

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA Federal Trade Commission WASHINGTON, D.C. 20580

Andrew N. Ferguson **Concurring Statement of Commissioner Andrew N. Ferguson** *In re* Asbury Automotive Group, Inc., et al.

Matter No. 2223135

August 16, 2024

The Commission today approves the filing of an administrative complaint against respondent Asbury Automotive Group, several of its subsidiary car dealerships, and one of its executives in his individual capacity (collectively, "Asbury"). The Complaint alleges that the defendants violated Section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act¹ by making various misrepresentations about fees, add-ons, and payment authorizations in the course of selling cars to consumers. I concur in those claims because I have reason to believe that the allegations contained in the complaint are true and state a violation of Section 5. I write separately, however, to address two issues.

First, like the complaint we approved yesterday against Coulter Motor Company ("Coulter"), the complaint against Asbury pleads a disparate-impact theory of liability under the Equal Credit Opportunity Act (ECOA).² Because the Commission and the courts have previously interpreted ECOA to impose disparate-impact liability, I concur in this count. For the reasons stated in my partial concurrence in *Coulter Motor Company*,³ however, I have some reservations about whether ECOA satisfies the statutory requirements for disparate-impact liability announced in *Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. Inclusive Communities Project.*⁴ I maintain an open mind on this issue and withhold judgment on whether ECOA authorizes disparate-impact claims until the question is presented to me on the merits.

Second, the Commission's complaint against Asbury alleges discriminatory conduct substantively identical to the conduct alleged yesterday against Coulter. Unlike the complaint against Coulter, however, the complaint against Asbury does not charge a Section 5 discrimination theory. The distinction between the two cases is procedural, but it makes all the substantive difference. Asbury intends to litigate against the Commission. Coulter, by contrast, settled with the Commission. That means that the claims against Coulter—including the majority's novel discrimination theory—will not be subject to judicial review. The claims against Asbury, however, could wind up in front of the U.S. Court of Appeals of Asbury's choosing.⁵

¹ 15. U.S.C. § 45(a).

² Compare Complaint, *FTC v. Coulter Motor Co.*, No. 2223033, at ¶¶ 27–32, 53–57 with Complaint, *In re Asbury Auto. Grp.*, No. 2223135, at ¶¶ 32–35, 48–52.

³ Concurring and Dissenting Statement of Comm'r Andrew N. Ferguson, *Coulter Motor Co.*, No. 2223033, at 1–6 (Aug. 15, 2024).

⁴ 576 U.S. 519 (2015).

⁵ See 15 U.S.C. § 45(c) (providing that any person subject to an order of the Commission may "obtain a review of such order" in a court of appeals, which court may "affirm[], modify[], or set[] aside the order"); see also *1-800*

The reader can do the math. The majority has advanced its novel theory in a case no court will decide but omitted it from a proceeding that could very well go to court. The only inference to draw is that the majority does not want a court to look under the hood of its new Section 5 theory.

The majority's disparate treatment of Asbury and Coulter is a particularly stark example of a dangerous trend taking hold in the Commission. The majority has developed a penchant for pressing aggressive and novel theories in complaints it knows will not be litigated and relying on those unadjudicated complaints as a form of precedent for subsequent Commission action. Consider the majority's signal achievement of the last four years—the now-enjoined Non-Compete Clause Rule.⁶ The rule relied heavily on three unadjudicated complaints as precedent for the proposition that Section 5 condemns noncompete agreements.⁷ No other precedent supported that proposition. Similarly, the nondiscrimination claim the majority slipped into the *Coulter* complaint over the dissent of two Commissioners was supported by just three precedents in eighty-six years—all unadjudicated complaints filed on party-line votes since 2022.⁸ The *Coulter* example is even worse than the Non-Compete Clause Rule because not only has the Commission pressed its nondiscrimination theory exclusively in un-litigated complaints, but today it quite nakedly evades putting that theory in front of a judge.

This trend creates at least three problems. First, unadjudicated complaints are not the law. A complaint is an accusation, nothing more.⁹ It is subject neither to adversarial testing—the defining feature of the American legal tradition¹⁰—nor to adjudication by the Commission or an impartial Article III judge. It signals only that a majority of the Commission has "reason to believe"¹¹—a capacious "standard ... committed to each Commissioner's discretion"¹²—that the defendant violated the law. Settlements do not alter the analysis. A firm may settle because it

Contacts, Inc. v. FTC, 1 4th 102, 112 (2d Cir. 2021) ("The Commission's legal conclusions are for the courts to resolve" (internal quotation marks omitted)); *Impax Labs., Inc. v. FTC*, 994 F.3d 484, 491 (5th Cir. 2021) ("Any legal conclusions are reviewed *de novo*"); *McWane, Inc v. FTC*, 783 F.3d 814, 825 (11th Cir. 2015) ("We review *de novo* the Commission's legal conclusions and application of the facts to the law.");

⁶ Non-Compete Clause Rule, 89 Fed. Reg. 38,342 (May 7, 2024).

⁷ *Id.* at 38,344, 38,422 n.741.

⁸ See Complaint, *FTC v. Passport Auto. Grp.*, No. 8:22-cv-2670 (D. Md. Oct. 10, 2022); Complaint, *FTC v. Rhinelander Auto Center, Inc., et al.*, No. 3:23-cv-737 (W.D. Wis. Oct. 24, 2023); Complaint, *FTC v. Floatme Corp., et al.*, No. 5:24-cv-00001 (W.D. Tex. Jan. 24, 2024). See also Dissenting Statement of Comm'r Noah J. Phillips, *FTC v. Passport Auto. Grp.*, No. 2023199 (Oct. 14, 2022). The Commission filed both *Rhinelander* and *Floatme* when the Commissioners in the majority today were the only members of the Commission.

⁹ See *Lipsky v. Commonwealth United Corp.*, 551 F.2d 887, 893 (2d Cir. 1976) ("This is a consent judgment between a federal agency and a private corporation which is not the result of an actual adjudication of any of the issues. Consequently, it can not be used as evidence in subsequent litigation between that corporation and another party.").

¹⁰ See *Greenlaw v. United States*, 554 U.S. 237, 243 (2008) ("In our adversary system … we follow the principle of party presentation. That is, we rely on the parties to frame the issues for decision and assign to courts the role of neutral arbiter of matters the parties present.").

¹¹ *FTC v. Shire ViroPharma, Inc.*, 917 F.3d 147, 155 (3d Cir. 2019) ("If the FTC has 'reason to believe' that a person, partnership, or corporation 'has been or is using' unfair methods of competition, the FTC can issue an administrative complaint 'stating its charges in that respect.") (quoting 15 U.S.C. § 45(b)).

¹² J. Thomas Rosch, Comm'r, Fed. Trade Comm'n, Three Questions About Part Three: Administrative Proceedings at the FTC, Remarks before the American Bar Association Section of Antitrust Law Fall Forum (Nov. 8, 2012), https://www.ftc.gov/sites/default/files/documents/public_statements/three-questions-about-part-three-administrative-proceedings-ftc/121108fallforum.pdf.

believes it broke the law and wishes to rectify that violation without the expense of litigation.¹³ But many firms settle even if they honestly believe they did nothing wrong and that they would prevail in litigation. Those firms reasonably conclude that a swift end to the Commission's investigation or threatened enforcement advances their interests more than a litigation victory. A settlement extracted from an innocent party reveals much about the Commission's power, but nothing about the law.

Second, the overtness with which the majority dodges judicial review frustrates Congress's design of Section 5 and damages the Commission's legitimacy. Congress did not give the Commission the power to decide on its own which practices were unfair. Our role is to issue a complaint if we have reason to believe conduct is unfair, and then either determine in our own administrative proceedings whether the conduct is in fact unfair or else support our complaint in an Article III district court with evidence and argument. Both types of proceedings are subject to review by the U.S. Courts of Appeals.¹⁴ A court thus ultimately decides whether the Commission is correct that conduct is unfair. We are entitled to "some deference"¹⁵ on that question, at least when our "conclusion" is "based … upon clear, specific, and comprehensive findings supported by evidence."¹⁶ But "the definition of 'unfairness' is ultimately one for judicial determination."¹⁷ Judicial review is critical to Congress's design of the FTC Act because it is the only way to "give assurance that the action of the Commission is taken within its statutory authority."¹⁸ Dodging judicial review, as the Commission does today, shortchanges Congress's carefully structured process. The public rightly should doubt the legitimacy of any theory of unfairness that the majority is so desperate to shield from judicial review.

Finally, this practice generates perverse incentives. The majority has pushed its novel discrimination theory only in unadjudicated complaints and omitted it from complaints alleging substantively identical conduct that might make their way into court. But it continues to rely on

¹³ This reveals nothing about the law. The settlement embodies the untested beliefs of a majority of the Commission and the settling firm.

¹⁴ See Axon Enter., Inc. v. FTC, 598 U.S. 175, 180–81 (2023); cf. A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States, 295 U.S. 495, 533 (1935) ("What are 'unfair methods of competition' are thus to be determined in particular instances, upon evidence, in the light of particular competitive conditions and of what is found to be a specific and substantial public interest. To make this possible, Congress set up a special procedure. A commission, a quasi judicial body, was created. Provision was made for formal complaint, for notice and hearing, for appropriate findings of fact supported by adequate evidence, and for judicial review to give assurance that the action of the commission is taken within its statutory authority." (internal citations omitted)).

¹⁵ *FTC v. Ind. Fed 'n of Dentists*, 476 U.S. 447, 454 (1986).

¹⁶ *FTC v. R.F. Keppel & Bro., Inc.*, 291 U.S. 304, 314 (1934).

¹⁷ Letter from the FTC to Hon. Wendell Ford and Hon. John Danforth, Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, United States Senate, Commission Statement of Policy on the Scope of Consumer Unfairness Jurisdiction (December 17, 1980), appended to *Int'l Harvester Co.*, 104 F.T.C. 949, 1072 n.6 (1984); *Ind. Fed'n of Dentists*, 476 U.S. at 454 ("The legal issues presented—that is, the identification of governing legal standards and their application to the facts found—are... for the courts to resolve...."); *LabMD, Inc. v. FTC*, 894 F.3d 1221, 1227 (11th Cir. 2018) ("We review the FTC's legal conclusions de novo..."); *Impax Labs.*, 994 F.3d at 491 (similar); *N.C. State Bd. of Dental Exam'rs v. FTC*, 717 F.3d 359, 370 (4th Cir. 2013), aff'd, 574 U.S. 494 (2015) (similar).

¹⁸ A.L.A. Schechter Poultry, 295 U.S. at 533; see also *FTC v. Motion Picture Advert. Serv. Co.*, 344 U.S. 392, 404 (1953) (Frankfurter, J., dissenting) ("It is of great importance to bear in mind that the determination of the scope of the prohibition [in section 5] has not been left to the administrative agency as part of its fact-finding authority but is a matter of law to be defined by the courts."); *FTC v. Beech-Nut Packing Co.*, 257 U.S. 441, 453 (1922) ("It is for the courts, not the Commission, ultimately to determine as a matter of law what" conduct violates section 5.).

the untested theory as grounds to enforce Section 5—and therefore as grounds to coerce regulated firms into compliance. The majority thus creates for itself an endlessly recursive legal loop. It develops a novel legal theory to accuse a firm of misconduct; the firm does not resist the accusation, content to settle so that the Commission goes away; the majority then treats the accusation as "the law"; and the majority enforces the accusation-cum-law in future cases. Eventually, in one of these future settlement complaints, the majority may add a new aggressive theory on some other issue, which once again will go unchallenged. The cycle begins anew, and no court gets a say. The rule of law demands more than this bureaucratic chicanery.

That a firm may break this cycle by litigating is no answer to my objection. For most small businesses—and many large ones—a Commission investigation is costly. Lawyers are expensive, and investigations sometimes last for years. Litigation may take many years more. The mere risk of a Commission investigation is coercive and can be enough to force some businesses to yield. In that sense, the Commission premising its enforcement decisions on untested theories of Section 5 trotted out only in settled cases can have the same coercive effect as a judicial interpretation of Section 5, but none of its legitimacy. Furthermore, once it has accumulated a long line of settlements involving a novel theory, the Commission puts itself in a strong position to list those settlements as precedents when it finally does litigate the theory in court, creating for judges and litigants the impression of a long-settled lawful practice that should not be lightly disturbed, thereby completing the process of laundering the theory into law without ever defending it on its merits alone.

I do not begrudge my friends in the majority their right to pursue novel, aggressive enforcement theories in which they earnestly believe. And the majority has expressed great confidence in its Section 5 discrimination theory. Two of its members previously urged the Commission to add this theory to yet another ECOA complaint that did not include it.¹⁹ And yesterday, the majority wagged its fingers at the dissenting Commissioners.²⁰ Today, the majority had the chance to put its money where its mouth is and let the courts take a crack at the theory. Doing so would have been a victory of the rule of law, no matter the outcome of the litigation. But before the high walls of Article III, the majority beats a hasty retreat. Their theory will remain consigned for now to no man's land between the law and the personal preferences of three Commissioners.

Set aside yesterday's confident bluster. The majority's volte face at the moment of truth reveals that the division within the Commission on the legitimacy of this theory is not as wide as it seems.

¹⁹ See Statement of Chair Lina M. Khan, joined by Comm'r Rebecca Kelly Slaughter, *In re Napleton Auto. Grp.*, No. 2023195, at 3 (Mar. 31, 2022).

²⁰ Joint Statement of Chair Lina M. Khan, Comm'r Rebecca Kelly Slaughter, and Comm'r Alvaro M. Bedoya, *Coulter Motor Co., LLC*, No. 2223033, at 3–4 (Aug. 15, 2024).