

117TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. 4500

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

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JULY 11, 2022

Ms. WARREN (for herself, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, and Ms. HIRONO) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

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 registra-
tion 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 unanimately 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
21 from 21 to 18 years of age and outlawing the denial
22 or abridgement of the right to vote on account of
23 age.

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

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

1 in the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970
2 (Public Law 91–285), in addition to supporting a
3 path through constitutional ratification.

4 (4) The Voting Rights Act Amendments of
5 1970 (Public Law 91–285) marked the first Federal
6 law to enfranchise youth and outlaw age discrimina-
7 tion in accessing the franchise. In title III of that
8 Act, Congress declared, with strong bipartisan sup-
9 port, that the 21-year age requirement—

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

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

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

20 (5) The age-based expansion of the franchise
21 via the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 was
22 ultimately found by a strongly divided Supreme
23 Court to be unconstitutional as applied to State and
24 local races and constitutional as applied to Federal
25 races. Thus, to ensure uniform election administra-

1 tion in Federal and State races, a constitutional so-
2 lution was required.

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

6 (A) the value of idealism, courage, and
7 moral purpose that youth provide in reener-
8 gizing the practice of democracy;

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

14 (C) the increased responsibilities assumed
15 by the group as they fought in war, assumed
16 debt, and lived independently;

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

19 (E) the stemming of unrest by encouraging
20 institutionalized mechanisms to advance
21 change.

22 (7) In referring the 26th Amendment to the
23 States for ratification, Congress invoked the Voting
24 Rights Act and the principles protected by the 14th
25 Amendment to the Constitution of the United

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

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

22 (9) Lower youth voting rates are not a sign of
23 generational apathy but of systemic barriers and
24 issues with the culture of political engagement that
25 have plagued young people of various generations for

1 decades. Individuals that were part of older genera-
2 tions voted at similar rates as individuals in the Mil-
3 lennial and Gen Z generations when those older gen-
4 erations were youth. For the first presidential elec-
5 tion in which a generation's entire 18–24 age cohort
6 was eligible to vote (1972 for Boomers, 1992 for
7 Gen X, and 2008 for Millennials), each participated
8 at about 50 percent.

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

16 (11) In addition to voting provisionally at dis-
17 proportionate rates, young voters' provisional ballots
18 are also disproportionately rejected. As determined by
19 a recent Federal court, voters aged 18 to 21 in Flor-
20 ida had their provisional ballots rejected at a rate
21 more than 4 times higher than the rejection rate for
22 provisional ballots cast by voters between the ages of
23 45 to 64.

24 (12) Similarly, young voters experience a higher
25 rejection rate of vote-by-mail ballots compared to

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

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

24 (14) Young people are passionate about polit-
25 ical issues and often want to engage in the political

1 process, but they face barriers to participation. For
2 example, they may face structural obstacles such as
3 proof requirements that obscure a young person's
4 right to vote, barriers to voter registration, inaccessible or poorly equipped polling places, campus gerrymanders, over-reliance on provisional ballots, and
5 unfair treatment of provisional and vote-by-mail ballots. Some of these barriers are acute for the youngest voters who are particularly transient and move
6 every year, thereby struggling to update their voter
7 registration, or who are less likely to have a driver's
8 license to use as voter identification. Youth voters
9 are similarly vulnerable to confusion about their
10 right to vote from their campus residences. Although
11 the Supreme Court summarily affirmed the right of
12 college students to vote from their campus residences in 1979, pursuant to the 26th Amendment,
13 misinformation and disinformation persist about this
14 right. Congress finds that students indeed have a
15 right to vote from their campus residences. Relatedly, many young people have not been taught about
16 elections and voting, including the practicalities of
17 registering and casting a ballot and the reasons why
18 their voices and votes matter in democracy.

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

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

19 (17) According to CIRCLE, low-income youth
20 are acutely impacted, since their economic struggles
21 translate into multiple logistical barriers to voting. A
22 recent survey of low-income youth found that young
23 voters reported barriers to voting, including—

24 (A) confusion with voter identification
25 rules (88 percent);

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

7 (C) confusion about the location of polling
8 places (39 percent did not know where to vote);
9 and

10 (D) a high lack of confidence that they
11 would be fully prepared to vote if an election
12 happened "next week" (only half of surveyed
13 youth reported confidence).

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

20 (19) Presidential election years are particularly
21 consequential for youth voter engagement. For ex-
22 ample, 61 percent of 18- to 29-year-olds were reg-
23 istered to vote in 2008, compared to 49 percent in
24 2010. Moreover, youth who registered to vote are

1 considerably more likely to vote. Among youth reg-
2 istered in 2008, 84 percent cast a ballot.

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

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

24 (22) The 2020 election resulted in unprece-
25 dented voter turnout overall, boasting the highest

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

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

23 (24) State and local election administration im-
24 pacts youth at large, including high school youth in
25 their ability to pre-register in advance of turning 18,

1 college students matriculating in traditional public
 2 and private 2- or 4-year institutions of higher edu-
 3 cation or vocational and technical programs, and the
 4 most vulnerable or overlooked youth populations,
 5 such as those in less stable housing and those who
 6 do not pursue college education.

7 (25) The 14th and 26th Amendments, and the
 8 Elections Clause of section 4 of article I and Guar-
 9 antee Clause of section 4 of article IV, of the Con-
 10 stitution empower Congress to protect the right to
 11 vote in Federal elections.

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

13 Title III of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.
 14 10701 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the fol-
 15 lowing:

16 **“SEC. 303. PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION; STANDARD OF RE-**
 17 **VIEW; FEES.**

18 “(a) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—Any person eight-
 19 een years of age and older who is aggrieved by a denial
 20 or abridgment of the right of a citizen of the United States
 21 to vote on account of age may commence a civil action
 22 in any appropriate district court of the United States for
 23 relief.

24 “(b) STANDARD OF REVIEW.—A denial or abridg-
 25 ment of the right of a citizen of the United States to vote

1 on account of age shall be established in a private right
 2 of action under subsection (a) if a qualification or pre-
 3 requisite to voting or standard, practice, or procedure—

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

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

12 “(c) FEES AND COSTS.—The court, in an action
 13 under this section, shall allow the plaintiff, if the pre-
 14 vailing party, to recover from the defendant reasonable at-
 15 torneys’ and expert witness fees, and other costs of the
 16 action.”.

17 **SEC. 5. TREATMENT OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER**
 18 **EDUCATION AS VOTER REGISTRATION AGEN-**
 19 **CIES UNDER NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRA-**
 20 **TION ACT OF 1993.**

21 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 7(a)(2) of the National
 22 Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20506(a)(2))
 23 is amended—

24 (1) by striking “and” at the end of subpara-
 25 graph (A);

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

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

5 “(C) all offices within public institutions of
6 higher education, as defined in section 101 and
7 section 102(c) of the Higher Education Act of
8 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001; 20 U.S.C. 1002(c)),
9 that provide assistance to students.”.

10 (b) APPLICATION.—Section 4(b) of the National
11 Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20503(b)) is
12 amended—

13 (1) by redesignating paragraphs (1) and (2) as
14 subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively, and indent-
15 ing appropriately;

16 (2) by striking “STATES.—This Act” and in-
17 serting “STATES.—”;

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

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

22 “(2) APPLICATION OF CERTAIN REQUIRE-
23 MENTS.—Notwithstanding paragraph (1), in the
24 case of a State described in paragraph (1)(B), sub-
25 section (a)(3)(B), section 7, and paragraphs (1)(C),

1 (5) and (6) of section 8(a) shall apply, but only with
 2 respect to institutions described in section
 3 7(a)(2)(C).”.

4 **SEC. 6. PRE-REGISTRATION OF MINORS FOR VOTING IN**
 5 **FEDERAL ELECTIONS.**

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

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

11 “(a) REQUIRING IMPLEMENTATION OF PRE-REG-
 12 ISTRATION PROCESS.—Each State shall implement a
 13 process under which—

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

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

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

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

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

14 (1) by striking “paragraph (1)(B), subsection
 15 (a)(3)(B)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(B)—

16 “(A) subsection (a)(3)(B)”;

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

20 (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-
 21 paragraph:

22 “(B) section 8A shall apply.”.

23 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by
 24 this section shall take effect upon the expiration of the

1 90-day period that begins on the date of the enactment
 2 of this Act.

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

4 (a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

5 (1) CAMPUS.—The term “campus”—

6 (A) means a geographic site of an institu-
 7 tion of higher education that is permanent in
 8 nature and offers courses in educational or
 9 training programs which are available for stu-
 10 dents to attend in person; and

11 (B) includes main campuses, branch cam-
 12 puses, and additional locations in the United
 13 States.

14 (2) INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION.—The
 15 term “institution of higher education” has the
 16 meaning given that term in subsections (a) and (b)
 17 of section 101 and subsections (b) and (c) of section
 18 102 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20
 19 U.S.C. 1001(a), 1001(b), 1002(b), 1002(c)).

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

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

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

5 (2) each campus of any other institution of
6 higher education in the State for which the State
7 has received the institution's written permission to
8 have a polling place on campus.

9 (c) NON-STATE INSTITUTIONS.—Not less than 90
10 days before the State's deadline for certifying polling place
11 locations in advance of each Federal election, the State
12 shall request in writing permission to place a polling place
13 for a Federal election, to be available on the date of that
14 election, on the campus of each institution of higher edu-
15 cation that is not a State public institution of higher edu-
16 cation—

17 (1) for the next Federal election; or

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

20 (d) ALTERNATIVE POLLING PLACES.—For each in-
21 stitution of higher education that is not a State public in-
22 stitution of higher education and that does not give writ-
23 ten permission as described in subsection (c) for placement
24 of a polling place on the institution's campus, the State
25 shall implement alternative procedures to ensure voting is

1 accessible to youth on that campus who are age 18 and
 2 over. Such procedures may include—

3 (1) offering free shuttles for such youth to
 4 other nearby polling locations;

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

7 (3) offering an on-campus early voting option
 8 or a mobile unit on the campus for early voting or
 9 election day voting for such youth.

10 (e) WAIVERS.—

11 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General may,
 12 upon the request of a State, waive the requirement
 13 under subsection (b)(1) with respect to a Federal
 14 election for a campus described in such paragraph
 15 for which the State, in accordance with the guidance
 16 under paragraph (3)—

17 (A) determines is an unsuitable polling lo-
 18 cation in the State for that Federal election;
 19 and

20 (B) agrees to require alternative proce-
 21 dures at such campus to ensure voting in Fed-
 22 eral elections is accessible to youth who are age
 23 18 and over for that Federal election.

24 (2) APPLICATIONS TO INCLUDE ALTERNATIVE
 25 PROCEDURES.—To request a waiver under para-

graph (1) with respect to a Federal election and for a campus described in subsection (b)(1), a State shall submit an application to the Attorney General that includes information on the alternative procedures the State will require the State public institution of higher education to implement with respect to that Federal election for that campus to ensure voting is accessible to youth who are age 18 and over. Such procedures may include—

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

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

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

(3) GUIDANCE.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney General shall issue guidance on the administration of this section, including guidance on the coverage under this section of campuses and institutions of higher education, as defined in subsection (a), acceptable reasons for allowing a waiver under this subsection, and alternative procedures described in paragraph (2), with respect to a campus described

1 in subsection (b)(1). Such guidance shall include
 2 considerations of issues relating to the accessibility
 3 of the campus, including—

4 (A) the inability to modify the physical at-
 5 tributes of the campus to make the campus ac-
 6 cessible for voting;

7 (B) the proximity of the campus to local
 8 population centers;

9 (C) the ability of youth age 18 and over
 10 who are from historically disadvantaged com-
 11 munities to access the campus;

12 (D) the ability of the institution of higher
 13 education to comply with other Federal or State
 14 laws relating to Federal elections at that cam-
 15 pus location; and

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

19 (f) ENFORCEMENT.—

20 (1) ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The Attorney Gen-
 21 eral may bring a civil action in an appropriate dis-
 22 trict court for such declaratory or injunctive relief as
 23 is necessary to carry out this section.

24 (2) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

1 (A) A person who is aggrieved by a viola-
2 tion of this section may provide written notice
3 of the violation to the chief election official of
4 the State involved.

5 (B) If the violation is not corrected within
6 90 days after receipt of a notice under subpara-
7 graph (A), or within 20 days after receipt of
8 the notice if the violation occurred within 120
9 days before the date of a Federal election, the
10 aggrieved person may bring a civil action in an
11 appropriate district court for declaratory or in-
12 junctive relief with respect to the violation.

13 (C) If the violation occurred within 30
14 days before the date of a Federal election, the
15 aggrieved person need not provide notice to the
16 chief election official of the State under sub-
17 paragraph (A) before bringing a civil action
18 under subparagraph (B).

19 (D) The court, in an action under this sec-
20 tion, shall allow the plaintiff, if the prevailing
21 party, to recover from the defendant reasonable
22 attorneys' and expert witness fees and other
23 costs of the action.

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

2 (a) APPLICABILITY TO ALL ELECTIONS FOR FED-
3 ERAL OFFICE.—Section 202 of the Voting Rights Act of
4 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10502) is amended—

5 (1) in subsection (a)—

6 (A) in the matter preceding paragraph
7 (1)—

8 (i) by striking “the offices of Presi-
9 dent and Vice President” and inserting
10 “Federal office”; and

11 (ii) by striking “presidential elections”
12 and inserting “elections for Federal of-
13 fice”;

14 (B) in paragraph (1), by striking “their
15 President and Vice President” and inserting
16 “Federal office”;

17 (C) in paragraph (5), by striking “; and”
18 and inserting “, and in some cases, the twenty-
19 sixth amendment, including the right to vote
20 from a college domicile; and”; and

21 (D) in paragraph (6), by striking “presi-
22 dential elections” and inserting “elections for
23 Federal office”;

24 (2) in subsection (b)—

1 (A) by striking “voting for President and
 2 Vice President” and inserting “voting in elec-
 3 tions for Federal office”; and

4 (B) by striking “presidential elections” and
 5 inserting “elections for Federal office”;

6 (3) in subsection (c)—

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

10 (B) by striking “electors for President and
 11 Vice President, or for President and Vice Presi-
 12 dent,” and inserting “Federal office,” each
 13 place the term appears;

14 (4) in subsection (d), by striking “the choice of
 15 electors for President and Vice President or for
 16 President and Vice President” and inserting “Fed-
 17 eral office”;

18 (5) in subsection (e)—

19 (A) by striking “election for President and
 20 Vice President” and inserting “election for Fed-
 21 eral office”; and

22 (B) by striking “the choice of electors for
 23 President and Vice President, or for President
 24 and Vice President,” and inserting “Federal of-
 25 fice”; and

1 (6) in subsection (f)—

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

5 (B) by striking “for the choice of electors
6 for President and Vice President, or for Presi-
7 dent and Vice President,” and inserting “for
8 Federal office”.

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

13 “(j) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—Any person who
14 is aggrieved by a violation of this section may commence
15 a civil action in any appropriate district court of the
16 United States for relief. The court, in an action under this
17 section, shall allow the plaintiff, if the prevailing party,
18 to recover from the defendant reasonable attorneys’ and
19 expert witness fees and other costs of the action.”.

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

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

23 (1) by redesignating sections 304 and 305 as
24 sections 305 and 306, respectively; and

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

3 **“SEC. 304. TREATMENT OF STUDENT IDENTIFICATION**
4 **CARDS AS VOTER IDENTIFICATION.**

5 “(a) IN GENERAL.—To the extent that a State or
6 local jurisdiction has a voter identification requirement,
7 the State or local jurisdiction shall treat a student identi-
8 fication card issued by an institution of higher education
9 as meeting such voter identification requirement.

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

16 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO EN-
17 FORCEMENT.—Section 401 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21111)
18 is amended by striking “and 303” and inserting “, 303,
19 and 304”.

20 (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents
21 of such Act is amended—

22 (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-
23 tions 304 and 305 as relating to sections 305 and
24 306, respectively; and

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

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

3 **SEC. 10. GRANTS TO STATES FOR ACTIVITIES TO ENCOUR-**
4 **AGE INVOLVEMENT OF YOUTH IN ELECTION**
5 **ACTIVITIES.**

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

9 **“PART 7—GRANTS TO ENCOURAGE YOUTH**
10 **INVOLVEMENT IN ELECTION ACTIVITIES**
11 **“SEC. 297. GRANTS TO ENCOURAGE YOUTH INVOLVEMENT**
12 **IN ELECTION ACTIVITIES.**

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

17 “(b) ELIGIBILITY.—

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

23 “(A) a description of the State’s plan;

24 “(B) a description of the performance
25 measures and targets the State will use to de-

1 termine its success in carrying out the plan;
2 and

3 “(C) such other information and assur-
4 ances as the Commission may require.

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

7 “(A) methods to promote the use of the
8 pre-registration process implemented under sec-
9 tion 8A of the National Voter Registration Act
10 of 1993;

11 “(B) modifications to the curriculum of
12 secondary schools in the State to promote civic
13 engagement;

14 “(C) a description of how the State will
15 provide funding to secondary schools and insti-
16 tutions of higher education to enable those
17 schools and institutions to support activities
18 (including activities carried out by student or-
19 ganizations) to increase voter registration and
20 voter turnout, including pre-registration where
21 allowable;

22 “(D) the creation of a paid fellowship pro-
23 gram for youth to work with State and local
24 election officials to support youth civic and po-
25 litical engagement;

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

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

17 “(c) PERIOD OF GRANT; REPORT.—

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

22 “(2) REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after
 23 the end of the 2-year period agreed to under para-
 24 graph (1), the State shall submit to the Commission
 25 a report on the activities the State carried out with

1 the funds provided by the grant, and shall include
 2 in the report an analysis of the extent to which the
 3 State met the performance measures and targets in-
 4 cluded in its application under subsection (b)(2).

5 “(d) STATE DEFINED.—In this section, the term
 6 ‘State’ means each of the several States, the District of
 7 Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the United
 8 States Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the
 9 Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

10 “(e) YOUTH ENGAGEMENT FUND.—

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

14 “(2) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATION.—
 15 There is authorized to be appropriated to the Youth
 16 Engagement Fund to carry out this section—

17 “(A) for fiscal year 2022, \$26,000,000;
 18 and

19 “(B) for each subsequent fiscal year, the
 20 difference between \$26,000,000 and the amount
 21 of unobligated funds in the Youth Engagement
 22 Fund as of the close of the preceding fiscal
 23 year.

24 “(3) AVAILABILITY.—Funds appropriated pur-
 25 suant to the authorization of appropriations in para-

1 graph (2) shall remain available for a period of 10
 2 years from the fiscal year in which appropriated.”.

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

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

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

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

7 (a) GAO STUDY.—

8 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days
 9 after the date of enactment of this Act, the Comp-
 10 troller General of the United States shall submit to
 11 Congress a report on voter registration trends, ab-
 12 sentee voting trends, and provisional voting trends,
 13 disaggregated by age and (where information on
 14 race is available) race in accordance with paragraph
 15 (2), including—

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

18 (B) an examination of the availability of
 19 polling places on the campuses of institutions of
 20 higher education as defined in section 7 of this
 21 Act, including consideration of the characteris-
 22 tics of those institutions and the populations
 23 they serve;

1 (C) the rejection rates for voter registra-
 2 tion applications and absentee ballot applica-
 3 tions;

4 (D) the rejection rates for absentee ballots
 5 and provisional ballots; and

6 (E) the reasons for those rejections.

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

11 (A) 16 to 17.

12 (B) 18 to 21.

13 (C) 22 to 24.

14 (D) 25 to 29.

15 (E) 30 to 34.

16 (F) 35 to 39.

17 (G) 40 to 44.

18 (H) 45 to 49.

19 (I) 50 to 54.

20 (J) 55 to 59.

21 (K) 60 to 64.

22 (L) 65 to 69.

23 (M) 70 to 74.

24 (N) 75 to 79.

25 (O) 80 to 84.

1 (P) 85 and over.

2 (b) ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION DATA COL-
3 LECTION.—

4 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Election Assistance
5 Commission shall collect, as a part of the Election
6 Administration and Voting Survey effort, and make
7 publicly available, data from States on—

8 (A) application and rejection rates of voter
9 registration applications and absentee ballot ap-
10 plications for elections for Federal office based
11 on age and (where information on race is avail-
12 able) race;

13 (B) application and rejection rates of ab-
14 sentee ballots and the issuance and rejection
15 rates of provisional ballots cast for elections for
16 Federal office based on age and (where infor-
17 mation on race is available) race;

18 (C) the reasons provided by the State for
19 the rejection of such ballots; and

20 (D) information on the availability of poll-
21 ing places on the campuses of institutions of
22 higher education as defined in section 7 of this
23 Act, including consideration of the characteris-
24 tics of those institutions and the populations
25 they serve.

1 (2) DISAGGREGATION.—The information de-
 2 scribed in paragraph (1) shall be disaggregated ac-
 3 cording to each age cohort described in subpara-
 4 graphs (A) through (P) of subsection (a)(2).

5 (3) REQUIRING STATE SUBMISSION OF INFOR-
 6 MATION REGARDING REJECTED BALLOTS.—

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

11 **“SEC. 303A. REQUIRED SUBMISSION OF INFORMATION RE-**
 12 **GARDING REJECTED APPLICATIONS AND**
 13 **BALLOTS.**

14 “(a) REQUIREMENT.—Each State shall furnish to the
 15 Election Assistance Commission such information as the
 16 Commission may request for purposes of carrying out sec-
 17 tion 10(b) of the Youth Voting Rights Act.

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

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

24 (C) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of
 25 contents of such Act is amended by inserting

- 1 after the item relating to section 303 the fol-
- 2 lowing new item:

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

