

completely unnecessary, incredibly harmful, and politically motivated shutdown of the Department of Homeland Security, an Agency whose core is to protect our citizens from terrorism, from crime, from cyber risk, and from natural disasters.

The question is, Why are we here? Why is the entire government not open?

We find ourselves at this moment because my colleagues on the other side of the aisle oppose our efforts to clean up the immigration crisis that they created. This is purely about politics, not policy.

At a moment when global tensions are high and President Trump is rightly carrying out a strategic operation in the Middle East to make America more secure, it is more important than ever to ensure that the Agency tasked with defending our homeland remains fully funded and fully operational without delay.

The situation in Iran has direct ties to the security of our southern border. Think about it. More than 1,500 Iranian nationals were detained trying to enter this country illegally under President Biden. And do you know what? The Biden-Harris administration released about 50 percent of those individuals into our homeland, many of them with suspected ties to Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, also known as the IRGC. If you think about this, the open border policies of the Biden-Harris administration brought these 1,500 Iranian nationals, and 750 of them were released into the interior of our homeland.

Those are the ones that we know were apprehended. We don't even know how many people from Iran—or other countries that have our worst interest at heart—invaded during the time our border was collapsed under President Biden.

There is a nonzero chance, clearly, that the feckless open border policies of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle let people in who want to do harm to America. We shouldn't sit back and just wait for something to happen.

We, as U.S. Senators, should lock arm in arm and fund the hundreds of thousands of dedicated men and women who fight every single day to keep our homeland safe. From our Coast Guard and TSA officers to cyber security officers and natural disaster first responders, these selfless Americans continue to show up for work to protect our country and carry out their duties, all while not knowing when their next paycheck will arrive. They are doing their jobs, and it is more than past time for Congress to do ours.

The legislation before us today is not new. It is the very same bipartisan agreement that this body negotiated and agreed upon just weeks ago. Yet, for the second time in 6 months, Democrats have chosen to obstruct necessary Federal funding rather than to negotiate in good faith.

Therefore, I have to ask my colleagues: What exactly are we waiting for? Are we waiting for our adversaries to exploit this inaction? Are we waiting for the next natural disaster to strike a vulnerable community? Are we waiting for a violent extremist attack to occur?

The American people are paying attention. The American people understand what is at stake.

Supporting this bill means funding the security of our airports, strengthening our borders, defending our critical infrastructure, and ensuring our Nation is prepared to respond to natural disasters the moment that they occur. Weakening those capabilities, especially during a time of heightened global tension, is beyond unacceptable. It is irresponsible.

Instead of allowing politics to undermine our national security, we should strengthen the various institutions that keep Americans safe. Ensuring the Department of Homeland Security has the resources it needs to properly function should be one of the most basic duties that we have as Members of Congress serving this Nation.

By voting in favor of this legislation today, we have the opportunity to lock arms as leaders and to do the right thing. That is why I would strongly encourage all of my colleagues to support this bill without delay. Let's do what is right for the citizens and take care of this great Nation right here at home.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAGERTY). The Senator from Massachusetts.

CHILDREN AND TEENS' ONLINE PRIVACY PROTECTION ACT

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. President, in a moment, I will ask unanimous consent that the Senate pass the Children and Teens' Online Privacy Protection Act, or COPPA 2.0, bipartisan legislation that would finally update our children's online privacy law for the modern internet age.

More than 25 years ago, I passed the original Children's Online Privacy Protection Act. At that time, the internet looked very different than it does today. Only birds tweeted 25 years ago. TikTok was the sound that a clock made. But one thing that has not changed, children and teens deserve privacy, they deserve safety, and they deserve protection online.

Unfortunately, Big Tech's business model has evolved far faster than our laws. Today, the largest online platforms collect enormous amounts of personal data from the users, including from children and from teenagers. That data fuels an advertising machine designed to keep young people clicking, swiping, and scrolling for as long as possible.

These ads are big business for Big Tech. In 2022, the major Big Tech platforms earned nearly \$11 billion from U.S. users 17 and under. This model has

real consequences for the well-being of our young people—\$11 billion.

And we are facing a youth mental health crisis in this country, driven in part by social media platforms.

I have said these statistics on the floor before, but they bear repeating. According to the Centers for Disease Control, one in four teenage high school girls in the United States seriously considered suicide in 2023.

At least one in eight high school girls in the United States in 2023 attempted suicide. Among LGBTQ+ youth, the number is more than one in five who attempted suicide in 2023.

Congress has a responsibility to respond. COPPA 2.0 does exactly that. It brings our children's privacy law into the 21st century and gives young people and their families meaningful control over their personal information.

First, COPPA 2.0 bans targeted advertising to children and teenagers. The days of building detailed behavioral profiles on young people in order to serve them manipulative, hyperpersonalized ads—that era must come to an end. That is what we are talking about in this legislation here today—ending that era in our country.

Second, the legislation creates an “eraser” button, allowing children and teens and their parents to delete the personal data that platforms have collected about them.

Third, COPPA 2.0, the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act 2.0, establishes strong limits on the collection of personal information from minors. If a platform, for example, does not need a child's or a teen's data to provide the service, it should not be collecting that data in the first place.

These are simple, commonsense protections, and they have broad bipartisan support.

I am very, very proud to have worked over the last 3 years with my friend Senator CASSIDY from Louisiana on constructing this legislation and moving it to the floor here today. He is a physician, and he is someone who believes in preventive care. That is what this bill is today. It just avoids much of the harm that otherwise will be imposed upon teenagers and children in our country.

I also want to thank Chairman CRUZ, Ranking Member CANTWELL, and many other Members in this body who have helped move this legislation forward.

This effort has also been driven by parents, by advocates, by young people themselves—families who have experienced firsthand the harms that can result when online platforms prioritize profit over the safety of children.

Passing COPPA 2.0 today would represent the single most significant update to children's online privacy protections in a quarter of a century. It is long overdue. We know there is a crisis, and it would send a clear message that Congress is prepared to stand up to Big Tech and put the interests of kids and families first.

I would be remiss if I did not note what is happening across the Capitol

today. Even as the Senate works in a bipartisan manner to strengthen protections for children and teens online, the House Energy and Commerce Committee is marking up a weaker partisan version of this legislation. That proposal strips away key protections and undermines the strong bipartisan compromise that Members of this Chamber have worked for years to develop. The children in our country deserve better than a watered-down privacy bill in this online era. For kids in our country right now, online access is like oxygen for them. It is all day. It is every day. Yet we haven't updated the safety protections in 25 years.

I urge my colleagues in the House to set aside partisan differences and take up the Senate's bipartisan bill so that we can finally deliver meaningful online privacy protections for children and teenagers across our country. Young people and their families have waited long enough. That is what we will be voting on right now.

With that, I yield to my partner and my friend in this effort, the Senator from Louisiana, Senator CASSIDY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. CASSIDY. Mr. President, I thank Senator MARKEY.

Let me just point out that this continues Senator MARKEY's decades-long work on protecting children in this sort of environment, work which I have been privileged to join for the last couple of years. Every parent should know that their child can go online without being tracked, targeted, or taken advantage of.

Now every child, it seems, is using the internet for school, for connections, and just to look things up, but they shouldn't have to pay for that access with their personal information, particularly when the child doesn't understand the value of their personal information. They should not have their data collected, shared, or sold without their knowledge and consent and without the knowledge and consent of their parents.

That is why the Children and Teens' Online Privacy Protection Act, COPPA 2.0, matters. It updates the rules for today's digital world and places protections where they belong—around our children. This bill gives families the confidence that their child can learn and connect and explore online safely.

Again, I thank Senator MARKEY for his collaboration on this.

Mr. MARKEY. I thank my friend for his consistent support in protecting teenagers and children in our country.

With that, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 304, S. 836.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the bill by title.

The senior assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 836) to amend the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 to strengthen protections relating to the online

collection, use, and disclosure of personal information of children and teens, and for other purposes.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, with amendments, as follows:

(The parts of the bill intended to be stricken are in boldfaced brackets, and the parts of the bill intended to be inserted are in italic.)

S. 836

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the “Children and Teens’ Online Privacy Protection Act”.

(b) **TABLE OF CONTENTS.**—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Online collection, use, disclosure, and deletion of personal information of children and teens.
- Sec. 3. Study and reports of mobile and online application oversight and enforcement.
- Sec. 4. GAO study.
- Sec. 5. Severability.

SEC. 2. ONLINE COLLECTION, USE, DISCLOSURE, AND DELETION OF PERSONAL INFORMATION OF CHILDREN AND TEENS.

(a) **DEFINITIONS.**—Section 1302 of the Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6501) is amended—

(1) by amending paragraph (2) to read as follows:

“(2) **OPERATOR.**—The term ‘operator’—
 “(A) means any person—
 “(i) who, for commercial purposes, in interstate or foreign commerce operates or provides a website on the internet, an online service, an online application, or a mobile application; and
 “(ii) who—
 “(I) collects or maintains, either directly or through a service provider, personal information from or about the users of that website, service, or application;
 “(II) allows another person to collect personal information directly from users of that website, service, or application (in which case, the operator is deemed to have collected the information); or
 “(III) allows users of that website, service, or application to publicly disclose personal information (in which case, the operator is deemed to have collected the information); and
 “(B) does not include any nonprofit entity that would otherwise be exempt from coverage under section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 45).”;

(2) in paragraph (4)—
 (A) by amending subparagraph (A) to read as follows:

“(A) the release of personal information collected from a child or teen by an operator for any purpose, except where the personal information is provided to a person other than an operator who—
 “(i) provides support for the internal operations of the website, online service, online application, or mobile application of the operator, excluding any activity relating to individual-specific advertising to children or teens; and
 “(ii) does not disclose or use that personal information for any other purpose; and”;

(B) in subparagraph (B)—
 (i) by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears;

(ii) by striking “website or online service” and inserting “website, online service, online application, or mobile application”; and
 (iii) by striking “actual knowledge” and inserting “actual knowledge or knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances”;

(3) by striking paragraph (8) and inserting the following:

“(8) **PERSONAL INFORMATION.**—
 “(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The term ‘personal information’ means individually identifiable information about an individual collected online, including—
 “(i) a first and last name;
 “(ii) a home or other physical address including street name and name of a city or town;
 “(iii) an e-mail address;
 “(iv) a telephone number;
 “(v) a Social Security number;
 “(vi) any other identifier that the Commission determines permits the physical or online contacting of a specific individual;
 “(vii) a persistent identifier that can be used to recognize a specific child or teen over time and across different websites, online services, online applications, or mobile applications, including but not limited to a customer number held in a cookie, an Internet Protocol (IP) address, a processor or device serial number, or unique device identifier, but excluding an identifier that is used by an operator solely for providing support for the internal operations of the website, online service, online application, or mobile application;
 “(viii) a photograph, video, or audio file where such file contains a specific child’s or teen’s image or voice;
 “(ix) geolocation information;
 “(x) information generated from the measurement or technological processing of an individual’s biological, physical, or physiological characteristics that is used to identify an individual, including—
 “(I) fingerprints;
 “(II) voice prints;
 “(III) iris or retina imagery scans;
 “(IV) facial templates;
 “(V) deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) information; or
 “(VI) gait; or
 “(xi) information linked or reasonably linkable to a child or teen or the parents of that child or teen (including any unique identifier) that an operator collects online from the child or teen and combines with an identifier described in this subparagraph.

“(B) **EXCLUSION.**—The term ‘personal information’ shall not include an audio file that contains a child’s or teen’s voice so long as the operator—
 “(i) does not request information via voice that would otherwise be considered personal information under this paragraph;
 “(ii) provides clear notice of its collection and use of the audio file and its deletion policy in its privacy policy;
 “(iii) only uses the voice within the audio file solely as a replacement for written words, to perform a task, or engage with a website, online service, online application, or mobile application, such as to perform a search or fulfill a verbal instruction or request; and
 “(iv) only maintains the audio file long enough to complete the stated purpose and then immediately deletes the audio file and does not make any other use of the audio file prior to deletion.

“(C) **SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNAL OPERATIONS OF A WEBSITE, ONLINE SERVICE, ONLINE APPLICATION, OR MOBILE APPLICATION.**—

(ii) by striking “website or online service” and inserting “website, online service, online application, or mobile application”; and
 (iii) by striking “actual knowledge” and inserting “actual knowledge or knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances”;

(3) by striking paragraph (8) and inserting the following:

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(i) by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears;

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(i) by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears;

(ii) by striking “website or online service” and inserting “website, online service, online application, or mobile application”; and
 (iii) by striking “actual knowledge” and inserting “actual knowledge or knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances”;

“(i) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(vii), the term ‘support for the internal operations of a website, online service, online application, or mobile application’ means those activities necessary to—

“(I) maintain or analyze the functioning of the website, online service, online application, or mobile application;

“(II) perform network communications;

“(III) authenticate users of, or personalize the content on, the website, online service, online application, or mobile application;

“(IV) serve contextual advertising, provided that any persistent identifier is only used as necessary for technical purposes to serve the contextual advertisement, or cap the frequency of advertising;

“(V) protect the security or integrity of the user, website, online service, online application, or mobile application;

“(VI) ensure legal or regulatory compliance, or

“(VII) fulfill a request of a child or teen as permitted by subparagraphs (A) through (C) of section 1303(b)(2).

“(ii) CONDITION.—Except as specifically permitted under clause (i), information collected for the activities listed in clause (i) cannot be used or disclosed to contact a specific individual, including through individual-specific advertising to children or teens, to amass a profile on a specific individual, in connection with processes that encourage or prompt use of a website or online service, or for any other purpose.”;

(4) by amending paragraph (9) to read as follows:

“(9) VERIFIABLE CONSENT.—The term ‘verifiable consent’ means any reasonable effort (taking into consideration available technology), including a request for authorization for future collection, use, and disclosure described in the notice, to ensure that, in the case of a child, a parent of the child, or, in the case of a teen, the teen—

“(A) receives direct notice of the personal information collection, use, and disclosure practices of the operator; and

“(B) before the personal information of the child or teen is collected, freely and unambiguously authorizes—

“(i) the collection, use, and disclosure, as applicable, of that personal information; and

“(ii) any subsequent use of that personal information.”;

(5) in paragraph (10)—

(A) in the paragraph header, by striking “WEBSITE OR ONLINE SERVICE DIRECTED TO CHILDREN” and inserting “WEBSITE, ONLINE SERVICE, ONLINE APPLICATION, OR MOBILE APPLICATION DIRECTED TO CHILDREN”;

(B) by striking “website or online service” each place it appears and inserting “website, online service, online application, or mobile application”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—In considering whether a website, online service, online application, or mobile application, or portion thereof, is directed to children, the Commission shall apply a totality of circumstances test and will also consider competent and reliable empirical evidence regarding audience composition and evidence regarding the intended audience of the website, online service, online application, or mobile application.”; and

(6) by adding at the end the following:

“(13) CONNECTED DEVICE.—The term ‘connected device’ means a device that is capable of connecting to the internet, directly or indirectly, or to another connected device.

“(14) ONLINE APPLICATION.—The term ‘online application’—

“(A) means an internet-connected software program; and

“(B) includes a service or application offered via a connected device.

“(15) MOBILE APPLICATION.—The term ‘mobile application’—

“(A) means a software program that runs on the operating system of—

“(i) a cellular telephone;

“(ii) a tablet computer; or

“(iii) a similar portable computing device that transmits data over a wireless connection; and

“(B) includes a service or application offered via a connected device.

“(16) GEOLLOCATION INFORMATION.—The term ‘geolocation information’ means information sufficient to identify a street name and name of a city or town.

“(17) TEEN.—The term ‘teen’ means an individual who has attained age 13 and is under the age of 17.

“(18) INDIVIDUAL-SPECIFIC ADVERTISING TO CHILDREN OR TEENS.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘individual-specific advertising to children or teens’ means advertising or any other effort to market a product or service that is directed to a specific child or teen or a connected device that is linked or reasonably linkable to a child or teen based on—

“(i) the personal information from—

“(I) the child or teen; or

“(II) a group of children or teens who are similar in sex, age, household income level, race, or ethnicity to the specific child or teen to whom the product or service is marketed;

“(ii) profiling of a child or teen or group of children or teens; or

“(iii) a unique identifier of the connected device.

“(B) EXCLUSIONS.—The term ‘individual-specific advertising to children or teens’ shall not include—

“(i) advertising or marketing to an individual or the device of an individual in response to the individual’s specific request for information or feedback, such as a child’s or teen’s current search query;

“(ii) contextual advertising, such as when an advertisement is displayed based on the content of the website, online service, online application, mobile application, or connected device in which the advertisement appears and does not vary based on personal information related to the viewer; ~~or~~

~~“(iii) processing personal information solely for measuring or reporting advertising or content performance, reach, or frequency, including independent measurement.”~~

~~“(iii) processing personal information solely for measuring or reporting advertising or content performance, reach, or frequency, including independent measurement; or~~

~~“(iv) advertising or marketing directed to a connected device used by both adult and child or teen members of a household where such advertising or marketing is directed to the profile of the adult user.~~

“(C) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in subparagraph (A) shall be construed to prohibit an operator with actual knowledge or knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances that a user is under the age of 17 from delivering advertising or marketing that is age-appropriate and intended for a child or teen audience, so long as the operator does not use any personal information other than whether the user is under the age of 17.

“(19) EDUCATIONAL AGENCY OR INSTITUTION.—The term ‘educational agency or institution’ means—

“(A) a State educational agency or local educational agency, as such terms are defined in section 8101 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 7801); or

“(B) an institutional day or residential school, including a public school (including a charter school) or private school, that provides elementary or secondary education, as determined under State law.”.

(b) ONLINE COLLECTION, USE, DISCLOSURE, AND DELETION OF PERSONAL INFORMATION OF CHILDREN AND TEENS.—Section 1303 of the Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6502) is amended—

(1) by striking the heading and inserting the following: “ONLINE COLLECTION, USE, DISCLOSURE, AND DELETION OF PERSONAL INFORMATION OF CHILDREN AND TEENS.”;

(2) in subsection (a)—

(A) by amending paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“(1) IN GENERAL.—It is unlawful for an operator of a website, online service, online application, or mobile application directed to children or for any operator of a website, online service, online application, or mobile application with actual knowledge or knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances that a user is a child or teen—

“(A) to collect personal information from a child or teen in a manner that violates the regulations prescribed under subsection (b);

“(B) except as provided in subparagraphs (B) and (C) of section 1302(18), to collect, use, disclose to third parties, or maintain personal information of a child or teen for purposes of individual-specific advertising to children or teens (or to allow another person to collect, use, disclose, or maintain such information for such purpose);

“(C) to collect the personal information of a child or teen except when the collection of the personal information is—

“(i) consistent with the context of a particular transaction or service or the relationship of the child or teen with the operator, including collection necessary to fulfill a transaction or provide a product or service requested by the child or teen; or

“(ii) required or specifically authorized by Federal or State law; or

“(D) to store or transfer the personal information of a child or teen outside of the United States unless the operator provides direct notice to the parent of the child, in the case of a child, or to the teen, in the case of a teen, that the child’s or teen’s personal information is being stored or transferred outside of the United States; or

“(E) to retain the personal information of a child or teen for longer than is reasonably necessary to fulfill a transaction or provide a service requested by the child or teen except as required or specifically authorized by Federal or State law.”; and

(B) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in the header, by striking “PARENT” and inserting ~~“PARENT OR TEEN”~~ “PARENT OR TEEN”;

(ii) by striking “Notwithstanding paragraph (1)” and inserting “Notwithstanding paragraph (1)(A)”;

(iii) by striking “of such a website or online service”; and

(iv) by striking “subsection (b)(1)(B)(iii) to the parent of a child” and inserting “subsection (b)(1)(B)(iv) to the parent of a child or under subsection (b)(1)(C)(iv) to a teen”;

(3) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) in subparagraph (A)—

(I) by striking “operator of any website” and all that follows through “from a child” and inserting “operator of a website, online service, online application, or mobile application directed to children or that has actual knowledge or knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances that a user is a child or teen”;

(II) in clause (i)—

(aa) by striking “notice on the website” and inserting “clear and conspicuous notice on the website”;

(bb) by inserting “or teens” after “children”;

(cc) by striking “, and the operator’s” and inserting “, the operator’s”;

(dd) by striking “; and” and inserting “, the rights and opportunities available to the parent of the child or teen under subparagraphs (B) and (C), and the procedures or mechanisms the operator uses to ensure that personal information is not collected from children or teens except in accordance with the regulations promulgated under this paragraph.”;

(III) in clause (ii)—

(aa) by striking “parental”;

(bb) by inserting “or teens” after “children”;

(cc) by striking the semicolon at the end and inserting “; and”;

(IV) by inserting after clause (ii) the following new clause:

“(iii) to obtain verifiable consent from a parent of a child or from a teen before using or disclosing personal information of the child or teen for any purpose that is a material change from the original purposes and disclosure practices specified to the parent of the child or the teen under clause (i);”;

(i) in subparagraph (B)—

(I) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “website or online service” and inserting “operator”;

(II) in clause (i), by inserting “and the method by which the operator obtained the personal information, and the purposes for which the operator collects, uses, discloses, and retains the personal information” before the semicolon;

(III) in clause (ii)—

(aa) by inserting “to delete personal information collected from the child or content or information submitted by the child to a website, online service, online application, or mobile application and” after “the opportunity at any time”;

(bb) by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon;

(IV) by redesignating clause (iii) as clause (iv) and inserting after clause (ii) the following new clause:

“(iii) the opportunity to challenge the accuracy of the personal information and, if the parent of the child establishes the inaccuracy of the personal information, to have the inaccurate personal information corrected;”;

(V) in clause (iv), as so redesignated, by inserting “, if such information is available to the operator at the time the parent makes the request” before the semicolon;

(iii) by redesignating subparagraphs (C) and (D) as subparagraphs (D) and (E), respectively;

(iv) by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following new subparagraph:

“(C) require the operator to provide, upon the request of a teen under this subparagraph who has provided personal information to the operator, upon proper identification of that teen—

“(i) a description of the specific types of personal information collected from the teen by the operator, the method by which the operator obtained the personal information, and the purposes for which the operator collects, uses, discloses, and retains the personal information;

“(ii) the opportunity at any time to delete personal information collected from the teen or content or information submitted by the teen to a website, online service, online application, or mobile application and to refuse to permit the operator’s further use or maintenance in retrievable form, or online collection, of personal information from the teen;

“(iii) the opportunity to challenge the accuracy of the personal information and, if the teen establishes the inaccuracy of the personal information, to have the inaccurate personal information corrected; and

“(iv) a means that is reasonable under the circumstances for the teen to obtain any personal information collected from the teen, if such information is available to the operator at the time the teen makes the request;”;

(v) in subparagraph (D), as so redesignated—

(I) by striking “a child’s” and inserting “a child’s or teen’s”;

(II) by inserting “or teen” after “the child”;

(vi) by amending subparagraph (E), as so redesignated, to read as follows:

“(E) require the operator to establish, implement, and maintain reasonable security practices to protect the confidentiality, integrity, and accessibility of personal information of children or teens collected by the operator, and to protect such personal information against unauthorized access.”;

(B) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “verifiable parental consent” and inserting “verifiable consent”;

(ii) in subparagraph (A)—

(I) by inserting “or teen” after “collected from a child”;

(II) by inserting “or teen” after “request from the child”;

(III) by inserting “or teen or to contact another child or teen” after “to recontact the child”;

(iii) in subparagraph (B)—

(I) by striking “parent or child” and inserting “parent or teen”;

(II) by striking “parental consent” each place the term appears and inserting “verifiable consent”;

(iv) in subparagraph (C)—

(I) in the matter preceding clause (i), by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears;

(II) in clause (i)—

(aa) by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears; and

(bb) by inserting “or teen, as applicable,” after “parent” each place the term appears; and

(III) in clause (ii)—

(aa) by striking “without notice to the parent” and inserting “without notice to the parent or teen, as applicable,”; and

(bb) by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears; and

(v) in subparagraph (D)—

(I) in the matter preceding clause (i), by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears;

(II) in clause (ii), by inserting “or teen” after “child”;

(III) in the flush text following clause (iii)—

(aa) by inserting “or teen, as applicable,” after “parent” each place the term appears; and

(bb) by inserting “or teen” after “child”;

(C) by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (4) and inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) APPLICATION TO OPERATORS ACTING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES OR INSTITUTIONS.—The regulations may provide that verifiable consent under paragraph (1)(A)(ii) is not required for an operator that is acting under a written agreement with an educational agency or institution that, at a minimum, requires the—

“(A) operator to—

“(i) limit its collection, use, and disclosure of the personal information from a child or teen to solely educational purposes and for no other commercial purposes;

“(ii) provide the educational agency or institution with a notice of the specific types of personal information the operator will collect from the child or teen, the method by which the operator will obtain the personal information, and the purposes for which the operator will collect, use, disclose, and retain the personal information;

“(iii) provide the educational agency or institution with a link to the operator’s online notice of information practices as required under subsection (b)(1)(A)(i); and

“(iv) provide the educational agency or institution, upon request, with a means to review the personal information collected from a child or teen, to prevent further use or maintenance or future collection of personal information from a child or teen, and to delete personal information collected from a child or teen or content or information submitted by a child or teen to the operator’s website, online service, online application, or mobile application;

“(B) representative of the educational agency or institution to acknowledge and agree that they have authority to authorize the collection, use, and disclosure of personal information from children or teens on behalf of the educational agency or institution, along with such authorization, their name, and title at the educational agency or institution; and

“(C) educational agency or institution to—

“(i) provide on its website a notice that identifies the operator with which it has entered into a written agreement under this subsection and provides a link to the operator’s online notice of information practices as required under paragraph (1)(A)(i);

“(ii) provide the operator’s notice regarding its information practices, as required under subparagraph (A)(ii), upon request, to a parent, in the case of a child, or a parent or teen, in the case of a teen; and

“(iii) upon the request of a parent, in the case of a child, or a parent or teen, in the case of a teen, request the operator provide a means to review the personal information from the child or teen and provide the parent, in the case of a child, or parent or teen, in the case of the teen, a means to review the personal information.”;

(D) by amending paragraph (4), as so redesignated, to read as follows:

“(4) TERMINATION OF SERVICE.—The regulations shall permit the operator of a website, online service, online application, or mobile application to terminate service provided to a child whose parent has refused, or a teen who has refused, under the regulations prescribed under paragraphs (1)(B)(ii) and (1)(C)(ii), to permit the operator’s further use or maintenance in retrievable form, or future online collection of, personal information from that child or teen.”;

(E) by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(5) CONTINUATION OF SERVICE.—The regulations shall prohibit an operator from discontinuing service provided to a child or teen on the basis of a request by the parent of the child or by the teen, under the regulations prescribed under subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (1), respectively, to delete personal information collected from the child or teen, to the extent that the operator is capable of providing such service without such information.

“(6) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—A request made pursuant to subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (1) to delete or correct personal information of a child or teen shall not be construed—

“(A) to limit the authority of a law enforcement agency to obtain any content or information from an operator pursuant to a lawfully executed warrant or an order of a court of competent jurisdiction;

“(B) to require an operator or third party delete or correct information that—

“(i) any other provision of Federal or State law requires the operator or third party to maintain; or

“(ii) was submitted to the website, online service, online application, or mobile application of the operator by any person other than the user who is attempting to erase or otherwise eliminate the content or information, including content or information submitted by the user that was republished or resubmitted by another person; or

“(C) to prohibit an operator from—

“(i) retaining a record of the deletion request and the minimum information necessary for the purposes of ensuring compliance with a request made pursuant to subparagraph (B) or (C);

“(ii) preventing, detecting, protecting against, or responding to security incidents, identity theft, or fraud, or reporting those responsible for such actions;

“(iii) protecting the integrity or security of a website, online service, online application or mobile application; or

“(iv) ensuring that the child’s or teen’s information remains deleted.

“(7) COMMON VERIFIABLE CONSENT MECHANISM.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—

“(i) FEASIBILITY OF MECHANISM.—The Commission shall assess the feasibility, with notice and public comment, of allowing operators the option to use a common verifiable consent mechanism that fully meets the requirements of this title.

“(ii) REQUIREMENTS.—The feasibility assessment described in clause (i) shall consider whether a single operator could use a common verifiable consent mechanism to obtain verifiable consent, as required under this title, from a parent of a child or from a teen on behalf of multiple, listed operators that provide a joint or related service.

“(B) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this paragraph, the Commission shall submit a report to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate and the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives with the findings of the assessment required by subparagraph (A).

“(C) REGULATIONS.—If the Commission finds that the use of a common verifiable consent mechanism is feasible and would meet the requirements of this title, the Commission shall issue regulations to permit the use of a common verifiable consent mechanism in accordance with the findings outlined in such report.”;

(4) in subsection (c), by striking “a regulation prescribed under subsection (a)” and inserting “subparagraph (B), (C), (D), or (E) of subsection (a)(1), or of a regulation prescribed under subsection (b).”; and

(5) by striking subsection (d) and inserting the following:

“(d) RELATIONSHIP TO STATE LAW.—The provisions of this title shall preempt any State law, rule, or regulation only to the extent that such State law, rule, or regulation conflicts with a provision of this title. Nothing in this title shall be construed to prohibit any State from enacting a law, rule, or regulation that provides greater protection to children or teens than the provisions of this title.”.

(c) SAFE HARBORS.—Section 1304 of the Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6503) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1), by inserting “and teens” after “children”; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

“(d) PUBLICATION.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to the restrictions described in paragraph (2), the Commis-

sion shall publish on the internet website of the Commission any report or documentation required by regulation to be submitted to the Commission to carry out this section.

“(2) RESTRICTIONS ON PUBLICATION.—The restrictions described in section 6(f) and section 21 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 46(f), 57b–2) applicable to the disclosure of information obtained by the Commission shall apply in same manner to the disclosure under this subsection of information obtained by the Commission from a report or documentation described in paragraph (1).”.

(d) ACTIONS BY STATES.—Section 1305 of the Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6504) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(1)—

(A) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by inserting “section 1303(a)(1) or” before “any regulation”; and

(B) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “section 1303(a)(1) or” before “the regulation”; and

(2) in subsection (d)—

(A) by inserting “section 1303(a)(1) or” before “any regulation”; and

(B) by inserting “section 1303(a)(1) or” before “that regulation”.

(e) ADMINISTRATION AND APPLICABILITY OF ACT.—Section 1306 of the Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6505) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “, in the case of” and all that follows through “the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation;” and inserting the following: “by the appropriate Federal banking agency, with respect to any insured depository institution (as those terms are defined in section 3 of that Act (12 U.S.C. 1813));”; and

(B) by striking paragraph (2) and redesignating paragraphs (3) through (6) as paragraphs (2) through (5), respectively;

(2) in subsection (d)—

(A) by inserting “section 1303(a)(1) or” before “a rule”; and

(B) by striking “such rule” and inserting “section 1303(a)(1) or a rule of the Commission under section 1303”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

“(f) DETERMINATION OF WHETHER AN OPERATOR HAS KNOWLEDGE FAIRLY IMPLIED ON THE BASIS OF OBJECTIVE CIRCUMSTANCES.—

“(1) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—For purposes of enforcing this title or a regulation promulgated under this title, in making a determination as to whether an operator has knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances that a specific user is a child or teen, the Commission or State attorneys general shall rely on competent and reliable evidence, taking into account the totality of the circumstances, including whether a reasonable and prudent person under the circumstances would have known that the user is a child or teen. Nothing in this title, including a determination described in the preceding sentence, shall be construed to require an operator to—

“(A) affirmatively collect any personal information with respect to the age of a child or teen that an operator is not already collecting in the normal course of business; or

“(B) implement an age gating or age verification functionality.

“(2) COMMISSION GUIDANCE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Within 180 days of enactment, the Commission shall issue guidance to provide information, including best practices and examples for operators to understand the Commission’s determination of whether an operator has knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances that a user is a child or teen.

“(B) LIMITATION.—No guidance issued by the Commission with respect to this title shall confer any rights on any person, State, or locality, nor shall operate to bind the Commission or any person to the approach recommended in such guidance. In any enforcement action brought pursuant to this title, the Commission or State attorney general, as applicable, shall allege a specific violation of a provision of this title. The Commission or State attorney general, as applicable, may not base an enforcement action on, or execute a consent order based on, practices that are alleged to be inconsistent with any such guidance, unless the practices allegedly violate this title. For purposes of enforcing this title or a regulation promulgated under this title, State attorneys general shall take into account any guidance issued by the Commission under subparagraph (A).

“(g) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENT.—Any regulations issued under this title shall include a description and analysis of the impact of proposed and final Rules on small entities per the Regulatory Flexibility Act of 1980 (5 U.S.C. 601 et seq.).”.

SEC. 3. STUDY AND REPORTS OF MOBILE AND ONLINE APPLICATION OVERSIGHT AND ENFORCEMENT.

(a) OVERSIGHT REPORT.—Not later than 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Federal Trade Commission shall submit to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate and the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives a report on the processes of platforms that offer mobile and online applications for ensuring that, of those applications that are websites, online services, online applications, or mobile applications directed to children, the applications operate in accordance with—

(1) this Act, the amendments made by this Act, and rules promulgated under this Act; and

(2) rules promulgated by the Commission under section 18 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 57a) relating to unfair or deceptive acts or practices in marketing.

(b) ENFORCEMENT REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, and each year thereafter, the Federal Trade Commission shall submit to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate and the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives a report that addresses, at a minimum—

(1) the number of actions brought by the Commission during the reporting year to enforce the Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6501) (referred to in this subsection as the “Act”) and the outcome of each such action;

(2) the total number of investigations or inquiries into potential violations of the Act; during the reporting year;

(3) the total number of open investigations or inquiries into potential violations of the Act as of the time the report is submitted;

(4) the number and nature of complaints received by the Commission relating to an allegation of a violation of the Act during the reporting year; and

(5) policy or legislative recommendations to strengthen online protections for children and teens.

SEC. 4. GAO STUDY.

(a) STUDY.—The Comptroller General of the United States (in this section referred to as the “Comptroller General”) shall conduct a study on the privacy of teens who use financial technology products. Such study shall—

(1) identify the type of financial technology products that teens are using;

(2) identify the potential risks to teens’ privacy from using such financial technology products; and

(3) determine whether existing laws are sufficient to address such risks to teens' privacy.】

(a) *STUDY.*—The Comptroller General of the United States (in this section referred to as the "Comptroller General") shall conduct a study on the privacy and mental health of teens who use financial technology products. Such study shall—

(1) identify the type of financial technology products that teens are using;

(2) identify the potential risks to teens' privacy and mental health from using such financial technology products; and

(3) determine whether existing laws are sufficient to address such risks to teens' privacy and mental health.

(b) *REPORT.*—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this section, the Comptroller General shall submit to Congress a report containing the results of the study conducted under subsection (a), together with recommendations for such legislative and administrative action as the Comptroller General determines appropriate. **SEC. 5. SEVERABILITY.**

If any provision of this Act, or an amendment made by this Act, is determined to be unenforceable or invalid, the remaining provisions of this Act and the amendments made by this Act shall not be affected.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the committee-reported amendments be agreed to; that the bill, as amended, be considered read a third time and passed; and that the motion to reconsider be considered made and laid upon the table with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The committee-reported amendments were agreed to.

The bill (S. 836), as amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S. 836

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) *SHORT TITLE.*—This Act may be cited as the "Children and Teens' Online Privacy Protection Act".

(b) *TABLE OF CONTENTS.*—The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Online collection, use, disclosure, and deletion of personal information of children and teens.
- Sec. 3. Study and reports of mobile and online application oversight and enforcement.
- Sec. 4. GAO study.
- Sec. 5. Severability.

SEC. 2. ONLINE COLLECTION, USE, DISCLOSURE, AND DELETION OF PERSONAL INFORMATION OF CHILDREN AND TEENS.

(a) *DEFINITIONS.*—Section 1302 of the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6501) is amended—

(1) by amending paragraph (2) to read as follows:

“(2) *OPERATOR.*—The term ‘operator’—

“(A) means any person—

“(i) who, for commercial purposes, in interstate or foreign commerce operates or provides a website on the internet, an online service, an online application, or a mobile application; and

“(ii) who—

“(I) collects or maintains, either directly or through a service provider, personal information from or about the users of that website, service, or application;

“(II) allows another person to collect personal information directly from users of that website, service, or application (in which case, the operator is deemed to have collected the information); or

“(III) allows users of that website, service, or application to publicly disclose personal information (in which case, the operator is deemed to have collected the information); and

“(B) does not include any nonprofit entity that would otherwise be exempt from coverage under section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 45).”;

(2) in paragraph (4)—

(A) by amending subparagraph (A) to read as follows:

“(A) the release of personal information collected from a child or teen by an operator for any purpose, except where the personal information is provided to a person other than an operator who—

“(i) provides support for the internal operations of the website, online service, online application, or mobile application of the operator, excluding any activity relating to individual-specific advertising to children or teens; and

“(ii) does not disclose or use that personal information for any other purpose; and”;

(B) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears;

(ii) by striking “website or online service” and inserting “website, online service, online application, or mobile application”; and

(iii) by striking “actual knowledge” and inserting “actual knowledge or knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances”;

(3) by striking paragraph (8) and inserting the following:

“(8) *PERSONAL INFORMATION.*—

“(A) *IN GENERAL.*—The term ‘personal information’ means individually identifiable information about an individual collected online, including—

“(i) a first and last name;

“(ii) a home or other physical address including street name and name of a city or town;

“(iii) an e-mail address;

“(iv) a telephone number;

“(v) a Social Security number;

“(vi) any other identifier that the Commission determines permits the physical or online contacting of a specific individual;

“(vii) a persistent identifier that can be used to recognize a specific child or teen over time and across different websites, online services, online applications, or mobile applications, including but not limited to a customer number held in a cookie, an Internet Protocol (IP) address, a processor or device serial number, or unique device identifier, but excluding an identifier that is used by an operator solely for providing support for the internal operations of the website, online service, online application, or mobile application;

“(viii) a photograph, video, or audio file where such file contains a specific child’s or teen’s image or voice;

“(ix) geolocation information;

“(x) information generated from the measurement or technological processing of an individual’s biological, physical, or physiological characteristics that is used to identify an individual, including—

“(I) fingerprints;

“(II) voice prints;

“(III) iris or retina imagery scans;

“(IV) facial templates;

“(V) deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) information; or

“(VI) gait; or

“(xi) information linked or reasonably linkable to a child or teen or the parents of

that child or teen (including any unique identifier) that an operator collects online from the child or teen and combines with an identifier described in this subparagraph.

“(B) *EXCLUSION.*—The term ‘personal information’ shall not include an audio file that contains a child’s or teen’s voice so long as the operator—

“(i) does not request information via voice that would otherwise be considered personal information under this paragraph;

“(ii) provides clear notice of its collection and use of the audio file and its deletion policy in its privacy policy;

“(iii) only uses the voice within the audio file solely as a replacement for written words, to perform a task, or engage with a website, online service, online application, or mobile application, such as to perform a search or fulfill a verbal instruction or request; and

“(iv) only maintains the audio file long enough to complete the stated purpose and then immediately deletes the audio file and does not make any other use of the audio file prior to deletion.

“(C) *SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNAL OPERATIONS OF A WEBSITE, ONLINE SERVICE, ONLINE APPLICATION, OR MOBILE APPLICATION.*—

“(i) *IN GENERAL.*—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(vii), the term ‘support for the internal operations of a website, online service, online application, or mobile application’ means those activities necessary to—

“(I) maintain or analyze the functioning of the website, online service, online application, or mobile application;

“(II) perform network communications;

“(III) authenticate users of, or personalize the content on, the website, online service, online application, or mobile application;

“(IV) serve contextual advertising, provided that any persistent identifier is only used as necessary for technical purposes to serve the contextual advertisement, or cap the frequency of advertising;

“(V) protect the security or integrity of the user, website, online service, online application, or mobile application;

“(VI) ensure legal or regulatory compliance, or

“(VII) fulfill a request of a child or teen as permitted by subparagraphs (A) through (C) of section 1303(b)(2).

“(ii) *CONDITION.*—Except as specifically permitted under clause (i), information collected for the activities listed in clause (i) cannot be used or disclosed to contact a specific individual, including through individual-specific advertising to children or teens, to amass a profile on a specific individual, in connection with processes that encourage or prompt use of a website or online service, or for any other purpose.”;

(4) by amending paragraph (9) to read as follows:

“(9) *VERIFIABLE CONSENT.*—The term ‘verifiable consent’ means any reasonable effort (taking into consideration available technology), including a request for authorization for future collection, use, and disclosure described in the notice, to ensure that, in the case of a child, a parent of the child, or, in the case of a teen, the teen—

“(A) receives direct notice of the personal information collection, use, and disclosure practices of the operator; and

“(B) before the personal information of the child or teen is collected, freely and unambiguously authorizes—

“(i) the collection, use, and disclosure, as applicable, of that personal information; and

“(ii) any subsequent use of that personal information.”;

(5) in paragraph (10)—

(A) in the paragraph header, by striking “WEBSITE OR ONLINE SERVICE DIRECTED TO CHILDREN” and inserting “WEBSITE, ONLINE

SERVICE, ONLINE APPLICATION, OR MOBILE APPLICATION DIRECTED TO CHILDREN”;

(B) by striking “website or online service” each place it appears and inserting “website, online service, online application, or mobile application”; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(C) **RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**—In considering whether a website, online service, online application, or mobile application, or portion thereof, is directed to children, the Commission shall apply a totality of circumstances test and will also consider competent and reliable empirical evidence regarding audience composition and evidence regarding the intended audience of the website, online service, online application, or mobile application.”; and

(6) by adding at the end the following:

“(13) **CONNECTED DEVICE.**—The term ‘connected device’ means a device that is capable of connecting to the internet, directly or indirectly, or to another connected device.

“(14) **ONLINE APPLICATION.**—The term ‘online application’—

“(A) means an internet-connected software program; and

“(B) includes a service or application offered via a connected device.

“(15) **MOBILE APPLICATION.**—The term ‘mobile application’—

“(A) means a software program that runs on the operating system of—

“(i) a cellular telephone;

“(ii) a tablet computer; or

“(iii) a similar portable computing device that transmits data over a wireless connection; and

“(B) includes a service or application offered via a connected device.

“(16) **GEOLOCATION INFORMATION.**—The term ‘geolocation information’ means information sufficient to identify a street name and name of a city or town.

“(17) **TEEN.**—The term ‘teen’ means an individual who has attained age 13 and is under the age of 17.

“(18) **INDIVIDUAL-SPECIFIC ADVERTISING TO CHILDREN OR TEENS.**—

“(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The term ‘individual-specific advertising to children or teens’ means advertising or any other effort to market a product or service that is directed to a specific child or teen or a connected device that is linked or reasonably linkable to a child or teen based on—

“(i) the personal information from—

“(I) the child or teen; or

“(II) a group of children or teens who are similar in sex, age, household income level, race, or ethnicity to the specific child or teen to whom the product or service is marketed;

“(ii) profiling of a child or teen or group of children or teens; or

“(iii) a unique identifier of the connected device.

“(B) **EXCLUSIONS.**—The term ‘individual-specific advertising to children or teens’ shall not include—

“(i) advertising or marketing to an individual or the device of an individual in response to the individual’s specific request for information or feedback, such as a child’s or teen’s current search query;

“(ii) contextual advertising, such as when an advertisement is displayed based on the content of the website, online service, online application, mobile application, or connected device in which the advertisement appears and does not vary based on personal information related to the viewer;

“(iii) processing personal information solely for measuring or reporting advertising or content performance, reach, or frequency, including independent measurement; or

“(iv) advertising or marketing directed to a connected device used by both adult and child or teen members of a household where such advertising or marketing is directed to the profile of the adult user.

“(C) **RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**—Nothing in subparagraph (A) shall be construed to prohibit an operator with actual knowledge or knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances that a user is under the age of 17 from delivering advertising or marketing that is age-appropriate and intended for a child or teen audience, so long as the operator does not use any personal information other than whether the user is under the age of 17.

“(19) **EDUCATIONAL AGENCY OR INSTITUTION.**—The term ‘educational agency or institution’ means—

“(A) a State educational agency or local educational agency, as such terms are defined in section 8101 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 7801); or

“(B) an institutional day or residential school, including a public school (including a charter school) or private school, that provides elementary or secondary education, as determined under State law.”.

(b) **ONLINE COLLECTION, USE, DISCLOSURE, AND DELETION OF PERSONAL INFORMATION OF CHILDREN AND TEENS.**—Section 1303 of the Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6502) is amended—

(1) by striking the heading and inserting the following: “**ONLINE COLLECTION, USE, DISCLOSURE, AND DELETION OF PERSONAL INFORMATION OF CHILDREN AND TEENS.**”;

(2) in subsection (a)—

(A) by amending paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“(1) **IN GENERAL.**—It is unlawful for an operator of a website, online service, online application, or mobile application directed to children or for any operator of a website, online service, online application, or mobile application with actual knowledge or knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances that a user is a child or teen—

“(A) to collect personal information from a child or teen in a manner that violates the regulations prescribed under subsection (b);

“(B) except as provided in subparagraphs (B) and (C) of section 1302(18), to collect, use, disclose to third parties, or maintain personal information of a child or teen for purposes of individual-specific advertising to children or teens (or to allow another person to collect, use, disclose, or maintain such information for such purpose);

“(C) to collect the personal information of a child or teen except when the collection of the personal information is—

“(i) consistent with the context of a particular transaction or service or the relationship of the child or teen with the operator, including collection necessary to fulfill a transaction or provide a product or service requested by the child or teen; or

“(ii) required or specifically authorized by Federal or State law; or

“(D) to store or transfer the personal information of a child or teen outside of the United States unless the operator provides direct notice to the parent of the child, in the case of a child, or to the teen, in the case of a teen, that the child’s or teen’s personal information is being stored or transferred outside of the United States; or

“(E) to retain the personal information of a child or teen for longer than is reasonably necessary to fulfill a transaction or provide a service requested by the child or teen except as required or specifically authorized by Federal or State law.”; and

(B) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in the header, by striking “PARENT” and inserting “PARENT OR TEEN”;

(ii) by striking “Notwithstanding paragraph (1)” and inserting “Notwithstanding paragraph (1)(A)”;

(iii) by striking “of such a website or online service”; and

(iv) by striking “subsection (b)(1)(B)(iii) to the parent of a child” and inserting “subsection (b)(1)(B)(iv) to the parent of a child or under subsection (b)(1)(C)(iv) to a teen”;

(3) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) in subparagraph (A)—

(I) by striking “operator of any website” and all that follows through “from a child” and inserting “operator of a website, online service, online application, or mobile application directed to children or that has actual knowledge or knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances that a user is a child or teen”;

(II) in clause (i)—

(aa) by striking “notice on the website” and inserting “clear and conspicuous notice on the website”;

(bb) by inserting “or teens” after “children”;

(cc) by striking “, and the operator’s” and inserting “, the operator’s”; and

(dd) by striking “; and” and inserting “, the rights and opportunities available to the parent of the child or teen under subparagraphs (B) and (C), and the procedures or mechanisms the operator uses to ensure that personal information is not collected from children or teens except in accordance with the regulations promulgated under this paragraph.”;

(III) in clause (ii)—

(aa) by striking “parental”;

(bb) by inserting “or teens” after “children”;

(cc) by striking the semicolon at the end and inserting “; and”;

(IV) by inserting after clause (ii) the following new clause:

“(iii) to obtain verifiable consent from a parent of a child or from a teen before using or disclosing personal information of the child or teen for any purpose that is a material change from the original purposes and disclosure practices specified to the parent of the child or the teen under clause (i);”;

(ii) in subparagraph (B)—

(I) in the matter preceding clause (i), by striking “website or online service” and inserting “operator”;

(II) in clause (i), by inserting “and the method by which the operator obtained the personal information, and the purposes for which the operator collects, uses, discloses, and retains the personal information” before the semicolon;

(III) in clause (ii)—

(aa) by inserting “to delete personal information collected from the child or content or information submitted by the child to a website, online service, online application, or mobile application and” after “the opportunity at any time”; and

(bb) by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon;

(IV) by redesignating clause (iii) as clause (iv) and inserting after clause (ii) the following new clause:

“(iii) the opportunity to challenge the accuracy of the personal information and, if the parent of the child establishes the inaccuracy of the personal information, to have the inaccurate personal information corrected.”; and

(V) in clause (iv), as so redesignated, by inserting “, if such information is available to the operator at the time the parent makes the request” before the semicolon;

(iii) by redesignating subparagraphs (C) and (D) as subparagraphs (D) and (E), respectively;

(iv) by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following new subparagraph:

“(C) require the operator to provide, upon the request of a teen under this subparagraph who has provided personal information to the operator, upon proper identification of that teen—

“(i) a description of the specific types of personal information collected from the teen by the operator, the method by which the operator obtained the personal information, and the purposes for which the operator collects, uses, discloses, and retains the personal information;

“(ii) the opportunity at any time to delete personal information collected from the teen or content or information submitted by the teen to a website, online service, online application, or mobile application and to refuse to permit the operator’s further use or maintenance in retrievable form, or online collection, of personal information from the teen;

“(iii) the opportunity to challenge the accuracy of the personal information and, if the teen establishes the inaccuracy of the personal information, to have the inaccurate personal information corrected; and

“(iv) a means that is reasonable under the circumstances for the teen to obtain any personal information collected from the teen, if such information is available to the operator at the time the teen makes the request;”;

(v) in subparagraph (D), as so redesignated—

(I) by striking “a child’s” and inserting “a child’s or teen’s”; and

(II) by inserting “or teen” after “the child”; and

(vi) by amending subparagraph (E), as so redesignated, to read as follows:

“(E) require the operator to establish, implement, and maintain reasonable security practices to protect the confidentiality, integrity, and accessibility of personal information of children or teens collected by the operator, and to protect such personal information against unauthorized access.”;

(B) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “verifiable parental consent” and inserting “verifiable consent”;

(ii) in subparagraph (A)—

(I) by inserting “or teen” after “collected from a child”;

(II) by inserting “or teen” after “request from the child”; and

(III) by inserting “or teen or to contact another child or teen” after “to recontact the child”;

(iii) in subparagraph (B)—

(I) by striking “parent or child” and inserting “parent or teen”; and

(II) by striking “parental consent” each place the term appears and inserting “verifiable consent”;

(iv) in subparagraph (C)—

(I) in the matter preceding clause (i), by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears;

(II) in clause (i)—

(aa) by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears; and

(bb) by inserting “or teen, as applicable,” after “parent” each place the term appears; and

(III) in clause (ii)—

(aa) by striking “without notice to the parent” and inserting “without notice to the parent or teen, as applicable.”; and

(bb) by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears; and

(v) in subparagraph (D)—

(I) in the matter preceding clause (i), by inserting “or teen” after “child” each place the term appears;

(II) in clause (ii), by inserting “or teen” after “child”; and

(III) in the flush text following clause (ii)—

(aa) by inserting “or teen, as applicable,” after “parent” each place the term appears; and

(bb) by inserting “or teen” after “child”;

(C) by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (4) and inserting after paragraph (2) the following new paragraph:

“(3) APPLICATION TO OPERATORS ACTING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES OR INSTITUTIONS.—The regulations may provide that verifiable consent under paragraph (1)(A)(ii) is not required for an operator that is acting under a written agreement with an educational agency or institution that, at a minimum, requires the—

“(A) operator to—

“(i) limit its collection, use, and disclosure of the personal information from a child or teen to solely educational purposes and for no other commercial purposes;

“(ii) provide the educational agency or institution with a notice of the specific types of personal information the operator will collect from the child or teen, the method by which the operator will obtain the personal information, and the purposes for which the operator will collect, use, disclose, and retain the personal information;

“(iii) provide the educational agency or institution with a link to the operator’s online notice of information practices as required under subsection (b)(1)(A)(i); and

“(iv) provide the educational agency or institution, upon request, with a means to review the personal information collected from a child or teen, to prevent further use or maintenance or future collection of personal information from a child or teen, and to delete personal information collected from a child or teen or content or information submitted by a child or teen to the operator’s website, online service, online application, or mobile application;

“(B) representative of the educational agency or institution to acknowledge and agree that they have authority to authorize the collection, use, and disclosure of personal information from children or teens on behalf of the educational agency or institution, along with such authorization, their name, and title at the educational agency or institution; and

“(C) educational agency or institution to—

“(i) provide on its website a notice that identifies the operator with which it has entered into a written agreement under this subsection and provides a link to the operator’s online notice of information practices as required under paragraph (1)(A)(i);

“(ii) provide the operator’s notice regarding its information practices, as required under subparagraph (A)(ii), upon request, to a parent, in the case of a child, or a parent or teen, in the case of a teen; and

“(iii) upon the request of a parent, in the case of a child, or a parent or teen, in the case of a teen, request the operator provide a means to review the personal information from the child or teen and provide the parent, in the case of a child, or parent or teen, in the case of the teen, a means to review the personal information.”;

(D) by amending paragraph (4), as so redesignated, to read as follows:

“(4) TERMINATION OF SERVICE.—The regulations shall permit the operator of a website, online service, online application, or mobile application to terminate service provided to a child whose parent has refused, or a teen who has refused, under the regulations prescribed under paragraphs (1)(B)(ii) and (1)(C)(ii), to permit the operator’s further use or maintenance in retrievable form, or future online collection of, personal information from that child or teen.”; and

(E) by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(5) CONTINUATION OF SERVICE.—The regulations shall prohibit an operator from discontinuing service provided to a child or teen on the basis of a request by the parent of the child or by the teen, under the regulations prescribed under subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (1), respectively, to delete personal information collected from the child or teen, to the extent that the operator is capable of providing such service without such information.

“(6) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—A request made pursuant to subparagraph (B) or (C) of paragraph (1) to delete or correct personal information of a child or teen shall not be construed—

“(A) to limit the authority of a law enforcement agency to obtain any content or information from an operator pursuant to a lawfully executed warrant or an order of a court of competent jurisdiction;

“(B) to require an operator or third party delete or correct information that—

“(i) any other provision of Federal or State law requires the operator or third party to maintain; or

“(ii) was submitted to the website, online service, online application, or mobile application of the operator by any person other than the user who is attempting to erase or otherwise eliminate the content or information, including content or information submitted by the user that was republished or resubmitted by another person; or

“(C) to prohibit an operator from—

“(i) retaining a record of the deletion request and the minimum information necessary for the purposes of ensuring compliance with a request made pursuant to subparagraph (B) or (C);

“(ii) preventing, detecting, protecting against, or responding to security incidents, identity theft, or fraud, or reporting those responsible for such actions;

“(iii) protecting the integrity or security of a website, online service, online application or mobile application; or

“(iv) ensuring that the child’s or teen’s information remains deleted.

“(7) COMMON VERIFIABLE CONSENT MECHANISM.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—

“(i) FEASIBILITY OF MECHANISM.—The Commission shall assess the feasibility, with notice and public comment, of allowing operators the option to use a common verifiable consent mechanism that fully meets the requirements of this title.

“(ii) REQUIREMENTS.—The feasibility assessment described in clause (i) shall consider whether a single operator could use a common verifiable consent mechanism to obtain verifiable consent, as required under this title, from a parent of a child or from a teen on behalf of multiple, listed operators that provide a joint or related service.

“(B) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this paragraph, the Commission shall submit a report to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate and the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives with the findings of the assessment required by subparagraph (A).

“(C) REGULATIONS.—If the Commission finds that the use of a common verifiable consent mechanism is feasible and would meet the requirements of this title, the Commission shall issue regulations to permit the use of a common verifiable consent mechanism in accordance with the findings outlined in such report.”;

(4) in subsection (c), by striking “a regulation prescribed under subsection (a)” and inserting “subparagraph (B), (C), (D), or (E) of

subsection (a)(1), or of a regulation prescribed under subsection (b)."; and

(5) by striking subsection (d) and inserting the following:

"(d) RELATIONSHIP TO STATE LAW.—The provisions of this title shall preempt any State law, rule, or regulation only to the extent that such State law, rule, or regulation conflicts with a provision of this title. Nothing in this title shall be construed to prohibit any State from enacting a law, rule, or regulation that provides greater protection to children or teens than the provisions of this title."

(c) SAFE HARBORS.—Section 1304 of the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6503) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1), by inserting "and teens" after "children"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

"(d) PUBLICATION.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to the restrictions described in paragraph (2), the Commission shall publish on the internet website of the Commission any report or documentation required by regulation to be submitted to the Commission to carry out this section.

"(2) RESTRICTIONS ON PUBLICATION.—The restrictions described in section 6(f) and section 21 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 46(f), 57b-2) applicable to the disclosure of information obtained by the Commission shall apply in same manner to the disclosure under this subsection of information obtained by the Commission from a report or documentation described in paragraph (1)."

(d) ACTIONS BY STATES.—Section 1305 of the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6504) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)(1)—

(A) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by inserting "section 1303(a)(1) or" before "any regulation"; and

(B) in subparagraph (B), by inserting "section 1303(a)(1) or" before "the regulation"; and

(2) in subsection (d)—

(A) by inserting "section 1303(a)(1) or" before "any regulation"; and

(B) by inserting "section 1303(a)(1) or" before "that regulation".

(e) ADMINISTRATION AND APPLICABILITY OF ACT.—Section 1306 of the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6505) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking "in the case of" and all that follows through "the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation;" and inserting the following: "by the appropriate Federal banking agency, with respect to any insured depository institution (as those terms are defined in section 3 of that Act (12 U.S.C. 1813));"; and

(B) by striking paragraph (2) and redesignating paragraphs (3) through (6) as paragraphs (2) through (5), respectively;

(2) in subsection (d)—

(A) by inserting "section 1303(a)(1) or" before "a rule"; and

(B) by striking "such rule" and inserting "section 1303(a)(1) or a rule of the Commission under section 1303"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

"(f) DETERMINATION OF WHETHER AN OPERATOR HAS KNOWLEDGE FAIRLY IMPLIED ON THE BASIS OF OBJECTIVE CIRCUMSTANCES.—

"(1) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—For purposes of enforcing this title or a regulation promulgated under this title, in making a determination as to whether an operator has knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances that a specific user is a child or teen, the Commission or State attorneys general shall rely on competent and

reliable evidence, taking into account the totality of the circumstances, including whether a reasonable and prudent person under the circumstances would have known that the user is a child or teen. Nothing in this title, including a determination described in the preceding sentence, shall be construed to require an operator to—

"(A) affirmatively collect any personal information with respect to the age of a child or teen that an operator is not already collecting in the normal course of business; or

"(B) implement an age gating or age verification functionality.

"(2) COMMISSION GUIDANCE.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—Within 180 days of enactment, the Commission shall issue guidance to provide information, including best practices and examples for operators to understand the Commission's determination of whether an operator has knowledge fairly implied on the basis of objective circumstances that a user is a child or teen.

"(B) LIMITATION.—No guidance issued by the Commission with respect to this title shall confer any rights on any person, State, or locality, nor shall operate to bind the Commission or any person to the approach recommended in such guidance. In any enforcement action brought pursuant to this title, the Commission or State attorney general, as applicable, shall allege a specific violation of a provision of this title. The Commission or State attorney general, as applicable, may not base an enforcement action on, or execute a consent order based on, practices that are alleged to be inconsistent with any such guidance, unless the practices allegedly violate this title. For purposes of enforcing this title or a regulation promulgated under this title, State attorneys general shall take into account any guidance issued by the Commission under subparagraph (A).

"(g) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENT.—Any regulations issued under this title shall include a description and analysis of the impact of proposed and final Rules on small entities per the Regulatory Flexibility Act of 1980 (5 U.S.C. 601 et seq.)."

SEC. 3. STUDY AND REPORTS OF MOBILE AND ONLINE APPLICATION OVERSIGHT AND ENFORCEMENT.

(a) OVERSIGHT REPORT.—Not later than 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act, the Federal Trade Commission shall submit to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate and the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives a report on the processes of platforms that offer mobile and online applications for ensuring that, of those applications that are websites, online services, online applications, or mobile applications directed to children, the applications operate in accordance with—

(1) this Act, the amendments made by this Act, and rules promulgated under this Act; and

(2) rules promulgated by the Commission under section 18 of the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 57a) relating to unfair or deceptive acts or practices in marketing.

(b) ENFORCEMENT REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, and each year thereafter, the Federal Trade Commission shall submit to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate and the Committee on Energy and Commerce of the House of Representatives a report that addresses, at a minimum—

(1) the number of actions brought by the Commission during the reporting year to enforce the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998 (15 U.S.C. 6501) (referred to in this subsection as the "Act") and the outcome of each such action;

(2) the total number of investigations or inquiries into potential violations of the Act; during the reporting year;

(3) the total number of open investigations or inquiries into potential violations of the Act as of the time the report is submitted;

(4) the number and nature of complaints received by the Commission relating to an allegation of a violation of the Act during the reporting year; and

(5) policy or legislative recommendations to strengthen online protections for children and teens.

SEC. 4. GAO STUDY.

(a) STUDY.—The Comptroller General of the United States (in this section referred to as the "Comptroller General") shall conduct a study on the privacy and mental health of teens who use financial technology products. Such study shall—

(1) identify the type of financial technology products that teens are using;

(2) identify the potential risks to teens' privacy and mental health from using such financial technology products; and

(3) determine whether existing laws are sufficient to address such risks to teens' privacy and mental health.

(b) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this section, the Comptroller General shall submit to Congress a report containing the results of the study conducted under subsection (a), together with recommendations for such legislation and administrative action as the Comptroller General determines appropriate.

SEC. 5. SEVERABILITY.

If any provision of this Act, or an amendment made by this Act, is determined to be unenforceable or invalid, the remaining provisions of this Act and the amendments made by this Act shall not be affected.

Mr. MARKEY. With that again, Mr. President, I thank Senator CASSIDY. It is a historic day. We have begun this process on the Senate floor today with protections in place, which has been long overdue for teenagers and children in our country. Again, it is the ongoing assault against their privacy and undermining their mental health. So I thank everyone who participated in this, especially my friend Senator CASSIDY.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

REMEMBERING KURT PAUL PFOTENHAUER

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, today, I want to recognize and honor the life of Kurt Paul Pfothenauer, an extraordinary public servant and three-decade friend who passed away on January 21.

Kurt was, first and foremost, a man of deep Christian faith. He was guided in his public service not only by his conservative political beliefs but by that faith, his integrity, his humility, and his sense of responsibility for others.

When I first met Kurt, he had been named Senator Gordon Smith's chief of staff. Gordon and I were brand new Senators, and we had a Mount Hood-sized mountain to climb. That is because we were to fill the giant shoes of two retiring, very powerful U.S. Senators from Oregon.

Kurt and my chief of staff executed an agreement between Gordon and I to set aside our political differences whenever possible and go to bat for the

State of Oregon. That included making sure that our respective congressional and political staffs abided by that agreement. That last bit, as Senators know, sometimes can be easier said than done.

We quickly learned that Kurt's word really meant something. Trust can be awfully difficult to make happen in politics, even with those in your own political party, but we came to see that Kurt's word, in fact, was his bond. Our staffs learned to work together—occasionally through gritted teeth—and Kurt and Gordon always upheld their end of the agreement.

Those years of the Oregon bipartisan partnership with Gordon and Kurt were extraordinarily, extraordinarily important to me. I believe they were fruitful years, and we owe so much of that credit for all the collaboration to the leadership and decency of Kurt.

After Kurt left the Congress and Gordon's office, he went on to a very successful career in the financial services sector. He culminated his years there as executive vice president and vice chairman of First American Title Insurance. I know his colleagues there feel an enormous loss, too, because Kurt was the kind of individual who conducted himself professionally and lived his life daily in a way that served as an example, particularly to young people around him.

Kurt was generous with his time, his financial resources, and especially with his heart. He believed in the communities that he was a part of and he was beloved by the communities that he touched. His commitment to service was reflected in a lifelong dedication to always trying to help others. For decades, Kurt and his wonderful wife, Nancy, were sole supporters of The Children's Light Home orphanage in India. He served on the board of directors for the Opens Doors Foundation, and he helped provide mortgage and rental assistance to the many families that had disabled kids.

His support for those in need continued even in his final days. He extended help at that time to a chemo patient from out of town who lived out of the cab of his truck on his chemo days at the Mayo Clinic. Kurt helped his fellow patient with lodging. That, Mr. President—and I say this on behalf of all Oregonians who got to know Kurt—tells you what Kurt Pfothauer was always about, the Kurt we knew and the Kurt we loved.

He fought an incredibly courageous 18-month-long battle against cancer. Kurt used that time creating special memories with his beloved wife Nancy and their five kids and grandchildren. Family was everything to Kurt.

I want to extend a special thank-you to all of them for sharing Kurt with all of us here in the Senate, and I want to extend a heartfelt thank-you to Kurt's family on behalf of Oregonians and our Nation for all that he did to make our country and the great State of Oregon a better place.

Kurt's many wise and kind deeds on Earth are going to continue to create opportunity, and opportunity is what our country is all about. Opportunity is when we are at our best, and, my God, Kurt Pfothauer created a lot of opportunity for generations, in Oregon and in our country, to have a better life in the days ahead.

Kurt served as a trusted adviser and confidant to me, and that will be something I will always miss. My former chief of staff and I are always going to remember and love our friend Kurt Pfothauer. May his memory be a blessing to all who knew him and to all who have studied what he has done to make a difference. May people reflect on that in the days ahead and may it be a comfort.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democrat leader.

S. 836

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I am very glad that today the Senate is taking a major step forward to protect our kids online. Today, the Senate is passing unanimously COPPA, the Children Online Privacy and Protection Act.

The bill expands the current law protecting our kids online to ensure companies cannot collect personal information from anyone under the age of 17. This is a big step forward for protecting our kids. We hope the House can join us. They haven't thus far. But this is really important to protect kids online. To ban targeting advertising to children and teens makes imminent sense. To establish data minimization rules to prohibit the excessive collection of children and teens' data makes sense.

So this is a very good day for kids throughout America. This is a very good day for their parents as well, who can breathe a sigh of relief that some real protections for kids online are finally passing the Senate once again.

I yield the floor.

HOUSING FOR THE 21ST CENTURY ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUESTS

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, it has been nearly 6 weeks—6 weeks—since Alex Pretti was killed by masked Federal agents in broad daylight. It has been over 9 weeks since Renee Good was killed. And day after day, week after week, we have seen Americans brutalized by an out-of-control Department of Homeland Security—American citizens detained without cause, children ripped away from their families—as this administration treats them like political pawns in their sick games. We have seen peaceful protesters have their windows broken in by untrained and unidentifiable agents. And we have seen more people get hurt and even die because of how ICE and Border Patrol have been conducting themselves.

In this entire time, Democrats have been pushing for serious reform to rein in these Agencies. For months, I have been at the table in good faith, pushing to secure basic accountability measures for ICE and Border Patrol. We are talking about standards local police already follow across the country.

But even before Alex Pretti was shot and killed, Republicans and this White House, in particular, were telling us no on many basic reforms that would rein in ICE and CBP.

We pushed for commonsense steps to make sure poorly trained agents and officers do not trample the basic rights of American citizens and kill them for no reason. And we pushed for steps to prevent these rogue Agencies from hiding the facts from the public and sweeping everything under the rug.

But my colleagues across the aisle came back to us and said: Sorry, we cannot agree to those.

Sometimes, my Republican colleagues were willing to take one modest step or another, which I appreciate, only to have to come back and say the White House was not willing to do that, and they had to hold the line. Or worse, they backtracked on measures we agreed to because of fears of what the White House would think.

And now, here we find ourselves, nearly 6 weeks after Alex Pretti's brutal killing, and Republicans so far have continued to refuse to join us to pass any commonsense reforms to prevent more Americans from being hurt or even killed by masked Federal agents.

As I have said many times, we are not asking for the Moon. We are asking for basic steps to protect Americans' constitutional rights and their safety.

There is nothing new or controversial about body cameras or requiring identification be displayed. There is nothing extreme about insisting that ICE and Border Patrol follow the same standards as everyone else when it comes to use of force or needing a warrant before smashing in someone's door and dragging them away. These are common sense, and they are overwhelmingly popular.

This is what the American people are demanding. But Republicans have decided they would rather shut down DHS than work with us to rein in these rogue Agencies. Republicans know full well that Democrats do want to ensure that TSA and CISA and FEMA and other important Agencies are funded.

What Democrats have a problem with is funding rogue Agencies that are actively violating court orders and our civil rights and putting Americans' safety at risk. We cannot—we will not—cut a blank check for funding without reforms for ICE and Border Patrol.

But if Republicans keep dragging their feet on those basic reforms we are asking for to protect people from those rogue Federal Agencies, then we should at least make sure that TSA agents get paid and FEMA is fully funded while those negotiations continue.