

# Election Reform in Pennsylvania

## Recent Achievements and Need for Additional Reforms

### SUMMARY

- Ahead of the 2020 election, Pennsylvania allowed no excuse mail-in voting for the first time. Officials overwhelmed with millions of ballot requests, last-minute state guidance, and litigation resulted in delayed election results, undermining voter confidence.
- In 2021, then-Gov. Tom Wolf [vetoed comprehensive election integrity legislation](#) designed to clarify the 2019 mail-in voting law, enact voter ID, and help county officials conduct transparent, consistent and timely elections.<sup>1</sup>
- In 2022, lawmakers [enacted legislation](#) to ban “Zuckerbucks” and require counties accepting election administration grants to count ballots continually.
- As counties and state officials have implemented these changes and improved ballot design, errors have declined. In the 2024 primary, fewer mail-in ballots were set aside due to disqualifying errors.
- Weeks before the 2024 election, Pennsylvania courts issued [conflicting rulings](#) over mail-in ballots with missing or incorrect dates. The State Supreme Court weighed in, noting its earlier ruling to reject incorrectly dated ballots would stand to avoid “[substantial alterations](#)” shortly before a general election. Yet, some county officials ignored the ruling, triggering [an order from the court](#) not to count ballots with missing or incorrect dates.<sup>2</sup>
- Efficient, secure, and fair elections demand a comprehensive election integrity law to require voter ID, keep voter rolls current, establish earlier mail-in ballot deadlines, allow earlier pre-canvassing, require supervised ballot return locations, restrict foreign donations, and set clear “notice and cure” rules to ensure uniform administration.

### MAIL-IN BALLOT CONFUSION

- Act 77 of 2019 approved “no-excuse” mail-in voting.<sup>3</sup> An unanticipated [2.7 million mail-in ballots](#) cast in the 2020 election far exceeded the [262,000 absentee ballots](#) cast in 2016.<sup>4</sup> Several notable issues arose.
  - **Delayed ballot processing.** County officials could not begin pre-canvassing (i.e., prepping, but not tabulating) mail-in ballots until 7 a.m. on Election Day.<sup>5</sup> Election officials struggled to process mail-in ballots and simultaneously operate the polls, resulting in delayed election results.
  - **Impractical ballot application deadlines.** Voters can request mail-in ballots up to seven days prior to the election, but delays in receiving and completing mail-in ballots compromised voters’ ability to meet the 8 p.m. election day deadline. Consequently, a [reported](#) 100,000 voters cast time-consuming provisional ballots at the polls in 2020.<sup>6</sup>

- **Altering voting deadlines.** Act 77 pushed the mail-in ballot submission deadline from the Friday before an election to 8 p.m. Election Day. Yet, in September 2020, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court circumvented the statutory deadline to receive mail-in ballots by [extending](#) it three days, regardless of postmarks.<sup>7</sup> The Pennsylvania Department of State (DOS) then [issued](#) last-minute, conflicting instructions on canvassing those ballots.<sup>8</sup>
- **Ballot “curing” confusion.** The Election Code is silent on whether election officials can notify and allow voters to cure their ballots—creating confusion and inconsistent treatment across counties. Specifically, DOS told counties [they could not reject](#) mail-in ballots because of signature analysis according to election code,<sup>9</sup> and that they could alert voters of ballot defects to submit provisional ballots at the polls.<sup>10</sup>
- **Undated ballots.** While state law requires voters to date their mail-in ballot as part of their declaration, many voters returned ballots without a proper date. Counties took different approaches to undated mail-in ballots; including in one instance (with litigation undecided until January 2021) where two counties in the same state Senate district took different approaches.<sup>11</sup> The controversies and new responsibilities left many elections officials confused, frustrated, and [burnt out](#). About [one-third of election directors left their positions](#) amidst increased staffing hours and expenses following Act 77’s enactment.<sup>12</sup>

## ELECTION INTEGRITY ADVANCEMENTS SINCE 2020

- In 2021, [House Bill \(HB\) 1300](#) included comprehensive reforms to create consistent mail-in voting procedures, improve voting access, and establish voter ID.<sup>13</sup> Wolf vetoed the bill but a month later [indicated](#) he was open to a “reasonable voter ID solution.”<sup>14</sup>
- Wolf did sign incremental reforms, including the ban of “Zuckerbucks,” or private funding of elections, and [appropriated \\$45 million](#) in election integrity grants for counties.<sup>15</sup> In return, counties must pre-canvass ballots at 7 a.m. on election day and continue without interruption until canvassing each ballot. Counties also agreed to conduct a review of their processes after the election to ensure they have followed state election law. [All counties](#) took the grants in 2024.<sup>16</sup>

## MAIL-IN BALLOT RULES REMAIN IN FLUX

- In 2022, the Department of State reported more than [1.4 million](#) mail-in ballots requested—up from [the roughly 960,000 requests](#) for 2021.<sup>17</sup> While counties experienced isolated election administration issues,<sup>18</sup> most of the controversy focused on defective mail-in ballots.
- Just a week before the 2022 general election, the state Supreme Court ruled ballots with missing or incorrect dates [would not be counted](#).<sup>19</sup> Before the 2024 primary election, DOS redesigned mail-in ballots hoping to reduce errors. With those changes, there was an estimated [9.6 percent](#) reduction in mail-in primary ballots rejected for common errors.<sup>20</sup>
- Overall 1.35 percent of mail-in ballots were rejected in the 2023 primary for dating, signature, or security envelope issues versus 1.22 percent in 2024. In the 2024 primary, just over half of the rejected mail-in ballots were set aside because they were received after election day.<sup>21</sup>

- In the 2024 general election, 2.2 million mail-in ballots were requested, and 1.9 million returned. An increase from 2022, but less than 2020.<sup>22</sup>
  - Again, counties experienced isolated election administration issues, including [incorrectly printed ballots](#) in Cambria County, but the controversy again focused on dating ballots.<sup>23</sup>
  - On November 1st, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court—having learned the lessons from 2020 and 2022—affirmed its earlier ruling to reject incorrectly dated ballots would stand, to avoid “[substantial alterations](#)” shortly before the 2024 general election. Yet, officials in Montgomery, Philadelphia, and Bucks counties ignored the ruling, prompting [an order from the court](#) not to count ballots with missing or incorrect dates.<sup>24</sup>

## ELECTION EFFICIENCY

- During the 2020 presidential election, the Associated Press (AP) called Pennsylvania on November 7, over three days after the polls closed. Prior to the 2024 election, election officials [told](#) citizens not to expect clear election results on election night because of delays associated with counting mail-in ballots.<sup>25</sup>
- New technology and additional experience counting mail-in ballots helped [expedite](#) the counting process in 2024, and AP called Pennsylvania about 6.5 hours after the polls closed.<sup>26</sup>
- While election efficiency has improved, Pennsylvania still counts votes [slower](#) than other states.<sup>27</sup> Florida, which has roughly 10 million more residents than Pennsylvania, counted its votes so quickly that AP called the race just one hour after the first polls closed. North Carolina, which was ravaged by a hurricane just weeks before the election and took [10 days](#) to count all votes in 2020, was called just four hours after the polls closed.<sup>28</sup>
- The delay in vote counting had a notable impact on Pennsylvania’s U.S. Senate election. It took more than two weeks after election day for incumbent Sen. Bob Casey to [concede](#) the race to Dave McCormick.<sup>29</sup> Casey’s [claims](#) that outstanding provisional ballots would prevail proved futile in the automatic statewide recount, triggered by a slim 0.5 percent margin.<sup>30</sup> Amending state law to allow for ballot pre-canvassing, clarifying laws around ballot curing, and verification of identification before mailing a requested ballot would help improve Pennsylvania’s election efficiency.

## SOLUTIONS

In 2023 and 2024, [46 states passed nearly 325 laws](#) to improve the administration of elections across the country. But in Pennsylvania, election integrity legislation remains elusive.<sup>31</sup> The following reforms must be enacted in statute to uphold the integrity of elections.

### 1. Implement voter ID and strengthen ID valuation of mail-in ballots.

- When voting in person for the [first time](#), Pennsylvanians must provide poll workers a valid ID, however “[[r](#)]eturning voters need not show any identification unless otherwise noted in the poll book.”<sup>32</sup> Pennsylvania should require voters to show their ID each time they vote, a practice adopted by 36 states.

- Seventy percent of Pennsylvania voters think Gov. Josh Shapiro should support voter ID legislation. Support transcends parties, regions, and demographic groups.<sup>33</sup> A study from the National Bureau of Economic Research found that voter ID does not reduce turnout, nor does it have an impact on election outcomes. A 2015 study determined that 93 percent of all voters already have a valid form of photo ID.<sup>34</sup>
- Strengthening voter identification can help prevent non-citizen voting in Pennsylvania. In addition, Pennsylvania could amend the state constitution from “every citizen” to “only every citizen” can vote. Fifteen states incorporate stronger constitutional language expressly banning non-citizen voting.<sup>35</sup>
- For mail-in voting, according to DOS, voters must provide proof of identification with their applications. If residents claim they lack a driver’s license or social security number, DOS states: “A voter who does not include proof of identification with the absentee or mail-in ballot application should still receive a ballot” with a notice “requiring the voter to provide proof of identification with the ballot” submitted no later than six calendar days *post-election*.<sup>36</sup> Verification of identification should take place before mailing a ballot.

## **2. Set clear and reasonable registration and mail-in ballot application deadlines.**

- Move the mail-in ballot application deadline from seven to at least 15 days before an election to ensure every vote counts.
- An earlier deadline will provide voters enough time to apply, receive, and cast their votes. At the same time, counties will have more time to ensure poll books are as current as possible. This aligns with [USPS](#) and County Commissioners Association of Pennsylvania ([CCAP](#)) recommendations, as well as with [states](#) that have long used mail-in ballots.<sup>37</sup>

## **3. Require pre-canvassing to prevent delays in vote counting.**

- Pre-canvassing mail-in ballots, starting on the Friday before Election Day, would help prevent long delays in vote counting and it is supported by county election officials. In total, [43 states](#) allow election officials to begin processing, or pre-canvassing, absentee/mail ballots before election day.<sup>38</sup>

## **4. Provide legislative clarity to secure drop boxes and ensure consistent standards.**

- Statutory direction on the location, staffing, security, and location of drop boxes will help protect against concerns of illegal “ballot harvesting” by third parties. Measures utilized by the [United States Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency](#) can guide best practices, including placing drop boxes in highly visible well-lit areas with constant camera or human monitoring.<sup>39</sup>

## **5. Institute uniform standards for mail-in voting “notice and cure” practice to ensure elections are consistent and treat each voter equally.**

- State statute should specify the remediation process, with deadlines, for ballots that are incomplete, incorrectly completed, have signature flaws, lack a security envelope, or contain a dating issue and outline how voters are notified.

- At least [24 states](#) require notifying voters, and giving them an opportunity to correct, ballot discrepancies or missing information.<sup>40</sup>
- Currently the courts hold notification and opportunities to cure a ballot are at the discretion of each county.<sup>41</sup> According to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Pennsylvania, [32 counties](#) have notice and curing standards.<sup>42</sup>

## 6. Implement additional crosschecks and transparency to improve the SURE database.

- Outdated voter rolls are a serious challenge to election integrity. Lawmakers should incorporate reforms outlined in HB 1300 of 2021 to maintain clean and accurate voting rolls. This includes making voter files more transparent and publicly accessible, regularly referencing death records, referencing felony records, and collect information on out-of-state moves including:
  - Pennsylvania should fully participate in the Electronic Registration Information Center ([ERIC](#)) and utilize all available information through that system and the National Change of Address system to ensure the accuracy of the Statewide Uniform Registry of Electors ([SURE](#)) System.

## 7. Place restrictions on foreign funds designed to influence state elections

- In 2022, Pennsylvania banned the practice of “Zuckerbucks,” or private donations to election offices. However, groups like the Center for Tech and Civic Life (the same group responsible for Zuckerbucks) work around these bans by operating membership-based organizations.<sup>43</sup>
- Pennsylvania should bar election officials from joining programs operated by entities that offer private election grants, require organizations offering services to certify that they are free of foreign funds, and require officials that join membership programs to disclose that information publicly.

<sup>1</sup> Mark Scolforo, “Wolf Vetoes GOP Bill with Voter ID, Other Elections Changes,” *WTAE* (Associated Press), June 30, 2021, <https://www.wtae.com/article/pennsylvania-election-house-bill-1300-veto/36887848>.

<sup>2</sup> Paula Reed Ward, “GOP Asks Pa. Supreme Court to Bar Counties from Letting Voters Fix Mail-in Ballot Errors,” *Triblive*, September 19, 2024, <https://triblive.com/news/pennsylvania/gop-asks-pa-supreme-court-to-bar-counties-from-letting-voters-fix-mail-in-ballot-errors/>; *Baxter v. Philadelphia Board of Elections, et al.*, No. 77 EM (2024), <https://www.pacourts.us/assets/opinions/Supreme/out/77EM2024cs1%20-%20106131787286613095.pdf?cb=1>; *The Republican National Committee and the Republica Party of Pennsylvania v. All 67 County Boards of Elections*, No. 136 MM (2024), <https://www.pacourts.us/assets/opinions/Supreme/out/136MM2024pco%20-%20106152930288600382.pdf?cb=1>.

<sup>3</sup> Sen. Lisa M. Boscola, 2019 Act 77, P.L. 552 (Senate Bill 421), Pennsylvania General Assembly, Regular Session 2019-20, October 31, 2019, <https://www.legis.state.pa.us/cfdocs/legis/li/uconsCheck.cfm?yr=2019&sessInd=0&act=77>. The Council of State Governments defines no-excuse absentee voting as “a term used when any registered voter can request an absentee ballot, without restrictions.” See The Council of State Governments, “No-Excuse Absentee Voting,” accessed November 20, 2024, <https://www.csg.org/glossary/no-excuse-absentee-voting/>.

<sup>4</sup> County Commissioners Association of Pennsylvania, “Election Reform Preliminary Report,” January 2021, <https://www.pacounties.org/getmedia/3cb80263-0f05-40e6-a64b-fb59d679162d/CCAPElectionsReformReportJanuary2021.pdf>; Ballotpedia, “Analysis of Absentee/Mail-in Voting, 2016–2018,” accessed November 19, 2024, [https://ballotpedia.org/Analysis\\_of\\_absentee/mail-in\\_voting\\_2016-2018](https://ballotpedia.org/Analysis_of_absentee/mail-in_voting_2016-2018).

<sup>5</sup> Sen. Elder A. Vogel, Jr., 2020 Act 12, P.L. 41 (Senate Bill 422), Pennsylvania General Assembly, Regular Session 2019-20, March 27, 2020, <https://www.legis.state.pa.us/cfdocs/legis/li/uconsCheck.cfm?yr=2020&sessInd=0&act=12>.

<sup>6</sup> Tom Lisi, “Mailed Ballots, Tight Deadlines Caused a Crunch for Pa. Elections Officials. Now, Comes the Reckoning.,” *Spotlight PA*, December 15, 2020, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2020/12/pennsylvania-mail-ballot-request-deadline-change-2020-election/>.

<sup>7</sup> *Pa. Democratic Party v. Boockvar, et al.*, No. 133 MM (2020), <http://www.pacourts.us/assets/opinions/Supreme/out/J-96-2020mo%20-%20104548450113066639.pdf>. The case, brought by the Democratic Party and state officials, aligned with advocacy by the Wolf

administration. They further ruled ballot drop boxes are legal, a practice not authorized via state statute and upheld the statutory poll watcher residency requirement as constitutional.

<sup>8</sup> Pennsylvania Department of State, “Pennsylvania Guidance for Mail-in and Absentee Ballots Received from the United States Postal Service after 8:00 p.m. on Tuesday, November 3, 2020,” October 28, 2020, <https://www.pa.gov/content/dam/copapwp-pagov/en/dos/resources/voting-and-elections/directives-and-guidance/archived/2020-10-28-Segregation-Guidance.pdf>. DOS’s initial instructions were to separate and not canvass the ballots received during the extended deadline, only three days later instructing counties to canvass the segregated ballots as soon as possible, drawing the attention of the U.S. Supreme Court.

<sup>9</sup> *In Re: November 3, 2020 General Election Petition of Kathy Boockvar, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, No. 149 MM (2020), <https://www.pacourts.us/assets/opinions/Supreme/out/J-113-2020mo%20-%20104584871117842321.pdf?cb=1>. The court accepted Boockvar’s petition that “absentee and mail-in ballots and the applications for those ballots may not be challenged by third-parties based on signature comparison at any time.”

<sup>10</sup> County Commissioners Association of Pennsylvania “Election Reform Preliminary Report,” January 2021.

<sup>11</sup> Sarah Ann Hughes, “Federal Judge Rules in Favor of Democratic Pa. Senate Candidate GOP Refused to Seat,” *Spotlight PA*, January 12, 2001, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2021/01/jim-brewster-pennsylvania-senate-undated-ballots-election-2020/>.

<sup>12</sup> Marie Albiges and Tom Lisi, “Pa. Election Officials Are Burnt Out and Leaving Their Jobs After 2020 ‘Nightmare,’” *Spotlight PA*, December 21, 2020, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2020/12/pennsylvania-election-2020-officials-retiring-nightmare/>; Marie Albiges, “A New Wave of Election Directors Step in to Fill Pa.’s Many Vacancies—with Little Training and Varying Experiences,” *Spotlight PA*, May 17, 2021, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2021/05/pa-primary-voting-ballot-election-directors-county-training/>.

<sup>13</sup> Rep. Seth M. Grove et al., House Bill 1300, Pennsylvania General Assembly, Regular Session 2021–22, <https://www.legis.state.pa.us/cfdocs/billInfo/billInfo.cfm?sYear=2021&slnd=0&body=H&type=B&bn=1300>; House State Government Committee, *A Comprehensive Review of Pennsylvania’s Election Laws: How Pennsylvania Can Guarantee Rights and Integrity in Our Election System*, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, May 10, 2021, <http://www.repgrove.com/Display/SiteFiles/418/OtherDocuments/2021/Election%20Oversight%20Hearing%20Final%20Report.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Lai, “Gov. Tom Wolf Says He’s No Longer Opposed to New Voter ID Rules,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 20, 2021, <https://www.inquirer.com/politics/election/pennsylvania-voter-id-tom-wolf-interview-20210720.html>.

<sup>15</sup> Sen. Lisa Baker, 2022 Act 88, P.L. 1577 (Senate Bill 982), Pennsylvania General Assembly, Regular Session 2021–22, July 11, 2022, <https://www.legis.state.pa.us/cfdocs/Legis/LI/uconsCheck.cfm?txtType=HTM&yr=2022&sessInd=0&smthLwInd=0&act=88>.

<sup>16</sup> Department of Community and Economic Development, “Election Integrity Grant Program County Allocations,” July 31, 2024 [update], <https://dced.pa.gov/download/election-integrity-grant-program-county-allocations/>.

<sup>17</sup> Kate Huangpu, “1.4 Million Pennsylvanians Asked to Vote by Mail. Here’s What That Means for Election Week 2022 Counting.,” *Spotlight PA*, November 3, 2022, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2022/11/pa-election-2022-mail-ballot-requests-data-counting-delays/>; OpenData PA, “2021 General Election Mail Ballot Approved Voter Requests Counts,” Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, accessed October 17, 2024, <https://data.pa.gov/Government-Efficiency-Citizen-Engagement/2021-General-Election-Mail-Ballot-Approved-Voter-R/teba-zcwg>.

<sup>18</sup> John Luciew, “Lancaster County Reports Big Mail-in Ballot Problem: ‘Significant Number of the Ballots Did Not Scan,’” *PennLive*, May 17, 2022, <https://www.pennlive.com/elections/2022/05/lancaster-county-reports-big-mail-in-ballot-problem-significant-number-of-the-ballots-did-not-scan.html>; WGAL 8, “Pennsylvania Representative Reports Problem with Berks County Voting Machines,” May 17, 2022, <https://www.wgal.com/article/pennsylvania-representative-reports-problem-with-berks-county-voting-machines/40023236>.

<sup>19</sup> Katie Meyer, “Election Officials Should Not Count Undated Mail Ballots on Nov. 8, High Court Rules,” November 1, 2022, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2022/11/pa-election-2022-undated-mail-ballots-supreme-court-decision/>.

<sup>20</sup> Carter Walker, “Redesigned Envelope Leads to Fewer Rejected Ballots, but a New Type of Error Sticks Out,” *Votebeat*, May 31, 2024, <https://www.votebeat.org/pennsylvania/2024/05/31/mail-ballot-rejections-2024-primary-election-envelope-redesign/>.

<sup>21</sup> Katie Bernard, “Nearly 16,000 mail ballots were rejected in Pennsylvania in April. That could be a larger number in November.” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 21, 2024, <https://www.inquirer.com/politics/election/pennsylvania-mail-in-ballots-rejected-20240521.html>.

<sup>22</sup> Pennsylvania Department of State, Elections Data. (access November 18, 2024), <https://www.pa.gov/en/agencies/vote/elections/elections-data.html>.

<sup>23</sup> David Hurst, “By the Numbers: Small Ballot Errors, County Security Procedures led to Election Day Mishap,” *The Tribune Democrat*, November 15, 2024, [https://www.tribdem.com/news/by-the-numbers-small-ballot-errors-county-security-procedures-led-to-election-day-mishap/article\\_f6e561e6-a2dd-11ef-bd29-9bb6948bf349.html](https://www.tribdem.com/news/by-the-numbers-small-ballot-errors-county-security-procedures-led-to-election-day-mishap/article_f6e561e6-a2dd-11ef-bd29-9bb6948bf349.html).

<sup>24</sup> Katie Bernard et al., “As Casey Stays in Senate Race, He’s Pinning His Hopes on Small, County-Level Fights over Contested Votes,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 15, 2024; <https://www.inquirer.com/politics/election/casey-mccormick-ballot-counting-recount-20241115.html>; *Baxter and Kinniry v. Philadelphia Board of Elections, et al.*, No. 77 EM (2024).

<https://www.pacourts.us/assets/opinions/Supreme/out/77EM2024cs1%20-%20106131787286613095.pdf?cb=1>; *The Republican National Committee and the Republican Party of Pennsylvania v. All 67 County Boards of Elections*, No. 136 MM (2024).

<sup>25</sup> Fox 29 Philadelphia, “Here’s When to Expect 2024 Election Results in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware,” November 5, 2024, <https://www.fox29.com/news/when-to-expect-election-results-2024>.

<sup>26</sup> Carter Walker, “Experience, Better Tech Helped Pa. Count Mail Ballots Faster This Year Than in 2020,” *Spotlight PA*, November 8, 2024, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2024/11/pennsylvania-election-2024-mail-ballot-count-faster-2020/>

<sup>27</sup> Nicole Meir, “Calling the 2024 Presidential Election State by State,” Associated Press, accessed November 14, 2024, <https://blog.ap.org/calling-the-2024-presidential-race-state-by-state>.

<sup>28</sup> Ryan King, “Here’s Why These States Will Take the Longest to Count 2024 Presidential Election Votes,” *New York Post*, October 28, 2024, <https://nypost.com/2024/10/28/us-news/here-are-the-states-expected-to-take-the-longest-to-count-their-votes/>.

<sup>29</sup> Antonio Pequeño IV, “Democratic Sen. Bob Casey Concedes Pennsylvania Senate Race to Republican Dave McCormick,” *Forbes*, November 21, 2024, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/antoniopequenoi/2024/11/21/democratic-sen-bob-casey-concedes-pennsylvania-senate-race-to-republican-dave-mccormick/>.

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- <sup>32</sup> Pennsylvania Department of State, "Voter Identification Requirements for Voting," September 26, 2022, <https://www.pa.gov/content/dam/copapwp-pagov/en/dos/resources/voting-and-elections/directives-and-guidance/2022-09-26-DOS-Voter-ID-Guidance.pdf>; Pennsylvania Department of State, First Time Voters, accessed October 18, 2024, <https://www.pa.gov/en/agencies/vote/voter-support/new-voters.html>.
- <sup>33</sup> Commonwealth Foundation, "Common Ground in the Commonwealth Poll, Q3 2024 Survey," September 2024, [www.commonwealthfoundation.org/common-ground-poll/](http://www.commonwealthfoundation.org/common-ground-poll/).
- <sup>34</sup> Mark Hoekstra and Vijetha Koppa, "Strict Voter Identification Laws, Turnout, and Election Outcomes," National Bureau of Economic Research, August 2019, <https://www.nber.org/papers/w26206>; Vanessa M. Perez, "Americans with Photo ID: A Breakdown of Demographic Characteristics," Project Vote, February 2015, <https://www.projectvote.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/AMERICANS-WITH-PHOTO-ID-Research-Memo-February-2015.pdf>.
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- <sup>36</sup> Pennsylvania Department of State, "Voter Identification Requirements for Voting."
- <sup>37</sup> Tom Lisi, "Mailed Ballots, Tight Deadlines Caused a Crunch for Pa. Elections Officials. Now , Comes the Reckoning," *Spotlight PA*, December 15, 2020, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2020/12/pennsylvania-mail-ballot-request-deadline-change-2020-election/>; County Commissioners Association of Pennsylvania, <https://www.pacounties.org/GR/Documents/CAPElectionsReformReportJanuary2021.pdf>; Editorial Board, "Mail Voting Done Better," *Wall Street Journal*, October 13, 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/mail-voting-done-better-11602629818>.
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- <sup>39</sup> Elections Infrastructure Government Coordinating Council and Sector Coordinating Council's Joint COVID Working Group, "Ballot Drop Box," Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, 2020, [https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/electionofficials/vbm/Ballot\\_Drop\\_Box.pdf](https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/electionofficials/vbm/Ballot_Drop_Box.pdf); National Conference of State Legislatures, "Table 9: Ballot Drop Box Laws," October 18, 2024, <https://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/table-9-ballot-drop-box-laws>; Marc Hyden and Steven Greenhut, "The Case Against Restricting Voting Access," R Street Institute, February 15, 2021, <https://www.rstreet.org/2021/02/15/the-case-against-restricting-voting-access/>.
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- <sup>43</sup> Honest Elections Project, "2024 Election Reform Report."