

114TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. 1659

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

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 24, 2015

Mr. LEAHY (for himself, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. COONS, Mr. REID, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mr. SCHUMER, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. FRANKEN, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mrs. MURRAY, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. BROWN, Mr. CASEY, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. WARNER, Mr. MERKLEY, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. KAINES, Ms. WARREN, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. SANDERS, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, and Mr. WYDEN) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

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# A BILL

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

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3       **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4       This Act may be cited as the “Voting Rights Ad-  
5       vancement Act of 2015”.

1 **SEC. 2. VOTING ON INDIAN LANDS.**

2       Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42  
3 U.S.C. 1973) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
4 lowing:

5       “(c) VOTING ON INDIAN LANDS.—

6           “(1) TRIBAL REQUESTS FOR POLLING PLACES;

7           POLLING PLACE PROVIDED.—

8              “(A) IN GENERAL.—A representative offi-  
9              cial of an Indian tribe, with authorization from  
10             the governing body of the tribe, may request  
11             one or more polling places to be located on the  
12             Indian lands of the Indian tribe. Such request  
13             shall be delivered in writing to the State or po-  
14             litical subdivision with responsibility for assign-  
15             ing polling places at least 6 months prior to the  
16             next election for which the request is made, and  
17             shall specify the location of each requested poll-  
18             ing place.

19            “(B) POLLING PLACES PROVIDED.—Each  
20            requested polling place shall be provided by the  
21            State or political subdivision in response to a  
22            request made under paragraph (1), at no ex-  
23            pense to the Indian tribe, if the voting-age pop-  
24            ulation within the geographic area of the Indian  
25            lands relevant to the requested polling place is  
26            at least equal to the smallest voting-age popu-

1 lation served by any other polling place in the  
2 State. Each polling place that is provided under  
3 this subparagraph shall continue to be provided  
4 after the election for which the request was  
5 made, until such time as the Indian tribe that  
6 requested that polling place delivers a written  
7 request to the State or political subdivision ask-  
8 ing that such polling place be withdrawn.

9 “(C) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing  
10 in this paragraph shall be construed to prevent  
11 a State or political subdivision from providing  
12 additional polling places on Indian lands if no  
13 request was made under subparagraph (A), or  
14 if such request was made less than 6 months  
15 prior to the next election for which the request  
16 was made.

17 “(2) REQUIREMENT TO PROVIDE EQUITABLE  
18 POLLING LOCATIONS.—

19 “(A) IN GENERAL.—A State or political  
20 subdivision shall provide the same ratio of poll  
21 workers and voting devices, the same rate of  
22 pay to poll workers, and the same days and  
23 hours of operation, for polling places that are  
24 located on Indian lands as are provided in other

1           locations of polling places in the State or polit-  
2           ical subdivision.

3           “(B) ELIGIBILITY TO VOTE AT A POLLING  
4           LOCATION.—A polling place located on Indian  
5           lands shall be open to voting by all persons who  
6           are otherwise eligible to vote residing within the  
7           precinct, voting unit, or electoral district.

8           “(C) FEDERAL FACILITIES.—Polling  
9           places located on Indian lands may be des-  
10          ignated at—

11           “(i) a Federal facility, such as Indian  
12           Health Service or Bureau of Indian Affairs  
13           service buildings;

14           “(ii) any tribal government facility  
15           that meets the requirements of Federal  
16           and State law applied to other polling loca-  
17           tions within the State;

18           “(iii) a tribally owned building; or

19           “(iv) another facility that meets the  
20           requirements for polling places in the  
21           State.

22           “(3) ABSENTEE BALLOTS AND EARLY VOT-  
23          ING.—

24           “(A) IN GENERAL.—A representative offi-  
25           cial of an Indian tribe, with authorization from

1           the governing body of the Indian tribe, may de-  
2       liver a request to the appropriate State or polit-  
3       ical subdivision that a location on Indian lands  
4       be designated as an absentee ballot location or  
5       an early voting location, and such State or po-  
6       litical subdivision shall grant the request, at no  
7       expense to the Indian tribe, if—

8                 “(i) the requested location on Indian  
9       lands is in a State that permits voting by  
10      an absentee or mail-in ballot or early vot-  
11      ing (also called absentee in-person voting),  
12      as the case may be; and

13                 “(ii) the voting-age population within  
14      the geographic area of Indian lands rel-  
15      evant to the requested absentee ballot loca-  
16      tion or early voting location is at least  
17      equal to the smallest voting-age population  
18      served by any other absentee ballot loca-  
19      tion or early voting location in the State.

20                 “(B) INDIAN LANDS AS ABSENTEE BALLOT  
21      LOCATION.—If a location on Indian lands is  
22      designated as an absentee ballot location or an  
23      early voting location, absentee ballots, or early  
24      ballots, as the case may be, shall be provided,  
25      at no expense to the Indian tribe, to each reg-

1 registered voter living in such designated location  
2 without the requirement of an excuse for an ab-  
3 sentee ballot or early voting. Bilingual election  
4 materials and oral language assistance shall be  
5 provided if required by section 203.

“(4) TRIBAL REQUESTS FOR VOTER REGISTRATION AGENCIES.—A representative official of an Indian tribe, with authorization from the governing body of the tribe, may request that tribal government service offices be designated as voter registration agencies under section 7 of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20506). Such a request shall be delivered in writing to the State or political subdivision with responsibility for assigning polling locations at least 6 months prior to the next election for which the request is made. Such a request shall be granted if the tribal government service office meets the requirements of Federal and State law applied to other designated voter registration agencies within the State.”.

21 SEC. 3. VIOLATIONS TRIGGERING AUTHORITY OF COURT  
22 TO RETAIN JURISDICTION.

23 (a) TYPES OF VIOLATIONS.—Section 3(c) of the Vot-  
24 ing Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10302(c)) is amended  
25 by striking “violations of the fourteenth or fifteenth

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

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

13 **SEC. 4. CRITERIA FOR COVERAGE OF STATES AND POLIT-  
14              ICAL SUBDIVISIONS.**

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

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

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

22           “(1) EXISTENCE OF VOTING RIGHTS VIOLA-  
23 TIONS DURING PREVIOUS 25 YEARS.—

24           “(A) STATEWIDE APPLICATION.—Sub-  
25 section (a) applies with respect to a State and

1           all political subdivisions within the State during  
2           a calendar year if—

3                 “(i) 15 or more voting rights violations occurred in the State during the previous 25 calendar years; or

6                 “(ii) 10 or more voting rights violations occurred in the State during the previous 25 calendar years, at least one of which was committed by the State itself (as opposed to a political subdivision within the State).

12           “(B) APPLICATION TO SPECIFIC POLITICAL  
13           SUBDIVISIONS.—Subsection (a) applies with respect to a political subdivision as a separate unit during a calendar year if 3 or more voting rights violations occurred in the subdivision during the previous 25 calendar years.

18           “(2) PERIOD OF APPLICATION.—

19                 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subparagraph (B), if, pursuant to paragraph (1), subsection (a) applies with respect to a State or political subdivision during a calendar year, subsection (a) shall apply with respect to such State or political subdivision for the period—

1                         “(i) that begins on January 1 of the  
2                         year in which subsection (a) applies; and

3                         “(ii) that ends on the date which is 10  
4                         years after the date described in clause (i).

5                         “(B) NO FURTHER APPLICATION AFTER  
6                         DECLARATORY JUDGMENT.—

7                         “(i) STATES.—If a State obtains a de-  
8                         claratory judgment under subsection (a),  
9                         and the judgment remains in effect, sub-  
10                         section (a) shall no longer apply to such  
11                         State pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) unless,  
12                         after the issuance of the declaratory judg-  
13                         ment, paragraph (1)(A) applies to the  
14                         State solely on the basis of voting rights  
15                         violations occurring after the issuance of  
16                         the declaratory judgment.

17                         “(ii) POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS.—If a  
18                         political subdivision obtains a declaratory  
19                         judgment under subsection (a), and the  
20                         judgment remains in effect, subsection (a)  
21                         shall no longer apply to such political sub-  
22                         division pursuant to paragraph (1), includ-  
23                         ing pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) (relating  
24                         to the statewide application of subsection  
25                         (a)), unless, after the issuance of the de-

1           claratory judgment, paragraph (1)(B) ap-  
2         plies to the political subdivision solely on  
3         the basis of voting rights violations occur-  
4         ring after the issuance of the declaratory  
5         judgment.

6           “(3) DETERMINATION OF VOTING RIGHTS VIO-  
7         LATION.—For purposes of paragraph (1), a voting  
8         rights violation occurred in a State or political sub-  
9         division if any of the following applies:

10           “(A) FINAL JUDGMENT; VIOLATION OF  
11         THE 14TH OR 15TH AMENDMENT.—In a final  
12         judgment (which has not been reversed on ap-  
13         peal), any court of the United States has deter-  
14         mined that a denial or abridgement of the right  
15         of any citizen of the United States to vote on  
16         account of race, color, or membership in a lan-  
17         guage minority group, in violation of the 14th  
18         or 15th Amendment, occurred anywhere within  
19         the State or subdivision.

20           “(B) FINAL JUDGMENT; VIOLATIONS OF  
21         THIS ACT.—In a final judgment (which has not  
22         been reversed on appeal), any court of the  
23         United States has determined that a voting  
24         qualification or prerequisite to voting or stand-  
25         ard, practice, or procedure with respect to vot-

1                   ing was imposed or applied or would have been  
2                   imposed or applied anywhere within the State  
3                   or subdivision in a manner that resulted or  
4                   would have resulted in a denial or abridgement  
5                   of the right of any citizen of the United States  
6                   to vote on account of race, color, or membership  
7                   in a language minority group, in violation of  
8                   subsection (e) or (f), or section 2 or 203 of this  
9                   Act.

10                  “(C) FINAL JUDGMENT; DENIAL OF DE-  
11                  CLARATORY JUDGMENT.—In a final judgment  
12                  (which has not been reversed on appeal), any  
13                  court of the United States has denied the re-  
14                  quest of the State or subdivision for a declara-  
15                  tory judgment under section 3(c) or section 5,  
16                  and thereby prevented a voting qualification or  
17                  prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or  
18                  procedure with respect to voting from being en-  
19                  forced anywhere within the State or subdivision.

20                  “(D) OBJECTION BY THE ATTORNEY GEN-  
21                  ERAL.—The Attorney General has interposed  
22                  an objection under section 3(c) or section 5  
23                  (and the objection has not been overturned by  
24                  a final judgment of a court or withdrawn by the  
25                  Attorney General), and thereby prevented a vot-

1           ing qualification or prerequisite to voting or  
2           standard, practice, or procedure with respect to  
3           voting from being enforced anywhere within the  
4           State or subdivision.

5           “(E) CONSENT DECREE, SETTLEMENT, OR  
6           OTHER AGREEMENT.—A consent decree, settle-  
7           ment, or other agreement was entered into,  
8           which resulted in the alteration or abandonment  
9           of a voting practice anywhere in the territory of  
10          such State that was challenged on the ground  
11          that the practice denied or abridged the right of  
12          any citizen of the United States to vote on ac-  
13          count of race, color, or membership in a lan-  
14          guage minority group in violation of subsection  
15          (e) or (f), or section 2 or 203 of this Act, or  
16          the 14th or 15th Amendment.

17          “(4) TIMING OF DETERMINATIONS.—

18          “(A) DETERMINATIONS OF VOTING RIGHTS  
19          VIOLATIONS.—As early as practicable during  
20          each calendar year, the Attorney General shall  
21          make the determinations required by this sub-  
22          section, including updating the list of voting  
23          rights violations occurring in each State and po-  
24          litical subdivision for the previous calendar  
25          year.

1                 “(B) EFFECTIVE UPON PUBLICATION IN  
2 FEDERAL REGISTER.—A determination or cer-  
3 tification of the Attorney General under this  
4 section or under section 8 or 13 shall be effec-  
5 tive upon publication in the Federal Register.”.

6                 (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 4(a)  
7 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 10303(a)) is amended—

8                     (A) in paragraph (1), in the first sentence  
9 of the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by  
10 striking “any State with respect to which” and  
11 all that follows through “unless” and inserting  
12 “any State to which this subsection applies dur-  
13 ing a calendar year pursuant to determinations  
14 made under subsection (b), or in any political  
15 subdivision of such State (as such subdivision  
16 existed on the date such determinations were  
17 made with respect to such State), though such  
18 determinations were not made with respect to  
19 such subdivision as a separate unit, or in any  
20 political subdivision with respect to which this  
21 subsection applies during a calendar year pur-  
22 suant to determinations made with respect to  
23 such subdivision as a separate unit under sub-  
24 section (b), unless”;

1                             (B) in paragraph (1) in the matter pre-  
2                             ceding subparagraph (A), by striking the second  
3                             sentence;

4                             (C) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking “(in  
5                             the case of a State or subdivision seeking a de-  
6                             claratory judgment under the second sentence  
7                             of this subsection)”;

8                             (D) in paragraph (1)(B), by striking “(in  
9                             the case of a State or subdivision seeking a de-  
10                             claratory judgment under the second sentence  
11                             of this subsection)”;

12                             (E) in paragraph (3), by striking “(in the  
13                             case of a State or subdivision seeking a declara-  
14                             tory judgment under the second sentence of this  
15                             subsection)”;

16                             (F) in paragraph (5), by striking “(in the  
17                             case of a State or subdivision which sought a  
18                             declaratory judgment under the second sentence  
19                             of this subsection)”;

20                             (G) by striking paragraphs (7) and (8);  
21                             and

22                             (H) by redesignating paragraph (9) as  
23                             paragraph (7).

24                             (b) CLARIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF MEMBERS OF  
25                             LANGUAGE MINORITY GROUPS.—Section 4(a)(1) of such

1 Act (52 U.S.C. 10303(a)(1)) is amended by striking “race  
2 or color,” and inserting “race, color, or in contravention  
3 of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2),”.

4 **SEC. 5. DETERMINATION OF STATES AND POLITICAL SUB-**  
5 **DIVISIONS SUBJECT TO PRECLEARANCE FOR**  
6 **COVERED PRACTICES.**

7 The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et  
8 seq.) is further amended by inserting after section 4 the  
9 following:

10 **“SEC. 4A. DETERMINATION OF STATES AND POLITICAL**  
11 **SUBDIVISIONS SUBJECT TO PRECLEARANCE**  
12 **FOR COVERED PRACTICES.**

13 “(a) PRACTICE-BASED PRECLEARANCE.—

14 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each State and each polit-  
15 ical subdivision shall—

16 “(A) identify any newly enacted or adopted  
17 law, regulation, or policy that includes a voting  
18 qualification or prerequisite to voting, or a  
19 standard, practice, or procedure with respect to  
20 voting, that is a covered practice described in  
21 subsection (b); and

22 “(B) ensure that no such covered practice  
23 is implemented unless or until the State or po-  
24 litical subdivision, as the case may be, complies  
25 with subsection (c).

1               “(2) DETERMINATIONS OF CHARACTERISTICS  
2               OF VOTING-AGE POPULATION.—

3               “(A) IN GENERAL.—As early as practicable during each calendar year, the Attorney General, in consultation with the Director of the Bureau of the Census and the heads of other relevant offices of the government, shall make the determinations required by this section regarding voting-age populations and the characteristics of such populations, and shall publish a list of the States and political subdivisions to which a voting-age population characteristic described in subsection (b) applies.

14               “(B) PUBLICATION IN THE FEDERAL REGISTER.—A determination or certification of the Attorney General under this paragraph shall be effective upon publication in the Federal Register.

19               “(b) COVERED PRACTICES.—To assure that the right  
20 of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or  
21 abridged on account of race, color, or membership in a  
22 language minority group as a result of the implementation  
23 of certain qualifications or prerequisites to voting, or  
24 standards, practices, or procedures with respect to voting  
25 newly adopted in a State or political subdivision, the fol-

1 lowing shall be covered practices subject to the require-  
2 ments described in subsection (a):

3           “(1) CHANGES TO METHOD OF ELECTION.—

4           Any change to the method of election—

5               “(A) to add seats elected at-large in a  
6 State or political subdivision where—

7                   “(i) 2 or more racial groups or lan-  
8 guage minority groups each represent 20  
9 percent or more of the political subdivi-  
10 sion’s voting-age population; or

11                  “(ii) a single language minority group  
12 represents 20 percent or more of the vot-  
13 ing-age population on Indian lands located  
14 in whole or in part in the political subdivi-  
15 sion; or

16               “(B) to convert one or more seats elected  
17 from a single-member district to one or more  
18 at-large seats or seats from a multi-member  
19 district in a State or political subdivision  
20 where—

21                   “(i) 2 or more racial groups or lan-  
22 guage minority groups each represent 20  
23 percent or more of the political subdivi-  
24 sion’s voting-age population; or

1                         “(ii) a single language minority group  
2                         represents 20 percent or more of the vot-  
3                         ing-age population on Indian lands located  
4                         in whole or in part in the political subdivi-  
5                         sion.

6                         “(2) CHANGES TO JURISDICTION BOUND-  
7                         ARIES.—Any change or series of changes within a  
8                         year to the boundaries of a jurisdiction that reduces  
9                         by 3 or more percentage points the proportion of the  
10                         jurisdiction’s voting-age population that is comprised  
11                         of members of a single racial group or language mi-  
12                         nority group in a State or political subdivision  
13                         where—

14                         “(A) 2 or more racial groups or language  
15                         minority groups each represent 20 percent or  
16                         more of the political subdivision’s voting-age  
17                         population; or

18                         “(B) a single language minority group rep-  
19                         resents 20 percent or more of the voting-age  
20                         population on Indian lands located in whole or  
21                         in part in the political subdivision.

22                         “(3) CHANGES THROUGH REDISTRICTING.—  
23                         Any change to the boundaries of election districts in  
24                         a State or political subdivision where any racial  
25                         group or language minority group experiences a pop-

1       ulation increase, over the preceding decade (as cal-  
2       culated by the Bureau of the Census under the most  
3       recent decennial census), of at least—

4               “(A) 10,000; or

5               “(B) 20 percent of voting-age population  
6       of the State or political subdivision, as the case  
7       may be.

8               “(4) CHANGES IN DOCUMENTATION OR QUALI-  
9       FICATIONS TO VOTE.—Any change to requirements  
10      for documentation or proof of identity to vote such  
11      that the requirements will exceed or be more strin-  
12      gent than the requirements for voting that are de-  
13      scribed in section 303(b) of the Help America Vote  
14      Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21083(b)) or any change to  
15      the requirements for documentation or proof of iden-  
16      tity to register to vote that will exceed or be more  
17      stringent than such requirements under State law on  
18      the day before the date of enactment of the Voting  
19      Rights Advancement Act of 2015.

20               “(5) CHANGES TO MULTILINGUAL VOTING MA-  
21       TERIALS.—Any change that reduces multilingual  
22      voting materials or alters the manner in which such  
23      materials are provided or distributed, where no simi-  
24      lar reduction or alteration occurs in materials pro-  
25      vided in English for such election.

1           “(6) CHANGES THAT REDUCE, CONSOLIDATE,  
2 OR RELOCATE VOTING LOCATIONS.—Any change  
3 that reduces, consolidates, or relocates voting loca-  
4 tions, including early, absentee, and election-day vot-  
5 ing locations—

6           “(A) in 1 or more census tracts wherein 2  
7 or more language minority groups or racial  
8 groups each represent 20 percent or more of  
9 the voting-age population of the political sub-  
10 division; or

11           “(B) on Indian lands wherein at least 20  
12 percent of the voting-age population belongs to  
13 a single language minority group.

14           “(c) PRECLEARANCE.—

15           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Whenever a State or polit-  
16 ical subdivision with respect to which the require-  
17 ments set forth in subsection (a) are in effect shall  
18 enact, adopt, or seek to implement any covered prac-  
19 tice described under subsection (b), such State or  
20 subdivision may institute an action in the United  
21 States District Court for the District of Columbia  
22 for a declaratory judgment that such covered prac-  
23 tice neither has the purpose nor will have the effect  
24 of denying or abridging the right to vote on account  
25 of race, color, or membership in a language minority

1 group, and unless and until the court enters such  
2 judgment such covered practice shall not be imple-  
3 mented. Notwithstanding the previous sentence, such  
4 covered practice may be implemented without such  
5 proceeding if the covered practice has been sub-  
6 mitted by the chief legal officer or other appropriate  
7 official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney  
8 General and the Attorney General has not inter-  
9 posed an objection within 60 days after such submis-  
10 sion, or upon good cause shown, to facilitate an ex-  
11 pedited approval within 60 days after such submis-  
12 sion, the Attorney General has affirmatively indi-  
13 cated that such objection will not be made. Neither  
14 an affirmative indication by the Attorney General  
15 that no objection will be made, nor the Attorney  
16 General's failure to object, nor a declaratory judg-  
17 ment entered under this section shall bar a subse-  
18 quent action to enjoin implementation of such cov-  
19 ered practice. In the event the Attorney General af-  
20 firmatively indicates that no objection will be made  
21 within the 60-day period following receipt of a sub-  
22 mission, the Attorney General may reserve the right  
23 to reexamine the submission if additional informa-  
24 tion comes to the Attorney General's attention dur-  
25 ing the remainder of the 60-day period which would

1       otherwise require objection in accordance with this  
2       section. Any action under this section shall be heard  
3       and determined by a court of three judges in accord-  
4       ance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28,  
5       United States Code, and any appeal shall lie to the  
6       Supreme Court.

7           “(2) DENYING OR ABRIDGING THE RIGHT TO  
8       VOTE.—Any covered practice described in subsection  
9       (b) that has the purpose of or will have the effect  
10      of diminishing the ability of any citizens of the  
11      United States on account of race, color, or member-  
12      ship in a language minority group, to elect their pre-  
13      ferred candidates of choice denies or abridges the  
14      right to vote within the meaning of paragraph (1) of  
15      this subsection.

16           “(3) PURPOSE DEFINED.—The term ‘purpose’  
17      in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection shall in-  
18      clude any discriminatory purpose.

19           “(4) PURPOSE OF PARAGRAPH (2).—The pur-  
20      pose of paragraph (2) of this subsection is to protect  
21      the ability of such citizens to elect their preferred  
22      candidates of choice.

23           “(d) ENFORCEMENT.—The Attorney General or any  
24      aggrieved citizen may file an action in a Federal district  
25      court to compel any State or political subdivision to satisfy

1 the obligations set forth in this section. Such actions shall  
2 be heard and determined by a court of 3 judges under  
3 section 2284 of title 28, United States Code. In any such  
4 action, the court shall provide as a remedy that any voting  
5 qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, prac-  
6 tice, or procedure with respect to voting, that is the sub-  
7 ject of the action under this subsection be enjoined unless  
8 the court determines that—

9           “(1) the voting qualification or prerequisite to  
10 voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with re-  
11 spect to voting, is not a covered practice described  
12 in subsection (b); or

13           “(2) the State or political subdivision has com-  
14 plied with subsection (c) with respect to the covered  
15 practice at issue.

16        “(e) COUNTING OF RACIAL GROUPS AND LANGUAGE  
17 MINORITY GROUPS.—For purposes of this section, the cal-  
18 culation of the population of a racial group or a language  
19 minority group shall be carried out using the methodology  
20 in the guidance promulgated in the Federal Register on  
21 February 9, 2011 (76 Fed. Reg. 7470).

22        “(f) SPECIAL RULE.—For purposes of determina-  
23 tions under this section, any data provided by the Bureau  
24 of the Census, whether based on estimation from sample

1 or actual enumeration, shall not be subject to challenge  
2 or review in any court.

3       “(g) MULTILINGUAL VOTING MATERIALS.—In this  
4 section, the term ‘multilingual voting materials’ means  
5 registration or voting notices, forms, instructions, assist-  
6 ance, or other materials or information relating to the  
7 electoral process, including ballots, provided in the lan-  
8 guage or languages of one or more language minority  
9 groups.”.

10 SEC. 6. PROMOTING TRANSPARENCY TO ENFORCE THE  
11 VOTING RIGHTS ACT.

## 12 (a) TRANSPARENCY.—

16 "SEC. 6. TRANSPARENCY REGARDING CHANGES TO PRO-  
17  
TECT VOTING RIGHTS.

18        "(a) NOTICE OF ENACTED CHANGES.—

19       “(1) NOTICE OF CHANGES.—If a State or polit-  
20       ical subdivision makes any change in any pre-  
21       requisite to voting or standard, practice, or proce-  
22       dure with respect to voting in any election for Fed-  
23       eral office that will result in the prerequisite, stand-  
24       ard, practice, or procedure being different from that  
25       which was in effect as of 180 days before the date

1 of the election for Federal office, the State or political  
2 subdivision shall provide reasonable public notice  
3 in such State or political subdivision and on the  
4 Internet, of a concise description of the change, including  
5 the difference between the changed prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure and the  
6 prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure which  
7 was previously in effect. The public notice described  
8 in this paragraph, in such State or political subdivision  
9 and on the Internet, shall be in a format that  
10 is reasonably convenient and accessible to voters  
11 with disabilities, including voters who have low vision  
12 or are blind.

14       “(2) DEADLINE FOR NOTICE.—A State or political  
15 subdivision shall provide the public notice required under paragraph (1) not later than 48 hours  
16 after making the change involved.

18       “(b) TRANSPARENCY REGARDING POLLING PLACE  
19 RESOURCES.—

20       “(1) IN GENERAL.—In order to identify any  
21 changes that may impact the right to vote of any person, prior to the 30th day before the date of an  
22 election for Federal office, each State or political subdivision with responsibility for allocating registered voters, voting machines, and official poll

1 workers to particular precincts and polling places  
2 shall provide reasonable public notice in such State  
3 or political subdivision and on the Internet, of the  
4 information described in paragraph (2) for precincts  
5 and polling places within such State or political sub-  
6 division. The public notice described in this para-  
7 graph, in such State or political subdivision and on  
8 the Internet, shall be in a format that is reasonably  
9 convenient and accessible to voters with disabilities  
10 including voters who have low vision or are blind.

11 “(2) INFORMATION DESCRIBED.—The informa-  
12 tion described in this paragraph with respect to a  
13 precinct or polling place is each of the following:

14 “(A) The name or number.

15 “(B) In the case of a polling place, the lo-  
16 cation, including the street address, and whether  
17 such polling place is accessible to persons  
18 with disabilities.

19 “(C) The voting-age population of the area  
20 served by the precinct or polling place, broken  
21 down by demographic group if such breakdown  
22 is reasonably available to such State or political  
23 subdivision.

24 “(D) The number of registered voters as-  
25 signed to the precinct or polling place, broken

1           down by demographic group if such breakdown  
2           is reasonably available to such State or political  
3           subdivision.

4           “(E) The number of voting machines as-  
5           signed, including the number of voting ma-  
6           chines accessible to voters with disabilities, in-  
7           cluding voters who have low vision or are blind.

8           “(F) The number of official paid poll  
9           workers assigned.

10          “(G) The number of official volunteer poll  
11          workers assigned.

12          “(H) In the case of a polling place, the  
13          dates and hours of operation.

14          “(3) UPDATES IN INFORMATION REPORTED.—  
15          If a State or political subdivision makes any change  
16          in any of the information described in paragraph  
17          (2), the State or political subdivision shall provide  
18          reasonable public notice in such State or political  
19          subdivision and on the Internet, of the change in the  
20          information not later than 48 hours after the change  
21          occurs or, if the change occurs fewer than 48 hours  
22          before the date of the election for Federal office, as  
23          soon as practicable after the change occurs. The  
24          public notice described in this paragraph in such  
25          State or political subdivision and on the Internet

1 shall be in a format that is reasonably convenient  
2 and accessible to voters with disabilities including  
3 voters who have low vision or are blind.

4       “(c) TRANSPARENCY OF CHANGES RELATING TO DE-  
5 MOGRAPHICS AND ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.—

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

21           “(2) GEOGRAPHIC AREAS DESCRIBED.—The ge-  
22 ographic areas described in this paragraph are as  
23 follows:

24           “(A) The State as a whole, if the change  
25 applies statewide, or the political subdivision as

1           a whole, if the change applies across the entire  
2           political subdivision.

3           “(B) If the change includes a plan to re-  
4           place or eliminate voting units or electoral dis-  
5           tricts, each voting unit or electoral district that  
6           will be replaced or eliminated.

7           “(C) If the change includes a plan to es-  
8           tablish new voting units or electoral districts,  
9           each such new voting unit or electoral district.

10          “(3) DEMOGRAPHIC AND ELECTORAL DATA.—  
11          The demographic and electoral data described in this  
12          paragraph with respect to a geographic area de-  
13          scribed in paragraph (2) are each of the following:

14           “(A) The voting-age population, broken  
15           down by demographic group.

16           “(B) If it is reasonably available to the  
17          State or political subdivision involved, an esti-  
18          mate of the population of the area which con-  
19          sists of citizens of the United States who are 18  
20          years of age or older, broken down by demo-  
21          graphic group.

22           “(C) The number of registered voters, bro-  
23          ken down by demographic group if such break-  
24          down is reasonably available to the State or po-  
25          litical subdivision involved.

1                 “(D)(i) If the change applies to a State,  
2                 the actual number of votes, or (if it is not rea-  
3                 sonably practicable for the State to ascertain  
4                 the actual number of votes) the estimated num-  
5                 ber of votes received by each candidate in each  
6                 statewide election held during the 5-year period  
7                 which ends on the date the change involved is  
8                 made; and

9                 “(ii) if the change applies to only one polit-  
10                 ical subdivision, the actual number of votes, or  
11                 (if it is not reasonably practicable for the polit-  
12                 ical subdivision to ascertain the actual number  
13                 of votes) in each subdivision-wide election held  
14                 during the 5-year period which ends on the date  
15                 the change involved is made.

16                 “(4) VOLUNTARY COMPLIANCE BY SMALLER JU-  
17                 RISDICTIONS.—Compliance with this subsection shall  
18                 be voluntary for a political subdivision of a State un-  
19                 less the subdivision is one of the following:

20                 “(A) A county or parish.

21                 “(B) A municipality with a population  
22                 greater than 10,000, as determined by the Bu-  
23                 reau of the Census under the most recent de-  
24                 cennial census.

1                 “(C) A school district with a population  
2                 greater than 10,000, as determined by the Bu-  
3                 reau of the Census under the most recent de-  
4                 cennial census. For purposes of this subpara-  
5                 graph, the term ‘school district’ means the geo-  
6                 graphic area under the jurisdiction of a local  
7                 educational agency (as defined in section 9101  
8                 of the Elementary and Secondary Education  
9                 Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 7801)).

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

15                 “(e) NO DENIAL OF RIGHT TO VOTE.—The right to  
16                 vote of any person shall not be denied or abridged because  
17                 the person failed to comply with any change made by a  
18                 State or political subdivision if the State or political sub-  
19                 division involved did not meet the applicable requirements  
20                 of this section with respect to the change.

21                 “(f) DEFINITIONS.—In this section—

22                 “(1) the term ‘demographic group’ means each  
23                 group which section 2 protects from the denial or  
24                 abridgement of the right to vote on account of race

1       or color, or in contravention of the guarantees set  
2       forth in section 4(f)(2);

3               “(2) the term ‘election for Federal office’ means  
4       any general, special, primary, or runoff election held  
5       solely or in part for the purpose of electing any can-  
6       didate for the office of President, Vice President,  
7       Presidential elector, Senator, Member of the House  
8       of Representatives, or Delegate or Resident Commis-  
9       sioner to the Congress; and

10              “(3) the term ‘persons with disabilities’, means  
11       individuals with a disability, as defined in section 3  
12       of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (42  
13       U.S.C. 12102).”.

14              (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 3(a)  
15       of such Act (52 U.S.C. 10302(a)) is amended by  
16       striking “in accordance with section 6”.

17              (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
18       subsection (a)(1) shall apply with respect to changes which  
19       are made on or after the expiration of the 60-day period  
20       which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act.

21       **SEC. 7. AUTHORITY TO ASSIGN OBSERVERS.**

22              (a) CLARIFICATION OF AUTHORITY IN POLITICAL  
23       SUBDIVISIONS SUBJECT TO PRECLEARANCE.—Section  
24       8(a)(2)(B) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.  
25       10305(a)(2)(B)) is amended to read as follows:

1                 “(B) in the Attorney General’s judgment,  
2                 the assignment of observers is otherwise nec-  
3                 essary to enforce the guarantees of the 14th or  
4                 15th Amendment or any provision of this Act  
5                 or any other Federal law protecting the right of  
6                 citizens of the United States to vote;”.

7                 (b) ASSIGNMENT OF OBSERVERS TO ENFORCE BI-  
8                 LINGUAL ELECTION REQUIREMENTS.—Section 8(a) of  
9                 such Act (52 U.S.C. 10305(a)) is amended—

10                 (1) by striking “or” at the end of paragraph  
11                 (1); and

12                 (2) by adding after paragraph (2) the following:  
13                 “(3) the Attorney General certifies with respect  
14                 to a political subdivision that—

15                 “(A) the Attorney General has received  
16                 written meritorious complaints from residents,  
17                 elected officials, or civic participation organiza-  
18                 tions that efforts to violate section 203 are like-  
19                 ly to occur; or

20                 “(B) in the Attorney General’s judgment,  
21                 the assignment of observers is necessary to en-  
22                 force the guarantees of section 203; or

23                 “(4) the Attorney General certifies that the At-  
24                 torney General has received from the appropriate of-

1 ficial of the governing body of a federally recognized  
2 Indian tribe—

3 “(A) a written complaint that efforts to  
4 deny or abridge the right to vote under the  
5 color of law on account of race or color, or in  
6 contravention of the guarantees set forth in sec-  
7 tion 4(f)(2) are likely to occur; and

8 “(B) a written request for the authoriza-  
9 tion of Federal observers for elections that  
10 occur on Indian lands;”.

11 **SEC. 8. PRELIMINARY INJUNCTIVE RELIEF.**

12 (a) CLARIFICATION OF SCOPE AND PERSONS AU-  
13 THORIZED TO SEEK RELIEF.—Section 12(d) of the Vot-  
14 ing Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10308(d)) is amend-  
15 ed—

16 (1) by striking “section 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11,  
17 or subsection (b) of this section” and inserting “the  
18 14th or 15th Amendment, this Act, or any Federal  
19 voting rights law that prohibits discrimination on  
20 the basis of race, color, or membership in a language  
21 minority group”; and

22 (2) by striking “the Attorney General may in-  
23 stitute for the United States, or in the name of the  
24 United States,” and inserting “the aggrieved person

1       or (in the name of the United States) the Attorney  
2       General may institute”.

3       (b) GROUNDS FOR GRANTING RELIEF.—Section  
4 12(d) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 10308(d)) is amended—

5               (1) by striking “(d) Whenever any person” and  
6       inserting “(d)(1) Whenever any person”;

7               (2) by striking “(1) to permit” and inserting  
8       “(A) to permit”;

9               (3) by striking “(2) to count” and inserting  
10      “(B) to count”; and

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

13       “(2)(A) In any action for preliminary relief described  
14      in this subsection, the court shall grant the relief if the  
15      court determines that the complainant has raised a serious  
16      question whether the challenged voting qualification or  
17      prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or procedure  
18      violates this Act or the Constitution and, on balance, the  
19      hardship imposed upon the defendant by the grant of the  
20      relief will be less than the hardship which would be im-  
21      posed upon the plaintiff if the relief were not granted. In  
22      balancing the harms, the court shall give due weight to  
23      the fundamental right to cast an effective ballot.

24       “(B) In making its determination under this para-  
25      graph with respect to a change in any voting qualification,

1 prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure  
2 with respect to voting, the court shall consider all relevant  
3 factors and give due weight to the following factors, if they  
4 are present:

5                 “(i) Whether the qualification, prerequisite,  
6 standard, practice, or procedure in effect prior to the  
7 change was adopted as a remedy for a Federal court  
8 judgment, consent decree, or admission regarding—

9                     “(I) discrimination on the basis of race or  
10 color in violation of the 14th or 15th Amend-  
11 ment;

12                     “(II) a violation of this Act; or

13                     “(III) voting discrimination on the basis of  
14 race, color, or membership in a language minor-  
15 ity group in violation of any other Federal or  
16 State law.

17                 “(ii) Whether the qualification, prerequisite,  
18 standard, practice, or procedure in effect prior to the  
19 change served as a ground for the dismissal or set-  
20 tlement of a claim alleging—

21                     “(I) discrimination on the basis of race or  
22 color in violation of the 14th or 15th Amend-  
23 ment;

24                     “(II) a violation of this Act; or

1                 “(III) voting discrimination on the basis of  
2                 race, color, or membership in a language minor-  
3                 ity group in violation of any other Federal or  
4                 State law.

5                 “(iii) Whether the change was adopted fewer  
6                 than 180 days before the date of the election with  
7                 respect to which the change is to take effect.

8                 “(iv) Whether the defendant has failed to pro-  
9                 vide timely or complete notice of the adoption of the  
10                 change as required by applicable Federal or State  
11                 law.”.

12 **SEC. 9. DEFINITIONS.**

13                 Title I of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.  
14 10301) is amended by adding at the end the following:

15 **“SEC. 21. DEFINITIONS.**

16                 “In this Act:

17                 “(1) INDIAN LANDS.—The term ‘Indian lands’  
18                 means—

19                 “(A) any Indian country of the Indian  
20                 tribe, as defined in section 1151 of title 18,  
21                 United States Code;

22                 “(B) any land in Alaska that is owned,  
23                 pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settle-  
24                 ment Act (43 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), by an In-  
25                 dian tribe that is a Native village (as defined in

1           section 3 of that Act (43 U.S.C. 1602)) or by  
2           a Village Corporation that is associated with  
3           the Indian tribe (as defined in section 3 of that  
4           Act (43 U.S.C. 1602));

5           “(C) any land on which the seat of govern-  
6           ment of the Indian tribe is located; and

7           “(D) any land that is part or all of a tribal  
8           designated statistical area associated with the  
9           Indian tribe, or is part or all of an Alaska Na-  
10          tive village statistical area associated with the  
11          tribe, as defined by the Bureau of the Census  
12          for the purposes of the most recent decennial  
13          census.

14           “(2) INDIAN TRIBE.—The term ‘Indian tribe’ or  
15          ‘tribe’ means any American Indian or Alaska Native  
16          tribe, band, nation, pueblo, village, or community  
17          that the Secretary of the Interior acknowledges to  
18          exist as a federally recognized Indian tribe under the  
19          Federally Recognized Indian Tribe List Act of 1994  
20          (25 U.S.C. 479a et seq.).

21           “(3) VOTING-AGE POPULATION.—The term  
22          ‘voting-age population’ means the numerical size of  
23          the population within a State, within a political sub-  
24          division, or within a political subdivision that con-  
25          tains Indian lands, as the case may be, that consists

1       of persons age 18 or older, as calculated by the Bu-  
2       reau of the Census under the most recent decennial  
3       census.”.

4 **SEC. 10. BILINGUAL ELECTION REQUIREMENTS.**

5       Section 203(c) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52  
6 U.S.C. 10503(c)) is amended by striking “or in the case  
7 of Alaskan natives and American Indians, if the predomi-  
8 nant language is historically unwritten” and inserting “(as  
9 of the date on which the materials or information is pro-  
10 vided)”.

11 **SEC. 11. OTHER TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMEND-  
12 MENTS.**

13       (a) ACTIONS COVERED UNDER SECTION 3.—Section  
14 3(c) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.  
15 10302(c)) is amended—

16               (1) by striking “any proceeding instituted by  
17 the Attorney General or an aggrieved person under  
18 any statute to enforce” and inserting “any action  
19 under any statute in which a party (including the  
20 Attorney General) seeks to enforce”; and

21               (2) by striking “at the time the proceeding was  
22 commenced” and inserting “at the time the action  
23 was commenced”.

1           (b) CLARIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF MEMBERS OF  
2 LANGUAGE MINORITY GROUPS.—Section 4(f) of such Act  
3 (52 U.S.C. 10303(f)) is amended—

4               (1) in paragraph (1), by striking the second  
5 sentence; and  
6               (2) by striking paragraphs (3) and (4).

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

11               (1) in subsection (a), by striking “based upon  
12 determinations made under the first sentence of sec-  
13 tion 4(b) are in effect” and inserting “are in effect  
14 during a calendar year”;

15               (2) in subsection (a), by striking “November 1,  
16 1964” and all that follows through “November 1,  
17 1972” and inserting “the applicable date of cov-  
18 erage”; and

19               (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
20 section:

21               “(e) The term ‘applicable date of coverage’ means,  
22 with respect to a State or political subdivision—

23               “(1) June 25, 2013, if the most recent deter-  
24 mination for such State or subdivision under section  
25 4(b) was made on or before December 31, 2015; or

1           “(2) the date on which the most recent deter-  
2       mination for such State or subdivision under section  
3       4(b) was made, if such determination was made  
4       after December 31, 2015.”.

5 **SEC. 12. TRIBAL VOTING CONSULTATION.**

6       The Attorney General shall consult annually with  
7       tribal organizations regarding issues related to voting for  
8       members of an Indian tribe (as defined under section 21  
9       of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as added by section  
10      9 of this Act).

