

118TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 5293

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

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AUGUST 25, 2023

Ms. WILLIAMS of Georgia (for herself, Mr. TORRES of New York, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Mr. MOULTON, Ms. PORTER, Mr. VARGAS, Mr. EVANS, Mr. SCHIFF, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. ESPAILLAT, Ms. JACOBS, Mr. CARTER of Louisiana, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Ms. SCANLON, Ms. BARRAGÁN, Ms. PRESSLEY, Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE, Mr. MULLIN, Ms. BROWN, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Mr. DOGGETT, Ms. SEWELL, Ms. CROCKETT, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Ms. NORTON, Ms. McCLELLAN, Ms. JAYAPAL, Mr. GRIJALVA, Ms. SÁNCHEZ, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. NICKEL, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Ms. TITUS, Ms. KELLY of Illinois, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Ms. TLAIB, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Mr. BOWMAN, Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mrs. CHERFILUS-McCORMICK, Mr. RASKIN, and Mrs. NAPOLITANO) 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

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,*

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

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

4 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of
5 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. Absentee voting.
- Sec. 12. Studies and data collection.

6 **SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

7 It is the sense of Congress that—

8 (1) 50 years ago, our Nation came together
9 unanimately to expand the franchise to those 18
10 years of age and older and to outlaw age-based dis-
11 crimination in accessing the franchise;

12 (2) 50 years later, the promises of the 26th
13 Amendment to the Constitution of the United States
14 (referred to in this Act as the “26th Amendment”)
15 remain unfulfilled although the reasons that moti-
16 vated its ratification endure; and

17 (3) pursuant to section 2 of the 26th Amend-
18 ment, Congress is empowered to enforce the article

1 by appropriate legislation and acts accordingly in
2 this Act.

3 **SEC. 3. FINDINGS.**

4 Congress finds the following:

5 (1) Over 50 years ago, on July 1, 1971, this
6 Nation ratified into the Constitution of the United
7 States the 26th Amendment, lowering the voting age
8 from 21 to 18 years of age and outlawing the denial
9 or abridgement of the right to vote on account of
10 age.

11 (2) Support for the 26th Amendment was near-
12 ly unanimous. The proposed constitutional amend-
13 ment passed with bipartisan supermajorities, passing
14 in the Senate with a vote of 94–0, and passing in
15 the House of Representatives with a vote of 401–19.
16 The 26th Amendment was approved by the requisite
17 38 States in less than 100 days, making it the
18 quickest constitutional amendment to be ratified in
19 United States history.

20 (3) Support for lowering the voting age to 18
21 was championed across the aisle. President Dwight
22 Eisenhower, former Commander of the Allied
23 Forces, included the issue in his 1954 State of the
24 Union Address. Moreover, President Richard Nixon
25 emphasized his support for the 26th Amendment

1 during its certification ceremony, describing that
2 young people serve a critical role by infusing the
3 practice of democracy with “some idealism, some
4 courage, some stamina, some high moral purpose
5 that this Nation always needs, because a country,
6 throughout history, we find, goes through ebbs and
7 flows of idealism.”. Similarly, Senate majority leader
8 Michael Mansfield and Senator Ted Kennedy were
9 key advocates of the measure, having first proposed
10 a statutory route for lowering the voting age in the
11 Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 (Public
12 Law 91–285), in addition to supporting a path
13 through constitutional ratification.

14 (4) The Voting Rights Act Amendments of
15 1970 (Public Law 91–285) marked the first Federal
16 law to enfranchise youth and outlaw age discrimina-
17 tion in accessing the franchise. In title III of that
18 Act, Congress declared, with strong bipartisan sup-
19 port, that the 21-year age requirement—

20 (A) “denies and abridges the inherent con-
21 stitutional rights of citizens eighteen years of
22 age but not yet twenty-one years of age to
23 vote”;

24 (B) has the effect of denying those
25 disenfranchised “the due process and equal pro-

1 tection of the laws that are guaranteed to them
2 under the Fourteenth Amendment”; and

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

5 (5) The age-based expansion of the franchise
6 via the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 was
7 ultimately found by a strongly divided Supreme
8 Court to be unconstitutional as applied to State and
9 local races and constitutional as applied to Federal
10 races. Thus, to ensure uniform election administra-
11 tion in Federal and State races, a constitutional so-
12 lution was required.

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

16 (A) the value of idealism, courage, and
17 moral purpose that youth provide in reener-
18 gizing the practice of democracy;

19 (B) the increased political competence of
20 young people compared to prior generations,
21 due to greater access to information through
22 standardized education and technology such as
23 then-widely available television sets;

1 (C) the increased responsibilities assumed
2 by the group as they fought in war, assumed
3 debt, and lived independently;

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

6 (E) the stemming of unrest by encouraging
7 institutionalized mechanisms to advance
8 change.

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

1 (8) According to the Center for Information &
2 Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (re-
3 ferred to in this Act as “CIRCLE”) of Tufts Uni-
4 versity, a record-high 28 percent of young people
5 voted in the 2018 midterm elections, more than dou-
6 bling the record-low 13 percent youth turnout in
7 2014. Still, young people vote at lower levels than
8 older adults.

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

21 (10) The outsized reliance by young voters on
22 provisional ballots in recent years demonstrates the
23 structural obstacles young voters face due to voter
24 restrictions. A 2016 survey found that 1 in 4
25 Millennials voted provisionally in the 2016 race,

1 compared to 6 percent of Baby Boomers, and 2 per-
2 cent of the Greatest Generation.

3 (11) In addition to voting provisionally at dis-
4 proportionate rates, young voters' provisional ballots
5 are also disproportionately rejected. As determined by
6 a recent Federal court, voters aged 18 to 21 in Flor-
7 ida had their provisional ballots rejected at a rate
8 more than 4 times higher than the rejection rate for
9 provisional ballots cast by voters between the ages of
10 45 to 64.

11 (12) Similarly, young voters experience a higher
12 rejection rate of vote-by-mail ballots compared to
13 older voters. One study found that voters aged 18 to
14 21 had their vote-by-mail ballots rejected at a rate
15 of over 5 times that of voters between the ages of
16 45 to 64 and over 8 times those over the age of 65.
17 These rejection rates trend with those of voters of
18 color. For example, the study found that the rate of
19 rejection of vote-by-mail ballots for Hispanic and Af-
20 rican American voters is over 2 times that of White
21 voters.

22 (13) Moreover, when special burdens are re-
23 moved, young people vote more frequently. Once
24 polling places were finally situated on campuses dur-
25 ing the early voting period, pursuant to successful

1 26th Amendment litigation, one study found that on
2 12 campuses alone, nearly 60,000 registered voters
3 participated in the 2018 general election through
4 early in-person voting. Young voters, people of color,
5 and those who did not cast a ballot in 2016 dis-
6 proportionately voted at the on-campus voting loca-
7 tions. Voter turnout is bolstered by on-campus vot-
8 ing locations because those locations lower the op-
9 portunity costs for voting for all registered voters,
10 particularly for young registered voters.

11 (14) Young people are passionate about polit-
12 ical issues and often want to engage in the political
13 process, but they face barriers to participation. For
14 example, they may face structural obstacles such as
15 proof requirements that obscure a young person's
16 right to vote, barriers to voter registration, inaccess-
17 ible or poorly equipped polling places, campus ger-
18 rymanders, over-reliance on provisional ballots, un-
19 equal access to vote-by-mail, and unfair treatment of
20 provisional and vote-by-mail ballots. Some of these
21 barriers are acute for the youngest voters who are
22 particularly transient and move every year, thereby
23 struggling to update their voter registration, or who
24 are less likely to have a driver's license to use as
25 voter identification. Youth voters are similarly vul-

1 nerable to confusion about their right to vote from
2 their campus residences. Although the Supreme
3 Court summarily affirmed the right of college stu-
4 dents to vote from their campus residences in 1979,
5 pursuant to the 26th Amendment, misinformation,
6 disinformation, and legal challenges persist about
7 this right. Congress finds that students indeed have
8 a right to vote from their campus residences. Relat-
9 edly, many young people have not been taught about
10 elections and voting, including the practicalities of
11 registering and casting a ballot and the reasons why
12 their voices and votes matter in democracy.

13 (15) Seven States restrict access to vote-by-mail
14 on account of age, allowing voters above a certain
15 age to vote with no excuse, and requiring that voters
16 below 60 or 65 meet a narrow list of excuses to vote-
17 by-mail. In those States, voters 65 and older com-
18 prise nearly 65 percent of all at-home ballots, where-
19 as the use of at-home ballots is more evenly distrib-
20 uted across age cohorts in States without the age-
21 restriction. In age-discriminatory vote-at-home
22 States, 21 percent of adults over 65 voted at home
23 in 2018, but less than 6 percent of voters 18–34 did
24 so. Congress further finds that eligible voters, in-

1 including youth, have the right to vote by mail in Fed-
2 eral elections free of prima facie age restrictions.

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

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

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

1 (A) confusion with voter identification
2 rules (88 percent);

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

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

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

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

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

1 2010. Moreover, youth who registered to vote are
2 considerably more likely to vote. Among youth reg-
3 istered in 2008, 84 percent cast a ballot.

4 (21) While direct youth voter registration, out-
5 reach, and engagement is typically heightened in the
6 Summer and Fall months leading up to presidential
7 elections, unprecedented obstacles presented them-
8 selves amid the COVID-19 pandemic as the econ-
9 omy slowed, the Nation shut down, and institutions
10 of higher education, technical and vocational schools,
11 and high schools, along with county election offices,
12 changed their normal operations.

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

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

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

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

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

15 (27) The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was always
16 understood to be privately enforceable, and to con-
17 tain a private right of action by which all voters of
18 the United States could guarantee the rights guar-
19 anteed therein. Recently, in light of the continued
20 development of the law concerning privately enforce-
21 able statutes, academic discussion and jurisperu-
22 dential dicta have incorrectly questioned the Voting
23 Rights Act of 1965's private right of action. This
24 Act and the amendments made by this Act recognize
25 the hundreds of cases brought by private plaintiffs

1 to enforce the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and re-af-
2 firms that such a private right of action has always
3 existed for the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

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

5 Title III of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.
6 10701 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the fol-
7 lowing:

8 **“SEC. 303. PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION; STANDARD OF RE-**
9 **VIEW; FEES.**

10 “(a) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—Any person eight-
11 een years of age and older who is aggrieved by a denial
12 or abridgment of the right of a citizen of the United States
13 to vote on account of age may commence a civil action
14 in any appropriate district court of the United States for
15 relief.

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

21 “(1) has the effect of denying or abridging to
22 citizens eighteen years of age and older the due
23 process or equal protection of the laws that are
24 guaranteed to them under the 14th and 26th

1 Amendments of the Constitution of the United
2 States; and

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

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

10 **SEC. 5. TREATMENT OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER**
11 **EDUCATION AS VOTER REGISTRATION AGEN-**
12 **CIES UNDER NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRA-**
13 **TION ACT OF 1993.**

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

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

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

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

23 “(C) all offices within public institutions of
24 higher education, as defined in section 101 and
25 section 102(c) of the Higher Education Act of

1 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1001; 20 U.S.C. 1002(c)),
2 that provide assistance to students.”.

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

6 (1) by redesignating paragraphs (1) and (2) as
7 subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively, and indent-
8 ing appropriately;

9 (2) by striking “STATES.—This Act” and in-
10 sserting “STATES.—”;

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

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

15 “(2) APPLICATION OF CERTAIN REQUIRE-
16 MENTS.—Notwithstanding paragraph (1), in the
17 case of a State described in paragraph (1)(B), sub-
18 section (a)(3)(B), section 7, and paragraphs (1)(C),
19 (5), and (6) of section 8(a) shall apply, but only
20 with respect to institutions described in section
21 7(a)(2)(C).”.

22 **SEC. 6. PRE-REGISTRATION OF MINORS FOR VOTING IN**
23 **FEDERAL ELECTIONS.**

24 (a) PRE-REGISTRATION OF MINORS FOR VOTING IN
25 FEDERAL ELECTIONS.—The National Voter Registration

1 Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.) is amended by in-
2 serting after section 8 the following new section:

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

4 “(a) REQUIRING IMPLEMENTATION OF PRE-REG-
5 ISTRATION PROCESS.—Each State shall implement a
6 process under which—

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

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

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

24 “(b) PERMITTING AVAILABILITY OF PROCESS FOR
25 YOUNGER INDIVIDUALS.—A State may, at its option,

1 make the process implemented under subsection (a) avail-
2 able to individuals who are younger than 16 years of
3 age.”.

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

7 (1) by striking “paragraph (1)(B), subsection
8 (a)(3)(B)” and inserting “paragraph (1)(B)—
9 “(A) subsection (a)(3)(B)”;

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

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

15 “(B) section 8A shall apply.”.

16 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by
17 this section shall take effect upon the expiration of the
18 90-day period that begins on the date of the enactment
19 of this Act.

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

21 (a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

22 (1) CAMPUS.—The term “campus”—

23 (A) means a geographic site of an institu-
24 tion of higher education that is permanent in
25 nature and offers courses in educational or

1 training programs which are available for stu-
2 dents to attend in person; and

3 (B) includes main campuses, branch cam-
4 puses, and additional locations in the United
5 States.

6 (2) INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION.—The
7 term “institution of higher education” has the
8 meaning given that term in subsections (a) and (b)
9 of section 101 and subsections (b) and (c) of section
10 102 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20
11 U.S.C. 1001(a), 1001(b), 1002(b), 1002(c)).

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

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

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

22 (2) each campus of any other institution of
23 higher education in the State for which the State
24 has received the institution’s written permission to
25 have a polling place on campus.

1 (c) NON-STATE INSTITUTIONS.—Not less than 90
2 days before the State’s deadline for certifying polling place
3 locations in advance of each Federal election, the State
4 shall request in writing permission to place a polling place
5 for a Federal election, to be available on the date of that
6 election, on the campus of each institution of higher edu-
7 cation that is not a State public institution of higher edu-
8 cation—

9 (1) for the next Federal election; or

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

12 (d) ALTERNATIVE POLLING PLACES.—For each in-
13 stitution of higher education that is not a State public in-
14 stitution of higher education and that does not give writ-
15 ten permission as described in subsection (c) for placement
16 of a polling place on the institution’s campus, the State
17 shall implement alternative procedures to ensure voting is
18 accessible to youth on that campus who are age 18 and
19 over. Such procedures may include—

20 (1) offering free shuttles for such youth to
21 other nearby polling locations;

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

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

4 (e) WAIVERS.—

5 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General may,
6 upon the request of a State, waive the requirement
7 under subsection (b)(1) with respect to a Federal
8 election for a campus described in such paragraph
9 for which the State, in accordance with the guidance
10 under paragraph (3)—

11 (A) determines is an unsuitable polling lo-
12 cation in the State for that Federal election;
13 and

14 (B) agrees to require alternative proce-
15 dures at such campus to ensure voting in Fed-
16 eral elections is accessible to youth who are age
17 18 and over for that Federal election.

18 (2) APPLICATIONS TO INCLUDE ALTERNATIVE
19 PROCEDURES.—To request a waiver under para-
20 graph (1) with respect to a Federal election and for
21 a campus described in subsection (b)(1), a State
22 shall submit an application to the Attorney General
23 that includes information on the alternative proce-
24 dures the State will require the State public institu-
25 tion of higher education to implement with respect

1 to that Federal election for that campus to ensure
2 voting is accessible to youth who are age 18 and
3 over. Such procedures may include—

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

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

8 (C) offering an on-campus early voting op-
9 tion or a mobile unit on the campus for early
10 voting or election day voting for such youth.

11 (3) GUIDANCE.—Not later than 180 days after
12 the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney Gen-
13 eral shall issue guidance on the administration of
14 this section, including guidance on the coverage
15 under this section of campuses and institutions of
16 higher education, as defined in subsection (a), ac-
17 ceptable reasons for allowing a waiver under this
18 subsection, and alternative procedures described in
19 paragraph (2), with respect to a campus described
20 in subsection (b)(1). Such guidance shall include
21 considerations of issues relating to the accessibility
22 of the campus, including—

23 (A) the inability to modify the physical at-
24 tributes of the campus to make the campus ac-
25 cessible for voting;

1 (B) the proximity of the campus to local
2 population centers;

3 (C) the ability of youth age 18 and over
4 who are from historically disadvantaged com-
5 munities to access the campus;

6 (D) the ability of the institution of higher
7 education to comply with other Federal or State
8 laws relating to Federal elections at that cam-
9 pus location; and

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

13 (f) ENFORCEMENT.—

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

18 (2) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

19 (A) A person who is aggrieved by a viola-
20 tion of this section may provide written notice
21 of the violation to the chief election official of
22 the State involved.

23 (B) If the violation is not corrected within
24 90 days after receipt of a notice under subpara-
25 graph (A), or within 20 days after receipt of

1 the notice if the violation occurred within 120
2 days before the date of a Federal election, the
3 aggrieved person may bring a civil action in an
4 appropriate district court for declaratory or in-
5 junctive relief with respect to the violation.

6 (C) If the violation occurred within 30
7 days before the date of a Federal election, the
8 aggrieved person need not provide notice to the
9 chief election official of the State under sub-
10 paragraph (A) before bringing a civil action
11 under subparagraph (B).

12 (D) The court, in an action under this sec-
13 tion, shall allow the plaintiff, if the prevailing
14 party, to recover from the defendant reasonable
15 attorneys' and expert witness fees and other
16 costs of the action.

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

18 (a) **APPLICABILITY TO ALL ELECTIONS FOR FED-**
19 **ERAL OFFICE.**—Section 202 of the Voting Rights Act of
20 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10502) is amended—

21 (1) in subsection (a)—

22 (A) in the matter preceding paragraph

23 (1)—

1 (i) by striking “the offices of Presi-
2 dent and Vice President” and inserting
3 “Federal office”; and

4 (ii) by striking “presidential elections”
5 and inserting “elections for Federal of-
6 fice”;

7 (B) in paragraph (1), by striking “their
8 President and Vice President” and inserting
9 “Federal office”;

10 (C) in paragraph (5), by striking “; and”
11 and inserting “, and in some cases, the twenty-
12 sixth amendment, including the right to vote
13 from a college domicile; and”;

14 (D) in paragraph (6), by striking “presi-
15 dential elections” and inserting “elections for
16 Federal office”;

17 (2) in subsection (b)—

18 (A) by striking “voting for President and
19 Vice President” and inserting “voting in elec-
20 tions for Federal office”; and

21 (B) by striking “presidential elections” and
22 inserting “elections for Federal office”;

23 (3) in subsection (c)—

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

4 (B) by striking “electors for President and
5 Vice President, or for President and Vice Presi-
6 dent,” and inserting “Federal office,” each
7 place the term appears;

8 (4) in subsection (d), by striking “the choice of
9 electors for President and Vice President or for
10 President and Vice President” and inserting “Fed-
11 eral office”;

12 (5) in subsection (e)—

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

16 (B) by striking “the choice of electors for
17 President and Vice President, or for President
18 and Vice President,” and inserting “Federal of-
19 fice”; and

20 (6) in subsection (f)—

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

24 (B) by striking “for the choice of electors
25 for President and Vice President, or for Presi-

1 dent and Vice President,” and inserting “for
2 Federal office”.

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

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

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

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

17 (1) by redesignating sections 304 and 305 as
18 sections 305 and 306, respectively; and

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

21 **“SEC. 304. TREATMENT OF STUDENT IDENTIFICATION**
22 **CARDS AS VOTER IDENTIFICATION.**

23 “(a) IN GENERAL.—To the extent that a State or
24 local jurisdiction has a voter identification requirement,
25 the State or local jurisdiction shall treat a student identi-

1 fication card issued by an institution of higher education
2 as meeting such voter identification requirement.

3 “(b) INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION.—For
4 purposes of this section, the term ‘institution of higher
5 education’ has the meaning given that term in subsections
6 (a) and (b) of section 101 and subsections (b) and (c) of
7 section 102 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20
8 U.S.C. 1001(a), 1001(b), 1002(b), 1002(e)).”.

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

13 (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents
14 of such Act is amended—

15 (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-
16 tions 304 and 305 as relating to sections 305 and
17 306, respectively; and

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

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

20 **SEC. 10. GRANTS TO STATES FOR ACTIVITIES TO ENCOUR-**
21 **AGE INVOLVEMENT OF YOUTH IN ELECTION**
22 **ACTIVITIES.**

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

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

3 **“SEC. 297. GRANTS TO ENCOURAGE YOUTH INVOLVEMENT**
4 **IN ELECTION ACTIVITIES.**

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

9 “(b) ELIGIBILITY.—

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

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

16 “(B) a description of the performance
17 measures and targets the State will use to de-
18 termine its success in carrying out the plan;
19 and

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

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

24 “(A) methods to promote the use of the
25 pre-registration process implemented under sec-

1 tion 8A of the National Voter Registration Act
2 of 1993;

3 “(B) modifications to the curriculum of
4 secondary schools in the State to promote civic
5 engagement;

6 “(C) a description of how the State will
7 provide funding to secondary schools and insti-
8 tutions of higher education to enable those
9 schools and institutions to support activities
10 (including activities carried out by student or-
11 ganizations) to increase voter registration and
12 voter turnout, including pre-registration where
13 allowable;

14 “(D) the creation of a paid fellowship pro-
15 gram for youth to work with State and local
16 election officials to support youth civic and po-
17 litical engagement;

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

23 “(F) such other activities to encourage the
24 involvement of youth in the electoral process as
25 the State considers appropriate, including en-

1 encouraging youth to serve as poll workers, dep-
2 uty voter registrars, or election workers where
3 allowable, and outreach activities to engage sec-
4 ondary schools, postsecondary educational insti-
5 tutions, and the most vulnerable or overlooked
6 youth populations, such as those in less stable
7 housing and those who do not pursue college
8 education.

9 “(c) PERIOD OF GRANT; REPORT.—

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

14 “(2) REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after
15 the end of the 2-year period agreed to under para-
16 graph (1), the State shall submit to the Commission
17 a report on the activities the State carried out with
18 the funds provided by the grant, and shall include
19 in the report an analysis of the extent to which the
20 State met the performance measures and targets in-
21 cluded in its application under subsection (b)(2).

22 “(d) STATE DEFINED.—In this section, the term
23 ‘State’ means each of the several States, the District of
24 Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the United

1 States Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the
2 Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

3 “(e) YOUTH ENGAGEMENT FUND.—

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

7 “(2) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATION.—
8 There is authorized to be appropriated to the Youth
9 Engagement Fund to carry out this section—

10 “(A) for fiscal year 2024, \$26,000,000;

11 and

12 “(B) for each subsequent fiscal year, the
13 difference between \$26,000,000 and the amount
14 of unobligated funds in the Youth Engagement
15 Fund as of the close of the preceding fiscal
16 year.

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

21 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents
22 of such Act is amended by adding at the end of the items
23 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.”.

1 **SEC. 11. ABSENTEE VOTING.**

2 (a) ENFORCEMENT OF 26TH AMENDMENT.—Section
3 301(a)(1) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.
4 10701(a)(1)) is amended by inserting before the period
5 at the end the following: “, including denials or
6 abridgements of the rights of citizens of the United States
7 to vote on account of age as a result of age-based restric-
8 tions for individuals of legal voting age to voting by mail”.

9 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-
10 gress that age-based restrictions for individuals of legal
11 voting age to vote by mail constitute a violation of the
12 26th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

13 **SEC. 12. STUDIES AND DATA COLLECTION.**

14 (a) GAO STUDY.—

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

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

25 (B) an examination of the availability of
26 polling places on the campuses of institutions of

1 higher education as defined in section 7 of this
2 Act, including consideration of the characteris-
3 tics of those institutions and the populations
4 they serve;

5 (C) the rejection rates for voter registra-
6 tion applications and absentee ballot applica-
7 tions;

8 (D) the rejection rates for absentee ballots
9 and provisional ballots; and

10 (E) the reasons for those rejections.

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

15 (A) 16 to 17.

16 (B) 18 to 21.

17 (C) 22 to 24.

18 (D) 25 to 29.

19 (E) 30 to 34.

20 (F) 35 to 39.

21 (G) 40 to 44.

22 (H) 45 to 49.

23 (I) 50 to 54.

24 (J) 55 to 59.

25 (K) 60 to 64.

1 (L) 65 to 69.

2 (M) 70 to 74.

3 (N) 75 to 79.

4 (O) 80 to 84.

5 (P) 85 and over.

6 (b) ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION DATA COL-
7 LECTION.—

8 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Election Assistance
9 Commission shall collect, as a part of the Election
10 Administration and Voting Survey effort, and make
11 publicly available, data from States on—

12 (A) application and rejection rates of voter
13 registration applications and absentee ballot ap-
14 plications for elections for Federal office based
15 on age and (where information on race is avail-
16 able) race;

17 (B) application and rejection rates of ab-
18 sentee ballots and the issuance and rejection
19 rates of provisional ballots cast for elections for
20 Federal office based on age and (where infor-
21 mation on race is available) race;

22 (C) the reasons provided by the State for
23 the rejection of such ballots; and

24 (D) information on the availability of poll-
25 ing places on the campuses of institutions of

1 higher education as defined in section 7 of this
2 Act, including consideration of the characteris-
3 tics of those institutions and the populations
4 they serve.

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

9 (3) REQUIRING STATE SUBMISSION OF INFOR-
10 MATION REGARDING REJECTED BALLOTS.—

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

15 **“SEC. 303A. REQUIRED SUBMISSION OF INFORMATION RE-**
16 **GARDING REJECTED APPLICATIONS AND**
17 **BALLOTS.**

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

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

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

4 (C) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of
5 contents of such Act is amended by inserting
6 after the item relating to section 303 the fol-
7 lowing new item:

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

○