## When Firms Ask the State to Squelch Competition: the Role of Advocacy



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The views expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the Federal Trade Commission or any individual Commissioner.

## Two Types of Conduct to be Concerned about

- Pure business conduct
  - Cartels and other horizontal agreements
  - Exclusionary behavior by dominant firms
  - Anticompetitive mergers
- Our task is clear

- When business tries to get the state to do the same thing through regulation
  - Effects can be just as severe
  - And the state is the enforcer
- Our task is more complicated

#### A Two-Front War

For competition to prevail, competition agencies must succeed on both fronts. Lose one and we lose the war."

#### The Second Front

- "It is a pyrrhic victory to break a cartel if its members successfully lobby for the authority to set prices collectively.
- It is a defeat to discover a price-fixing agreement among professionals only to have them obtain burdensome licensing restrictions."

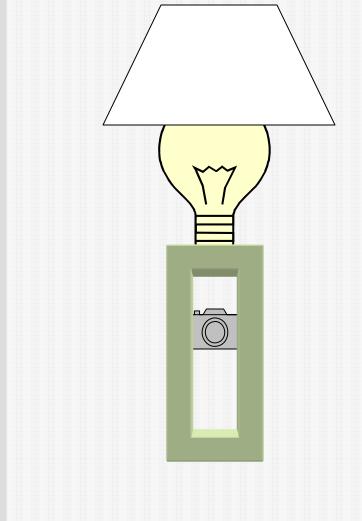
-- Timothy Muris, May 14, 2003

## Imagine yourself . .

- As a business person who wants to avoid the rigors of competition:
- How would you go about limiting competition?



## There are Hard Ways to do it



- 1. Conspire With Competitors
  - Risk of cheaters
  - Risk of entry by nonconspirators
  - Cost of enforcing cartel
  - Risk of discovery
    - Jail
    - Fines
    - Lamps with hidden cameras

## More Hard Ways

- 2. Predatory Pricing
  - Lose profits in the meantime
  - Risk of entry when you raise prices to recoup
  - Expensive
  - High risk of failure

- 3. Merge with competitors
  - Many merged firms lose value
  - Transactional costs
  - Clash of corporate cultures
  - Inefficiencies invite competition

#### And There are Easy Ways

- Get the government to do it for you!
  - Costs of lobbying are low
  - Government enforces the restriction
  - Ability of competition agencies to intervene are limited
- A low risk, low cost way to suppress competition



## Why Does it Work?

- Restrictions are justified as consumer protection measures
- Consumer protection is an attractive goal
- But restrictions' impact on competition, prices, and quality is not well understood
- Relationship between restriction and alleged goal often poorly defined

#### Interests are not balanced

- Business supporters of restrictions are
  - Well organized
  - Have access to lawmakers
  - Have clear incentives to succeed

- Consumers who might oppose restrictions may
  - not understand implications themselves
  - Be poorly organized
  - Have limited incentives

#### Who does that leave?



# Tools to address government restrictions

#### Law Enforcement (sometimes)

- Legal issues
- Sovereignty issues
- Political Issues
- Competition Advocacy
  - Informs government of true costs and benefits of restrictions
  - Often the competition authority is the only one in government with the expertise and interests to do this

# U.S. Advocacy Experience In Many Sectors

- Lawyers
- Dentists
- Optometrists
- Internet Sales
- Wine
- Funerals
- Airlines

- Gasoline
- Food Sellers
- Electricity
- Telecommunications
- Doctors
- Pharmaceuticals
- Motor Vehicle Sales

## Many tools used

- Letters to regulators
- Testimony before legislators
- "Amicus curiae" briefs before courts
- Economic studies
- Public workshops and hearings
- Informal contacts with regulators

## Case Study: Optometry

- Traditional solo practices
- Chain optical firms entered
- State regulatory bodies often dominated by traditional practitioners



# Optometry (2)

- Boards passed restrictions that limited use of:
  - Advertising
  - Trade names
  - Commercial locations
  - Branch offices
  - Employment of optometrists by optical firms

- FTC conducted studies showing:
  - Prices higher in states with restrictions
  - Quality is unaffected
- Law enforcement not always effective: state's rights

## Optometry (3)

- FTC conducted advocacy campaign before state legislatures
  - Used evidence of studies to highlight costs of restrictions and lack of benefits
  - Testimony to state legislatures
  - Letters to legislators
  - Publicity and transparency

## Case Study: Lawyers

- States regulate practice of law in U.S.
- Regulation is
  - delegated to, or
  - Influenced by
  - bar associations dominated by established lawyers
- Bar association resistance to advertising and marketing



# Lawyers (2)

- State restrictions on:
  - Advertising (even after legalized by Supreme Court)
  - Non-lawyer actions deemed practice of law

FTC conducted study:

- showing costs were higher where restrictions prevented entry
- pointing out that competition improves quality

## Lawyers (3)

- FTC and advocated that state bar regulators and legislators remove:
  - restrictions on truthful advertising
  - restrictions on marketing of legal services
  - That prevented new and more efficient practice forms from developing
- While recognizing the need and right of states to prevent deception

# Lawyers (4)

FTC and DOJ jointly advocated removal of definitions of practice of law that prohibited non-lawyers from:

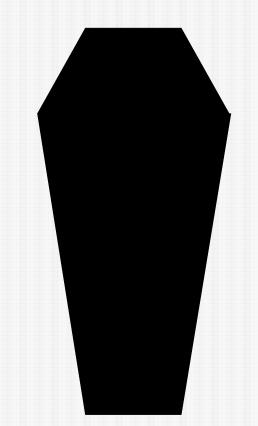
Engaging in real estate closing services

Preparing deeds

That limited lower-cost providers of real estate services

#### Case Study: Funerals

- Funeral services regulated by state law
- Traditional funeral directors dominate in some states
- Caskets are the biggest expense



## Funerals (2)

- Alternative sources of caskets emerge:
  - Mail order
  - Internet
  - Retail discount stores
- Some states respond by requiring sellers of caskets to be licensed funeral directors
- FTC advocacy intervention points out the costs imposed on consumers and lack of consumer benefit from the restrictions

## **Opportunities for input**

- By invitation
- By legal mandate
- We are more effective when our opinion is invited
- Invitations follow investment in a reputation for reliability and impartiality
- Informal contacts lead the way

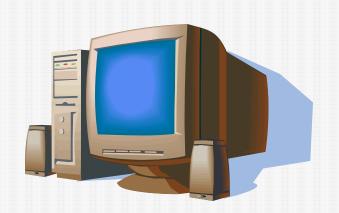
#### Effective advocacy requires:

- Research and empirical evidence
  - In-house capacity
  - Alliances with respected researchers
- A well documented case and persuasive logical argument are our only real weapons
- Awareness of the political environment: choose battles carefully

#### Transparency and publicity

- An effective strategy is to publicize:
  - the cost of the restriction to consumers
  - The relationship between the restriction and the purported consumer benefit
- When the costs and benefits are known, lawmakers are more likely to do the right thing for consumers

#### Resources



- www.ftc.gov/be/advofile. htm
  - www.internationalcompe titionnetwork.org
- www.usdoj.gov/atr