# Law and Economics Session 13 Legal Process 1

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#### Outline for the rest of class

- We've already covered the key ideas in the course, now we will build on those topics.
- Today: Legal Process 1
- Wednesday-Monday:
  - Property Law 2
  - Tort Law 2
  - Contract Law 2
  - Criminal Law 2

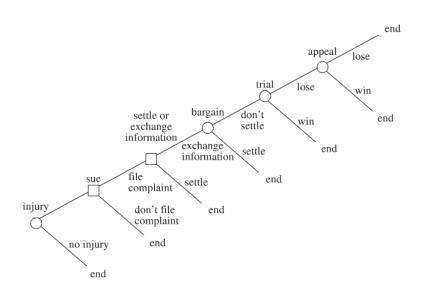
## Economic Analysis of the Legal Process

- "The Legal Process" refers to how the judicial system operates.
- A trial court has to determine the facts of the case and decide how the law applies to those facts.
  - This process is expensive.
- Other issues:
  - When should the parties settle?
  - What trial fees should be imposed, if any?
  - What is the evidentiary threshold for liability/guilt?
  - What opportunities for appeal?

#### Substantive versus Procedural Law

- Our previous material looked mostly at the "substantive" aspects of law:
  - "Substantive" refers to the content of the legal rules and how they affect incentives, assuming that courts enforce them perfectly.
- Today we are looking at "procedural" aspects of law:
  - "Procedure" refers to how the court system determines liability and guilt – more generally, the set of rules defining rights and obligations of the players in a legal dispute.
- "Expectations damages" is a substantive rule; "beyond a reasonable doubt" is a procedural rule.
- "Civil procedure" is the set of rules guiding civil disputes;
   "criminal procedure" is the set of rules guiding criminal prosecutions.

## Stages in a legal dispute



## Legal Process and Administrative Costs

- Recall from the tort law lecture the question of "administrative costs":
  - The negligence standard is probably more expensive to administer than no liability or strict liability
- One important goal of civil and criminal procedure is to minimize the administrative costs of resolving civil disputes and determining criminal responsibility.
- Administrative costs include the costs to everyone involved in a legal matter, such as the costs of filing a legal claim, exchanging information with the other party, bargaining in an attempt to settle, attorney fees, police, judges, juries, appeals, etc.

#### Social Costs = Administrative Costs + Error Costs

 A useful approach is to assume that the economic objective of procedural law is to minimize the sum of administrative and error costs:

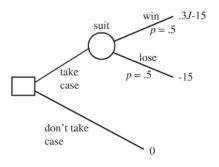
$$\min SC = c_a + c(e)$$

#### where

- $c_a$  = administrative costs, that is, the total expenses by private parties and the state in resolving legal matters.
  - For example, if settling a case will obtain the same outcome as trial, but at lower cost, then settlement is preferred.
- c(e) = the costs of court error e; errors reduce the incentive effects of substantive legal rules.
  - For example, a tort system that determines negligence liability at random would not impose efficient precautionary incentives.

#### The Decision to Sue

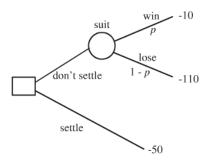
• Judgement *J* for plaintiff if win, attorney takes 30%:



• What is the lowest expected judgement in which the lawyer takes the case?

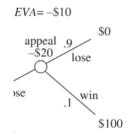
#### The Decision to Settle

Plaintiff suffers harm of \$100, offers \$50 settlement;
 defendant's trial costs are \$10 and wins with probability p.



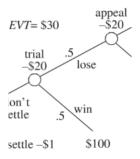
• When should the defendant settle?

- Computing the expected value of a legal claim (EVC) requires backwards induction.
- So we start at the end, the decision whether to appeal:



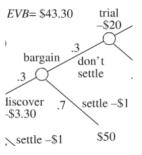
- A losing plaintiff pays \$20 to appeal, wins \$100 with probability 0.1.
  - The expected value of appeal (EVA) is \$-10
  - The rational plaintiff will not appeal.

Moving backward, the decision whether to go to trial:



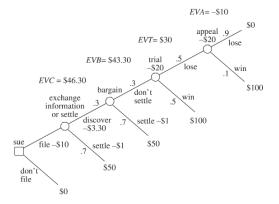
- A plaintiff who failed to settle out of court pays \$20 to go to trial, wins \$100 with probability 0.5.
  - We know from previous step that he doesn't appeal if he loses.
  - The expected value of trial (EVT) is \$30
  - If settlement fails, a trial occurs.

Moving backward, the decision whether to settle after discovery:



- A plaintiff who has completed discovery will bargain to a settlement of \$50 (minus \$1 settlement costs) with probability 0.7:
  - We know from the previous step that EVT=\$30.
  - The expected value of bargaining (EVB) is

$$EVB = .7(\$50 - \$1) + .3(\$30) = \$43.30$$



- Before discovery, settlement of \$50 (minus \$1 settlement costs) occurs with probability 0.7, and EVB=\$43.30
  - The expected value of the claim at the time of filing is

$$EVC = 0.7(\$50 - \$1) + 0.3(\$43.30) = \$46.30$$

 This is greater than the filing cost of \$10, so the rational plaintiff files suit.

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## Exchange of Information

- Why don't parties always settle?
  - Because they have different beliefs about the merits of the claim
- In particular, if both the plaintiff and the defendant believe they will win, a trial will occur.
- Exchanging information (also called discovery or disclosure) is a way to overcome these different beliefs.

#### Motivation to share bad news

- The adversarial trial process rewards disclosure of information that corrects the other side's optimism, which promotes settlements.
- The parties are less likely to disclose information that helps the other side.
- This effect is stronger for voluntary disclosure than for forced disclosure.

#### Disclosure and social costs

- Disclosure helps with both administrative and error costs:
  - For administrative costs, it is cheaper for parties to share information in an informal voluntary process (relative to a forced legal process administered by a judge)
  - For error costs, the information (much of which is verifiable) improves party's beliefs and makes settlement better reflect the result from an actual trial.

## Settlement bargaining

- Oftentimes, settlement can achieve the same outcome of a trial at lower cost.
  - This lower cost is the "cooperative surplus" from settling
  - The Nash bargaining solution will split this surplus.
- Settlements are more likely to occur when plaintiff and defendant have similar expectations about the outcome from trial and when they have low/similar transaction costs in resolving the dispute.
- However, if both parties are overly optimistic, then both parties expect to gain more from trial than they could gain from a settlement acceptable to the other side.
  - Then a trial will occur.

## Plea bargaining

- The criminal law counterpart to settlement is the plea bargain.
  - The defendant pleads guilty to a lesser crime than what he is initially prosecuted for
  - The defendants avoids the risk of a longer sentence upon conviction at trial.
  - The prosecutor avoids the risk that the defendant receives no punishment
- But what is the prosecutor maximizing?

#### Trials are costly

- Three types of trial costs:
  - Fees (lawyer fees, court fees, bribery, etc.)
  - Delays
    - In Los Angeles, for example, it takes three years to bring a case.
    - In India, it takes a decade.
  - Uncertainty (risk averse parties have to bear risk)
- Many lawyers earn their living by keeping people out of legal disputes.

#### Alternatives to trial

- Settlement
- Arbitration
- Mediation
- Duels

## Incentives of lawyers and judges

- The ideal incentive structure for lawyers aligns those incentives with the client – if the client wins, the lawyer should win.
- Judges in contrast should be independent their payoff should not depend at all on the outcome of a case.
  - That way, they might as well choose the socially optimal outcome.
- Among other things, having independent arbitrators is a public good that gives parties efficient incentives for making contracts.
- Thus judges in most countries have political independence and tenure.
- In summary:
  - Judges have incentives to do what is right and easy
  - Lawyers have incentives to do what is profitable and hard

## What about juries?

- Juries have comparable incentives to judges their payoffs are supposed to be insulated from the outcome of the trial, so they might as well choose the social optimum.
- On the other hand, juries are paid next to nothing, so they probably have incentives to end trials as quickly as possible.
- Bribing a whole jury might be more costly than bribing a single judge.
- Juries probably care more about social norms or cultural beliefs about fairness, rather than formal law.

## "Loser pays all"

- In Britain, the loser of a lawsuit has to pay the other side's litigation costs, including attorney's fees.
  - They also have less litigation per capita in Britain.
- This is because the "loser pays" rule will discourage suits with a relatively low probability of winning.
- Some U.S. States have a rule called "offers to compromise," which will penalize a party who refuses to settle.

#### **Appeals**

- In the United States like most jurisdictions, parties who lose at trial can appeal to a higher court to correct mistakes.
- Appeal can be mandatory or discretionary
- In the United States, appeals courts can usually review findings of law but not findings of fact.

## Correcting mistakes

- Hierarchical court systems enable the higher-tier judges to monitor the performance of lower-tier judges and correct their mistakes.
- This is a relatively low-cost correction system because litigants typically appeal only when there is a mistake.
  - The expected value of appeal is higher when the appeals court is likely to reverse.