

117TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

**S.** \_\_\_\_\_

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

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

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Ms. WARREN introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on \_\_\_\_\_

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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 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]ct, 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, inacces-  
5 sible or poorly equipped polling places, campus ger-  
6 rymanders, over-reliance on provisional ballots, and  
7 unfair treatment of provisional and vote-by-mail bal-  
8 lots. Some of these barriers are acute for the young-  
9 est voters who are particularly transient and move  
10 every year, thereby struggling to update their voter  
11 registration, or who are less likely to have a driver's  
12 license to use as voter identification. Youth voters  
13 are similarly vulnerable to confusion about their  
14 right to vote from their campus residences. Although  
15 the Supreme Court summarily affirmed the right of  
16 college students to vote from their campus resi-  
17 dences in 1979, pursuant to the 26th Amendment,  
18 misinformation and disinformation persist about this  
19 right. Congress finds that students indeed have a  
20 right to vote from their campus residences. Relat-  
21 edly, many young people have not been taught about  
22 elections and voting, including the practicalities of  
23 registering and casting a ballot and the reasons why  
24 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-

1 graph (1) with respect to a Federal election and for  
2 a campus described in subsection (b)(1), a State  
3 shall submit an application to the Attorney General  
4 that includes information on the alternative proce-  
5 dures the State will require the State public institu-  
6 tion of higher education to implement with respect  
7 to that Federal election for that campus to ensure  
8 voting is accessible to youth who are age 18 and  
9 over. Such procedures may include—

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

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

14 (C) offering an on-campus early voting op-  
15 tion or a mobile unit on the campus for early  
16 voting or election day voting for such youth.

17 (3) GUIDANCE.—Not later than 180 days after  
18 the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney Gen-  
19 eral shall issue guidance on the administration of  
20 this section, including guidance on the coverage  
21 under this section of campuses and institutions of  
22 higher education, as defined in subsection (a), ac-  
23 ceptable reasons for allowing a waiver under this  
24 subsection, and alternative procedures described in  
25 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”;

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.”