STATE OF NEW YORK

6678--В

2021-2022 Regular Sessions

IN ASSEMBLY

March 25, 2021

Introduced by M. of A. WALKER, DICKENS, FRONTUS, CRUZ, REYES, SIMON, L. ROSENTHAL, FORREST, SILLITTI, DINOWITZ, GALLAGHER, JEAN-PIERRE, MAMDANI, HUNTER, KELLES, EPSTEIN, MEEKS, BENEDETTO, COOK, O'DONNELL, ZINERMAN, KIM, LAVINE, MITAYNES, CARROLL, THIELE, ANDERSON, ABBATE, SEAWRIGHT, OTIS, TAYLOR, BURDICK, BICHOTTE HERMELYN, BURGOS, GOTT-FRIED, PAULIN, ENGLEBRIGHT, HYNDMAN, FERNANDEZ, RAJKUMAR, SEPTIMO, HEVESI, GIBBS, McDONALD, JACKSON, DE LOS SANTOS, NIOU, RAMOS, LUNS-FORD, GLICK, GALEF, TAPIA, FAHY, PRETLOW, GONZALEZ-ROJAS, DAVILA, BRONSON, ABINANTI, SOLAGES -- read once and referred to the Committee on Election Law -- committee discharged, bill amended, ordered reprinted as amended and recommitted to said committee -- recommitted to the Committee on Election Law in accordance with Assembly Rule 3, sec. 2 -- committee discharged, bill amended, ordered reprinted as amended and recommitted to said committee

AN ACT to amend the election law, in relation to establishing the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Act of New York, establishing rights of action for denying or abridging of the right of any member of a protected class to vote, establishing and maintaining a statewide database of voting and election data, providing assistance to language-minority groups, requiring certain political subdivisions to receive preclearance for potential violations of the NYVRA, and creating civil liability for voter intimidation

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

- 1 Section 1. This act shall be known and may be cited as the "John R. 2 Lewis Voting Rights Act of New York (NYVRA)".
- § 2. Sections 17-100 through 17-170 of article 17 of the election law 4 are designated title 1 and a new title heading is added to read as 5 follows:

6 <u>VIOLATIONS OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE</u>

EXPLANATION--Matter in italics (underscored) is new; matter in brackets
[-] is old law to be omitted.

LBD02423-08-2

1 § 3. The article heading of article 17 of the election law is amended 2 to read as follows:

3 [VIOLATIONS OF] PROTECTING THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE

4 § 4. Article 17 of the election law is amended by adding a new title 2 5 to read as follows:

TITLE 2

JOHN R. LEWIS VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF NEW YORK

8 Section 17-200. Legislative purpose and statement of public policy.

- 17-202. Interpretation of laws related to elective franchise.
- 10 <u>17-204. Definitions.</u>

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- 11 <u>17-206. Rights of action.</u>
- 12 <u>17-208. Assistance for language-minority groups.</u>
- 13 <u>17-210. Preclearance commission.</u>
- 14 <u>17-212. Preclearance.</u>
- 15 <u>17-214. Right of action against voter intimidation, deception or obstruction.</u>
- 17 <u>17-216. Authority to issue subpoenas.</u>
 - 17-218. Expedited judicial proceedings and preliminary relief.
- 19 <u>17-220. Attorneys' fees.</u>
- 20 <u>17-222. Applicability.</u>
- 21 <u>17-224. Severability.</u>
 - § 17-200. Legislative purpose and statement of public policy. In recognition of the protections for the right to vote provided by the constitution of the state of New York, which substantially exceed the protections for the right to vote provided by the constitution of the United States, and in conjunction with the constitutional guarantees of equal protection, freedom of expression, and freedom of association under the law and against the denial or abridgement of the voting rights of members of a race, color, or language-minority group, it is the public policy of the state of New York to:
- 1. Encourage participation in the elective franchise by all eligible voters to the maximum extent; and
 - 2. Ensure that eligible voters who are members of racial, color, and language-minority groups shall have an equal opportunity to participate in the political processes of the state of New York, and especially to exercise the elective franchise.
 - § 17-202. Interpretation of laws related to elective franchise. In further recognition of the protections for the right to vote provided by the constitution of the state of New York, statutes, rules and requlations, and local laws or ordinances related to the elective franchise shall be construed liberally in favor of (a) protecting the right to cast an effective ballot; (b) ensuring that eligible voters are not impaired in registering to vote or voting including having their votes counted, and (c) ensuring equitable access with regard to race, color, and language-minority groups to opportunities to register to vote and to vote. The authority to prescribe or maintain voting or elections policies and practices cannot be so exercised as to unnecessarily deny or abridge the right to vote. Policies and practices that burden the right to vote must be narrowly tailored to promote a compelling policy justification that must be supported by substantial evidence.
 - § 17-204. Definitions. For the purposes of this title:
- 52 <u>1. "At-large" method of election means a method of electing members to</u>
 53 <u>the governing body of a political subdivision: (a) in which all of the</u>
 54 <u>voters of the entire political subdivision elect each of the members to</u>

the governing body; (b) in which the candidates are required to reside
within given areas of the political subdivision and all of the voters of
the entire political subdivision elect each of the members to the
governing body; or (c) that combines at-large elections with districtbased elections, unless the only member of the governing body of a political subdivision elected at-large holds exclusively executive responsibilities. At-large method of election does not include ranked-choice
voting, cumulative voting, and limited voting.

- 2. "District-based" method of election means a method of electing members to the governing body of a political subdivision using a districting or redistricting plan in which each member of the governing body resides within a district or ward that is a divisible part of the political subdivision and is elected only by voters residing within that district or ward, except for a member of the governing body that holds exclusively executive responsibilities.
- 3. "Alternative" method of election means a method of electing members
 to the governing body of a political subdivision using a method other
 than at-large or district-based, including, but not limited to, rankedchoice voting, cumulative voting, and limited voting.
 - 4. "Political subdivision" means a geographic area of representation created for the provision of government services, including, but not limited to, a county, city, town, village, school district, or any other district organized pursuant to state or local law.
 - 5. "Protected class" means a class of eligible voters who are members of a race, color, or language-minority group, as referenced and defined in the federal voting rights act.
 - 6. "Racially polarized voting" means voting in which there is a difference in the candidate or electoral choice preferred by members in a protected class, and the candidate or electoral choice preferred by the rest of the electorate. The methodologies for estimating group voting behavior as approved in applicable federal cases to enforce the federal voting rights act to establish racially polarized voting may be used for purposes of this subdivision to prove that elections are characterized by racially polarized voting, but those methodologies shall not be the exclusive means of proving racially polarized voting.
- 7. "Federal voting rights act" means the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965, 52 U.S.C. § 10301 et seq.
- 38 <u>8. The "civil rights bureau" means the civil rights bureau of the office of the attorney general.</u>
 - 9. "Government enforcement action" means a denial of administrative or judicial preclearance by the state or federal government, pending litigation filed by a federal or state entity, a final judgment or adjudication, a consent decree, or similar formal action.
 - 10. "Preclearance commission" means the commission formed by this title to make determinations as to preclearance, informed by the recommendations of the civil rights bureau.
 - 11. "Deceptive or fraudulent device, contrivance, or communication" means one that contains false information pertaining to: (a) the time, place, and manner of any election; (b) the qualifications or restrictions on voter eligibility for such election; or (c) a statement of endorsement by any specifically named person, political party, or organization.
- § 17-206. Rights of action. 1. Right of action against voter suppression. (a) No voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, law, ordinance, standard, practice, procedure, regulation, or policy shall be enacted or implemented by any board of elections or political subdivi-

1 sion in a manner that results in a denial or abridgement of the right of 2 any member of a protected class to vote.

- (b) A violation is established if, based on the totality of the circumstances, the ability of members of the protected class to elect candidates of their choice or influence the outcome of elections is impaired.
- (c) For political subdivisions where either the primary or general election is held on a date that is not concurrent with the primary or general election dates for state, county, or city office as established in section eight of article three or section eight of article thirteen of the constitution, and in state law, there shall be a presumption that the date of election results in the denial or abridgement of the right to vote where for three consecutive general elections in which there is at least one contested race for an office, the number of actual voters in each contested election is less than twenty-five percent of the total number of votes cast in the most recent general election for the presi-dency of the United States by voters in the political subdivision, or in which, for any protected class consisting of at least twenty-five thou-sand citizens of voting age or whose members comprise at least ten percent of the citizen voting age population, the percent of members of that protected class that are actual voters is at least twenty-five percent lower than the percent of citizens of voting age that are not members of that protected class that are actual voters.
 - 2. Right of action against vote dilution. (a) A method of election, including at-large, district-based, or alternative, shall not have the effect of impairing the ability of members of a protected class to elect candidates of their choice or influence the outcome of elections, as a result of the dilution or the abridgment of the rights of members of the protected class.
 - (b) A violation of this subdivision shall be:
 - (i) established if a political subdivision uses an at-large method of election and it is shown that either: (A) voting patterns of members of the protected class within the political subdivision are racially polarized; or (B) under the totality of the circumstances, the ability of members of the protected class to elect candidates of their choice or influence the outcome of elections is impaired; or
 - (ii) established if a political subdivision uses a district-based or alternative method of election and it is shown that candidates or electoral choices preferred by members of the protected class would usually be defeated, and either: (A) voting patterns of members of the protected class within the political subdivision are racially polarized; or (B) under the totality of the circumstances, the ability of members of the protected class to elect candidates of their choice or influence the outcome of elections is impaired; or
 - (c) In assessing whether voting patterns of members of the protected class within the political subdivision are racially polarized or whether candidates or electoral choices preferred by members of the protected class would usually be defeated: (i) elections conducted prior to the filing of an action pursuant to this subdivision are more probative than elections conducted after the filing of the action; (ii) evidence concerning elections for members of the governing body of the political subdivision are more probative than evidence concerning other elections; (iii) statistical evidence is more probative than non-statistical evidence; (iv) where there is evidence that more than one protected class of eligible voters are politically cohesive in the political subdivision, members of each of those protected classes may be combined;

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(v) evidence concerning the intent on the part of the voters, elected officials, or the political subdivision to discriminate against a protected class is not required; (vi) evidence that voting patterns and election outcomes could be explained by factors other than racially polarized voting, including but not limited to partisanship, shall not be considered; (vii) evidence that sub-groups within a protected class have different voting patterns shall not be considered; (viii) evidence concerning whether members of a protected class are geographically compact or concentrated shall not be considered, but may be a factor in determining an appropriate remedy; and (ix) evidence concerning projected changes in population or demographics shall not be considered, but may be a factor, in determining an appropriate remedy.

3. Evaluation of totality of the circumstances. In assessing whether, 13 under the totality of the circumstances, the ability of members of the 14 15 protected class to elect candidates of their choice or influence the outcome of elections is impaired without a compelling policy justifica-16 tion, factors that may be considered shall include, but not be limited 17 to: (a) the history of discrimination in the political subdivision, 18 geographic region, or the state; (b) the extent to which members of the 19 20 protected class have been elected to office in the political subdivi-21 sion; (c) the use of any voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, 22 law, ordinance, standard, practice, procedure, regulation, or policy 23 that may enhance the dilutive effects of the election scheme; (d) denial 24 of access of either eligible voters or candidates who are members of the 25 protected class to those processes determining which groups of candi-26 dates will receive access to the ballot, financial support, or other 27 support in a given election; (e) the extent to which members of the 28 protected class contribute to political campaigns at lower rates; (f) 29 the extent to which members of a protected class in the state or poli-30 tical subdivision vote at lower rates than other members of the elector-31 ate; (g) the extent to which members of the protected class are disad-32 vantaged in areas including but not limited to education, employment, 33 health, criminal justice, housing, land use, or environmental 34 protection; (h) the extent to which members of the protected class are disadvantaged in other areas which may hinder their ability to partic-35 36 ipate effectively in the political process; (i) the use of overt or 37 subtle racial appeals in political campaigns; (j) a significant lack of responsiveness on the part of elected officials to the particularized 38 39 needs of members of the protected class; and (k) whether the political subdivision has a compelling policy justification for adopting or main-40 taining the method of election or the voting qualification, prerequisite 41 to voting, law, ordinance, standard, practice, procedure, regulation, or 42 43 policy. No factor is dispositive or necessary to establish the exist-44 ence of racially polarized voting. Evidence of these factors concerning the state, private actors, or other political subdivisions in the 45 geographic region may be considered but is less probative than evidence 46 47 concerning the political subdivision itself.

4. Standing. Any aggrieved person, organization whose membership includes or is likely to include aggrieved persons, organization whose mission would be frustrated by a violation of this section, organization that would expend resources in order to fulfill its mission as a result of a violation of this section, or the attorney general may file an action pursuant to this section in the supreme court of the county in which the political subdivision is located.

5. Remedies. (a) Upon a finding of a violation of any provision of this section, the court shall implement appropriate remedies that are

1 tailored to remedy the violation. Remedies may include, but shall not be
2 limited to:

- (i) a district-based method of election;
- (ii) an alternative method of election;
- (iii) new or revised districting or redistricting plans;
- 6 (iv) elimination of staggered elections so that all members of the 7 governing body are elected on the same date;
 - (v) increasing the size of the governing body;
- 9 <u>(vi) moving the dates of elections to be concurrent with the primary</u>
 10 <u>or general election dates for state, county, or city office as estab-</u>
 11 <u>lished in section eight of article three or section eight of article</u>
- 12 thirteen of the constitution;

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- 13 <u>(vii) transferring authority for conducting the political subdivi-</u>
 14 <u>sion's elections to the board of elections for the county in which the</u>
 15 <u>political subdivision is located;</u>
- 16 (viii) additional voting hours or days;
- 17 (ix) additional polling locations;
- 18 (x) additional means of voting such as voting by mail;
- 19 (xi) ordering of special elections;
 - (xii) requiring expanded opportunities for voter registration;
- 21 (xiii) requiring additional voter education;
- 22 (xiv) modifying the election calendar; or
- 23 (xv) the restoration or addition of persons to registration lists.
- (b) The court shall only adopt a remedy that will not diminish the 24 25 ability of minority groups to participate in the political process and to elect their preferred candidates to office. The court shall consider 26 27 proposed remedies by any parties and interested non-parties, and shall 28 not provide deference or priority to a proposed remedy because it is proposed by the political subdivision. This title gives the court 29 30 authority to implement remedies notwithstanding any other provision of 31 law, including any other state or local law.
- 32 6. Procedures for implementing new or revised districting or redis-33 tricting plans. The governing body of a political subdivision with the 34 authority under this title and all applicable state and local laws to 35 enact and implement a new method of election that will replace the poli-36 tical subdivision's at-large method of election with a district-based or 37 alternative method of election, or enact and implement a new districting or redistricting plan, shall undertake each of the steps enumerated in 38 39 this subdivision, if proposed subsequent to receipt of a NYVRA notification letter, as defined in subdivision seven of this section, or the 40 filing of a claim pursuant to this title or the federal voting rights 41 42 act.
- 43 (a) Before drawing a draft districting or redistricting plan or plans 44 of the proposed boundaries of the districts, the political subdivision 45 shall hold at least two public hearings over a period of no more than 46 thirty days, at which the public is invited to provide input regarding 47 the composition of the districts. Before these hearings, the political subdivision may conduct outreach to the public, including to non-Engl-48 ish-speaking communities, to explain the districting or redistricting 49 50 process and to encourage public participation.
- (b) After all draft districting or redistricting plans are drawn, the political subdivision shall publish and make available for release at least one draft districting or redistricting plan and, if members of the governing body of the political subdivision will be elected in their districts at different times to provide for staggered terms of office, the potential sequence of the elections. The political subdivision shall

also hold at least two additional hearings over a period of no more than forty-five days, at which the public is invited to provide input regard-ing the content of the draft districting or redistricting plan or plans and the proposed sequence of elections, if applicable. The draft districting or redistricting plan or plans shall be published at least seven days before consideration at a hearing. If the draft districting or redistricting plan or plans are revised at or following a hearing, the revised versions shall be published and made available to the public for at least seven days before being adopted.

- (c) In determining the final sequence of the district elections conducted in a political subdivision in which members of the governing body will be elected at different times to provide for staggered terms of office, the governing body shall give special consideration to the purposes of this title, and it shall take into account the preferences expressed by members of the districts.
- 7. Notification requirement and safe harbor for judicial actions. Before commencing a judicial action against a political subdivision under this section, a prospective plaintiff shall send by certified mail a written notice to the clerk of the political subdivision, or, if the political subdivision does not have a clerk, the governing body of the political subdivision, against which the action would be brought, asserting that the political subdivision may be in violation of this title. This written notice shall be referred to as a "NYVRA notification letter" in this title. For actions against a school district or any other political subdivision that holds elections governed by the education law, the prospective plaintiff shall also send by certified mail a copy of the NYVRA notification letter to the commissioner of education.
- (a) A prospective plaintiff shall not commence a judicial action against a political subdivision under this section within fifty days of sending to the political subdivision a NYVRA notification letter.
- (b) Before receiving a NYVRA notification letter, or within fifty days of mailing of a NYVRA notification letter, the governing body of a political subdivision may pass a resolution affirming: (i) the political subdivision's intention to enact and implement a remedy for a potential violation of this title; (ii) specific steps it will undertake to facilitate approval and implementation of such a remedy; and (iii) a schedule for enacting and implementing such a remedy. Such a resolution shall be referred to as a "NYVRA resolution" in this title. If a political subdivision passes a NYVRA resolution, a prospective plaintiff shall not commence an action to enforce this section against the political subdivision within ninety days of the resolution's passage. For actions against a school district, the commissioner of education may order the enactment of an NYVRA resolution pursuant to the commissioner's authority under section three hundred five of the education law.
- (c) If the governing body of a political subdivision lacks the authority under this title or applicable state law or local laws to enact or implement a remedy identified in a NYVRA resolution within ninety days after the passage of the NYVRA resolution, or if the political subdivision is a covered entity as defined under section 17-212 of this title, the governing body of the political subdivision may undertake the steps enumerated in the following provisions upon passage of a NYVRA resolution:
- (i) The governing body of the political subdivision may approve a proposed remedy that complies with this title and submit such a proposed remedy to the preclearance commission. Such a submission shall be referred to as a "NYVRA proposal" in this title.

(ii) Prior to passing a NYVRA proposal, the political subdivision shall hold at least one public hearing, at which the public is invited to provide input regarding the NYVRA proposal. Before this hearing, the political subdivision may conduct outreach to the public, including to non-English-speaking communities, to encourage public participation.

(iii) Within forty-five days of receipt of a NYVRA proposal, the civil rights bureau shall submit a report and recommendation to the preclearance commission as to whether the preclearance commission should grant or deny approval of the NYVRA proposal.

- 10 <u>(iv) Within sixty days of receipt of a NYVRA proposal, the preclear-</u>
 11 <u>ance commission shall either grant or deny approval of the NYVRA</u>
 12 proposal.
- (v) The preclearance commission shall only grant approval to the NYVRA proposal if it concludes that: (A) the political subdivision may be in violation of this title; (B) the NYVRA proposal would remedy any potential violation of this title; (C) the NYVRA proposal is unlikely to violate the constitution or any federal law; (D) the NYVRA proposal will not diminish the ability of minority groups to participate in the poli-tical process and to elect their preferred candidates to office; and (E) implementation of the NYVRA proposal is feasible. The preclearance commission may grant approval to the NYVRA proposal notwithstanding any other provision of law, including any other state or local law.
 - (vi) If the preclearance commission grants approval, the NYVRA proposal shall be enacted and implemented immediately, notwithstanding any other provision of law, including any other state or local law. If the political subdivision is a covered entity as defined under section 17-212 of this title, there shall be no need for the political subdivision to also obtain preclearance for the NYVRA proposal pursuant to such section.
- (vii) If the preclearance commission denies approval, the NYVRA proposal shall not be enacted or implemented. The preclearance commission shall interpose objections explaining its basis and may, in its discretion, indicate another NYVRA proposal for which it would grant approval.
 - (viii) If the preclearance commission does not respond, the NYVRA proposal shall not be enacted or implemented.
 - (d) A political subdivision that has passed a NYVRA resolution may enter into an agreement with a prospective plaintiff who sends a NYVRA notification letter providing that such a prospective plaintiff shall not commence an action to enforce this section against the political subdivision for an additional ninety days. This written agreement may be referred to as a "NYVRA extension agreement". The NYVRA extension agreement shall include a requirement that either the political subdivision shall enact and implement a remedy that complies with this title or the political subdivision shall pass a NYVRA proposal and submit it to the civil rights bureau.
- (e) If, pursuant to a process commenced by a NYVRA notification letter, a political subdivision enacts or implements a remedy or the civil rights bureau grants approval to a NYVRA proposal, a prospective plaintiff who sent the NYVRA notification letter may, within thirty days of the enactment or implementation of the remedy or approval of the NYVRA proposal, demand reimbursement for the cost of the work product generated to support the NYVRA notification letter. A prospective plain-tiff shall make the demand in writing and shall substantiate the demand with financial documentation, such as a detailed invoice for demography services or for the analysis of voting patterns in the political subdi-

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vision. A political subdivision may request additional documentation if 1 the provided documentation is insufficient to corroborate the claimed 2 3 costs. A political subdivision shall reimburse a prospective plaintiff 4 for reasonable costs claimed, or in an amount to which the parties mutu-5 ally agree. The cumulative amount of reimbursements to all prospective 6 plaintiffs, except for actions brought by the attorney general, shall 7 not exceed forty-three thousand dollars, as adjusted annually to the 8 consumer price index for all urban consumers, United States city aver-9 age, as published by the United States department of labor. To the 10 extent a prospective plaintiff who sent the NYVRA notification letter 11 and a political subdivision are unable to come to a mutual agreement, 12 either party may file a declaratory judgment action to obtain a clarifi-13 cation of rights.

(f) Notwithstanding the provisions of this subdivision, if the first day for designating petitions for a political subdivision's next regular election to select members of its governing board has begun or is scheduled to begin within thirty days, or if a political subdivision is scheduled to conduct any election within one hundred twenty days, a plaintiff alleging any violation of this title may commence a judicial action against a political subdivision under this section, provided that the relief sought by such a plaintiff includes preliminary relief for that election. Prior to or concurrent with commencing such a judicial action, any such plaintiff shall also submit a NYVRA notification letter to the political subdivision. If a judicial action commenced under this provision is withdrawn or dismissed for mootness because the political subdivision has enacted or implemented a remedy or the civil rights bureau has granted approval of a NYVRA proposal pursuant to a process commenced by a NYVRA notification letter, any such plaintiff may only demand reimbursement pursuant to this subdivision.

8. Coalition claims permitted. Members of different protected classes may file an action jointly pursuant to this chapter if they demonstrate that the combined voting preferences of the multiple protected classes are polarized against the rest of the electorate.

§ 17-208. Assistance for language-minority groups. 1. Political subdivisions required to provide language assistance. A board of elections or a political subdivision that administers elections shall provide language-related assistance in voting and elections to a language-minority group in a political subdivision if the director determines, based on data from the American community survey, or data of comparable quality collected by a public office, that:

(a) more than two percent of the citizens of voting age of a political subdivision are members of a single language-minority group and speak English "less than very well" according to the American community survey;

(b) more than four thousand of the citizens of voting age of such political subdivision are members of a single language-minority group and speak English "less than very well" according to the American community survey; or

(c) in the case of a political subdivision that contains all or any part of a Native American reservation, more than two percent of the Native American citizens of voting age within the Native American reservation are members of a single language-minority group and speak English "less than very well" according to the American community survey. For the purposes of this paragraph, "Native American" is defined to include any persons recognized by the United States census bureau or New York as

56 <u>"American Indian" or "Alaska Native".</u>

- 2. Language assistance to be provided. When the director determines that a board of elections or political subdivision shall provide language assistance to a particular minority group, such board of elections or political subdivision shall provide voting materials in the covered language of an equal quality of the corresponding English language materials, including registration or voting notices, forms, instructions, assistance, or other materials or information relating to the electoral process, including ballots. Whenever any such board of elections or political subdivision provides any registration or voting notices, forms, instructions, assistance, or other materials or informa-tion relating to the electoral process, including ballots, in a covered political subdivision, it shall provide them in the language of the applicable minority group as well as in the English language, provided that where the language of the applicable minority group is oral or unwritten or in the case of some American Indians, if the predominant language is historically unwritten, the board of elections or political subdivision is only required to furnish oral instructions, assistance, or other information relating to registration and voting.
 - 3. Action for declaratory judgment for English-only voting materials. A board of elections or political subdivision that shall provide language assistance to a particular minority group, which seeks to provide English-only materials notwithstanding the determination of the director, may file an action against the state for a declaratory judgment permitting such provision. The court shall grant the requested relief if it finds that the determination of the director was unreasonable or an abuse of discretion.
 - 4. Standing. Any aggrieved persons, organization whose membership includes or is likely to include aggrieved persons, organization whose mission would be frustrated by a violation of this section, organization that would expend resources in order to fulfill its mission as a result of a violation of this section, or the attorney general may file an action pursuant to this section in the supreme court of the county in which the alleged violation of this section occurred.
 - § 17-210. Preclearance commission. 1. Preclearance commission. There is hereby established within the department of law, a preclearance commission, an entity responsible for making determinations as to preclearance and other matters as enumerated under this title, which determinations shall be based upon the provisions of this title and the recommendations of the civil rights bureau. This commission shall be referred to as the "preclearance commission" or "commission" in this title.
 - 2. Preclearance commission structure and membership. (a) The commission shall consist of five members who shall be selected as set forth in this section and shall have and exercise the powers and duties set forth in this title.
 - (b) The members of the commission shall serve staggered terms to ensure continuity. For the first class of the commission, the first member selected and appointed as described in this section shall serve a term of five years, the second member thus selected and appointed shall serve a term of four years, the third member thus selected and appointed shall serve a term of three years, the fourth member thus selected and appointed shall serve a term of two years, and the fifth member thus selected and appointed shall serve a term of one year. All subsequent members of the commission shall be selected and appointed as described in this section and shall serve a term of five years, unless selected and appointed to complete a vacant term.

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- (c) The commission by a majority vote shall elect a chairperson from among its members to preside over its meetings, other proceedings, and votes, for a term of one year.
 - (d) A majority of the members of the commission, conferring in person, telephonically, by videoconference, or by other means as agreed by the commission, shall constitute a quorum, and the commission shall have the power to act by majority vote of the total number of members of the commission without vacancy.
- 9 <u>(e) To be eligible to serve as a member of the commission or be nomi-</u>
 10 <u>nated to serve as a member of the commission, an individual must:</u>
 - (i) be a resident of the state of New York;
 - (ii) be a member of the New York state bar;
 - (iii) have at least five years of legal experience;
 - (iv) have demonstrated experience representing or working on behalf of members of protected classes, as defined in this title; and
 - (v) have demonstrated an ability to appreciate the experiences of members of protected classes, as defined in this title, in voting in elections in the state of New York, or have demonstrated an appreciation for or commitment to the diversity of the state of New York.
 - (f) No individual shall be eligible to serve as a member of the commission who:
 - (i) is currently serving in any elected governmental office or has within the last five years served in any elected governmental office;
 - (ii) is currently serving on any board of elections; or
 - (iii) is currently holding any official position for a political party.
- 27 (q) Members of the commission shall be compensated at an hourly rate 28 based on the rate equivalent to an assistant attorney general of similar experience for time actually spent in the performance of the member's 29 30 duties under this section, and, in addition thereto, shall be reimbursed 31 for all reasonable expenses actually and necessarily incurred by the 32 member in the performance of the member's duties under this section. 33 Commissioners shall provide invoices to the department of law, account-34 ing for time spent to the tenth of an hour and detailing their activity to the degree of specificity required for the recovery of attorneys' 35 36 fees and expenses in federal civil rights cases.
- 37 (h) Members of the commission may be removed for cause by majority
 38 vote of the commission for substantial neglect of duty, misconduct in
 39 office, or inability to discharge the powers or duties of office, after
 40 written notice and opportunity for a reply.
- 41 (i) Any vacancy occurring on the commission shall be filled within 42 thirty days of its occurrence, in the same manner as a member is 43 initially selected, to complete the vacant term.
 - (j) A commissioner who has completed one or more terms on the commission, including any partial term which the commissioner was selected to complete upon a vacancy, shall be eligible to apply for and be selected for further service on the commission, unless removed for cause.
 - 3. Nominating committee. (a) There is hereby established a nominating committee of organizational nominators responsible for identifying and nominating candidates who are qualified under this section to serve as commissioners on the preclearance commission. This committee of organizational nominators shall be referred to as the "nominating committee" or "committee" in this title and shall have and exercise the powers and duties set forth herein.
- 55 <u>(b) The nominating committee shall consist of at least five, and no</u> 56 more than fifteen, organizations certified by the chief of the civil

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rights bureau as meeting all of the qualifications in this subdivision. 1 An organizational nominator, to be eliqible for certification to the 2 3 nominating committee, shall:

- (i) be a registered 501(c)(3) nonprofit entity incorporated in New York state that has been in continuous operation for at least the last
- 7 (ii) have demonstrated a commitment to the purposes of this title and 8 specifically to securing the voting rights of protected class members as 9 defined in this title, which commitment may be demonstrated by (A) 10 reference to such protected class members in the organization's mission 11 statement; or (B) participation in ten or more lawsuits in federal court 12 or the courts of the state of New York on behalf of one or more members of a protected class on issues related to this title; and 13
 - (iii) be registered with the charities bureau of the New York state office of the attorney general; and
- 16 (c) The nominating committee by majority vote shall elect a chair from 17 among its member organizations for a term of one year.
 - (d) A majority of the nominating committee shall constitute a quorum, and the committee shall have the power to act by majority vote of the total number of members of the committee without vacancy.
 - (e) The civil rights bureau shall establish a process and procedures by which to solicit and review, on a rolling or intermittent basis, applications for inclusion in the nominating committee. Within a reasonable time from the effective date of this section, the chief of the civil rights bureau shall certify up to fifteen organizations that meet the qualifications of paragraph (b) of this subdivision as members of the nominating committee. Within thirty days of the certification by the chief of the civil rights bureau of at least five organizations for inclusion in the nominating committee, the nominating committee shall adopt processes and procedures by which it will meet on a regular or as-needed basis to solicit and review the applications of candidates for service on the preclearance commission. These processes and procedures shall include the following requirements:
- 34 (i) The nominating committee shall solicit applications statewide from 35 candidates for service on the commission;
 - (ii) From the applications received for membership on the commission, the nominating committee shall select a pool of thirty qualified candidates for inclusion in a nominee pool, provided that, if the nominating committee finds, after due diligence, that there are fewer than thirty qualified applicants to be commissioners, the nominating committee may reduce the nominee pool's size by a three-fifths vote to a lower number so that the commission's membership may be filled;
- 43 (iii) Only candidates who meet the qualifications set forth in this 44 section for service on the preclearance commission shall be included in 45 the nominee pool;
 - (iv) Three-fifths of the nominating committee's member organizations must agree and vote in support of any candidate's inclusion in the nomi-
- (v) The nominating committee shall maintain the qualified candidate pool so that subsequent vacancies may be filled in the manner specified 50 in subdivision four of this section.
- 52 (f) The nominating committee's members shall neither be public officers nor be subject to the requirements of the public officers law. 53 Notwithstanding which, the nominating committee and its members shall be 54 entitled to representation, indemnification, and to be held harmless to 55 56 the same extent as any other person employed in service of the state and

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entitled to such coverage under sections seventeen and nineteen of the 2 public officers law.

- (g) A member of the nominating committee may be removed for cause by majority vote of the nominating committee for substantial neglect of duty, misconduct, or inability to discharge the powers or duties of the committee, after written notice and opportunity for a reply.
- (h) Notwithstanding the provisions of article seven of the public officers law, no meeting or proceeding of the nominating committee shall be open to the public.
- 4. Selection of commissioners by lot from nominee pool by chief judge. Within thirty days of the date by which the nominating committee 12 has identified and nominated a pool of candidates who are qualified to serve as members of the preclearance commission under this section, the 13 14 chief judge of the court of appeals shall select by lot from the indi-15 viduals nominated to the nominee pool by the nominating committee a number of candidates equal to the number of vacancies on the commission, who shall be appointed as commissioners. At the expiration of each commissioner's term or upon any vacancy, the chief judge shall select by lot from the pool of qualified candidates available at that time.
 - § 17-212. Preclearance. 1. Preclearance. To ensure that the right to vote is not denied or abridged on account of race, color, or languageminority group, as a result of the enactment or implementation of a covered policy, as defined in subdivision two of this section, after the effective date of this section, the enactment or implementation of a covered policy by a covered entity, as defined in subdivision three of this section, shall be subject to preclearance by the civil rights bureau or by a designated court as set forth in this section.
- 28 2. Covered policies. A "covered policy" shall include any new or modified voting qualification, prerequisite to voting, law, ordinance, stan-29 30 dard, practice, procedure, regulation, or policy concerning any of the following topics: 31
 - (a) Districting or redistricting;
 - (b) Method of election;
 - (c) Form of government;
 - (d) Annexation of a political subdivision;
 - (e) Incorporation of a political subdivision;
- 37 (f) Consolidation or division of political subdivisions;
- (g) Removal of voters from enrollment lists or other list maintenance 38 39 activities;
- (h) Number, location, or hours of any election day or early voting 40 poll site; 41
- 42 (i) Dates of elections and the election calendar, except with respect 43 to special elections;
 - (j) Registration of voters;
- 45 (k) Assignment of election districts to election day or early voting 46 poll sites;
 - (1) Assistance offered to members of a language-minority group; and
- 48 (m) The civil rights bureau may designate additional topics for inclu-49 sion in this list pursuant to a rule promulgated under the state administrative procedure act, if it determines that a new or modified voting 50 qualification, prerequisite to voting, law, ordinance, standard, prac-51 52 tice, procedure, regulation, or policy concerning such topics may have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race, 53 54 color, or language-minority group.
- 3. Covered entity. A "covered entity" shall include: (a) any political 55 subdivision which, within the previous twenty-five years, has become 56

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subject to a court order or government enforcement action based upon a finding of any violation of this title, the federal voting rights act, 3 the fifteenth amendment to the United States constitution, or a voting-4 related violation of the fourteenth amendment to the United States 5 constitution; (b) any political subdivision which, within the previous five years, has failed to comply with its obligations to provide data or 7 information to the statewide database; (c) any political subdivision 8 which, within the previous twenty-five years, has become subject to at 9 least three court orders or government enforcement actions based upon a 10 finding of any violation of any state or federal civil rights law or the 11 fourteenth amendment to the United States constitution concerning 12 discrimination against members of a protected class; (d) any county in which, based on data provided by the division of criminal justice 13 services, the combined misdemeanor and felony arrest rate of members of 14 15 any protected class consisting of at least ten thousand citizens of voting age or whose members comprise at least ten percent of the citizen 16 17 voting age population of the county, exceeds the proportion that the protected class constitutes of the citizen voting age population of the 18 county as a whole by at least twenty percent at any point within the 19 20 previous ten years; or (e) any political subdivision in which, based on 21 data made available by the United States census, the dissimilarity index 22 of any protected class consisting of at least twenty-five thousand citizens of voting age or whose members comprise at least ten percent of the 23 citizen voting age population of the political subdivision, is in excess 24 of fifty with respect to non-Hispanic white citizens of voting age with-25 in the political subdivision at any point within the previous ten years. 26 27 If any covered entity is a political subdivision in which a board of 28 elections has been established, that board of elections shall also be 29 deemed a covered entity. If any political subdivision in which a board 30 of elections has been established contains a covered entity fully within 31 its borders, that political subdivision and that board of elections 32 shall both be deemed a covered entity.

- 4. Preclearance by preclearance commission. A covered entity may
 obtain preclearance for a covered policy from the preclearance commission pursuant to the following process:
 - (a) The covered entity shall submit the covered policy in writing to the preclearance commission. If the covered entity is a county or city board of elections, it shall contemporaneously provide a copy of the covered policy to the state board of elections.
 - (b) Upon submission of a covered policy for preclearance, the commission shall publish the submission on its website.
 - (c) After publication of a submission, there shall be an opportunity for members of the public to comment on the submission to the civil rights bureau within the time periods set forth below. To facilitate public comment, the commission shall provide an opportunity for members of the public to sign up to receive notifications or alerts regarding submission of a covered policy for preclearance.
- (d) Upon submission of a covered policy for preclearance, the civil 48 49 rights bureau shall review the submission and shall, within the time periods set forth below, which shall be concurrent with the time periods 50 for public comment, provide a report and recommendation to the commis-51 52 sion, which shall include a recommendation as to whether, under this 53 title, preclearance should be granted or denied to the covered policy. 54 The civil rights bureau may not submit its report and recommendation until the period for public comment is closed. The civil rights bureau 55 56 may request more information from a jurisdiction submitting a covered

policy at any time during its review to aid in developing its report and recommendation. The failure to timely comply with reasonable requests for more information may be grounds for the denial of preclearance. The civil rights bureau's reports and recommendation shall be posted public-ly on the preclearance commission's website promptly after they are received by the commission. However, communications between the civil rights bureau and the commission or its members other than the civil rights bureau's report and recommendation shall be exempt from public disclosure under article six of the public officers law.

- (e) Upon receipt of the civil rights bureau's report and recommendation regarding a covered policy submitted for preclearance, the preclearance commission shall review the covered policy, the civil rights bureau's report and recommendation, and any public comment, and shall, within the time periods set forth below, deny or grant preclearance. In determining whether to deny or grant preclearance, the commission shall give deference to the civil rights bureau's recommendation under an "arbitrary and capricious" standard of review. In any determination as to preclearance, the commission shall identify in writing whether it is approving or rejecting the civil rights bureau's recommendation. If the preclearance commission grants preclearance, it may, in its discretion, designate preclearance as "preliminary" in which case the commission may deny preclearance within sixty days following the receipt of submission of the covered policy.
- (i) The commission shall grant preclearance only if it determines, upon review of the civil rights bureau's recommendation, that the covered policy will not diminish the ability of minority groups to participate in the political process and to elect their preferred candidates to office. If the commission grants preclearance, the covered entity may enact or implement the covered policy immediately.
- 30 <u>(ii) If the commission denies preclearance, the commission shall</u>
 31 <u>interpose objections explaining its basis and the covered policy shall</u>
 32 <u>not be enacted or implemented.</u>
 - (iii) If the commission fails to respond within the time for response as established in this section, the covered policy shall be deemed precleared, and the covered entity may enact or implement the covered policy.
 - (iv) If the commission's membership falls below a quorum at any time, or during any time period that may elapse between the effective date of this section and the establishment of a quorum on the commission, the civil rights bureau's recommendation as to whether preclearance should be granted or denied shall have the force of final preclearance determination until the commission's quorum is established or restored.
 - (f) The time periods for public comment, civil rights bureau review, and the decision of the commission to grant or deny preclearance on submission shall be as follows:
- (i) For any covered policy concerning the designation of poll sites or the assignment of election districts to poll sites, whether for election day or early voting, the period for public comment shall be five busi-ness days, the civil rights bureau shall submit its report and recommen-dation to the commission within twenty-five days following the receipt of submission, and a single commissioner, assigned on a rotating basis, shall review the submission, the civil rights bureau's recommendation, and any public comment, and shall, within five days, either: (A) approve the civil rights bureau's recommendation; or (B) refer the submission and the civil rights bureau's recommendation to the commission for a determination as to whether preclearance shall be denied or granted. If

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the commissioner initially assigned refers the submission and the civil rights bureau's recommendation to the commission for a determination, 2 the commission shall deny or grant preclearance within five days from the date of referral.

(ii) For any covered policy concerning the establishment of a district-based or alternative method of election, districting or redistricting plans, or a change to the form of government of a political subdivision, the period for public comment shall be fifteen business days, the civil rights bureau shall submit its report and recommendation to the commission within seventy-five days, and a panel of three commissioners, assigned on a rotating basis, shall review the submission, the 12 civil rights bureau's recommendation, and any public comment, and shall, within fifteen days, deny or grant preclearance. Subject to the stand-13 ards of review and requirement of a written statement identifying the reasons for approving or rejecting the recommendation of the civil rights bureau, the vote of any commissioner to deny preclearance shall be sufficient to deny preclearance. In consultation with the civil rights bureau, the commission may invoke up to two extensions of ninety

(iii) For any other covered policy, the period for public comment shall be ten business days, the civil rights bureau shall submit its report and recommendation to the commission within fifty days, and a single commissioner, assigned on a rotating basis, shall review the submission, the civil rights bureau's recommendation, and any public comment, and shall, within five days, either: (A) approve the civil rights bureau's recommendation; or (B) refer the submission and the civil rights bureau's recommendation to the commission for a determination as to whether preclearance shall be denied or granted. If the commissioner initially assigned refers the submission and the civil rights bureau's recommendation to the commission for a determination, the commission shall deny or grant preclearance within ten days from the date of referral. In consultation with the civil rights bureau, the commission may invoke up to two extensions of ninety days each.

(g) Appeal of any denial by the preclearance commission may be heard in the supreme court for the county of New York in a proceeding commenced against the commission, pursuant to article seventy-eight of the civil practice law and rules, from which appeal may be taken according to the ordinary rules of appellate procedure. Due to the frequency and urgency of elections, actions brought pursuant to this section shall be subject to expedited pretrial and trial proceedings and receive an automatic calendar preference on appeal.

5. Preclearance by a designated court. A covered entity may obtain preclearance for a covered policy from a court pursuant to the following process:

(a) The covered entity shall submit the covered policy in writing to the following designated court in the judicial department within which the covered entity is located: (i) first judicial department: New York county; (ii) second judicial department: Westchester county; (iii) third judicial department: Albany county; and (iv) fourth judicial department: Erie county. If the covered entity is a county or city board of elections, it shall contemporaneously provide a copy of the covered policy to the state board of elections.

53 (b) The covered entity shall contemporaneously provide a copy of the 54 covered policy to the civil rights bureau. The failure of the covered entity to provide a copy of the covered policy to the civil rights 55 bureau will result in an automatic denial of preclearance. 56

- (c) The court shall grant or deny preclearance within sixty days following the receipt of submission of the covered policy.
- (d) The court shall grant preclearance only if it determines that the covered policy will not diminish the ability of minority groups to participate in the political process and to elect their preferred candidates to office. If the court grants preclearance, the covered entity may enact or implement the covered policy immediately.
- (e) If the court denies preclearance, or fails to respond within sixty days, the covered policy shall not be enacted or implemented.
- (f) Appeal of any denial may be taken according to the ordinary rules of appellate procedure. Due to the frequency and urgency of elections, actions brought pursuant to this section shall be subject to expedited pretrial and trial proceedings and receive an automatic calendar preference on appeal.
- 6. Failure to seek or obtain preclearance. If any covered entity enacts or implements a covered policy without seeking preclearance pursuant to this section, or enacts or implements a covered policy notwithstanding the denial of preclearance, either the civil rights bureau or any other party with standing to bring an action under this title may bring an action to enjoin the covered policy and to seek sanctions against the political subdivision and officials in violation.
- 7. Lookback review. (a) For a period of one hundred eighty days beginning on the effective date of this section, the commission or the civil rights bureau may, in its discretion, initiate a lookback review in which it may deny clearance to certain covered policies that had been previously enacted by covered jurisdictions.
- (b) The commission may only initiate a lookback review of covered policies that were enacted or implemented by a covered jurisdiction on or after the date on which this title takes effect and prior to the effective date of this section.
- (c) In order to initiate a lookback review, the commission must provide notice to a covered entity of its decision to review a covered policy enacted or implemented by that covered entity. Upon receipt of such notice, the covered entity shall submit the covered policy in writing to the preclearance commission within thirty days.
- (d) Upon receipt of a covered policy for lookback review, the commission shall publish the submission on its website. The schedule and procedures for receiving public comment and evaluating a submission through lookback review shall reflect the schedule and procedures provided by paragraph (f) of subdivision four of this section, based on the type of policy that is the subject of the submission.
- 8. Rules and regulations. The civil rights bureau may promulgate such rules and regulations pursuant to the state administrative procedure act as are necessary to effectuate the purposes of this section.
- § 17-214. Right of action against voter intimidation, deception or obstruction. 1. (a) No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, may engage in acts of intimidation, deception, or obstruction that affects the right of voters to access the elective franchise.
 - (b) A violation of this subdivision shall be:
- (i) established if a person uses or threatens to use any force, violence, restraint, abduction or duress, or inflicts or threatens to inflict any injury, damage, harm or loss, or in any other manner practices intimidation that causes or will reasonably have the effect of causing any person to vote or refrain from voting in general or for or against any particular person or for or against any proposition submitted to voters at such election; to place or refrain from placing their

1 name upon a registry of voters; or to request or refrain from requesting
2 an absentee ballot; or

(ii) established if a person knowingly uses any deceptive or fraudulent device, contrivance or communication, that impedes, prevents or otherwise interferes with the free exercise of the elective franchise by any person, or that causes or will reasonably have the effect of causing any person to vote or refrain from voting in general or for or against any particular person or for or against any proposition submitted to voters at such election; to place or refrain from placing their name upon a registry of voters; or to request or refrain from requesting an absentee ballot; or

(iii) established if a person obstructs, impedes, or otherwise interferes with access to any polling place or elections office, or obstructs, impedes, or otherwise interferes with any voter in any manner that causes or will reasonably have the effect of causing any delay in voting or the voting process, including the canvassing and tabulation of ballots.

2. Standing. Any aggrieved persons, organization whose membership includes or is likely to include aggrieved persons, organization whose mission would be frustrated by a violation of this section, organization that would expend resources in order to fulfill its mission as a result of a violation of this section, or the attorney general may file an action pursuant to this section in the supreme court of the county in which the alleged violation of this section occurred.

3. Remedies. Upon a finding of a violation of any provision of this section, the court shall implement appropriate remedies that are tailored to remedy the violation, including but not limited to providing for additional time to cast a ballot that may be counted in the election at issue. This title gives the court authority to implement remedies notwithstanding any other provision of state or local law, including any other state or local law. Any party who shall violate any of the provisions of the foregoing section or who shall aid the violation of any of said provisions shall be liable to any prevailing plaintiff party for damages, including nominal damages for any violation, and compensatory or punitive damages for any intentional violation.

§ 17-216. Authority to issue subpoenas. In any action or investigation to enforce any provision of this title, the attorney general shall have the authority to take proof and determine relevant facts and to issue subpoenas in accordance with the civil practice law and rules.

§ 17-218. Expedited judicial proceedings and preliminary relief. Because of the frequency of elections, the severe consequences and irreparable harm of holding elections under unlawful conditions, and the expenditure to defend potentially unlawful conditions that benefit incumbent officials, actions brought pursuant to this title shall be subject to expedited pretrial and trial proceedings and receive an automatic calendar preference. In any action alleging a violation of this section in which a plaintiff party seeks preliminary relief with respect to an upcoming election, the court shall grant relief if it determines that: (a) plaintiffs are more likely than not to succeed on the merits; and (b) it is possible to implement an appropriate remedy that would resolve the alleged violation in the upcoming election.

§ 17-220. Attorneys' fees. In any action to enforce any provision of this title, the court shall allow the prevailing plaintiff party, other than the state or political subdivision thereof, a reasonable attorneys' fee, litigation expenses including, but not limited to, expert witness fees and expenses as part of the costs. A plaintiff will be deemed to

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have prevailed when, as a result of litigation, the defendant party yields much or all of the relief sought in the suit. Prevailing defendant parties shall not recover any costs, unless the court finds the action to be frivolous, unreasonable, or without foundation.

§ 17-222. Applicability. The provisions of this title shall apply to all elections for any elected office or electoral choice within the state or any political subdivision. The provisions of this title shall apply notwithstanding any other provision of law, including any other state law or local law.

§ 17-224. Severability. If any provision of this title or its application to any person, political subdivision, or circumstance is held invalid, the invalidity shall not affect other provisions or applications of this title which can be given effect without the invalid provision or application, and to this end the provisions of this title are severable.

§ 5. This act shall take effect immediately; provided, however, that paragraph (c) of subdivision seven of section 17-206 of the election law as added by section four of this act shall take effect one year after it shall have become a law; and provided further, however, that section 17-208 of the election law as added by section four of this act shall take effect three years after it shall have become a law; and provided further, however, that section 17-212 of the election law, as added by 23 section four of this act, shall take effect one year after the attorney general certifies that the office of the attorney general is prepared to execute the duties assigned in section four of this act, if after the 26 expiration of one year the attorney general requires more time to certify that the office of the attorney general is prepared to execute the duties assigned in section four of this act, the attorney general, may, for good cause shown, apply to the governor for such an extension of time. The governor may grant or deny an extension of up to one year according to his or her discretion. The attorney general shall notify the legislative bill drafting commission upon the occurrence of the 33 enactment of the legislation provided for in section four of this act in 34 order that the commission may maintain an accurate and timely effective data base of the official text of the laws of the state of New York in furtherance of effectuating the provisions of section 44 of the legisla-37 tive law and section 70-b of the public officers law.