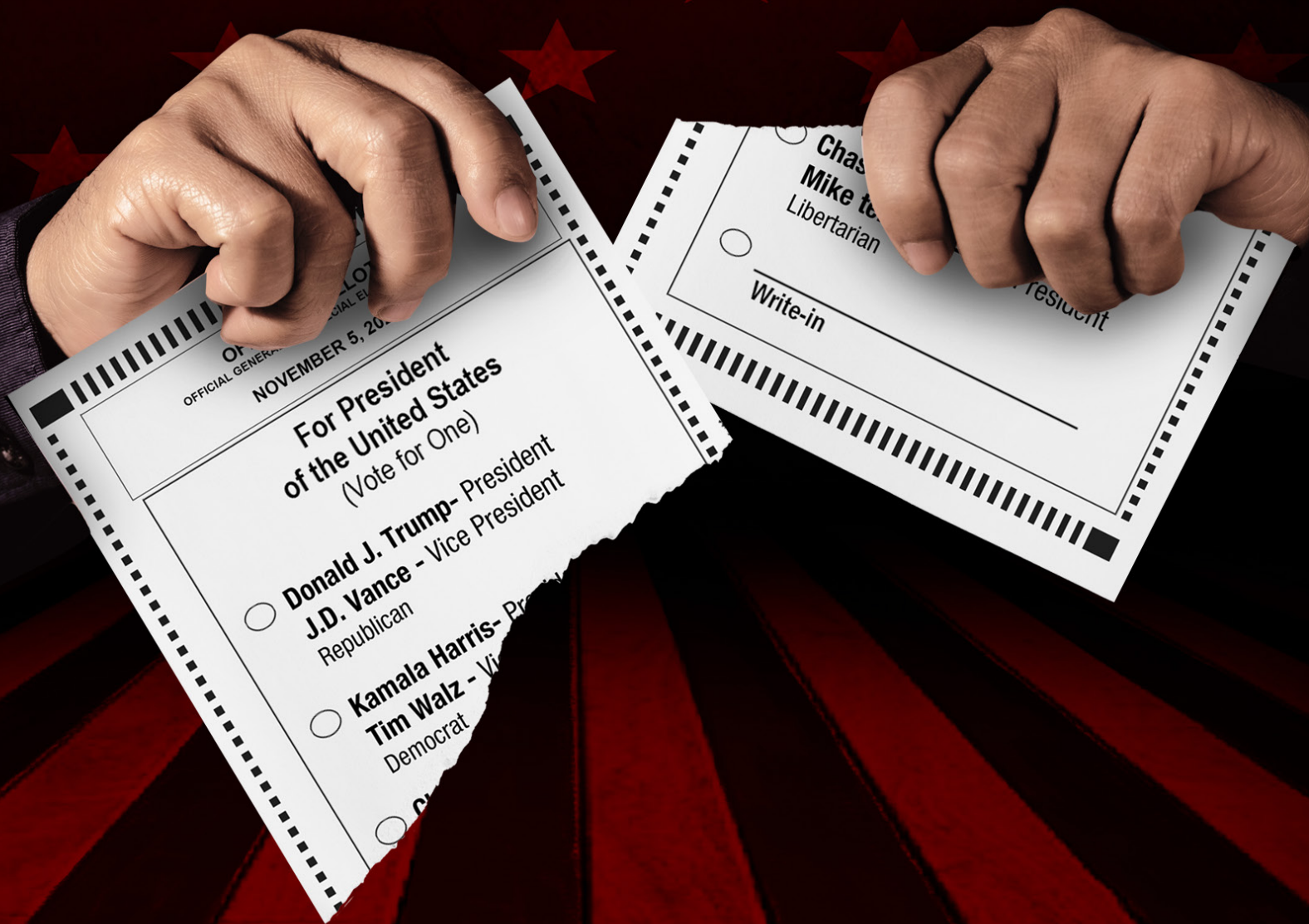


SWING STATE ELECTION DENIERS

*Hundreds of Public and Party Officials
in Eight Battleground States
Stand Ready to Subvert the 2024 Election Results*

SEPTEMBER 2024



THE CENTER FOR MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY



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All of the information presented here can also be found on the Center for Media and Democracy's [Insurrection Exposed](#) website. The site provides hundreds of profiles of the politicians, organizations, key players, and funders who have spread the myth of widespread voter fraud, embraced Trump's lies, engaged in efforts to overturn the 2020 elections results, fanned the flames of insurrection, undermined the public's confidence in free and fair elections, and are laying the groundwork to subvert the 2024 and future elections.

The Center for Media and Democracy (CMD) has been researching and exposing the undue influence of powerful special interests on our democracy for more than 30 years. Its investigations into manipulation of public policy, elections, and the media have won numerous awards, and its publicly available research has made CMD a go-to source for thousands of journalists, educators, policymakers, and citizen activists.

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Executive Summary

More than 230 officials in eight swing states (Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin) who deny the legitimacy of the 2020 presidential election or spread false claims of widespread voter fraud. And they are running for Congress or statewide office in 2024, serving as election administrators, or leading state and local Republican Party organizations.

The 239 “election deniers” cited in this report include:

- 50 Republican congressional candidates running for the U.S. House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate
- 6 Republican candidates running for state executive offices
- 102 sitting state and county election administration officials
- 81 leaders of state and county GOP organizations

Self-appointed groups of Republicans in seven of the eight states referenced here submitted [fake Electoral College votes](#) for Trump in 2020.

The Center for Media and Democracy (CMD) used a variety of publicly available sources to identify “election deniers” in these swing states, including social media profiles, government documents, campaign websites, press statements, and news coverage, among others. Research by [States United Action](#), the [Brennan Center for Justice](#), [Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington](#), [Insurrection Index](#), [Informing Democracy](#), [American Doom](#), [Votebeat](#), and [Spotlight PA](#) contributed significantly to the identification of election deniers.

For the purposes of CMD’s research, at least one of the following criteria were met in order to designate an individual as an election denier:

- Denying that Joe Biden was the legitimate winner of the 2020 presidential election
- Espousing baseless claims or conspiracies about election and voter fraud during the 2020 election or subsequent elections
- Refusing to certify election results, or calling on others to refuse to certify, based on unfounded accusations of interference or fraud
- Expressing support for partisan or “forensic” audits of 2020 election results
- Filing or expressing support for litigation aimed at overturning election results
- Participating in or supporting the January 6, 2021, assault on the U.S. Capitol or “Stop the Steal” events, including local rallies and the [March to Save America](#) rally in Washington, D.C.

While the former president and his allies were ultimately unsuccessful in overturning the 2020 presidential election, the prevalence of election deniers in key positions of authority—both in the swing states mentioned here and elsewhere—raises concerns that Republicans are now far better equipped to disrupt certification of the 2024 election results or spread disinformation about voter fraud if Trump doesn’t win. In the event of a coordinated Republican effort to subvert the results of the 2024 election, these election deniers will undoubtedly play a crucial role in doing so.

	Congressional Candidates	Statewide Candidates	Election Administration Officials	GOP Officials	Total
Arizona	8	1	13	8	30
Georgia	9	0	18	15	42
Michigan	7	0	15	18	40
Nevada	2	0	16	8	26
New Mexico	1	0	3	7	11
North Carolina	7	4	5	7	23
Pennsylvania	10	1	29	9	49
Wisconsin	6	0	3	9	18
Total	50	6	102	81	239



**ARIZONA
DENIERS**

Overview

Historically, Arizonans [voted Republican](#) in all presidential elections but one between 1952 and 2020. Yet given rapid changes in demographics, trends have begun to shift, with voters electing Democrats to both of the state’s Senate seats (in 2018 and 2022), along with its first Democratic governor in 16 years (in 2022).

In 2020 President Biden won the state of Arizona by a narrow margin—initially by as little as 10,000 votes, but ultimately, after multiple hand recounts and the infamous Cyber Ninjas “audit,” the margin increased to 45,469 votes (or 0.3%). Then Secretary of State Katie Hobbs (a Democrat who has served as governor since 2023) certified Biden’s victory on November 30, 2020, confirming that he had won the state’s 11 Electoral College votes.

Roughly a dozen people with ties to Arizona [have been charged](#) for their roles in the attack on the Capitol—including the “QAnon Shaman” Jacob Chansley, who was [sentenced](#) to more than three years in prison. Four members of Congress from Arizona were among the 147 congressional Republicans who [voted against certifying](#) the 2020 election on January 6, 2021.

Even though Arizona voters rejected all three election deniers who were running for statewide offices in 2022—[Kari Lake](#) for governor, [Mark Finchem](#) for secretary of state, and Abe Hamadeh for attorney general—[election denialism](#) remains problematic, with more than a third of elected officials serving in the the state legislature in that camp.

2020 Election Fallout

Based on the false narrative about voter fraud spread by Trump and his allies, election denialism has raged on in Arizona since the 2020 election.

- Key Republicans—including then GOP State Chair [Kelli Ward](#)—attempted to subvert the results by submitting fake Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021 certification process.
- Republican state senators led by then Senate President [Karen Fann](#) demanded a partisan forensic “audit” of the results in Maricopa County.
- Funded by taxpayers to the tune of \$5.5 million, the [audit](#) was primarily conducted by [Cyber Ninjas](#), a Florida-based company that has since gone out of business but was managed by Trump supporter and conspiracy theorist Doug Logan, who was also [part of a coordinated effort](#) to overturn the 2020 election results in three other swing states.
- In the end, the discredited Cyber Ninjas audit in Maricopa County failed to surface any evidence of systemic fraud, and the results showed that [Trump lost to Biden](#) by a larger margin than initially reported.
- In January 2022, the [Maricopa County Elections](#) department [released a report](#) titled *Correcting the Record* in which it rejected each of the 76 claims made by Arizona Senate Republicans regarding the 2020 election results. “Despite all evidence to the contrary, false allegations continue to persist and damage voter confidence,” the report stated.
- In May 2022, Maricopa County elections officials [rebuked](#) then Attorney General Mark Brnovich (R) for [issuing a report](#) the previous month as part of his campaign for a U.S. Senate seat that was “full of false innuendo and misrepresentations” about the 2020 election. “When election integrity is challenged, we have the collective responsibility to investigate and report our conclusions

thoroughly and honestly. We have. You have not,” county leaders wrote. “The 2020 election was fair and the results indisputable. Rather than being truthful about what your office has learned about the election, you have omitted pertinent information, misrepresented facts, and cited distorted data to seed doubt about the conduct of elections in Maricopa County.”

- In June 2022, the FBI [subpoenaed](#) then Senate President [Karen Fann](#)’s records related to the Cyber Ninjas audit as part of its probe into state-level interference in the 2020 presidential election.
- In February 2023, Arizona’s new Democratic attorney general [released information](#) her predecessor had hidden from the public, [revealing](#) that investigators in the AG’s office had long ago concluded that nearly all findings of the audit of the 2020 election in Maricopa County commissioned by the state Senate were unfounded. As part of his political calculus in his bid for the GOP Senate nomination, Brnovich withheld that information and ultimately left office without releasing it.
- In May 2023, the Justice Department’s special counsel [subpoenaed](#) the Arizona secretary of state’s office requesting records related to lawsuits filed by Ward and the Trump campaign alleging that election machines in the state had erroneously rejected ballots from voters (lawsuits that were ultimately tossed out by Arizona courts).
- In July 2023, former Arizona House Speaker Rusty Bowers (R) [told CNN](#) that FBI agents had interviewed him in conjunction with the special counsel’s investigation into the 2020 election. As part of their subversion efforts, Trump and senior advisers had pressured Bowers to decertify the Arizona’s electors for Biden, which he refused to do.
- In April 2024, the U.S. Supreme Court [rejected an appeal](#) brought by Senate candidate [Kari Lake](#) and extremist State Representative [Mark Finchem](#) (who lost his 2022 race for Arizona secretary of

state) that challenged the state’s electronic voting machines.

- In April 2024, Arizona’s attorney general [indicted](#) a number of Trump’s closest allies and all of the state’s [fake electors](#) on [charges of conspiracy, fraud, and forgery](#) related to keeping the former president in office despite his loss at the polls. Among those indicted in the case are Trump lawyers [Rudy Giuliani](#), [John Eastman](#), [Jenna Ellis](#), and [Christina Bobb](#); his former Chief of Staff [Mark Meadows](#); his legal strategist [Boris Epshteyn](#); and campaign operative [Mike Roman](#). The former president is also named an unindicted co-conspirator in the case.

Deniers Running for Congress

In Arizona four incumbents and 10 other candidates running for federal office in 2024 have spread lies or conspiracies about the legitimacy of the 2020 presidential election or taken steps to undermine the integrity of that and subsequent elections. These include:

- **Kari Lake | Senate**

A former Fox News anchor, [Kari Lake](#) is a Trump loyalist who entered politics in 2021 to run for governor of Arizona. Though she lost, and as a true MAGA Republican refused to concede, she is [running for the U.S. Senate](#) in 2024. Since the 2020 election, Lake has thrown herself into spreading the Big Lie and spewing far-right vitriol, a strategy that has fueled her sudden rise in politics and brought her ongoing endorsements from Trump. When she won the GOP Senate primary in July 2024, besting [fellow election denier Mark Lamb](#), *AZ Central* [ran the wry headline](#): *Why isn’t Kari Lake screaming about election fraud? Oh, right. Because she won.*

- **David Schweikert | House (AZ–1)**

Representative [David Schweikert](#) is a conservative incumbent who has represented Arizona in the House since 2011 but only won reelection in 2022

by a very narrow margin. Democrats [hope to flip](#) his seat in 2024 since he's [considered vulnerable](#) in a district that is becoming less conservative. In November 2020, Schweikert [signed](#) a congressional letter demanding an audit of ballots in Maricopa County, and two months later was among the 147 congressional Republicans who refused to certify President Biden's electoral victory.

- **Eli Crane | House (AZ-2)**

Representative Eli Crane is running for his second term after defeating the Democratic incumbent in 2022 with Trump's endorsement and a newly redrawn district map that heavily favors Republicans. While running for office in 2021, he [called for](#) the state legislature to "decertify" the 2020 election and audit results in more counties, and urged the attorney general to "launch a criminal investigation to hold all involved accountable." In May 2022, Crane's congressional campaign used a [Facebook post](#) to thank [Turning Point USA](#) for "creating an opportunity for so many citizens of Arizona to be educated about the massive amounts of fraud taking place in our elections" and promote the [widely discredited](#) film *2000 Mules*, a hoax made to help the Right spread more lies about the 2020 presidential election.

- **Jeff Zink | House (AZ-3)**

A former salesman, minister, and insurrectionist, Jeff Zink is [running a long-shot bid](#) to unseat Representative Ruben Gallego (D-AZ-3), who defeated him in 2022. According to [AZ Central](#), Zink and his son participated in the January 6 riot at the Capitol. Even though his son is fighting legal battles against a possible 22-year sentence in federal prison for his role in the insurrection, Zink himself claims that he didn't enter the building that day. The candidate is now focusing his campaign on what he calls a "political prosecution and persecution scheme" coordinated by the Department of Justice and the Biden administration. He [frequently tweets](#) about conspiracies and expresses unwavering [support](#) for incarcerated [J6ers](#).

- **Kelly Cooper | House (AZ-4)**

An entrepreneur, former Marine and [Trump loyalist](#), Kelly Cooper won the GOP primary in July with 32% of the vote and is now mounting his second congressional campaign against Representative Greg Stanton (D-AZ-4), who narrowly defeated him in 2022. Cooper initially touted "election integrity" as a top priority on his [former campaign website](#), where he called the 2020 election a "disaster" that left "millions of Arizonans" wondering "if their vote really counted." In a [campaign video](#), he also noted that he wants "the prisoners of January 6th...to be released on day one" and that if elected, he will "make every effort to make sure that happens." Trump endorsed him in 2022.

- **Andy Biggs | House (AZ-5)**

Representative [Andy Biggs](#) is an outspoken election denier and Trump loyalist who has served in the House since 2017, won reelection in 2022 with Trump's endorsement, and is expected to win again in 2024. In 2023 he [introduced](#) a bill that would have punished Manhattan's district attorney for prosecuting Trump. He is also among the five sitting congressmen [subpoenaed](#) by the House Select Committee that investigated the insurrection. In July 2022, the speaker of the Arizona House [testified](#) that after the 2020 election Biggs pressed him to support decertifying the state's electors.

- **Abe Hamadeh | House (AZ-8)**

In 2022 Abe Hamadeh [ran for attorney general](#) in Arizona with Trump's endorsement, while doubling down on election denialism and the Big Lie. "As AG I will prosecute the election fraud of 2020 and secure the 2024 election so when Donald Trump runs and wins again in 2024, everyone will know it's legitimate," he [told](#) *The Arizona Republic*. Hamadeh also spreads election misinformation online, as a sampling of tweets from 2022 (on [January 13](#), [April 6](#), and [May 8](#)) indicate. After narrowly [losing the AG race](#), he [fought hard](#) to overturn the results. Hamadeh is now [expected to win](#) the House seat being vacated by retiring

Representative Debbie Lesko (R) in this very red district in the western suburbs of Phoenix.

- **Paul Gosar | House (AZ–9)**

Representative [Paul Gosar](#) has served in the House since 2011 and is a member of the far-right House Freedom Caucus. He won reelection in 2022 with Trump’s endorsement and is expected to win again in 2024 in his very red district. While campaigning with Trump in 2022, Gosar [boasted](#) of being “the most dangerous man in Congress” and told the crowd of MAGA supporters: “This is where it all began. This is where we questioned: Was there fraud? Absolutely. Was it enough to overturn the election? Absolutely.” Gosar actively spread election misinformation online, helped [Ali Alexander](#) organize the Stop the Steal rally, and [described](#) the riotous mob that attacked the Capitol as “[peaceful protesters](#).”

Deniers Running for Statewide Office

Only one candidate running for statewide office in 2024 has questioned the results of the 2020 presidential election. Rene Lopez is running to serve on the Arizona Corporation Commission, an elected position for the state’s public utilities regulatory agency. In 2022, when he ran in the GOP primary for a House seat in the 4th Congressional District, he expressed doubt about the integrity of the 2020 presidential election and made allegations of fraud (at 26:53 in this [PBS debate video](#)). *Arizona Central* also considered him to be an “election questioner” at the time.

Deniers in the State Legislature

More than a third of the 90 members serving in Arizona’s legislature qualify as election deniers, including people in leadership positions in both chambers. The [Election Threat Index](#) compiled by Public Wise puts the number at 22 in the House of Representatives and 12 in the Senate. The [States United Democracy Center](#) identifies 18 representatives and 13 senators as deniers.

Deniers Administering Elections

At least a dozen county election administrators in Arizona parrot Trump’s claims of a stolen election and continue to spread disinformation about election integrity. They include:

- **Tom Crosby | Cochise County Board of Supervisors (District 1)**

Tom Crosby is one of two Republican election supervisors in Cochise County who [refused](#) to certify the 2022 results, an effort that ultimately failed when a judge ordered the board to certify the results. In November 2023, Crosby pleaded not guilty to [felony charges](#) of conspiracy and interference with an elections officer, and then voted to hire a fellow election denier as the county elections director. In fall 2023 that person, Tim Mattix, replaced longtime Elections Director Lisa Marra, who [quit](#) after facing hostility for refusing to authorize a hand recount during the 2022 election. In March 2024 she was appointed to the state’s top elections position, and the following month Mattix [resigned](#) after only six months on the job, becoming the fourth person to vacate the position in the past year. Crosby is due to stand [trial](#) for the felony charges in August 2024.

- **Peggy Judd | Cochise County Board of Supervisors (District 3)**

Peggy Judd is one of two Republican supervisors in Cochise County who [refused](#) to certify the 2022 election results, an effort that ultimately failed when a judge ordered the board to certify the results. Judd had previously attended the March to Save American rally in Washington, D.C. on January 6, 2021, and subsequently spread [disinformation](#) about the event in interviews and Facebook posts. In November 2023, she pleaded not guilty to [felony charges](#) of conspiracy and interference with an elections officer. The [trial](#) is set for October 2024.

- **David Stevens | Cochise County Recorder**

Closely affiliated with prominent election denier and former state Representative [Mark Finchem](#),

David Stevens is an election recorder in Cochise County and a director of the Finchem-run non-profit Election Fairness Institute. During the 2022 midterms, he agreed to [conduct a hand count](#) of ballots in Cochise County after voicing skepticism about the security of voting machines and disseminating other election conspiracies. A judge ultimately ruled that a full hand count would be illegal. Several weeks after the 2020 election, Stevens told the [Arizona Daily Independent](#) that he supported delaying the certification of Arizona's electoral votes to look into potential vulnerabilities in Maricopa County's election.

- **Steve Christensen | Gila County Board of Supervisors (District 1)**

An October 2021 Facebook [post](#) by Steve Christensen praised far-right State Senator Wendy Rogers (R-AZ-7) for “looking out for Arizona’s voter integrity.” In 2022, he [endorsed](#) fake elector [Jim Lamon](#) in his failed bid for the U.S. Senate.

- **Bob Bartelsmeyer | La Paz County Elections Director**

As elections director in La Paz County, Bob Bartelsmeyer [reportedly](#) shared memes on his personal Facebook page that supported Trump’s allegations of fraud and promoted conspiracies about Dominion voting machines. When he [resigned](#) from a brief stint as Cochise County elections director he assumed his previous role in La Paz County.

- **Hildy Angius | Mohave County Board of Supervisors (District 2)**

As an election supervisor in Mohave County, Hildy Angius has repeatedly spread election misinformation online. This includes a November 2020 Facebook [post](#) with the headline “SHARPIEGATE!” that the platform quickly censored due to misinformation. She initially [voted against certifying](#) the election results that month but ultimately voted in favor a week later. In February 2022, Angius posted about a [video](#) titled *Justified: The Story of America’s Audit*, and in August 2022, she [promoted](#) the Mohave County assessor’s comment that “our county is not the enemy... other coun-

ties are, but not Mohave.” Following Election Day 2022, Angius [voiced](#) her opposition to certifying the election, saying her vote to certify the results was done “under duress for the chaos Maricopa County has forced into our election process.”

- **Ron Gould | Mohave County Board of Supervisors (District 5)**

A member of the county board of supervisors, Ron Gould is running for reelection in 2024. In 2020, he [advocated for delay](#) beyond the legal deadline in certifying the presidential election results, characterizing Arizona as “still in play.” During the 2022 election, he spread misinformation about electoral fraud in Pinal and Maricopa counties. In January 2024, Gould [filed](#) a lawsuit challenging Arizona’s prohibition against hand counting and alleging that Attorney General Kris Mayes (D) “influenced the voting process and ultimate vote,” and “threatened” him via a [2023 letter](#) sent to the Mohave County Board of Supervisors to let them know that voting to hand count ballots would violate state law.

- **Travis Lingenfelter | Mohave County Board of Supervisors (District 1)**

As a member of the county board of supervisors, Travis Lingenfelter initially voted against certifying the county’s 2022 election results, later [justifying his decision](#) by claiming that a “significant percentage of Arizona’s voters seem to have misgivings about the state of Arizona’s election process,” and saying that he had “received emails from Georgia, Michigan, and telephone calls from all over the country.” He also decided to delay voting to certify the results until November 28 of that year “in solidarity and as a statement to Maricopa County and state legislatures here that we must do better in the future to increase Arizonans’ confidence in our elections.”

- **Steve Christy | Pima County Board of Supervisors (District 4)**

As an election supervisor in Pima County, Steve Christy [voted against certifying](#) the county’s election results in both 2022 and 2020.

- **Kevin Cavanaugh | Pinal County Board of Supervisors (District 1)**

As an election supervisor in Pinal County, Kevin Cavanaugh has [pushed to count all 2024 ballots by hand](#) based on the same [false claims](#) about voting machines that Trump has repeatedly made, going against state law that calls for paper ballots to be scanned and tabulated by machine. During the 2022 election, several hundred ballots initially went uncounted because workers programmed machines incorrectly.

- **Jeff Serdy | Pinal County Board of Supervisors (District 5)**

As an election supervisor in Pinal County, Jeff Serdy [criticized](#) the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors in 2021 for “fighting the Constitution” by opposing the Cyber Ninjas audit, asking, “What are you hiding?” Also in 2021, he [said](#) it was good that the Pinal County Board of Supervisors had the power to appoint the county elections director as opposed to how it works in Maricopa County. In early 2023, Serdy [voiced](#) support for state legislators changing the law to allow election supervisors to vote against certification. “The last two elections have been kind of wonky,” he said. “What if 2024 is even worse and we’re forced to vote ‘yes’ on something we don’t want to vote ‘yes’ on?”

- **Harry Oberg | Yavapai County Board of Supervisors (District 1)**

In 2022, Yavapai County Supervisor Harry Oberg [claimed](#) that “there is a growing concern around here in ensuring we have fair elections” and he expressed concern about the security of drop boxes after watching the widely discredited conspiracy theory video *2000 Mules*. He also voiced support for requiring video surveillance of all drop boxes in the county.

- **Darren Simmons | Yuma County Board of Supervisors (District 3)**

In 2022, Yuma County Supervisor Darren Simmon [posted](#) a statement by Andrew Gould (candidate for attorney general of Arizona) on Facebook that

claimed “massive irregularities discovered during the 2020 presidential election.” He also [endorsed](#) a state representative who [said](#) the Yuma area “can’t have free and fair elections [...] it’s spreading across the country.”

Deniers in GOP Leadership

Key GOP officials in Arizona still maintain that the 2020 presidential election was stolen and continue to spread misinformation about purported election fraud.

During its annual convention in April 2024, the Arizona GOP [selected two election deniers](#)—one of whom is an [indicted fake elector](#)—to represent the state on the Republican National Committee. Party leaders also passed a resolution to censure both Mike Pence and Nikki Haley for “their dereliction of duty [for] refusing to support” Trump.

In addition, the party has chosen not to remove its [December 14, 2020 video](#) from Twitter/X showing Arizona’s [fake electors](#) signing the document they submitted to Congress and has [called](#) the state’s recent indictment of those electors an “unprecedented abuse of prosecutorial power [that is] clearly designed to silence dissent and weaponize the law against political opponents.” This pattern of behavior has led at least one GOP strategist to note that holding “a fealty to election denialism... now [defines] the state Republican Party in Arizona,” [according to NBC News](#).

- **Gina Swoboda | State Chair**

In January 2024, the Arizona Republican Party [ordained](#) this avid Trump follower and “[favorite](#)” as its new leader. Swoboda worked for Trump’s 2020 campaign and is now [executive director](#) of the [Voter Reference Foundation](#), a nonprofit “resource for voter fraud activists” that has made unfounded claims of discrepancies in voting records in a number of states. Her frequent [tweets](#) also [promote skepticism](#) about the legitimacy of [elections](#) in the U.S.

- **Jake Hoffman | National Committeeman**

In April 2024, the Arizona GOP [chose](#) state Senator Hoffman, an indicted [fake elector](#), as Arizona's new national committeeman on the [Republican National Committee](#) (RNC). A contractor with [Turning Point USA](#) who is known for [leading disinformation campaigns](#), as a legislator he's also a member of Arizona's ultraconservative Freedom Caucus. Hoffman was [selected](#) as a committeeman just days after an Arizona grand jury issued an [indictment against him](#) and other Trump allies based on their efforts to subvert the 2020 election (charges the senator [dismisses](#) as "political persecution"). On January 5, 2021, Hoffman [sent a detailed letter](#) to Vice President Mike Pence urging him to insist that Arizona's electors not be decided by popular vote but rather by members of the state legislature.

- **Liz Harris | National Committeewoman**

In April 2024, the Arizona GOP [chose](#) this former state representative as Arizona's new female representative on the [Republican National Committee](#). In 2023 fellow members of the Arizona legislature [expelled Harris](#) after she invited an election denier to make outrageous and wholly unsubstantiated allegations at a televised legislative hearing on elections. "These are not just your run-of-the-mill election deniers," a Republican strategist in Arizona said of Harris and Hoffman after the state GOP elected them to the RNC. "They are leaders in the whole experiment of election denialism."

- **Branden Turley | Assistant Sergeant at Arms**

A firearms expert and veteran of the Phoenix Police Department, Turley serves as the party's assistant sergeant at arms. After the 2020 election he took to social media to express his distrust of the results, and in 2021 he and his wife founded America Pack, an [extremist group](#) dedicated to fighting the "sadistic evil" permeating American society due to "liberals, progressives, and RINOs [who] seek to dismantle and subvert our country."

In a holiday fundraising message, [America Pack](#) made a pitch for support from "like-minded individuals with constitutional conservative values, who [are] also scared and lost... and searching for the TRUTH!"

- **Debi Wise | Cochise County Chair**

As chair of the Cochise County Republican Committee, Wise frequently [reposts tweets](#) from Trump evangelists/election deniers such as [Kari Lake](#) and [Michael Flynn](#). On March 13, 2024, she [reposted a tweet](#) suggesting outrage when state Representative Justin Heap refused to answer whether the 2020 election had been stolen. In December 2023, Wise [signed a letter](#) calling for state party unity and "better election integrity" to ensure that Republicans win in 2024.

- **Gary Morris | Gila County Chair**

As chair of the Gila County Republican Committee, Morris [hosted a luncheon](#) in June 2023 with a trio of right-wing election deniers: U.S. Representative Eli Crane (R-AZ-2), Representative [Matt Gaetz](#) (R-FL-1), and Pinal County Sheriff [Mark Lamb](#), who ran for the U.S. Senate in the 2024 GOP primary. Lamb presents himself as a tough guy "American Sheriff" who has openly supported Arizona's "Stop the Steal" efforts and suggested that Trump bears no responsibility for the violence at the Capitol and disruption of Congress on January 6, 2021. Morris [signed a letter](#) in December 2023 calling for state party unity and "better election integrity" to ensure that Republicans win in 2024.

- **Craig Berland | Maricopa County Chair**

As chair of the Maricopa County Republican Committee, Berland and the committee called on the Arizona GOP to [opt out](#) of state-funded primaries and run their own, with ballots counted by hand. He and other Maricopa County Republicans still claim that the 2020 election was stolen and often tweet about election fraud on the [committee's X page](#).

- **Steven McEwen | Santa Cruz County Chair**

As chair of the Santa Cruz County Republican Committee, McEwen [sued](#) county election officials in July 2022 over ballot verification procedures, demanding to be inside the room as ballots are counted and complaining that watching from a window does not allow for signature verification. In December 2023, he [signed a letter](#) calling for state party unity and “better election integrity” to ensure that Republicans win in 2024.



**GEORGIA
DENIERS**

Overview

After favoring conservative Democrats in every election from 1868–1960, Georgians began [shifting to the Right](#) in the mid 1960s based on discomfort with provisions of the Civil Rights Act. They then voted reliably Republican for the decades between 1972 and 2016 (except when a southern Democrat was on the ticket).

However, with a recent influx of newcomers to the state, Georgia has become less conservative and is now considered a [swing state](#) where races for all elected offices are more competitive. Since 2020 it has a net gain of approximately 30,000 new voters, with as many as two-thirds of those likely to be Democrats, according to research by the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*.

In 2020 President Biden won the state by 0.2%—the narrowest margin of victory in the U.S. that election. Democrats also narrowly won both of Georgia’s Senate seats in 2020. However, Republicans still outnumber Democrats two to one in its House delegation, and the [governorship](#) has been held by Republicans since 2003.

Given a mere 12,000-vote margin between Biden and Trump in 2020, Georgia conducted a [hand recount](#) of all ballots before Secretary of State [Brad Raffensperger](#) (R) certified the results on November 20, confirming Biden’s win of the state’s 16 electoral college votes. Two days later, Trump [requested another recount](#), though ultimately, that also [reaffirmed Biden’s win](#).

Despite the absence of voting irregularities in Georgia, Trump and his allies continued a pressure campaign against Raffensperger and other state officials for weeks after the election and also demanded [additional audits](#), a process that dragged on for almost two years.

Georgia was among the seven states involved in the [fake electors scheme](#), with 16 Republican officials [attempting to subvert](#) the results of the 2020 presidential election by submitting fake Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, certification process. After the attack on the Capitol that day, six House representatives from Georgia were among the 147 congressional Republicans who [voted against certifying](#) President Biden’s win of the 2020 election, and five of those six are running for reelection again in 2024.

In the aftermath of the attack on the Capitol, at least [30 people](#) with ties to Georgia [have faced criminal charges](#) for contributing to the violence that day—beyond the handful of Georgians charged in the [Fulton County election interference case](#).

2020 Election Fallout

Based on the false narrative about voter fraud spread by Trump and his allies, election denialism still holds sway in Georgia.

- Key Republicans—including [Burt Jones](#), now the state’s lieutenant governor, and then GOP State Chair David Shafer—attempted to subvert the results by submitting [fake Electoral College](#)

[documents](#) to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, certification process.

- On January 2, 2021, Trump and several of his key aides [spoke by phone](#) with Secretary of State [Brad Raffensperger](#) for over an hour, pressuring him to “[find 11,780 votes](#)” so that the president could declare victory in Georgia.

- On December 28, 2020, [Jeffrey Clark](#), a Trump loyalist who worked at the Department of Justice at the time, [drafted](#) a letter [pushing officials in Georgia](#) to hold a special session of the state legislature in order to investigate supposed “irregularities” in the 2020 presidential election.
- Under pressure from GOP activists still claiming the election was stolen, Republicans [rammed through a sprawling election reform law](#) in 2021 that shortened the time for requesting a ballot by mail, allowed only restricted use of ballot drop boxes, and made it illegal to give food or water to voters waiting in line near a polling place.
- On August 14, 2023, a grand jury in Fulton County, Georgia indicted Trump and 18 allies on charges of violating 16 state laws in their conspiracy to sabotage the results of the 2020 presidential election. The [indictment](#) alleges that “the defendants engaged in a criminal racketeering enterprise to overturn Georgia’s presidential election result,” as Fulton County District Attorney Fani Willis put it in [announcing](#) a total of [41 counts](#) against the defendants, including 13 against Trump himself.
- Demands from disgruntled Trump loyalists to address [unfounded claims](#) of voter fraud have led to the passage of additional new [voter suppression measures](#) in Georgia. In May 2024, Republican Governor Brian Kemp [signed a law](#) that could make it easier to remove people from the voting rolls through [challenges to voter eligibility](#).
- In April 2024, Pete Skandalakis, a Republican who leads a [nonpartisan state agency](#) in Georgia, said that he [would investigate](#) the role Lieutenant Governor Jones played in 2020 when he was a state senator and served as a [fake elector](#).

Deniers Running for Congress

In Georgia, seven incumbents and two other Republicans running for the House in 2024 have falsely claimed that Trump won the 2020 presidential elec-

tion, spread lies or conspiracies about its legitimacy, refused to certify the results, or took steps to undermine the integrity of that or subsequent elections. These include:

- **Earl “Buddy” Carter | House (GA–1)**

Representative [Buddy Carter](#) has served in the House since 2015 and ran unopposed in 2022 but had [Trump’s endorsement](#). After the 2020 election, he [refused to certify](#) the results, voted against impeaching Trump for his role in instigating the attack on the Capitol, and voted against establishing a House committee to investigate the insurrection. Carter also routinely used his social media accounts to [spread](#) election conspiracies and other misinformation in the aftermath of the election. Both [The Washington Post](#) and [Insurrection Index](#) identify him as an election denier, though [538](#) lists his ultimate response to the outcome of the 2020 election as “accepted with reservations.”

- **Brian Jack | House (GA–3)**

Longtime Trump aide Brian Jack [won](#) the GOP primary with his former boss’ seal of approval as “a man of Loyalty, Honesty, and Integrity.” Jack worked for Trump’s 2016 presidential campaign, served as White House director of political affairs during his administration, and has been his “[de facto liaison](#) with Capitol Hill” ever since. The House Select Committee investigating the attack on the Capitol subpoenaed him after he reached out to several congressmen to ask them to speak at the rally at the Ellipse on January 6. While campaigning in the primary, Jack joined fellow candidates in [affirming that Trump won Georgia](#) in 2020 despite any evidence. Given his very red district, he is expected to win the House seat in November.

- **John “Bongo” Salvesen | House (GA–5)**

Bongo Salvesen is an election denier whose campaign site includes a page on “[election interference](#).” A link to an external website provides “evidence” for “why Georgia should not have certified the November 3, 2020 election.” Salvesen [ran unopposed](#) in the GOP primary and is running

against incumbent Representative Nikema Williams, who also chairs the Georgia Democratic Party.

- **Rich McCormick | House (GA–7)**

Representative Rich McCormick is [running for his second term](#), but this time in Georgia’s newly drawn 7th Congressional District, where he ran unopposed in the GOP primary. As an ER doctor and Marine veteran, he says on his website that he “has never been afraid of a fight” and is ready to take on “the radical left” and “stop socialism” in his quest to “Revive Freedom and Save America!” McCormick is an [election denier](#) who [claimed](#) during a 2022 campaign debate that he didn’t actually lose his own race in 2020 and therefore would not concede. “No one was hurt by voter fraud more than myself,” he said, complaining that even though he was up by 5,000 votes shortly after the polls closed, he was subsequently “told” he lost.

- **Andrew Clyde | House (GA–9)**

Representative [Andrew Clyde](#) has served in the House since 2021 and was reelected in 2022 with [Trump’s endorsement](#). He helped spread the Big Lie both before and after the 2020 presidential election and also objected to certifying the results, voted against impeaching Trump for inciting the attack on the Capitol, and voted against establishing a House committee to investigate the insurrection. In June 2023, Clyde [enthusiastically endorsed Trump’s bid](#) to regain the White House in 2024.

- **Mike Collins | House (GA–10)**

Now running for his second term in Congress, Representative Mike Collins is fully in sync with Trump as an election denier. In a January 2022 [post](#) on Twitter/X, he wrote that “Joe Biden and the Democrats stole the 2020 election” and “Donald Trump won Georgia.” The congressman’s [campaign site](#) includes a section on “safeguarding election integrity” where he vows to oppose “Democrats in Congress and leftwing activists... [who] are determined to enact a federal takeover of state elections.” In June 2023, Collins leapt to

the front of the pack to [endorse Trump’s bid](#) for reelection in 2024.

- **Barry Loudermilk | House (GA–11)**

Representative [Barry Loudermilk](#) has served in the House since 2015 and ran unopposed in 2022 but had [Trump’s endorsement](#). Both before and after the 2020 presidential election, he helped spread the Big Lie and amplified conspiracy theories about election fraud in Georgia. Loudermilk also objected to certifying the election results and voted against both impeaching Trump for inciting the attack on the Capitol and establishing a House committee to investigate, and once that committee got established, he [refused to cooperate](#) and answer questions about the suspicious tour of the Capitol he led a day before the insurrection. In May 2024, Loudermilk used his position as chair of the House Administration subcommittee on oversight to [intimidate](#) former White House aide Cassidy Hutchinson—who may be called on to testify against Trump in the [Department of Justice J6 case](#) against him—by [requesting](#) that she turn over all communications to date with former Representative Liz Cheney (R-WY) and a number of top officials from the Trump administration.

- **Rick Allen | House (GA–12)**

Representative [Rick Allen](#) has served in the House since 2015 and ran unopposed in 2022 but had [Trump’s endorsement](#). Immediately after the 2020 presidential election, he made a variety of [unfounded allegations](#) about irregularities and fraud, including claims that “glitches” had been found in Dominion voting machines and absentee ballot counting had been rushed. He also joined fellow House Republicans in sending letters to Attorney General Bill Barr on [November 6](#) and [December 1](#) urging the Justice Department to investigate accusations of fraud in the 2020 election and later [tweeted his support](#) for a DOJ investigation. In December 2020, Allen [signed an amicus brief](#) in a lawsuit filed by the state of Texas urging the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the results of the presidential election in four swing states. In January 2021, he objected to certifying the election results

and voted against both impeaching Trump for inciting the attack on the Capitol and establishing a House committee to investigate the insurrection.

- **Marjorie Taylor Greene | House (GA-14)**

Representative [Marjorie Taylor Greene](#) is a far-right firebrand who has served in the House since 2020 and prides herself on being an [agent of chaos](#) in Congress. An outspoken Trump devotee, she wholeheartedly [endorsed](#) the former president in November 2022—the same day he announced his run for reelection. Both before and after the 2020 presidential election, Greene helped spread the Big Lie and amplify conspiracy theories about election fraud in Georgia. In January 2021, she objected to certifying the election results and voted against both impeaching Trump for inciting the attack on the Capitol and establishing a House committee to investigate the insurrection. Greene continues to be one of Trump’s biggest cheerleaders in Congress but in spring 2024 her attempt to oust House Speaker [Mike Johnson](#) (R-LA) [failed miserably](#) and she [caught criticism](#) from within the party for being too disruptive.

Deniers Running for Statewide Office

No candidate currently running for statewide office in Georgia in 2024 has questioned the results of the 2020 presidential election.

Deniers in the State Legislature

Approximately 14% of the 236 members serving in Georgia’s General Assembly are election deniers, including people in leadership positions in the Senate. The [States United Democracy Center](#) identifies 33 legislators in the General Assembly—18 representatives and 15 senators—who say they don’t believe that President Biden actually won the 2020 election. Election denialism among elected officials at the state level matters because state legislators across the country have been [introducing increasingly more bills](#) in recent years that allow partisan operatives to

manipulate elections, restrict access to voting, and potentially skew outcomes.

Deniers Administering Elections

In August 2024, the State Election Board approved a measure that gives local officials [newfound power to refuse or delay certification](#) of a county’s election results, opening the potential for even more chaos following the 2024 election. Just days before they voted on the measure, Trump applauded the Republicans on the board, saying at a campaign rally that they are “on fire” and calling them “three pit bulls fighting for honesty, transparency and victory.”

The following election administrators in Georgia still parrot the ex-president’s claims of a “rigged” election and continue to spread disinformation about election integrity in 2024:

- **Rick Jeffares | State Election Board**

In January 2024, the Georgia Senate appointed former Republican state Senator Rick Jeffares (R) to the Election Board despite his “alleged history of promoting claims of fraud that were debunked by the [same] board,” as *Democracy Docket* [reported](#). Shortly after the 2020 election, his [Facebook posts](#) claimed that “dead people had voted by mail, ... the Democrats and China had colluded, and... that Democrats had cheated.” In opposing his nomination to the board, state Senator Jason Esteves (D) pointed out that, “It is nothing short of dangerous and irresponsible to empower conspiracy theorists on the [State Election Board](#). This nomination will only serve to further those theories and undermine the people’s confidence in Georgia’s elections.”

- **Janice Johnston | State Election Board**

Since the 2020 election, Janice Johnston has made complaints about election procedures at Fulton County Board Meetings (one of the most [highly contested](#) counties in that and subsequent elections), “calling for the firing of the county’s elections director, criticizing the job performance

of temporary election workers and repeating unsubstantiated allegations of ‘falsified tally sheets’ during an audit,” according to the [Atlanta-Journal Constitution](#). In December 2023, she [voted](#) in favor of a failed motion to investigate Secretary of State [Brad Raffensberger](#) over false claims that the 2020 election was stolen. Deputy Secretary of State Jordan Fuchs [denounced](#) the move, saying, “The election wasn’t stolen and our office is surprised to see particular members of the State Election Board laying the foundation to discredit the next election.”

In early 2024, Johnston proposed calling on the General Assembly to prohibit no-excuse absentee voting in Georgia due to “the risk of fraud,” but the full Election Board [voted against](#) her proposal.

- **Janelle King | State Election Board**

Shortly after being appointed to the board in June 2024 to replace a more moderate Republican, Janelle King said she didn’t know if the 2020 election had been fairly administered in Georgia. “I believe that there are some things that are questionable,” she told [The Guardian](#). “And I believe that those things have caused a disruption in whether or not people believe in our process.” In July 2024, King spoke in favor of [reopening](#) the board’s investigation into the 2020 presidential election results in Fulton County, which includes the Atlanta metropolitan area. When Biden won the county in 2020, Republicans demanded multiple investigations, none of which uncovered any fraud. However, King [argued](#), “All we want is a little bit more time to look at this. I’m supporting getting more information because the information that I was provided, it gave me questions.”

- **Debbie Fisher | Cobb County Board of Elections**

As a member of the county Board of Elections, Debbie Fisher [voted](#) against certifying the results of the November 2023 statewide municipal elections. Minutes from that board meeting [report](#) that she saw “no reason to certify” and that the

“issues of concern” included “inconsistencies in reporting with the [secretary of state].” Later, she told a reporter for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* that she “opposed certification because she didn’t understand why voter check-in data for some early voters appeared twice on reports generated by the secretary of state’s office.” However, state elections officials claimed that the programming issue was “[quickly resolved](#).”

- **Nancy Jester | DeKalb County Board of Elections**

Nancy Jester [refused](#) to certify the results of the November 2023 statewide municipal elections. In 2021, she [replaced](#) Baoky Vu, “a longtime Republican elections board member who was not reappointed for another term because he pushed back on false claims of widespread voter fraud in last fall’s election,” according to the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*.

- **Anthony Lewis | Dekalb County Board of Elections**

Anthony Lewis is among the county elections officials who [refused](#) to certify the results of the November 2023 statewide municipal elections in Georgia, according to *Rolling Stone*.

- **Sharlene Alexander | Fayette County Board of Elections**

In July 2024, the Georgia Election Board voted to advance a proposed [rule](#) submitted by Sharlene Alexander that would require three people at each polling precinct to hand count the total number of ballots and compare them with the machine totals. In a statement [criticizing](#) her petition and similar proposed procedural changes, Georgia Secretary of State [Brad Raffensperger](#) (R) warned that “activists seeking to impose last-minute changes in election procedures outside of the legislative process undermine voter confidence and burden election workers.” The board will vote on Alexander’s proposed rule change at its September 20 meeting.

- **Gary Stamper | Floyd County Board of Elections**

After Georgia’s General Assembly dissolved the nonpartisan Floyd County Board of Elections in the wake of the 2020 election, the county commission appointed Gary Stamper as one of three Republicans on the five-member board. He routinely [peddled baseless conspiracies](#) about the 2020 election, including allegations of problems with mail-in ballots and rigged voting machines, according to *The Washington Post*.

- **Julie Adams | Fulton County Board of Elections**

After refusing to certify two primaries this year, recently appointed elections official Julie Adams [filed a lawsuit](#) against the Fulton County Board of Registration and Elections for denying her request to first examine a long list of election records in search of signs of fraud or other irregularities. The board member is not only an avid [Trump loyalist](#) but also a [regional coordinator](#) for the Election Integrity Network (EIN), a national group founded by extremist lawyer and Trump ally [Cleta Mitchell](#) that has been recruiting election deniers in battleground states to target local election offices. Adams helped found the Georgia Election Integrity Coalition after attending an EIN summit in 2022. She is also [affiliated](#) with [Tea Party Patriots](#), another election denialist group.

- **Michael Heekin | Fulton County Board of Elections**

Mike Heekin joined fellow Board of Registration and Elections member Julie Adams in [voting against certifying](#) the results of the March 2024 presidential primary, echoing the same procedural questions raised in her 2024 lawsuit, including lack of timely “access to essential election materials and processes.”

- **David Hancock | Gwinnett County Board of Elections**

After the 2020 presidential election, David Hancock made unsubstantiated claims of widespread

voter fraud on his Facebook page. In December of that year, he [posted](#), “Kudos to our GA State Republican Party! They are fighting HARD to get the SOS to investigate the mountain of fraud in this election.” Several days later, he [posted](#) a video purporting to show “ballots pulled from under a table and counted without observers” in Fulton County. Another Facebook [post](#) from December 2020 reads, “Those of us looking to expose what happened in the Nov election are not going to stop on January 20th. What happens if proof of massive fraud (with confessions and perhaps jail time) comes out in, say, February?”

More recently, Hancock has also posted about election fraud on [his X/Twitter page](#), including a July 2024 repost of a [tweet](#) characterizing the 2020 election as “arguably the greatest fraud in world history,” as well as a [retweet](#) alleging that Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger’s general counsel is “holding evidence hostage from the State Election Board,” which is trying to investigate “why there were over 20,000 unsubstantiated votes in both the original and machine recount in 2020.”

- **Alice O’Lenick | Gwinnett County Board of Elections**

Shortly after the 2020 election, Alice O’Lenick, then chairwoman of the county elections board, didn’t hide “her anger with the democratic process that allowed voters in [suburban Atlanta] to help turn the state blue,” according to [The Root](#). She also told a local news station, “I’ve never seen an election, presidential or local election, that had so many hang-ups to it.” In addition, she alleged without direct evidence that the county saw an increase in attempted voting by undocumented immigrants. Speaking at a Gwinnett County Republican Party meeting in January 2021, she advocated for changing Georgia’s election laws so that Republicans would “at least have a shot at winning,” and called ballot drop boxes “ballot harvesting boxes.” As chair, she voted against certifying the county’s 2020 election results and, even though a coalition of county legislators and

civic groups [called on her to resign](#), she has held her ground and still serves on the board, though no longer as chair.

- **Jack Noa | Hall County Board of Elections**

During a 2022 radio show interview, Jack Noa [claimed](#) that “Dominion machines” and “paper crossing the state line to vote” were behind his desire to apply for the position as chair of the County Board of Elections. Shortly after he was appointed, he again [cast doubt](#) on the reliability of voting machines and “the integrity of the general election system.”

- **Ben Johnson | Spalding County Board of Elections**

A purveyor of election conspiracies, Ben Johnson has [addressed](#) social media posts to “fellow insurrectionists” and called Joe Biden “an illegitimate president.” He has called for banning electronic voting machines, early voting, and mail-in ballots, echoing claims about “ballot trafficking.” More than a year after Georgia’s secretary of state confirmed the legitimacy of Biden’s win, Johnson posted about the “hours upon hours of video-taped ballot harvesting in Georgia, the phantoms all over, the dirty voter rolls, the withholding of subpoenaed materials.” He also falsely [claimed](#) at a public meeting that a judge had ruled Dominion voting machines were “illegal” in Georgia. Johnson voted against renewing the county’s maintenance contract with [Dominion](#) and was involved in the 2021 [effort](#) to hire the computer forensics firm [SullivanStrickler](#) to [preserve digital images](#) of the county’s election machine data—an [illegal breach](#) of voter privacy. In July 2023, Johnson voted to require the county to [hand count all ballots](#) before certifying the results of an election.

- **Roy McClain | Spalding County Board of Elections**

Since the 2020 election, Roy McClain has called for eliminating the use of voting machines in Georgia, so much so that colleagues have called him “obsessed” when it comes to [Dominion](#) voting machines. In November 2023, he refused to certify the

results of municipal elections in the county despite a recount showing the exact same results tabulated by voting machines. McClain was also involved in the 2021 [effort](#) to hire the computer forensics firm [SullivanStrickler](#) to [preserve digital images](#) of the county’s election machine data—an [illegal breach](#) of voter privacy. In July 2023, he voted to require the county to [hand count all ballots](#) before certifying the results of an election.

- **James Newland | Spalding County Board of Elections**

In July 2023, James Newland introduced and [voted in favor](#) of a motion to require hand counts of ballots and withhold certification of election results until all discrepancies are resolved. While introducing the measure, he reportedly cited [false claims](#) about widespread voter fraud in Georgia, including that people who do not exist or are ineligible to vote do so in significant numbers. That same day, Newland attended a hand count demonstration hosted by the state GOP’s Second Vice Chair [David Cross](#), a prominent election denier, and the election denier group Georgians For Truth.

- **Kimberly Slaughter | Spalding County Elections Supervisor**

As a county elections supervisor, Kim Slaughter was involved in the 2021 [effort](#) to hire the firm [SullivanStrickler](#) to obtain images of the county’s election system, which would have been an illegal breach of election data. In July 2023, she [voted in favor](#) of a motion to require hand counts of ballots and withhold certification of election results until all discrepancies are resolved. That same day, Slaughter attended a hand count demonstration hosted by the state GOP’s Second Vice Chair [David Cross](#), a prominent election denier, and the election denier group Georgians For Truth.

- **Drew Chestnutt | Worth County Board of Elections**

In a [Facebook post](#) several days after the 2020 election, Drew Chestnutt showed an official letter from Georgia state legislators to Secretary of State [Brad Raffensperger](#) demanding that he in-

investigate Trump’s allegations of fraud in the state. Chestnutt urged his followers to take action, posting: “Please call!”

Deniers in GOP Leadership

Georgia is among the states where the Republican Party is [split and in turmoil](#). While those in the Trump camp have [ousted previous leaders](#) and fully [embraced election denialism](#), the state’s more established Republicans—including Governor Brian Kemp—initially [turned their backs](#) on both Trump and the MAGA-dominated [state party organization](#) (though ultimately, even the governor is now [supporting the \[GOP\] ticket](#)”).

After years of raising alarms about “election integrity,” in May 2024 Georgia’s Republican Committee [voted to remove](#) Brian Pritchard, the state party’s first vice chairman and an outspoken 2020 [election denier](#), from his position after a judicial ruling two months earlier that found he had [voted illegally](#) in *nine elections* in 2008 and 2010.

The following are among the state GOP leaders who continue to raise doubts about the outcome of the 2020 presidential election:

- **Jason Thompson | National Committeeman**

Jason Thompson describes himself as a “bold voice on the [Republican National Committee](#), serving as Chairman of Election Operations and on the Election Integrity Committee.” As co-founder of the far-right Georgia Republican Assembly and chairman of the Republican National Lawyers Association in Georgia, he’s “working to build a [state-wide team of election attorneys](#) in every county to be prepared to defend the integrity of the vote.” Thompson [pushed](#) the RNC to pay the legal bills of fake electors and contributed his own money for their defense. He also claims that in 2020, he was “the only Republican attorney to [win an election law case](#) in support of President Trump against

the Fulton Board of Elections.” In 2024, right-wing leaders such as [Charlie Kirk](#) of [Turning Point USA \(TPUSA\)](#) and [Jenny Martin](#), cofounder of [Tea Party Patriots](#), endorsed his [hard-fought](#) campaign for national committeeman. In his campaign for that position, Thompson took [credit](#) for “shepherding” an RNC [resolution](#) promoting claims of election irregularities and the hand counting of ballots sponsored by TPUSA. He also [gained points](#) from MAGA Republicans for raising concerns about former RNC chair [Ronna McDaniel](#) before she was ousted from her leadership position and replaced by [Trump’s hand-picked leaders](#).

- **Amy Kremer | National Committeewoman**

Amy Kremer has been a Trump acolyte and election denier since well before the 2020 presidential election. [Women for America First](#), a pro-Trump organization she cofounded with her daughter in 2019, [secured the permit](#) for the [March to Save America](#) rally and is [part of a web of dark money groups](#) tied to the rallies. She was also one of the most active [fundraisers](#) in the Stop the Steal movement and organized two cross-country [March for Trump](#) bus tours. Selections from Kremer’s social media posts compiled by a [CNN investigation](#) include a tweet on January 26, 2021, stating, “For those that haven’t figured it out yet... Trump won in a landslide,” and another on May 17, 2021, that read, “There was no insurrection. The only coup that happened was on November 4th.” [CNN](#) also notes that Kremer’s daughter created the Stop the Steal Facebook group the day after the election.

- **David Cross | Second Vice Chair**

David Cross is one of many far-right extremists and election deniers elected to state party positions in the past couple of years. On his [Twitter/X page](#) he calls himself an “election activist” and has pushed hard for “human-counted paper ballots” and [hand counts](#) of all elections. Cross was also among “a small group of election deniers who... [relentlessly hounded](#)” Georgia officials into investigating endless complaints of fraud and “ballot harvesting” after the 2020 election.

- **Caroline Jeffords | Secretary**

Aligned with the pro-Trump faction of the Georgia GOP, Caroline Jeffords was [elected](#) state party secretary in 2023 in part by touting the fact that she has been “on the front lines of the election integrity battle.” She is a plaintiff in election integrity litigation in Georgia claiming that [counterfeit ballots](#) were used in the 2020 election.

- **Suzi Voyles | Assistant Secretary**

Suzi Voyles is a 2022 U.S. House candidate who ran on her efforts to reverse Trump’s defeat but lost in the primary. As a Fulton County poll worker in 2020, she had [expressed concerns](#) about the accuracy of the presidential vote count in Georgia. Voyles won her party position at the GOP convention in 2023, and like Jeffords, is a plaintiff in election integrity litigation claiming that [counterfeit ballots](#) were used in Georgia in the 2020 election.

- **Laurie McClain | Treasurer**

In August 2023, just two months after Laurie McClain was [elected treasurer](#) of the state party while serving as first vice chair of the Gwinnett County GOP, she published a [statement](#) on Facebook expressing solidarity with [Georgia’s fake electors](#) and outrage with Fulton County District Attorney Fani Willis for pursuing [criminal charges](#) against Trump and his allies for election interference. “The Fulton County district attorney has hijacked Georgia RICO laws to exact vengeance on patriots offering themselves up in the process of securing election integrity,” the statement read.

- **Salleigh Grubbs | Cobb County Chair**

An “ardent” Trump supporter, Salleigh Grubbs “is one of the many GOP officials in Georgia [still questioning the results](#) of the 2020 election,” according to CNN. Her doubts about the legitimacy of the outcome led her to go to great lengths to [try to expose fraud](#) and subsequently to run for election as county chair. From that position, she has “helped shape the nominating rules and delegations selection to favor Trump’s return [and is now] on the front lines of turning out voters, monitoring the polls, and potentially challenging

the results in November, in service of the man whose myth inspired [her] in the first place,” as [The Atlantic](#) put it.

Grubbs has condemned the violence of the January 6 attack on the Capitol, but on the one-year anniversary of the riot she and other Cobb GOP officials planned a vigil for the “J6 prisoners” and “patriots” imprisoned for their roles, according to a copy of [the invitation](#) obtained by the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Based on public outcry, the group ultimately [opted to cancel](#) the vigil. In addition, Grubbs is Cobb County chair for the Over 80K caucus of the [far-right Georgia Republican Assembly](#), which has vilified Governor Brian Kemp, Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger and other Republicans who resisted Trump’s demands that they break the law to overturn the election results in 2020.

- **David Shafer | Chair Emeritus**

As the former chairman of the state GOP (2019–23), David Shafer is one of 16 [fake electors](#) who attempted to interfere in the 2020 presidential election in Georgia. The Department of Justice [subpoenaed](#) him as part of its election interference investigation, and he has been [indicted](#) in Fulton County on eight counts, including impersonating a public officer, forgery, false statements, and attempting to file false documents. Prosecutors [have rejected](#) Shafer’s claim that he was only following the advice of Trump campaign lawyers, suggesting instead that he actually played a leadership role in organizing and facilitating the entire fake elector effort in Georgia.

- **Kandiss Taylor | District 1 Chair**

A far-right [conspiracist](#) and [election denier](#), Kandiss Taylor is an ardent Trump supporter and Christian Nationalist who ran in Georgia’s GOP primary for governor in 2022 and [refused to concede](#) her loss to Brian Kemp after winning only 3.4% of the vote. Oregon Public Broadcasting [refers](#) to her as “a fringe, far-right figure in Georgia with a history of making false claims about the 2020 election, voting machines, and how elections are run.”

- **Brad Carver | District 5 Chair**

A lawyer and key player in Georgia's GOP political establishment, Brad Carver is one of 16 [fake electors](#) who attempted to interfere in the 2020 presidential election. In 2022, the Department of Justice [subpoenaed](#) him as part of its [federal election fraud investigation](#). In December 2020, he [pushed the false narrative](#) of election fraud in Georgia on Sean Hannity's radio show. After then GOP State Chair David Shafer appointed him to lead the party's Election Confidence Task Force, he [issued a report](#) concluding that the 2020 election "revealed dramatic weaknesses in Georgia's system for conducting elections, and as a result, public confidence in the integrity of that system has been shattered."

- **David Oles | District 11 Chair**

David Oles is a Harvard-educated attorney who has stoked distrust of the electoral process and [Dominion](#) voting machines in Georgia. He represented [True the Vote](#) in a [lawsuit](#) seeking a hand recount of ballots based on the claim of ballot harvesting made in the debunked documentary *2000 Mules*. But when True the Vote was [unable to produce any evidence](#) of ballot harvesting per court order, the superior court judge dismissed the case.

- **Jeff Hughes | Jackson County Chair**

In the wake of the 2020 presidential election and pressure from the far-right group [True the Vote](#), Jeff Hughes [forced an investigation](#) into 211 Jackson County voters who had cast ballots after recently changing their address, following an unsubstantiated claim that as many as 2,000 county residents with address changes could have voted illegally. In 2021, he also refused to certify the runoff election of Democratic Senator Raphael Warnock "until the 211 names were passed on to the secretary of state for further investigation." The results were eventually certified despite his dissent.

- **Chris Mora | Pickens County Chair**

In 2022, with the support of MAGA activists in rural Pickens County, the newly elected GOP County Chair Chris Mora filed an unsuccessful [lawsuit de-](#)

[manding a hand recount](#) of two outcomes of the GOP primary he questioned. Even though the primary results had already been certified in Pickens County, Mora alleged that the state's electronic voting machines were unreliable and suggested that he should unseal the ballots and do the recount himself to determine whether incumbents Brian Kemp and [Brad Raffensperger](#) had actually won the primaries for governor and secretary of state, respectively. Both Republicans had withstood pressure from Trump to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election in Georgia.

- **Mandy Robinson-Hand | Taylor County Chair**

Mandy Robinson-Hand and her husband Chuck (who lost his 2024 bid for the U.S. House in the GOP primary) [participated](#) in the January 6 attack on the Capitol and were among those [arrested](#) for their roles in the insurrection. On the day of the riot, she texted friends and family members to say that she and her husband considered themselves to be "rebels," adding "Dude im in a war." After pleading guilty in 2023, Robinson-Hand served a [20-day prison sentence](#). Her husband [said](#) at a campaign event: "We were there to protest an election that was stolen from us," and on his campaign site, he [insisted](#) that "they were nonviolent protesters who were made examples of by a two-tiered justice system" and a Department of Justice that has been a "weaponized... by the Biden Administration."

- **Keenan Knight | Troop County Chair**

In early 2024, Keenan Knight [submitted a request](#) to the county board of commissioners to replace the use of [Dominion](#) voting machines with paper ballots. "This is a nonpartisan issue," he said. "We've heard the distrust of electronic voting systems with proprietary code that cannot be audited. We've seen the sloppy chain of custody protocols with unlimited mailing [sic] ballots. We will get proof of the accuracy of hand-counting paper ballots."



**MICHIGAN
DENIERS**

Overview

Historically, Michigan voted primarily Republican in presidential elections until the 1930s, when voters began to alternate between the two parties during the Depression. From 1972–88, Michiganders veered to the Right and backed Republicans, but then swung to the Left to vote Democratic in the six consecutive presidential elections between 1992 and 2012. Trump flipped the state in 2016, narrowly defeating Hillary Clinton by a mere 0.2%—the closest contest in terms of percentages that year.

In 2020 President Biden [won Michigan](#) by 154,188 votes (or 2.8%), earning him the state’s 16 electoral votes (now reduced to 15 for 2024 and 2028 based on 2020 census data). Democrats have held both Senate seats since 2000, though Michigan’s House delegation is more evenly split, with six Republicans and seven Democrats as of the 2022 midterms. The governorship has been in Democratic hands since 2018 but Republicans held that office in the preceding two election cycles. And in 2022, Democrats [won control](#) of the governorship and both chambers of the state legislature for the first time in 40 years.

Most Michigan residents are white and vote Republican, except in Wayne County, its main metropolitan area around Detroit, where the population is almost 80% Black and tends to vote Democratic. It’s that split between urban and rural—and Black and white—voters that makes the state a toss-up in presidential elections.

As in other [swing states](#) Biden won in 2020, the Trump campaign [filed numerous lawsuits](#) in Michigan after the election, making claims of voter fraud and systemic irregularities without providing real evidence. A group of Trump supporters also got [unauthorized access](#) to voting machines in Antrim County in order to conduct their own “audit” of results. Ultimately, more than [200 post-election audits](#)—including a dozen in Wayne County alone—[affirmed Biden’s victory](#). In addition, a comprehensive state Senate report approved by GOP lawmakers found no evidence of widespread fraud and confirmed that voters in Michigan can trust the efficacy of the electoral process in their state.

Three House Republicans from Michigan [voted against certifying](#) the 2020 election on January 6, 2021—and all three are running for reelection again in 2024. In the aftermath of the attack on the Capitol, at least [24 Michigan residents](#) have faced [criminal charges](#) for contributing to the violence that day—including two [charged with assaulting](#) police officers.

2020 Election Fallout

Michigan has been a hotbed of election fraud conspiracy theories, with many people in power—especially at the [local precinct level](#)—still casting doubt on President Biden’s victory and ready to undermine the electoral process while sowing more mistrust and chaos in 2024.

- Since the 2020 election, Republican leaders in Michigan have [purged GOP election canvassers](#) in eight of the largest counties (including Genesee,

Ingham, Kalamazoo, Livingston, Macomb, Saginaw, and Washtenaw), according to a report by *The Detroit News*. At least half of them have been replaced with people who have discredited the 2020 election results.

- Election-year unrest in Michigan already surfaced in April 2020 when hundreds of protesters—some armed with rifles—[stormed](#) the Michigan statehouse in a failed attempt to force an end to Covid-19 restrictions.

- That extremism continued with 13 men [arrested](#) in October 2020 on charges of plotting to kidnap Democratic Governor Gretchen Whitmer and overthrow the state government.
- On December 14, 2020, the day Democratic electors were meeting at the statehouse in Lansing to certify the election for Biden, Michigan GOP leaders [showed up](#) to try to stop them. Sixteen of them signed and sent [falsified certificates](#) to Congress and the National Archives claiming that Michigan's Electoral College votes belonged to Trump.
- On January 5, 2021, [Meshawn Maddock](#), one of Michigan's [fake electors](#) and a national advisory board member of Women for Trump, [helped organize](#) a rally in Washington, D.C., in advance of Trump's rally the next day. She and her husband Matt Maddock, a Michigan state representative at the time, arranged for buses to take Trump supporters to the [March to Save America](#) event and were part of the crowd that stormed the Capitol that afternoon. Michigan State House Republicans [kicked him out](#) of their caucus as a result.
- In March 2021, Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson [completed a comprehensive audit](#) of the ballots cast in the 2020 general election in Michigan, the machines used to tabulate those ballots, and the election procedures in every county. "It is time for leaders across the political spectrum to tell their constituents the truth—that our election was the most secure in history, and the results accurately reflect the will of Michigan's voters," she said in announcing the results.
- In June 2021, State Representative Steve Carra (R-Three Rivers) introduced a bill that called for hiring an independent firm to [conduct another audit](#) of the 2020 election, but that ultimately failed in the Michigan Legislature.
- After the secretary of state completed the 2020 election audit, the state auditor general independently examined a conspiracy theory alleging that a significant number of votes had been cast by dead people. Its [final report](#) released in March 2022 fully debunked the conspiracy theory.
- In December 2021, a group of Trump supporters again [demanded a forensic audit](#) of Michigan's 2020 presidential election results to be funded by anonymous sources. Secretary of State Benson agreed to process the petition but said in a statement: "Over a year into this grift, their goal is now clear. They no longer want only to change the outcome of the 2020 election, but to also undermine citizens' faith in our democracy and dissuade them from being engaged and informed voters in future elections."
- A nonprofit known as the Election Integrity Force (EIF) created in the wake of the 2020 election has raised skepticism about the legitimacy of the process and [attempted to decertify](#) President Biden's win in Michigan by suing the governor and secretary of state. EIF also challenged the ballots of approximately 22,000 people during the August 2022 Michigan primary.
- In August 2022, longtime U.S. Representative Peter Meijer [lost his Republican primary](#) after [voting to impeach](#) Trump in 2021 for his role in inciting the violence at the Capitol.
- In 2022 Trump backed extremists running for Michigan's top three statewide offices: Republicans [Tudor Dixon](#) for governor, [Matthew DePerno](#) for attorney general, and [Kristina Karamo](#) for [secretary of state](#). All three lost.
- In August 2022, Reuters reported that Matthew DePerno, Trump's pick for attorney general, had worked with other operatives to [gain access to ballot tabulation machines](#) in Roscommon County. A special prosecutor is continuing to investigate concerns that he was part of a network of right-wing activists suspected of breaching U.S. voting machines after the 2020 election. Eleven of the 17 incidents reported throughout the country took place in Michigan.

- In July 2023, Michigan Attorney General Dana Nessel announced [felony charges against 16 Michigan residents](#) for their role in the 2020 [fake electors scheme](#).
- In October 2023, James Renner—one of the [fake electors](#) charged—reached a “[cooperation agreement](#)” with the attorney general’s office in exchange for all criminal charges against him being dropped. The remaining 15 fake electors have [pleaded not guilty](#) to the [eight criminal charges](#) the state brought against them. A district court judge in Lansing has divided the defendants into two groups and in early 2024 was still holding [preliminary hearings](#) about how the cases should proceed.
- In May 2024, as part of Michigan’s ongoing prosecution of those who interfered with the 2020 presidential election, Attorney General Nessel [charged](#) former Adams Township Clerk Stephanie Scott and her lawyer with four felony counts related to unauthorized computer access, misconduct in office, and concealing or withholding a voting machine, along with a misdemeanor for disregarding instructions from elections officials.

Deniers Running for Congress

In Michigan, election deniers currently account for [one-third](#) of the state’s 15-member congressional delegation. Six incumbents and one other Republicans running for Congress in 2024 have falsely claimed that Trump won the 2020 presidential election, spread lies or conspiracies about its legitimacy, refused to certify the results, or took steps to undermine the integrity of that or subsequent elections. These include:

- **Jack Bergman | House (MI–1)**
Representative [Jack Bergman](#) has served in the House since 2016 and won reelection in 2022 with 60% of the vote in his very conservative Republican district. After the 2020 election, he helped spread the Big Lie and was one of four

Michigan congressional Republicans who signed an [amicus brief](#) in support of *Texas v. Pennsylvania*, a lawsuit arguing that the Supreme Court should [overturn](#) election results in Michigan and three other states due to suspicions of fraud. On January 6, 2021, Bergman [voted against certifying](#) President Biden’s electoral win and then also voted against both impeaching Trump for inciting the mob and establishing a special House committee to investigate the attack on the Capitol.

- **John Moolenaar | House (MI–2)**

Representative John Moolenaar has served in the House since 2015, initially representing Michigan’s 4th Congressional District but running for reelection in the 2nd. In December 2020, he joined 105 other House Republicans [in signing](#) an [amicus brief](#) in support of *Texas v. Pennsylvania*, a lawsuit arguing that the Supreme Court should [overturn](#) election results in Michigan and three other states due to suspicions of fraud. Moolenaar’s 2024 campaign website includes a page on “[election integrity](#),” where he claims to have “demanded that the secretary of state clean up Michigan voter lists and get dead people off the rolls,” a reference to some of the many conspiracy theories from 2020 that have since been debunked.

- **Bill Huizenga | House (MI–4)**

Representative [Bill Huizenga](#) has served in the House since 2011 and was reelected in 2022 with [Trump’s endorsement](#). In December 2020, he was among the House Republicans who [signed](#) an [amicus brief](#) in support of *Texas v. Pennsylvania*, a lawsuit arguing that the Supreme Court should [overturn](#) election results in Michigan and three other states due to suspicions of fraud. In January 2021, Huizenga [voted against impeaching](#) Trump for inciting the violence at the Capitol. In early 2024 he [joined other far-right House members](#) in signing a nonbinding [resolution](#) declaring that Trump “did not engage in insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or give aid or comfort to the enemies thereof.” Just hours after the former president was found guilty of 34 criminal counts of falsifying business records to influence the 2016

presidential election, Huizenga [tweeted](#): “The circus has come full circle. This trial was a sham and embodies the dangerous lawfare being utilized to undermine our system of justice.”

- **Tim Walberg | House (MI–5)**

Representative [Tim Walberg](#) has served in the House since 2011 and is a member of the conservative Republican Study Group. In the weeks after the 2020 election, he cast doubt on the legitimacy of the results and in December, he joined House Republicans [in signing](#) an [amicus brief](#) in support of *Texas v. Pennsylvania*, a lawsuit arguing that the Supreme Court should [overturn](#) election results in Michigan and three other states due to suspicions of fraud. On January 6, 2021, Walberg [voted against certifying](#) President Biden’s electoral win, and then later voted against both impeaching Trump for inciting the mob and establishing a special House committee to investigate the attack on the Capitol.

- **Tom Barrett | House (MI–7)**

On January 5, 2021, Michigan State Senator Tom Barrett was one of 11 senators who [sent a letter](#) to Vice President Mike Pence and members of Congress requesting that they “pursue every available option and procedure to examine the credible allegations of election-related concerns surrounding fraud and irregularities” in the election before certifying President-elect Biden’s electors the following day. When he first ran for Congress in 2022 (but [lost](#), in part due to his anti-abortion extremism), he had [expressed doubts](#) about the integrity of the 2020 presidential election, reportedly telling the *Detroit Free Press*, “It’s an unknowable thing. How many people mailed in absentee ballots that were ineligible to participate in the election? We can’t know for sure what effect that had. That’s why we have to stop it before it happens.” Barrett also said that he favors election reform, including a voter ID law that Governor Whitmer vetoed.

- **Lisa McClain | House (MI–9)**

Representative [Lisa McClain](#) has served in the House since 2021 and won reelection in 2022 with

Trump’s endorsement. As an incoming freshman, she [signed a letter](#) calling on then Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi to investigate election irregularities. On January 6, 2021, McClain [voted against certifying](#) President Biden’s electoral win, and then later voted against both impeaching Trump for inciting the mob and establishing a special House committee to investigate the attack on the Capitol. On January 7, 2021, she [called on state and local officials](#) to fix “deep flaws” in the election process. Her office cited Texas and Florida—where Trump won in 2020—as examples of states where the election had been handled properly and caused no concern about irregularities.

- **John James | House (MI–10)**

Representative [John James](#) has served in the House since 2023 and as a rising star in the GOP, he had been expected to run for an open U.S. Senate seat in Michigan in 2024. Instead, he [announced in February](#) that he would run for the House again. When he lost his first bid for the Senate in 2020, James [refused to concede](#) and cast doubt on the integrity of Michigan’s electoral process despite lacking evidence of any irregularities. James ran unopposed in the GOP primary but since he initially [won by less than 1%](#), his seat is considered [vulnerable](#) and Democrats are “aggressively working to flip the 10th congressional district blue,” as the state chair [told](#) the AP.

Deniers Running for Statewide Office

No candidate currently running for statewide office in Michigan has questioned the results of the 2020 presidential election.

Deniers in the State Legislature

In Michigan, 32 election deniers serve in the state legislature, accounting for 21% of the 148-person body and including leaders in both chambers. The States United Democracy Center identifies [22 representatives and 10 senators](#) who say they don’t be-

lieve that President Biden actually won the 2020 election. Election denialism among elected officials at the state level matters because state legislators across the country have been [introducing increasingly more bills](#) in recent years that allow partisan operatives to manipulate elections, restrict access to voting, and potentially skew outcomes.

Deniers Administering Elections

The following Michigan county election administrators still regularly repeat Trump’s claims of a stolen election or continue to spread disinformation about election integrity in the state:

- **Marvin Rubingh | Antrim County Board of Canvassers**
Marvin Rubingh, who serves on the county’s four-member [Board of Canvassers](#) through October 2025, [has called](#) Trump’s claims about the election being stolen “a credible accusation,” according to *Detroit Free Press*. He’s also chair of the Antrim County Republican Party.
- **Ann Weiler | Bay County Board of Canvassers**
In December 2022, Ann Weiler posted a [graphic](#) on her Facebook page that reads, “Ignoring evidence of election fraud because the election is already over is like ignoring a murder because the victim is already dead.” Under the image, she added the comment: “Spot on!” According to [Rolling Stone](#), in January 2023 she also posted: “Wow!! I can’t wait till after the Next big election... We’ll get to find out more Binden [sic] corruption.”
- **Steve Frisbie | Calhoun County Commissioner**
In a January 2021 Facebook post, Steve Frisbie [wrote about](#) “evidence of election shenanigans,” “plenty of suspect issues in this election,” and his belief that ballots may have been secretly dumped at a Detroit voting center.
- **Bonnie Kazmar | Calhoun County Board of Canvassers**
In October 2021, Bonnie Kazmar [posted](#) on Facebook, “Who should be our president? Many of us know the answer to that question! ‘ALL 50 STATES NEED TO BE AUDITED!’ DECERTIFY!!!” In July 2022, she [reposted](#) a photo of a 66-year-old woman claiming that the person had pleaded guilty “in an Arizona Court of illegal ballot harvesting as seen in *2000 Mules*.”
- **Anne Hill | Clinton County Board of Canvassers**
According to the Lansing [City Pulse](#), Anne Hill worked with Pure Integrity for Michigan Elections in an attempt to discredit East Lansing election officials for the way they handled the 2020 election. This included a May 2022 [report](#) in which she accused them of counting almost 2,000 improper or illegal ballots in their election results.
- **Robert Froman | Kalamazoo County Board of Canvassers**
In August 2024, Robert Froman told the [Detroit News](#) that he believed the 2020 presidential election was “most definitely” stolen. He also said that he would refuse to certify the results in November if this election unfolds in the same way as the one in 2020.
- **Jeff Heppler | Kalamazoo County Board of Commissioners (District 7)**
In June 2022, Jeff Heppler [proposed](#) that the county ballots from the 2020 election be kept another two years until 2024 to allow for further inspection, even though no allegations of fraud had been made in the county. His proposal was voted down by other members of the commission who decried it as “an attempt to perpetuate the myth of fraud” in the 2020 presidential election.
- **Tom Antor | Kent County Board of Commissioners (District 2)**
In December 2020, Tom Antor posted a [statement](#) on Facebook that read, “TFC Center, Motown’s

Ballot Manufacturing Facility [...] where absentee ballots are created on demand.” In another [Facebook post](#) several weeks later, the commissioner showed a photo of Trump with a Gallup poll quote calling him “the most admired man in America” and predicting that Biden would get “only 6% of the vote.” He concluded his post by urging readers to: “Do the math, stop the steal.”

- **Nancy Tiseo | Macomb County Board of Canvassers**

In November 2020, Republican activist and county canvasser Nancy Tiseo [tweeted](#) that Trump should declare martial law, cancel the December 14 state meetings of Electoral College electors, and call off the Senate runoff elections in Georgia slated for January 2021. According to *Slate*, she also tweeted that “military tribunals” were needed to “properly investigate and resolve the cyber warfare 11-3-20 election issue.”

- **Kim Cyr | Muskegon County Board of Commissioners (District 1)**

Shortly after the attack on the Capitol, Kim Cyr [voted against](#) a resolution from the County Board of Commissioners to “denounce and condemn the shocking violence and destruction that occurred at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021.” As one of the Democratic commissioners was speaking in favor of the resolution, Cyr “could be seen and heard making sounds and gestures of disagreement and then exclaiming ‘What?’ when [her colleague] mentioned the ‘insurrection,’” according to *MLive*.

- **Bonnie Kellogg | Muskegon County Board of Canvassers**

In November 2020, Bonnie Kellogg [shared](#) an article on her Facebook page titled “Breaking Down the Greatest Electoral Heist In American History,” published by the [right-wing Media Research Center](#).

- **Zach Lahring | Muskegon County Board of Commissioners (District 2)**

Shortly after the attack on the Capitol, Zach Lahring [voted against](#) a resolution from the County Board of Commissioners to “denounce and con-

demn the shocking violence and destruction that occurred at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021.” In explaining his objection to the resolution, he said that the wording “suggests that the Trump supporters were the ones creating acts of sedition and treason [which] is absurd.”

- **Terry Marecki | Wayne County Board of Commissioners (District 9)**

In 2021, Terry Marecki [made a motion](#) to nominate Robert Boyd to the county Board of Canvassers because he said that he [would not have certified](#) the results of the 2020 election and criticized the board members who had. Although the motion wasn’t seconded, Boyd has since been appointed as a canvasser to help administer the 2024 presidential election.

- **Robert Boyd | Wayne County Board of Canvassers**

According to the [Detroit Free Press](#), Robert Boyd stated that he would not have certified the results of the 2020 presidential election if he had been on the Board of Canvassers at the time. He also spoke about J6 conspiracy theories and voiced skepticism about certifying future elections.

- **Katherine Riley | Wayne County Board of Canvassers**

Katherine Riley has continued to [deny the results of the 2020 election](#), repeated election conspiracy narratives, and led training sessions (on behalf of Election Integrity Force) attempting to expose fraud in the 2020 election.

Deniers in GOP Leadership

As in other states, Republicans in Michigan had long embraced political pragmatism and business-friendly policies. But the rise of Trumpism and new “America First” activists have led to the party infighting seen elsewhere in the country, with once-prominent Republicans in the state now disparaged as “globalist elites.”

By early 2024, the Michigan GOP had become something of “[a national punchline](#),” as *ProPublica* put it, when recently elected Chair [Kristina Karamo](#)—once a favorite of the former president—refused to leave office after the state party voted to oust her in favor of Trump’s latest, less radical pick for the top post.

At a rally in mid February, Trump [introduced](#) former ambassador and congressman Pete Hoekstra as “your new Michigan Republican Party chairman,” which prompted an uproar of boos from those who still support Karamo. The [Republican National Committee](#) stands behind the move to replace Karamo with Hoekstra as essential for Trump to win Michigan in 2024.

Still, many see the divisions in the Michigan GOP as less about specific policies or whether or not to support Trump, but rather about the entire concept of American democracy. “Today’s Republican insurgents believe democracy has been stolen,” Andy Kroll [contends](#) in *ProPublica*, “and they don’t trust the ability of democratic processes to restore it.”

The following are among the state’s GOP leaders who express unfettered loyalty to Trump and his ongoing claim that any election he doesn’t win is “rigged”:

- **Marian Sheridan | Grassroots Vice Chair**
[Marian Sheridan](#), one of Michigan’s 16 [fake electors](#), is also the former vice chair of the Michigan GOP, director of the Lakes Area Tea Party, cofounder of the Michigan Conservative Coalition, and executive board member of the Oakland County Republican Party. She has [pleaded not guilty](#) to the [eight criminal charges](#) the state [brought against her](#) in July 2023.

- **Carrie Mullins | Alcona County Chair**
In an *MLive* [piece](#) from 2021, Carrie Mullins says, “Biden did not win.” She adds that “early on there was hope that all the fraud would be brought to light, that election results would be overturned and Trump would be put back in the White House.”

- **Marvin Rubingh | Antrim County Chair**
Marvin Rubingh is one of four members of the county’s [Board of Canvassers](#) and [has called](#) Trump’s claims about the election being stolen “a credible accusation,” according to *Detroit Free Press*.

- **Phil Joseph | Barry County Chair**
In March 2023, Phil Joseph reposted a [J6 conspiracy video](#) on his Twitter/X account, and in February 2022 he [wrote a post](#) about the electoral process in Michigan that said, “We need to remove any doubt of [sic] election integrity in our state, and our nation!”

- **Dan Bonamie II | Crawford County Chair**
Dan Bonamie routinely [spreads lies](#) about voter fraud and [election interference](#) on social media and has voiced [support](#) for controversial election denier and former Michigan GOP Chair [Kristina Karamo](#) on [X/Twitter](#).

- **Mary Moylan | Gladwin County Chair**
Mary Moylan has expressed election denial on her personal Facebook page. The most recent examples include an April 2024 [post](#) where she captioned an image, “The Dems can’t stand this and plan to hike taxes WAY up on everyone if crooked Joe cheats his way again into office again.” In addition, she reposted an [image](#) of President Biden in June 2024 asserting that he is guilty of treason and “[stole] an election.”

- **Larry Leipprandt | Huron County Chair**
Larry Leipprandt regularly [reposts](#) misinformation about [election fraud](#) and election interference conspiracies on Facebook.

- **Mary Shinkle | Ingham County Chair**
Shortly after the 2020 election, Mary Shinkle filed an affidavit in support of a lawsuit the Trump campaign brought in federal court alleging voting irregularities in Wayne County, where she had been a Republican poll watcher. The affidavit [claimed](#) that poll workers had been “extremely rude and aggressive” to her and other observers, that she

was not allowed to look over the shoulders of poll workers as ballots were processed, and that envelopes and ballot stubs had not been securely stored. As a member of the Michigan Board of Canvassers during the 2020 election, Shinkle's husband (Norman Shinkle) abstained from certifying the state's presidential election results.

- **David Chandler | Iosco County Chair**

In a March 2024 [opinion piece](#), David Chandler proposes a “constitution for the Republic of Michigan,” which includes eliminating the popular election of most state officials. “Using the so-called Covid pandemic as cover, the powers that be mutilated our voting system in order to win the 2020 elections,” he wrote. “At no time in history has a candidate run a campaign from his cellar to win a presidential race by a landslide of more than 81 million votes! Yet, we’re supposed to believe this narrative as absolute truth.” He also casts doubt on the validity of the charges filed against Trump in New York, and questions the convictions of six J6 participants. Chandler [still recognizes](#) prominent election denier and recently ousted Michigan GOP Chair [Kristina Karamo](#) as the state party’s chair.

- **Laura Tarsa | Leelanau County Chair**

Laura Tarsa uses Twitter/X to post [misinformation](#) about election fraud and [J6 conspiracies](#).

- **Mark Forton | Macomb County Chair**

Mark Forton has promoted Trump’s claims of a stolen election and remained a “loyalist,” according to the [New York Times](#). In addition, the Macomb County Republican Party was one of the [plaintiffs](#) in a suit requesting that a federal judge decertify the 2020 election. In a 2022 video posted to Rumble, Forton said, “Ever since the 2020 election, my vice chair and I have been pushing and pushing... We really haven’t gained much at all in two years. I don’t believe a single iota of our elections has been repaired since 2020.... [They] are just as corrupt today as they were then.” He also defended Michigan’s 16 [fake electors](#) after they were charged with election fraud in 2023, maintaining that none of them had broken the law.

- **Sheila Genter | Mason County Chair**

In February 2024, when Sheila Genter spoke at a [public forum](#) at the county district library, she made reference to “absentee ballots being sent out [during the 2020 election] when [people] didn’t even apply for one.” She also said, “There was a question as to whether there was voter fraud. We will probably never know because there was no forensic audit.” Genter expressed her preference for paper ballot ballots, and encouraged county residents to volunteer as poll workers and watchers.

- **Vance Patrick | Oakland County Chair**

In 2023, Vance Patrick [referred](#) to the felony charges brought against Michigan’s 16 [fake electors](#) as “an egregious abuse of power by a radical progressive.”

- **Carolyn Richards | St. Clair County Chair**

In her 2024 [State of the County Address](#), Carolyn Richards prioritized focusing on elections for the year. She wrote, “There has been found corruption in every county of Michigan, including St. Clair County. We will need poll challengers and poll watchers, willing to work at the polls.” She also added that the county party’s Election Committee had presented a multipart resolution acknowledging “that Electronic Voting Equipment/Computer Software are Corruptible, [and] Centralized Control of [the] Voting Process is Dangerous,” and underscoring the importance of maintaining accurate voter rolls.

- **Cheryl Costantino | Wayne County Chair**

After the 2020 election, Cheryl Costantino (who also serves as chair of the 13th District Republican Committee) and Edward McCall filed a [lawsuit](#) seeking to discredit Detroit’s election results due to accusations of fraud. The plaintiffs requested an injunction, a protective order and an independent audit. In addition, during a Zoom training session for the 2022 Michigan state primary, Costantino [encouraged](#) poll workers and partisan observers to ignore local election rules barring cell phones and pens from polling places or vote-counting

centers. She told [CNN](#) that she believes these regulations are unconstitutional and should be abolished.

- **Emily DeBoer | Wexford County Chair**

The day after the 2020 election, Emily DeBoer [retweeted](#) an election fraud claim made by right-wing conspiracy theorist Dinesh D’Souza and [Donald Trump Jr.](#) She also [retweeted](#) a Judicial Watch post about mail-in voting and voter fraud.

- **Daire Rendon | 1st District Committee Chair**

In 2023, Daire Rendon faced [felony charges](#) for her involvement in the effort to tamper with Michigan’s voting machines after the 2020 election. As a state representative at the time, she was specifically charged with conspiracy to commit undue possession of a voting machine under false pretenses.

- **Hima Kolanagireddy | 6th District Committee Chair**

In 2020, Trump’s lawyer [Rudy Giuliani](#) called Hima Kolanagireddy as a witness to [testify](#) to the Michigan House Oversight Committee that the state should tighten its requirements for voters to provide photo ID, in part because “all Chinese people look alike.” During her [testimony](#), she alleged that she had witnessed fraud as a representative observer for the Michigan GOP during the 2020 election, and said that she had been trained by the Election Integrity Fund (EIF).



**NEVADA
DENIERS**

Overview

Historically, Nevada voted primarily Republican in presidential elections from the late 1960s through the late '80s, when an influx of newcomers to the state brought in more progressives and its conservative majority began to shift. Since then the population has more than tripled, with a 35% growth rate in the first decade of the 21st century.

By the 2016 presidential race, Hillary Clinton narrowly beat Donald Trump by a margin of 2% (48% to 46%), marking only the second time in a century that voters in the state selected a presidential candidate who did not ultimately win. Since then Nevada has become the only swing state to move to the Right, in part due to slow economic recovery after the pandemic, [according](#) to *The New York Times*.

In 2020, President Biden [won Nevada](#) by 33,596 votes or 2.5%, earning him the state's six electoral votes. Democrats have held both Senate seats since 2018, and three of its four-member House delegation are Democrats. The governorship has been in Republican hands since 1998 (except for once in 2018, though the Democratic governor took the heat for pandemic slowdowns and lost reelection in 2022).

Election denier [Joe Lombardo](#) won the gubernatorial race in 2022 with [Trump's backing](#). But during the 2024 election year, he has taken a slightly more moderate stance in counterbalancing the many extremists in the Nevada GOP, several of whom are still in leadership positions after being indicted for their roles as [fake electors](#) in 2020.

Since the 2020 presidential election, conspiracy theorists and other pro-Trump activists have been harrasing county election officials, driving anyone who doesn't support Trump's false narrative of a stolen election from their positions. In 10 of Nevada's 17 counties, top election officials have either [resigned, retired, or refused to seek reelection](#) since 2020—a drastic exodus, according to state government officials. “The goal: to profoundly change how U.S. elections are run,” as Reuters reported.

2020 Election Fallout

Even after President Biden was sworn in, election denialism gained traction in Nevada, where several virulent social media posts kept the misinformation and conspiracies alive, and local politicians helped amplify the lies.

- Trump's reelection campaign [filed a lawsuit](#) on November 17, 2020, contesting the results in Nevada based on spurious claims of voter fraud. But in early December the state Supreme Court [upheld a district court ruling](#), confirming that “there is no credible or reliable evidence that the 2020 General Election in Nevada was affected by fraud.”
- On December 14, 2020, six Republican leaders in the state signed and notarized fake Electoral College documents to submit to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, presidential election certification process, making Nevada one of seven states involved in the [fake electors](#) scheme to subvert the results of the 2020 presidential election. In December 2023, the state indicted all six on [felony charges](#), but a district court judge dismissed the case in June 2024 on grounds that the attorney general had filed it in the wrong venue—Las Vegas instead of Reno or Carson City, where the defendants actually signed the phony documents.

- In total, four cases related to election fraud were heard by Nevada judges, but [each case was dismissed](#) due to lack of evidence.
- In Nevada, election deniers such as former state Assemblyman [Jim Marchant](#)—who lost his bids for the U.S. House in 2020, [secretary of state in 2022](#), and the U.S. Senate in 2024, despite Trump’s endorsements—have railed against the use of ballot drop boxes and mail-in voting. He is also among the far-right Nevadans who are pushing to eliminate voting machines in favor of hand counting paper ballots, a process experts warn would make elections “more prone to fraud, not less.” In addition, Marchant has played a key role in implementing a [national strategy](#) to put Trump loyalists in state positions of oversight of the 2024 presidential election.
- In 2022, one county in Nevada made headlines for [attempting to hand count ballots](#) until it was shut down when the state Supreme Court ruled that the procedure violates state law.
- In 2022, when Republican county sheriff [Joe Lombardo](#) was running for governor, he acknowledged that President Biden won the 2020 election but [questioned](#) whether it was “fair and square” and also [cast doubt on the process](#) by expressing concern about the “sanctity of the voting system,” a lack of public confidence with voting, and the state’s recent adoption of universal mail-in ballots, which he claims has “mechanisms in there to create an environment for fraud.” Lombardo has also [vowed to repeal](#) the use of universal mail-in ballots and implement stricter voter ID requirements in Nevada.
- In the aftermath of the attack on the Capitol, at least [seven Nevadans](#) have faced criminal charges for contributing to the violence that day—including Stewart Rhodes, founder of the far-right militia group the [Oath Keepers](#), who was sentenced to 18 years in prison after being convicted on charges of seditious conspiracy, obstruction of an official

proceeding, and tampering with documents and proceedings.

- In 2023, newly elected Governor [Joe Lombardo](#) (R) [signed a law](#) championed by newly elected, pro-democracy Secretary of State Cisco Aguilar (D) to toughen the penalty for harassing or threatening election workers.
- In 2023, the Nevada Legislature passed SB 133, a bill that would have prohibited “a person from creating or serving in a false slate of presidential electors or conspiring” to do so and called for state penalties for anyone convicted of falsifying elector slates. Governor Lombardo [vetoed the bill](#), saying that while he agreed with the effort to secure elections he objected to the severity of the proposed punishment.

Deniers Running for Congress

In Nevada, the most extreme election deniers running for Congress were eliminated in the June primary, but two Republicans running for federal office—one for the Senate and one for the House—have spread lies or conspiracies about the legitimacy of the 2020 presidential election or raised doubts about the integrity of that and subsequent elections. They are:

- **Sam Brown | Senate**

A war veteran who narrowly escaped death in Afghanistan, Sam Brown [won the crowded GOP primary](#) on June 11 after losing his first bid for the Senate in 2022. Backed by the governor, the [Republican National Committee](#), and at the nth hour, by Trump as well, he has kept his eye on the general election by carefully distancing himself from his more extreme MAGA primary opponents, including election deniers [Jeff Gunter](#), [Ronda Kennedy](#), [Jim Marchant](#) (founder of the [America First Secretary of State Coalition](#)), and [Stephanie Phillips](#). Still, Brown’s own campaign site highlights the need for “[election integrity](#)” and stricter voter ID laws, suggesting that “fraudulent” votes have canceled out “real” ones in Nevada and that it should

be “harder to cheat” at voting. During a Senate primary debate in 2022, Brown [expressed skepticism](#) about the integrity of the 2020 presidential election and implied that “noncitizens” had voted in Nevada elections (which is a [felony and untrue](#), according to the Republican secretary of state).

- **John Lee | House (NV-4)**

After the 2020 presidential election, [several posts](#) on John Lee’s Twitter and Facebook accounts promoted various election fraud conspiracies. In 2021, when he was mayor of North Las Vegas and running for governor, he said in an interview with [Breitbart](#)—which pointed out that Lee is a former Democrat who switched parties—that he would “make election integrity a priority” if he were elected governor, and agreed with the host that Nevada saw “all sorts of issues” during the 2020 election.

Deniers Running for Statewide Office

No candidate currently running for statewide office in Nevada has questioned the results of the 2020 presidential election. The governor (Republican Joe Lombardo), attorney general (Democrat Aaron Ford), and secretary of state (Democrat Franciso Aguilar) are collectively responsible for ensuring that elections in the state run smoothly, are fair, and accurately reflect the will of voters.

Deniers in the State Legislature

In Nevada, only two election deniers—one representative and one senator—currently serve in the state legislature, accounting for 3% of the 68-person General Assembly. After being elected in 2022, the two legislators [cosponsored bills](#) in 2023 that would have created special state law enforcement units to investigate suspected election crimes or irregularities. Though both bills failed, serious discussion of the issue in the General Assembly perpetuates the myth of rampant election fraud in Nevada. Each of

these legislators also serves on his chamber’s Judiciary Committee, which gives them a say in selecting the state judges who may end up ruling on election cases.

Deniers Administering Elections

More than a dozen county election administrators in Nevada who are responsible for overseeing the voting process in their counties parrot Trump’s claims of a “rigged” election in 2020 and continue to spread disinformation about election integrity. They include:

- **Scott Hoen | Carson City Clerk Recorder**

On his [campaign site](#), Scott Hoen includes a section on “election integrity,” which discusses support for voter ID laws and ending mail-in ballots to combat “fraud.”

- **Walter Nowosad | Douglas County Board of Commissioners (District 5)**

According to [Rolling Stone](#), Walter Nowosad shared an article in which indicted lawyer [Sidney Powell](#) claimed that Trump’s legal team had uncovered sufficient evidence of voter fraud to overturn the election results in multiple states. Nowosad wrote, “Someone’s hand has been discovered in the cookie jar.”

- **Danny Tarkanian | Douglas County Board of Commissioners (District 1)**

In the wake of the 2020 presidential election, Danny Tarkanian has promoted false claims of voter fraud across multiple social media platforms. A July 2021 [tweet](#) makes reference to “one story after another of voting irregularities in Georgia.” Similarly, in November 2022 Tarkanian [wrote](#) on his personal Facebook page that mail-in ballots are “the biggest issue in our election integrity, along with ballot harvesting. This is what the GOP should be questioning.”

- **Rex Steninger | Elko County Board of Commissioners (District 5)**

Rex Steninger attended a summer 2021 meeting to [discuss](#) strategies for eliminating electronic voting in Nevada. “The ultimate goal is to prove fraud, reverse the recent election laws and have an honest election in 2022,” he wrote in an August 2021 email to a county deputy district attorney. Steninger also signaled interest in conducting an audit of the county’s election results, writing in an email to attorneys from the 2021 meeting, “Let me know if you would like to examine our [Dominion](#) voting machines. We can order an examination.” In an October 2021 email obtained through a public records request, he wrote, “I am convinced the last election was stolen and have been involved in every way I can think of to reveal the steal and fix the system.” Following a recount of the gubernatorial race during the June 2022 primary election, Steninger voted against certifying the results, with the [meeting minutes](#) specifying that he “voted nay in protest of the State regulation that mandated the way the recount was performed.”

- **De Winsor | Esmeralda County Board of Commissioners (District 2)**

After the June 14, 2022 primary, De Winsor opted to [postpone certifying](#) the county’s election results until she and the vice chairman recounted the ballots by hand, despite having results from a machine count and an additional hand count.

- **Bryan Sparks | Lander County Board of Commissioners (District 1)**

In August 2021, Bryan Sparks was one of five Lander County commissioners seeking custody of the county’s 26 electronic voting machines—a violation of federal law—in order to [conduct a post-2020 election audit](#) to determine whether they had been tampered with or connected to the internet. The commissioners also [discussed](#) their desire to switch from using voting machines to [paper ballots](#) exclusively for future elections in Lander County.

- **Wallace “Junior” Thomas | Lander County Board of Commissioners (District 4)**

In August 2021, Junior Thomas was one of five Lander County commissioners seeking custody of the county’s 26 electronic voting machines—a violation of federal law—in order to [conduct a post-2020 election audit](#) to determine whether they had been tampered with or connected to the internet. The commissioners also [discussed](#) their desire to switch from using voting machines to [paper ballots](#) exclusively for future elections in Lander County.

- **Kathleen Ancho | Lander County Board of Commissioners (District 5)**

In August 2021, Kathleen Ancho was one of five Lander County commissioners seeking custody of the county’s 26 electronic voting machines—a violation of federal law—in order to [conduct a post-2020 election audit](#) to determine whether they had been tampered with or connected to the internet. The commissioners also [discussed](#) their desire to switch from using voting machines to [paper ballots](#) exclusively for future elections in Lander County.

- **Debra Strickland | Nye County Board of Commissioners (District 5)**

In 2022, Debra Strickland was one of five Nye County commissioners who unanimously [endorsed](#) the use of paper ballots counted by hand in place of voting machines. The [original request](#) for the commissioners to vote on the issue points to “concerns about the integrity of the voting process” raised by Nye County voters, almost 70% of whom voted for Trump in 2020 (“a significantly larger percentage than the [share of voters](#) registered as Republicans in the county that month: 48%,” according to [The Nevada Independent](#)). The commissioners also pushed to eliminate the use of [Dominion Voting Systems](#) machines despite all [allegations of fraud](#) after the 2020 election being totally unfounded and disproven. Legal challenges to the county’s plan to count ballots by hand led to a [ruling](#) by the Nevada Supreme

Court that it was permissible only because the commission confirmed “that the hand count is a secondary counting method and will not be used to report the county’s election results.”

- **Donna Cox | Nye County Board of Commissioners (District 3)**

In 2022, Donna Cox was one of five Nye County commissioners who unanimously [endorsed](#) the use of paper ballots counted by hand in place of voting machines. The [original request](#) for the commissioners to vote on the issue points to “concerns about the integrity of the voting process” raised by Nye County voters, almost 70% of whom voted for Trump in 2020 (“a significantly larger percentage than the [share of voters](#) registered as Republicans in the county that month: 48%,” according to [The Nevada Independent](#)). The commissioners also pushed to eliminate the use of [Dominion Voting Systems](#) machines despite all [allegations of fraud](#) after the 2020 election being totally unfounded and disproven. Legal challenges to the county’s plan to count ballots by hand led to a [ruling](#) by the Nevada Supreme Court that it was permissible only because the commission confirmed “that the hand count is a secondary counting method and will not be used to report the county’s election results.”

- **Frank Carbone | Nye County Board of Commissioners (District 2)**

In 2022, Frank Carbone was one of the five Nye County commissioners who unanimously [endorsed](#) the use of paper ballots counted by hand in place of voting machines. The [original request](#) for the commissioners to vote on the issue points to “concerns about the integrity of the voting process” raised by Nye County voters, almost 70% of whom voted for Trump in 2020 (“a significantly larger percentage than the [share of voters](#) registered as Republicans in the county that month: 48%,” according to [The Nevada Independent](#)). The commissioners also pushed to eliminate the use of [Dominion Voting Systems](#) machines despite all [allegations of fraud](#) after the 2020 elec-

tion being totally unfounded and disproven. Legal challenges to the county’s plan to count ballots by hand led to a [ruling](#) by the Nevada Supreme Court that it was permissible only because the commission confirmed “that the hand count is a secondary counting method and will not be used to report the county’s election results.”

- **Bruce Jabbour | Nye County Board of Commissioners (District 1)**

In 2022, Bruce Jabbour was one of the five Nye County commissioners who unanimously [endorsed](#) the use of paper ballots counted by hand in place of voting machines. The [original request](#) for the commissioners to vote on the issue points to “concerns about the integrity of the voting process” raised by Nye County voters, almost 70% of whom voted for Trump in 2020 (“a significantly larger percentage than the [share of voters](#) registered as Republicans in the county that month: 48%,” according to [The Nevada Independent](#)). The commissioners also pushed to eliminate the use of [Dominion Voting Systems](#) machines despite all [allegations of fraud](#) after the 2020 election being totally unfounded and disproven. Legal challenges to the county’s plan to count ballots by hand led to a [ruling](#) by the Nevada Supreme Court that it was permissible only because the commission confirmed “that the hand count is a secondary counting method and will not be used to report the county’s election results.”

- **Jim Hindle | Storey County Clerk Treasurer**

In addition to serving as county clerk, Jim Hindle is vice chair of the Nevada GOP. In December 2020, he served as one of Nevada’s six [fake electors](#), a [point of pride](#) he used to convince voters to elect him to the clerk treasurer position in 2022. In 2023, a Nevada grand jury [indicted him](#) on two felony charges for fraudulently submitting documents to Congress claiming that Trump won the 2020 election. In June 2024, a district court judge [dismissed the case](#) against all six fake electors on grounds that the attorney general had filed it in the wrong venue—Las Vegas instead of Reno

or Carson City, where the defendants actually gathered to sign the phony documents. Efforts by several progressive groups [to get Hindle to step down](#) from his position as an overseer of elections in Storey County have failed, and after the fake electors case was dismissed, [renewed calls for his resignation](#) went unheeded.

- **Clara Andriola | Washoe County Board of Commissioners (District 4)**

After the Nevada primary in June 2024, Clara Andriola [flip-flopped several times](#) before certifying the results, which included her own primary victory. She initially joined the two Democrats on the commission in voting to certify, telling local media, “We’re not saying that everything was perfect, that there isn’t room for improvement. All we’re saying is this is the election, these are the results.” However, local Republicans alleged that the use of mail-in ballots resulted in fraud. Businessman and vocal election denier Robert Beadles, who [backed Andriola’s opponent](#) financially, personally paid \$150,000 to have three races recounted. Even though the recounts confirmed the original results, Beadles and other deniers demanded a hand recount or a [new election](#). In response, Andriola [reversed her certification vote](#) on July 9, joining Republicans Michael Clark and Jeanne Herman in refusing to certify. She finally agreed to certify a week later, after Nevada’s secretary of state and the county attorney reminded the commission of its legal obligation to do so.

- **Jeanne Herman | Washoe County Board of Commissioners (District 5)**

In early 2022, Jeanne Herman submitted her [proposal to institute sweeping reforms](#) to election procedures in the county, including returning to mostly paper ballots, using hand counts only, and posting National Guard troops at all voting sites. She defends the reforms as an effort to “ensure accuracy, security and purity of elections.” Herman also [voted against certifying](#) the 2020 and 2022 election results in her county.

- **Mike Clark | Washoe County Board of Commissioners (District 2)**

Mike Clark cast doubt on the validity of President Biden’s 2020 electoral win in a [2022 interview](#) with the *Reno Gazette Journal*. In March 2022, he shared a [Facebook post](#) saying “your vote doesn’t count,” arguing that the 2020 presidential vote in Washoe County was “mathematically impossible,” and claiming that the number of registered voters is greater than the actual population.

Deniers in GOP Leadership

As in other swing states, Republicans in Nevada engaged in intense intraparty bickering after Trump lost the 2020 election. But the “GOP’s civil war has been especially bitter and long-lasting” in this largely center-right state, [Politico reported](#) prior to the 2022 midterms, noting that “the turmoil is spreading across the battleground state, consuming the GOP in a bonfire of lawsuits, counterclaims, and resignations.” Since then, the chaos has settled somewhat as “the GOP’s shrinking band of traditionalists” gave way to the MAGA wing still led by Chairman Michael McDonald, one of [Nevada’s six fake electors](#), and other Trump sycophants.

In 2024, the state GOP [broke with convention](#) to hold a presidential caucus two days after the state-mandated primary, barring candidates who appeared on the primary ballot from also competing in the caucuses. With Trump choosing to “compete” in the caucus, he faced only one virtually unknown candidate and “won” by a landslide, while Nikki Haley lost in the primary to the ballot option Nevada’s pro-Trump governor and most other Republicans chose: “none of these candidates.”

The following are among the state’s GOP leaders who express unfettered loyalty to Trump and his ongoing claim that any election he doesn’t win is “rigged”:

- **Michael J. McDonald | Chairman**

First elected in 2012, Michael McDonald still chairs the Nevada GOP. He has been a diehard Trump loyalist since 2015, and in 2024 [bucked Nevada state law](#) by holding party caucuses instead of a primary, assuring the former president that rather than worry about a primary challenge from Nikki Haley, “we will deliver you 100% of delegates for the state of Nevada.”

In December 2020, McDonald served as one of Nevada’s six [fake electors](#) and was subsequently [subpoenaed](#) by the House Select Committee investigating the attack on the Capitol, where he [invoked his Fifth Amendment right](#) to remain silent more than 200 times. In December 2023, a Nevada grand jury [indicted him](#) on two felony charges for fraudulently submitting documents to Congress claiming that Trump won the 2020 election. In June 2024, a district court judge [dismissed the case](#) on the grounds that the attorney general had filed it in the wrong venue—Las Vegas instead of Reno or Carson City, where the defendants actually gathered to sign the phony documents. A pro-Trump nonprofit [paid \\$100,000 in legal fees](#) to help get the fake electors case dismissed.

- **Jim Hindle | Vice Chairman**

Durward James Hindle III is a managing partner at Cascade Survey Research who served as one of Nevada’s six [fake electors](#) in December 2020. In December 2023, a Nevada grand jury [indicted him](#) on two felony charges for fraudulently submitting documents to Congress claiming that Trump won the 2020 election. In June 2024, a district court judge [dismissed the case](#) on the grounds that the attorney general had filed it in the wrong venue—Las Vegas instead of Reno or Carson City, where the defendants actually gathered to sign the phony documents. A pro-Trump nonprofit [paid \\$100,000 in legal fees](#) to help get the fake electors case dismissed.

- **Jim DeGraffenreid | National Committeeman**

Jim DeGraffenreid served as one of Nevada’s six [fake electors](#) in December 2020 and in January 2022, he was [subpoenaed](#) by the House Select Committee investigating the attack on the Capitol. In December 2023, a Nevada grand jury [indicted him](#) on [two felony charges](#) for fraudulently submitting documents to Congress claiming that Trump won the 2020 election. In June 2024, a district court judge [dismissed the case](#) on the grounds that the attorney general had filed it in the wrong venue—Las Vegas instead of Reno or Carson City, where the defendants actually gathered to sign the phony documents. A pro-Trump nonprofit [paid \\$100,000 in legal fees](#) to help get the fake electors case dismissed.

- **Sigal Chattah | National Committeewoman**

In her reelection campaign to serve on the [Republican National Committee](#), Sigal Chattah [posted](#) an endorsement from Trump on her Twitter/X account, where he calls her a “strong fighter for election integrity.” In 2022, she ran for attorney general in Nevada but lost. She has [multiple ties](#) to people involved with the insurrection, and [calls](#) far-right Texas Attorney General [Ken Paxton](#), who [filed a lawsuit](#) with the Supreme Court to try to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election, her “hero.”

- **Susan Ruch | Carson City Central Committee Chair**

Susan Ruch’s personal [Facebook posts](#) suggest that Democrats are looking for new ways to cheat using “illegals” for voting. Although Trump essentially ran unopposed in the February 2024 Republican Caucus in Nevada, she [credits his 98% win](#) to paper ballots and required voter ID.

- **Jesse Law | Clark County Central Committee Chair**

Jesse Law, a former Trump campaign staffer, served as one of Nevada’s six [fake electors](#) in December 2020. In December 2023, a Nevada grand jury [indicted him](#) on two felony charges for fraudulently submitting documents to Congress claiming that Trump won the 2020 election. In June 2024, a district court judge [dismissed the case](#) on the grounds that the attorney general had filed it in the wrong venue—Las Vegas instead of Reno or Carson City, where the defendants actually gathered to sign the phony documents. A pro-Trump nonprofit [paid \\$100,000 in legal fees](#) to help get the fake electors case dismissed.

- **Leo Blundo | Nye County Central Committee Chair**

Leo Blundo perpetuates the myth of voter fraud by [supporting](#) legislation to [bar noncitizens from voting](#) (which is already illegal in federal and state elections) and posts a constant barrage of pro-Trump propaganda and re-tweets on his [Twitter/X page](#). “This is the TeamTrump plan here in Nevada,” he writes. “We are at war... and will be activating We the People to win Nevada in 2024.”

- **Bruce Parks | Washoe County Central Committee Chair**

In July 2022, when Washoe County GOP Treasurer Sandra Linares secretly recorded a conversation with Chair Bruce Parks, he “insisted that [fighting election fraud](#) is paramount,” according to the *Reno-Gazette Journal*. When she pointed out that inflammatory comments about rigged elections were hurting donations as well as “our candidates,” Parks responded with: “Sometimes there’s collateral damage.”



NEW MEXICO DENIERS

Overview

In the 28 presidential elections that have taken place since New Mexico became a state in 1912, voters have selected the presidential candidate who won nationally 89% of the time, giving the electorate one of the highest [accuracy rates](#) for national outcomes in the country.

Generally, voters had been almost evenly divided in their preferences for one major party over the other. But in the past two decades, New Mexicans have voted for Democratic candidates in seven of the past eight presidential elections, only going Republican in 2004 when George W. Bush narrowly won over John Kerry (by a 1% margin).

In 2020, President Biden [won](#) in New Mexico by 99,720 votes—an 11% lead—which earned him the state’s five electoral votes. Democrats have held both Senate seats since 2009, and all three members of its House delegation are Democrats. The governorship has also been in Democratic hands since 2018, giving New Mexico a [Democratic trifecta](#) along with a [Democratic triplex](#) since the secretary of state and attorney general are also Democrats.

Still, New Mexico was one of seven states in which pro-Trump Republicans prepared [fake Electoral College certificates](#) to obstruct the January 6, 2021, congressional proceeding constitutionally mandated to certify that President Biden won the election. The five [New Mexico fake electors](#) signed documents with conditional language specifying that “it might later be determined that we are the duly elected and qualified Electors.” When they did so on December 14, 2020, the secretary of state’s office had already certified that Biden had won the state by a comfortable margin.

2020 Election Fallout

After President Biden was sworn in, election denialism continued to simmer in New Mexico, where the far-right faction of the GOP has kept the misinformation and conspiracy theories alive on social media, and local officials have helped amplify the lies.

- New Mexico was one of seven states where Republicans [submitted alternate slates of electors](#) for the 2020 presidential contest despite Joe Biden winning the state by almost 100,000 votes.
- In mid December as the [New Mexico fake electors](#) met to sign false documents, the Trump campaign [filed a federal lawsuit](#) against the secretary of state over the state’s use of drop boxes to collect ballots, one of a series of measures that many states resorted to during the 2020 election to enhance public safety in the first year of the pandemic. The campaign subsequently [dropped](#) the lawsuit in January 2021.
- Following Trump’s loss, New Mexico’s GOP [fully embraced](#) the narrative of a stolen election, attempting to impound ballots in Bernalillo County, promoting the fake electors meeting of Republican-appointed electors at the state capitol, and supporting both the Trump campaign’s lawsuit against the secretary of state and Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton’s [Texas v. Pennsylvania](#) election lawsuit before the Supreme Court.
- Just prior to the June 2022 primaries, Secretary of State Maggie Toulouse Oliver (D) announced a new [Rumor vs. Reality](#) page on the office’s official website to challenge ongoing lies and confusion about election security, voting, and how ballots are counted in New Mexico.

- After the June 2022 primary, election commissioners in Otero County [initially refused to certify](#) the results, citing debunked conspiracy theories about voting machines. The state Supreme Court later overruled the commissioners and ordered the county to complete its certification process.
- One of those county commissioners, Couy Griffin, founded a group called Cowboys for Trump and participated in the mob attack on the U.S. Capitol on January 6. “I wasn’t part of an insurrection,” he has said. “I exercised my constitutional right to peacefully protest.” After Griffin was [convicted of trespassing](#) on Capitol grounds, a state judge [removed him from office](#) in September 2022 and [barred him from holding](#) any state or federal elected office in the future.
- As Santa Fe election denier John Block was participating in the [march to the Capitol](#) in D.C. on January 6, he posted a photo of the crowd with the message: “The battle has just begun. Stand up and fight like hell, patriots.” In November 2022, he was [elected to represent](#) District 51 in the New Mexico legislature and is [running for his second term](#) in 2024.

Deniers Running for Congress

In New Mexico, only one election denier is running for Congress, hoping to win her second term after narrowly losing to her Democratic opponent in 2022:

- **Yvette Herrell | House (NM–2)**
Just days after she was sworn in to her first term in Congress, [Yvette Herrell](#) voted against certifying President Biden’s win of the 2020 election, announcing her plan to object via a [Facebook post](#) on New Year’s Eve. After redistricting, she narrowly lost her reelection bid in 2022 but is challenging incumbent Representative Gabriel Vasquez (D) in 2024 in a tightly contested race that the National Republican Congressional Committee is actively targeting in order to recoup a House seat. In 2022, Herrell [accepted a campaign donation](#) from one

of [New Mexico’s fake electors](#) and she routinely [spreads disinformation](#) about election integrity via her social media accounts.

Deniers Running for Statewide Office

No candidate currently running for statewide office in New Mexico has questioned the results of the 2020 presidential election. The governor (Democrat Michelle Lujan Grisham), attorney general (Democrat Raul Torres), and secretary of state (Democrat Maggie Toulouse Oliver) are collectively responsible for ensuring that elections in the state run smoothly, are fair, and accurately reflect the will of voters. None of them are up for reelection until 2026.

Deniers in the State Legislature

In New Mexico, at least [three election deniers](#) currently serve in the state legislature—all in the House—accounting for 3% of the 112-person assembly. Two of them (in districts 55 and 61) ran unopposed in 2022 and are [running unopposed again](#) in 2024, with the [third representative](#) (in District 51) winning his first term in 2022 with 63% of the vote. When he participated in the march to the U.S. Capitol on January 6, he [posted](#) a photo and message on social media urging “patriots” to “FIGHT.LIKE.HELL.”

Deniers Administering Elections

A handful of election administrators in New Mexico who are responsible for overseeing the voting process in their counties amplify Trump’s claims of a “rigged” election in 2020 or continue to spread disinformation about election integrity. They include:

- **Gerald Matherly | Otero County Board of Commissioners (District 1)**
In June 2022, Gerald Matherly voted against certifying the county’s primary election results based on his desire to first ascertain if there had been any fraud, according to [Reuters](#). New Mexico’s

secretary of state sued him and the two other county commissioners and threatened to request a criminal investigation into whether their actions were “willful violations” of the state election code. But Matherly eventually agreed to certify the results after the state Supreme Court ordered him to do so. Earlier that year, the three Otero commissioners had hired a Massachusetts-based marketing firm to [search for signs of fraud](#) in the county’s 2020 presidential election returns, even though Trump won there by a large margin.

- **Vickie Marquardt | Otero County Board of Commissioners (District 3)**

In June 2022, Vickie Marquardt voted against certifying the county’s primary election results because she was a “hard core” Trump supporter and did not trust the county’s voting machines, according to [Reuters](#). New Mexico’s secretary of state sued her and the two other county commissioners and threatened to request a criminal investigation into whether their actions were “willful violations” of the state election code. But Marquardt eventually agreed to certify the results after the state Supreme Court ordered her to do so. Earlier that year, the three Otero commissioners had hired a Massachusetts-based marketing firm to [search for signs of fraud](#) in the county’s 2020 presidential election returns, even though Trump won there by a large margin.

- **Jay Block | Sandoval County Board of Commissioners (District 2)**

In June 2022, Jay Block—who had just lost his Republican primary bid for governor—was the sole commissioner in the county who [voted against certifying](#) the primary election results. “It is imperative that we are presented with a complete set of facts,” he said in explaining his vote.

Deniers in GOP Leadership

Moderate Republicans in New Mexico have been [losing ground](#) since Trump lost the 2020 election, and GOP State Chair Steve Pearce has been steer-

ing the party towards a total embrace of Trumpism. While this has energized the far-right, it also appears to have rubbed swing voters the wrong way.

A day after the January 6 attack on the Capitol, New Mexico’s GOP [issued a statement](#) acknowledging that “our democracy has been tarnished.” But the comment wasn’t in reference to the shocking violence that upended the congressional procedure underway that day, but rather to the ultimate certification of President Biden’s Electoral College victory.

As recently as 2016, Republicans were doing well in New Mexico, with GOP Governor Susana Martinez having just won reelection, Albuquerque’s Republican mayor Richard Berry in his second term, and Republicans winning control of the state House. But just eight years later, Democrats now hold the governorship and a near-supermajority in the state House.

In short, in 2024 New Mexico’s GOP is fractured and struggling, beholden to a right-wing, MAGA base, while floundering to regain support from more moderate suburban voters. “The party’s being ripped down the middle, and I think I’m gonna blame Trump for that,” [said](#) an oil industry businessman and long-time Republican donor in the state.

The following are among the state GOP leaders who have spread misinformation about widespread voter fraud or expressed unfettered loyalty to Trump and his ongoing claim that any election he doesn’t win is “rigged”:

- **Steve Pearce | Chair**

Steve Pearce is a former congressman who served seven terms in the House (2003–09 and 2011–19), where he was associated with the Tea Party and the House Freedom Caucus. Although his 2018 bid for governor failed, he was elected chair of the state GOP that year and has served in that role ever since. *Politico* sees him as “something of an avatar of the party’s Trumpian brand of politics [who] [fully embraced](#) the narrative of a stolen election.” On January 9, 2021, he [tweeted](#): “God bless President Donald J. Trump. He will be

our President FOREVER and no one can take that away from us.”

- **Tina Dziuk | National Committeewoman**

Tina Dziuk has been a national committeewoman since 2020 and won reelection in April 2024. According to her [campaign bio](#), she was appointed to the RNC’s Committee on Election Integrity in 2021 and served as co-chair of the Voting Systems and Technology Subcommittee. For the 2022 midterm elections, she got the RNC to provide New Mexico with a statewide incident reporting system and on election day, she served as a poll watcher “responding directly to voter complaints, in real time, while consulting attorneys in the war-room.” Dziuk [amplifies](#) election misinformation on social media, often retweeting posts from extremists like [Charlie Kirk](#) of Turning Point USA and [Dinesh D’Souza](#), the conspiracy theorist who has made a series of highly controversial political films, including the debunked 2022 pro-Trump documentary *2000 Mules*.

- **Rebecca Dow | CD–2 Vice Chair**

Rebecca Dow is a former state representative who lost in the GOP primary for governor in 2022, and is running to regain her seat in the state legislature in 2024. As a candidate, she [disparaged other Republicans](#) for being “never Trumpers” and [ran ads](#) to that effect. She has also [endorsed](#) *2000 Mules*, the widely debunked conspiracy theory film about the 2020 election.

- **Robert Witsenhausen | Santa Fe County Chair**

In his monthly letters to fellow Republicans, Robert Witsenhausen [stirs up distrust](#) of the electoral process, referring to automatic voter registration as “a recipe for stealing elections,” claiming that in the past poll workers “were observed breaking numerous rules,” and that “every time they accused us of something, we were proven right.” In his [letter from June 2023](#) he wrote, “The propaganda against Republicans has been laid on thick. Who can forget Biden’s ‘Red Sermon’ speech, with all the Nazi imagery of a Leni Riefenstahl production?

And don’t even get me started on January 6th.” In his [letter from May 2024](#), Witsenhausen urged Republicans to vote in the June 4 primary, noting, “Everyone should flood the ballot box and show the entire country that in New Mexico it’s going to be ‘Too Big to Rig.’”

- **Julianne (Julie) Stroup | Sierra County Chair**

In a July 2021 [email](#) to Kari Fresquez (then the state elections director in New Mexico), Julie Stroup wrote that the proposed rule changes for voting in New Mexico—including the use of drop boxes and mail-in ballots—would “only ensure that cheating in elections will be easier and difficult to prevent.” She also argued that “voting in person on voting day is the only way to substantially reduce interference in our elections,” and that “mail-in ballots other than absentee ballots also have proven to be an easy avenue to interfere with fair elections. We saw this during the 2020 election cycle.”

- **Sarah Hawkes Valente | Taos County Chair**

A May 2023 [opinion piece](#) by Sarah Hawkes Valente encouraged residents to sign petitions for a referendum against several pending bills, including HB-4 and SB-180, which she claimed “could lead to potential fraud in our election process.” She also wrote that felony voter enfranchisement “is a potential threat to election integrity,” and that the provisions in SB-180 allowing for electronic signature gathering for nominating petitions and voter convenience centers “could lead to voter fraud.”

- **John Brenna | Valencia County Chair**

John Brenna repeatedly re-posts election-related conspiracy theories and other disinformation about election integrity on his personal Twitter/X page, [linking to an article exonerating Trump](#) for his inaction on January 6 by noting: “The J6 committee buried the whistleblower accounts because they were devastating to the narrative Donald Trump was complicit in an ‘insurrection.’”

In a [March 2024 post](#), he wrote: “Approximately 9,000 previously uncounted mail-in ballots from an Illinois election were suddenly ‘found.’” And that same month, he [reposted a lengthy conspiracy piece](#) arguing that “Democrats are importing illegals because they plan on stealing the election... & if it starts an uprising, 10 million military age males with no allegiance to America and contempt for Americans will be all too happy to help squash it [in exchange] for citizenship.”



**NORTH CAROLINA
DENIERS**

Overview

As in many southern states, North Carolina voted reliably Democratic from 1876 through 1964, when conservative white voters began shifting to the Right in response to new federal civil rights legislation.

The state has trended [purple](#) in recent general elections, even though Republicans have won every presidential contest in North Carolina since 1980—except for 2008 when Barack Obama won over John McCain by a [razor thin margin of 0.3%](#). In the 2012 presidential election, the state voted Republican again in another very tight race, with Mitt Romney beating Obama by about 2%. Republicans have prevailed in subsequent presidential elections, with Donald Trump winning the state by 3.6% over Hillary Clinton in 2016 and by [1.3% over Joe Biden](#) in 2020, resulting in the closest defeat that year for the candidate who ultimately won the presidency nonetheless.

On January 6, 2021, one newly elected state legislator from North Carolina [took part in the march on the Capitol](#) in Washington but disavowed the violence that erupted there. Later that day, seven of the eight Republican members of North Carolina’s congressional delegation [voted against certifying](#) President Biden’s electoral victory. Four of them are running for reelection in 2024.

With 16 electoral votes, North Carolina is in the top 10 most significant states for winning presidential elections. Once Vice President Kamala Harris entered the race in July, polling began to indicate that the state just may be [within reach for Democrats](#) in 2024.

Both U.S. senators from North Carolina are Republican: [Ted Budd](#), an election denier and three-term congressman who voted against certifying President Biden’s victory when he served in the House, and [Thom Tillis](#), a Tea Party conservative who is out of favor with the local GOP for failing to jump on the MAGA bandwagon. The state’s 14-member House delegation is evenly split, with seven Democrats and seven Republicans. In contrast, North Carolina’s [governorship](#) has been in Democratic hands since 1976, except for three terms (1984, 1988 and 2012).

According to the [2020 census](#), approximately [62% of North Carolinians are white](#), while Blacks account for 22.2% of the population and Hispanics 10.5%. Women—who are among the most [reliable voting bloc](#) in U.S. presidential elections—comprise 51% of North Carolina’s population.

The state is among eight in 2024 where voters are deciding on whether to amend the state constitution to specify that *only* U.S. citizens who are 18 years old or older can vote in elections. Congress [passed a law](#) in 1996 prohibiting noncitizens from voting in federal elections, and noncitizen voting is already barred in North Carolina under state law..

2020 Election Fallout

Even though Trump narrowly won North Carolina, his supporters continued to amplify the Big Lie, discredit the process, spread conspiracy theories, and challenge the results in other states. Despite lacking

evidence to support their allegations, they are poised to repeat unfounded claims of election fraud in 2024.

- Before Election Day 2020, the Trump campaign and the North Carolina GOP (NCGOP) [challenged](#) the North Carolina State Board of Elections (NCSBE)

decision to extend the date for accepting mail-in ballots to November 12, as long as they were postmarked by Election Day. Both the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals and the state Supreme Court [ruled against overriding](#) the board's decision.

- In response to rampant “mis- and disinformation about the 2020 general election” prior to Election Day, the bipartisan State Board of Elections published [Combating Misinformation](#).
- After the outcome of the presidential election was initially too close to call in North Carolina, election officials confirmed on November 13, 2020, that [Trump beat Biden](#) by 74,481 votes (1.3%).
- Exit polls conducted for ABC News on Election Day showed that 87% of voters in North Carolina said they were somewhat or very confident that [votes would be counted fairly](#) in their state.
- In response to conspiracy theories and questions about whether North Carolina would conduct a “forensic audit” of its 2020 general election or allow random voting machines to be opened “to see if they contain modems,” the NCSBE and all 100 county boards of elections [conducted audits](#) of the results and concluded that “statewide, the... machine counts of ballots were accurate.”
- On November 24, 2020, the NCSBE [certified](#) the votes of the more than 5.5 million voters (75% of registered voters) who cast ballots in North Carolina.
- [Seven members](#) of the North Carolina congressional delegation voted to overturn the 2020 election results on January 6, 2021. Representative Patrick McHenry (R–NC–10), who is [not seeking reelection](#) in 2024, was the only Republican representative from North Carolina who voted to certify President Biden's win of the election.
- Donnie Loftis participated in the march to the U.S. Capitol on January 6 and was subsequently appointed by the NCGOP to the state House of Representatives in November 2021. [According to WRAL News](#), he commented in a now-deleted Facebook post that he “got gassed three times and was at the entrance when they breached the door.”
- In April 2023, Republicans gained a narrow supermajority in North Carolina's General Assembly after a state legislator [switched her party affiliation](#) from Democrat to Republican. This enabled Republicans to [pass SB 747](#), a [huge package of election laws inspired](#) in part by election denier [Cleta Mitchell](#)—who runs the Conservative Partnership Institute's so-called Election Integrity Network and advised local GOP legislators in drafting the bills—and [overturn vetoes](#) from Governor Roy Cooper (D). *Mother Jones* [called the move](#) a “massive power grab to seize control of elections.”
- One of the new laws, titled “No Partisan Advantage in Elections,” eliminated the [governor's power to appoint](#) members of the bipartisan NCSBE and gave it to legislative leaders instead. Another, also passed after the legislature overrode the governor's veto, [eliminated ballot drop boxes](#) and ended a three-day grace period for absentee ballots that had been postmarked by Election Day, among other measures.
- In January 2024, Democrats [scored a partial victory](#) in their attempts to challenge SB 747, the sweeping voter suppression legislation passed by North Carolina's GOP-controlled General Assembly in 2023. U.S. District Judge Thomas Schroeder, a George W. Bush appointee, sided with the plaintiffs and blocked same-day registration restrictions, writing that the provision violates the Due Process Clause of the U.S. Constitution and would result in legitimate ballots being discarded.
- In August 2024, the [Republican National Committee](#) and the NCGOP [filed a lawsuit against the NCSBE](#) for “ignoring the law and failing to clean up the voter rolls.” According to RNC Chairman [Michael Whatley](#), “The NCSBE has chosen to blatantly ignore the law, undermine basic election

safeguards, and neglect a fundamental principle of our election integrity.”

- In August 2024, former Senator Richard Burr (R–NC), who voted to convict Trump in his second impeachment trial, [said in a TV interview](#) that he would [vote for Trump](#) in November. “Maybe someone will have a hard time squaring with it,” Burr told *Spectrum News* about his decision to vote for Trump in November. “I don’t have a hard time squaring with it because I firmly understood why I voted for impeachment. ... It’s a bad choice I thought a president made one time.”

Deniers Running for Congress

Four representatives from North Carolina who voted against certifying President Biden’s 2020 electoral victory still serve in the House and are running for reelection in 2024. Although the state’s House delegation has been evenly split in recent years, with seven Democrats and seven Republicans, now that North Carolina’s Republican-controlled General Assembly has redrawn voting maps, three congressional districts are [expected to flip](#) (from Democrats to Republicans) in the November election. If that happens, when Congress convenes in January 2025 North Carolina will be represented by 10 Republicans and four Democrats in the House, along with its two sitting Republicans in the Senate.

The following Republican candidates are among the election deniers running to represent North Carolina in the House:

- **Laurie Buckhout | House (NC–1)**
Having recently (semi) relocated to the state in order to run for Congress, Laurie Buckhout has [Trump’s full endorsement](#). Democrats [warn](#) that she is “an anti-abortion extremist, insurrection apologist, and transplant opportunist only looking out for herself.” In addition to dismissing Trump’s felonies as proof that the justice system has been “weaponized” against him, Buckhout has promoted false claims of election interference on social

media. In November 2023, she [tweeted](#), “As a cyber subject matter expert, I advise you ABSOLUTELY should question the integrity of voting processes. Stay vigilant. Ballot integrity is the bedrock of our representative Republic!” In [responding](#) to a tweet from key Trump ally [Mike Flynn](#) promoting hand counting of ballots, she wrote: “Now THIS is election integrity. I ran a cyber and electronic warfare company, and any time a processor is involved, with the ability to download or upload data, fraud is possible.”

- **Alan Swain | House (NC–2)**

Alan Swain, a retired Army colonel and former defense industry executive, was one of the Republican plaintiffs in *Moore v. Circosta*, a lawsuit calling for an injunction against the extension of the absentee ballot deadline put into place as a pandemic measure in North Carolina during the 2020 election. In the [emergency application for the injunction](#), one of the claims made is that the “respondents are purposefully allowing otherwise unlawful votes to be counted, thereby diluting North Carolina voters’ lawful votes.” [ProPublica](#) also reports that as chair of the Wake County GOP, Swain formed an “election integrity committee” that lobbied lawmakers to restrict voting and audit the 2020 results.

- **Greg Murphy | House (NC–3)**

Representative [Greg Murphy](#) has served in the House since 2019 and won reelection in 2022 with Trump’s endorsement. After the 2020 presidential election, he signed a [letter](#) from congressional Republicans to the attorney general asking the Justice Department to investigate “a number of anomalies, statistical improbabilities and accusations of fraud” during the voting process and also [signed an amicus brief](#) in support of [Texas v. Pennsylvania](#), a lawsuit asking the Supreme Court to overturn the election results in four swing states. In January 2021, Murphy objected to certifying President Biden’s win of the election, and voted against both impeaching Trump for inciting the insurrection and establishing a special House committee to investigate it. A year after the attack

on the Capitol, he continued to [spread misinformation](#), claiming that Antifa was responsible for the violence that day. In January 2022, Murphy also [released a statement](#) blaming Democrats for exploiting the insurrection for political gain to “distract the American people from the complete and total failure of the Biden Administration.”

- **Virginia Foxx | House (NC–5)**

Representative [Virginia Foxx](#) has served in the House since 2005, representing a safely Republican district and winning reelection in recent years with [Trump’s endorsement](#). In January 2021, she objected to certifying President Biden’s win of the 2020 election, and also voted against both impeaching Trump for inciting the insurrection and establishing a special House committee to investigate it. Foxx [signed an amicus brief](#) in support of [Texas v. Pennsylvania](#), a lawsuit asking the Supreme Court to overturn the election results in four swing states. In October 2023, the then-80-year-old lawmaker [yelled](#) “shut up” at an ABC News reporter attempting to ask then-House Speaker nominee Mike Johnson (R–LA) about his involvement in trying to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election.

- **David Rouzer | House (NC–7)**

Representative [David Rouzer](#) has served in the House since 2015 and [won reelection](#) in 2022 with Trump’s endorsement. After the 2020 presidential election, he signed a [letter](#) from congressional Republicans to the attorney general asking the Justice Department to investigate possible fraud and [signed an amicus brief](#) in support of [Texas v. Pennsylvania](#), a lawsuit asking the Supreme Court to overturn the election results in four swing states. In January 2021, Rouzer objected to certifying President Biden’s win of the 2020 election, and also voted against both impeaching Trump for inciting the insurrection and establishing a special House committee to investigate it.

- **Mark Harris | House (NC–8)**

In 2018, Mark Harris ran for Congress in North Carolina’s 9th Congressional District. Though ini-

tial tallies showed him winning, the results were not certified [due to allegations of ballot harvesting](#) made by an employee of his campaign. The results were dismissed in 2019 and a new election was held, but Harris did not run. In a [video](#) announcing his bid for the 8th Congressional District seat in 2024, he said, “In 2020, Democrats stole the election from President Trump. The year before, they did it to me.” He also claimed, “And just like President Trump, it wasn’t until after they got what they wanted that the truth would come out and I was vindicated.”

- **Richard Hudson | House (NC–9)**

Representative [Richard Hudson](#) has served in the House since 2013 and won reelection in 2022 with Trump’s endorsement. After the 2020 presidential election, he [signed an amicus brief](#) in support of [Texas v. Pennsylvania](#), a lawsuit asking the Supreme Court to overturn the election results in four swing states. In January 2021, Hudson objected to certifying President Biden’s win of the 2020 election, and also voted against both impeaching Trump for inciting the insurrection and establishing a special House committee to investigate it.

Deniers Running for Statewide Office

In one of the country’s most closely watched [gubernatorial races](#) in 2024, North Carolina’s Attorney General Josh Stein (D) is running against [controversial, Trump-endorsed](#) Lieutenant Governor Mark Robinson (R), who [repeatedly claims](#) the 2020 election was [stolen](#). U.S. Representative [Dan Bishop](#) (R–NC–9), another election denier, is running for attorney general, and Chad Brown, a county commissioner who has [expressed doubts about the integrity](#) of the 2020 election, is making a second bid for secretary of state.

Michele Morrow, a conservative activist who is running to become the superintendent overseeing all North Carolina public schools, [attended](#) the March to Save America rally in Washington on January 6, 2021.

According to [CNN](#), she is known for her extremist messages on social media, including ones calling for specific Democrats to be executed and Georgia's Republican governor to be imprisoned for certifying the 2020 presidential election results in his state. She also claimed that thousands of Chinese troops were stationed in Canada after the last presidential election ready to invade the U.S. to help President Biden take the White House.

Deniers in the State Legislature

In 2023, when Republicans gained a supermajority in the state legislature, they used it to restrict access to voting, [weaken the Democratic governor's power](#) to oversee elections, and pass a budget that [prohibited North Carolina from joining ERIC](#), a nonpartisan partnership that helps states maintain accurate voter rolls. In ruling on a case in North Carolina, the U.S. Supreme Court [rejected the so-called independent state legislature theory](#) in 2023, which would have given partisan state legislators virtually unchecked power to regulate federal elections.

Deniers Administering Elections

Since the 2020 election, certain election officials in North Carolina have adopted the same [anti-democratic strategies](#) as Republicans in other key swing states. According to [Informing Democracy](#), these include participating in the January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol; promoting election disinformation and false claims of fraud during the 2020 presidential election; drastically reducing early voting hours and not allowing voting on Sundays or on college campuses; filing protests against legitimate voters; calling for martial law in the aftermath of the 2020 election, and voting against certifying valid election results, among other actions.

In Surry County, two members of the Elections Board refused to certify local results in 2022, questioning the legitimacy of state election law and court decisions. In a [rare example of accountability](#), the State Board of Elections later [voted unanimously to dismiss](#) both

officials. "Those who administer elections must follow the law as it is written, not how they want it to be," said Damon Circosta, chairman of the state board.

The following county Board of Elections administrators continue to support Trump's Big Lie or spread misinformation about election integrity in North Carolina:

- **Anthony Iovino | Burke County Board of Elections**

In April 2021, Anthony Iovino reshared a [post](#) on Facebook that read, "IF THEY CAN STEAL AN ELECTION RIGHT IN FRONT OF YOUR FACE, THINK OF WHAT THEY ARE DOING BEHIND YOUR BACK..."

- **Byron Waters | Halifax County Board of Elections**

In September 2020, Byron Waters [shared](#) a Project Veritas article on Facebook about a "cash-for-ballots voter fraud scheme," adding his own cynical comment: "Oh no, there's no problem with loose rules on mail-in ballots, none at all." Meta has since removed the post since it was spreading false information.

- **Elizabeth McDowell | Mecklenburg County Board of Elections**

In November 2020, Elizabeth McDowell [voted against certifying](#) the results of the election in her county saying that she disagreed with new State Board of Elections guidelines extending the period for accepting mail-in ballots and making the cure process to fix errors on such ballots easier. In September 2016, McDowell publicly [urged](#) the North Carolina Board of Elections to cut back on early voting for the sake of election "integrity" and claimed that fraud was common, describing how voting precincts took advantage of the elderly and the "mentally infirmed" [sic].

- **Mary Potter Summa | Mecklenburg County Board of Elections**

In November 2020, Mary Potter Summa [voted against certifying](#) the results of the election in her county saying that she disagreed with new State

Board of Elections guidelines extending the period for accepting mail-in ballots and making the cure process to fix errors on such ballots easier. In September 2016, she emailed a letter to the editor [claiming](#) that “campaign and party officials” had coerced voters at Mecklenburg precincts to join them behind the voting screen so that they could manipulate the outcome. Summa only ever backed the claim with hearsay evidence.

- **John “Johnny” Adams | Montgomery County**

Several days after the January 6 insurrection attempt, Johnny Adams [posted](#) on Facebook, “I hope he [Trump] declares marshall [sic] law and uses the military to get to the bottom of all this cheating. They know and have the proof. If it’s going down let’s get it over with.” In August 2021, Adams [posted](#) a graphic falsely suggesting that D.C. police officer Michael Fanone was a Capitol rioter carrying a Confederate flag. The following month, he [posted](#) a graphic that falsely claimed the Biden family owns 10% of a Chinese lithium ion battery company whose “stock had soared almost 300% since Biden was ‘elected.’”

Deniers in GOP Leadership

Since Trump narrowly won North Carolina in 2020, Republicans have been pursuing a multipronged strategy of election subversion and voter suppression to gain electoral advantages in the state. The following are among the state GOP leaders who show unfettered loyalty to Trump and his ongoing claim that any election he doesn’t win is “rigged”:

- **Jason Simmons | Chair**

With [Trump’s backing](#), longtime Republican operative and former NC GOP Executive Director Jason Simmons stepped into the role of chair in March 2024 after Trump chose election denier and former North Carolina GOP Chair Michael Whatley to lead the [Republican National Committee](#). “Simmons has played footsie with election fraud conspiracies,” [according to AJ News](#), which

points out that he has also made Facebook posts “echoing Trump’s stolen election rhetoric.” When running to become the state party’s new chair, Simmons pledged to “Secure our elections for a free, fair, and transparent process. Easy to vote, hard to cheat!”

- **Courtney Geels | District 4 Chair**

When Courtney Geels ran for the U.S. House in 2022, she was included in *The Washington Post’s* list of 291 [election deniers](#) running for office that year. She is also called out on the [Insurrection Index](#). Her [husband](#) was involved in one of the election fraud lawsuits in Georgia, where she says that he found 100,000 irregular votes.

- **Roger Farina | District 13 Chair**

In November 2022, Roger Farina was still spreading the Big Lie by [retweeting support](#) for [Mike Lindell](#), who was attempting to sell more pillows with the promo code TrumpWon.

- **Jim Womack | Lee County Chair**

Jim Womack is founder of the North Carolina Election Integrity Team (NCEIT), a [far-right watchdog](#) group “aimed at rooting out voter fraud.” He fundamentally [disagrees](#) with the idea that registering more voters or pushing for greater voter turnout helps the efforts of conservatives. Womack founded NCEIT with [Cleta Mitchell](#), the top GOP strategist, Trump loyalist and election denier who runs the Conservative Partnership Institute’s so-called Election Integrity Network.

- **Virginia Wasserberg | Pasquotank County Chair**

Virginia Wasserberg supported SB 747, the comprehensive voter suppression legislation that passed in North Carolina in 2023, and has worked as a party-aligned poll observer. The RNC and state GOP [asked her to intervene](#) in three lawsuits filed by Democratic groups attempting to challenge the legislation.

- **Bryson Smith | Rutherford County Chair**

On January 1, 2021, Bryson Smith [retweeted](#) a video about supposed irregularities in Georgia with the hashtag #stopthesteal, promoting the lie that President Biden had won the presidential election fraudulently.

- **Keith Senter | Surry County Chair**

In 2022, Keith Senter [aggressively targeted](#) the Surry County elections director, repeatedly harassing her with endless records requests and attempts to gain access to voting equipment that he claimed had been hacked. As part of his relentless harassment, he put up signs outside the elections office that read: “The People’s Trust is SHATTERED” and “We DEMAND a Full FORENSIC Audit.”



**PENNSYLVANIA
DENIERS**

Overview

Since 1900, Pennsylvanians have selected the presidential candidate who won nationally [77%](#) of the time, though their reliability in picking the winner has decreased in the past two decades.

Pennsylvanians had voted consistently Democratic in presidential elections from 1992 on, but in 2016 Donald Trump broke through the “blue wall” to [narrowly defeat](#) Hillary Clinton by a 0.7% margin. Four years later, native son Joe Biden [won](#) Pennsylvania by 80,555 votes—or [1.2%](#)—and earned the state’s 20 electoral votes (now reduced to 19 after the census). That’s largely why all [eyes are on Pennsylvania](#) in 2024. Given that 10 of the past 12 presidents won there, it’s not only considered a key battleground state but also a bellwether for the ultimate outcome of the 2024 race.

Both of Pennsylvania’s Senate seats are currently held by Democrats—with longtime Senator Bob Casey Jr. in a [contentious race](#) for reelection in 2024—and nine of its [17 U.S. representatives](#) are Democrats. The governorship has also been in Democratic hands since 2014.

Pennsylvania’s [population](#) is primarily white (74.5%), with Blacks and Hispanics accounting for 12.2% and 8.6% of residents, respectively. The state also has an older voter base than average in the U.S., with 19.6% of residents who are 65 or older (compared to the [national average](#) of 17.3%). Rural counties in the state tend to vote Republican whereas urban areas lean more Democratic, with registered Democrats [outnumbering](#) Republicans seven to one in Philadelphia.

In 2020 Pennsylvania was one of seven states in which pro-Trump Republicans prepared [fake Electoral College certificates](#) to obstruct the January 6, 2021, congressional proceedings that allowed President Biden to take office. The [20 fake electors](#) signed documents with conditional language specifying that their votes should be counted only “if, as a result of a final non-appealable court order or other proceeding prescribed by law, we are ultimately recognized as being the duly elected and qualified electors.”

In July 2024, Pennsylvania [sent three of its fake electors](#) to represent the state GOP at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee. While the Republican electors from Pennsylvania have not faced criminal prosecution, several played an active role in trying to upend the 2020 presidential election.

2020 Election Fallout

After President Biden was sworn in, election denialism continued to simmer in Pennsylvania, where the far-right faction of the GOP has kept the misinformation and conspiracy theories alive on social media and are ready to sow more mistrust and chaos in 2024.

- Immediately after the election was called for Biden, the Trump campaign and state Republicans [filed multiple challenges](#) to the outcome in

Pennsylvania. Trump lawyer [Rudy Giuliani](#) and others argued that GOP election observers were kept too far away from the tabulation in Philadelphia, that some Democratic-leaning counties unfairly allowed people to fix technical problems with their mail-in ballots, and that mail-in ballots arriving after Tuesday, November 3 should not have been counted. By late November, a federal appeals court sided with lower court decisions in rejecting Trump’s challenges, finding the accusations made to be without merit.

- On November 21, 2020, a federal judge [dismissed](#) the Trump campaign’s request to block the certification of votes in Pennsylvania, a measure that would have effectively disenfranchised almost 7 million voters.
- On December 4, 2020, 64 Pennsylvania House Republicans [signed a letter](#) asking the state’s congressional delegation in Washington to object to certifying Biden’s Electoral College votes from Pennsylvania at the joint session of Congress on January 6, 2021.
- Twenty Pennsylvania Republicans [attempted to subvert the results](#) of the 2020 presidential election by submitting fake Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6 certification process.
- Unlike in most other states involved in the [fake electors scheme](#), the certificate signed by [Pennsylvania’s fake electors](#) included a [caveat](#) (as in [Nevada](#)) that said their votes should only be counted if a court recognized them as legitimate electors. In January 2022, the state attorney general’s office [determined](#) that although “their rhetoric and policy were intentionally misleading and purposefully damaging to our democracy,” the certificate the fake electors signed did not meet the legal standards for the state to charge them with forgery because of the caveat.
- In December 2020, the Trump campaign [appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court](#) to overturn three Pennsylvania Supreme Court rulings about the election that found his claims of fraud to be unfounded. In February 2021, SCOTUS also [rejected Trump’s election challenges](#).
- Despite two previous audits conducted by the state of Pennsylvania, Republican state senators initiated their own “[forensic investigation](#)” of the 2020 presidential election results in November 2021. They awarded a no-bid contract to [Envoy Sage](#), a small Iowa-based firm with no elections experience, to conduct the audit, which also included a [review](#) of voting machines used in Fulton County.
- The results of the Republican-led state Senate audit have [not been made public](#) and it is unclear if they ever will be, according to the contract signed with Envoy Sage. The contract required the company to deliver its findings by May 15, 2022, but the Senate could extend the agreement “[if necessary](#),” which [it did](#).
- In 2022, despite Trump’s endorsement and strong backing from the state GOP, [Doug Mastriano](#), a far-right state senator who is among the most prominent election deniers in the country, [lost](#) his gubernatorial race against then attorney general and now Governor Josh Shapiro (D).
- Just before assuming office in 2023, Governor-elect Josh Shapiro (D) nominated Al Schmidt, a Republican who had received death threats after standing up to Trump’s claims of election fraud in 2020, to be Pennsylvania’s top election official. The new governor explained his choice by saying that Schmidt, who had served for a decade as a [city and elections commissioner](#) in Philadelphia, was “an integral part of the effort to protect our democracy and stop Pennsylvanians’ votes from being thrown out” after the 2020 election.
- At least [85 Pennsylvanians](#) have been [charged in federal court](#) for committing crimes as part of the January 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol. As of January 2024, 52 had been sentenced.

Deniers Running for Congress

A number of House incumbents who played key roles in spreading the Big Lie and voted against certifying President Biden’s 2020 electoral victory are running for reelection in 2024. In addition, while the state’s Republican candidate for Senator was once [dismissed](#) by Trump as “not MAGA” enough, four months before the election he started to parrot election fraud claims after the former president endorsed him. The candidates are:

- **David McCormick | Senate**

After narrowly losing the GOP Senate primary in 2022, David McCormick is running again—this time for the seat currently held by longtime Democratic Senator Bob Casey Jr. When McCormick first ran for the Senate in 2022, he [hired](#) former Trump advisor and indicted co-conspirator [Mike Roman](#) to work on his campaign. In 2023 he also [hired one of Pennsylvania’s fake electors](#) who was part of an effort to overturn the 2020 election to run his super PAC. Far-right Pennsylvanian politician [Doug Mastriano](#) is among those who have [endorsed](#) McCormick’s 2024 Senate bid. Although McCormick’s refusal to say that the 2020 election was stolen cost him Trump’s support last election cycle, he recently [promoted](#) baseless fears of widespread voter fraud, talking about bags of ballots “in the middle of the night” being left at “non-secure” ballot drop boxes and the need for an “army” of observers and lawyers to protect this year’s election.

- **Aaron Bashir | House (PA–2)**

Aaron Bashir is making his third consecutive run for the House in this solidly Democratic district, where his opponent, incumbent Representative Brendan Boyle, won 75% of the vote in 2022. According to information compiled by [fivethirtyeight](#), Bashir claimed on his [Facebook page](#) that the 2020 election was stolen.

- **Ryan Mackenzie | House (PA–7)**

As a state representative, Ryan Mackenzie signed a [group letter](#) dated December 4, 2020, urging Pennsylvania’s congressional delegation to object to certifying the state’s Electoral College votes on January 6, 2021, as well as a Supreme Court [amicus brief](#) supporting the [Texas v. Pennsylvania lawsuit](#) to block certification of the vote in Pennsylvania and three other battleground states.

- **Dan Meuser | House (PA–9)**

Both [before](#) and after the 2020 election, Representative [Dan Meuser](#) sowed doubts about the legitimacy of the outcome, [appearing on Fox News](#) and using his official platform as a congressman

to [issue statements](#) about “election integrity.” On December 1, 2020, he [signed a letter](#) urging Attorney General Bill Barr to investigate purported election fraud, and on December 10 he [signed an amicus brief](#) in a [lawsuit](#) filed by the state of Texas urging the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the results of the presidential election in Pennsylvania and three other battleground states. On January 6, Meuser [voted against](#) certifying Pennsylvania’s Electoral College votes for Joe Biden and the following month he [voted against impeaching](#) Trump for his role in instigating the attack on Congress and the Capitol.

- **Scott Perry | House (PA–10)**

Given his outsized role in attempting to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election, Representative [Scott Perry](#) was the first sitting member of Congress called to testify before the House Select Committee investigating the attack on the Capitol and subsequently was [investigated](#) by the FBI. In the wake of the election, Perry [helped facilitate](#) meetings between Trump’s inner circle and Philadelphia lawyer [Jeffrey Clark](#), the acting assistant attorney general at the DOJ who supported the Big Lie and was eager to help Trump challenge legitimate election results in Pennsylvania and other key states. Perry was also in close contact with White House Chief of Staff [Mark Meadows](#) to [coordinate on strategies](#) for overturning the election results. On repeated occasions, he urged Meadows to get the National Security Agency to investigate unfounded allegations that various international powers—including China, the UK, and Italy—had [interfered with voting machines](#) during the 2020 election. In February 2023, [Salon](#) [labeled him](#) “the most dangerous insurrectionist you’ve never heard of.”

- **Lloyd Smucker | House (PA–11)**

Representative [Lloyd Smucker](#), who has served in the House since 2017, joined 146 other congressional Republicans on January 6, 2021, in [voting against](#) certifying Joe Biden’s win of the 2020 election. He [argued](#) that both Pennsylvania’s secretary of state and its Supreme Court had inter-

ferred with the election, allowing for fraud or inaccuracies in the final counts. In February 2021, the *York Daily Record* [published an op-ed](#) by Smucker in which he continued to claim that Pennsylvania state election officials illegally tampered with the results and blamed the media for bias in reporting on Republicans' objections.

- **John Joyce | House (PA–13)**

Representative [John Joyce](#) was among the 147 congressional Republicans on January 6, 2021, who objected to certifying Joe Biden's win of the 2020 election, [tweeting](#): "I will never stop fighting for the TRUTH." He also signed [multiple letters](#) to Attorney General Bill Barr urging the Justice Department to investigate irregularities and [accusations of fraud](#) in the 2020 presidential election. On November 12, 2020, Joyce accused Pennsylvania's Governor Tom Wolf (D) of [illegal interference](#) with the state's election and claimed that the voting process had been rife with "irregularities." He won reelection in 2022 with Trump's endorsement and has the [former president's seal of approval](#) again in 2024 (though he was already [likely to win](#) in this solidly Republican district).

- **Guy Reschenthaler | House (PA–14)**

On January 6, 2021, Representative [Guy Reschenthaler](#) joined 146 other congressional Republicans in [refusing to certify](#) Joe Biden's win of the presidential election. Months later he [repeatedly refused](#) to say that he believes President Biden was legitimately elected and instead coyly rebuffed the question by noting that voters should "worry" that he *is* the president. On November 11, 2020, the congressman [tweeted](#): "Voter fraud occurred in the 2020 election and it's our duty to bring it to light. If we don't take this to the courts and hold the guilty parties responsible, we are going to severely hurt the integrity of all future elections in this country." Reschenthaler also [voted against impeaching Trump](#) for his role in inciting the insurrection and his ongoing loyalty has earned him the ex-president's endorsements every two years.

- **Glenn Thompson | House (PA–15)**

On November 7, 2020, Representative [Glenn Thompson](#) joined other members of Pennsylvania's congressional delegation in sending a [letter](#) to the governor, secretary of state, and attorney general expressing deep concern with the way "the Commonwealth has handled the general election," claiming that "trust has been eroded in Pennsylvania's electoral system," and "citizens deserve free & fair elections." On January 6, 2021, he [voted against certifying](#) Joe Biden's win of Pennsylvania's 20 Electoral College votes, and he told the *Ocean Times Herald* that although allegations of voter fraud had not been proven, "we have witnessed a systemic failure in the application of Pennsylvania's voting law when it comes to the 2020 general election." These and other comments made on social media have earned him a spot in the [Insurrection Index](#).

- **Mike Kelly | House (PA–16)**

After Pennsylvania had been called for Biden in November 2020, Representative [Mike Kelly](#) led an unsuccessful challenge to the state's mail-in ballot system, claiming it was unconstitutional. But the state Supreme Court [balked at his request](#) "to disenfranchise some 2.6 million voters by throwing out every ballot cast by mail." In the same suit, Kelly requested that if mail-in ballots were not discarded then the state legislature (controlled by Republicans) should be allowed to [select the state's electors](#). On January 6, 2021, he [voted against certifying](#) Joe Biden's win of Pennsylvania's 20 Electoral College votes, earning him [Trump's endorsement](#) in 2022 and [again in 2024](#). These actions and comments made on social media have earned him inclusion in the [Insurrection Index](#).

Deniers Running for Statewide Office

In Pennsylvania one election denier, State Treasurer [Stacy Garrity](#), is running for reelection in 2024. At a January 5, 2021, "[Hear Us Roar](#)" rally on the Capitol steps in Harrisburg seeking to decertify the

state’s electoral vote, she [claimed](#) that election laws had been violated and that the 2020 election “is tarnished forever.” In May 2022, Garrity spoke at another Trump rally in Greensburg, PA, [asserting](#), “We know that he won” in reference to the 2020 presidential election.

The governor (Democrat Josh Shapiro), attorney general (Democrat Michelle Henry), and secretary of state (Republican Al Schmidt) are collectively responsible for ensuring that elections in the state run smoothly, are fair, and accurately reflect the will of voters.

Deniers in the State Legislature

At least [86 election deniers](#) currently serve in the Pennsylvania General Assembly—more than in any other state—accounting for 34% of the 253-person body. Almost a third of the members of the Pennsylvania House and half of the Senate support Trump’s claims that the 2020 presidential election was stolen. Many of these election deniers hold leadership positions and a majority of seats on several of the committees that oversee election-related issues.

Deniers Administering Elections

County councilors and commissioners often [double as](#) local election administrators in Pennsylvania, handling everything from voter registration to [counting ballots](#). Their role in [certifying election results](#) has become increasingly contentious in the aftermath of the 2020 election as Trump allies attempt to exert more control over the voting process. A number of administrators who are responsible for overseeing elections in their counties amplify Trump’s claims of a “rigged” election in 2020 or continue to spread disinformation about election integrity. They include:

- **Sam DeMarco III | Allegheny County Council**

Sam DeMarco, who also chairs the county GOP, is running for reelection as a councilman in 2024 (unopposed) after [voting against certifying](#) the 2020 presidential results in Allegheny County and

attempting to subvert the outcome of the presidential election that year by serving as one of [Pennsylvania’s fake electors](#). In June 2022 the [FBI questioned him](#) about his role in the [fake electors scheme](#).

- **Christian Leinbach | Berks County Board of Commissioners Chair**

In June 2022, Berks County was one of three in Pennsylvania that refused to include certain ballots in their certification totals. The following month the state [sued the county boards of election](#) for failing to include valid mail-in ballots with undated return envelopes in election certification totals for the 2022 primary election. As chair of the county commission, Christian Leinbach [testified](#) in July 2022 that he “could not in good conscience vote to certify undated ballots.” The Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania [ordered](#) the county and two others to include the ballots in their certified results. Earlier that year, Leinbach [endorsed](#) fake elector Lou Barletta for governor over the more extremist Republican candidate [Doug Mastriano](#), neither of whom won.

- **Michael Rivera | Berks County Board of Commissioners**

In August 2022, Michael Rivera [defended](#) the county’s initial refusal to count mail-in ballots that were sent without a dated return envelope. The same month he [voted](#) to hire a county election services director who some considered a highly partisan choice since she had worked for a state representative who supported overturning the 2020 election results in Pennsylvania.

- **Amy Webster | Blair County Board of Commissioners**

On January 6, 2021, Amy Webster wrote a Facebook [post](#) sending her “prayers” for protesters’ safe travel to Washington and her hope that they enjoy the “patriotism generated.” During a June 2022 commissioners meeting, she [said](#), “the integrity of elections must be restored — if it is not, this nation will be torn apart by distrust.” Webster also [said](#) that the state rushed to implement Act 77,

which allows for mail-in ballots in Pennsylvania, for the 2020 election cycle. Republicans challenged the law, but it was [upheld](#) by the State Supreme Court.

- **Doug McLinko | Bradford County Board of Commissioners**

[Doug McLinko](#) has [spread disinformation](#) about the 2020 presidential election and [echoed Trump's claims](#) that he didn't lose Pennsylvania and Biden "fraudulently won." He refused to certify the county's election results in 2020 and [attended](#) the March to Save America on January 6, which he [described](#) as "upbeat" and "fun" (referring to the rally as opposed to the attack on the Capitol). In 2022, McLinko [sued](#) the state and secretary of state in an effort to halt Act 77, which allows for mail-in ballots in Pennsylvania. He also [attended](#) a September 2022 meeting at Trump Tower in NYC to discuss the integrity of Pennsylvania's voting process.

- **Kimberly Geyer | Butler County Board of Commissioners**

In June 2022, Kimberly Geyer [responded to an email](#) from Zachary Scherer, leader of the conservative Butler PA Patriots, saying that, "Commissioner Osche and myself are for election integrity and working in our respective capacities at the state and local levels to restore the system and repeal Act 77 [the state legislation allowing for mail-in ballots]." She also wrote, "we are doing everything we can to reverse this unconstitutional System." In August of that same year, Geyer [voted in favor of a hand recount](#) of the 2020 election ballots in two precincts, which the Pennsylvania Department of State [criticized](#) for being "continued efforts to question the results and ultimately the will of Pennsylvania voters" that "contribute to sowing distrust in our system."

- **Leslie Osche | Butler County Board of Commissioners**

In August 2022, Leslie Osche [voted in favor of a hand recount](#) of the 2020 election ballots in two precincts, which the Pennsylvania Department of State [criticized](#) for being "continued efforts

to question the results and ultimately the will of Pennsylvania voters" that "contribute to sowing distrust in our system." In email correspondence with the CEO of the election denial group Audit the Vote PA, Osche [stated](#) that she did not "trust the concept behind" the Electronic Registration Information Center (ERIC), a nonprofit that roughly 30 states use to maintain voter registration data and that has been the target of a number of conservative conspiracy theories.

- **Tim Winters | Clearfield County Board of Commissioners**

In the lead-up to the 2020 election, Tim Winters used his Facebook account to post about election fraud and conspiracies. In May 2020, he [shared](#) an article titled "Mail carrier tampered with absentee ballots requests, West Virginia AG says." Winters added, "Vote by mail they said... no chance of any fuckery there." He [shared](#) another article in June that alleged widespread mail-in ballot fraud in New Jersey, captioning the post, "Vote by mail riddled with fraud. I'm shocked."

- **Charlie Bayle | Erie County Council (District 6)**

According to [Rolling Stone](#), Charlie Bayle posted on Facebook shortly after the 2020 presidential election, "Anyone in this country with an ounce of common sense knows the left cheated to some extent. Their philosophy isn't about making it easier to vote, just easier to manipulate the vote."

- **Scott Dunn | Fayette County Board of Commissioners**

In June 2022, Fayette County was one of three Pennsylvania counties that refused to include certain ballots in their certification totals. The following month the Pennsylvania Department of State and secretary of the commonwealth [sued the county boards of election](#) for failing to include valid mail-in ballots with undated return envelopes in election certification totals for the 2022 primary election. In a July 2022 hearing about the issue, Scott Dunn [testified](#) that there was ambiguity around previous court orders and state law about undated mail-in

ballots. In August, the Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania [ordered](#) the county and two others to include the ballots in their certified results.

- **Dave Lohr | Fayette County Board of Commissioners**

In 2022, Dave Lohr and the county Board of Elections [refused](#) to certify results from the May primary that included mail-in ballots with undated envelopes. In July the Pennsylvania Department of State and secretary of the commonwealth [sued the county board](#) for failing to include valid ballots in election certification totals for the primary. Lohr told the [Observer Reporter](#) that the Thomas More Society, an ultra-conservative nonprofit focused in part on election integrity, was representing the county in its defense against the state lawsuit. The Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania [ordered](#) the county and two others to include the ballots in their certified results.

- **Randolph Bunch | Fulton County Board of Commissioners**

According to [PA Spotlight](#), Randolph Bunch wrote in an email to State Senator Judy Ward that “we can’t let this election get stolen,” cited a tweet from Trump about suspicious voting machines, and allowed a third party company to copy county voting machine data in 2021 and 2022. The state elections agency [sued him](#) and the county in 2024 to recoup more than \$711,000 in legal fees and litigation costs associated with the three-year battle over allowing outsiders to examine county voting machines based on Trump’s unfounded claims of election fraud. In December 2023, Bunch also voted to provide Trump ally Stefanie Lambert with “evidence” used by the third party that examined the voting machines. He was present during a [rogue December 2020 audit](#) of the county’s voting machines and [attended](#) rallies in Washington on January 6.

- **Todd Graybill | Juanita County Board of Commissioners**

Todd Graybill has shared social media posts [questioning election security](#) in Pennsylvania, including

one claiming to have found “illegal ballots” that affected Arizona’s 2020 election results. “We’ve known this all along. It’s in many other states as well like Ga.[.] Pa. etc...” he wrote on Facebook in 2021. Graybill also posted an article falsely claiming that thousands of invalid ballots “could have changed” the results of the 2020 election. “And did,” he concluded.

- **Chris Chermak | Lackawanna County Board of Commissioners**

Chris Chermak [told Spotlight PA](#) while running for reelection in 2023 that mail-in ballots and drop boxes are convenient but “another way to cheat the system.” In 2021, he filed a complaint after obtaining a video of a man stuffing ballots into a drop box, fueling false theories about voter fraud. The county’s district attorney “thoroughly investigated the complaint” and [found](#) “zero evidence of election fraud.”

- **Ray D’Agostino | Lancaster County Board of Commissioners**

Ray D’Agostino has [suggested](#) that allowing voters to fix signature and date errors on their mail-in ballots is a violation of the Constitution’s equal protection clause. In 2022, just weeks after attending a right-wing [conference](#) hosted by election denier [Cleta Mitchell](#), he [voted](#) to remove the county’s only drop box for mail-in ballots. D’Agostino also signed an “election integrity” [declaration](#) from the PA Patriot Coalition claiming that “the move to mail-in and drop-box voting in Pennsylvania has seriously undermined the integrity of our electoral process.” Following the May 2022 primary election, Lancaster was one of three counties that initially [refused to certify](#) its results, forcing the state to [sue the county board of election](#) for failing to include valid mail-in ballots with undated return envelopes in its certification totals. The Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania [ordered](#) the county and two others to include the ballots in their certified results.

- **Josh Parsons | Lancaster County Board of Commissioners**

In 2022 Josh Parsons [voted](#) to remove the county's only drop box for mail-in ballots. He also signed an "election integrity" [declaration](#) from the PA Patriot Coalition claiming that "the move to mail-in and drop-box voting in Pennsylvania has seriously undermined the integrity of our electoral process." Following the May 2022 primary election, Lancaster was one of three counties that initially [refused to certify](#) its results, forcing the state to [sue the county board of election](#) for failing to include valid undated mail-in ballots in its certification totals. The Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania [ordered](#) the county and two others to include the ballots in their certified results.

- **Harry Haas | Luzerne County Council**

Harry Haas has [cast doubt](#) on the legitimacy of the 2020 presidential election, [posting](#) on Facebook in November 2020 that "there are many arguments to suggest this election was stolen" and sharing a Tucker Carlson [claim](#) that dead people had voted in the election. He also [wrote an op-ed](#) for the *Times Leader* saying, "I disagree with 'no excuse' mail-in voting because it makes our most vital institution super convenient at the expense of secure elections. It 'solves' a nonexistent problem, opens up elections to fraud, allows big money to manipulate elections and decreases our sense of community."

- **Kevin Lescavage | Luzerne County Council**

During a 2021 *Citizens' Voice* [editorial board meeting](#), Kevin Lescavage said, "I'm not in favor of ballot boxes," and when asked if he thought the outcome of the 2020 presidential election was legitimate, he replied, "To be honest with you, I'm not sure." Lescavage [voted in favor](#) of a 2022 ordinance prohibiting county employees and contractors from handling or transporting ballot drop boxes. That same year, he [voted in favor](#) of a resolution urging the state General Assembly to prohibit the use of mail-in ballots and drop boxes in Pennsylvania and [voted against](#) purchasing a

ballot-sorting system to process mail-in ballots. During a Luzerne County Board of Elections and Registrations meeting in May 2022, Lescavage referenced the widely debunked documentary *2000 Mules* and [claimed](#) that "ballots [are] being counted more than once" and drop boxes offer "a vehicle to cheat."

- **Brian Thornton | Luzerne County Council**

Brian Thornton [voted in favor](#) of a 2022 ordinance prohibiting county employees and contractors from handling or transporting ballot drop boxes. That same year, he [proposed](#) a resolution urging the state General Assembly to prohibit the use of mail-in ballots and drop boxes in Pennsylvania. According to the *Times Tribune*, Thornton was quoted as saying, "The no-excuse mail-in ballot system is full of fraud." In addition, he [voted against](#) purchasing a ballot-sorting system to process mail-in ballots in 2022.

- **Alyssa Fusaro | Luzerne County Board of Elections**

Before her appointment to the board of elections, Alyssa Fusaro [told](#) the County Council that "ballot drop boxes are not in our best interests and I'm against them, and I'm going to lay it right out there for you: we shouldn't have them." In 2022 she twice voted against certifying the election results—on November 28, [saying](#), "There were so many challenges, so many issues, so many problems, so many concerns, that I can't with good conscience certify this election," and again on [November 30](#).

- **Scott Metzger | Lycoming County Board of Commissioners**

In September 2022, Scott Metzger approved the addition of a ballot question challenging the continued use of an electronic vote tabulation system in the county, based on debunked claims about the 2020 election straight "out of former President Trump's playbook," [according](#) to *PennLive*. The commission ultimately rescinded its approval after the members were informed that they lacked the authority to authorize the referendum. In 2023,

Metzger voted for an expensive [hand recount](#) of the 2020 election results, a demand of Audit the Vote PA, a denial group spreading false claims about the election. The recount found no meaningful difference in votes.

- **Thomas DiBello | Montgomery County Board of Commissioners**

Tom DiBello has shared his views about fraudulent elections on Facebook, including a May 2020 [post](#) that accused then Governor Tom Wolf (D) of promoting and forcing “fraudulent voting by mail,” as well as an April 2020 [post](#) that said “voter fraud goes on across the country.” In response to [Spotlight PA’s](#) survey questions about the legitimacy of the 2020 election and the state’s level of election security, DiBello acknowledged the January 2021 transition of power to President Biden as “following the legitimate process,” but expressed “concerns regarding the election process in Pennsylvania.”

- **Scott Hough | Northampton County Election Commission**

In November 2023, Scott Hough [voted against certifying](#) the results of a local election—and was surprised when the county council voted to reappoint him to the election commission but noted that they still have “unfinished business” from the last election.

- **Robert Rossman | Potter County Board of Commissioners**

Robert Rossman has shared his election denialist views on Facebook, including a December 2020 [post](#) with a picture of Joe Biden in handcuffs and “Voter Fraud!” emblazoned on the back of his jacket, along with the comment that “Hopefully the bad actors will all get what they deserve.” In a [repost](#) of Trump’s January 6 message about a “sacred landslide election victory” but asking rioters to “go home... and remember this day forever,” Rossman added in response to someone who took issue with his post that the results of the 2020 election were “statistically impossible.”

- **Barron Hetherington | Schuylkill County Board of Commissioners**

In 2022 Barron Hetherington [signed](#) an “election integrity declaration” backed by more than 40 groups in the state asserting that “the move to mail-in and drop-box voting in Pennsylvania has seriously undermined the integrity of our electoral process.”

- **Larry Padora | Schuylkill County Board of Commissioners**

Larry Padora [posted](#) on Facebook that he “believe[s] there was fraud” in the 2020 election and knew “for a fact” that Democrats cheated.

- **Nick Sherman | Washington County Board of Commissioners**

In June 2022, Nick Sherman wrote an [opinion piece](#) in the *Observer-Reporter* newspaper arguing that “lack of security and consistency with mail-in ballot voting drop boxes prove they threaten election integrity. Drop boxes are our least secure way of voting and should be eliminated.” The piece cited *2000 Mules*, the widely debunked documentary purporting to show Democratic interference in the voting process during the 2020 presidential election, as evidence. At a July 2021 commissioners meeting, Sherman also [claimed](#) without evidence that voter fraud was occurring in other parts of the state, including in Allegheny and Philadelphia counties.

- **Doug Chew | Westmoreland County Board of Commissioners**

In 2020 Doug Chew [declined](#) to count mail-in ballots that were improperly dated or arrived nine minutes late due to a USPS delay. While testifying before a Pennsylvania Senate committee in March 2021, he [claimed](#) that 20,000 residents of Westmoreland County were potentially disenfranchised during the 2020 presidential election because of expanded mail-in voting, and that “a lot of Westmoreland County voters view mail-in ballots as very ripe for fraudulent activity.” In April 2022, Chew [voted](#) to eliminate all but one ballot drop box in the county for the primary elections.

- **Sean Kertes | Westmoreland County Board of Commissioners**

In 2020 Sean Kertes [declined](#) to count mail-in ballots that were improperly dated or arrived nine minutes late due to a USPS delay. He was also one of three commissioners named in a 2021 lawsuit filed by the former county election bureau director, who [claimed](#) Kertes' secretary had urged her to change her party affiliation from Democratic to Republican because the commissioners were getting "heat" from county officials over her party affiliation. In April 2022, Kertes [voted](#) to eliminate all but one ballot drop box in the county for the primary elections.

Deniers in GOP Leadership

During the 2022 elections, the Pennsylvania GOP (PAGOP) decided not to make primary endorsements, a [decision](#) that some within the party see as having saddled the party with the far-right state senator and prominent election denier [Doug Mastriano](#), as their gubernatorial candidate and the the reason Republicans lost many key races that year.

For the 2024 election cycle, the state GOP has regrouped to focus their efforts on winning, revising their strategy to follow Trump's lead and reverse course on their previously staunch objection to mail-in ballots. "After last year's experience, where the [mail-in ballots](#) just overwhelmed our votes at the polls, our party has really wrapped around this and is taking it on very strongly," GOP Chairman Lawrence Tabas told NBC10 in December 2023.

The party also formally [endorsed election deniers](#) in two statewide races and a Republican Senate candidate involved in the fake elector plot. Meanwhile, several fake electors have remained in top positions of leadership within the Pennsylvania GOP, including the vice chair and both national committee members. In July 2024, the state party [sent three of its fake electors](#) to represent Pennsylvania at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee.

The following are among the state GOP leaders who have chosen a far-right path by expressing unfettered loyalty to Trump and his ongoing claim that any election he doesn't win is "rigged":

- **Lawrence Tabas | Chair**

Even before Election Day 2020, Lawrence Tabas was stirring up controversy about the upcoming presidential election when he [told *The Atlantic*](#) that he had spoken with the Trump reelection campaign about the possibility of Republican-controlled legislatures in battleground states like Pennsylvania directly [appointing electors](#) if the popular vote was not resolved quickly—a scenario that would have led to Trump "winning" Pennsylvania's 20 electoral college votes, and likely the election. Although he had planned to serve as one of the state's [20 fake electors](#), others replaced him in that role.

- **Bernadette Comfort | Vice Chair**

Bernie Comfort was one of Pennsylvania's [20 fake electors](#) who attempted to subvert the results of the 2020 presidential election by submitting fake Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, certification process. In addition to her role as GOP vice chair, she was the state's [Trump campaign chairwoman](#) in 2019 and served on the National Women for Trump Advisory Board.

- **Elizabeth Preate Havey | PAGOP Secretary**

Elizabeth Preate Havey has [questioned](#) the safety of ballot drop boxes and in 2022 asked the county district attorney to [investigate a video](#) that purportedly showed a Democratic committee woman putting 30 ballots into a drop box. "There are so few security measures in place right now that getting rid of the one or two ones that we have makes the election less secure and makes people believe that there's an opportunity for fraud and that fraud has occurred," she [told *DV Journal*](#). Havey also testified at a December 2020 [legislative hearing](#) chaired by election denier and state Senator [Doug Mastriano](#) in which she claimed a number of voting irregularities had taken place in the November

election, including voting by dead people. [Rudy Giuliani](#) testified after Havey, and Trump called in.

- **Marcela Diaz-Myers | Deputy Chair**

As deputy chair and a member of the state GOP's Hispanic Advisory Council, Marcela Diaz-Myers was one of Pennsylvania's [20 fake electors](#) who attempted to subvert the results of the 2020 presidential election by submitting fake Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, certification process.

- **Andy Reilly | National Committeeman**

[Andy Reilly](#) was one of Pennsylvania's [20 fake electors](#) who attempted to subvert the results of the 2020 presidential election by submitting fake Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, certification process. Described as the "[behind the scenes](#)" manager of local, state, and judicial campaigns, he has also served as the state party's secretary, as chairman of the Delaware County Republican Party, and as a two-term Delaware County Council member.

- **Sam DeMarco III | Allegheny County Chair**

Sam DeMarco, who also serves as a county councilman overseeing elections, [voted against certifying](#) the 2020 presidential results in Allegheny County and attempted to subvert the outcome of the presidential election that year by serving as one of [Pennsylvania's fake electors](#). In June 2022 the [FBI questioned him](#) about his role in the [fake electors scheme](#).

- **Patricia K. Poprik | Bucks County Chair**

[Pat Poprik](#) was one of Pennsylvania's [20 fake electors](#) who attempted to subvert the results of the 2020 presidential election by submitting fake Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, certification process.

- **C. Arnold McClure | Huntingdon County Chair**

C. Arnold McClure has [praised](#) election denier and state Senator [Doug Mastriano](#) as "the one guy who's been fighting from the beginning." In February 2021, [Reuters reported](#) that McClure "wants to punish fellow conservatives who have turned against the former president" and was among those pushing the state GOP to censure U.S. Senator Pat Toomey (R-PA) for voting to convict Trump during his second impeachment trial for inciting the attack on the U.S. Capitol riots.

- **Harry Haas | Luzerne County Chair**

[Harry Haas](#) has spread disinformation about the 2020 presidential election online, and after the election he [refused to certify](#) the results until "officials are provided with 'a full accounting of all votes, including write-in votes, provisional ballots and 'spoiled' ballots surrendered by voters who received a mail-in ballot and decided to vote in person instead.'" In 2020 he also [pushed to investigate](#) the role of [Dominion Voting Systems](#) in Pennsylvania despite lacking any indication of wrongdoing by the company. On December 5, 2020, he [tweeted](#) that Democratic Governor Tom Wolf "decertified voting machines in 2019 to coerce the purchase [of] \$4M new ones" and committed "election violations" by approving Pennsylvania's 2020 election results. Haas is also [listed](#) as an election denier on why.org.



**WISCONSIN
DENIERS**

Overview

Republicans won most of Wisconsin's presidential elections after WWII, until Democrats began a winning streak in 1988, winning [seven consecutive presidential elections](#) through 2012.

In 2016, Donald Trump managed to break the Democratic streak with an unexpected victory over Hillary Clinton, who lost by a razor-thin margin of 0.7%. Not a single poll had predicted him winning Wisconsin. Four years later, Joe Biden won the state by an equally slim margin—[20,682 votes](#) or 0.6 %—and earned its 10 electoral votes.

Both parties consider winning Wisconsin [crucial in 2024](#). As a swing state where [four of the past six presidential races](#) were decided by less than a percentage point, Wisconsin is also one where voters chose the ultimate winner of the national race in the past four presidential elections.

Since 2010, Wisconsin's Senate seats have been evenly split between the parties, but two-term Democratic Senator Tammy Baldwin is up for reelection in 2024, a seat [Republicans intend to flip](#). Largely due to gerrymandering, five of the state's eight [U.S. representatives](#) are Republicans. Wisconsin's governorship has been in Democratic hands since 2018, after a decade of Republican rule during which the state became an [epicenter](#) of Tea Party conservatism.

According to the [most recent census](#), Wisconsin's population is primarily white (80%), with Blacks and Hispanics accounting for 6% and 7% of residents, respectively. While Wisconsinites aren't required to specify a party affiliation when registering to vote, [survey data](#) indicates that the state's electorate tends to be fairly evenly split between the two major parties, with a sizable number of [independents](#).

In the weeks following the 2020 election, Wisconsin was one of seven states in which pro-Trump Republicans prepared and signed [fake Electoral College certificates](#) to obstruct the January 6, 2021, congressional proceedings that allowed President Biden to take office. The [10 fake electors](#) from Wisconsin settled a civil lawsuit against them in December 2023 by publicly recognizing the legitimacy of Biden's victory and [disavowing their attempt](#) to overturn the will of Wisconsin voters.

In July 2024, Wisconsin [sent one of its fake electors](#) to represent the state GOP at the Republican National Convention in Milwaukee.

2020 Election Fallout

Election denialism took hold in Wisconsin even before President Biden's narrow victory was confirmed. Trump allies immediately began to discredit the process and challenge the results, despite lacking any evidence to support their allegations, and are poised to repeat unfounded claims of fraud in 2024.

- On November 8, the day after the election was called for Biden, Wisconsin attorney [Kenneth](#)

[Chesebro](#) emailed [James Troupis](#), a Wisconsin lawyer involved in the Trump campaign, to say that he “would be happy to [volunteer for the Trump legal team](#).” Chesebro has subsequently been credited as the “[architect](#)” of the multi-state fake electors scheme.

- On December 14, 2020, 10 Republican officials in Wisconsin [gathered in secret](#) at the Wisconsin state Capitol in Madison to attempt to subvert

the results of the presidential election by serving as [fake electors](#) and submitting [falsified documents](#) to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, Electoral College certification process.

- On December 24, 2020, Chesebro exchanged emails with other members of Trump’s legal team debating whether to file litigation contesting Biden’s victory in Wisconsin, one of the key swing states the Trump campaign still hoped to overturn. Although he admitted the odds of prevailing in such a case were “1 percent,” he argued that the “relevant analysis is political,” according to emails reviewed by [The New York Times](#).
- In May 2021, Wisconsin Assembly Speaker Robin Vos caved to pressure from Trump and [appointed](#) former Wisconsin Supreme Court Justice Michael Gableman as a “special counsel” to oversee a [partisan Arizona-style audit](#) of the 2020 election results. Gableman is a conspiracy theorist who had [already claimed](#) that the 2020 election was “stolen” prior to being hired as a special counsel. His [report](#) recommended retroactively decertifying the election, which is legally impossible, despite finding [no evidence of fraud](#) and costing taxpayers more than \$1 million. Vos ultimately [fired](#) Gableman, ending the scandal-plagued investigation.
- In July 2021, far-right state Representative Janel Brandtjen, who chairs the Assembly Campaign and Elections Committee, [initiated another audit](#) that she called “a more intensive investigation” of possible election fraud.
- Wisconsin also conducted a nonpartisan audit under the auspices of the Legislative Audit Bureau (LAB). This one involved [reviewing 60 tests of voting machines](#) as well as compliance with election laws and procedures related to the training of poll workers and conduct both before and after Election Day. The LAB audit [confirmed the security](#) of the voting machines used in 2020 and did not unearth any significant issues with election procedures.
- On May 17, 2022, two of the state’s Democratic electors [sued](#) the 10 Republican fake electors for their role in attempting to subvert the outcome of the 2020 presidential election in Wisconsin.
- In September 2023, the state’s Republican lawmakers targeted the nonpartisan Wisconsin Elections Commission Administrator Meagan Wolfe for [pushing back against](#) baseless allegations of election fraud made in 2020, with every state Senate Republican [voting against](#) her confirmation to a second term. As of July 2024, Wolfe still held the position due to a procedural technicality.
- That same month, Wisconsin Senate Majority Leader Devin LeMahieu (R) [rejected](#) calls from Democrats to rescind the appointment of one of the fake electors, Robert Spindell, as vice chair of the Wisconsin Elections Commission.
- In December 2023, the 10 fake electors [settled a civil lawsuit](#) filed by the state’s Democratic electors by publicly acknowledging that President Biden won the state and their actions were “part of an attempt to improperly overturn the 2020 presidential election results.” They also [agreed not to serve](#) as presidential electors in 2024 or any other election with Trump on the ballot.
- In June 2024, Wisconsin Attorney General Josh Kaul (D) filed [felony forgery charges](#) against [Kenneth Chesebro](#), [James Troupis](#), and [Mike Roman](#), Trump’s director of Election Day operations, who allegedly helped submit Wisconsin’s faux Electoral College documents to members of Congress.
- In July 2024, the state GOP [sent fake elector Pam Travis](#) as a delegate to the Republican National Convention, with another fake elector, Wisconsin Elections Commission Vice Chair [Robert Spindell](#), serving as an alternate.

Deniers Running for Congress

A number of representatives who voted against certifying President Biden's 2020 electoral victory still serve in the U.S. House and are running for reelection in 2024. The potential Republican challenger to Democratic Senator Tammy Baldwin has also made public comments casting doubt on the legitimacy of the 2020 presidential election.

- **Eric Hovde | Senate**

Since the 2020 election, Eric Hovde has [spread](#) the same baseless and discredited allegations as the right-wing film *2,000 Mules*, claiming ballot drop boxes will have to be watched 24-hours a day this election to keep people from “jamming fake ballots.” Hovde has also alleged that the state's nursing homes engaged in voting fraud. Speaking on [Fox News](#) in April 2024, he said that during the 2020 presidential election Wisconsin “had nursing homes where the sheriff of Racine investigated, where you had 100 percent voting.” Appearing on the *Guy Benson Show* a couple of weeks later, he elaborated: “If you're in a nursing home, you only have a five-, six-month life expectancy. Almost nobody in a nursing home is in [sic] a point to vote.” The candidate [explained](#) that his comments were based on reports of family members in Wisconsin who questioned how their incapacitated relatives in nursing homes could have voted in the 2020 election. In attempting to further clarify his remarks, Hovde said “a large percentage” of nursing home residents “are not in [sic] the mental capacity to (vote),” according to AP reporting.

- **Bryan Steil | House (WI-1)**

Two days before the insurrection, Trump-endorsed Representative Bryan Steil joined Wisconsin's other congressional Republicans in [claiming](#) that “Wisconsinites have lost trust in our election system,” implying that “non-residents and deceased individuals” had voted or that “double-voting” was a widespread problem, that “ballot harvesting” and “midnight ballot dumps” gave Biden an unfair advantage, and that “nearly a quarter of a million

voters [had been allowed] to vote without showing an ID.” Now, as chairman of the House Administration Committee, he has shaped two new pieces of “election integrity” legislation, including the [SAVE Act](#) (in part “to prevent noncitizen voting”) and the [American Confidence in Elections Act](#), which he [says](#) will make it “hard to cheat” and is “the most conservative election integrity legislation to be considered in the House in a generation.”

- **Derrick Van Orden | House (WI-3)**

Representative Derrick Van Orden [attended](#) the [March to Save America](#) rally in Washington on January 6 and joined the march to the Capitol, but [claims](#) he didn't participate in the violence. He has said that he “went there to stand with them, to stand up for electoral integrity.” After being [endorsed](#) by Trump in 2022, he finally won the congressional district seat long held by Democrats, which he narrowly lost in 2020.

- **Scott Fitzgerald | House (WI-5)**

Just days after being sworn in to his first term in Congress, Representative [Scott Fitzgerald](#) joined 146 other congressional Republicans in [voting against certifying](#) President Biden's 2020 electoral victory. According to an [investigation](#) by two Wisconsin state legislators, Fitzgerald, who was state Senate majority leader at the time, reserved the room in the Wisconsin Capitol building in which the state's [10 fake electors](#) met to attempt to subvert the results of the 2020 presidential election. He also [claimed](#) that election officials in Dane and Milwaukee counties allowed “hundreds of thousands of illegal votes to be cast and counted.” Fitzgerald won in 2020 and 2022 with [Trump's endorsement](#) and expects it to help him again in 2024.

- **Tom Tiffany | House (WI-7)**

Just hours after the January 6 attack on the Capitol, Representative [Tom Tiffany](#) joined 146 other congressional Republicans in [voting against certifying](#) President Biden's 2020 electoral victory. He also helped spread the Big Lie on social media and through other actions in late 2020, including

[signing an amicus brief](#) for the [Texas lawsuit](#) urging the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the results of the presidential election in Wisconsin and three other swing states. Tiffany is an “enthusiastic” [Trump supporter](#) who won reelection in 2020 and 2022 with the former president’s endorsement.

- **Tony Wied | House (WI–8)**

Political newcomer Tony Wied ran as an “America First businessman” in the three-way GOP primary and won with Trump’s endorsement. During a July 19 debate, he [refused to answer](#) the moderator’s question about whether the 2020 election had been stolen, even though one of his primary opponents said no and the other responded “hell yes.” Given that District 8 is solidly Republican, Wied is expected to win the general election in November and go on to assume the House seat in January.

Deniers Running for Statewide Office

No candidate currently running for statewide office in Wisconsin has questioned the results of the 2020 presidential election.

The governor (Democrat Tony Evers), attorney general (Democrat Josh Kaul), and the administrator of the Wisconsin Elections Commission—a nonpartisan position appointed by the commission and confirmed by the state Senate—are collectively responsible for ensuring that elections in the state run smoothly and fairly, and accurately reflect the will of voters.

Deniers in the State Legislature

In Wisconsin, at least [14 election deniers](#) currently serve in the state legislature, accounting for 11% of the 132-person body. Ten representatives—10% of the State Assembly—are deniers, as are four state senators (12% of the Senate). Some of these people hold leadership positions and seats on committees that oversee election-related issues. After the 2020 presidential election, 15 members of the Wisconsin state legislature called on then Vice President [Mike](#)

[Pence](#) to ignore the Constitution and obstruct the certification of Electoral College votes at the joint session of Congress on January 6, 2021.

Deniers Administering Elections

In Wisconsin, a six-member state elections commission appointed by the governor and legislative leaders supervises elections and issues rules and regulations about how they are run. As in most states, poll workers also play a key role in the process by helping to register voters, answer questions, ensure the security of voting equipment, and tabulate results. While election deniers are being recruited as poll workers and watchers, many guardrails are in place to prevent anyone from disrupting election processes.

Election results are [certified](#) at the local and county level, and ultimately, at the state level by the Wisconsin Elections Commission. The role of election administrators in certifying election results has become increasingly contentious in the aftermath of the 2020 election as Trump allies attempt to exert more control over the voting process.

According to [Informing Democracy](#), several of those officials in Wisconsin attempted to interfere with the 2020 presidential election by promoting conspiracy theories about voter fraud, supporting calls for full hand recounts of ballots for no demonstrable reason, and calling on then Vice President [Mike Pence](#) to delay certification of the Electoral College counts on January 6, 2021, among other actions. The following administrators continue to support Trump’s Big Lie:

- **Robert Spindell | Wisconsin Elections Commission Vice Chair**

As one of the [10 fake electors](#) from Wisconsin, [Robert Spindell](#) signed false documents in December 2020, attempting to undermine the results of the presidential election. When he spoke at an early December Stop the Steal rally in Madison, he [delivered](#) the double negative observation, “There’s no evidence vote fraud did not occur.”

Even though other Republicans on the elections commission [definitively confirmed](#) that there had been no issues with the state’s voting machines, Spindell shared the podium with rally organizer and diehard Trump pitbull [Mike Lindell](#), who claimed Trump lost Wisconsin because of issues with [Dominion](#) voting machines—a widely disproven conspiracy theory. In December 2023, Spindell and the other nine fake electors settled a lawsuit brought against them by [publicly admitting](#) that Biden had won the election and that they had fraudulently posed as presidential electors. Despite requests from Wisconsin Senate Democrats, the Senate majority leader, a Republican, has refused to remove Spindell from his term appointment on the elections commission, which runs through 2025.

- **Helmut Fritz | Milwaukee County Election Commission**

In November 2020, Helmut Fritz [shared](#) an electoral college results map on Facebook showing that Trump had won the election, writing, “Contrary to the prevailing press, this is the actual, current, electoral count with prevailing lawsuits. This per the *Epoch Times Newspaper*. Thankfully, it isn’t the press that declares an incoming presidency.”

- **Douglas Haag | Milwaukee City Election Commission**

On November 28, 2020, Douglas Haag [posted](#) a doctored photo showing President-elect Biden as a Domino’s pizza delivery man with the tagline: “Dominion’s. Buy 1 vote get 75,000 free (4 A.M. delivery only).” On January 10, 2021, he [posted a video](#) on Facebook (which he has since concealed) showing a police officer waving people through a barricade near the Capitol four days earlier, with the comment, “Hmm interesting to say the least.” In May 2021, Haag shared a [post](#) (which he has since concealed) claiming that a “known ANTIFA member” had been paid \$70,000 for a video of the attack on the Capitol on January 6 and adding, “FBI = Deep State.”

Deniers in GOP Leadership

Several individuals who were deeply involved in the coordinated effort to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election in Wisconsin hold leadership positions in the party. Brian Schimming, now chair of the Wisconsin GOP, met with Trump henchmen [Ken Chesebro](#) and [Rudy Giuliani](#) on December 12, 2020, to “[allegedly discuss](#)” the fake electors scheme to select alternate Trump electors even though Biden had officially been declared the winner in Wisconsin. The state GOP’s second vice chair, as well as its third, fourth, and eighth congressional chairs, all served as [fake electors](#) who met at the state Capitol to sign falsified documents to submit to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, Electoral College certification process.

In the lead-up to the 2024 presidential election, the Wisconsin GOP has continued to undermine confidence in the validity of elections. The state party formally supported and promoted two [ballot measures](#) that were passed in April 2024, one that banned the use of private funds in election administration and another that unnecessarily narrowed the number of people who could qualify as “election officials.” Schimming also [called](#) the June 2024 reinstatement of absentee ballot drop boxes in the state “a setback for both the separation of powers and public trust in our elections.”

The following are among the state GOP leaders who show unfettered loyalty to Trump and his ongoing claim that any election he doesn’t win is “rigged”:

- **Brian Schimming | Chairman**

Brian Schimming is cited by name in Georgia’s election interference case against Trump and 18 co-defendants. According to the [Georgia indictment](#), two years before he became GOP state chair Schimming met with Trump co-conspirator [Ken Chesebro](#) on December 12, 2020, to [discuss the fake electors plan](#), while Trump’s personal lawyer [Rudy Giuliani](#) participated by phone. Two days later, 10 Republican [fake electors from Wisconsin](#) secretly met at the state Capitol to sign and submit false documents claiming to be electoral votes for Trump.

- **Kathy Kiernan | Second Vice Chairman**

Kathy Kiernan is one of 10 [fake electors in Wisconsin](#) who attempted to subvert the results of the 2020 presidential election by submitting false Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, certification process. In December 2023, she and the other fake electors [settled a civil case](#) brought against them by the state’s Democratic electors. As part of the settlement, they acknowledged that President Biden had legitimately won the state and promised that they wouldn’t serve as presidential electors in 2024 or any other election with Trump on the ballot.

- **Van Wanggaard | Wisconsin Republican Labor Council**

Longtime State Senator Van Wanggaard also holds a position as the head of the state GOP’s executive committee Labor Council. After the 2020 election, he cast doubt on the results in Wisconsin in a TV interview, [saying](#) Trump could have won because “there was [stet] some shenanigans that were pulled.” In October 2021, Wanggaard backed controversial voter fraud allegations made by the Racine County sheriff and [called](#) for mass resignations and prosecutions of Wisconsin Elections Commission staff and commissioners. In May 2022, he was the only state legislator at an event that [promoted](#) the widely debunked and inflammatory documentary *2000 Mules* while purporting to depoliticize the topic of election integrity. Wanggaard includes “election integrity” as a campaign priority and has [backed a bill](#) that would enshrine a photo ID requirement for voters in the Wisconsin Constitution. He also voted in favor of two state-wide constitutional amendments that he [summarizes](#) as follows: “Question #1 prohibits the use of ‘private donations and grants’ (e.g. Zuckerbucks) in funding election administration. Question #2 prohibits anyone not authorized by law to administer elections.”

- **Bill Feehan | Third Congressional District Chairman**

Bill Feehan is one of 10 [fake electors in Wisconsin](#) who attempted to subvert the results of the 2020 presidential election by submitting false Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, certification process. In December 2023, he and the other fake electors [settled a civil case](#) brought against them by the state’s Democratic electors. As part of the settlement, they acknowledged that President Biden had legitimately won the state and promised that they wouldn’t serve as presidential electors in 2024 or any other election with Trump on the ballot.

- **Robert Spindell | Fourth Congressional District Chairman**

As both a GOP district chair and vice chair of the Wisconsin Elections Commission, Bob Spindell served as one of the state’s [10 fake electors](#) who attempted to subvert the results of the 2020 presidential election by submitting false Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, certification process. He also [spoke](#) at a December 2020 Stop the Steal rally in Madison, sharing the podium with rally organizer and diehard Trump pitbull [Mike Lindell](#), who claimed the ex-president lost Wisconsin because of issues with [Dominion](#) voting machines—a widely disproven conspiracy theory. In December 2023, Spindell and the other fake electors [settled a civil case](#) brought against them by the state’s Democratic electors. As part of the settlement, they acknowledged that President Biden had legitimately won the state and promised that they wouldn’t serve as presidential electors in 2024 or any other election with Trump on the ballot.

- **Jennie Frederick | Fifth Congressional District Chairman**

In October 2021, Jennie Frederick, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Republican Women, [pushed for a resolution](#) in support of a legislative “election integrity investigation.” The resolution declared, among other things, that “whereas there

were (in many states) discrepancies and questionable practices during the 2020 election, ...leaving people to wonder about the validity of their votes,” those who signed the document “whole-heartedly support the efforts of Representative Janel Brandtjen in seeking a full and complete cyber forensic audit of the Wisconsin 2020 election and... demand accountability, resolution, action and/or prosecution based on the results of the audit.”

- **Kelly Ruh | Eighth Congressional District Chairman**

Kelly Ruh is one of 10 [fake electors in Wisconsin](#) who attempted to subvert the results of the 2020 presidential election by submitting false Electoral College documents to Congress as part of the January 6, 2021, certification process. In December 2023, she and the other fake electors [settled a civil case](#) brought against them by the state’s Democratic electors. As part of the settlement, they acknowledged that President Biden had legitimately won the state and promised that they wouldn’t serve as presidential electors in 2024 or any other election with Trump on the ballot.

- **Brandon Maly | Dane County Chairman**

Brandon Maly moved to Wisconsin in 2022 to [work on](#) the reelection campaign of election denier Senator [Ron Johnson](#). He was elected Dane County Chairman in 2023 and is a full-time field representative for Turning Point Action, the advocacy arm of [Turning Point USA](#), which was deeply involved in the January 6 insurrection and contin-

ues to spread disinformation about voter fraud. On July 21, 2024, Maly [posted](#) on X that with Kamala Harris stepping into the candidacy for president, “We are in deep trouble now” because “Trump is only up by 2% in WI which is not enough to overcome the margin of fraud.”

- **Richard Kucksdorf | Shawano County Chairman**

A December 14, 2020, message posted to the Shawano County Facebook page suggested that the upcoming January 6 protest in Washington might be “biblical” and that Trump loyalists should [anticipate violence](#) that day. “(You might prepare yourselves for some temporary violence; Water, food, medications),” the post reads. Richard Kucksdorf claims to have no knowledge of who posted it, but questioned whether the people involved in the insurrection really were Trump supporters. He was also among the plaintiffs in a failed [federal lawsuit](#) that attempted to overturn Biden’s victory in Wisconsin and four other battleground states. At a May 2021 “voter integrity” [rally](#) sponsored by the [Amistad Project](#), which challenged the 2020 election results in six states, Kucksdorf announced “the filing of a formal complaint with the Wisconsin Elections Commission accusing the City of Madison of inviting improper outside influence over its election process in 2020.”

APPENDIX

Deniers by Category

Appendix I. Deniers Running for Congress

STATE	OFFICE SOUGHT	NAME
AZ	Senate	Kari Lake
AZ	House (AZ-1)	David Schweikert
AZ	House (AZ-2)	Eli Crane
AZ	House (AZ-3)	Jeff Zink
AZ	House (AZ-4)	Kelly Cooper
AZ	House (AZ-5)	Any Biggs
AZ	House (AZ-8)	Abe Hamadeh
AZ	House (AZ-9)	Paul Gosar
GA	House (GA-1)	Earl “Buddy” Carter
GA	House (GA-3)	Brian Jack
GA	House (GA-5)	John “Bongo” Salvesen
GA	House (GA-7)	Rich McCormick
GA	House (GA-9)	Andrew Clyde
GA	House (GA-10)	Mike Collins
GA	House (GA-11)	Barry Loudermilk
GA	House (GA-12)	Rick Allen
GA	House (GA-14)	Marjorie Taylor Greene
MI	House (MI-1)	Jack Bergman
MI	House (MI-2)	John Moolenaar
MI	House (MI-4)	Bill Huizenga
MI	House (MI-5)	Tim Walberg
MI	House (MI-7)	Tom Barrett
MI	House (MI-9)	Lisa McClain
MI	House (MI-10)	John James
NV	Senate	Sam Brown
NV	House (NV-4)	John Lee
NM	House (NM-2)	Yvette Herrell
NC	House (NC-1)	Laurie Buckhout
NC	House (NC-2)	Alan Swain
NC	House (NC-3)	Greg Murphy
NC	House (NC-5)	Virginia Foxx
NC	House (NC-7)	David Rouzer
NC	House (NC-8)	Mark Harris
NC	House (NC-9)	Richard Hudson

STATE	OFFICE SOUGHT	NAME
PA	Senate	David McCormick
PA	House (PA-2)	Aaron Bashir
PA	House (PA-7)	Ryan Mackenzie
PA	House (PA-9)	Dan Meuser
PA	House (PA-10)	Scott Perry
PA	House (PA-11)	Lloyd Smucker
PA	House (PA-13)	John Joyce
PA	House (PA-14)	Guy Reschenthaler
PA	House (PA-15)	Glenn Thompson
PA	House (PA-16)	Mike Kelly
WI	Senate	Eric Hovde
WI	House (WI-1)	Bryan Steil
WI	House (WI-3)	Derrick Van Orden
WI	House (WI-5)	Scott Fitzgerald
WI	House (WI-7)	Tom Tiffany
WI	House (WI-8)	Tony Wied

Appendix II. Deniers Running for Statewide Office

STATE	OFFICE SOUGHT	NAME
AZ	Arizona Corporation Commission	Rene Lopez
NC	Governor	Mark Robinson
NC	Attorney General	Dan Bishop
NC	Secretary of State	Chad Brown
NC	Superintendent of Public Instruction	Michele Morrow
PA	State Treasurer	Stacy Garrity

Appendix III. Deniers Administering Elections

Counties where election deniers hold a majority are in bold.

STATE	OFFICE	NAME
AZ	Cochise County Board of Supervisors (District 1)	Tom Crosby
AZ	Cochise County Board of Supervisors (District 3)	Peggy Judd
AZ	Cochise County Recorder	David Stevens
AZ	Gila County Board of Supervisors (District 1)	Steve Christensen
AZ	La Paz County Elections Director	Bob Bartelsmeyer
AZ	Mohave County Board of Supervisors (District 2)	Hildy Angius
AZ	Mohave County Board of Supervisors (District 5)	Ron Gould
AZ	Mohave County Board of Supervisors (District 1)	Travis Lingenfelter
AZ	Pima County Board of Supervisors (District 4)	Steve Christy
AZ	Pinal County Board of Supervisors (District 1)	Kevin Cavanaugh
AZ	Pinal County Board of Supervisors (District 5)	Jeff Serdy
AZ	Yavapai County Board of Supervisors (District 1)	Harry Oberg
AZ	Yuma County Board of Supervisors (District 3)	Darren Simmons
GA	State Election Board	Rick Jeffares
GA	State Election Board	Janice Johnston
GA	State Election Board	Janelle King
GA	Cobb County Board of Elections and Registration	Debbie Fisher
GA	DeKalb County Board of Registration and Elections	Nancy Jester
GA	DeKalb County Board of Registration and Elections	Anthony Lewis
GA	Fayette County Board of Elections and Voter Registration	Sharlene Alexander
GA	Floyd County Board of Elections and Voter Registration	Gary Stamper
GA	Fulton County Board of Registration and Elections	Julie Adams
GA	Fulton County Board of Registration and Elections	Michael Heekin
GA	Gwinnett County Board of Registrations and Elections	David Hancock
GA	Gwinnett County Board of Registrations and Elections	Alice O'Lenick
GA	Hall County Board of Elections and Registration	Jack Noa
GA	Spalding County Board of Elections and Voter Registration	Ben Johnson
GA	Spalding County Board of Elections and Voter Registration	Roy McClain
GA	Spalding County Board of Elections and Voter Registration	James Newland
GA	Spalding County Elections Supervisor	Kimberly Slaughter
GA	Worth County Board of Elections and Registration	Drew Chestnutt
MI	Antrim County Board of Canvassers	Marvin Rubingh
MI	Bay County Board of Canvassers	Ann Weiler
MI	Calhoun County Board of Commissioners (District 4)	Steve Frisbie
MI	Calhoun County Board of Canvassers	Bonnie Kazmar
MI	Clinton County Board of Canvassers	Anne Hill
MI	Kalamazoo County Board of County Canvassers	Robert Froman
MI	Kalamazoo County Board of Commissioners (District 7)	Jeff Heppler

STATE	OFFICE	NAME
MI	Kent County Board of Commissioners (District 2)	Tom Antor
MI	Macomb County Board of Canvassers	Nancy Tiseo
MI	Muskegon County Board of Commissioners (District 1)	Kim Cyr
MI	Muskegon County Board of Commissioners (District 2)	Zach Lahring
MI	Muskegon County Board of Canvassers	Bonnie Kellogg
MI	Wayne County Board of Commissioners (District 9)	Terry Marecki
MI	Wayne County Board of Canvassers	Robert Boyd
MI	Wayne County Board of Canvassers	Katherine Riley
NV	Carson City Clerk-Recorder	Scott Hoen
NV	Douglas County Board of County Commissioners (District 5)	Walter Nowosad
NV	Douglas County Board of County Commissioners (District 1)	Danny Tarkanian
NV	Elko County Board of Commisioners (District 5)	Rex Steninger
NV	Esmeralda County Board of County Commissioners (District 2)	De Winsor
NV	Lander County Board of Commissioners (District 1)	Bryan Sparks
NV	Lander County Board of Commissioners (District 4)	Wallace “Junior” Thomas
NV	Lander County Board of Commissioners (District 5)	Kathleen Ancho
NV	Nye County Board of County Commissioners (District 5)	Debra Strickland
NV	Nye County Board of County Commissioners (District 3)	Donna Cox
NV	Nye County Board of County Commissioners (District 2)	Frank Carbone
NV	Nye County Board of County Commissioners (District 1)	Bruce Jabbour
NV	Storey County Clerk-Treasurer	Jim Hindle
NV	Washoe County Board of County Commissioners (District 4)	Clara Andriola
NV	Washoe County Board of County Commissioners (District 5)	Jeanne Herman
NV	Washoe County Board of County Commissioners (District 2)	Mike Clark
NM	Otero County Board of Commissioners (District 1)	Gerald Matherly
NM	Otero County Board of Commissioners (District 3)	Vickie Marquardt
NM	Sandoval County Board of County Commissioners (District 2)	Jay Block
NC	Burke County Board of Elections	Anthony Iovino
NC	Halifax County Board of Elections	Byron Waters
NC	Mecklenburg County Board of Elections	Elizabeth McDowell
NC	Mecklenburg County Board of Elections	Mary Potter Summa
NC	Montgomery County Board of Elections	John “Johnny” Adams
PA	Allegheny County Council (At-Large)	Sam DeMarco III
PA	Berks County Board of Commissioners	Christian Leinbach
PA	Berks County Board of Commissioners	Michael Rivera
PA	Blair County Board of Commissioners	Amy Webster
PA	Bradford County Board of Commissioners	Doug McLinko
PA	Butler County Board of Commissioners	Kimberly Geyer
PA	Butler County Board of Commissioners	Leslie Osche
PA	Clearfield County Board of Commissioners	Tim Winters
PA	Erie County Council (District 6)	Charlie Bayle
PA	Fayette County Board of Commissioners	Scott Dunn

STATE	OFFICE	NAME
PA	Fayette County Board of Commissioners	Dave Lohr
PA	Fulton County Board of Commissioners	Randolph Bunch
PA	Juniata County Board of Commissioners	Todd Graybill
PA	Lackawanna County Board of Commissioners	Chris Chermak
PA	Lancaster County Board of Commissioners	Ray D'Agostino
PA	Lancaster County Board of Commissioners	Josh Parsons
PA	Luzerne County Council	Harry Haas
PA	Luzerne County Council	Kevin Lescavage
PA	Luzerne County Council	Brian Thornton
PA	Luzerne County Board of Elections and Registration	Alyssa Fusaro
PA	Lycoming County Board of Commissioners	Scott Metzger
PA	Montgomery County Board of Commissioners	Thomas DiBello
PA	Northampton County Election Commission	Scott Hough
PA	Potter County Board of Commissioners	Robert Rossman
PA	Schuykill County Board of Commissioners	Barron Hetherington
PA	Schuykill County Board of Commissioners	Larry Padora
PA	Washington County Board of Commissioners	Nick Sherman
PA	Westmoreland County Board of Commissioners	Doug Chew
PA	Westmoreland County Board of Commissioners	Sean Kertes
WI	Wisconsin Elections Commission	Robert Spindell
WI	Milwaukee County Election Commission	Helmut Fritz
WI	Milwaukee City Election Commission	Douglas Haag

Appendix IV. Deniers in GOP Leadership

STATE	POSITION	NAME
AZ	Chair	Gina Swoboda
AZ	National Committeeman	Jake Hoffman
AZ	National Committeewoman	Liz Harris
AZ	Assistant Sergeant at Arms	Branden Turley
AZ	Chair, Cochise County	Debi Wise
AZ	Chair, Gila County	Gary Morris
AZ	Chair, Maricopa County	Craig Berland
AZ	Chair, Santa Cruz County	Steven McEwen
GA	Chair Emeritus	David Shafer
GA	National Committeeman	Jason Thompson
GA	National Committeewoman	Amy Kremer
GA	Second Vice Chair	David Cross
GA	Secretary	Caroline Jeffords
GA	Assistant Secretary	Suzi Voyles
GA	Treasurer	Laurie McClain
GA	Chair, District 1	Kandiss Taylor
GA	Chair, District 5	Brad Carver
GA	Chair, District 11	David Oles
GA	Chair, Cobb County	Salleigh Grubbs
GA	Chair, Jackson County	Jeff Hughes
GA	Chair, Pickens County	Chris Mora
GA	Chair, Taylor County	Mandy Robinson-Hand
GA	Chair, Troop County	Keenan Knight
MI	Grassroots Vice Chair	Marian Sheridan
MI	Chair, 1st District Committee	Daire Rendon
MI	Chair, 6th District Committee	Hima Kolanagireddy
MI	Chair, Alcona County	Carrie Mullins
MI	Chair, Antrim County	Marvin Rubingh
MI	Chair, Barry County	Phil Joseph
MI	Chair, Crawford County	Dan Bonamie II
MI	Chair, Gladwin County	Mary Moylan
MI	Chair, Huron County	Larry Leipprandt
MI	Chair, Ingham County	Mary Shinkle
MI	Chair, Iosco County	David Chandler
MI	Chair, Leelanau County	Laura Tarsa
MI	Chair, Macomb County	Mark Forton
MI	Chair, Mason County	Sheila Genter
MI	Chair, Oakland County	Vance Patrick
MI	Chair, St. Clair County	Carolyn Richards
MI	Chair, Wayne County	Cheryl Costantino

STATE	POSITION	NAME
MI	Chair, Wexford County	Emily DeBoer
NV	Chair	Michael J. McDonald
NV	Vice Chair	Jim Hindle
NV	National Committeeman	Jim DeGraffenreid
NV	National Committeewoman	Sigal Chattah
NV	Chair, Carson City Central Committee	Susan Ruch
NV	Chair, Clark County Central Committee	Jesse Law
NV	Chair, Nye County Central Committee	Leo Blundo
NV	Chair, Washoe County Central Committee	Bruce Parks
NM	Chair	Steve Pearce
NM	National Committeewoman	Tina Dziuk
NM	Vice Chair, CD-2	Rebecca Dow
NM	Chair, Santa Fe County	Robert Witsenhausen
NM	Chair, Sierra County	Julianne (Julie) Stroup
NM	Chair, Taos County	Sarah Hawkes Valente
NM	Chair, Valencia County	John Brenna
NC	State Chair	Jason Simmons
NC	Chair, District 4	Courtney Geels
NC	Chair, District 13	Roger Farina
NC	Chair, Lee County	Jim Womack
NC	Chair, Pasquotank County	Virginia Wasserberg
NC	Chair, Rutherford County	Bryson Smith
NC	Chair, Surry County	Keith Senter
PA	Chair	Lawrence Tabas
PA	Deputy Chair	Marcela Diaz-Myers
PA	Vice Chair	Bernadette Comfort
PA	Secretary	Elizabeth Preate Havey
PA	National Committeeman	Andy Reilly
PA	Chair, Allegheny County	Sam DeMarco III
PA	Chair, Bucks County	Patricia K. Poprik
PA	Chair, Huntingdon County	C. Arnold McClure
PA	Chair, Luzerne County	Harry Haas
WI	Chair	Brian Schimming
WI	Second Vice Chair	Kathy Kiernan
WI	Wisconsin Republican Labor Council	Van Wanggaard
WI	Chair, 3rd Congressional District	Bill Feehan
WI	Chair, 4th Congressional District	Robert Spindell
WI	Chair, 5th Congressional District	Jennie Frederick
WI	Chair, 8th Congressional District	Kelly Ruh
WI	Chair, Dane County	Brandon Maly
WI	Chair, Shawano County	Richard Kucksdorf



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