

Pennsylvania's Power

Why Local Authority Is the Key to AI
Infrastructure Decisions

Cella Sum and Maia Woluchem

Introduction

Pennsylvania has rapidly emerged as a national hub for data center and AI infrastructure development. In alignment with federal initiatives such as the Trump administration's [AI Action Plan](#), state lawmakers have advanced legislation aimed at accelerating AI infrastructure and energy investments and development. To date, more than 30 bills related to data centers have been introduced in the Pennsylvania General Assembly.¹ These efforts include proposals aimed at centralizing state authority for major energy infrastructure projects, fast-tracking the permitting process, and standardizing local zoning ordinances for data centers. Together, these proposals reflect a broader effort — in states beyond Pennsylvania, as well as nationally — to reduce regulatory friction in order to accelerate large-scale infrastructure projects.²

Lawmakers and industry leaders say these measures are necessary for economic development, innovation, and job creation. However, they contribute to the erosion of municipal authority, meaningful community participation, and public oversight. In this policy snapshot, we analyze the implications of proposed state preemption laws — specifically HB 502, HB 2151, SB 939, and SB 991 — and argue that bypassing local governance and accountability harms communities. We offer an alternative framework that better aligns state-wide infrastructure goals with community needs, and that would enable community members and municipal leaders to meaningfully engage in the transformation of their localities. This includes:

- Preserving levers for municipal control that recognize local expertise, community values, and democratic norms.
- Introducing state legislation that protects community resources for local use rather than corporate interests.
- Addressing the lack of transparency in development decisions and upholding critical tools for public engagement.

1 "Pa. Residents Push Back Against Data Center Projects," *Altoonamirror.Com*, n.d., accessed February 27, 2026, <https://www.altoonamirror.com/news/local-news/2026/02/pa-residents-push-back-against-data-center-projects/>.

2 Kollar, Justin. (2026). "Planning Under Preemption: State Power and Local Authority in the AI Data Center Era." *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 10.1080/01944363.2026.2618221.

AI Infrastructure Development and Governance in Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania has been touted as an “AI-ready” state, with state and industry leaders citing its premier research institutions, existing energy infrastructure, and skilled workforce as specific advantages for data center and AI infrastructure development.³ Pennsylvania’s energy profile is particularly notable: the Commonwealth is the second largest producer of natural gas and nuclear power, and the third largest of coal, in the United States.⁴ It is the largest exporter of electricity in the US, and a key supplier of power to 13 states and the District of Columbia as part of the PJM Interconnection (Pennsylvania-New Jersey-Maryland) regional transmission grid.⁵ The state is also rich in water resources, home to over 86,000 miles of rivers and streams – the most of any state except Alaska.⁶ Together, these assets make the state especially competitive for attracting data center investments that demand an immense amount of reliable, affordable, and continuous power.

Pennsylvania’s reputation as an attractive location for AI infrastructure has been further reinforced by high-profile events such as the Pennsylvania AI and Energy Summit, held on July 15, 2025, where \$90 billion of new state investments in AI infrastructure were announced.⁷ Since then, new data center projects have been emerging across the state. This includes Amazon’s \$20 billion investment to create data center campuses in Luzerne and Bucks County, the \$15 billion Pennsylvania Digital 1 (PAX-1) hyperscale project in Carlisle by Pennsylvania Data Center Partners, and CoreWeave’s \$6 billion data center project in Lancaster.⁸ Existing energy infrastructure that was previously closed or under threat of closure, including the Homer City Generating Station (a decommissioned 2-GW

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- 3 “Under Governor Shapiro’s Leadership, PA Is Leading the Nation in AI Readiness,” accessed February 27, 2026, <https://www.pa.gov/governor/newsroom/2025-press-releases/under-governor-shapiro-s-leadership-pa-is-leading-the-nation-in>.
 - 4 “Nuclear Energy by State | Choose Energy,” accessed February 27, 2026, <https://www.chooseenergy.com/data-center/nuclear-generation-by-state/>; “Fracking Didn’t Drive Down PA Energy Bills. What Happened?,” Spotlight PA, September 22, 2025, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/news/2025/09/fracking-cost-energy-climate-change-history-pennsylvania-environment/>.
 - 5 “Pennsylvania’s Energy Landscape,” Team PA Foundation, accessed February 27, 2026, <https://teampa.com/energy/2025-scenario-planning/pennsylvanias-energy-landscape/>.
 - 6 Alexandra McLaughlin, “Reviving the ‘Lost’ Map of Pennsylvania’s 86,000 Stream Miles,” Pennsylvania State University Agricultural Sciences, August, 15, 2022, <https://www.psu.edu/news/agricultural-sciences/story/reviving-lost-map-pennsylvanias-86000-stream-miles>
 - 7 Peter Hall, “McCormick and Trump Tout \$90 Billion for Pa. in AI Development and Energy Projects to Fuel It,” *Pennsylvania Capital-Star*, July 16, 2025, <https://penncapital-star.com/economy/mccormick-and-trump-tout-90-billion-for-pa-in-ai-development-and-energy-projects-to-fuel-it/>.
 - 8 “Governor Josh Shapiro Announces Amazon Plans to Invest \$20 Billion in Pennsylvania for AI Infrastructure in Largest Capital Investment in Commonwealth History.” Department of Community and Economic Development. <https://dced.pa.gov/newsroom/governor-josh-shapiro-announces-amazon-plans-to-invest-20-billion-in-pennsylvania-for-ai-infrastructure-in-largest-capital-investment-in-commonwealth-history/>; Charles Thompson. “Massive Carlisle-Area Data Center Project Takes a Big Step Forward.” PennLive. <https://www.pennlive.com/business/2026/01/massive-carlisle-area-data-center-project-takes-a-big-step-forward.html>; Baylee Martin. “CoreWeave Announces \$6 Billion AI Data Center Investment in Lancaster County.” WGAL 8 News. <https://www.wgal.com/article/lancaster-6-billion-ai-investment/65429664>.

coal-fire power plant) and Three Mile Island nuclear plant, are also being repurposed to power AI data centers.⁹

Elected officials are joining in the excitement about AI. Driven by promises of transformative economic growth and opportunity for Pennsylvania, Governor Josh Shapiro announced in 2025 that the state was “all in” on artificial intelligence. He emphasized the need for speed and scale in advancing large-scale energy projects under his “Lightning Plan,” a comprehensive statewide energy blueprint that introduces new tax credits and fast-track permitting.¹⁰ With Shapiro as co-chair, Team Pennsylvania — a statewide public-private partnership of leaders in government, industry, academia, and labor — released a ten-year roadmap detailing its vision to position the Commonwealth as a national leader in energy, data centers, and artificial intelligence.¹¹ Characterizing this moment as a “once in a generation” opportunity, the report called for quick and coordinated public and private action to capitalize on Pennsylvania’s existing industrial, energy, and workforce strengths.

Private industry has also aligned with demonstrated state interests. In January 2026, Dina Powell McCormick, wife of Pennsylvania Senator David McCormick, was named president and vice chairman of Meta.¹² That month, Meta announced its plans to further develop nuclear power within the state, including purchasing power from plants across Pennsylvania and Ohio.¹³ In alignment with this vision, both Republican and Democratic state legislators have pushed a series of regulatory reforms aimed at streamlining AI infrastructure projects and centralizing state control.

But such public-private efforts to quickly build AI infrastructure are coming into conflict with the Commonwealth’s rich tradition of local governance and community participation. Its over 2500 municipalities have historically exercised significant authority over land use and zoning under the Pennsylvania Municipalities Planning Code (MPC), which ensures that public input, environmental stewardship, and local priorities remain central to

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- 9 Audrey Carleton. “Will an Old Pennsylvania Coal Town Get a Reboot From AI?” *Capital & Main*. <https://capitalandmain.com/will-an-old-pennsylvania-coal-town-get-a-reboot-from-ai/>; Qasim Nauman. “US Lends \$1 Billion to Three Mile Island Nuclear Project.” *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/11/19/us/nuclear-power-three-mile-island.html>.
 - 10 “Gov. Josh Shapiro Says Pa. ‘All in’ to Lead Country, Globe on AI, Health,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, accessed February 27, 2026, <https://www.post-gazette.com/news/politics-state/2025/10/21/josh-shapiro-ai-pennsylvania-health-care-pittsburgh-technology/stories/202510210073>; “‘All in on AI’: Shapiro, Amazon Announce \$20B AI Investment in Pennsylvania,” *City & State Pennsylvania*, accessed February 27, 2026, <https://www.cityandstatepa.com/policy/2025/06/all-ai-shapiro-amazon-announce-20b-ai-investment-pennsylvania/405927/>.
 - 11 “Bold 10-Year Roadmap Released Advancing Pennsylvania’s Leadership in Energy, Data Centers, and AI,” Team PA Foundation, September 17, 2025, <https://teampa.com/2025/09/bold-10-year-roadmap-released-advancing-pennsylvanias-leadership-in-energy-data-centers-and-ai/>.
 - 12 “Dina McCormick, Wife of Sen. Dave McCormick, Named Meta President and Vice Chairman,” WJAC, accessed March 3, 2026, <https://wjactv.com/news/local/dina-mccormick-wife-of-sen-dave-mccormick-named-meta-president-and-vice-chairman-pa-pennsylvania-meta-facebook-mark-zuckerberg-donald-trump-george-w-bush>.
 - 13 “Meta Announces Nuclear Energy Projects, Unlocking Up to 6.6 GW to Power American Leadership in AI Innovation,” Meta Newsroom, January 9, 2026, <https://about.fb.com/news/2026/01/meta-nuclear-energy-projects-power-american-ai-leadership/>.

development decisions.¹⁴ Unlike most states, where zoning authority is primarily exercised at the county level, Pennsylvania vests this power in its cities, boroughs, and townships, allowing them to adopt and enforce their own zoning ordinances, which generally supersede county regulations.¹⁵

Although this decentralized structure creates a multifaceted regulatory landscape that can complicate regional planning efforts, it has empowered communities — including small, rural ones — to influence and even resist major industrial development projects. For example, municipal ordinances have led to the adoption of protective oil and gas regulations that have halted proposed fracking developments in at least 25 municipalities across the state.¹⁶ Local authority remains one of the few meaningful tools communities have to push back against large-scale data center and AI infrastructure development. Yet at the time of publication, several bills that would undermine local authority in favor of speeding up data center development are moving through the PA statehouse. These bills — namely HB 502, HB 2151, SB 939, and SB 991 — signal a broader legislative shift toward state preemption, when the state government restricts or withdraws the authority of local governments, thus removing crucial decision-making power from the communities that are most directly impacted by data center and AI infrastructure development.

14 Pennsylvania Municipalities Planning Code, Act of July 31, 1968, P.L. 805, No. 247, as amended (53 P.S. §§ 10101 et seq.), <https://www.legis.state.pa.us/WU01/LI/LI/US/HTM/1968/0/0247..HTM>.

15 “What to Know About PA Municipal Planning,” *Spotlight PA*, July 17, 2023, <https://www.spotlightpa.org/statecollege/2023/07/pennsylvania-municipalities-planning-code-land-use/>.

16 Grace DeLallo, “The Municipal Ordinance Project: PA’s Greatest Tool to Fight Fracking,” *Food & Water Watch*, June 10, 2025, <https://www.foodandwaterwatch.org/2025/06/10/municipal-ordinance-project-pennsylvania/>.

A Legislative Shift Toward State Preemption in PA

HB 502¹⁷ would establish a statewide energy siting board (RESET) authorized to review and approve large-scale energy generation and energy storage facilities. Projects deemed critical to grid reliability could receive a certificate overriding conflicting municipality zoning ordinances or land-use restrictions.

Sponsor: Rep. Mandy Steele (House District 33)

Why it matters: The bill effectively consolidates approval authority at the state level to fast-track large-scale energy infrastructure projects and reduce municipality control. By allowing a state authority to override local zoning, the bill shifts decision-making power away from municipalities and limits community input on projects that directly affect land use and the environment.

HB 2151 allows the Department of Community and Economic Development (DCED) to develop a model ordinance to support municipalities in regulating data centers. At the time of this writing, there is a proposed amendment that would direct the state's Local Government Commission to be responsible for drafting the model ordinance instead of DCED. While the Commission's purview is municipal affairs, it is still a state-led body.

Sponsor: Rep. Kyle Donahue (House District 113)

Why it matters: While framed as a way to support municipalities and not a mandate, the bill encourages statewide standardization of data center zoning, which may narrow municipal authority to tailor regulations based on local considerations.

SB 939 would create a statewide Commonwealth Opportunity Zone "sandbox" that would fast-track the permitting process for data centers while limiting local zoning restrictions.

Sponsors: Sen. Greg Rothman (Senate District 34) and Sen. Tracy Pennycuick (Senate District 24)

Why it matters: By removing the "red tape" in the permitting process for data centers, this bill would risk bypassing local environmental reviews and input. As of February 4, 2025, the bill was amended to remove the provisions that would have overridden local zoning ordinances.

SB 991 would streamline the permitting process for "preapproved" data center sites selected by the Department of Environmental Protection (DEP). At least five of the sites must be decommissioned (or soon to be decommissioned) power generation stations.

Sponsor: Sen. Camera Bartolotta (Senate District 46)

Why it matters: The bill would allow construction to begin without first obtaining state permits, relying instead on an engineer's certification. The bill does not clearly define the criteria for "preapproved" sites. "Preapproved" decommissioned or soon-to-be decommissioned sites will most likely include facilities that face extensive environmental contamination. Bypassing a comprehensive environmental review would heighten health and safety risks for nearby communities.¹⁸

17 A companion bill (SB 502) was also introduced by Senator John Kane (Senate District 9) in May 2025, amending the Pennsylvania Consolidated Statutes to establish the Reliable Energy Siting and Electrical Transition (RESET) board.

18 For a more comprehensive list of bills pertaining to data centers in Pennsylvania, see <https://tinyurl.com/PACETDataCenterBillBreakdown>

Policy Recommendations

Together, these bills reflect a troubling — and growing — trend of top-down, unilateral state control that weakens municipal authority and sidelines community participation in the name of expediting AI infrastructure development. Beyond undermining longstanding democratic processes, such policies heighten the risk of unsafe and unsustainable outcomes for the communities most directly impacted by these projects.

Importantly, this shift toward state centralization has also been met with growing resistance. Based on a recent poll, only 34 percent of Pennsylvanians support data centers being built in or near their community.¹⁹ Across the state, local communities and municipal leaders — as well as some policymakers — are pushing back on this power consolidation, calling for more transparency, accountability, and meaningful community engagement.

In light of this tension between state and local interests, we offer alternative paths that may better maintain the balance between Pennsylvania's rich municipal history and the push for infrastructure development.

Preserve levers for municipal control that recognize local expertise, community values, and democratic norms.

Municipal authority has long held a critical role in land development in Pennsylvania, and it is growing increasingly important given the fast pace of public discussions over data centers and related energy proposals. Despite the state's enthusiasm for investment, municipal authority and local organizing have in some cases been able to slow or stop projects central to the state's agenda based on local zoning ordinances, concerns about resources, and community fervor.

In November 2025, for example, the Hazle Township Board of Supervisors voted unanimously to reject a land application for Project Hazelnut, a 1300-acre data center campus developed by NorthPoint Development that was touted by Governor Shapiro when he announced his Permit Fast Track Program a year earlier.²⁰ Over 100 residents attended the November hearing, protesting the development's upward pressure on utility costs and estimates that it would use nearly 2.8 million gallons of water per day.²¹

19 Camille Mumford, "Pennsylvania Survey on Data Centers & Artificial Intelligence," *Emerson Polling*, December 4, 2025, <https://emersoncollegepolling.com/pennsylvania-survey-on-data-centers-artificial-intelligence/>.

20 "Gov Shapiro Visits Hazle Township Development Project PA Fast Track Program," accessed February 27, 2026, www.pa.gov/governor/newsroom/2024-press-releases/gov-shapiro-visits-hazle-township-development-project-pa-fast-tr.

21 "Crowd of 100 Gathers in Hazle Twp. as Supervisor Board Votes down Proposed Data Center," accessed March 16, 2026, <https://fox56.com/news/local/crowd-of-100-gathers-in-hazle-twp-as-supervisor-board-votes-down-proposed-data-center>; "DEP Holds Public Hearing on Project Hazelnut as NorthPoint Appeal Remains in Court," accessed March 16, 2026, <https://fox56.com/news/local/dep-holds-public-hearing-on-project-hazelnut-as-northpoint-appeal-remains-in-court>.

Though the Permit Fast Track Program is designed to streamline permitting for projects considered critical infrastructure, the board of supervisors rejected the proposal — a decision that was greeted by audience applause, and that happened despite the developer's protests and the governor's support. Reflecting on the hearing, Food & Water Watch's Ginny Marcille-Kerslake noted that the initial proposal was sited on land that lacks a zoning ordinance permitting data centers.²² At the time of this publication, NorthPoint Development's appeal remains in court.

Over the past several months, community pushback across the state has gained strength, as public awareness, local organizing, and capacity for information gathering has grown and spread across municipalities. These strategies have enabled some municipalities to mount a response even before a data center proposal debuts for a vote. In one recent example, the Board of Supervisors in Chester County's North Coventry Township voted to reject its first proposed data center, a three-story building that would have hired just six employees.²³ Here too, over 100 residents arrived at the community meeting to register their opposition, leading the board to deny the proposal in a 3-2 vote. In rescinding that proposal, developer Envision Land Use cited the public pushback.

Among the decisionmakers investing in AI infrastructure, local governments are best-positioned to balance the growing public concern over large-scale development projects with the unique needs, constraints, and character of their communities. To meet proposed statewide goals most effectively, state governments should support, not override, local decision-making — especially with infrastructural decisions as consequential as these.

Introduce state legislation that protects community resources for local use rather than corporate interests.

In February 2026, Democratic Pennsylvania State Senator Katie Muth signaled her intent to introduce legislation calling for a statewide moratorium on new data center projects, joining states like Georgia, Virginia, and New York in pursuing such a pause.²⁴ In her co-sponsorship memo, Senator Muth cited a range of concerns facing local municipalities, which include tasking local leaders with adjudicating large development deals under significant time and financial pressure. Notably, she writes, the decisions to accept or refuse a data center are increasingly guided by prohibitive non-disclosure agreements and lawsuits by large tech companies, lawyers, engineers, and consultants that stymie public engagement and contribute to the low-information, high-pressure environment for local

22 "Hazle Township, PA Unanimously Rejects Data Center Campus," Food & Water Watch, accessed March 16, 2026, <https://www.foodandwaterwatch.org/2025/11/18/hazle-township-pa-unanimously-rejects-data-center-campus/>.

23 "North Coventry Residents and Leaders Reject Data Center Plan — Before It Was Even Formally Submitted," accessed February 27, 2026, <https://www.msn.com/en-us/money/realestate/north-coventry-residents-and-leaders-reject-data-center-plan-before-it-was-even-formally-submitted/ar-AA1X01NR>.

24 "Data Center Moratorium Bills Are Spreading in 2026," Good Jobs First, accessed February 27, 2026, <https://goodjobsfirst.org/data-center-moratorium-bills-are-spreading-in-2026/>. Legislative Data Processing Center, "Senate Co-Sponsorship Memo 48102 Information; 2025-2026 Regular Session - PA State Senate," Senate Co-Sponsorship Memo 48102 Information; 2025-2026 Regular Session - PA State Senate, accessed February 27, 2026, <https://www.palegis.us/senate/co-sponsorship/memo>.

governments. Local resistance adds additional pressure to municipal leaders, who are attempting to navigate competing narratives of local development and sovereignty. While proposals for statewide guidance, such as HB 2151, may appear to help, such proposals can also create dependencies for municipalities, improperly standardizing the ordinances across a diverse set of localities with a wide range of local conditions, considerations, and resources.

Other public officials, like Lackawanna County Commissioner Bill Gaughan, have signaled support for Sen. Muth's efforts, citing local complexity as a reason to uphold a pause.²⁵ In an adjacent effort, Senator Rosemary Brown (R-40), joined as a co-sponsor of Senator Muth's moratorium while introducing her "Residents First" legislative package.²⁶ The package calls for limiting large-scale data centers to industrial areas, mandating an independent, third-party water impact study and analysis (as well as a "will-serve" letter confirming that utilities can handle a full build-out before submitting a formal application), and directing the Legislative Budget and Finance Committee (LBFC) to evaluate how current and new data storage technologies will impact communities.²⁷

Such state protections provide vital time for local leaders to address the growing local resistance to data center encroachment, better understand the implications of these projects for their constituents, and ultimately make more informed decisions. Mounting local opposition has, in turn, highlighted the necessity of public accountability and transparency, as well as the range of environmental, economic, and community concerns facing regions across the state.

Address the lack of transparency in development decisions and uphold critical tools for public engagement.

In his February 2026 budget address, Governor Shapiro unveiled the Governor's Responsible Infrastructure Development (GRID) standards, a framework designed to hold data center developers accountable through "strict transparency standards and direct community engagement."²⁸ The proposal marks a clear shift from his enthusiastic embrace of AI infrastructure development the previous year, likely influenced by mounting community opposition. Under the GRID framework, data center developers must finance their own power and comply with strict water conservation and environmental protection standards. The plan also emphasizes meaningful transparency and community

25 "Gaughan Urges Three-Year State Moratorium on Data Center Development," accessed February 27, 2026, <https://www.thetimes-tribune.com/2026/02/17/gaughan-urges-three-year-state-moratorium-on-data-center-development/>.

26 Tiffany P, "Brown Announces 'Residents First' Legislative Package Addressing Data Center Development, Expresses Support for Moratorium," Senator Brown, February 24, 2026, <https://senatorbrown40.com/2026/02/24/brown-announces-residents-first-legislative-package-addressing-data-center-development-expresses-support-for-moratorium/>.

27 "Sen. Rosemary Brown Announces 'Residents First' Data Center Legislative Package," Monroe County, PA, February 16, 2026, <https://monroecountypa.com/news/sen-rosemary-brown-announces-residents-first-data-center-legislative-package>.

28 "Governor Shapiro Unveils 2026-27 Budget Proposal to Keep Doing What's Working in Pennsylvania: Cutting Costs, Growing the Economy, Strengthening Public Safety, Funding Education, and Getting Stuff Done for Pennsylvanians," <https://www.pa.gov/governor/newsroom/2026-press-releases/gov-shapiro-2026-27-budget-proposal-to-keep-doing-what-s-working>

engagement, including commitments to local hiring and community benefits agreements. Developers that satisfy these requirements would be eligible for tax incentives and expedited permitting.

Yet there are ways Shapiro's framework does not go far enough. The proposed GRID framework does not offer concrete details about what environmental standards developers would be required to meet, or what meaningful transparency and community engagement would look like. Streamlining the permitting process often means bypassing municipality review and community input, while offering tax incentives that direct crucial economic benefits to companies rather than communities. Some local groups have argued that the tax incentives are poorly aligned, handsomely rewarding activities that should be standard for any data center developer benefitting from Pennsylvania's rich resources. To that end, Shapiro's framework would be better served by setting meaningful standards for local water, land, and energy usage, as they remain one of the key draws for data centers and a key point of tension among municipalities.

The GRID framework could be strengthened by treating public accountability not as an incentive, but as a regulatory imperative that must be followed in order for projects to be approved. Clarity about statewide goals and standards would also help build community trust, and give municipalities more clarity with respect to data center development. This includes limiting the use of non-disclosure agreements that keep communities from getting the information they need about proposed projects.

Conclusion

[Throughout our research on Pennsylvania's push for infrastructure development](#), we have learned that there are a range of interests and priorities guiding the imaginations of policymakers, residents, experts, and community leaders when it comes to the Commonwealth's future and relationship to AI. As in the case of other states that have pushed for clear environmental standards, clarified zoning ordinances, and used the power of the state to curb predatory subsidies and tax incentives, Pennsylvania has many tools with which to engage thoughtfully in conversations about data center and infrastructure development.²⁹ In recognizing the state's strengths — its energy dominance, its research institutions, its enviable land assets and labor unions — we see that Pennsylvania has the power to negotiate these deals more deliberately, on its own terms and in the public interest.

In our travels across the state, residents and leaders alike repeatedly told us that they see a wide range of alternative development paths worth exploring. Pennsylvania has many opportunities to lean into sustainable and community-led economic and infrastructure development, rather than relying on corporate leadership. A better balance between state and municipal control may allow more of those alternatives to come to fruition.

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29 "Governor Shapiro Unveils 2026–27 Budget Proposal to Keep Doing What's Working in Pennsylvania: Cutting Costs, Growing the Economy, Strengthening Public Safety, Funding Education, and Getting Stuff Done for Pennsylvanians," <https://www.pa.gov/governor/newsroom/2026-press-releases/gov-shapiro-2026-27-budget-proposal-to-keep-doing-what-s-working>

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