

Committee: House Energy & Commerce Subcommittee on Commerce, Manufacturing &

Trade

Event: Subcommittee Markup **Date:** December 11, 2025

Executive Summary

The Subcommittee passed out and referred to the full committee 18 kids online safety bills, all but two passed by voice vote.

- There was bipartisan support for strengthening kids' online safety guardrails and empowering the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) to enforce measures to hold technology platforms accountable.
- Democrats, while supportive of the goals laid out by the bills, argued that the proposed legislation had been watered down to appease Big Tech.
- Republicans were supportive of the bills and spoke in favor of state preemption, arguing that comprehensive federal legislation would prevent a complicating patchwork of state laws.

Member Toplines:

Full Committee Chair Brett Guthrie (R-KY-02)¹: Guthrie endorsed the subcommittee's comprehensive approach to child online safety, emphasizing the need for default safety settings across online platforms and stronger tools for parents. He noted that the bills under consideration were intentionally drafted to withstand legal scrutiny while still providing effective protections.

Full Committee Ranking Member Frank Pallone (D-NJ-06): Pallone voiced strong support for the Don't Sell Kids' Data Act of 2025 (H.R. 6292), reiterating that data privacy remains his top priority. He raised concerns about proposals that would permit third-party access to children's data and criticized broad state preemption provisions in several bills, including the Children and Teens' Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA 2.0; H.R. 6291). Pallone concluded by calling for a fully resourced, independent FTC to effectively enforce online safety laws.

<u>Subcommittee Chair Gus Bilirakis (R-FL-12)</u>: Bilirakis described the 18 bills in the markup as a comprehensive strategy to protect kids online, noting that no single bill can address every challenge minors face. He argued that the package focuses on giving parents greater clarity and control, while also establishing meaningful consequences and enforcement tools to deter bad actors. Throughout his remarks, Bilirakis emphasized the importance of empowering parents.

¹ The opening statements for Chair Guthrie, Ranking Member Schakowsky, and Reps. Trahan and Clarke were unavailable at the time of this memo's circulation.

Subcommittee Ranking Member Jan Schakowsky (D-IL-09): Schakowsky criticized the legislation before the subcommittee as "terribly inadequate." She argued that states should retain the ability to enact their own online safety regulations and urged greater engagement with parent advocates to ensure that kids' online safety bills address the issues causing the most harm.

Rep. Lori Trahan (D-MA-03): Trahan criticized several bills for shifting the burden of online safety from Big Tech to parents. She also argued that state preemption provisions undermine ongoing efforts at the state and local levels. Trahan called for curbing vertical integration, updating competition laws to support small businesses, and establishing a federal safety standard to prevent Big Tech from selling user data.

Rep. Yvette Clarke (D-NY-09): Clarke sharply criticized her Republican colleagues for offering what she described as watered-down, ineffective bills that only pay lip service to protecting kids online. She condemned proposals for state artificial intelligence (AI) preemption and moratoriums advanced by Republican lawmakers. Clarke instead called for a comprehensive federal data privacy standard and a fully resourced FTC.

Legislation Discussed:

H.R. 6290 - Safe Social Media Act; Rep. Bentz

- A bill requiring the FTC to study teen social media use and its mental health impacts.
 The FTC is directed to investigate data collection, algorithms, usage, and harm for minors.
- Reps. Cliff Bentz (R-OR-02) and Kim Schrier (D-WA-08) spoke in support of the bill.
 - Bentz emphasized the need to better understand social media's impact on mental health, as well as what user data is collected and how that data is shared.
 - Schrier noted the study would inform Congress's next steps in formulating legislation to crack down on predatory actions by social media companies.
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6259 - No Fentanyl on Social Media Act; Rep. Evans

- A bill requiring a report to be submitted to Congress on how minors access fentanyl through social media platforms, and which includes recommendations on how to tackle this threat.
- Reps. Gabe Evans (R-CO-08) and Debbie Dingell (D-MI-06) spoke in support of the bill
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6289 - Promoting a Safe Internet for Minors Act; Rep. Lee

- The bill directs the FTC to launch a public awareness and education campaign focusing on best practices to protect minors online.
- Reps. Laurel Lee (R-FL-15) and Darren Soto (D-FL-09) spoke in support of the bill.
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6437 - Kids Internet Safety Partnership Act; Rep. Fry

- The bill directs the Secretary of Commerce to create a Kids Internet Safety Partnership
 to work with stakeholders to publish a biannual report that measures the efficacy and
 adoption of safeguards and parental tools across various areas.
- Rep. Russell Fry (R-SC-07) spoke in support of the bill.
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 5360 – Al Warnings And Resources for Education Act; Rep. Houchin

- A bill that would direct the FTC to create public resources on how to safely engage with Al chatbots.
- Bilirakis offered an amendment in the nature of a substitute (AINS).
 - The amendment was agreed to by voice vote.
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6499 – Assessing Safety Tools for Parents and Minors Act; Rep. Fulcher

- The bill directs the FTC to conduct a review of how industries are working to improve online safety.
- Rep. Russ Fulcher (R-ID-01) spoke in support of the bill, noting the objective of the bill is to provide a comprehensive assessment of online safety standards.
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 2657 - Sammy's Law; Rep. Wasserman Schultz

- A bill requiring large social media platforms to provide parental safety tools to manage their children's online activity. The bill mandates that the platforms allow third-party safety software providers to access real-time application programming interfaces.
- Reps. Schrier and **Tom Kean** (R-NJ-07) spoke in support of the bill.
- Dingell expressed concerns with the bill.
 - She argued that indefinitely retaining harm reports would create a lasting digital record of children's online mistakes. Dingell also warned that the bill shifts responsibility from platforms to parents, emphasizing that platforms should be held responsible for reforming design features that put minors at risk.
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

<u>H.R. 6265</u> – Safer Guarding of Adolescents from Malicious Interactions on Network Games Act; Rep. Kean

- A bill to require video game providers to implement safeguards for minors, mandating default "opt-in" parental controls, strict privacy settings for under 18s (later amended to under 16s), and restrictions on features like addictive feeds.
- Soto, Kean, and Schrier spoke in support of the bill.
- Soto offered an AINS.
 - The AINS lowers the applicable bill to under-16s and more closely tailors the preemption of state laws provision.
 - Soto noted that defaulting to the most restrictive communication settings helps ensure children's safety while gaming online. He added that only parents can modify these settings, giving them the tools they need to make informed decisions about their child's online gaming experience.
- The amendment was agreed to by voice vote.
- The bill as amended was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6273 - Stop Profiling Youth and Kids Act; Rep. Miller-Meeks

- A bill that seeks to restrict how large social media platforms can collect and use personal data.
- Schrier and Bilirakis spoke in support of the bill.
 - Schrier highlighted how Big Tech platforms make their services increasingly addictive while knowing the harm this causes children.
- Schrier offered an AINS, which was agreed to by voice vote.
- The bill as amended was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6253 - Algorithmic Choice and Transparency Act; Rep. Cammack

- The bill would regulate large social media platforms by promoting transparency in their use of algorithms.
- Rep. **Kat Cammack** (R-FL-03) spoke in support of the bill.
 - In her remarks, Cammack argued that the App Store Freedom Act (H.R. 3209) should have been included in the markup, but that Big Tech's lobbying campaign pressured lawmakers to exclude it.
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6489 – Safeguarding Adolescents From Exploitative Bots Act; Rep. Houchin

- The bill would require platforms to label AI chatbots as AI, provide crisis hotline information for minors, and implement policies against harmful content.
- Rep. **Erin Houchin** (R-IN-09) spoke in support of the bill
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 1623 - Shielding Children's Retinas from Egregious Exposure on the Net Act; Rep. Miller

- The bill would establish age verification requirements for commercial interactive computer services that make available content that could be deemed harmful to minors.
- Rep. Craig Goldman (D-TX-12) spoke in support of the bill.
- Goldman offered an AINS to require explicit websites to verify users' age before allowing them to access explicit content online.
- The amendment was agreed to by voice vote.
- The bill as amended was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6257 – Safe Messaging for Kids Act of 2025; Rep. Dunn

- The bill would ban ephemeral messages for kids under 17, mandating parental consent for minors' direct messaging, and require platforms to notify parents about teens' new contact requests.
- Rep. Neal Dunn (R-FL-02) spoke in support of the bill.
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 3149 – App Store Accountability Act; Rep. James

- The bill would require app store age verification, parental consent for minors, and clear age ratings.
- Rep. **John James** (R-MI-10) spoke in support of the bill and offered an AINS.
- Rep. Jay Obernolte (R-CA-23) argued that the bill needlessly requires all apps to
 collect age-category data from app stores, which provides no regulatory benefit. He
 also warned that forcing apps to request this information creates unnecessary
 repositories of minors' data, increasing the risk of misuse by malicious actors.
- The amendment was agreed to by voice vote.
- The bill as amended was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6333 – Parents Over Platforms Act; Rep. Auchincloss

- The bill would require platforms to offer strong default settings, parental supervision tools, and an "eraser button" for data, while banning targeted ads to minors and data collection for age verification.
- Houchin spoke in support of the bill.
- Obernolte criticized the bill for requiring each app to conduct its own age and parental verification rather than relying on a single, more efficient system at the app store or operating-system level.
 - He argued that this duplicative approach would create unnecessary repositories of minors' personal data, increasing privacy and security risks.
 - Obernolte also opposed restrictions that prevent apps from using age-category information to enhance minors' user experiences, even when doing so would be safe and beneficial.

- Houchin expressed support for Obernolte's concerns and indicated her interest in working with him to amend the bill before it is considered by the full committee.
- Cammack and Trahan both spoke in support of their app store bill (App Store Freedom Act), which was excluded from the markup.
 - Guthrie rejected allegations that bills were not included in the markup due to pressure from Big Tech lobbying efforts.
- The bill was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6292 - Don't Sell Kids' Data Act of 2025; Rep. Pallone

- The bill would prohibit data brokers from collecting, using, or selling the personal data of minors.
- Pallone spoke in support of the bill and offered an AINS.
- Evans, Bilirakis, and Guthrie argued the bill should have carve-outs for law enforcement that depend on third-party data and analytics during crimes involving minors.
 - Pallone committed to working with lawmakers to find opportunities for law enforcement carveouts.
- Trahan offered and later withdrew an amendment to the AINS that would have added a national opt-out for kids' data held by data brokers.
- The Pallone AINS was agreed upon by voice vote.
- The bill as amended was passed by voice vote and referred to the full committee.

H.R. 6484 - Kids Online Safety Act; Rep. Bilirakis

- Key provisions in the bill include default safety settings for minors, stronger parental controls, and restrictions on addictive features. FTC is charged with enforcement powers.
- Bilirakis offered an AINS and spoke in support of the bill.
 - Bilirakis shared that the AINS reflects direct feedback from parents. It prohibits recommending a minor's profile to adult-only users, restricts sharing minors' geolocation data, and bans design practices that impede parents from using the bill's protections.
 - It also increases public transparency by requiring audits to disclose the types of reported harms and mandates that certain audit information be made public.
 - Additionally, it extends the Kids Online Safety Council's duration from three to ten years, with required reports every two years.
- Pallone argued KOSA needs a stronger knowledge standard so companies can't ignore the presence of minors on their platforms.
- Rep. **Kathy Castor** (D-FL14) offered and later withdrew an AINS that would have substituted this year's KOSA text with last year's bipartisan text which included a duty of care provision.

- She and Schrier criticized the bill for not including a duty of care provision, arguing this omission gives tech platforms a pass from their infliction of harm on children.
- Castor and Soto also strongly opposed the "sweeping" preemption standard in the bill.
- Trahan offered and later withdrew an AINS.
 - This amendment would have created a safe harbor that lets public-interest researchers study online platforms using privacy-protective methods and collect publicly available platform data without fear of violating Terms of Service.
 - Additionally, it would have shielded researchers from legal risks when tech companies try to limit scrutiny, while including guardrails to address legitimate privacy concerns.
 - The proposal drew from the bipartisan Platform Accountability and Transparency
 Act (S. 1876) and from provisions in the original KOSA from the 117th Congress.
- The Bilirakis AINS was agreed upon by voice vote.
- A roll call vote was requested on the bill as amended. The bill passed 13-10.

H.R. 6291 - Children and Teens' Online Privacy Protection Act; Rep. Walberg

- Lee spoke in favor of the bill.
- Castor spoke against the bill, arguing the text includes a clause that could preempt state-level kid's privacy laws, consumer protection laws, and tort claim laws.
 - o Castor described the preemption provision as a "Big Tech immunity clause."
- A roll call vote was requested on the bill. The bill passed 14-10.