117th CONGRESS 1st Session

To amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to revise the criteria for determining which States and political subdivisions are subject to section 4 of the Act, and for other purposes.

H.R.4

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

August 17, 2021

Ms. SEWELL (for herself, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. HOYER, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. NAD-LER, Mr. COHEN, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr. RUIZ, Ms. CHU, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Mr. DEUTCH, Ms. Bass, Mr. JEFFRIES, Mr. CICILLINE, Mr. SWALWELL, Mr. LIEU, Mr. RASKIN, MS. JAYAPAL, Mrs. DEMINGS, Mr. CORREA, MS. SCANLON, Ms. GARCIA of Texas, Mr. NEGUSE, Mrs. McBath, Mr. Stan-TON, MS. DEAN, MS. ESCOBAR, Mr. JONES, MS. ROSS, MS. BUSH, MS. Adams, Mr. Aguilar, Mr. Allred, Mr. Auchincloss, Mrs. Axne, Mr. BERA, Mr. BISHOP of Georgia, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Ms. BONAMICI, Ms. BOURDEAUX, Mr. BOWMAN, Mr. BRENDAN F. BOYLE of Pennsylvania, Mr. Brown, Ms. Brownley, Mr. Carbajal, Mr. Cárdenas, Mr. Car-SON, Mr. CARTER of Louisiana, Mr. CASTEN, Ms. CASTOR of Florida, Mr. CASTRO of Texas, Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. CLEAVER, Mr. COOPER, Mr. COSTA, Mr. COURTNEY, Ms. CRAIG, Mr. CRIST, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. DEFAZIO, Ms. DEGETTE, Ms. DELBENE, Mr. DELGADO, Mr. DESAULNIER, Mrs. DIN-GELL, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. ESPAILLAT, Mr. EVANS, Mrs. FLETCHER, Mr. Foster, Mr. Gallego, Mr. Garamendi, Mr. Gottheimer, Mr. Green of Texas, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mrs. HAYES, Mr. HIMES, Mr. HORSFORD, Ms. HOULAHAN, Mr. HUFFMAN, Ms. JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. KAHELE, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. KILMER, Mr. KIM of New Jersev, Mr. KIND, Mrs. KIRK-PATRICK, Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHI, Ms. KUSTER, Mr. LAMB, Mr. LAN-GEVIN, Mr. LARSEN of Washington, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Mrs. LAWRENCE, Mr. LAWSON of Florida, Ms. LEE of California, Ms. LEGER FERNANDEZ, Mr. LEVIN of California, Mr. LYNCH, Mr. MALINOWSKI, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Ms. MANNING, Ms. MATSUI, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. MCEACHIN, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCNERNEY, Mr. MEEKS, Ms. MENG, Mr. MFUME, Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin, Mr. MORELLE, Mr. MOULTON, Mr. MRVAN, Mrs. MURPHY of Florida, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. NEAL, Ms. NORTON, Ms. OCASIO-CORTEZ, Ms. OMAR, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. PA-NETTA, Mr. PAPPAS, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. PETERS, Mr. PHILLIPS, Ms. PLASKETT, Mr. POCAN, Ms. PORTER, Ms. PRESSLEY, Mr. PRICE of North Carolina, Mr. QUIGLEY, Miss RICE of New York, Ms. BLUNT ROCHESTER, Mr. RUPPERSBERGER, Mr. RUSH, Ms. SÁNCHEZ, Mr. Sarbanes, Ms. Schakowsky, Mr. Schiff, Mr. Schneider, Mr. SCHRADER, Ms. SCHRIER, Mr. DAVID SCOTT of Georgia, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. SHERMAN, Ms. SHERRILL, Mr. SIRES, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Ms. Spanberger, Ms. Speier, Ms. Stansbury, Ms. Stevens, Ms. STRICKLAND, Mr. SUOZZI, Mr. TAKANO, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Ms. TITUS, Ms. TLAIB, Mrs. TORRES of California, Mr. TORRES of New York, Mr. TRONE, Ms. UNDERWOOD, Mr. VEASEY, Mr. VELA, Ms. Velázquez, Ms. Wasserman Schultz, Ms. Waters, Mrs. Wat-SON COLEMAN, Mr. WELCH, Ms. WILD, Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia, Ms. WILSON of Florida, Mr. YARMUTH, Mr. CASE, Mr. RYAN, Ms. JACOBS of California, Mr. KHANNA, Mrs. TRAHAN, Mr. VARGAS, Mr. NORCROSS, Mr. LEVIN of Michigan, Ms. NEWMAN, Mr. HARDER of California, Mr. GOMEZ, and Mr. BEYER) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

- To amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to revise the criteria for determining which States and political subdivisions are subject to section 4 of the Act, and for other purposes.
 - 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
 - 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

4 This Act may be cited as the "John R. Lewis Voting5 Rights Advancement Act of 2021".

6 SEC. 2. VOTE DILUTION, DENIAL, AND ABRIDGMENT 7 CLAIMS.

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2(a) of the Voting Rights
9 Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301(a)) is amended—

1	(1) by inserting after "applied by any State or
2	political subdivision" the following: "for the purpose
3	of, or"; and
4	(2) by striking "as provided in subsection (b)"
5	and inserting "as provided in subsection (b), (c), (d),
6	or (e)".
7	(b) VOTE DILUTION.—Section 2(b) of such Act (52
8	U.S.C. 10301(b)) is amended—
9	(1) by inserting after "A violation of subsection
10	(a)" the following: "for vote dilution";
11	(2) by inserting after the period at the end the
12	following: "For the purposes of this subsection:";
13	(3) by adding at the end the following new
14	paragraphs:
15	"(1) To prevail, a plaintiff shall, as a threshold
16	matter, establish that—
17	"(A) the members of the protected class
18	are sufficiently numerous and geographically
19	compact to constitute a majority in a single-
20	member district;
21	"(B) the members of the protected class
22	are generally politically aligned; and
23	"(C) the residents of that district who are
24	not the members of the protected class vote suf-

ficiently as a bloc to enable them to defeat the

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1	preferred candidates of the members of the pro-
2	tected class.
3	"(2) Upon a plaintiff establishing the required
4	threshold showing under paragraph (1), a court shall
5	conduct a totality of the circumstances analysis with
6	respect to a claim of vote dilution to determine
7	whether there was a violation of subsection (a),
8	which shall include the following factors:
9	"(A) The extent the history of official vot-
10	ing discrimination in the State or political sub-
11	division.
12	"(B) The extent to which voting in the
13	elections of the State or political subdivision is
14	racially polarized.
15	"(C) The extent to which the State or po-
16	litical subdivision has used voting practices or
17	procedures that tend to enhance the oppor-
18	tunity for discrimination against the members
19	of the protected class, such as unusually large
20	election districts, prohibitions against bullet-vot-
21	ing, and majority vote requirements.
22	"(D) If there is a candidate slating proc-
23	ess, whether the members of the protected class
24	have been denied access to that process.

1	"(E) The extent to which members of the
2	protected class in the State or political subdivi-
3	sion bear the effects of discrimination in such
4	areas as education, employment, and health,
5	which hinder their ability to participate effec-
6	tively in the political process.
7	"(F) Whether political campaigns have
8	been characterized by overt or subtle racial ap-
9	peals.
10	"(G) The extent to which members of the
11	protected class have been elected to public office
12	in the jurisdiction.
13	"(3) In conducting a totality of the cir-
14	cumstances analysis under paragraph (2) , a court
15	may consider such other factors as the court may
16	determine to be relevant, including—
17	"(A) whether there is a significant lack of
18	responsiveness on the part of elected officials to
19	the particularized needs of the members of the
20	protected class; and
21	"(B) whether the policy underlying the
22	State or political subdivision's use of such vot-
23	ing qualification, prerequisite to voting, or
24	standard, practice or procedure is tenuous.

"(4) A class of citizens protected by subsection 1 2 (a) may include a cohesive coalition of members of different racial or language minority groups."; and 3 (4) VOTE DENIAL OR ABRIDGEMENT.—Section 4 5 2 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 10301), as amended by 6 subsections (a) and (b), is further amended by add-7 ing at the end the following: ((c)(1) A violation of subsection (a) resulting in vote 8 9 denial or abridgment is established if the challenged quali-10 fication, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure imposes a discriminatory burden on members of a class of 11 12 citizens protected by subsection (a), in that— 13 "(A) members of the protected class face great-14 er difficulty in complying with the requirement, con-15 sidering the totality of the circumstances; and "(B) the greater difficulty is, at least in part, 16 17 caused by or linked to social and historical condi-18 tions that have produced or produce on the date of 19 such challenge discrimination against members of 20 the protected class. "(2) The challenged qualification, prerequisite, stand-21 22 ard, practice, or procedure need only be a but-for cause 23 of the discriminatory burden described in paragraph (1)

24 or perpetuate a pre-existing burden.

"(3)(A) The factors that are relevant to a totality of
 the circumstances analysis with respect to a claim of vote
 denial or abridgement pursuant to this subsection include
 the following:

5 "(i) The history of official voting-related dis-6 crimination in the State or political subdivision.

7 "(ii) The extent to which voting in the elections
8 of the State or political subdivision is racially polar9 ized.

"(iii) The extent to which the State or political 10 11 subdivision has used photographic voter identifica-12 tion requirements, documentary proof of citizenship requirements, documentary proof of residence re-13 14 quirements, or other voting practices or procedures, 15 beyond those required by Federal law, that may im-16 pair the ability of members of the minority group to 17 participate fully in the political process.

"(iv) The extent to which minority group members bear the effects of discrimination in areas such
as education, employment, and health, which hinder
their ability to participate effectively in the political
process.

23 "(v) The use of overt or subtle racial appeals ei24 ther in political campaigns or surrounding adoption
25 or maintenance of the challenged practice.

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1	"(vi) The extent to which members of the mi-
2	nority group have been elected to public office in the
3	jurisdiction, provided that the fact that the minority
4	group is too small to elect candidates of its choice
5	shall not defeat a claim of vote denial or abridgment.
6	"(vii) Whether there is a lack of responsiveness
7	on the part of elected officials to the particularized
8	needs of minority group members.
9	"(viii) Whether the policy underlying the State
10	or political subdivision's use of the challenged quali-
11	fication, prerequisite, standard, practice, or proce-
12	dure is tenuous.
13	"(ix) Subject to paragraph (4), such other fac-
14	tors as the court may determine to be relevant.
15	"(B) The factors described in subparagraph (A), indi-
16	vidually and collectively, shall be considered as a means
17	of establishing that a voting practice amplifies the effects
18	of past or present discrimination in violation in subsection
19	(a).
20	"(C) A plaintiff need not show any particular com-
21	bination or number of factors to establish a violation of
22	subsection (a).
23	"(4) The factors that are relevant to a totality of the
24	circumstances analysis with respect to a claim of vote de-
25	nial or abridgement do not include the following:

1 "(A) The total number or share of members of 2 a protected class on whom a challenged qualification, 3 prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does 4 not impose a material burden. 5 "(B) The degree to which the challenged quali-6 fication, prerequisite, standard, practice, or proce-7 dure has a long pedigree or was in widespread use 8 at some earlier date. 9 "(C) The use of an identical or similar quali-10 fication, prerequisite, standard, practice, or proce-11 dure in other States or jurisdictions. "(D) The availability of other forms of voting 12 13 unimpacted by the challenged qualification, pre-14 requisite, standard, practice, or procedure to all 15 members of the electorate, including members of the 16 protected class, unless the jurisdiction is simulta-17 neously expanding such other practices to eliminate 18 any disproportionate burden imposed by the chal-19 lenged qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, 20 or procedure. 21 "(E) A prophylactic impact on potential crimi-22 nal activity by individual voters, if such crimes have

not occurred in the jurisdiction in substantial num-

24 bers.

"(F) Mere invocation of interests in voter con fidence or prevention of fraud.

3 (d)(1) A violation of subsection (a) for the purpose 4 of vote denial or abridgement is established if the chal-5 lenged qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure is intended, at least in part, to dilute minority 6 7 voting strength or to deny or abridge the right of any cit-8 izen of the United States to vote on account of race, color, 9 or in contravention of the guarantees set forth in section 10 4(f)(2).

"(2) Discrimination on account of race, color, or in
contravention of the guarantees set forth in section 4(f)(2)
need only be one purpose of a qualification, prerequisite,
standard, practice, or procedure to demonstrate a violation
of subsection (a).

"(3) A qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice,
or procedure intended to dilute minority voting strength
or to make it more difficult for minority voters to cast
a ballot that will be counted violates this subsection even
if an additional purpose of the qualification, prerequisite,
standard, practice, or procedure is to benefit a particular
political party or group.

23 "(4) The context for the adoption of the challenged
24 qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or proce25 dure, including actions by official decisionmakers before

the challenged qualification, prerequisite, standard, prac tice, or procedure, may be relevant to a violation of this
 subsection.

4 "(5) Claims under this subsection require proof of a
5 discriminatory impact but do not require proof of a viola6 tion pursuant to subsection (b) or (c).".

7 SEC. 3. RETROGRESSION.

8 Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52
9 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), as amended by section 2 of this
10 Act, is further amended by adding at the end the fol11 lowing:

12 "(e) A violation of subsection (a) is established with 13 respect to any challenged qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure that has not been im-14 15 posed or applied in an election as of the date of such challenge, if such qualification, prerequisite, standard, prac-16 17 tice, or procedure has the purpose or will have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of 18 19 race or color, or in contravention of the guarantees set forth in section 4(f)(2), within the meaning of section 5.". 20 21 SEC. 4. VIOLATIONS TRIGGERING AUTHORITY OF COURT

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TO RETAIN JURISDICTION.

(a) TYPES OF VIOLATIONS.—Section 3(c) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10302(c)) is amended
by striking "violations of the fourteenth or fifteenth

amendment" and inserting "violations of the 14th or 15th
 Amendment, violations of this Act, or violations of any
 Federal law that prohibits discrimination in voting on the
 basis of race, color, or membership in a language minority
 group,".

6 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 3(a) of 7 such Act (52 U.S.C. 10302(a)) is amended by striking 8 "violations of the fourteenth or fifteenth amendment" and 9 inserting "violations of the 14th or 15th Amendment, vio-10 lations of this Act, or violations of any Federal law that 11 prohibits discrimination in voting on the basis of race, 12 color, or membership in a language minority group,".

13 SEC. 5. CRITERIA FOR COVERAGE OF STATES AND POLIT14 ICAL SUBDIVISIONS.

15 (a) DETERMINATION OF STATES AND POLITICAL
16 SUBDIVISIONS SUBJECT TO SECTION 4(a).—

17 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 4(b) of the Voting
18 Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10303(b)) is amend19 ed to read as follows:

20 "(b) DETERMINATION OF STATES AND POLITICAL
21 SUBDIVISIONS SUBJECT TO REQUIREMENTS.—

22 "(1) EXISTENCE OF VOTING RIGHTS VIOLA23 TIONS DURING PREVIOUS 25 YEARS.—

24 "(A) STATEWIDE APPLICATION.—Sub25 section (a) applies with respect to a State and

1	all political subdivisions within the State during
2	a calendar year if—
-	"(i) fifteen or more voting rights vio-
	(i) inteen of more voting rights vio-
4	lations occurred in the State during the
5	previous 25 calendar years;
6	"(ii) ten or more voting rights viola-
7	tions occurred in the State during the pre-
8	vious 25 calendar years, at least one of
9	which was committed by the State itself
10	(as opposed to a political subdivision with-
11	in the State); or
12	"(iii) three or more voting rights vio-
13	lations occurred in the State during the
14	previous 25 calendar years and the State
15	itself administers the elections in the State
16	or political subdivisions in which the voting
17	rights violations occurred.
18	"(B) Application to specific political
19	SUBDIVISIONS.—Subsection (a) applies with re-
20	spect to a political subdivision as a separate
21	unit during a calendar year if three or more
22	voting rights violations occurred in the subdivi-
23	sion during the previous 25 calendar years.
24	"(2) Period of Application.—

1	"(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in
2	subparagraph (B), if, pursuant to paragraph
3	(1), subsection (a) applies with respect to a
4	State or political subdivision during a calendar
5	year, subsection (a) shall apply with respect to
6	such State or political subdivision for the pe-
7	riod—
8	"(i) that begins on January 1 of the
9	year in which subsection (a) applies; and
10	"(ii) that ends on the date which is 10
11	years after the date described in clause (i).
12	"(B) NO FURTHER APPLICATION AFTER
13	DECLARATORY JUDGMENT.—
14	"(i) STATES.—If a State obtains a de-
15	claratory judgment under subsection (a),
16	and the judgment remains in effect, sub-
17	section (a) shall no longer apply to such
18	State pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) unless,
19	after the issuance of the declaratory judg-
20	ment, paragraph $(1)(A)$ applies to the
21	State solely on the basis of voting rights
22	violations occurring after the issuance of
23	the declaratory judgment.
24	"(ii) Political subdivisions.—If a
25	political subdivision obtains a declaratory

1 judgment under subsection (a), and the judgment remains in effect, subsection (a) 2 3 shall no longer apply to such political sub-4 division pursuant to paragraph (1), includ-5 ing pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) (relating 6 to the statewide application of subsection 7 (a)), unless, after the issuance of the de-8 claratory judgment, paragraph (1)(B) ap-9 plies to the political subdivision solely on 10 the basis of voting rights violations occur-11 ring after the issuance of the declaratory 12 judgment. 13 "(3) Determination of voting rights vio-14 LATION.—For purposes of paragraph (1), a voting 15 rights violation occurred in a State or political sub-16 division if any of the following applies: "(A) JUDICIAL RELIEF; VIOLATION OF 17

18 THE 14TH OR 15TH AMENDMENT.-Any final 19 judgment, or any preliminary, temporary, or de-20 claratory relief (that was not reversed on ap-21 peal), in which the plaintiff prevailed or a court 22 of the United States found that the plaintiff 23 demonstrated a likelihood of success on the 24 merits or raised a question with regard to race 25 discrimination, in which any court of the

1	United States determined that a denial or
2	abridgement of the right of any citizen of the
3	United States to vote on account of race, color,
4	or membership in a language minority group
5	occurred, or that a voting qualification or pre-
6	requisite to voting or standard, practice, or pro-
7	cedure with respect to voting created an undue
8	burden on the right to vote in connection with
9	a claim that the law unduly burdened voters of
10	a particular race, color, or language minority
11	group, in violation of the 14th or 15th Amend-
12	ment, anywhere within the State or subdivision.
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"(B) JUDICIAL RELIEF; VIOLATIONS OF 13 14 THIS ACT.—Any final judgment, or any prelimi-15 nary, temporary, or declaratory relief (that was 16 not reversed on appeal) in which the plaintiff 17 prevailed or a court of the United States found 18 that the plaintiff demonstrated a likelihood of 19 success on the merits or raised a serious ques-20 tion with regard to race discrimination, in 21 which any court of the United States deter-22 mined that a voting qualification or prerequisite 23 to voting or standard, practice, or procedure 24 with respect to voting was imposed or applied 25 or would have been imposed or applied any-

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1	where within the State or subdivision in a man-
2	ner that resulted or would have resulted in a
3	denial or abridgement of the right of any citizen
4	of the United States to vote on account of race,
5	color, or membership in a language minority
6	group, in violation of subsection $4(e)$ or $4(f)$ or
7	section 2, 201, or 203 of this Act.
8	"(C) FINAL JUDGMENT; DENIAL OF DE-
9	CLARATORY JUDGMENT.—In a final judgment
10	(that was not been reversed on appeal), any
11	court of the United States has denied the re-
12	quest of the State or subdivision for a declara-
13	tory judgment under section 3(c) or section 5,
14	and thereby prevented a voting qualification or
15	prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or
16	procedure with respect to voting from being en-
17	forced anywhere within the State or subdivision.
18	"(D) Objection by the attorney gen-
19	ERAL.—The Attorney General has interposed
20	an objection under section 3(c) or section 5,
21	and thereby prevented a voting qualification or
22	prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or
23	procedure with respect to voting from being en-
24	forced anywhere within the State or subdivision.
25	A violation per this subsection has not occurred

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1 where an objection has been withdrawn by the 2 Attorney General, unless the withdrawal was in 3 response to a change in the law or practice that served as the basis of the objection. A violation 4 5 under this subsection has not occurred where 6 the objection is based solely on a State or polit-7 ical subdivision's failure to comply with a proce-8 dural process that would not otherwise con-9 stitute an independent violation of this act. 10 "(E) CONSENT DECREE, SETTLEMENT, OR 11 OTHER AGREEMENT.—A consent decree, settle-12 ment, or other agreement was adopted or en-13 tered by a court of the United States or con-14 tained an admission of liability by the defend-15 ants, which resulted in the alteration or aban-16 donment of a voting practice anywhere in the 17 territory of such State that was challenged on 18 the ground that the practice denied or abridged 19 the right of any citizen of the United States to 20 vote on account of race, color, or membership in 21 a language minority group in violation of sub-22 section 4(e) or 4(f) or section 2, 201, or 203 of 23 this Act, or the 14th or 15th Amendment. An 24 extension or modification of an agreement as

defined by this subsection that has been in

1 place for ten years or longer shall count as an 2 independent violation. If a court of the United 3 States finds that an agreement itself as defined 4 by this subsection denied or abridged the right 5 of any citizen of the United States to vote on 6 account of race, color, or membership in a lan-7 guage minority group, violated subsection 4(e) 8 or 4(f) or section 2, 201, or 203 of this Act, or 9 created an undue burden on the right to vote 10 in connection with a claim that the consent de-11 cree, settlement, or other agreement unduly 12 burdened voters of a particular race, color, or 13 language minority group, that finding shall 14 count as an independent violation.

15 "(F) MULTIPLE VIOLATIONS.—Each vot-16 ing qualification or prerequisite to voting or 17 standard, practice, or procedure with respect to 18 voting, including each redistricting plan, found 19 to be a violation by a court of the United States 20 pursuant to subsection (a) or (b), or prevented 21 from enforcement pursuant to subsection (c) or 22 (d), or altered or abandoned pursuant to sub-23 section (e) shall count as an independent viola-24 tion. Within a redistricting plan, each violation 25 found to discriminate against any group of vot-

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1	ers based on race, color, or language minority
2	group shall count as an independent violation.
3	"(4) TIMING OF DETERMINATIONS.—
4	"(A) Determinations of voting rights
5	violations.—As early as practicable during
6	each calendar year, the Attorney General shall
7	make the determinations required by this sub-
8	section, including updating the list of voting
9	rights violations occurring in each State and po-
10	litical subdivision for the previous calendar
11	year.
12	"(B) EFFECTIVE UPON PUBLICATION IN
13	FEDERAL REGISTER.—A determination or cer-
14	tification of the Attorney General under this
15	section or under section 8 or 13 shall be effec-
16	tive upon publication in the Federal Register.".
17	(2) Conforming Amendments.—Section 4(a)
18	of such Act (52 U.S.C. 10303(a)) is amended—
19	(A) in paragraph (1), in the first sentence
20	of the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by
21	striking "any State with respect to which" and
22	all that follows through "unless" and inserting
23	"any State to which this subsection applies dur-
24	ing a calendar year pursuant to determinations
25	made under subsection (b), or in any political

1	subdivision of such State (as such subdivision
2	existed on the date such determinations were
3	made with respect to such State), though such
4	determinations were not made with respect to
5	such subdivision as a separate unit, or in any
6	political subdivision with respect to which this
7	subsection applies during a calendar year pur-
8	suant to determinations made with respect to
9	such subdivision as a separate unit under sub-
10	section (b), unless'';
11	(B) in paragraph (1) in the matter pre-
12	ceding subparagraph (A), by striking the second
13	sentence;
14	(C) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking "(in
15	the case of a State or subdivision seeking a de-
16	claratory judgment under the second sentence
17	of this subsection)";
18	(D) in paragraph (1)(B), by striking "(in
19	the case of a State or subdivision seeking a de-
20	claratory judgment under the second sentence
21	of this subsection)";
22	(E) in paragraph (3), by striking "(in the
23	case of a State or subdivision seeking a declara-
24	tory judgment under the second sentence of this
25	subsection)";

1	(F) in paragraph (5), by striking "(in the
2	case of a State or subdivision which sought a
3	declaratory judgment under the second sentence
4	of this subsection)";
5	(G) by striking paragraphs (7) and (8) ;
6	and
7	(H) by redesignating paragraph (9) as
8	paragraph (7).
9	(b) Clarification of Treatment of Members of
10	LANGUAGE MINORITY GROUPS.—Section 4(a)(1) of such
11	Act (52 U.S.C. 10303(a)(1)) is amended by striking "race
12	or color," and inserting "race, color, or in contravention
13	of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2),".
14	SEC. 6. DETERMINATION OF STATES AND POLITICAL SUB-
15	DIVISIONS SUBJECT TO PRECLEARANCE FOR
16	COVERED PRACTICES.
17	The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et
18	seq.) is further amended by inserting after section 4 the
19	following:
20	"SEC. 4A. DETERMINATION OF STATES AND POLITICAL
21	SUBDIVISIONS SUBJECT TO PRECLEARANCE
22	FOR COVERED PRACTICES.
23	"(a) Practice-Based Preclearance.—
24	"(1) IN GENERAL.—Each State and each polit-
25	ical subdivision shall—

1	"(A) identify any newly enacted or adopted
2	law, regulation, or policy that includes a voting
3	qualification or prerequisite to voting, or a
4	standard, practice, or procedure with respect to
5	voting, that is a covered practice described in
6	subsection (b); and
7	"(B) ensure that no such covered practice
8	is implemented unless or until the State or po-
9	litical subdivision, as the case may be, complies
10	with subsection (c).
11	"(2) Determinations of characteristics
12	OF VOTING-AGE POPULATION.—
13	"(A) IN GENERAL.—As early as prac-
14	ticable during each calendar year, the Attorney
15	General, in consultation with the Director of
16	the Bureau of the Census and the heads of
17	other relevant offices of the government, shall
18	make the determinations required by this sec-
19	tion regarding voting-age populations and the
20	characteristics of such populations, and shall
21	publish a list of the States and political subdivi-
22	sions to which a voting-age population char-
23	acteristic described in subsection (b) applies.
24	"(B) Publication in the federal reg-
25	ISTER.—A determination or certification of the

Attorney General under this paragraph shall be
 effective upon publication in the Federal Reg ister.

"(b) COVERED PRACTICES.—To assure that the right 4 5 of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or abridged on account of race, color, or membership in a 6 7 language minority group as a result of the implementation of certain qualifications or prerequisites to voting, or 8 9 standards, practices, or procedures with respect to voting newly adopted in a State or political subdivision, the fol-10 11 lowing shall be covered practices subject to the require-12 ments described in subsection (a):

13 "(1) CHANGES TO METHOD OF ELECTION.—
14 Any change to the method of election—

15 "(A) to add seats elected at-large in a
16 State or political subdivision where—

17 "(i) two or more racial groups or lan18 guage minority groups each represent 20
19 percent or more of the political subdivi20 sion's voting-age population; or

21 "(ii) a single language minority group
22 represents 20 percent or more of the vot23 ing-age population on Indian lands located
24 in whole or in part in the political subdivi25 sion; or

1	"(B) to convert one or more seats elected
2	from a single-member district to one or more
3	at-large seats or seats from a multi-member
4	district in a State or political subdivision
5	where—
6	"(i) two or more racial groups or lan-
7	guage minority groups each represent 20
8	percent or more of the political subdivi-
9	sion's voting-age population; or
10	"(ii) a single language minority group
11	represents 20 percent or more of the vot-
12	ing-age population on Indian lands located
13	in whole or in part in the political subdivi-
14	sion.
15	"(2) CHANGES TO JURISDICTION BOUND-
16	ARIES.—Any change or series of changes within a
17	year to the boundaries of a jurisdiction that reduces
18	by 3 or more percentage points the proportion of the
19	jurisdiction's voting-age population that is comprised
20	of members of a single racial group or language mi-
21	nority group in a State or political subdivision
22	where—
23	"(A) two or more racial groups or lan-
24	guage minority groups each represent 20 per-

1	cent or more of the political subdivision's vot-
2	ing-age population; or
3	"(B) a single language minority group rep-
4	resents 20 percent or more of the voting-age
5	population on Indian lands located in whole or
6	in part in the political subdivision.
7	"(3) CHANGES THROUGH REDISTRICTING.—
8	Any change to the boundaries of election districts in
9	a State or political subdivision where any racial
10	group or language minority group that is not the
11	largest racial group or language minority group in
12	the jurisdiction and that represents 15 percent or
13	more of the State or political subdivision's voting-
14	age population experiences a population increase of
15	at least 20 percent of its voting-age population, over
16	the preceding decade (as calculated by the Bureau
17	of the Census under the most recent decennial cen-
18	sus), in the jurisdiction.
19	"(4) Changes in documentation or quali-

FICATIONS TO VOTE.—Any change to requirements for documentation or proof of identity to vote or register to vote that will exceed or be more stringent than such requirements under State law on the day before the date of enactment of the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2021; and fur-

1	ther, if a State has in effect a requirement that an
2	individual present identification as a condition of re-
3	ceiving and casting a ballot in an election for Fed-
4	eral office, if the State does not permit the indi-
5	vidual to meet the requirement and cast a ballot in
6	the election in the same manner as an individual
7	who presents identification—
8	"(A) in the case of an individual who de-
9	sires to vote in person, by presenting the appro-
10	priate State or local election official with a
11	sworn written statement, signed by the indi-
12	vidual under penalty of perjury, attesting to the
13	individual's identity and attesting that the indi-
14	vidual is eligible to vote in the election; and
15	"(B) in the case of an individual who de-
16	sires to vote by mail, by submitting with the
17	ballot the statement described in subparagraph
18	(A).
19	"(5) Changes to multilingual voting ma-
20	TERIALS.—Any change that reduces multilingual
21	voting materials or alters the manner in which such
22	materials are provided or distributed, where no simi-
23	lar reduction or alteration occurs in materials pro-
24	vided in English for such election.

1	"(6) CHANGES THAT REDUCE, CONSOLIDATE,
2	OR RELOCATE VOTING LOCATIONS, OR REDUCE VOT-
3	ING OPPORTUNITIES.—Any change that reduces,
4	consolidates, or relocates voting locations, including
5	early, absentee, and election-day voting locations, or
6	reduces days or hours of in-person voting on any
7	Sunday during a period occurring prior to the date
8	of an election during which voters may cast ballots
9	in such election, or prohibits the provision of food or
10	non-alcoholic drink to persons waiting to vote in an
11	election except where the provision would violate
12	prohibitions on expenditures to influence voting—
13	"(A) in one or more census tracts wherein
14	two or more language minority groups or racial
15	groups each represent 20 percent or more of
16	the voting-age population of the political sub-
17	division; or
18	"(B) on Indian lands wherein at least 20
19	percent of the voting-age population belongs to
20	a single language minority group.
21	"(7) New list maintenance process.—Any
22	change to the maintenance of voter registration lists
23	that adds a new basis for removal from the list of
24	active registered voters or that incorporates new
25	sources of information in determining a voter's eligi-

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2	statistically significant disparate impact on the re-
3	moval from voter rolls of members of racial groups
4	or language minority groups that constitute greater
5	than 5 percent of the voting-age population—
6	"(A) in the case of a political subdivision
7	imposing such change if—
8	"(i) two or more racial groups or lan-
9	guage minority groups each represent 20
10	percent or more of the voting-age popu-
11	lation of the political subdivision; or
12	"(ii) a single language minority group
13	represents 20 percent or more of the vot-
14	ing-age population on Indian lands located
15	in whole or in part in the political subdivi-
16	sion; or
17	"(B) in the case of a State imposing such
18	change, if two or more racial groups or lan-
19	guage minority groups each represent 20 per-
20	cent or more of the voting-age population of—
21	"(i) the State; or
22	"(ii) a political subdivision in the
23	State, except that the requirements under
24	subsections (a) and (c) shall apply only

with respect to each such political subdivision.

3 "(c) PRECLEARANCE.—

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4 "(1) IN GENERAL.—Whenever a State or polit-5 ical subdivision with respect to which the require-6 ments set forth in subsection (a) are in effect shall 7 enact, adopt, or seek to implement any covered prac-8 tice described under subsection (b), such State or 9 subdivision may institute an action in the United 10 States District Court for the District of Columbia 11 for a declaratory judgment that such covered prac-12 tice neither has the purpose nor will have the effect 13 of denying or abridging the right to vote on account 14 of race, color, or membership in a language minority 15 group, and unless and until the court enters such 16 judgment such covered practice shall not be imple-17 mented. Notwithstanding the previous sentence, such 18 covered practice may be implemented without such 19 proceeding if the covered practice has been sub-20 mitted by the chief legal officer or other appropriate 21 official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney 22 General and the Attorney General has not inter-23 posed an objection within 60 days after such submis-24 sion, or upon good cause shown, to facilitate an ex-25 pedited approval within 60 days after such submis-

1	sion, the Attorney General has affirmatively indi-
2	cated that such objection will not be made. Neither
3	an affirmative indication by the Attorney General
4	that no objection will be made, nor the Attorney
5	General's failure to object, nor a declaratory judg-
6	ment entered under this section shall bar a subse-
7	quent action to enjoin implementation of such cov-
8	ered practice. In the event the Attorney General af-
9	firmatively indicates that no objection will be made
10	within the 60-day period following receipt of a sub-
11	mission, the Attorney General may reserve the right
12	to reexamine the submission if additional informa-
13	tion comes to the Attorney General's attention dur-
14	ing the remainder of the 60-day period which would
15	otherwise require objection in accordance with this
16	section. Any action under this section shall be heard
17	and determined by a court of three judges in accord-
18	ance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28,
19	United States Code, and any appeal shall lie to the
20	Supreme Court.

21 "(2) DENYING OR ABRIDGING THE RIGHT TO
22 VOTE.—Any covered practice described in subsection
23 (b) that has the purpose of or will have the effect
24 of diminishing the ability of any citizens of the
25 United States on account of race, color, or member-

ship in a language minority group, to elect their pre ferred candidates of choice denies or abridges the
 right to vote within the meaning of paragraph (1) of
 this subsection.

5 "(3) PURPOSE DEFINED.—The term 'purpose'
6 in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection shall in7 clude any discriminatory purpose.

8 "(4) PURPOSE OF PARAGRAPH (2).—The pur9 pose of paragraph (2) of this subsection is to protect
10 the ability of such citizens to elect their preferred
11 candidates of choice.

12 "(d) ENFORCEMENT.—The Attorney General or any 13 aggrieved citizen may file an action in a Federal district court to compel any State or political subdivision to satisfy 14 15 the obligations set forth in this section. Such actions shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges under 16 17 section 2284 of title 28, United States Code. In any such 18 action, the court shall provide as a remedy that any voting 19 qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, prac-20 tice, or procedure with respect to voting, that is the sub-21 ject of the action under this subsection be enjoined unless 22 the court determines that—

23 "(1) the voting qualification or prerequisite to
24 voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with re-

1	spect to voting, is not a covered practice described
2	in subsection (b); or

3 "(2) the State or political subdivision has com4 plied with subsection (c) with respect to the covered
5 practice at issue.

6 "(e) COUNTING OF RACIAL GROUPS AND LANGUAGE 7 MINORITY GROUPS.—For purposes of this section, the cal-8 culation of the population of a racial group or a language 9 minority group shall be carried out using the methodology 10 in the guidance promulgated in the Federal Register on 11 February 9, 2011 (76 Fed. Reg. 7470).

12 "(f) SPECIAL RULE.—For purposes of determina-13 tions under this section, any data provided by the Bureau 14 of the Census, whether based on estimation from sample 15 or actual enumeration, shall not be subject to challenge 16 or review in any court.

17 "(g) MULTILINGUAL VOTING MATERIALS.—In this 18 section, the term 'multilingual voting materials' means 19 registration or voting notices, forms, instructions, assist-20 ance, or other materials or information relating to the 21 electoral process, including ballots, provided in the lan-22 guage or languages of one or more language minority 23 groups.".

1	SEC. 7. PROMOTING TRANSPARENCY TO ENFORCE THE
2	VOTING RIGHTS ACT.
3	(a) TRANSPARENCY.—
4	(1) IN GENERAL.—The Voting Rights Act of
5	$1965\ (52$ U.S.C. 10301 et seq.) is amended by in-
6	serting after section 5 the following new section:
7	"SEC. 6. TRANSPARENCY REGARDING CHANGES TO PRO-
8	TECT VOTING RIGHTS.
9	"(a) Notice of Enacted Changes.—
10	"(1) NOTICE OF CHANGES.—If a State or polit-
11	ical subdivision makes any change in any qualifica-
12	tion or prerequisite to voting or standard, practice,
13	or procedure with respect to voting in any election
14	for Federal office that will result in the qualification
15	or prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure
16	being different from that which was in effect as of
17	180 days before the date of the election for Federal
18	office, the State or political subdivision shall provide
19	reasonable public notice in such State or political
20	subdivision and on the website of the State or polit-
21	ical subdivision, of a concise description of the
22	change, including the difference between the
23	changed qualification or prerequisite, standard, prac-
24	tice, or procedure and the prerequisite, standard,
25	practice, or procedure which was previously in effect.
26	The public notice described in this paragraph, in
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such State or political subdivision and on the website

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2 of a State or political subdivision, shall be in a for-3 mat that is reasonably convenient and accessible to 4 persons with disabilities who are eligible to vote, in-5 cluding persons who have low vision or are blind. 6 "(2) DEADLINE FOR NOTICE.—A State or polit-7 ical subdivision shall provide the public notice re-8 quired under paragraph (1) not later than 48 hours 9 after making the change involved. 10 "(b) TRANSPARENCY REGARDING POLLING PLACE 11 RESOURCES.— 12 "(1) IN GENERAL.—In order to identify any 13 changes that may impact the right to vote of any 14 person, prior to the 30th day before the date of an 15 election for Federal office, each State or political 16 subdivision with responsibility for allocating reg-17 istered voters, voting machines, and official poll 18 workers to particular precincts and polling places 19 shall provide reasonable public notice in such State 20 or political subdivision and on the website of a State 21 or political subdivision, of the information described 22 in paragraph (2) for precincts and polling places 23 within such State or political subdivision. The public 24 notice described in this paragraph, in such State or 25 political subdivision and on the website of a State or

1	political subdivision, shall be in a format that is rea-
2	sonably convenient and accessible to persons with
3	disabilities who are eligible to vote, including persons
4	who have low vision or are blind.
5	"(2) INFORMATION DESCRIBED.—The informa-
6	tion described in this paragraph with respect to a
7	precinct or polling place is each of the following:
8	"(A) The name or number.
9	"(B) In the case of a polling place, the lo-
10	cation, including the street address, and wheth-
11	er such polling place is accessible to persons
12	with disabilities.
13	"(C) The voting-age population of the area
14	served by the precinct or polling place, broken
15	down by demographic group if such breakdown
16	is reasonably available to such State or political
17	subdivision.
18	"(D) The number of registered voters as-
19	signed to the precinct or polling place, broken
20	down by demographic group if such breakdown
21	is reasonably available to such State or political
22	subdivision.
23	"(E) The number of voting machines as-
24	signed, including the number of voting ma-
25	chines accessible to persons with disabilities

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1	who are eligible to vote, including persons who
2	have low vision or are blind.
3	"(F) The number of official paid poll
4	workers assigned.
5	"(G) The number of official volunteer poll
6	workers assigned.
7	"(H) In the case of a polling place, the
8	dates and hours of operation.
9	"(3) UPDATES IN INFORMATION REPORTED.—
10	If a State or political subdivision makes any change
11	in any of the information described in paragraph
12	(2), the State or political subdivision shall provide
13	reasonable public notice in such State or political
14	subdivision and on the website of a State or political
15	subdivision, of the change in the information not
16	later than 48 hours after the change occurs or, if
17	the change occurs fewer than 48 hours before the
18	date of the election for Federal office, as soon as
19	practicable after the change occurs. The public no-
20	tice described in this paragraph and published on
21	the website of a State or political subdivision shall
22	be in a format that is reasonably convenient and ac-
23	cessible to persons with disabilities who are eligible
24	to vote, including persons who have low vision or are
25	blind.

"(c) TRANSPARENCY OF CHANGES RELATING TO DE MOGRAPHICS AND ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.—

3 **((1)** REQUIRING NOTICE PUBLIC \mathbf{OF} 4 CHANGES.—Not later than 10 days after making 5 any change in the constituency that will participate 6 in an election for Federal, State, or local office or 7 the boundaries of a voting unit or electoral district 8 in an election for Federal, State, or local office (in-9 cluding through redistricting, reapportionment, 10 changing from at-large elections to district-based 11 elections, or changing from district-based elections 12 to at-large elections), a State or political subdivision 13 shall provide reasonable public notice in such State 14 or political subdivision and on the website of a State 15 or political subdivision, of the demographic and elec-16 toral data described in paragraph (3) for each of the 17 geographic areas described in paragraph (2).

18 "(2) GEOGRAPHIC AREAS DESCRIBED.—The ge19 ographic areas described in this paragraph are as
20 follows:

21 "(A) The State as a whole, if the change
22 applies statewide, or the political subdivision as
23 a whole, if the change applies across the entire
24 political subdivision.

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1	"(B) If the change includes a plan to re-
2	place or eliminate voting units or electoral dis-
3	tricts, each voting unit or electoral district that
4	will be replaced or eliminated.
5	"(C) If the change includes a plan to es-
6	tablish new voting units or electoral districts,
7	each such new voting unit or electoral district.
8	"(3) DEMOGRAPHIC AND ELECTORAL DATA.—
9	The demographic and electoral data described in this
10	paragraph with respect to a geographic area de-
11	scribed in paragraph (2) are each of the following:
12	"(A) The voting-age population, broken
13	down by demographic group.
14	"(B) If it is reasonably available to the
15	State or political subdivision involved, an esti-
16	mate of the population of the area which con-
17	sists of citizens of the United States who are 18
18	years of age or older, broken down by demo-
19	graphic group.
20	"(C) The number of registered voters, bro-
21	ken down by demographic group if such break-
22	down is reasonably available to the State or po-
23	litical subdivision involved.
24	"(D)(i) If the change applies to a State,
25	the actual number of votes, or (if it is not rea-

1	sonably practicable for the State to ascertain
2	the actual number of votes) the estimated num-
3	ber of votes received by each candidate in each
4	statewide election held during the 5-year period
5	which ends on the date the change involved is
6	made; and
7	"(ii) if the change applies to only one polit-
8	ical subdivision, the actual number of votes, or
9	(if it is not reasonably practicable for the polit-
10	ical subdivision to ascertain the actual number
11	of votes) in each subdivision-wide election held
12	during the 5-year period which ends on the date
13	the change involved is made.
14	"(4) Voluntary compliance by smaller Ju-
15	RISDICTIONS.—Compliance with this subsection shall
16	be voluntary for a political subdivision of a State un-
17	less the subdivision is one of the following:
18	"(A) A county or parish.
19	"(B) A municipality with a population
20	greater than 10,000, as determined by the Bu-
21	reau of the Census under the most recent de-
22	cennial census.
23	"(C) A school district with a population
24	greater than 10,000, as determined by the Bu-
25	reau of the Census under the most recent de-

cennial census. For purposes of this subpara graph, the term 'school district' means the geo graphic area under the jurisdiction of a local
 educational agency (as defined in section 9101
 of the Elementary and Secondary Education
 Act of 1965).

7 "(d) RULES REGARDING FORMAT OF INFORMA8 TION.—The Attorney General may issue rules specifying
9 a reasonably convenient and accessible format that States
10 and political subdivisions shall use to provide public notice
11 of information under this section.

12 "(e) NO DENIAL OF RIGHT TO VOTE.—The right to 13 vote of any person shall not be denied or abridged because 14 the person failed to comply with any change made by a 15 State or political subdivision to a voting qualification, pre-16 requisite, standard, practice, or procedure if the State or 17 political subdivision involved did not meet the applicable 18 requirements of this section with respect to the change.

19 "(f) DEFINITIONS.—In this section—

"(1) the term 'demographic group' means each
group which section 2 protects from the denial or
abridgement of the right to vote on account of race
or color, or in contravention of the guarantees set
forth in section 4(f)(2);

1	"(2) the term 'election for Federal office' means
2	any general, special, primary, or runoff election held
3	solely or in part for the purpose of electing any can-
4	didate for the office of President, Vice President,
5	Presidential elector, Senator, Member of the House
6	of Representatives, or Delegate or Resident Commis-
7	sioner to the Congress; and
8	"(3) the term 'persons with disabilities', means
9	individuals with a disability, as defined in section 3
10	of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.".
11	(2) Conforming Amendment.—Section 3(a)
12	of such Act (52 U.S.C. 10302(a)) is amended by
13	striking "in accordance with section 6".
14	(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by
15	subsection $(a)(1)$ shall apply with respect to changes which
16	are made on or after the expiration of the 60-day period
17	which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act.
18	SEC. 8. AUTHORITY TO ASSIGN OBSERVERS.
19	(a) Clarification of Authority in Political
20	SUBDIVISIONS SUBJECT TO PRECLEARANCE.—Section
21	8(a)(2)(B) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.
22	10305(a)(2)(B)) is amended to read as follows:
23	"(B) in the Attorney General's judgment,
24	the assignment of observers is otherwise nec-
25	essary to enforce the guarantees of the 14th or

1	15th Amendment or any provision of this Act
2	or any other Federal law protecting the right of
3	citizens of the United States to vote; or".
4	(b) Assignment of Observers To Enforce Bi-
5	LINGUAL ELECTION REQUIREMENTS.—Section 8(a) of
6	such Act (52 U.S.C. 10305(a)) is amended—
7	(1) by striking "or" at the end of paragraph
8	(1);
9	(2) by inserting after paragraph (2) the fol-
10	lowing:
11	"(3) the Attorney General certifies with respect
12	to a political subdivision that—
13	"(A) the Attorney General has received
14	written meritorious complaints from residents,
15	elected officials, or civic participation organiza-
16	tions that efforts to violate section 203 are like-
17	ly to occur; or
18	"(B) in the Attorney General's judgment,
19	the assignment of observers is necessary to en-
20	force the guarantees of section 203;"; and
21	(3) by moving the margin for the continuation
22	text following paragraph (3), as added by paragraph
23	(2) of this subsection, 2 ems to the left.
24	(c) Transferral of Authority Over Observers
25	to the Attorney General.—

1	(1) Enforcement proceedings.—Section
2	3(a) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.
3	10302(a)) is amended by striking "United States
4	Civil Service Commission in accordance with section
5	6" and inserting "Attorney General in accordance
6	with section 8".
7	(2) Observers; Appointment and com-
8	PENSATION.—Section 8 of the Voting Rights Act of
9	1965 (52 U.S.C. 10305) is amended—
10	(A) in subsection $(a)(2)$, in the matter fol-
11	lowing subparagraph (B), by striking "Director
12	of the Office of Personnel Management shall as-
13	sign as many observers for such subdivision as
14	the Director" and inserting "Attorney General
15	shall assign as many observers for such subdivi-
16	sion as the Attorney General"; and
17	(B) in subsection (c), by striking "Director
18	of the Office of Personnel Management" and
19	inserting "Attorney General".
20	(3) TERMINATION OF CERTAIN APPOINTMENTS
21	OF OBSERVERS.—Section $13(a)(1)$ of the Voting
22	Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10309(a)(1)) is
23	amended by striking "notifies the Director of the Of-
24	fice of Personnel Management," and inserting "de-
25	termines,".

1 SEC. 9. CLARIFICATION OF AUTHORITY TO SEEK RELIEF.

(a) POLL TAX.—Section 10(b) of the Voting Rights
Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10306(b)) is amended by striking
"the Attorney General is authorized and directed to institute forthwith in the name of the United States such actions" and inserting "an aggrieved person or (in the name
of the United States) the Attorney General may institute
such actions".

9 (b) CAUSE OF ACTION.—Section 12(d) of the Voting
10 Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10308(d)) is amended—

11 (1) by striking "Whenever any person has en-12 gaged" and all that follows through "in the name of the United States" and inserting "(1) Whenever 13 14 there are reasonable grounds to believe that any per-15 son has implemented or will implement any voting 16 qualification or prerequisite to voting or standard, 17 practice, or procedure that would (A) deny any cit-18 izen the right to vote in violation of the 14th, 15th, 19 19th, 24th, or 26th Amendments, or (B) would vio-20 late this Act (except for section 4A) or any other 21 Federal law that prohibits discrimination on the 22 basis of race, color, or membership in a language 23 minority group in the voting process, an aggrieved 24 person or (in the name of the United States) the At-25 torney General may institute"; and

1 (2) by striking ", and including an order di-2 rected to the State and State or local election offi-3 cials to require them (1) to permit persons listed 4 under chapters 103 to 107 of this title to vote and 5 (2) to count such votes".

6 (c) JUDICIAL RELIEF.—Section 204 of the Voting 7 Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10504) is amended by 8 striking "Whenever the Attorney General has reason to 9 believe" and all that follows through "as he deems appropriate" and inserting "Whenever there are reasonable 10 grounds to believe that a State or political subdivision has 11 12 engaged or is about to engage in any act or practice pro-13 hibited by a provision of title II, an aggrieved person or (in the name of the United States) the Attorney General 14 15 may institute an action in a district court of the United States, for a restraining order, a preliminary or perma-16 17 nent injunction, or such other order as may be appropriate". 18

19 ENFORCEMENT OF (d) Twenty-Sixth Amend-20 MENT.—Section 301(a)(1) of the Voting Rights Act of 21 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10701) is amended by striking "The Attorney General is directed to institute" and all that follows 22 23 through "Constitution of the United States" and inserting 24 "An aggrieved person or (in the name of the United 25 States) the Attorney General may institute an action in a district court of the United States, for a restraining
 order, a preliminary or permanent injunction, or such
 other order as may be appropriate to implement the twen ty-sixth amendment to the Constitution of the United
 States".

6 SEC. 10. PREVENTIVE RELIEF.

7 Section 12(d) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52
8 U.S.C. 10308(d)), as amended by section 9, is further
9 amended by adding at the end the following:

10 ((2)(A) In considering any motion for preliminary relief in any action for preventive relief described in this sub-11 12 section, the court shall grant the relief if the court deter-13 mines that the complainant has raised a question as to whether the challenged voting qualification or prerequisite 14 15 to voting or standard, practice, or procedure violates this Act or the Constitution and, on balance, the hardship im-16 posed on the defendant by the grant of the relief will be 17 less than the hardship which would be imposed on the 18 plaintiff if the relief were not granted. 19

"(B) In making its determination under this paragraph with respect to a change in any voting qualification,
prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure
with respect to voting, the court shall consider all relevant
factors and give due weight to the following factors, if they
are present:

1	"(i) Whether the qualification, prerequisite,
2	standard, practice, or procedure in effect prior to the
3	change was adopted as a remedy for a Federal court
4	judgment, consent decree, or admission regarding—
5	"(I) discrimination on the basis of race or
6	color in violation of the 14th or 15th Amend-
7	ment;
8	"(II) a violation of the 19th, 24th, or 26th
9	Amendments;
10	"(III) a violation of this Act; or
11	"(IV) voting discrimination on the basis of
12	race, color, or membership in a language minor-
13	ity group in violation of any other Federal or
14	State law.
15	"(ii) Whether the qualification, prerequisite,
16	standard, practice, or procedure in effect prior to the
17	change served as a ground for the dismissal or set-
18	tlement of a claim alleging—
19	"(I) discrimination on the basis of race or
20	color in violation of the 14th or 15th Amend-
21	ment;
22	"(II) a violation of the 19th, 24th, or 26th
23	Amendment;
24	"(III) a violation of this Act; or

"(IV) voting discrimination on the basis of
 race, color, or membership in a language minor ity group in violation of any other Federal or
 State law.

5 "(iii) Whether the change was adopted fewer 6 than 180 days before the date of the election with 7 respect to which the change is to take or takes ef-8 fect.

9 "(iv) Whether the defendant has failed to pro10 vide timely or complete notice of the adoption of the
11 change as required by applicable Federal or State
12 law.

13 "(3) A jurisdiction's inability to enforce its voting or 14 election laws, regulations, policies, or redistricting plans, 15 standing alone, shall not be deemed to constitute irreparable harm to the public interest or to the interests of 16 17 a defendant in an action arising under the Constitution 18 or any Federal law that prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, or membership in a language minority 19 20 group in the voting process, for the purposes of deter-21 mining whether a stay of a court's order or an interlocu-22 tory appeal under section 1253 of title 28, United States 23 Code, is warranted.".

1	SEC. 11. RELIEF FOR VIOLATIONS OF VOTING RIGHTS
2	LAWS.
3	(a) IN GENERAL.—
4	(1) Relief for violations of voting
5	RIGHTS LAWS.—In this section, the term "prohibited
6	act or practice" means—
7	(A) any act or practice—
8	(i) that creates an undue burden on
9	the fundamental right to vote in violation
10	of the 14th Amendment to the Constitu-
11	tion of the United States or violates the
12	Equal Protection Clause of the 14th
13	Amendment to the Constitution of the
14	United States; or
15	(ii) that is prohibited by the 15th,
16	19th, 24th, or 26th Amendment to the
17	Constitution of the United States, section
18	2004 of the Revised Statutes (52 U.S.C.
19	10101), the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52)
20	U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), the National Voter
21	Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C.
22	20501 et seq.), the Uniformed and Over-
23	seas Citizens Absentee Voting Act $(52$
24	U.S.C. 20301 et seq.), the Help America
25	Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 20901 et
26	seq.), the Voting Accessibility for the El-

- 1 derly and Handicapped Act (52 U.S.C. 2 20101 et seq.), or section 2003 of the Re-3 vised Statutes (52 U.S.C. 10102); and 4 (B) any act or practice in violation of any 5 Federal law that prohibits discrimination with 6 respect to voting, including the Americans with 7 Disabilities Act of 1990 (42 U.S.C. 12101 et 8 seq.). 9 (2) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this 10 section shall be construed to diminish the authority or scope of authority of any person to bring an ac-11 12 tion under any Federal law. 13 (3) ATTORNEY'S FEES.—Section 722(b) of the 14 Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1988(b)) is amended by 15 inserting "a provision described in section 2(a) of 16 the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act 17 of 2021," after "title VI of the Civil Rights Act of
- 18 1964,".

(b) GROUNDS FOR EQUITABLE RELIEF.—In any action for equitable relief pursuant to a law listed under subsection (a), proximity of the action to an election shall not
be a valid reason to deny such relief, or stay the operation
of or vacate the issuance of such relief, unless the party
opposing the issuance or continued operation of relief
meets the burden of proving by clear and convincing evi-

dence that the issuance of the relief would be so close in
 time to the election as to cause irreparable harm to the
 public interest or that compliance with such relief would
 impose serious burdens on the party opposing relief.

5 (1) IN GENERAL.—In considering whether to 6 grant, deny, stay, or vacate any order of equitable 7 relief, the court shall give substantial weight to the 8 public's interest in expanding access to the right to 9 vote. A State's generalized interest in enforcing its 10 enacted laws shall not be a relevant consideration in 11 determining whether equitable relief is warranted.

12 (2) PRESUMPTIVE SAFE HARBOR.—Where equi-13 table relief is sought either within 30 days of the 14 adoption or reasonable public notice of the chal-15 lenged policy or practice, or more than 45 days be-16 fore the date of an election to which the relief being 17 sought will apply, proximity to the election will be 18 presumed not to constitute a harm to the public in-19 terest or a burden on the party opposing relief.

20 (c) GROUNDS FOR STAY OR VACATUR IN FEDERAL
21 CLAIMS INVOLVING VOTING RIGHTS.—

(1) PROSPECTIVE EFFECT.—In reviewing an
application for a stay or vacatur of equitable relief
granted pursuant to a law listed in subsection (a),
a court shall give substantial weight to the reliance

1	interests of citizens who acted pursuant to such
2	order under review. In fashioning a stay or vacatur,
3	a reviewing court shall not order relief that has the
4	effect of denying or abridging the right to vote of
5	any citizen who has acted in reliance on the order.
6	(2) WRITTEN EXPLANATION.—No stay or
7	vacatur under this subsection shall issue unless the
8	reviewing court makes specific findings that the pub-
9	lic interest, including the public's interest in expand-
10	ing access to the ballot, will be harmed by the con-
11	tinuing operation of the equitable relief or that com-
12	pliance with such relief will impose serious burdens
13	on the party seeking such a stay or vacatur such
14	that those burdens substantially outweigh the bene-
15	fits to the public interest. In reviewing an applica-
16	tion for a stay or vacatur of equitable relief, findings
17	of fact made in issuing the order under review shall
18	not be set aside unless clearly erroneous.
19	SEC. 12. ENFORCEMENT OF VOTING RIGHTS BY ATTORNEY
20	GENERAL.
21	Section 12 of the Voting Rights Act (52 U.S.C.
22	10308), as amended by this Act, is further amended by
23	adding at the end the following:
24	"(g) Voting Rights Enforcement by Attorney
25	

1	"(1) IN GENERAL.—In order to fulfill the At-
2	torney General's responsibility to enforce the Voting
3	Rights Act and other Federal civil rights statutes
4	that protect the right to vote, the Attorney General
5	(or upon designation by the Attorney General, the
6	Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights) is au-
7	thorized, before commencing a civil action, to issue
8	a demand for inspection and information in writing
9	to any State or political subdivision, or other govern-
10	mental representative or agent, with respect to any
11	relevant documentary material that he has reason to
12	believe is within their possession, custody, or control.
13	A demand by the Attorney General under this sec-
14	tion may require—
15	"(A) the production of such documentary
16	material for inspection and copying;
17	"(B) answers in writing to written ques-
18	tions with respect to such documentary mate-
19	rial; or
20	"(C) both.
21	"(2) CONTENTS OF AN ATTORNEY GENERAL
22	DEMAND.—
23	"(A) IN GENERAL.—Any demand issued
24	under paragraph (1), shall include a sworn cer-
25	tificate to identify the voting qualification or

1 prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or 2 procedure with respect to voting, or other vot-3 ing related matter or issue, whose lawfulness 4 the Attorney General is investigating and to identify the civil provisions of the Federal civil 5 6 rights statute that protects the right to vote 7 under which the investigation is being con-8 ducted. The demand shall be reasonably cal-9 culated to lead to the discovery of documentary 10 material and information relevant to such civil 11 rights investigation. Documentary material in-12 cludes any material upon which relevant infor-13 mation is recorded, and includes written or 14 printed materials, photographs, tapes, or mate-15 rials upon which information is electronically or 16 magnetically recorded. Such demands are aimed 17 at the Attorney General having the ability to in-18 spect and obtain copies of relevant materials (as 19 well as obtain information) related to voting 20 and are not aimed at the Attorney General tak-21 ing possession of original records, particularly 22 those that are required to be retained by State 23 and local election officials under Federal or 24 State law.

1	"(B) NO REQUIREMENT FOR PRODUC-
2	TION.—Any demand issued under paragraph
3	(1) may not require the production of any docu-
4	mentary material or the submission of any an-
5	swers in writing to written questions if such
6	material or answers would be protected from
7	disclosure under the standards applicable to
8	discovery requests under the Federal Rules of
9	Civil Procedure in an action in which the Attor-
10	ney General or the United States is a party.
11	"(C) Documentary material.—If the
12	demand issued under paragraph (1) requires
13	the production of documentary material, it
14	shall—
15	"(i) identify the class of documentary
16	material to be produced with such definite-
17	ness and certainty as to permit such mate-
18	rial to be fairly identified; and
19	"(ii) prescribe a return date for pro-
20	duction of the documentary material at
21	least twenty days after issuance of the de-
22	mand to give the State or political subdivi-
23	sion, or other governmental representative
24	or agent, a reasonable period of time for
25	assembling the documentary material and

1	making it available for inspection and
2	copying.
3	"(D) ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUES-
4	TIONS.—If the demand issued under paragraph
5	(1) requires answers in writing to written ques-
6	tions, it shall—
7	"(i) set forth with specificity the writ-
8	ten question to be answered; and
9	"(ii) prescribe a date at least twenty
10	days after the issuance of the demand for
11	submitting answers in writing to the writ-
12	ten questions.
13	"(E) SERVICE.—A demand issued under
14	paragraph (1) may be served by a United
15	States marshal or a deputy marshal, or by cer-
16	tified mail, at any place within the territorial
17	jurisdiction of any court of the United States.
18	"(3) Responses to an attorney general
19	DEMAND.—A State or political subdivision, or other
20	governmental representative or agent, must, with re-
21	spect to any documentary material or any answer in
22	writing produced under this subsection, provide a
23	sworn certificate, in such form as the demand issued
24	under paragraph (1) designates, by a person having

1	such production or written answer, authorized to act
2	on behalf of the State or political subdivision, or
3	other governmental representative or agent, upon
4	which the demand was served. The certificate—
5	"(A) shall state that—
6	"(i) all of the documentary material
7	required by the demand and in the posses-
8	sion, custody, or control of the State or po-
9	litical subdivision, or other governmental
10	representative or agent, has been produced;
11	"(ii) that with respect to every answer
12	in writing to a written question, all infor-
13	mation required by the question and in the
14	possession, custody, control, or knowledge
15	of the State or political subdivision, or
16	other governmental representative or
17	agent, has been submitted; or
18	"(iii) both; or
19	"(B) provide the basis for any objection to
20	producing the documentary material or answer-
21	ing the written question.
22	To the extent that any information is not furnished,
23	the information shall be identified and reasons set
24	forth with particularity regarding the reasons why
25	the information was not furnished.

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"(4) JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS.—

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"(A) PETITION FOR ENFORCEMENT.---2 3 Whenever any State or political subdivision, or 4 other governmental representative or agent, 5 fails to comply with demand issued by the At-6 torney General under paragraph (1), the Attor-7 ney General may file, in a district court of the 8 United States in which the State or political 9 subdivision, or other governmental representa-10 tive or agent, is located, a petition for a judicial 11 order enforcing the Attorney General demand 12 issued under paragraph (1). 13 "(B) PETITION TO MODIFY.—

14 "(i) IN GENERAL.—Any State or po-15 litical subdivision, or other governmental 16 representative or agent, that is served with 17 a demand issued by the Attorney General 18 under paragraph (1) may file in the United 19 States District Court for the District of 20 Columbia a petition for an order of the 21 court to modify or set aside the demand of 22 the Attorney General.

23 "(ii) PETITION TO MODIFY.—Any pe24 tition to modify or set aside a demand of
25 the Attorney General issued under para-

1	graph (1) must be filed within 20 days
2	after the date of service of the Attorney
3	General's demand or at any time before
4	the return date specified in the Attorney
5	General's demand, whichever date is ear-
6	lier.
7	"(iii) Contents of Petition.—The
8	petition shall specify each ground upon
9	which the petitioner relies in seeking relief
10	under clause (i), and may be based upon
11	any failure of the Attorney General's de-
12	mand to comply with the provisions of this
13	section or upon any constitutional or other
14	legal right or privilege of the State or po-
15	litical subdivision, or other governmental
16	representative or agent. During the pend-
17	ency of the petition in the court, the court
18	may stay, as it deems proper, the running
19	of the time allowed for compliance with the
20	Attorney General's demand, in whole or in
21	part, except that the State or political sub-
22	division, or other governmental representa-
23	tive or agent, filing the petition shall com-
24	ply with any portions of the Attorney Gen-

1	eral's demand not sought to be modified or
2	set aside.".
3	SEC. 13. DEFINITIONS.
4	Title I of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.
5	10301) is amended by adding at the end the following:
6	"SEC. 21. DEFINITIONS.
7	"In this Act:
8	"(1) INDIAN.—The term 'Indian' has the mean-
9	ing given the term in section 4 of the Indian Self-
10	Determination and Education Assistance Act.
11	"(2) INDIAN LANDS.—The term 'Indian lands'
12	means—
13	"(A) any Indian country of an Indian
14	tribe, as such term is defined in section 1151
15	of title 18, United States Code;
16	"(B) any land in Alaska that is owned,
17	pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settle-
18	ment Act, by an Indian tribe that is a Native
19	village (as such term is defined in section 3 of
20	such Act), or by a Village Corporation that is
21	associated with the Indian tribe (as such term
22	is defined in section 3 of such Act);
23	"(C) any land on which the seat of govern-
24	ment of the Indian tribe is located; and

1 "(D) any land that is part or all of a tribal 2 designated statistical area associated with the 3 Indian tribe, or is part or all of an Alaska Na-4 tive village statistical area associated with the 5 tribe, as defined by the Bureau of the Census 6 for the purposes of the most recent decennial 7 census. "(3) INDIAN TRIBE.—The term 'Indian tribe' or 8 9 'tribe' has the meaning given the term 'Indian tribe' 10 in section 4 of the Indian Self-Determination and 11 Education Assistance Act. 12 "(4) TRIBAL GOVERNMENT.—The term 'Tribal 13 Government' means the recognized governing body 14 of an Indian Tribe. 15 "(5) VOTING-AGE POPULATION.—The term 16 'voting-age population' means the numerical size of 17 the population within a State, within a political sub-18 division, or within a political subdivision that con-19 tains Indian lands, as the case may be, that consists 20 of persons age 18 or older, as calculated by the Bu-21 reau of the Census under the most recent decennial 22 census.".

1 SEC. 14. ATTORNEYS' FEES.

2 Section 14(c) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52
3 U.S.C. 10310(c)) is amended by adding at the end the
4 following:

5 "(4) The term 'prevailing party' means a party to an 6 action that receives at least some of the benefit sought 7 by such action, states a colorable claim, and can establish 8 that the action was a significant cause of a change to the 9 status quo.".

10 SEC. 15. OTHER TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMEND 11 MENTS.

(a) ACTIONS COVERED UNDER SECTION 3.—Section
3(c) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.
10302(c)) is amended—

(1) by striking "any proceeding instituted by
the Attorney General or an aggrieved person under
any statute to enforce" and inserting "any action
under any statute in which a party (including the
Attorney General) seeks to enforce"; and

20 (2) by striking "at the time the proceeding was
21 commenced" and inserting "at the time the action
22 was commenced".

23 (b) CLARIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF MEMBERS OF
24 LANGUAGE MINORITY GROUPS.—Section 4(f) of such Act
25 (52 U.S.C. 10303(f)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking the second
 sentence; and

3 (2) by striking paragraphs (3) and (4).

4 (c) PERIOD DURING WHICH CHANGES IN VOTING
5 PRACTICES ARE SUBJECT TO PRECLEARANCE UNDER
6 SECTION 5.—Section 5 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 10304)
7 is amended—

8 (1) in subsection (a), by striking "based upon
9 determinations made under the first sentence of sec10 tion 4(b) are in effect" and inserting "are in effect
11 during a calendar year";

(2) in subsection (a), by striking "November 1,
13 1964" and all that follows through "November 1,
14 1972" and inserting "the applicable date of cov15 erage"; and

16 (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-17 section:

18 "(e) The term 'applicable date of coverage' means,19 with respect to a State or political subdivision—

20 "(1) June 25, 2013, if the most recent deter21 mination for such State or subdivision under section
22 4(b) was made on or before December 31, 2021; or
23 "(2) the date on which the most recent deter24 mination for such State or subdivision under section

4(b) was made, if such determination was made
 after December 31, 2021.".

3 SEC. 16. SEVERABILITY.

4 If any provision of this Act or any amendment made 5 by this Act, or the application of such a provision or 6 amendment to any person or circumstance, is held to be 7 unconstitutional or is otherwise enjoined or unenforceable, 8 the remainder of this Act and amendments made by this 9 Act, and the application of the provisions and amendment 10 to any person or circumstance, and any remaining provision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, shall not be af-11 12 fected by the holding.

13 SEC. 17. GRANTS TO ASSIST WITH NOTICE REQUIREMENTS 14 UNDER THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General shall make
grants each fiscal year to small jurisdictions who submit
applications under subsection (b) for purposes of assisting
such small jurisdictions with compliance with the requirements of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to submit or publish notice of any change to a qualification, prerequisite,
standard, practice or procedure affecting voting.

(b) APPLICATION.—To be eligible for a grant under
this section, a small jurisdiction shall submit an application to the Attorney General in such form and containing
such information as the Attorney General may require re-

garding the compliance of such small jurisdiction with the
 provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

3 (c) SMALL JURISDICTION DEFINED.—For purposes
4 of this section, the term "small jurisdiction" means any
5 political subdivision of a State with a population of 10,000
6 or less.