

FAIR ELECTION FUND REPORT

Pennsylvania Elections 2024

The Fair Election Fund is a non-partisan public interest organization committed to promoting effective administration of elections in transparent way that instills public confidence in electoral results. This is the fifth of multiple state reports evaluating the performance of Secretaries of State in administering elections.

In conducting its Report on the administration of Pennsylvania's elections, The Fair Election Fund, in part, relied on the nonpartisan tenants proposed by the Carter-Baker Report. The Carter-Baker Report was released by a bipartisan commission in 2005 to address "Americans [] losing confidence in the fairness of elections" and to address other "problems of our electoral system." The Carter-Baker Report rightly proclaimed "[e]lections are the heart of democracy. They are the instrument for the people to choose leaders and hold them accountable...If elections are defective, the entire democratic system is at risk."

The Carter-Baker Report included over 80 recommendations to improved election administration in the United States. These recommendations encompass the Carter-baker Reports five pillars of an effective electoral system:

To build confidence, the Commission recommends a modern electoral system built on five pillars:(1) a universal and up-to-date registration list, accessible to the public; (2) a uniform voter identification system that is implemented in a way that increases, not impedes, participation; (3) measures to enhance ballot integrity and voter access; (4) a voter-verifiable paper trail and improved security of voting systems; and (5) electoral institutions that are impartial, professional, and independent.

The Fair Election Fund evaluated these nonpartisan recommendations and created a modernized five-part analysis focused on the areas that have the greatest impact on the effective administration of elections, increasing transparency, and increasing voter confidence.

The Fair Election Fund Five-Part analysis:

- (1) **The administration of elections and enforcement of existing laws**
- (2) **The transparency of election process**
- (3) **The quality of the voter registration list**
- (4) **The impartial, professional, and independence of election administration**
- (5) **Leadership to Instill Confidence in Election Results**

Using this Five-Part Analysis, this report evaluates Pennsylvania’s Department of State’s performance administering elections, and provides recommendations to improve the administration elections, increase transparency, and increase voter confidence.

Executive Summary

In Pennsylvania, the Secretary of the Commonwealth, who is appointed by the governor, is the chief election official;¹ however, Pennsylvania’s election process grants a high degree of county-level autonomy. Each of the Commonwealth’s 67 counties has significant discretion in administering elections, including decisions on ballot curing, the use of voting machines, and the placement of drop boxes.² State law often leaves key details vague, resulting in counties setting their own policies on issues like whether voters can fix mail ballot errors or how ballots are collected and counted.³ Counties also choose their own voting systems, provided they meet state and federal certification, and manage their own polling locations and election staffing.⁴

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania plays a prominent role in interpreting and enforcing the Pennsylvania Election Code, often having the final say over the legislature and the Department of State on contentious election matters, such as voting procedures. This combination of decentralized county authority and strong judicial oversight make Pennsylvania’s election administration notably distinct from many other states.

Pennsylvania’s election system has become one of the most contentious in the nation, primarily due to its mail-in voting laws and inconsistencies in the election procedures across counties. With concerns over chain of custody of ballots, post-election audit, and delays in election returns, the Commonwealth’s voting system is in dire need of reform. While the Pennsylvania Constitution mandates that elections be held by ballot and ensures ballot secrecy, the Commonwealth’s adoption of Act 77, which expanded mail-in voting, in 2019 raised significant constitutional and practical concerns related to election integrity.

On March 5, 2025, the Department of State announced Governor Josh Shapiro’s Administration’s plan to update Pennsylvania’s election process, focusing on the adoption

¹ 25 P.S. §2621.

² Kate Huangpu, *Elections 101: How decentralized election administration makes big fraud basically impossible*, Spotlight PA, (Aug. 1, 2024) (<https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2024/08/pennsylvania-election-administration-officials-fraud-rigging/>).

³ Kate Huangpu and Carter Walker, *Unequal election policies disenfranchised Pennsylvania voters in 2022*, Spotlight PA, (Feb. 21, 2023) (<https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2023/02/pa-2022-election-drop-box-mail-ballot-curing-scorecard/>).

⁴ See 25 P.S. § 3031.4. See also 25 P.S. § 2642.

of a new statewide election management system.⁵ Secretary of the Commonwealth, Al Schmidt, has stated that the new system should be fully implemented by 2028.⁶

I. THE ADMINISTRATION OF ELECTIONS AND ENFORCEMENT OF EXISTING LAWS

Pennsylvania has one of the most controversial election systems due to its mail-in voting laws and lack of uniformity in election procedures across counties. The state's late election returns have drawn attention to its vulnerabilities, especially when it comes to the chain of custody and post-election audits. Unlike most jurisdictions, the judicial branch of the state government has seemingly more control over Pennsylvania elections than the other branches of the state's government. Fair Election Fund's analysis revealed that the actions of Pennsylvania state and local officials, coupled with a partisan state Supreme Court, give the appearance of complete disregard for the rule of law and contempt for statutorily mandated election integrity standards.

A. Mail-In Ballots: A System Strained by Popularity

Act 77 (2019) expanded absentee voting in Pennsylvania by allowing no-excuse absentee ballots. This change opened the floodgates for mail-in voting, with approximately 2.7 million mail-in ballots requested in the 2020 election, compared to approximately 266,000 in 2016.⁷

Any registered voter in the Commonwealth has the option to vote by mail-in ballot rather than going to the polls to vote on Election Day. Applications must be received by the county election office by 5:00 PM on the Tuesday before the primary or election.⁸ As discussed more thoroughly below, Pennsylvania's Statewide Uniform Registry of Electors – SURE System – is the database of all registered electors in the Commonwealth.⁹ One common criticism of the SURE System is that, because the system was created and adopted before the implementation of mail-in ballots,

⁵ Pennsylvania Department of State, "Shapiro Administration Begins Process of Implementing Modern, Streamlined Elections Management System to Keep Pennsylvania Elections Safe and Secure, Joining Bipartisan Group of States," (Mar. 5, 2025) (<https://www.pa.gov/agencies/dos/newsroom/shapiro-administration-begins-implementing-modern-elections-mana.html>).

⁶ See *id.*

⁷ Daniel J. Hopkins, Marc Meredith, and Kira Wang, *How Many Naked Ballots Were Cast in Pennsylvania's 2020 General Election?*, MIT Election Data & Science Lab, (Aug. 26, 2021) (<https://electionlab.mit.edu/articles/how-many-naked-ballots-were-cast-pennsylvanias-2020-general-election>).

⁸ 25 P.S. § 3150.12a(a).

⁹ 25 Pa. C.S. § 1222.

“the interface for processing mail ballot applications isn’t optimal, and it can take as long as 15 minutes to process a single application.”¹⁰

In October of 2024, State Representative James Walsh filed a lawsuit against Luzerne County, Luzerne County Bureau of Elections and Luzerne County Board of Elections and Registration. The lawsuit, which ultimately proceeded in federal court, challenged the county’s handling of mail-in ballot applications and processing of voter registration for the 2024 general election. Representative Walsh argued that the delays violated Pennsylvania law and the United States Constitution, ultimately disenfranchising voters. Although the court found that Representative Walsh lacked standing and ultimately dismissed the case, this litigation highlights the numerous problems with Pennsylvania’s election procedures that the Department of State needs to address.¹¹

Another common problem with mail-in ballots is whether to count ballots received after the statutory deadline. Despite the fact that Pennsylvania law explicitly mandates that “a completed mail-in ballot must be received in the office of the county board of elections no later than eight o’clock P.M. on the day of the primary or election,”¹² the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania adopted the recommendation of then Secretary of the Commonwealth, Kathy Boockvar, to extend that deadline:

[W]e adopt the Secretary's informed recommendation of a three-day extension of the absentee and mail-in ballot received-by deadline to allow for the tabulation of ballots mailed by voters via the USPS and postmarked by 8:00 p.m. on Election Day to reduce voter disenfranchisement resulting from the conflict between the Election Code and the current USPS delivery standards, given the expected number of Pennsylvanians opting to use mail-in ballots during the pandemic.¹³

Although the Court’s ruling was limited to the 2020 general election, the decision clearly demonstrates that Pennsylvania officials and the Commonwealth’s judiciary have no hesitation assuming the responsibilities of the legislature, which erodes the system of checks and balances established by the framers of the United States Constitution and the Pennsylvania Constitution.

Finally, under Pennsylvania law, a voter submitting a mail-in ballot is required to “date and sign the declaration printed on [the outer] envelope.”¹⁴ Numerous challenges have arisen as to

¹⁰ Carter Walker, *Pennsylvania signs new contract to upgrade SURE voter registration system*, Votebeat.org, (Mar. 5, 2025) (<https://www.votebeat.org/pennsylvania/2025/03/05/sure-upgrade-voter-registration-system-new-contract-signed/>).

¹¹ *Walsh v. Luzerne County*, No. 4:24-cv-01878, 2025 WL 1222745 (Apr. 28, 2025).

¹² 25 P.S. § 3150.16(c).

¹³ *Pennsylvania Democratic Party v. Boockvar*, 662 Pa. 39, 82, 238 A.3d 345, 371 (2020).

¹⁴ 25 P.S. § 3150.16(a).

whether that requirement is constitutional. Recently, a federal judge from the Western District of Pennsylvania held “that the date instruction, as it appears in 25 Pa. Con. Stat. §§ 3146.6(a) and 3150.16(a), and any other provision that requires county boards to reject ballots contained within envelopes without a correct date violates the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.”¹⁵ In reaching this decision, the Court did not specifically address the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania’s decision from November of 2024 (discussed below), which held that undated or misdated ballots should not be counted; however, the federal court noted that, “[b]ecause the challenge before this Court is one brought exclusively under the federal constitution, these decisions by the state courts have little relevance here.”¹⁶ The matter is being appealed and remains ongoing.

While the goal of Act 77 was to increase voter participation, the system created significant delays due to the prohibition on beginning the pre-canvassing process before 7:00 AM on Election Day. This delayed ballot processing has become a major point of contention.

B. Late Canvassing Deadlines: A Recipe for Delays

Although Pennsylvania allows for a form of early voting, the Commonwealth does not have any procedures for pre-processing those ballots. As the law stands, absentee and mail-in ballots envelopes are inspected and opened, and the votes reflected on the ballot are counted, computed and tallied during the pre-canvass.¹⁷ The results of the pre-canvass are not published.¹⁸ The pre-canvass may start no earlier than 7:00 AM on Election Day.¹⁹

In addition to the delayed pre-canvassing, Pennsylvania voters can request mail-in ballots up to seven days before the election. This timeline, combined with delays in receiving and completing ballots, resulted in a large number of voters casting provisional ballots (more than 100,000 provisional ballots statewide) during the 2020 election.²⁰ Furthermore, Act 77 moved the mail-in ballot deadline from the Friday before Election Day to 8:00 PM on Election Day itself, amplifying the likelihood of delayed election results and raising concerns about the accuracy and timeliness of vote counting.

The Pennsylvania legislature is well aware of these issues. In fact, in 2024, the House passed House Bill 847, which sought to amend the Election Code to permit pre-canvassing of absentee

¹⁵ *Eakin v. Adams Cnty. Bd. of Elections*, No. 1:22-CV-340, 2025 WL 957525, at *10 (W.D. Pa. Mar. 31, 2025)

¹⁶ *Id.* at n. 6.

¹⁷ 25 P.S. § 2602(q.1).

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ 25 P.S. § 3146.8(g)(1.1).

²⁰ Pennsylvania Department of State, “2020 Presidential Election Tuesday, November 3, 2020 Official Returns Statewide,” (<https://www.electionreturns.pa.gov/ENR/General/SummaryResults?ElectionID=83&ElectionType=G&IsActive=0>) (last accessed May 7, 2025).

and mail-in ballots to begin up to seven days before the election.²¹ The bill was referred to the Senate State Government Committee, where it effectively died in committee. A similar bill, House Bill 37, was introduced in the 2025-2026 session and is currently under consideration.²²

C. Inconsistencies Across Counties

A key issue with Pennsylvania's mail-in ballot system is the lack of uniformity across counties. The election code does not clarify whether counties can notify voters about ballot defects or allow them to "cure" their ballots. As a result, there is confusion and inconsistent treatment across the 67 counties in the Commonwealth with some counties permitting curing and other counties prohibiting it. Guidance from the Department of State indicated that "[t]he Election Code does not permit county election officials to reject applications or voted ballots based solely on signature analysis."²³

The Pennsylvania Department of State has suggested that counties can reject mail-in ballots based on signature analysis, but they can also alert voters to ballot defects and allow provisional ballots to be cast at polling places. In other words, whether curing is permitted is at the discretion of the county. This lack of uniformity across counties has led to confusion and inconsistent treatment of voters, undermining the credibility of the system. Proposals for clearer guidelines on ballot curing, as well as stronger chain-of-custody protections for both absentee and in-person ballots, would help restore transparency and ensure consistent treatment across counties.

Similarly, the manner in which ballots are transported varies from county to county. For example, in Berks County, poll workers transport ballots in sealed boxes directly to the county elections office, where they are stored in locked rooms.²⁴ Philadelphia relies on police officers to collect ballots from precincts and transport them in sealed bags to election headquarters, while Allegheny County uses locked, sealed bags to deliver ballots to regional centers where police then escort them to secure warehouses under surveillance.²⁵ Each county also adopts its own procedures with respect to maintaining drop boxes.²⁶ Without any standardization or

²¹ Rep. Scott Conklin, *House passes Conklin Bill to allow pre-canvassing of mail and absentee ballots up to seven days before election*, PA House Democrats, (May 1, 2024) (<https://www.pahouse.com/InTheNews/NewsRelease/?id=133922>).

²² H.B. 37, Gen. Assemb., 2025-2026 Sess. (Pa. 2025), <https://www.palegis.us/legislation/bills/2025/hb0037>.

²³ Pennsylvania Department of State, "Guidance Concerning Civilian Absentee and Mail-In Ballot Procedures," Sept. 10, 2024 (<https://www.pa.gov/content/dam/copapwp-pagov/en/dos/resources/voting-and-elections/directives-and-guidance/2024-guidance-civilian-absentee-mail-in-ballot-procedures-v3.1.pdf>) (last accessed Mar. 3, 2025).

²⁴ Josh Kelety, *Under lock and key: How ballots get from Pennsylvania precincts to election offices*, Associated Press, (Nov. 4, 2024) (<https://whyy.org/articles/pennsylvania-election-ballots-security/>).

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ *See id.*

consistency, it is impossible for citizens to know whether their local officials are indeed abiding by Pennsylvania law.

D. Illegal Counting of Undated Ballots

In Pennsylvania, the handling of undated mail-in ballots has been a subject of significant legal debate in the 2024 election cycle. State law mandates that voters must date the outer envelope of their mail-in ballots. However, former Senator Bob Casey refused to concede to Senator Dave McCormick, all while Pennsylvania election board members pushed to count undated mail-in ballots in all 67 of the state's counties.

For example, on November 13, 2024, Republican candidate for U.S. Senate, David McCormick, the Republican National Committee and the Republican Party of Pennsylvania filed a lawsuit against the Bucks County Board of Elections.²⁷ The petition filed in the Court of Common Pleas for Bucks County challenged the Bucks County Board of Elections' decision to count 405 undated or misdated ballots in the November 5, 2024 General Election.²⁸ Ultimately, the parties stipulated and agreed that the Bucks County Board of Elections would not count any undated and/or misdated absentee and/or mail in ballots cast in the November 5, 2024 General Election. The consent order resulted from a ruling from the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania regarding this very issue.

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania ordered that all counties “**SHALL COMPLY** with the prior rulings of this Court in which we have clarified that mail-in and absentee ballots that fail to comply with the requirements of the Pennsylvania Election Code, *see* 25 P.S. § 3146.6(a), 3150.16(a), **SHALL NOT BE COUNTED** for purposes of the election held on November 5, 2024.”²⁹ In sum, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania ordered local election board members to comply with its earlier rulings by discounting mail-in and absentee ballots without dates on them.

Shortly after the Supreme Court's decision, Bucks County Board of Elections Chair Bob Harvie issued a statement that discussed the Supreme Court's decision: “This is precisely the clarity we

²⁷ A similar lawsuit was filed in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania regarding undated or wrongly dated mail-in ballots. *See McCormick v. Montgomery County Board of Elections*, No. 2024-26283 (Montgomery Cnty. C.C.P.).

²⁸ *See McCormick v. Bucks County Board of Elections*, No. 2024-07228 (Bucks Cnty. C.C.P.).

²⁹ *RNC v. All 67 Cnty. Bds. Of Elections*, A.3d 402 (Nov. 18, 2024) (emphasis in original), *citing Ball v. Chapman*, 289 A.3d 1, 28 (Pa. 2023) (“The Election Code commands absentee and mail-in electors to date the declaration that appears upon ballot return envelopes, and failure to comply with that command renders a ballot invalid as a matter of Pennsylvania law.”); *New PA Project Educ. Fund v. Schmidt*, 2024 WL 4410884, at *1 (Pa. Oct. 5, 2024) (per curiam) (“This Court will neither impose nor countenance substantial alterations to existing laws and procedures during the pendency of an ongoing election.”); *Baxter v. Phila. Bd. of Elections*, 2024 WL 4650792, at *1 (Pa. Nov. 1, 2024) (staying a Commonwealth Court order that had required a county election board to canvass undated ballots for purposes of the 2024 general election).

were seeking from the Courts in this matter.”³⁰ Notably, the Supreme Court’s decision clearly states that the Court has issued the same ruling numerous times and, thus, begs the question as to the integrity of members of county boards of elections who are consistently seeking to circumvent the law.

E. Allegations of Voter Fraud

With Pennsylvania being the most critical state when it comes to national elections, it is no surprise that allegations of voter fraud arise. But how accurate are those accusations?

In February of 2025, three politicians from Delaware County, Pennsylvania were indicted on charges related to the production of three dozen mail-in ballots during the mayoral race in 2021.³¹ “A federal grand jury accused Mohammed Nurul Hasan, Mohammed Munsur Ali and Mohammed Rafikul Islam of conspiring to register people who live outside 1,200-population Millbourne as borough residents, to have mail-in ballots sent to themselves and then to return the completed ballots to the Delaware County elections board.”³² All three individuals pled guilty to election fraud.³³

Further, a man was charged with committing multiple election fraud offenses, including falsely registering to vote and double voting.³⁴ Philip Pulley was registered in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania and Broward County, Florida in 2018.³⁵ In 2020, Mr. Pulley used a false home address in Philadelphia and social security number to register to vote in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania.³⁶ In the 2022 general election, he voted in both Montgomery and Philadelphia Counties.³⁷ He pled guilty in September of 2024 and was sentenced to “three years’ probation, 100 hours of community service, with 50 of those hours dedicated to an entity that works toward

³⁰ Bob Harvie, *Statement from Board of Elections Chair Bob Harvie*, Bucks County, (Nov. 18, 2024) (<https://www.buckscounty.gov/CivicAlerts.aspx?AID=1161>).

³¹ *3 politicians are accused of faking mail-in ballots in a 2021 mayoral race in a Philly suburb*, Associated Press, (Feb. 21, 2025) (<https://apnews.com/article/mail-ballot-fraud-voting-election-pennsylvania-48dd3f370aae579333cf848867d1ea3f>).

³² *Id.*

³³ United States Attorney’s Office Eastern District of Pennsylvania, *Two Millbourne Borough Officials and One Former Official Plead Guilty to Election Fraud Offenses*, Press Release, (Apr. 1, 2025) (<https://www.justice.gov/usao-edpa/pr/two-millbourne-borough-officials-and-one-former-official-plead-guilty-election-fraud>).

³⁴ United States Attorney’s Office Eastern District of Pennsylvania, *Montgomery County Man Sentenced for Election Fraud Offenses*, Press Release, (Jan. 9, 2025) (<https://www.justice.gov/usao-edpa/pr/montgomery-county-man-sentenced-election-fraud-offenses>).

³⁵ *See id.*

³⁶ *See id.*

³⁷ *See id.*

the promotion of free and fair elections, a fine of \$9,500, and a \$400 special assessment, for committing multiple election fraud offenses.”³⁸

In December of 2024, a Philadelphia County man was sentenced after he pled guilty to 12 counts, including impersonating a mail carrier and unlawfully possessing stolen USPS arrow keys and stolen mail.³⁹ When Postal Inspectors executed a federal warrant to search Zachkey James’ apartment and vehicle, they found, among other things, approximately 15 undelivered mail-in ballots, all of which were delivered to the appropriate county board of election in time to be counted.⁴⁰

In 2022, “former U.S. Congressman Michael “Ozzie” Myers, 79, of Philadelphia, PA, was sentenced to 30 months in prison, three years of supervised release, and ordered to pay \$100,000 in fines, with \$10,000 of that due immediately, by United States District Court Judge Paul S. Diamond after pleading guilty to conspiracy to deprive voters of civil rights, bribery, obstruction of justice, falsification of voting records, conspiring to illegally vote in a federal election, and for orchestrating schemes to fraudulently stuff the ballot boxes for specific Democratic candidates in the 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018 Pennsylvania elections.”⁴¹ Specifically, Congressman Myers bribed the Judge of Elections in two South Philadelphia wards over the course of several years to illegally add votes for certain candidates of their mutual political party in primary elections.⁴²

Clearly, election fraud incidents continue to come to light. Instances like these demonstrate the need for election law reform in Pennsylvania.

SECTION I: The Administration of Elections and Enforcement of Existing Laws

GRADE: C-

³⁸ *Id.* See also United States Attorney’s Office Eastern District of Pennsylvania, *Montgomery County Man Pleads Guilty to Election Fraud Offenses*, Press Release, (Sept. 25, 2024) (<https://www.justice.gov/usao-edpa/pr/montgomery-county-man-pleads-guilty-election-fraud-offenses>).

³⁹ United States Attorney’s Office Eastern District of Pennsylvania, *Philadelphia Man Sentenced to Four Years in Prison for Mail Theft Scheme, Altering Stolen Checks and Money Orders*, Press Release, (Dec. 3, 2024) (<https://www.justice.gov/usao-edpa/pr/philadelphia-man-sentenced-four-years-prison-mail-theft-scheme-altering-stolen-checks>).

⁴⁰ *See id.*

⁴¹ United States Attorney’s Office Eastern District of Pennsylvania, *Former U.S. Congressman and Philadelphia Political Operative Sentenced to 30 Months in Prison for Election Fraud*, Press Release, (Sept. 27, 2022) (<https://www.justice.gov/usao-edpa/pr/former-us-congressman-and-philadelphia-political-operative-sentenced-30-months-prison>).

⁴² *See id.*

II. THE TRANSPARENCY OF THE ELECTION PROCESS

Transparency is paramount to the public's confidence in our elections. One of the most effective ways to make elections transparent is to allow observers to have meaningful access to all aspects of the voter process. The Carter-Baker report identified this as a critical issue:

In too many states, election laws and practices do not allow independent observers to be present during crucial parts of the process, such as the testing of voting equipment or the transmission of results. In others, only certified representatives of candidates or political parties may observe. This limits transparency and public confidence in the election process. Above all, elections take place for the American people, rather than for candidates and political parties. Interested citizens, including those not affiliated with any candidate or party, should be able to observe the entire election process, although limits might be needed depending on the size of the group.

A. Challenges and Controversies Surrounding Poll Watchers

Under Pennsylvania law, there are three requirements for being a poll watcher: (1) the individual must be a “qualified registered elector of the county where the election district is located for which the watcher is appointed;” (2) the individual must “be identified and must receive official county credentials in advance;” and (3) the individual must be assigned to a specific precinct.⁴³

Pennsylvania law does not require a standardized training. Such training responsibilities are within the purview of each county. This often leads to inconsistencies across counties with respect to poll watcher legal rights and responsibilities. More troubling, it often means that poll watchers do not know the proper procedures and are unprepared to handle problems that arise. Having confused poll watchers in the polling location undermines election integrity.

B. Discrepancies in Matching Vote Totals to Voter Participation

Following elections in Pennsylvania, the number of votes cast in an election does not match the number of voters who have signed in or been recorded as having voted in person or through the mail-in or absentee process. Although these incidents are often the result of problems with voting machines, ballot printing errors, and the counting of provisional ballots, such problems have contributed to delays, public frustration, and mistrust in the election process.

Most recently, in the 2024 general election, Cambria County made national headlines due to the ballot printing error that prevented tabulators from reading ballots. The Cambria County Board of Elections petitioned the Court, which granted the request to extend voting hours until 10:00

⁴³ 25 P.S. § 2687.

PM, with the caveat that any ballots cast after 8:00 PM be cast by provisional ballot.⁴⁴ “The malfunction caused voter confusions, long lines of voters, and many individuals left the polling locations without casting a ballot.”⁴⁵ As a result of this incident, State Representative Frank Burns announced legislation focusing on voting machine equipment and the use of printed ballots.⁴⁶

Other technical errors and inconsistent poll worker trainings have led to an increase in the rejection of provisional ballots due to mistakes on required envelopes, disenfranchising some voters and complicating reconciliation of ballot numbers. For example, in Washington County, a West Virginia University student did not receive her mail-in ballot and was required to vote provisionally when she traveled to the polls in person.⁴⁷ Her provisional ballot was ultimately rejected, because the poll worker did not properly fill out the section of the envelope that he/she was required to complete.⁴⁸ Again, such incidents demand attention from Pennsylvania officials and state legislators.

C. Problems Associated with Canvassing and Recounting

The official canvassing – *i.e.*, the formal, public counting and reporting of votes⁴⁹ – begins after polls close at 8:00 PM on Election Day. During the canvassing, County Board officials are to slowly and clearly articulate each ballot counted so that all observers may hear it and observe it.⁵⁰ Pennsylvania’s Election Code allows for one authorized representative per candidate and one authorized representative from each political party to observe the pre-canvass and the canvass of mail-in and absentee ballots.⁵¹ For votes cast at the polls, only poll watchers and

⁴⁴ See *In Re: Cambria County Board of Elections*, No. 2024-4706 (Cambria Cnty. C.C.P. Nov. 5, 2024) (<https://www.pacourts.us/Storage/media/pdfs/20241105/163951-nov.5.2024-order2024-4706.pdf>).

⁴⁵ Sue Gletier, *Voting in one Pa. county extended due to issues with ballot scanning machines*, PennLive, (Nov. 5, 2024) (<https://www.pennlive.com/elections/2024/11/voting-in-one-pa-county-extended-due-to-issues-with-ballot-scanning-machines.html>).

⁴⁶ Hayden Thompson, *Rep. Burns introduces legislation on voting machine testing after 2024 Cambria County issues*, Yahoo! News, (Apr. 15, 2025) (https://www.yahoo.com/news/rep-burns-introduces-legislation-voting-machine-testing-2024-cambria-county-issues-150004501274.html?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xILmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAAKJJODsCaGjOwLXpyF20ff7x0zL3oHcJlZKHv2GNuuo2MYF6yY84KUVKky9J-3KyojCwsEwlbVTvEq9eekMhjulyATktcHYT6D_wsEPtg0N3rPi9jR9DcSf0PO97Z1qxGDgqg2Aviawlh95u32Lh7f0hmyo9bkxbKjdG1VWtVO).

⁴⁷ Carter Walker, *Last-resort ballots are increasingly being rejected for technical errors in Pennsylvania. Why?*, Spotlight PA, (Apr. 11, 2025) (<https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2025/04/pennsylvania-provisional-ballots-rejections-mail-voting/>).

⁴⁸ See *id.*

⁴⁹ See 25 P.S. § 3146.8(a.1).

⁵⁰ See 25 P.S. § 3154.

⁵¹ 25 P.S. § 3146.8(g).

authorized representatives appointed by candidates and political parties are permitted to observe the tally of in-person ballots, including provisional ballots.⁵²

In 2020, conflicts arose in Philadelphia concerning public observation of the canvassing of votes. Specifically, the legal issue concerned the observer’s proximity to the ballot counting. President Donald Trump’s campaign argued that poll observers did not have “meaningful access” to view the tabulation.⁵³ Notably, the Pennsylvania Election Code is silent as to what constitutes “meaningful access” and merely states that observers are permitted to “remain in the room.”⁵⁴ The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, however, concluded that “the Board did not act contrary to law in fashioning its regulations governing the positioning of candidate representatives during the pre-canvassing and canvassing process, as the Election Code does not specify minimum distance parameters for the location of such representatives.”⁵⁵

Another issue in Pennsylvania is recounts. The Commonwealth requires an automatic recount for statewide races if the margin of victory is 0.5% or less⁵⁶ and also allows for electors to petition for a recount. In 2022, 147 recount petitions were filed in 27 counties following the general election.⁵⁷ Pennsylvania law allows for three voters from the same county to file a verified petition alleging that they believe fraud or error occurred.⁵⁸ The sheer number of petitions filed clearly demonstrates that Pennsylvanians have concerns about how their elections are handled.

While Pennsylvania’s recount and recanvassing laws are designed to ensure election integrity, recent cycles have highlighted how these processes can be exploited or cause delays, underscoring the need for potential legislative updates to balance transparency with efficiency.

SECTION II: The Transparency of Election Process

GRADE: C-

⁵² 25 P.S. § 2687(b).

⁵³ Zach Montellaro and Josh Gerstein, *Pennsylvania Supreme Court rejects complaints about Philadelphia election observations*, Politico, (Nov. 17, 2020) (<https://www.politico.com/news/2020/11/17/pennsylvania-supreme-court-philadelphia-ballots-437082>).

⁵⁴ 25 P.S. § 3146.8(g)(1.1).

⁵⁵ *In re Canvassing Observation*, 663 Pa. 145, 165 (2020).

⁵⁶ 25 P.S. § 3154(g)(1)(i).

⁵⁷ Carter Walker, *Unprecedented number of recount requests delay certification in at least three Pa. counties*, Votebeat, (Dec. 1, 2022) (<https://www.votebeat.org/pennsylvania/2022/12/1/23488003/recount-petitions-delay-certifications-without-evidence/>).

⁵⁸ 25 P.S. § 3261.

III. THE QUALITY OF THE VOTER REGISTRATION LIST

A. Pennsylvania's SURE System

Pennsylvania's Statewide Uniform Registry of Electors, known as the SURE System, is a database of all registered electors in the Commonwealth.⁵⁹ "The SURE system is a statewide database used by counties to register voters and maintain their records, print poll books, process mail ballot applications, and carry out many of the functions necessary to run elections."⁶⁰ According to the Department of State, "County officials follow rigorous procedures dictated by federal and state law, and they use multiple reliable sources to ensure that voter lists are as accurate as possible while protecting voters from being wrongfully removed."⁶¹

The SURE System has been widely criticized. It is "slow," "outdated," "expensive" and is not even connected to the internet.⁶² "Each county must have computer terminals provided by the department that connect the county directly to the state's server."⁶³ Most importantly, however, audits have found "potentially bad data and sloppy-record keeping."⁶⁴ Specifically, the audit found more than 50,000 cases with potentially inaccurate voter records.⁶⁵ "Of the 50,000 cases with potentially inaccurate voter records, in 24,408 cases, the same driver's license number was listed in more than one voter record, while 13,913 were potential duplicate cases. Furthermore, 6,876 had a possible date of birth (DOB) inaccuracy, while 2,230 had potential DOB or registration date inaccuracies and 2,991 were records of potentially deceased voters."⁶⁶

Fortunately, Pennsylvania officials are taking action. The Department of State recently signed a new contract with Louisiana-based technology company Civix to upgrade the SURE System and

⁵⁹ 25 Pa. C.S. § 1222.

⁶⁰ Carter Walker, *Pennsylvania signs new contract to upgrade SURE voter registration system*, Votebeat.org, (Mar. 5, 2025) (<https://www.votebeat.org/pennsylvania/2025/03/05/sure-upgrade-voter-registration-system-new-contract-signed/>).

⁶¹ *Fact-Checking Pennsylvania-Related Election Claims*, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, (<https://www.pa.gov/agencies/vote/elections/fact-checking-pa-related-election-claims.html#accordion-78d6f7d7a2-item-9bff3406f0>) (last accessed May 5, 2025).

⁶² Carter Walker, *Shapiro administration cancels \$10.7 million contract for Pa. voter roll system upgrade*, Spotlight PA (Dec. 15, 2023) (<https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2023/12/voter-roll-pennsylvania-sure-contract-canceled-election-mail-ballots/>).

⁶³ *Id.*

⁶⁴ Todd DeFeo, *Audit Finds Problems with PA's Voter System*, Levittown Now (Dec. 23, 2019) (<https://levittownnow.com/2019/12/23/audit-finds-problems-with-pas-voter-system/>).

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ *Id.* See also Katie Meyer, *Pa. auditor, Department of State clash over voter roll issues*, WHYY (Dec. 20, 2019) (<https://whyy.org/articles/pa-auditor-department-of-state-clash-over-voter-roll-issues/>).

integrate it with other state-run election systems.⁶⁷ “The contract calls for Civix to integrate the functions of the SURE system with the state’s election night reporting, campaign finance, and lobbying disclosure systems, creating a system that the department called a ‘one-stop-shop elections administration experience.’”⁶⁸ The Department of State hopes to complete this project by 2028.

B. Voter ID and Non-Citizen Voting

Under Pennsylvania law, any individual seeking to vote in person must present a valid form of identification to the election officer.⁶⁹ The election officer is required to examine the identification and then sign an affidavit affirming that the identification has been presented and examined.⁷⁰ In the event the elector is unable or unwilling to present proof of identification, then the elector is permitted to cast a provisional ballot.⁷¹ Otherwise, Pennsylvania does not require voters to provide a form of identification prior to voting. Instead, Pennsylvania law requires all electors to sign a voter’s certificate.⁷²

Pennsylvania law expressly prohibits non-citizen voting. The general rule is that “an individual who claims to be properly registered and eligible to vote at the election district but whose name does not appear on the district register and whose registration cannot be determined by the inspectors of election or the county election board shall be permitted to cast a provisional ballot.”⁷³ In fact, the affidavit that the elector is required to complete prior to voting the provisional ballot is silent with respect to a voter’s citizenship.⁷⁴

In September 2017, the Secretary disclosed that a “glitch” in a Pennsylvania Department of Transportation (“PennDOT”) computer system allowed ineligible persons, including legal permanent residents, also known as green card holders, to register to vote as part of the process of applying for or renewing a driver’s license or vehicle registration. Various media outlets reported about the glitch and the Pennsylvania legislature conducted multiple public

⁶⁷ Carter Walker, *Pennsylvania signs new contract to upgrade SURE voter registration system*, Votebeat.org, (Mar. 5, 2025) (<https://www.votebeat.org/pennsylvania/2025/03/05/sure-upgrade-voter-registration-system-new-contract-signed/>).

⁶⁸ *Id.*

⁶⁹ 25 P.S. § 3050(a).

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ 25 P.S. § 3050(a.2).

⁷² 25 P.S. § 3050(a.3)(1).

⁷³ 25 P.S. § 3050(a.4)(1).

⁷⁴ 25 P.S. § 3050(a.4)(2).

investigatory hearings.⁷⁵ “At one point, state election officials said noncitizen immigrants may have cast 544 ballots illegally — out of more than 93 million ballots in elections spanning 18 years, going back to 2000.”⁷⁶ This “glitch” gained national attention and, in 2019, Public Interest Legal Foundation, “a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization public interest law firm dedicated to election integrity,”⁷⁷ filed a lawsuit against then Secretary of the Commonwealth Kathy Boockvar and other officials, alleging violation of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, 52 U.S.C. § 20507. Although Public Interest Legal Foundation was successful at the federal district court level, on April 25, 2025, the United States District Court for the Third Circuit held that Public Interest Legal Foundation did not have legal standing to bring the lawsuit.⁷⁸

This weak system of voter identification, coupled with the “glitch” in the PennDOT computer system, failed to ensure the integrity of the vote. Reform efforts should look to implement stricter voter identification requirements, where voters are required to present photo identification, such as a driver’s license, U.S. Passport, or government-issued identification. Stricter standards would not only improve the quality of the voter registration list but also help secure the election process by reducing risk of voter fraud.

C. Deceased Voters

Pennsylvania law allows counties to use information from numerous sources, such as the health department, published obituaries, and testamentary documents, to confirm that a voter has died.⁷⁹ If a voter submits an absentee ballot but dies before Election Day, then the county board of elections must reject the ballot and is prohibited from counting that vote.⁸⁰ However, the law further provides that election results cannot be invalidated if a recently deceased voter’s mail-in or absentee ballot is included in the count⁸¹

⁷⁵ *Public Interest Legal Foundation v. Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 2025 WL 124229, at *1 (3d Cir. 2025).

⁷⁶ Josh Kelety, *Separating fact from fiction in Pennsylvania’s election process*, Associated Press (Oct. 29, 2024) (<https://whyy.org/articles/pennsylvania-election-fact-fiction-harris-trump/>). See also *Can noncitizens vote in Pennsylvania elections?*, Associated Press (Sept. 16, 2024) (<https://apnews.com/article/pennsylvania-elections-noncitizen-voting-4d36f4f528759c86447906faaef2216a>).

⁷⁷ Public Interest Legal Foundation, *About*, (<https://publicinterestlegal.org/about/>) (last accessed May 5, 2025).

⁷⁸ *Public Interest Legal Foundation v. Sec. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, ___ F.4th ___, 2025WL 1242229 (3d Cir. 2025).

⁷⁹ 25 Pa.C.S. § 1505.

⁸⁰ 25 P.S. § 3146.8(d).

⁸¹ See *id.*

Despite these regulations, in 2021, a Pennsylvania man who illegally voted on behalf of his long-dead mother in the 2020 election was sentenced to five years of probation.⁸²

SECTION III: The Quality of the Voter Registration List

GRADE: D-

IV. THE IMPARTIAL, PROFESSIONAL, AND INDEPENDENCE OF ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

A. Public Perception of Pennsylvania Elections

In October of 2024, Pennsylvania Governor Josh Shapiro posted on social media about his seamless voting experience at the ballot box. However, just days later, voters across the state began reporting issues to Board of Elections offices, including claims that “computers are down,” “the site will be closing early,” “they are not accepting any more voters,” and “mail ballots will not be counted.” These widespread reports raised questions about the consistency and fairness of the election process. In response, Pennsylvania Secretary of the Commonwealth Al Schmidt received several letters addressing these concerns, with some noting that Governor Shapiro’s positive voting experience appeared to be an outlier. The letters urged that the promised support be implemented to ensure that all voters could have the same smooth and efficient experience as the governor.

B. Ballot Access for Third Party Candidates

While most voters viewed the 2024 election solely as a battle between former President Donald Trump and Vice President Kamala Harris, other candidates also sought the Presidency. One of these candidates - Dr. Cornel West - faced significant challenges from the Department of State in certifying his candidacy for the 2024 general election ballot.

As background, Dr. Cornel West is a self-described non-Marxist socialist and has been described as “a leftist academic [and] progressive activist.”⁸³ As such, Dr. West supporters were primarily voters who were sympathetic to Democratic candidates, i.e. they would vote for Harris if Dr. West did not run.

Pennsylvania law requires nineteen (19) electors, and the names of the electors are to be listed on the petitions. In order to be an elector, the individual must be a Pennsylvania resident, a

⁸² Josh Kelety, *Separating fact from fiction in Pennsylvania’s election process*, Associated Press (Oct. 29, 2024) (<https://why.org/articles/pennsylvania-election-fact-fiction-harris-trump/>), citing AP News, *Man admits to voter fraud in casting dead mother’s ballot* (Apr. 30, 2021) (<https://apnews.com/article/election-2020-government-and-politics-d34effeea6c341d6c44146931127caff>).

⁸³AP News, *Cornel West is back on Michigan’s presidential ballot, judge rules* (August 26, 2024) <https://apnews.com/article/cornel-west-michigan-ballot-ruling-4eecb8eddec7db7d17f6d82686286354> (Last accessed December 26, 2024).

registered Pennsylvania voter, and cannot be a registered and enrolled member of a political party beginning thirty (30) days before the primary and extending through the general election held in the same year. Each elector is required to execute an affidavit. The affidavit is required to be notarized; however, in 2020, Pennsylvania enacted a law that allows a candidate to submit a form declaration issued by the Department of State alongside the affidavit in lieu of notarizing the affidavit.⁸⁴

Once the elector is listed on the petition sheet, the elector is required to submit an affidavit. Pennsylvania law does not allow for an elector to be replaced unless the elector has filed his/her affidavit. This presented a problem for Dr. West, as numerous individuals who had initially agreed to serve as an elector on his behalf had refused to sign the affidavit after Kamala Harris became the Democratic Party's nominee. As such, Dr. West was unable to submit the affidavits of the 19 electors listed on his petition, and the Department of State refused to accept the paperwork of replacement electors. As such, Dr. West, and his vice presidential nominee, Dr. Melinda Abdullah, were denied access to the Pennsylvania ballot.

In August of 2024, individual electors filed a lawsuit in the Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania, seeking an order instructing the Department of State to accept the paperwork of replacement electors. The Court concluded that the individual electors did not exercise due diligence in bringing the suit and, as a result of the delay, prejudiced the Department of State.⁸⁵ The Court also disagreed with the individual electors with respect to the unconstitutionality of the presidential elector regulations.⁸⁶ The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania ultimately affirmed the decision.

In September of 2024, Dr. West, Dr. Abdullah and individual voters filed a lawsuit in federal court (Western District of Pennsylvania) against the Department of State and the Secretary of the Commonwealth. The lawsuit alleged that requiring West and Abdullah to file elector paperwork is unconstitutional in light of the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Ultimately, the lawsuit asked the Court to declare the statute requiring the elector paperwork to be declared unconstitutional and to issue an order requiring that the Department of State certify West and Abdullah as candidates for President and Vice-President, respectively. Although the Court denied Dr. West, Dr. Abdullah, and the individual voters' request on the basis of equitable principles, including those concerning election and voter confusion, the Court expressed dissatisfaction with the Commonwealth's ballot access restrictions:

This Court has serious concerns with the Secretary's application of the election code's restrictions to Dr. West. The laws, as applied to him and based on the record before the Court, appear to be designed to restrict ballot access to him (and

⁸⁴ See 25 P.S. §2911.

⁸⁵ *Williams v. Pennsylvania Dep't of State*, 325 A.3d 1041 (Pa. Commw. Ct.), *aff'd*, 326 A.3d 393 (Pa. 2024).

⁸⁶ See *id.*, citing *Clymer v. Schmidt* (Pa. Cmwlt., No. 376 M.D. 2024, filed August 23, 2024), slip op. at 9-13.

other non-major political candidates) for reasons that are not entirely weighty or tailored, and thus appear to run afoul of the U.S. Constitution.⁸⁷

The lawsuits involving Dr. West were not the only legal battles for third party ballot access in Pennsylvania. “Rejected from appearing on the Nov. 5 ballot were Constitution Party presidential candidate James Clymer — a placeholder for the conservative party’s presidential nominee — and Claudia De la Cruz of the left-wing Party for Socialism and Liberation.”⁸⁸ These legal proceedings clearly demonstrate the need for ballot access reform in Pennsylvania.

SECTION IV: Impartial, Professional and Independence of Election Administration

GRADE C-

V. LEADERSHIP TO INSTILL CONFIDENCE IN ELECTION RESULTS

In Pennsylvania, the Secretary of the Commonwealth is appointed by the governor. Pennsylvania Josh Shapiro has sought to “fashion[] a bipartisan administration in politically divided Pennsylvania.”⁸⁹ Following his appointment, Secretary Schmidt stated, ““My job now is to advance the governor’s agenda, and to make sure that every eligible voter is able to register to vote, and every registered voter is able to cast their vote and have their vote counted at the end of the day.”⁹⁰ It is troubling that a state government official would state that his job is to advance a governor’s agenda, rather than to abide by the rule of law. Although Fair Election Fund has not located any evidence that Secretary Schmidt has directly or blatantly disregarded Pennsylvania’s election laws, he has been accused of manipulating the enforcement of certain election regulations.

Leadership in Pennsylvania has been lacking in addressing the inconsistencies and challenges in the election process. In fact, the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit has noted: “Pennsylvania law is willing to overlook many technical defects. It favors counting votes as

⁸⁷ *West v. Pennsylvania Dep't of State*, 753 F. Supp. 3d 424, 425 (W.D. Pa. 2024), *dismissed*, No. 24-2913, 2024 WL 5509493 (3d Cir. Nov. 19, 2024).

⁸⁸ Marc Levy, *Pennsylvania high court rules against two third-party candidates trying for presidential ballot*, AP News (Sept. 13, 2024) (<https://apnews.com/article/pennsylvania-presidential-ballot-2024-cornel-west-68e37f4587fce284ef44680ee3d23f8f>).

⁸⁹ Marc Levy, *Shapiro will nominate former Philly Commissioner Al Schmidt to be secretary of state*, Associated Press (Jan. 5, 2023) (<https://why.org/articles/josh-shapiro-al-schmidt-secretary-of-state-nomination/>).

⁹⁰ Zach Montellaro, *Pennsylvania’s new Dem governor nominates Republican Schmidt to run state elections*, Politico (Jan. 5, 2023) (<https://www.politico.com/news/2023/01/05/pennsylvania-josh-shapiro-al-schmidt-00076431>).

long as there is no fraud.”⁹¹ The Court also highlighted how each county has great leeway in conducting elections:

In Pennsylvania, each county runs its own elections. Counties choose and staff polling places. They buy their own ballot boxes and voting booths and machines. They even count the votes and post the results. In all this, counties must follow Pennsylvania’s Election Code and regulations. But counties can, and do, adopt rules and guidance for election officers and electors. And they are charged with ensuring that elections are honestly, efficiently, and uniformly conducted.⁹²

The lack of uniformity in election procedures, combined with the challenges posed by mail-in voting and inconsistent ballot curing processes, has cast doubt on Pennsylvania’s election integrity.

Prior to the November 5, 2024 general election, on October 21, 2024, Secretary Schmidt notified Lancaster County commissioners that the Department had received reports that the Lancaster County Board of Elections had been misleading voters and violating various provisions of the Pennsylvania Election Code – specifically, the law regarding voter registration and mail-in ballot applications.⁹³ The Republican-controlled Board of Elections denied any wrongdoing and claimed that the information contained in Secretary Schmidt’s letter “was in ‘direct contradiction’ to everything the county had heard up to then,” and that Secretary Schmidt was acting as a “political operative” and a nonpartisan administrator.⁹⁴ This dispute highlighted discrepancies regarding college students from out-of-state registering to vote in Pennsylvania and demonstrates the need for uniformity across counties.

Around that same time, allegations surfaced in York County concerning thousands of potentially fraudulent voter registration forms and mail-in ballot applications.⁹⁵ Similar allegations arose in Monroe County, Cambria County, Lehigh County and Berks County.⁹⁶ Notably, although the

⁹¹ *Donald J. Trump for President, Inc. v. Secretary of Pennsylvania*, 830 F. App’x 377, 382 (3d Cir. 2020).

⁹² *Id.* (citations omitted).

⁹³ Tom Lisi, *State’s top election official says Lancaster County elections office is misleading voters*, LancasterOnline (Oct. 22, 2024) (https://lancasteronline.com/news/politics/states-top-election-official-says-lancaster-county-elections-office-is-misleading-voters/article_1720331a-9004-11ef-b4fe-936e7d52cf7b.html).

⁹⁴ Tim Stuhldreher, *Commissioners: County is following law on out-of-state students’ voter registration applications*, One United Lancaster (Oct. 22, 2024) (<https://oneunitedlancaster.com/government/commissioners-county-is-following-law-on-out-of-state-students-voter-registration-applications/>).

⁹⁵ Tim Stuhldreher, *Trump tweets about Lancaster County registration applications; commissioners accuse LNP of perpetuating refuted accusations*, One United Lancaster (Oct. 30, 2024) (<http://oneunitedlancaster.com/government/trump-tweets-about-lancaster-county-registration-issue-commissioners-accuse-lnp-of-perpetuating-refuted-accusations/>).

⁹⁶ Emmet Lyons, Steve Reilly, Joanne Stocker, *What we know about reports of fraudulent voter registration applications in Pennsylvania*, CBS News (Nov. 5, 2024) (<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/pennsylvania-fraudulent-voter-registration-applications-investigation/>).

Department of State continued to publish guidance with respect to the voter registration forms and mail-in ballot applications, Pennsylvania leadership appeared to take a back seat and let the counties handle the issues internally.

Clearly, the Commonwealth's inability to enforce state law across counties, combined with an unwillingness to defend key election statutes, such as the ineligibility of undated ballots, leaves the door open for further issues.

SECTION V: Leadership to Instill Confidence in Election Results

GRADEC +

PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

PERFORMANCE SUMMARY

SECTION I: The Administration of Elections and Enforcement
of Existing Laws

GRADE: C-

SECTION II: The Transparency of Electoral Process

GRADE: C-

SECTION III: The Quality of the Voter Registration List

GRADE: D-

SECTION IV: Impartial, Professional and Independent Election
Administration

GRADE: C-

SECTION V: Leadership to Instill Confidence in Election
Results

GRADE: C+

OVERALL GRADE: C-