

117TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# H. R. 8341

To expand youth access to voting, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 12, 2022

Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia (for herself, Ms. NORTON, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. BOWMAN, Mr. GARCÍA of Illinois, Mr. LIEU, Mr. EVANS, Mr. JONES, Ms. SCANLON, Mr. VARGAS, Mr. TORRES of New York, Ms. JACOBS of California, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Mr. SARBANES, and Ms. ROSS) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

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# A BILL

To expand youth access to voting, 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; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

4       (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
5       “Youth Voting Rights Act”.

6       (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of  
7       this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

Sec. 2. Sense of Congress.

Sec. 3. Findings.

Sec. 4. Enforcement of the 26th Amendment.

Sec. 5. Treatment of public institutions of higher education as voter registration agencies under National Voter Registration Act of 1993.

Sec. 6. Pre-registration of minors for voting in Federal elections.

Sec. 7. On-campus polling locations.

Sec. 8. Prohibition of residency requirements.

Sec. 9. Requirements for voter identification.

Sec. 10. Grants to States for activities to encourage involvement of youth in election activities.

Sec. 11. Studies and data collection.

## 1 SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

2 It is the Sense of Congress that—

3 (1) 50 years ago, our Nation came together  
4 unanimously to expand the franchise to those 18  
5 years of age and older and to outlaw age-based dis-  
6 crimination in accessing the franchise;

7 (2) 50 years later, the promises of the 26th  
8 Amendment to the Constitution of the United States  
9 (referred to in this Act as the “26th Amendment”)  
10 remain unfulfilled although the reasons that moti-  
11 vated its ratification endure; and

12 (3) pursuant to section 2 of the 26th Amend-  
13 ment, Congress is empowered to enforce the article  
14 by appropriate legislation and acts accordingly in  
15 this Act.

## 16 SEC. 3. FINDINGS.

17 Congress finds the following:

18 (1) Over 50 years ago, on July 1, 1971, this  
19 Nation ratified into the Constitution of the United  
20 States the 26th Amendment, lowering the voting age

1 from 21 to 18 years of age and outlawing the denial  
2 or abridgement of the right to vote on account of  
3 age.

4 (2) Support for the 26th Amendment was near-  
5 ly unanimous. The proposed constitutional amend-  
6 ment passed with bipartisan supermajorities, passing  
7 in the Senate with a vote of 94–0, and passing in  
8 the House of Representatives with a vote of 401–19.  
9 The 26th Amendment was approved by the requisite  
10 38 States in less than 100 days, making it the  
11 quickest constitutional amendment to be ratified in  
12 United States history.

13 (3) Support for lowering the voting age to 18  
14 was championed across the aisle. President Dwight  
15 Eisenhower, former Commander of the Allied  
16 Forces, included the issue in his 1954 State of the  
17 Union Address. Moreover, President Richard Nixon  
18 emphasized his support for the 26th Amendment  
19 during its certification ceremony, describing that  
20 young people serve a critical role by infusing the  
21 practice of democracy with “some idealism, some  
22 courage, some stamina, some high moral purpose  
23 that this Nation always needs, because a country,  
24 throughout history, we find, goes through ebbs and  
25 flows of idealism.”. Similarly, Senate Majority Lead-

1       er Michael Mansfield and Senator Ted Kennedy  
2       were key advocates of the measure, having first pro-  
3       posed a statutory route for lowering the voting age  
4       in the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970  
5       (Public Law 91–285), in addition to supporting a  
6       path through constitutional ratification.

7                     (4) The Voting Rights Act Amendments of  
8       1970 (Public Law 91–285) marked the first Federal  
9       law to enfranchise youth and outlaw age discrimina-  
10      tion in accessing the franchise. In title III of that  
11      Act, Congress declared, with strong bipartisan sup-  
12      port, that the 21-year age requirement—

13                     (A) “denies and abridges the inherent con-  
14       stitutional rights of citizens eighteen years of  
15       age but not yet twenty-one years of age to  
16       vote”;

17                     (B) has the effect of denying those  
18       disenfranchised “the due process and equal pro-  
19       tection of the laws that are guaranteed to them  
20       under the Fourteenth Amendment”; and

21                     (C) “does not bear a reasonable relation-  
22       ship to any compelling State interest.”.

23                     (5) The age-based expansion of the franchise  
24       via the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 was  
25       ultimately found by a strongly divided Supreme

1       Court to be unconstitutional as applied to State and  
2       local races and constitutional as applied to Federal  
3       races. Thus, to ensure uniform election administra-  
4       tion in Federal and State races, a constitutional so-  
5       lution was required.

6                 (6) A variety of reasons were advanced to sup-  
7       port ratification of the 26th Amendment. The  
8       emerging themes included—

9                         (A) the value of idealism, courage, and  
10       moral purpose that youth provide in reener-  
11       gizing the practice of democracy;

12                         (B) the increased political competence of  
13       young people compared to prior generations,  
14       due to greater access to information through  
15       standardized education and technology such as  
16       then-widely available television sets;

17                         (C) the increased responsibilities assumed  
18       by the group as they fought in war, assumed  
19       debt, and lived independently;

20                         (D) a general recognition of the Nation's  
21       expansion toward a more inclusive suffrage; and

22                         (E) the stemming of unrest by encouraging  
23       institutionalized mechanisms to advance  
24       change.

1                             (7) In referring the 26th Amendment to the  
2 States for ratification, Congress invoked the Voting  
3 Rights Act and the principles protected by the 14th  
4 Amendment to the Constitution of the United  
5 States, explaining that “[F]orcing young voters to  
6 undertake special burdens-obtaining absentee ballots,  
7 or traveling to one centralized location in each city,  
8 for example-in order to exercise their right to vote  
9 might well serve to dissuade them from participating  
10 in the election. This result, and the election proce-  
11 dures that create it, are at least inconsistent with  
12 the purpose of the Voting Rights [A]ct, which  
13 sought to encourage greater political participation on  
14 the part of the young; such segregation might even  
15 amount to a denial of their 14th Amendment right  
16 to equal protection of the laws in the exercise of the  
17 franchise.”.

18                             (8) According to the Center for Information &  
19 Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (re-  
20 ferred to in this Act as “CIRCLE”) of Tufts Uni-  
21 versity, a record-high 28 percent of young people  
22 voted in the 2018 midterm elections, more than dou-  
23 bling the record-low 13 percent youth turnout in  
24 2014. Still, young people vote at lower levels than  
25 older adults.

1                             (9) Lower youth voting rates are not a sign of  
2 generational apathy but of systemic barriers and  
3 issues with the culture of political engagement that  
4 have plagued young people of various generations for  
5 decades. Individuals that were part of older genera-  
6 tions voted at similar rates as individuals in the Mil-  
7 lennial and Gen Z generations when those older genera-  
8 tions were youth. For the first presidential elec-  
9 tion in which a generation's entire 18–24 age cohort  
10 was eligible to vote (1972 for Boomers, 1992 for  
11 Gen X, and 2008 for Millennials), each participated  
12 at about 50 percent.

13                             (10) The outsized reliance by young voters on  
14 provisional ballots in recent years demonstrates the  
15 structural obstacles young voters face due to voter  
16 restrictions. A 2016 survey found that 1 in 4  
17 Millennials voted provisionally in the 2016 race,  
18 compared to 6 percent of Baby Boomers, and 2 per-  
19 cent of the Greatest Generation.

20                             (11) In addition to voting provisionally at dis-  
21 proportionate rates, young voters' provisional ballots  
22 are also disproportionately rejected. As determined by  
23 a recent Federal court, voters aged 18 to 21 in Flor-  
24 ida had their provisional ballots rejected at a rate  
25 more than 4 times higher than the rejection rate for

1       provisional ballots cast by voters between the ages of  
2       45 to 64.

3                     (12) Similarly, young voters experience a higher  
4       rejection rate of vote-by-mail ballots compared to  
5       older voters. One study found that voters aged 18 to  
6       21 had their vote-by-mail ballots rejected at a rate  
7       of over 5 times that of voters between the ages of  
8       45 to 64 and over 8 times those over the age of 65.  
9       These rejection rates trend with those of voters of  
10      color. For example, the study found that the rate of  
11      rejection of vote-by-mail ballots for Hispanic and Af-  
12      rican American voters is over 2 times that of White  
13      voters.

14                    (13) Moreover, when special burdens are re-  
15      moved, young people vote more frequently. Once  
16      polling places were finally situated on campuses dur-  
17      ing the early voting period, pursuant to successful  
18      26th Amendment litigation, one study found that on  
19      12 campuses alone, nearly 60,000 registered voters  
20      participated in the 2018 general election through  
21      early in-person voting. Young voters, people of color,  
22      and those who did not cast a ballot in 2016 dis-  
23      proportionately voted at the on-campus voting loca-  
24      tions. Voter turnout is bolstered by on-campus vot-  
25      ing locations because those locations lower the op-

1 opportunity costs for voting for all registered voters,  
2 particularly for young registered voters.

3 (14) Young people are passionate about political  
4 issues and often want to engage in the political  
5 process, but they face barriers to participation. For  
6 example, they may face structural obstacles such as  
7 proof requirements that obscure a young person's  
8 right to vote, barriers to voter registration, inacces-  
9 sible or poorly equipped polling places, campus ger-  
10 rymanders, over-reliance on provisional ballots, and  
11 unfair treatment of provisional and vote-by-mail bal-  
12 lots. Some of these barriers are acute for the young-  
13 est voters who are particularly transient and move  
14 every year, thereby struggling to update their voter  
15 registration, or who are less likely to have a driver's  
16 license to use as voter identification. Youth voters  
17 are similarly vulnerable to confusion about their  
18 right to vote from their campus residences. Although  
19 the Supreme Court summarily affirmed the right of  
20 college students to vote from their campus resi-  
21 dences in 1979, pursuant to the 26th Amendment,  
22 misinformation and disinformation persist about this  
23 right. Congress finds that students indeed have a  
24 right to vote from their campus residences. Relat-  
25 edly, many young people have not been taught about

1 elections and voting, including the practicalities of  
2 registering and casting a ballot and the reasons why  
3 their voices and votes matter in democracy.

4 (15) Studies reinforce the habit-forming nature  
5 of voting, making it all the more important that vot-  
6 ing becomes normalized at an early age through un-  
7 obstructed access to the ballot. For example, a re-  
8 cent study found that on average, voting in 1 elec-  
9 tion increases the probability of voting in a future  
10 election by 10 percentage points.

11 (16) According to CIRCLE, youth without col-  
12 lege experience also tend to vote at lower rates than  
13 young people in college. For example, in 2018, 28  
14 percent of youth (ages 18–29) voted, while the Insti-  
15 tute for Democracy & Higher Education of Tufts  
16 University estimated that 40 percent of college stu-  
17 dents cast a ballot. There are disparities by age, and  
18 even among youth; the youngest group (ages 18 and  
19) vote at lower rates. There are also disparities by  
20 urbanicity, with young people in rural areas and  
21 other civic deserts having lower voter turnout.

22 (17) According to CIRCLE, low-income youth  
23 are acutely impacted, since their economic struggles  
24 translate into multiple logistical barriers to voting. A

1 recent survey of low-income youth found that young  
2 voters reported barriers to voting, including—

3 (A) confusion with voter identification  
4 rules (88 percent);

5 (B) confusion about the impact of voter  
6 disenfranchisement (42 percent reported lack of  
7 clarity about whether someone who paid a fine  
8 for driving under the influence could vote or if  
9 someone with a suspended driver's license could  
10 vote);

11 (C) confusion about the location of polling  
12 places (39 percent did not know where to vote);

13 and

14 (D) a high lack of confidence that they  
15 would be fully prepared to vote if an election  
16 happened “next week” (only half of surveyed  
17 youth reported confidence).

18 (18) Moreover, youth reported negative voting  
19 experiences due to failure to see young people work-  
20 ing at the polls (87 percent), failure to see poll  
21 workers that look like them (74 percent), and not  
22 believing that election officials make an effort to en-  
23 sure that people like them can vote (59 percent).

24 (19) Presidential election years are particularly  
25 consequential for youth voter engagement. For ex-

1       ample, 61 percent of 18- to 29-year-olds were reg-  
2       istered to vote in 2008, compared to 49 percent in  
3       2010. Moreover, youth who registered to vote are  
4       considerably more likely to vote. Among youth reg-  
5       istered in 2008, 84 percent cast a ballot.

6                     (20) While direct youth voter registration, out-  
7       reach, and engagement is typically heightened in the  
8       Summer and Fall months leading up to presidential  
9       elections, unprecedented obstacles have presented  
10      themselves amid the COVID–19 pandemic as the  
11      economy slowed, the Nation shut down, and institu-  
12      tions of higher education, technical and vocational  
13      schools, and high schools changed their normal oper-  
14      ations.

15                    (21) The 2020 primary cycle shed light on the  
16      unique obstacles faced by young voters in uncertain  
17      times as they were displaced from the college  
18      domiciles where they would eventually return. Con-  
19      fused and misinformed about their right to vote  
20      from campus despite the temporary relocation, these  
21      voters had to adjust for the first time to obtaining,  
22      printing, properly filling out and submitting along  
23      with required proofs, and mailing postage-required  
24      official forms and paperwork, such as voter registra-

1       tion forms, absentee ballot requests, and absentee  
2       ballots.

3                     (22) The 2020 election resulted in unprece-  
4       dented voter turnout overall, boasting the highest  
5       turnout in United States history, with 17,000,000  
6       more voters compared to the last presidential cycle.  
7       The unprecedented trend tracked for youth voters as  
8       well. 2020 was the first election in which the major-  
9       ity of voters under the age of 30 voted. States with  
10      the highest youth voter rates were those with more  
11      robust registration and vote by mail laws, such as  
12      those with pre-registration, same day registration,  
13      election day registration, early voting, and accessible  
14      no-excuse vote by mail opportunities.

15                    (23) The response to increased voter turnout  
16      has been an unprecedented number of State legisla-  
17      tive proposals to make it harder to cast a valid bal-  
18      lot, such as the imposition of limitations on the  
19      availability of drop-boxes, the counting of out-of-pre-  
20      cinct ballots, and the inclusion of student identifica-  
21      tion as valid voter identification where required.  
22      Pressures have also mounted on the local level, with  
23      continued efforts to prevent or remove on-campus  
24      polling locations, which are key to youth engagement

1 since they allow students to vote where they study,  
2 work, eat, and sleep.

3 (24) State and local election administration im-  
4 pacts youth at large, including high school youth in  
5 their ability to pre-register in advance of turning 18,  
6 college students matriculating in traditional public  
7 and private 2- or 4-year institutions of higher edu-  
8 cation or vocational and technical programs, and the  
9 most vulnerable or overlooked youth populations,  
10 such as those in less stable housing and those who  
11 do not pursue college education.

12 (25) The 14th and 26th Amendments, and the  
13 Elections Clause of section 4 of article I and Guar-  
14 antee Clause of section 4 of article IV, of the Con-  
15 stitution empower Congress to protect the right to  
16 vote in Federal elections.

17 **SEC. 4. ENFORCEMENT OF THE 26TH AMENDMENT.**

18 Title III of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.  
19 10701 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
20 lowing:

21 **“SEC. 303. PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION; STANDARD OF RE-**  
22 **VIEW; FEES.**

23 “(a) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—Any person eight-  
24 een years of age and older who is aggrieved by a denial  
25 or abridgment of the right of a citizen of the United States

1 to vote on account of age may commence a civil action  
2 in any appropriate district court of the United States for  
3 relief.

4       “(b) STANDARD OF REVIEW.—A denial or abridg-  
5 ment of the right of a citizen of the United States to vote  
6 on account of age shall be established in a private right  
7 of action under subsection (a) if a qualification or pre-  
8 requisite to voting or standard, practice, or procedure—

9           “(1) has the effect of denying or abridging to  
10 citizens eighteen years of age and older the due  
11 process or equal protection of the laws that are  
12 guaranteed to them under the 14th and 26th  
13 Amendments of the Constitution of the United  
14 States; and

15           “(2) is not necessary to advance any compelling  
16 interest of a State or political subdivision.

17       “(c) FEES AND COSTS.—The court, in an action  
18 under this section, shall allow the plaintiff, if the pre-  
19 vailing party, to recover from the defendant reasonable at-  
20 torneys' and expert witness fees, and other costs of the  
21 action.”.

**1 SEC. 5. TREATMENT OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER**

**2 EDUCATION AS VOTER REGISTRATION AGEN-**

**3 CIES UNDER NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRA-**

**4 TION ACT OF 1993.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 7(a)(2) of the National  
6 Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20506(a)(2))

7 is amended—

(1) by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (A);

10 (2) by striking the period at the end of sub-  
11 paragraph (B) and inserting “; and”; and

14                   “(C) all offices within public institutions of  
15 higher education, as defined in section 101 and  
16 section 102(c) of the Higher Education Act of  
17 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001; 20 U.S.C. 1002(c)),  
18 that provide assistance to students.”.

19       (b) APPLICATION.—Section 4(b) of the National  
20 Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20503(b)) is  
21 amended—

22 (1) by redesignating paragraphs (1) and (2) as  
23 subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively, and indent-  
24 ing appropriately:

25                   (2) by striking “STATES.—This Act” and in-  
26                   serting “STATES —”

1               “(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
2       graph (2), this Act”; and

3               (3) by adding at the end the following new  
4       paragraph:

5               “(2) APPLICATION OF CERTAIN REQUIRE-  
6       MENTS.—Notwithstanding paragraph (1), in the  
7       case of a State described in paragraph (1)(B), sub-  
8       section (a)(3)(B), section 7, and paragraphs (1)(C),  
9       (5) and (6) of section 8(a) shall apply, but only with  
10      respect to institutions described in section  
11      7(a)(2)(C).”.

12 **SEC. 6. PRE-REGISTRATION OF MINORS FOR VOTING IN**  
13 **FEDERAL ELECTIONS.**

14       (a) **PRE-REGISTRATION OF MINORS FOR VOTING IN**  
15 **FEDERAL ELECTIONS.**—The National Voter Registration  
16 Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.) is amended by in-  
17 serting after section 8 the following new section:

18 **“SEC. 8A. PRE-REGISTRATION PROCESS FOR MINORS.**

19       “(a) REQUIRING IMPLEMENTATION OF PRE-REG-  
20 ISTRATION PROCESS.—Each State shall implement a  
21 process under which—

22               “(1) an individual who is a resident of the State  
23 may apply to register to vote in elections for Federal  
24 office in the State at any time on or after the date  
25 on which the individual turns 16 years of age;

1               “(2) if the individual is not 18 years of age or  
2       older at the time the individual applies under para-  
3       graph (1) but would be eligible to vote in such pri-  
4       mary or general elections if the individual were 18  
5       years of age, the State shall ensure that the indi-  
6       vidual is registered to vote in elections for Federal  
7       office in the State that are held on or after the date  
8       on which the individual turns 18 years of age; and

9               “(3) the activities the State implements in  
10      order to comply with sections 5 and 7 shall include  
11      pre-registration services (to the same extent as reg-  
12      istration services) for qualifying individuals, as de-  
13      scribed in this subsection.

14               “(b) PERMITTING AVAILABILITY OF PROCESS FOR  
15      YOUNGER INDIVIDUALS.—A State may, at its option,  
16      make the process implemented under subsection (a) avail-  
17      able to individuals who are younger than 16 years of  
18      age.”.

19               (b) APPLICATION.—Section 4(b)(2) of the National  
20      Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20503(b)(2)),  
21      as added by section 5(b), is amended—

22               (1) by striking “paragraph (1)(B), subsection  
23      (a)(3)(B)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(B)—  
24               “(A) subsection (a)(3)(B)”;

1                   (2) in subparagraph (A), as added by para-  
2                   graph (1), by striking the period at the end and in-  
3                   serting “; and”; and

4                   (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
5                   paragraph:

6                         “(B) section 8A shall apply.”.

7                   (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
8                   this section shall take effect upon the expiration of the  
9                   90-day period that begins on the date of the enactment  
10                  of this Act.

**11 SEC. 7. ON-CAMPUS POLLING LOCATIONS.**

12                  (a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

13                         (1) CAMPUS.—The term “campus”—

14                             (A) means a geographic site of an institu-  
15                           tion of higher education that is permanent in  
16                           nature and offers courses in educational or  
17                           training programs which are available for stu-  
18                           dents to attend in person; and

19                             (B) includes main campuses, branch cam-  
20                           puses, and additional locations in the United  
21                           States.

22                   (2) INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION.—The  
23                   term “institution of higher education” has the  
24                   meaning given that term in subsections (a) and (b)  
25                   of section 101 and subsections (b) and (c) of section

1       102 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20  
2       U.S.C. 1001(a), 1001(b), 1002(b), 1002(c)).

3                     (3) STATE.—The term “State” means each of  
4       the several States and the District of Columbia.

5                     (b) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall ensure that poll-  
6       ing places for each election for Federal office (referred to  
7       in this section as a “Federal election”) are made available,  
8       on the date of a Federal election, on—

9                         (1) each campus of any State public institution  
10       of higher education in the State, except any such  
11       campus for which the State has received a waiver  
12       under subsection (e); and

13                         (2) each campus of any other institution of  
14       higher education in the State for which the State  
15       has received the institution’s written permission to  
16       have a polling place on campus.

17                     (c) NON-STATE INSTITUTIONS.—Not less than 90  
18       days before the State’s deadline for certifying polling place  
19       locations in advance of each Federal election, the State  
20       shall request in writing permission to place a polling place  
21       for a Federal election, to be available on the date of that  
22       election, on the campus of each institution of higher edu-  
23       cation that is not a State public institution of higher edu-  
24       cation—

25                         (1) for the next Federal election; or

1                             (2) for a longer period of time, as agreed to by  
2                             the State and the institution of higher education.

3                             (d) ALTERNATIVE POLLING PLACES.—For each in-  
4                             stitution of higher education that is not a State public in-  
5                             stitution of higher education and that does not give writ-  
6                             ten permission as described in subsection (c) for placement  
7                             of a polling place on the institution's campus, the State  
8                             shall implement alternative procedures to ensure voting is  
9                             accessible to youth on that campus who are age 18 and  
10                            over. Such procedures may include—

11                             (1) offering free shuttles for such youth to  
12                             other nearby polling locations;

13                             (2) making available on the campus absentee  
14                             voting drop boxes for such youth; or

15                             (3) offering an on-campus early voting option  
16                             or a mobile unit on the campus for early voting or  
17                             election day voting for such youth.

18                             (e) WAIVERS.—

19                             (1) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General may,  
20                             upon the request of a State, waive the requirement  
21                             under subsection (b)(1) with respect to a Federal  
22                             election for a campus described in such paragraph  
23                             for which the State, in accordance with the guidance  
24                             under paragraph (3)—

1                         (A) determines is an unsuitable polling lo-  
2                         cation in the State for that Federal election;  
3                         and

4                         (B) agrees to require alternative proce-  
5                         dures at such campus to ensure voting in Fed-  
6                         eral elections is accessible to youth who are age  
7                         18 and over for that Federal election.

8                         (2) APPLICATIONS TO INCLUDE ALTERNATIVE  
9                         PROCEDURES.—To request a waiver under para-  
10                         graph (1) with respect to a Federal election and for  
11                         a campus described in subsection (b)(1), a State  
12                         shall submit an application to the Attorney General  
13                         that includes information on the alternative proce-  
14                         dures the State will require the State public institu-  
15                         tion of higher education to implement with respect  
16                         to that Federal election for that campus to ensure  
17                         voting is accessible to youth who are age 18 and  
18                         over. Such procedures may include—

19                         (A) offering free shuttles for such youth to  
20                         other polling locations;

21                         (B) making available on the campus absen-  
22                         tee voting drop boxes for such youth; or

23                         (C) offering an on-campus early voting op-  
24                         tion or a mobile unit on the campus for early  
25                         voting or election day voting for such youth.

1                             (3) GUIDANCE.—Not later than 180 days after  
2                             the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney Gen-  
3                             eral shall issue guidance on the administration of  
4                             this section, including guidance on the coverage  
5                             under this section of campuses and institutions of  
6                             higher education, as defined in subsection (a), ac-  
7                             ceptable reasons for allowing a waiver under this  
8                             subsection, and alternative procedures described in  
9                             paragraph (2), with respect to a campus described  
10                            in subsection (b)(1). Such guidance shall include  
11                            considerations of issues relating to the accessibility  
12                            of the campus, including—  
13                                 (A) the inability to modify the physical at-  
14                             tributes of the campus to make the campus ac-  
15                             cessible for voting;  
16                                 (B) the proximity of the campus to local  
17                             population centers;  
18                                 (C) the ability of youth age 18 and over  
19                             who are from historically disadvantaged com-  
20                             munities to access the campus;  
21                                 (D) the ability of the institution of higher  
22                             education to comply with other Federal or State  
23                             laws relating to Federal elections at that cam-  
24                             pus location; and

(E) the number of students enrolled at the institution of higher education in the year of the relevant Federal election.

(f) ENFORCEMENT.—

(1) ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The Attorney General may bring a civil action in an appropriate district court for such declaratory or injunctive relief as is necessary to carry out this section.

(2) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

(A) A person who is aggrieved by a violation of this section may provide written notice of the violation to the chief election official of the State involved.

(B) If the violation is not corrected within 90 days after receipt of a notice under subparagraph (A), or within 20 days after receipt of the notice if the violation occurred within 120 days before the date of a Federal election, the aggrieved person may bring a civil action in an appropriate district court for declaratory or injunctive relief with respect to the violation.

(C) If the violation occurred within 30 days before the date of a Federal election, the aggrieved person need not provide notice to the chief election official of the State under sub-

1           paragraph (A) before bringing a civil action  
2           under subparagraph (B).

3           (D) The court, in an action under this sec-  
4           tion, shall allow the plaintiff, if the prevailing  
5           party, to recover from the defendant reasonable  
6           attorneys' and expert witness fees and other  
7           costs of the action.

8 **SEC. 8. PROHIBITION OF RESIDENCY REQUIREMENTS.**

9           (a) APPLICABILITY TO ALL ELECTIONS FOR FED-  
10          ERAL OFFICE.—Section 202 of the Voting Rights Act of  
11          1965 (52 U.S.C. 10502) is amended—

12           (1) in subsection (a)—

13               (A) in the matter preceding paragraph  
14               (1)—

15                   (i) by striking “the offices of Presi-  
16                   dent and Vice President” and inserting  
17                   “Federal office”; and

18                   (ii) by striking “presidential elections”  
19                   and inserting “elections for Federal of-  
20                   fice”;

21               (B) in paragraph (1), by striking “their  
22               President and Vice President” and inserting  
23               “Federal office”;

24               (C) in paragraph (5), by striking “; and”  
25               and inserting “, and in some cases, the twenty-

1       sixth amendment, including the right to vote  
2       from a college domicile; and”; and

3                 (D) in paragraph (6), by striking “presi-  
4       dential elections” and inserting “elections for  
5       Federal office”;

6                 (2) in subsection (b)—

7                         (A) by striking “voting for President and  
8       Vice President” and inserting “voting in elec-  
9       tions for Federal office”; and

10                         (B) by striking “presidential elections” and  
11       inserting “elections for Federal office”;

12                 (3) in subsection (c)—

13                         (A) by striking “election for President and  
14       Vice President” and inserting “election for Fed-  
15       eral office”; and

16                         (B) by striking “electors for President and  
17       Vice President, or for President and Vice Presi-  
18       dent,” and inserting “Federal office,” each  
19       place the term appears;

20                 (4) in subsection (d), by striking “the choice of  
21       electors for President and Vice President or for  
22       President and Vice President” and inserting “Fed-  
23       eral office”;

24                 (5) in subsection (e)—

1                             (A) by striking “election for President and  
2                             Vice President” and inserting “election for Fed-  
3                             eral office”; and

4                             (B) by striking “the choice of electors for  
5                             President and Vice President, or for President  
6                             and Vice President,” and inserting “Federal of-  
7                             fice”; and

8                             (6) in subsection (f)—

9                             (A) by striking “election for President and  
10                             Vice President” and inserting “election for Fed-  
11                             eral office”; and

12                             (B) by striking “for the choice of electors  
13                             for President and Vice President, or for Presi-  
14                             dent and Vice President,” and inserting “for  
15                             Federal office”.

16                             (b) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION RELATING TO RESI-  
17                             DENCE REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTING.—Section 202 of the  
18                             Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10502) is further  
19                             amended by adding at the end the following:

20                             “(j) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—Any person who  
21                             is aggrieved by a violation of this section may commence  
22                             a civil action in any appropriate district court of the  
23                             United States for relief. The court, in an action under this  
24                             section, shall allow the plaintiff, if the prevailing party,

1 to recover from the defendant reasonable attorneys' and  
2 expert witness fees and other costs of the action.”.

3 **SEC. 9. REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTER IDENTIFICATION.**

4 (a) IN GENERAL.—Title III of the Help America  
5 Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.) is amended—

6 (1) by redesignating sections 304 and 305 as  
7 sections 305 and 306, respectively; and

8 (2) by inserting after section 303 the following  
9 new section:

10 **“SEC. 304. TREATMENT OF STUDENT IDENTIFICATION  
11 CARDS AS VOTER IDENTIFICATION.**

12 “(a) IN GENERAL.—To the extent that a State or  
13 local jurisdiction has a voter identification requirement,  
14 the State or local jurisdiction shall treat a student identi-  
15 fication card issued by an institution of higher education  
16 as meeting such voter identification requirement.

17 “(b) INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION.—For  
18 purposes of this section, the term ‘institution of higher  
19 education’ has the meaning given that term in subsections  
20 (a) and (b) of section 101 and subsections (b) and (c) of  
21 section 102 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20  
22 U.S.C. 1001(a), 1001(b), 1002(b), 1002(c)).”.

23 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO EN-  
24 FORCEMENT.—Section 401 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21111)

1 is amended by striking “and 303” and inserting “, 303,  
2 and 304”.

3 (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
4 of such Act is amended—

5 (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
6 tions 304 and 305 as relating to sections 305 and  
7 306, respectively; and

8 (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
9 tion 303 the following new item:

“Sec. 304. Treatment of student identification cards as voter identification.”.

10 **SEC. 10. GRANTS TO STATES FOR ACTIVITIES TO ENCOUR-**  
11 **AGE INVOLVEMENT OF YOUTH IN ELECTION**  
12 **ACTIVITIES.**

13 (a) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle D of title II of the Help  
14 America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. et seq.) is amended  
15 by adding at the end the following:

16 **“PART 7—GRANTS TO ENCOURAGE YOUTH**  
17 **INVOLVEMENT IN ELECTION ACTIVITIES**

18 **“SEC. 297. GRANTS TO ENCOURAGE YOUTH INVOLVEMENT**  
19 **IN ELECTION ACTIVITIES.**

20 “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall make  
21 grants to eligible States to increase the involvement of  
22 youth, including those under 18 years of age, in public  
23 election activities in the State.

24 “(b) ELIGIBILITY.—

1           “(1) APPLICATION.—A State is eligible to re-  
2 ceive a grant under this section if the State submits  
3 to the Commission, at such time and in such form  
4 as the Commission may require, an application con-  
5 taining—

6                 “(A) a description of the State’s plan;  
7                 “(B) a description of the performance  
8 measures and targets the State will use to de-  
9 termine its success in carrying out the plan;  
10 and  
11                 “(C) such other information and assur-  
12 ances as the Commission may require.

13           “(2) CONTENTS OF PLAN.—A State’s plan  
14 under this subsection shall include—

15                 “(A) methods to promote the use of the  
16 pre-registration process implemented under sec-  
17 tion 8A of the National Voter Registration Act  
18 of 1993;

19                 “(B) modifications to the curriculum of  
20 secondary schools in the State to promote civic  
21 engagement;

22                 “(C) a description of how the State will  
23 provide funding to secondary schools and insti-  
24 tutions of higher education to enable those  
25 schools and institutions to support activities

1 (including activities carried out by student or-  
2 ganizations) to increase voter registration and  
3 voter turnout, including pre-registration where  
4 allowable;

5                     “(D) the creation of a paid fellowship pro-  
6                     gram for youth to work with State and local  
7                     election officials to support youth civic and po-  
8                     litical engagement;

9               “(E) a description of how the grant fund-  
10              ing will reduce disparities in access to the elec-  
11              toral process among youth who are members of  
12              protected classes, as defined by the Commis-  
13              sion, under Federal law; and

14                         “(F) such other activities to encourage the  
15                         involvement of youth in the electoral process as  
16                         the State considers appropriate, including en-  
17                         couraging youth to serve as poll workers, dep-  
18                         uty voter registrars, or election workers where  
19                         allowable, and outreach activities to engage sec-  
20                         ondary schools, postsecondary educational insti-  
21                         tutions, and the most vulnerable or overlooked  
22                         youth populations, such as those in less stable  
23                         housing and those who do not pursue college  
24                         education.

25        "(c) PERIOD OF GRANT: REPORT.—

1           “(1) PERIOD OF GRANT.—A State receiving a  
2       grant under this section shall use the funds provided  
3       by the grant over a 2-year period agreed to between  
4       the State and the Commission.

5           “(2) REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after  
6       the end of the 2-year period agreed to under para-  
7       graph (1), the State shall submit to the Commission  
8       a report on the activities the State carried out with  
9       the funds provided by the grant, and shall include  
10      in the report an analysis of the extent to which the  
11      State met the performance measures and targets in-  
12      cluded in its application under subsection (b)(2).

13          “(d) STATE DEFINED.—In this section, the term  
14      ‘State’ means each of the several States, the District of  
15      Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the United  
16      States Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the  
17      Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

18          “(e) YOUTH ENGAGEMENT FUND.—

19           “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall es-  
20       tablish a Youth Engagement Fund for the purpose  
21       of making grants under this section.

22           “(2) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATION.—  
23       There is authorized to be appropriated to the Youth  
24       Engagement Fund to carry out this section—

1                 “(A) for fiscal year 2022, \$26,000,000;

2                 and

3                 “(B) for each subsequent fiscal year, the  
4                 difference between \$26,000,000 and the amount  
5                 of unobligated funds in the Youth Engagement  
6                 Fund as of the close of the preceding fiscal  
7                 year.

8                 “(3) AVAILABILITY.—Funds appropriated pur-  
9                 suant to the authorization of appropriations in para-  
10                graph (2) shall remain available for a period of 10  
11                years from the fiscal year in which appropriated.”.

12                (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents  
13                of such Act is amended by adding at the end of the items  
14                relating to subtitle D of title II the following:

“PART 7—GRANTS TO ENCOURAGE YOUTH INVOLVEMENT IN ELECTION  
ACTIVITIES

“See. 297. Grants to encourage youth involvement in election activities.”.

**15 SEC. 11. STUDIES AND DATA COLLECTION.**

16                (a) GAO STUDY.—

17                (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
18                after the date of enactment of this Act, the Com-  
19                troller General of the United States shall submit to  
20                Congress a report on voter registration trends, ab-  
21                sentee voting trends, and provisional voting trends,  
22                disaggregated by age and (where information on

1       race is available) race in accordance with paragraph  
2       (2), including—

3                   (A) an examination of the reliance on ab-  
4                   sentee and provisional ballots by age;

5                   (B) an examination of the availability of  
6                   polling places on the campuses of institutions of  
7                   higher education as defined in section 7 of this  
8                   Act, including consideration of the characteris-  
9                   tics of those institutions and the populations  
10                  they serve;

11                  (C) the rejection rates for voter registra-  
12                  tion applications and absentee ballot applica-  
13                  tions;

14                  (D) the rejection rates for absentee ballots  
15                  and provisional ballots; and

16                  (E) the reasons for those rejections.

17                  (2) DISAGGREGATION.—The information de-  
18                  scribed in paragraph (1) shall be disaggregated ac-  
19                  cording to (where information on race is available)  
20                  race and according to the following age cohorts:

21                  (A) 16 to 17.

22                  (B) 18 to 21.

23                  (C) 22 to 24.

24                  (D) 25 to 29.

25                  (E) 30 to 34.

1 (F) 35 to 39.

2 (G) 40 to 44.

3 (H) 45 to 49.

4 (I) 50 to 54.

5 (J) 55 to 59.

6 (K) 60 to 64.

7 (L) 65 to 69.

8 (M) 70 to 74

9 (N) 75 to 79.

(O) 80 to 84.

11 (P) 85 and over.

12 (b) ELE

## 13 LECTON.—

14 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Election Assistance

15 Commission shall collect, as a part of the Election

## 16 Administration and Voting Survey effort

17 publicly available, data from States on—

(A) application and rejection rates of voter

19 registration applications and absentee ballot ap-

20 plications for elections for Federal office based

## 21 on age and

able) race;

(B) application and rejection rates of ab-

24 sentee ballots and the issuance and rejection

1           Federal office based on age and (where information on race is available) race;

3           (C) the reasons provided by the State for  
4           the rejection of such ballots; and

5           (D) information on the availability of polling  
6           places on the campuses of institutions of  
7           higher education as defined in section 7 of this  
8           Act, including consideration of the characteristics  
9           of those institutions and the populations  
10          they serve.

11           (2) DISAGGREGATION.—The information described in paragraph (1) shall be disaggregated according to each age cohort described in subparagraphs (A) through (P) of subsection (a)(2).

15           (3) REQUIRING STATE SUBMISSION OF INFORMATION REGARDING REJECTED BALLOTS.—

17           (A) REQUIREMENT.—Title III of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.) is amended by inserting after section 303 the following new section:

21   **“SEC. 303A. REQUIRED SUBMISSION OF INFORMATION REGARDING REJECTED APPLICATIONS AND BALLOTS.**

24           “(a) REQUIREMENT.—Each State shall furnish to the  
25          Election Assistance Commission such information as the

1 Commission may request for purposes of carrying out sec-  
2 tion 10(b) of the Youth Voting Rights Act.

3       “(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
4 with respect to the elections for Federal office held on or  
5 after the date of enactment of this section.”.

6                   (B) ENFORCEMENT.—Section 401 of such  
7                   Act (52 U.S.C. 21111) is amended by striking  
8                   “and 303” and inserting “303, and 303A”.

9                   (C) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of  
10                  contents of such Act is amended by inserting  
11                  after the item relating to section 303 the fol-  
12                  lowing new item:

“Sec. 303A. Required submission of information regarding rejected applications  
and ballots.”.

