls-nevada.html

62   Pennsylvania Department of State, "2020 Presidential Election," last accessed January 15, 2024, https://www.electionreturns.pa.gov/General/SummaryResults?ElectionID=83&ElectionType=G&IsActive=0

63   Wisconsin Elections Commission, "November 3, 2020 Election Data Report," February 3, 2021, pp. 12, 23, https://www.wispolitics.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/D.-November-2020-Election-Data-Report-Updated.pdf

64   "AP VoteCast 2020 General Elections," Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research; to view the published survey results, see: The New York Times, "Wisconsin Voter Surveys: How Different Groups Voted," last accessed January 15, 2024, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/ap-polls-wisconsin.html

65   "Voting Outside the Polling Place," National Conference of State Legislatures.

66   "Voting Outside the Polling Place," National Conference of State Legislatures.

APPENDIX A

Summary of Electoral Results with Variable Fraud Percentages

Winner at Specified Fraud Percentage

	28% (Different Fraud Split)	28%	27%	26%	25%	24%	23%	22%	21%	20%	19%	18%	17%	16%	15%	14%	13%	12%	11%	10%	9%	8%	7%	6%	5%	4%	3%	2%	1%
AZ Winner?	Biden	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Biden	Biden
GA Winner?	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Biden	Biden
MI Winner?	Biden	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden
NV Winner?	Biden	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden
PA Winner?	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden	Biden
WI Winner?	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Trump	Biden	Biden	Biden

Electoral Votes (from Swing States)

	28% (Different Fraud Split)	28%	27%	26%	25%	24%	23%	22%	21%	20%	19%	18%	17%	16%	15%	14%	13%	12%	11%	10%	9%	8%	7%	6%	5%	4%	3%	2%	1%
Trump	46	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	79	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	37	37	27	0	0
Biden	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	42	42	52	79	79

Electoral Votes (Total)

	28% (Different Fraud Split)	28%	27%	26%	25%	24%	23%	22%	21%	20%	19%	18%	17%	16%	15%	14%	13%	12%	11%	10%	9%	8%	7%	6%	5%	4%	3%	2%	1%
Trump	278	311	311	311	311	311	311	311	311	311	311	311	311	311	311	311	289	289	289	289	289	289	289	289	269	269	259	232	232
Biden	260	227	227	227	227	227	227	227	227	227	227	227	227	227	227	227	249	249	249	249	249	249	249	249	269	269	279	306	306

States

States	Electoral Votes
Arizona	11
Georgia	16
Michigan	16
Nevada	6
Pennsylvania	20
Wisconsin	10

Baseline Electoral Votes, Without Swing States

Trump	232
Biden	227

Original 2020 Electoral Vote Total

Trump	232
Biden	306

APPENDIX B

For additional data and to see the specific results for every voter-fraud scenario, please see the full Excel sheet in the link below.

Link: **https://bit.ly/2020ElectionAppendixB**