

VOTING IN AMERICA: ACCESS TO THE BALLOT
IN PENNSYLVANIA

A ROUNDTABLE
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON HOUSE
ADMINISTRATION
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

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VOTING IN AMERICA: ACCESS TO THE BALLOT IN PENNSYLVANIA

TUESDAY, MAY 10, 2022

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS,
COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION ,
Washington, DC.

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:05 a.m., Upper Darby Township Building, 100 Garrett Road, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania 19082, Hon. G. K. Butterfield [Chairman of the Subcommittee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Butterfield, Aguilar, Scanlon, and Dean.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. G. K. BUTTERFIELD, CHAIRMAN, A
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM NORTH CAROLINA

Representative BUTTERFIELD. Good morning, everyone.

Let me say thank you to our colleague, and fellow Member of the Committee on House Administration, my friend Congresswoman Mary Gay Scanlon of the Fifth District. Thank you, Mary Gay for hosting us today and welcoming us to your district.

Let me say welcome to my colleagues from Pennsylvania, all of you: Congressman David Dwight Evans of the Third District and Congresswoman Madeleine Dean of the Fourth District. I thank both of you for joining us and thank you for the incredible work that you do in the House of Representatives.

Let me also just say to my colleagues that I had every intention of being with you today. I had purchased my Amtrak ticket and reserved the hotel for last evening, but then I had a visitor; it was COVID-19. Last week, I was homebound with COVID, but thankfully, yesterday, I tested negative. I just thought it would be better for me to do this roundtable this morning virtually and not feel uncomfortable, nor have any of you to feel uncomfortable.

But for a bout with COVID, I would be there with you today. So, thank you for your understanding and thank you for participating.

Finally, let me just say thank you to our panelists for joining us in this discussion and to the Upper Darby Township. You are great and, just, you are fantastic for opening your doors and hosting us today.

We have assembled today to discuss voting and we want to discuss access to the ballot in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Over the past several years, several significant events have improved ballot access for voters across the Commonwealth, including

the courts stopping a strict voter-ID law, the striking down of gerrymandered congressional maps, the passage of Act 77 in 2019, which expanded ballot access and altering election administration proceedings to help voters during the pandemic.

But, unfortunately, not all in the Commonwealth and across the country have supported this increased access. Pennsylvania was the subject of numerous lawsuits during the last election and despite no evidence to support these claims, ballots cast by Pennsylvania voters became the target of disinformation and unfounded accusations of fraud during the last general election; charges that went so far as to have Pennsylvania's electoral votes challenged on the House Floor during the certification of the presidential election on January 6th.

Attempts to curtail ballot access have continued; for example, now, despite bipartisan support for mail-in voting when it passed the legislature in 2019 and its popularity among voters, some in your state are suing to try to have the mail-in voting law overturned.

In the wake of the last election, we have seen far too many states enact or attempt to enact laws that restrict access to the ballot. In Pennsylvania, opponents of ballot access are now turning to ballot questions, attempting to enact restrictive measures through state constitutional amendments during the upcoming election.

During today's roundtable, we will hear from election officials and litigators and advocates about how voters in the Commonwealth can access their ballot freely and fairly and securely, ways in which officials are working to improve ballot access and ongoing attempts to curtail that access.

And so, I look forward, I look forward to hearing from our panelists today about these and other topics and continuing to work with my colleagues to ensure every voter receives equal and equitable access to the ballot box across the country. Thank you for listening to these opening remarks.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. I will now recognize my friend and colleague, Congresswoman Mary Gay Scanlon, for any opening comments that she would like to make.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. MARY GAY SCANLON, A U.S.
REPRESENTATIVE FROM PENNSYLVANIA

Representative SCANLON. Thank you so much, Chairman Butterfield, and thank you to my colleagues and our officials from throughout Southeastern and Greater Pennsylvania, for being here to discuss the strengths of Pennsylvania's election system and the possible lessons we can glean from ongoing election efforts across the Commonwealth.

For more than a decade, Pennsylvania has been ground zero in efforts to restrict the right to vote in response to false claims of voter fraud. Then as now instances of voter fraud are vanishingly rare. But losing candidates and those who want to make it harder for some eligible voters to exercise this essential freedom have increasingly and falsely claimed that our elections are being stolen by immigrants, dead people, foreign hackers, phantom voters, and other bad actors. Not only are those claims false, but they have

also inflicted damage upon public confidence in our elections, inspiring attacks upon Congress and election officials.

In 2011 to 2012, Pennsylvania saw the passage of some of the most egregiously gerrymandered state and Congressional legislative districts in the country, as well as passage of a voter ID law that was so restrictive, it threatened to disenfranchise over a half million eligible Pennsylvania voters.

After that, in 2016, we learned that foreign adversaries worked diligently to sow mistrust and doubt among the American public, and in Pennsylvania, about the security and validity of our elections and those efforts have continued.

In 2020, we saw what we hoped was the culmination and final chapter of these multi-year trends, as large swaths of the Republican Party led by the former President, espoused the Big Lie and this ended with an unprecedented insurrection against the American government at the United States Capitol.

So, nowhere have we felt these impacts more than in Pennsylvania. Throughout it all, dedicated Pennsylvanians, who oversee and coordinate our elections from both parties, have pushed forward to perform their duties. Election workers and administrators of both parties rose above bitter partisanship, maximizing opportunities for Pennsylvanians to vote, and fight back against misinformation, even through the challenges of the COVID pandemic.

So, I am looking forward to hearing from folks who have been on the front lines in these issues over the last few years. And with that, I will turn it over to my colleague, Madeleine Dean.

Ms. Dean. Well, Chairman Butterfield and Mary Gay, Representative Scanlon, I am delighted to be here with all of you and I thank those who are testifying before us.

I come at this with an interesting set of lenses. I was a State Representative. I was sworn in, in a special election in May of 2012, after voter ID had passed in Pennsylvania. And very quickly, we found the work of our constituent services office was to go visit older people in nursing homes, to visit young people to say: We want to do everything we possibly can to make sure you have the right to vote. Fortunately, and it created an incredible disturbance, and as Mary Gay pointed out, layered over the horrifically gerrymandered maps. This was a corrosive, purposeful intent to undermine confidence in the election, culminating several years later, almost 10 years later with an insurrection on our Capitol.

So, I come at this saying that we are keenly aware of the work of some to undermine access to elections. We are keenly aware of Act 77 and the expansion that Act 77 represented, brought forward by a Republican majority, and passed the House, signed by the Governor, and then, of course, two elections later, when certain people didn't like the outcome, up came the Big Lie.

So, I am just delighted to be here with all of you to make sure that we keep exposing the public to what the goals should be: more people, everybody with legal access to voting and we must stop the undermining of our confidence in elections. That is harmful to our democracy, and sadly, we saw that play itself out January 6th.

And I yield back.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. The gentlelady yields back.

I thank both of you for your opening statements.

As we begin our discussions this morning, I would like to take a moment to just introduce our panelists. Panelist number one is Leigh Chapman. Leigh serves as Acting Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, leading the Pennsylvania Department of State. She served as Policy Director at the Department from 2015 to 2017 and has held senior leadership positions at the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights and other nonpartisan, nonprofit organizations.

Witness two is Dori Sawyer. Dori serves as Director of Elections for Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.

Next witness is Dr. Joan Duvall-Flynn. Joan is the past President of the NAACP, Pennsylvania State Conference and Branches. She served as a past President of the NAACP Media Area Unit, and she served as Chair of the Pennsylvania NAACP Education Committee.

Next is Benjamin Geffen. Benjamin is a Staff Attorney with the Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia, where he has successfully argued cases on voting rights, such as striking down Pennsylvania's gerrymandered congressional map and its former voter ID law.

Al Schmidt. Al is the President and CEO of the Committee of Seventy, a non-profit, nonpartisan good, government organization. He previously served 10 years as City Commissioner of Philadelphia.

Thank you to each of the witnesses for your participation today. Secretary Chapman, you should go first. Please go right ahead.

**STATEMENT OF LEIGH CHAPMAN, ACTING SECRETARY OF
THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA**

Ms. CHAPMAN. Wonderful. Well, thank you, Chairman Butterfield, Members of the House Administration Committee, Representative Dean, and Representative Scanlon.

I am Leigh Chapman, Acting Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I was appointed by Governor Tom Wolf on January 8, 2022.

As Pennsylvania's Chief Election Officer, my role is to ensure that elections are secure and accessible, and that every eligible Pennsylvanian can register, cast their ballot, and have it counted.

I just wanted to thank you all for this opportunity to participate in this discussion regarding Pennsylvania elections. As you know, Pennsylvania's primary is one week away, on Tuesday, May 17.

With one week to go, we have 8.7 million registered voters in Pennsylvania; 895,000 requests for absentee and mail ballots, and 340,000 returned ballots, which is about a 37 percent return rate so far.

So, at the Department, we are focused on reaching voters from across the Commonwealth in rural and urban areas to inform them about how to cast a ballot in the primary election. We are really meeting voters where they are and utilizing social media, emails, text messages, outdoor paid media, radio, and internet ads to provide information and reminders before Election Day.

I just wanted to say this, importantly, anybody who wants to vote by mail in this primary election that hasn't applied, has until this afternoon at 5:00 p.m. to apply. And mail ballots must be re-

ceived by the voters County Board of Elections by 8:00 p.m. on Election Day. And if voters want more information, if they are watching, they can go to our website, vote.pa.gov, to request that ballot by 5:00 p.m. today.

So, now I just wanted to discuss the various concerns and threats to elections. One of the biggest threats to our elections and to democracy in general, is misinformation and disinformation. Whether intentional or unintentional, both reduce voters' confidence in the electoral process, and, in turn, discourage participation.

So, let's use the example of dropboxes. There are some that say mail-in voting, specifically, dropboxes can't be trusted, and I disagree, as dropboxes are a secure way to drop off your mail ballot.

So, recently, as some of you may have heard, the District Attorney in Lehigh County announced that he will have detective-surveilled dropbox locations because security video from the 2021 election purportedly showed hundreds of voters dropping off more than one ballot. He has acknowledged to the press that there was no evidence that drop-boxes have been used to tamper with votes or cast fraudulent ballots.

I have been in communication with the DA to express my concerns that the presence of law enforcement could deter voters from lawfully casting a ballot.

So, while there are several reforms that the Department would propose to modernize our election laws, I'll focus on two. One reform that would go a long way towards squelching disinformation about mail-in balloting is also consistently requested by county election officials for administrative reasons: additional time for pre-canvassing mail-in and absentee ballots.

So, during pre-canvassing, officials verify the signature on the outer envelope against the voter's registration and remove the secrecy envelope. Under current law, pre-canvassing can't begin until 7:00 a.m. on Election Day, which even before widespread mail-in voting, was the busiest day of the year for election workers.

In 2020, while the nation waited days for Pennsylvania's results, the delay created an opportunity for speculation and conjecture of something afoul in the process. Extending the pre-canvassing period increases the likelihood that election officials can post election results as close to the close of polls as possible.

This reform would also alleviate the pressure experienced by county and local election officials on Election Day, as they are trying to canvas thousands of mail-in ballots while in-person voting is underway through their counties.

Second, counties consistently express another need: adequate, consistent funding from the State and Federal Government. In Pennsylvania, counties bear virtually all the costs to run elections at every level. While counties have long-needed more support, the circumstances of 2020 exposed the gaping flaws in the current funding model.

In addition to the pandemic, new threats and new election law require counties to upgrade their systems and machines. And while the Federal Government provided some support through the CARES Act, that was not enough to meet the need. Nonprofits stepped in at the eleventh hour, providing grants to the State and every County that applied.

County officials from both major parties have acknowledged that those grants filled a critical gap, which if not filled, could have proven disastrous, yet those grants became a target for post-election disinformation. There is currently a state bill pending that would ban such funding in the future.

So, the Department asks that Federal and state legislatures share the cost of administering both, state and Federal elections. Specifically, we ask you to support President Biden's new proposal to infuse \$15 billion into elections, including \$10 billion to go directly to states and \$5 billion to improve postal delivery of mail-in ballots.

So, thank you for the opportunity to participate in this important conversation, and I welcome any questions that you may have.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. And thank you, Madam Secretary.

Ms. CHAPMAN. Thank you.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. At this time, I will recognize Ms. Sawyer. You are next.

STATEMENT OF DORI SAWYER, DIRECTOR OF ELECTIONS FOR MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

Ms. SAWYER. Good morning. Thank you for inviting me to participate in this roundtable. My name is Dori Sawyer. I am the Director of Elections for Montgomery County.

County Voter Services Offices are responsible for the logistical and operational aspects of elections. Our responsibilities range from registering the voters, to collecting petitions for local candidates, to securing polling locations, and training our poll workers.

I have the privilege to work with an engaged team of election officials who all work tirelessly to ensure that the elections in Montgomery County are free, fair, safe, and secure. This starts by ensuring that every resident with legal standing to vote, understands the steps they must take in order to do so. They process voter registration, maintain the voter rolls, and also process absentee and mail-in ballot applications. They undergo in-depth training to ensure that all laws pertaining to voter registration and mail balloting are followed.

Other teammates help manage campaign finance filings for specific offices, recruit and train poll workers, secure polling locations, and host voter education seminars.

Our website is an excellent resource for residents who want to register to vote, update their registration, apply for an absentee or mail-in ballot, view the sample ballot for their precinct, or finding their polling location. We also have a "frequently asked questions" section that we update regularly based on the topics residents are contacting us about.

You can view historical election data to find statistics on voter participation, view a variety of different maps, and learn more about how to get involved as a poll worker or a mail-in ballot canvasser. You can also find videos that demonstrate how the equipment in the polling location works so that you know what to expect when you arrive.

Speaking of the machines, our team is also responsible for ensuring that they are all working properly ahead of Election Day. We test every single scanner to ensure that votes are being awarded

to the correct candidate before Election Day and complete an audit after Election Day to ensure that they performed correctly.

The scanners in the polling locations are only programmed to read the Election Day ballot for one particular precinct. They cannot read absentee, mail-in, or provisional ballots. In Montgomery County, we utilize about 2,600 residents each election. Many are poll workers, who are trained to perform specific tasks inside of a polling location. They issue ballots to eligible voters and are aware of who, within the precincts, applied for a mail-in ballot. They play an active role in ensuring that no one votes both ways and must void the voter's mail-in ballot and return envelope before issuing an Election Day ballot. This is just one measure we have in place to ensure that no voter casts more than one ballot.

Residents also help process the ballots that we receive by mail. When a voted ballot arrives in our office, it is timestamped and marked as "received" in the voter registration system. At 7:00 a.m. on Election Day, we are allowed to begin processing them and can make determinations as to whether or not a ballot can be counted.

Ballots that are approved for counting are opened and scanned on similar equipment as what is found in a polling location. Ballots that are deficient in any way are reviewed by lawyers who determine if we are legally permitted to add that ballot into the count or if it must be rejected. Any ballot that is rejected is marked accordingly in our system, which helps us reconcile our records.

After polls close, the judge of election from each print brings their voted ballots and the memory card from the scanner back to Voter Services so that we can secure the ballots and post unofficial results. We also post the unofficial results from the absentee and mail-in ballots that have been counted up to that point, even though we may not be finished opening and counting all of the ballots that we have received. The results will continue to be updated as judges bring their materials back and the mail-in team continues to process all ballots that were received by the County by 8:00 p.m.

After Election Day, we update all of the records of all the residents who voted in person, using the information from the poll books. This takes us between 2 and 3 days to complete, depending on voter turnout. As I mentioned earlier, the profiles of voters who return their ballots by email are updated when we receive their ballot.

On the Friday after Election Day, yet another group of well-trained Montgomery County residents assemble to perform reconciliation and tabulation. They are a bipartisan group of registered voters who ensure that we have a ballot for each person, who we have recorded as having voted.

They must manually record and tabulate the write-in candidates, which takes a significant amount of time for a county our size. Once all of the ballots have been reconciled and the last write-in tabulated and all of the audits have been performed, we present the unofficial results to the Election Board to be certified.

Lawyers and poll watchers are able to observe us while we process ballots and move through the different processes. Registered voters from across the county are involved in every single election, whether they are casting ballots, working on Election Day in a poll-

ing location, processing mail-in ballots, observing the process as a poll watcher, or working as a full-time Voter Services team member. The people are an essential component of this democracy, and I am proud to say that Montgomery County residents show up and take part every time.

Residents who have questions about anything election-related should reach out to their County Voter Services Department. Thank you.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. And thank you, Ms. Sawyer.

Next will be Dr. Duvall-Flynn. You may go next.

STATEMENT OF DR. JOAN DUVALL-FLYNN, PAST PRESIDENT OF NAACP, PENNSYLVANIA STATE CONFERENCE AND BRANCHES, PAST PRESIDENT OF NAACP MEDIA AREA UNIT, AND PAST CHAIR OF PENNSYLVANIA NAACP EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Dr. DUVALL-FLYNN. Thank you.

Thank you for inviting me here, esteemed elected officials, who are the beneficiary of our vote. This discussion is among the most important of our time.

I was born under *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and I was relieved of that burden under President Truman and Chief Justice Moore, so voting matters. It makes a difference who holds power.

There is no issue that I am aware of concerning safe and secure elections. As a poll worker, I have witnessed the securities in place to protect citizens' votes. Poll workers are trained. We are careful to follow the state regulations and guidelines from 6:45 in the morning until we shut those polling booths down in the evening, and repack them, according to rigid guidelines.

I've talked with citizens about what they see as impeding their access to the ballot. We frequently talk in very sophisticated terms about legislation and such, so I wanted to know what do the people who do not vote say is keeping them from voting. We do know that mail-in voting works. I, for a couple of years, did mail-in vote. My husband did mail-in vote. Even when I made a mistake on my mail-in ballot, when I went to the voting center in Delaware County in Media, there was a rigid process for me turning in the mistake and getting another ballot, which I could cast correctly, and then drop in the drop-box.

When there was a challenge in Pennsylvania about dropboxes, I was asked to be witness in that court case to say that it was essential for some citizens of Pennsylvania to have access to a mail-in ballot. I have never had a problem and we have not noted any problems in Delaware County, where I live.

One of the problems that citizens tell me that inhibits their voting is that they are not clear about the rules. So, there are people with language barriers who can't quite figure it out: if I have voted before, do I need to take ID to vote this time? Because they are unaware that that has been litigated and resolved in Pennsylvania, thank you so much.

Some people are confused as to their polling place. What I have noticed in working with polls is this frequently can happen to the elderly. They are just not sure when they move into assisted-living settings, they are just not sure where they are supposed to vote.

So, frequently, they go to the closest place, which may not be their designated poll.

But what happens when people come, and they are not clear? Everyone working the polls does whatever it takes, makes whatever phone calls are necessary, to get that person to the right poll. Voters, from my experience as a poll worker, are taken care of with extreme care and they are treated with great respect and everything that can be done to make sure that they can cast a ballot that will be counted is done.

Registration is a problem for some people. Re-entry people frequently do not know they can vote. Some people are unclear as to when provisional ballots are required. That process is taken care of very carefully at the poll.

Evictions during COVID have left some people living in chaos, not understanding they have to go change their address, and so they are precluded from voting.

So, the other thing is, and my time is over, correct information. Correct information is a big block to voting. And the other impediment for many nonvoters is transportation to the polls. This is what the grassroots people are saying, they are not talking about the laws that are pending and such. They can't get there.

So, I want to thank you for allowing me to share what I have learned, and I will be happy to answer any questions that might be helpful.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. And thank you, as well.
At this time, I will recognize Mr. Geffen.

**STATEMENT OF BENJAMIN GEFFEN, STAFF ATTORNEY,
PUBLIC INTEREST LAW CENTER OF PHILADELPHIA**

Mr. GEFFEN. Thank you, Chairman Butterfield.

Thank you, Congresswoman Scanlon, Congresswoman Dean, and everyone else for being here today to talk about what is a vital issue.

I was glad to hear mention of the voter ID fight because, although it has been, it has been over 10 years now that that statute was passed in Pennsylvania and then struck out down in the courts, it is still very important to understand when we think about all the rhetoric around the 2020 election and that we are starting to hear about the 2022 election and beyond.

That law was passed in March 2012, signed by Governor Corbett, and it would have given Pennsylvania the strictest requirement in the country for voting. It would have forbidden anyone to vote unless they were able to present a photo ID from a short list of acceptable IDs at the polling place at every single election.

We proved at trial that this would disenfranchise, perhaps tens of thousands, more likely hundreds of thousands of voters in Pennsylvania, people who were unable to obtain one of the types of photos IDs on the list. The rationale that had been stated for this law by Governor Corbett, by leaders in the State Legislature, was that this was necessary to stamp-out widespread voter fraud in Pennsylvania.

So, we asked them to sit down for depositions, some of these elected officials who had made comments like this, to give us evidence under oath of all this voter fraud that the statute was need-

ed to prevent. They didn't want to sit down for those depositions for some reasons and, ultimately, it is a long story, and I am happy to share it someday, because it is a funny one, but ultimately, they signed a stipulation. They signed a legal document, instead of appearing for their depositions, instead of testifying under oath, they signed a document that said that they were not aware of any incidents of in-person voter fraud in Pennsylvania and do not have direct personal knowledge of in-person voter fraud elsewhere.

They would have had no evidence that in-person voter fraud has, in fact, occurred in Pennsylvania or elsewhere. They have no evidence or argument that in-person voter fraud is likely to occur in the future in Pennsylvania in the absence of the photo ID law.

And so, we were able to win that case, and I want to highlight one thing, we were able to win that case and strike down that law and keep allowing Pennsylvanians to vote regardless of whether they have photo ID, thanks to the Pennsylvania Commonwealth Court and the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

A few years prior, the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled against the Plaintiffs in a lawsuit challenging an Indiana voter ID law and that case was brought under the U.S. Constitution. We won our case under the Pennsylvania Constitution, which goes farther than the U.S. Constitution in guaranteeing a right to vote. And that has become increasingly important, I think, to people concerned about protecting their right to vote against threats from legislation and State Legislatures, because State Constitutions all over the country go further than the U.S. Constitution in safeguarding the right to vote.

That was crucial, again, in 2017 and 2018, when we successfully challenged Pennsylvania's gerrymandered Congressional map from 2011. That map was drawn in a way to make votes meaningless. It was drawn, Pennsylvania had 18 Congressional districts and the map was carefully engineered to ensure that 13 out of 18 districts would always be won by Republicans, that the map would be impervious to the will of the voters.

So even in a year when the Democrats had a great election statewide, for example, in 2012, when President Obama won Pennsylvania, won re-election by a comfortable margin, 13 out of 18 congressional districts, 72 percent of the Congressional districts went to Republicans. This map made a mockery of the will of the voters.

The Pennsylvania courts saw through it and in 2018, issued a decision striking that map down as violative of Pennsylvania's constitutional protections of the right to vote and required the draw of a new, fair map that is responsive to the will of the voters.

Our new Congressional map that is being used starting this fall, is very similar to the new Congressional map that Pennsylvania got in 2018, and it continues that new tradition here of having congressional district maps where voters really count and where their votes really matter.

Finally, I just want to mention the case that is in front of the State Courts right now about the right to vote by mail. That was passed in Act 77 in 2019, a bipartisan bill that passed the legislature, that extended the right to vote to add writing, the right to vote by mail, which it was especially an important safeguard during the worst days of COVID.

That is being challenged in court. I am confident that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court will see through it again and will uphold this important expansion of voting rights. I will just mention one of the, a couple of the clients we represent in that case, one is, her name is Molly Mahon. She is a nurse who works in a Neonatal Intensive Care Unit. She works shifts often and on Tuesdays from 7:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. and it takes her a while to get home. So, she would not be able to vote in person on Election Day, without the right to vote by mail. So, she risks disenfranchisement if this lawsuit is successful.

The other is Leah Marx. She is a military spouse. Her husband is stationed at an Army base in Washington State and while she is living there with him, she is continuing to exercise her right to vote in Pennsylvania by a mail-in ballot. Her right to vote is also in jeopardy if this lawsuit goes the wrong way.

Again, I am confident that the Pennsylvania Supreme Court will uphold this important aspect of our voting rights.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. All right. Thank you very much for your testimony.

At this time, I will recognize Mr. Schmidt.

**STATEMENT OF AL SCHMIDT, PRESIDENT AND CEO, THE
COMMITTEE OF SEVENTY**

Mr. SCHMIDT. Thank you, Congressman Butterfield, Congressmembers Scanlon and Dean, and Congressman Dwight Evans, who is my Congressman, representing my district in Philadelphia.

My name is Al Schmidt. I was an Election Director, City Commissioner of Philadelphia for 10 years, and I am now at the Committee of Seventy.

I wanted to share my perspective, both from the sort of parochial level, running an election in Philadelphia, and also from what I have learned from meeting with election officials and Secretaries of State around the country, because we are all facing the same thing, we are all struggling with the same issues, and many of those involve the Federal government.

And since I can speak directly to Members of Congress today, I wanted to just briefly focus on that and break it into soft three categories of infrastructure, where the Federal government can play a role: the protection of physical infrastructure, the protection of our cyber infrastructure, and our protection of our human infrastructure.

And I know that is a clumsy, awkward way of phrasing it. I used to be a Senior Analyst at the Government Accountability Office in Washington, D.C. and we managed to always put things in terms that were highly robotic, highly technical, and so forgive me for using the term "human infrastructure." I am talking about real people who make our elections happen, who are also vulnerable to what is going on.

On the physical infrastructure side, it is pretty straightforward, and I know you hear this a lot on every committee that you ever hear from, is more resources to protect the physical infrastructure of elections. In Philadelphia, a lesson learned from the 2020 election, where we had the opportunity to essentially rent out the en-

tire Pennsylvania Convention Center to consolidate our election operations is how important that physical infrastructure is, how much protection it needs, how expensive it is to make sure that the perimeter is secure, to make sure that you have cameras, to make sure that you have security, and all the rest. All those things cost dollars.

I was grateful to see in the legislation coming down the line that there is much more available to states and counties than was originally included.

In terms of cyber infrastructure, I would first commend the Department of Homeland Security, CISA, and our Federal election partners for reaching out to counties to test and red team and everything else, the cyber infrastructure of county elections, which is critically important not just to make sure that election results are not interfered with, which I think is less of a vulnerability, and more to make sure that there isn't an opportunity for creating chaos or creating and spreading misinformation from sort of interfering with the reporting system, which was connected to the internet and unconnected from the election tabulation.

And, lastly, on the human infrastructure front, and I am only one of many election administrators in Philadelphia who were on the receiving end of violent threats and death threats to myself and my family and my children, many had it worse than me, I am certain, but ultimately, whether it is at the county level or at your local precinct, it is real people who have to make elections run, and those real people are under attack.

And whether we are talking about humans running elections or physical infrastructure or cyber infrastructure, all of this is arising from the misinformation and disinformation campaign that is misleading people, that is deceiving people and causing them to manifest, in a physical way, their having been deceived by beliefs that the election was stolen. We have seen that sort all over the country.

So, the most important thing the Federal government should do or could do, and I would encourage the Department of Justice to continue pursuing this, I know there is a task force, but what I have not seen, while I have seen plenty of accountability, as there should be for what occurred on January 6th, I have not seen any commensurate accountability for what occurred to election administrators across the country in the last election. And nothing is going to fix that, absent accountability, and people need to be held accountable.

And your local police, like in Philadelphia, the police were phenomenal in protecting my kids. You know, when I took them sledding in the snow, Detective Smith and Park were with us. When I walked the dog, they walked the dog.

The local police were phenomenal. The Federal response should be commensurate to that, and people should be held accountable. I would encourage the Department of Justice to continue their hard work on this to make sure that that happens, because in my mind, it is the only thing that could possibly deter it from continuing.

So, that is the intersection that I just wanted to share from my local, parochial, kind of point of view, to the Federal level and how I think you all can help strengthen democracy.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. Thank you very much, Mr. Schmidt.

And thank you to all of our witnesses for your very brilliant testimonies today.

I think it is now time to begin Member questions. It looks like Mr. Aguilar, Pete Aguilar, a Congressman from California, will be first on the list.

Pete, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. AGUILAR. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

And a special thanks to our colleagues: Mary Gay Scanlon, Madeline Dean, and Dwight Evans for participating in the panel.

I can tell all those individuals in Pennsylvania that you have amazing Representatives who work with Chairman Butterfield every day to make sure that we strengthen democracy and ensure that we are doing as much as we can to ensure and protect the vote.

I wanted to start, Mr. Schmidt, you kind of walked down the path of cost in securing our elections, and Secretary Chapman, you did the same in talking about the total costs, and you gave the national number that the President was seeking to help elections.

Secretary, can you start, first, by saying what you feel the costs would be in Pennsylvania to secure your elections, update your voting machines, and ensure that we have a safe and secure election.

And then Mr. Schmidt, if you could, you know, answer that from your perspective, as well, with the Pennsylvania scope, not including cyber.

Ms. CHAPMAN. Sure. Well, thank you for that question, Congressman Aguilar.

The cost to implement elections in Pennsylvania has varied since Act 77 in 2019 that brought mail-in voting to the Commonwealth. So, pre-Act 77, it cost around \$20 to \$25 million to execute and election statewide, but that cost has gone up significantly recently.

So, one thing, when you mentioned voting machines, we were able to, the State of Pennsylvania provided a \$90 million bond that helps states secure voting machines pre-2020, so, you know, there is a need for consistent funding because we have these one-time infusion of funds, but, of course, machines, you know, just, they are only a few years' old before they are at the end of their useful life, right, so they are going to need to be released in a few years from now.

So, that is what we are really advocating for, is consistent funding from both, the State and Federal level. If we do have consistent funding, then nonprofits and third-party groups won't have to step in like they did for 2020.

But, I was in Philadelphia yesterday. I toured the election facilities. They had really high-tech equipment that can process thousands of ballots, you know, really per-minute, so they wouldn't be able to purchase that unless there was that third-party funding in 2020. So, it is important that all counties have access to consistent funding because they really bear the burden of the costs to implement elections.

Mr. AGUILAR. Thank you.

Mr. Schmidt.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Just to echo a little bit of what Secretary Chapman said about running elections, in Philadelphia, when I started 10 years ago, our budget was around \$10 million. With the addition of mail-in ballot voting, with the addition of our new voting machines, so we have a new, we have a new voting system and a whole new system of voting to make it more accessible to voters, as we should.

Whether they choose to vote in person at the polling place on a voting machine on Election Day and get a voter-verifiable, paper ballot that we use for our two audits in Philadelphia which we do every year, or the new system of voting for processing many hundreds of thousands of mail-in ballots in Philadelphia, it is expensive and I can't imagine what the 2020 election would have been like had we not received, like many counties did across the Commonwealth, Republican majority and Democratic majority counties, access to third-party grants that allowed us to buy a lot of that equipment, without affecting a single vote, without affecting a single race, not benefiting any party, not benefiting any candidate.

The biggest advantages were twofold; one, allowing us to process mail-in ballots and organize them by ward and division or precinct—ward and precinct so that we could identify anyone who voted in person and locate their mail-in ballot to make sure the two ballots weren't counted. And the other, because the Commonwealth, while we have had Act 77, which has allowed us to have mail-in voting, doesn't allow the counties to begin processing those mail-in ballots until 7:00 a.m. on election morning.

So, voters get confused, and they see, hey, like lots of voters in Florida vote by mail. How do they have the results at 10:00 p.m. on election night?

Well, that is because the law in Florida allows the counties to begin processing those mail-in ballots earlier. In Pennsylvania, we do not have that yet and our divided Government has protected us from a lot of what we have seen in other states that has made access more difficult. But what we also haven't seen are reforms to Act 77 that allow for improvements.

Very briefly on the cybersecurity thing, it is really about access to resources, to Federal government resources to test those systems to make sure that those systems are not vulnerable. There are some dollars involved, but it is not really a dollar thing it is about a partnership with the Federal Government.

Mr. AGUILAR. And we appreciate that.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My time is expired. I yield back.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. And thank you, Mr. Aguilar.

At this time, the chair recognizes Congresswoman Mary Gay Scanlon for 5 minutes.

Representative SCANLON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Secretary Chapman, one of the biggest pieces of disinformation that we have been dealing with since the passage of Act 77, I think, is that somehow mail-in ballots are susceptible to fraud.

Could you just address that briefly, talk a little bit about the redundancies that are in place; the things that make it impossible for someone to get a mail-in ballot, take it to a copying center, and put in a million votes for their preferred candidate, or whatever else is out there.

Ms. CHAPMAN. Well, thank you, Congresswoman.

I mean, mail-in voting is safe and secure. And one thing that a lot of people forget is that Pennsylvania has had absentee voting for decades and it is the same process. You know, in Pennsylvania, absentee voting requires you to provide an excuse or a reason to request your mail ballot, but now with Act 77, anyone in the Commonwealth, who is a registered, eligible voter, can request their mail-in ballot. So, it is the same process that we have been using for decades and there weren't these concerns before.

I just wanted to say that it is so popular that 4.7 million voters in Pennsylvania have used mail-in voting to date. And as I mentioned in my testimony, you know, we have seen close to 850,000 requests come through.

But, Pennsylvania voters, they must apply for a mail-in ballot. In Pennsylvania, we do not send mail-in ballots to every voter; there is an application process. They also must provide identification, such as a driver's license number or the last four digits of their Social Security number. And their county election official verifies their application against their voter registration.

After they receive their mail-in ballot and filled it out, they must sign an under oath under penalty of perjury. Their county, again, checks to make sure that they are on the list of approved voters and verifies that they have signed their voter oath. So, all of these checks happen for every single voter.

So, it is a secure process, and, you know, one thing that we need to make sure is that voters have the ability to return their ballot in multiple options. You know, we are all about providing options for voters. So, whether that is using the United States Postal Service, dropboxes, or going to your county and voting it in person there.

I just want to say, you know there have been a lot of conversation around dropboxes and dropboxes fraud in Pennsylvania. You know, we are definitely not seeing dropbox fraud in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

In Pennsylvania, you have to return, every voter is required to return their own mail-in ballot, unless they have a disability, and a designated agent can return that ballot on their behalf. So, we are doing a lot of education to dispel that misinformation and disinformation, but, you know, we really commend counties that are providing that access to voters.

I just wanted to say in Delaware County, there are 30 drop-boxes that voters can return their ballot to. In Chester County, there is 13. And in Montgomery County, there is 11. So, you know, if anyone is watching this, I want to make sure that today is the deadline, 5:00 p.m. to request your ballot and you have until 8:00 p.m. on Election Day. So, thank you.

Representative SCANLON. Thank you.

Just to make that concrete, Ms. Sawyer, if someone were to make a copy of their mail-in ballot and try to return it multiple times, would that be caught?

Ms. SAWYER. Yes. As I mentioned in my opening statement, was every time a ballot is returned to us, we update the voter's profile to indicate that their ballot has been cast.

If we were to get a ballot from a person who never requested one, that would be caught. If we had already recorded a ballot for that person, the system would not allow us to accept a second ballot. The updating of the record serves multiple purposes. Number one, if the voter has provided an email address, they will receive an email indicating that their ballot has been received. So, if that ballot was filled out by someone other than themselves, they are getting a notification that their ballot was returned. They can also check online. They can, there is a ballot-status tracker that is available on *vote.pa.gov*, and they could, of course, call our office, as well, to find out if their ballot had been received.

The other thing that this does is it actually removes the voter from the poll book when their ballot has been returned. So, when a person presents at their polling location, they have to sign the poll book to indicate that they are there and verify their address, et cetera but their name is actually removed from the poll book and put on a separate list so that poll workers cannot make a further mistake by enabling someone to vote twice.

So, if the voter has not yet returned their ballot, they would have to surrender their ballot, but if they have already returned their ballot it is updated in several different areas.

Representative SCANLON. A couple of people have mentioned the cost of elections and I do want to comment upon the fact that the cost of elections has been added to by frivolous lawsuits, whether challenging without evidence, the veracity of the elections or demanding audits. I think the Pennsylvania Legislature has already spent over a half million dollars seeking an audit of the 2020 election. But audits are already built into the system, aren't they, Secretary?

Ms. CHAPMAN. Yes, so I just want to say on the lawsuit front, you know, we have spent around \$30 million defending lawsuits. So, it is definitely—

Representative SCANLON. Taxpayer dollars.

Ms. CHAPMAN. Yes. So, it is definitely a significant cost.

But there are audits. In Pennsylvania, there is a 2 percent audit that is required by statute. We have piloted risk-limiting audits in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and by November, every county will be required to have a precertification post-election, precertification, risk-limiting audit.

Representative SCANLON. Thank you.

I see my time has expired, I could go on all day, but I yield back.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. Thank you, Congresswoman Scanlon.

At this time, the Chair recognizes Congresswoman Madeleine Dean for 5 minutes.

Ms. DEAN. Good morning. I am pleased to be here.

Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for including me in this hearing, for inviting me to participate.

And thank all of you for the testimony you have brought forward. I think I will start locally. I am a Montgomery County person. I represent the Fourth Congressional District.

Congratulations, and thank you, all of you, actually, for the seriousness, with which you take this issue, and you take your work in Montgomery County.

Could you, Ms. Sawyer, give us an idea, pre-Act 87 participation versus post-Act 77 participation. Do we have some data on the numbers of folks who vote?

Ms. SAWYER. We sure do. Again, all of this information is available for anybody to check on our website. You can see past-voter participation.

But when we look at, let's take 2021, as an example, so that is, that was not a presidential election, it was a municipal election and we saw it almost doubled, our voter turnout percentage from 2017.

Ms. DEAN. 2017, yes.

Ms. SAWYER. So, we saw almost twice the amount of people voted going from about a 14 percent voter turnout to an almost 28 percent voter turnout, just in the 2021 general election.

When you look at the in-person numbers from the 2021 general election, you can see that they are in line with where they were in 2017, so that boost came from more people participating by mail.

Ms. DEAN. It really helps. And I thank Commissioner Ken Lawrence for heading the elections bureau.

Madam Secretary, same idea. In Pennsylvania, can you give us some comparisons pre-77 and after-77 participation?

Ms. CHAPMAN. I don't have those numbers at my fingertips, but I can definitely provide those to you after.

Ms. DEAN. Would you generally say an increase in voter participation?

Ms. CHAPMAN. Yes, I mean 2020 was the largest voter participation we have seen. So, there definitely has been an increase in participation. You know, we have seen, when it comes to mail balloting, I gave those numbers this morning: 850,000 requested, 4.7 million to date.

So, yes, people are using it. They then are voting via mail. They are voting to some record numbers than have in the past.

Ms. DEAN. I have to say that just yesterday, I dropped mine in the dropbox in Norristown. Very secure. And so, I thank the whole system for working so diligently.

Dr. Duvall-Flynn, you said that this is, and I am paraphrasing, probably the most pressing issue of our time. Can you tell us from your deep experience in elections, and in voter participation and access to voting, why you say that?

Dr. DUVALL-FLYNN. It is the citizen's voice. It is tragic in this country that so few people participate because we have a minority of America's population setting the lives of a majority of our citizens. It is how we choose persons who reflect our values and who will work for those things that are in our personal interests.

And to fail to speak your voice through the vote is to put yourselves in the hands of other people who may see the world differently. So, it is, I have never missed a vote, local or Federal, because my parents raised me to do that. It is our responsibility to let those who go to represent us know what we believe in and what we think is important for society.

Ms. DEAN. Thank you for that.

I was thinking, I have been thinking a lot about Madeleine Albright these days and how she warned, and her life's work was about lifting up and protecting democracies and she used to repeat

a line that her father taught her, which is: Democracies are fragile, yet resilient.

Mr. Geffen, I guess I am going to ask you the quintessential question, you are close to it. Many GOP candidates are running on election integrity and yet you have all spoken to the disinformation, the misinformation and the actual regarding of the rule of law, the 60-plus cases across this country that found no voter fraud.

Despite that fact, do you have any idea why the myth of the stolen election persists?

Mr. GEFFEN. It is a convenient myth. It is a myth that some people feel benefits them electorally.

But one thing that struck me as a lawyer participating in much of this litigation has been how different people sound inside a courtroom or outside a courtroom. For example, I had the opportunity to be in a courtroom in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, in November 2020 when Mayor Giuliani appeared as a lawyer for the Trump campaign. And this was the same Rudy Giuliani who, just a few days away, was at the Four Seasons Total Landscaping in Philadelphia, presiding over a press conference with wild allegations of fraud.

In the courtroom, he told the judge, this isn't a fraud case. And that is because there are rules and accountability when you are in a courtroom. If you are a lawyer talking to a judge or if you are a witness who has been sworn in, there are consequences for you if you misstate the truth.

And in that situation, it appears he may have crossed the line and still managed to get himself in trouble. But it is striking how different the tune sounds when the people who allege fraud are put in a courtroom and when there are consequences for lying.

Ms. DEAN. Thank God, they do actually respect taking the oath to tell the truth.

And I know I am out of time, but Mr. Schmidt, why does the stolen election persist?

And thank you for your extraordinary service.

Mr. SCHMIDT. No, thank—it is nothing to thank.

I was a public servant at the time and every public servant across the country, you know, did the right thing in those circumstances. So, I always kind of, strangely, I seem ungrateful, but I kind of recoil whenever I hear it, because what else, like, what would we have done? Would we have lied? Which is completely the reason why all of this is happening to begin with right now.

The misinformation and disinformation, the allegations of voter fraud that is widespread, when in reality, it is rare. It is easy to detect. And has not had any impact on any election that I am aware of, statistically, least of all, the 2020 presidential election, which wasn't even close.

Ms. DEAN. Thank you.

Mr. SCHMIDT. It was more than 80,000 votes in Pennsylvania.

To add very briefly to what Ben just said, you know, not only is going to court a "put up or shut up" moment, but most of those judges were Republican judges, some of whom were appointed by the former President Trump. And all of those cases were dismissed.

And in the one federal case with Judge Matt Braun, were dismissed, you know, at very, with a lengthy decision that excoriated them for filing this thing with no evidence of anything that they were talking about whatsoever.

Ms. DEAN. I thank you—

Mr. SCHMIDT. So, we have the courts to rely on, and while we have election directors across the country who held fast in the face of this attack, importantly, we had the institutions of the Judicial Branch stay nonpartisan, nonpolitical, and make the right decisions when faced with allegations with no evidence at all.

Ms. DEAN. Thank you.

And thank you, Mr. Chairman, I know my time is well expired. Representative BUTTERFIELD. All right. The gentlelady yields back.

The Chair now recognizes himself for 5 minutes.

To each of our panelists, and I understand that the Secretary had to step away, and we, in her absence, we thank her very much for her testimony today, but to the other four witnesses, what is the one thing, one key thing that you think Congress should do to improve access to the ballot for all of your fellow Pennsylvanian citizens? One thing we can do or should do.

Let's start with Ms. Sawyer.

Ms. SAWYER. Thank you for that question.

I think that for Pennsylvanians, and networking as I do with my fellow Election Directors across the Commonwealth, the funding is probably the largest challenge that most counties face. I am fortunate in Montgomery that my Department is well-funded, I say "my Department,"—our team is well-funded but I know that that is a struggle for many other counties across the Commonwealth.

Being able to hire the appropriate amount of staff, being able to invest in the infrastructure needed, not just technology-wise, just for mailsorters, things that would not, things that would help kind of give that digital security, along with the human aspect of, there is human checking everything, but there is also a machine that works in tandem with us to help ensure that what we are saying is correct and vice-versa.

So, that kind of being able to bring that dual check-and-balance into every area would require funding and equal funding for our counties.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. All right. Let's try Dr. Duvall-Flynn. Dr. Duvall-Flynn, what is one thing you think we can do to improve access?

Dr. DUVALL-FLYNN. I have to say that it was an obscene affront, not only to Pennsylvanians, but to this country, to vote down the Voting Rights Act and give us Juneteenth. We, it was a slap in the face of every citizen to say, you can go have a party, but you can't vote.

So, I would say the legislation that guarantees the right to vote for every person in this country, Pennsylvanians included, is the most important thing.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. All right.

Mr. Geffen.

Mr. GEFFEN. I am glad that Dr. Duvall-Flynn mentioned the John Lewis Voting Rights Act to restore the Voting Rights Act to full strength.

I would also urge Congress to pass the For the People Act, H.R. 1, a whole suite of reforms that would set baseline for fair and free elections across the country, and for Pennsylvania, in particular, it would ensure that voters here have access to same-day voter registration and automatic voter registration. Those are already implemented in many other states; they are successful tools for increasing access to the franchise. And by nationalizing that, as a basic standard for states, including Pennsylvania, the For the People Act would make great strides.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. And, finally, Mr. Schmidt.

Mr. SCHMIDT. I would say that one reason why misinformation and disinformation has been so, those efforts have been so successful in spreading it is because, like in Philadelphia, New Jersey is across the river and Delaware is right next door, and each state is really running elections their own way. And there is certainly room for that because there is a big difference between states and a big difference within states, county to county, but some basic, uniform election requirements for access for every state and every county across the country, I think would go a long way to doing that. I know there has been legislation related to that and I would hope it would be successful and not held back by putting in everything else that everyone would want.

The other one is a preventive thing when it comes to fixing any confusion about the electoral count and the Electoral College and I know that legislation is also being considered but we want to minimize opportunities for misinformation, and we want to minimize opportunities to overturn an election not through some fraudulent votes, but through a concerted effort by bad faith actors to not count our voters' votes.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. Let me thank all of you for your responsiveness.

And just a moment ago, Mr. Geffen made reference to H.R. 1 and H.R. 4, as those two pieces of legislation are very near and dear to this Subcommittee. We have worked very hard over the last few months to get it to the finish line, but we are not giving up. We have passed both of those pieces of legislation in the House, and we are now trying to find some method of, and some manner, of getting it passed in the Senate.

And so, Dr. Duvall-Flynn, let me associate myself with your remarks, as well. It was very disappointing that we have not been able to get it passed, but I want to promise you that Democrats are continuing to fight to get the John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act passed and the For the People Act passed.

The Voting Rights Act has transformed American politics and we are on a good trajectory. The Supreme Court set us back in 2013 when they disabled Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, by calling on Congress to update the formula. But hopefully we are going to get that formula updated and we are going to continue our efforts to protect the right to vote.

And so, I thank all of you for your testimony. This has been a great discussion this afternoon. And our panelists, you have just been wonderful and just thank you so much.

And my colleagues, you have been great, as well. Let's just keep fighting, let's keep pushing, and let's keep representing the people that elect us every 2 years.

I look forward to working with my colleagues in Congress to ensure that every voter can freely and fairly exercise their right to vote.

So, before gaveling the Committee down, is there anything further from any of my, either of my colleagues?

Mr. Aguilar, starting with you, anything further?

Mr. AGUILAR. No, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your leadership in taking these roundtables. You have gone around the country in-person and virtual to hear people where they are and to hear folks who are implementing these laws, the importance of where we are today.

So, thanks again, to our panelists and colleagues for joining.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. And thank you, Mr. Aguilar.

And I assume you got the email a few minutes ago that we may be here very late tonight. We are going to have to deal with Ukraine and some other very important issues, so I hope you are in town—

Mr. AGUILAR. Yes.

Representative BUTTERFIELD [continuing]. And I look forward to seeing you this evening.

Anything further from either one of my Pennsylvania colleagues?

Representative SCANLON. I just wanted to thank all of our witnesses for appearing today; they were really wonderful. And as we have discussed throughout the day, the impact of disinformation on our elections is corrosive. It is really nice to have the opportunity with you, with the folks who are actually working on the ground and know what is happening, to set the record straight, so thank you.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. Thank you.

Ms. DEAN. I will just echo that thanks.

To you, as representative of a whole host of thousands of people across this Commonwealth and, of course, many others across the country, who do the important work of administering our elections, counting our elections, making sure every voice and vote is counted, and then ensuring that in a court of law, there are challenges to the disinformation and misinformation campaigns. So, sincere thanks to all of you.

Representative BUTTERFIELD. And thank you, Madeleine.

All right. All has been said.

This concludes today's roundtable. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 11:15 a.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]