

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LITIGATION SYSTEMS: AN AUCTION-THEORETIC APPROACH*

Michael R. Baye, Dan Kovenock and Casper G. de Vries

A simple auction-theoretic framework is used to examine symmetric litigation environments where the legal ownership of a disputed asset is unknown to the court. The court observes only the quality of the case presented by each party, and awards the asset to the party presenting the best case. Rational litigants influence the quality of their cases by hiring skilful attorneys. This framework permits us to compare the equilibrium legal expenditures that arise under a continuum of legal systems. The British rule, Continental rule, American rule, and some recently proposed legal reforms are special cases of our model.

Why is the US internationally scorned as the ‘litigious society?’ Are judicial reforms, such as those proposed by the President’s Council on Competitiveness, justified or misguided? More generally, can one rank the legal expenditures induced by legal systems such as the American, British, and Continental rules, and if so, do systems that result in lower expenditures per trial necessarily reduce the social cost of litigation? This paper uses an auction-theoretic framework to address these and other questions.

Our article is motivated in part by the growing policy debate over the need for reform of the American justice system.¹ For instance, as early as 1991 the President’s Council on Competitiveness (chaired at that time by Vice President Dan Quayle), proposed to modify the American legal system (in which all litigants pay their own legal expenditures) by requiring that the loser reimburse the winner for legal fees up to the amount actually spent by the loser.² The rationale for the proposed ‘Quayle system’ was that it would reduce legal expenditures and the number of cases brought to court, since every dollar the loser paid its attorneys would ultimately result in two dollars paid by the loser. Other legal systems (such as the British and Continental rules), also require losers to compensate winners for a portion of their legal costs.³

More recently, the 2004 edition of the *Economic Report of the President* devoted an entire chapter to the issue of tort reform, and noted that Americans collectively

* A preliminary version of this article, entitled ‘Fee Allocation of Legal Services in Litigation’, was presented at the Tinbergen Institute Conference on Contests. We are grateful to Yeon-Koo Che, Paul Klemperer, David de Meza, John Morgan, and the referees for comments that have substantially improved this paper. Kovenock has benefitted from the financial support of the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung. Baye thanks his colleagues at Trinity College Cambridge, Nuffield College Oxford and the University of Bonn for their hospitality during visits when this revision was completed.

¹ A number of recent papers provide important insights into the impact of reforms designed to deter frivolous suits (Che and Earnhart, 1997; Bebchuk and Chang, 1996; Polinsky and Rubinfeld, 1996, 1998) or affect settlement incentives (Spier, 1994; Gong and McAfee, 2000).

² This was proposed in the Council’s *Agenda for Civil Justice Reform in America*, 1991.

³ Under the ‘classic’ interpretation of the British system; see, for example, Hughes and Snyder (1995), the loser pays its own legal costs and, in addition, reimburses the winner for all of its costs. The Continental system requires the loser to pay its own legal costs, plus a fixed fraction of the winner’s legal fees. Note that under this interpretation, the British system may be viewed as a limiting case of the Continental system.

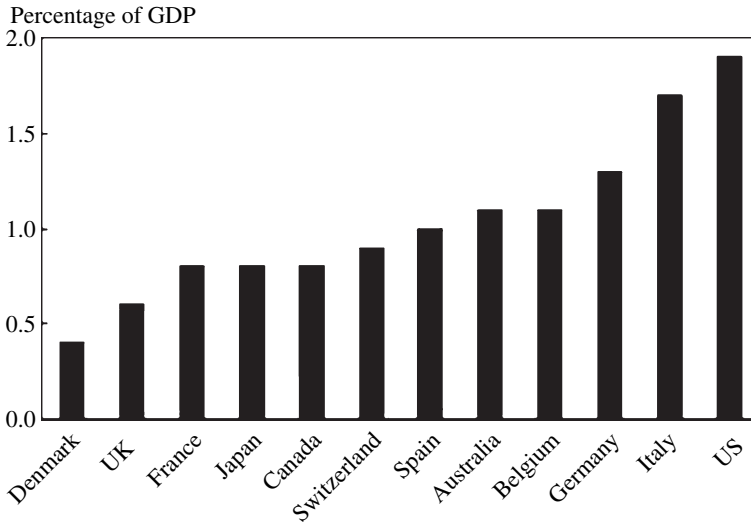


Fig. 1. Tort Expenditures as a Percentage of GDP.

Source: *Economic Report of the President*, 2004

spend more than twice as much on tort expenditures than they spend on new automobiles. As shown in Figure 1, these litigation expenditures (as a percentage of GDP) are over 3 times greater than those in the UK, and are significantly higher than those in other industrialised countries. The *per capita* number of suits filed in the US is also comparatively high. On an annual basis, 3.3 tort suits are filed in the US for each 1,000 inhabitants, compared to only 1.2 per 1,000 in England (see Posner, 1997).

In modelling litigation, simplifying assumptions are typically made to facilitate the analysis. One approach, common to the literature on pre-trial negotiation and settlement, assumes that legal expenditures during a trial do not have any effect on the trial's outcome. For instance, Spier (1992) assumes that it is costly for a plaintiff to go to court but that these costs do not influence the court's decision. In her model, the plaintiff always wins, but the amount won is a random variable from a distribution $f(v)$ with a strictly increasing hazard rate, $f/(1 - F)$. Reinganum and Wilde (1986) and Schweizer (1989) consider models in which both the plaintiff and defendant might win but the probability of winning is exogenous and independent of the legal expenditures of the parties. While these modelling assumptions are useful for understanding why parties in a dispute have an incentive to settle out of court rather than going to trial, they do not permit a comparative analysis of the equilibrium legal expenditures that arise in situations where parties can improve their chances of winning a trial by hiring better attorneys or experts.

Another approach, called the optimism model (Hughes and Snyder, 1995), assumes that each party has exogenous beliefs regarding the merits of their case. These beliefs determine not only whether the parties settle, but also the expected payoff to each party from a trial. Hughes and Snyder conclude that, for exogenously given legal expenditures per trial and exogenous subjective probabilities of

winning a case, the British rule leads to lower total legal outlays than the American system.

Our analysis differs from this existing literature in that we endogenise parties' decisions to go to trial as well their expenditures on legal representation. Specifically, we examine a non-cooperative game where parties in the dispute rationally choose whether to settle or go to trial. In the absence of pre-trial settlement, the parties go to court and can influence the observable merit of their respective sides of the case (and thus their probabilities of winning) by purchasing legal services. Thus, unlike the existing literature which assumes either that there is an *a priori* 'correct' verdict or that the probability of winning is independent of the quality of legal services purchased by the litigants, we examine the *equilibrium* expenditures that arise under various legal systems. Equilibrium requires, among other things, that expenditures on legal services be based on rational beliefs regarding the probability of winning: Subjective beliefs are correct in equilibrium.

As we will see, these modelling differences enable us to use auction-theoretic tools to examine how rational litigants respond to the incentives created by various fee-shifting rules.⁴ In addition, we are able to examine the impact of asymmetric information on equilibrium litigation expenditures and outcomes under a continuum of legal settings, including the Quayle system. This is in contrast to existing work that provides pair-wise comparisons of the American and British rules (Shavell, 1982; Braeutigam *et al.*, 1984), or models such as those by Cooter and Rubinfeld (1989) and Hause (1989) which are based on different informational and/or rationality assumptions.

Our simple model also sheds light on two competing views of the justice system. One view, held by many Americans, is that winners and losers in court cases are determined by how much the parties spend on high-priced attorneys – not on the intrinsic merits of the case. At the other extreme is the view that the amount paid to an attorney is irrelevant; all that matters is the quality of the case presented at trial. We show that these two views need not be inconsistent.

More specifically, we examine the symmetric equilibrium of a litigation game where

- (1) legal expenditures increase the quality of the case presented;
- (2) the party putting forth the best case wins, and
- (3) litigation costs are neither subsidised nor taxed in the aggregate.

We then show that, taking into account the expected payoffs that arise conditional on litigation, there is a sort of 'prisoner's dilemma' that induces litigation even though, collectively, players would be better-off not doing so. More specifically, we show that 'strong' players have incentives to litigate and 'weaker' types have incentives to settle (concede) when our litigation game is preceded by binary decisions to litigate or settle.

Section 1 presents a parameterised litigation model that subsumes the American, British, and Continental systems as special cases. Novel systems like the Quayle

⁴ As noted by Klemperer (2003), auction theory is a powerful tool for analysing a host of economic problems, including litigation.

system, the Matthew system (where the winner pays the loser an amount that is proportional to the winner's legal expenditures), and the Marshall System (where the winner graciously picks up the loser's legal bill), all obtain as special cases. We show that, in any litigation environment where the best case wins, players have symmetric access to 'quality' legal representation, and where legal expenditures increase the quality of the case presented to the court, the player spending the most on attorneys always wins.

Section 2 uses auction-theoretic tools to characterise the equilibrium legal expenditures and payoffs at trial that arise for the parameterised class of legal systems. We find that, conditional on going to trial, the American system results in lower expected legal expenditures per trial than either the Continental or British system, and furthermore, that the Quayle system leads to precisely the same expected legal expenditures as the American system. These results are used in Section 3 to examine incentives to litigate in the first place. We show that settlement is more prevalent in the British and Continental systems than under the American or Quayle system. Taking into account both litigants' incentives to go to trial rather than settle as well as their expected legal expenditures conditional on going to trial, we find that the British system results in the lowest expected legal expenditures while the American and Quayle systems result in the highest. Finally, Section 4 points out some of the limitations of our model and discusses extensions. The Appendix provides proofs for various assertions contained in the text, and shows how the results change when 'luck' can also influence decisions at trial.

1. An Auction-Theoretic Model of Litigation

Two parties are unable to settle a dispute regarding the ownership of an indivisible asset. Each party i values the asset at v_i , and these valuations are independent random draws from a continuous density f with distribution function F .⁵ Each party's valuation is private information, unobserved by the other party and the court. The distribution of valuations is assumed to be common knowledge.

The legal ownership of the asset in dispute is unknown. The role of the court is to examine the evidence presented at trial and, based on the evidence, award the asset to one of the parties. It is costly for the parties to gather evidence and present their case. We assume that the quality of the case presented by a party (q_i) is a function of her expenditures on legal services. The court observes only the quality of the case presented by each party (q_1 and q_2).

The litigation environment requires the two parties to commit simultaneously to legal expenditures, $e_i \geq 0$. Of course, different litigation systems have different implications for ultimate payoffs of the parties. For instance, the American system requires the winner and loser to pay their own legal expenditures, while the British system requires the loser to reimburse the winner for her legal expenditures. To capture the effects of different legal environments, assume that the payoff to party

⁵ The analysis can be extended to the case of correlated values and/or the case where litigants receive affiliated signals of values; see Baye *et al.* (1998). Obviously, this different information structure changes some of the results, since revenue equivalence does not generally hold in the case of affiliation.

i depends on whether she wins or loses the trial as well as the fee-shifting rules implied by the justice system:

$$u_i(e_i, e_j, v_i) = \begin{cases} v_i - \beta e_i - \delta e_j & \text{if party } i \text{ wins} \\ -\alpha e_i - \theta e_j & \text{if party } i \text{ loses.} \end{cases} \tag{1}$$

Here, $(\beta, \alpha, \delta, \theta)$ are fee-shifting parameters that summarise the amount of legal expenditures borne by each party in the event of a favourable or unfavourable judgement. We assume that $(\beta, \alpha) > 0$. This implies that, given the judicial decision, a party’s utility is decreasing in her legal expenditures. In contrast, the parameters (δ, θ) may be positive or negative, depending upon whether the winner and loser pay or receive a transfer based on the other party’s legal expenditures. This formulation permits us to examine a variety of legal environments. For instance, when $\beta = \alpha = 1$ and $\delta = \theta = 0$, the model captures the American system where each party pays her own legal expenses regardless of the outcome. The case where $\alpha = \theta = 1$ and $\beta = \delta = 0$ corresponds to the British system, where the loser pays its own legal costs as well as those of the winner.⁶

To complete the model, we assume that the court’s decision is influenced by the quality of the case presented by each party. The quality of party i ’s case, in turn, is a continuous, strictly increasing function of her legal expenditures. We focus on environments where parties are endowed with symmetric technologies for producing a favourable case. In other words, neither party has a distinct advantage with respect to the evidentiary or legal merits of her claims to the disputed asset, nor access to an attorney capable of making superior legal argument on her behalf. This is a strong assumption; obviously, in some legal environments one party may have a stronger claim to the asset than the other party.⁷ Nonetheless, the symmetric case is a natural benchmark, and as discussed below, permits one to make *ceteris paribus* comparisons of the expenditures induced by different fee allocation mechanisms.

More formally, let q_i denote the quality of party i ’s case and ϕ denote the production function that maps each player’s legal expenditures into that player’s case quality. We assume

- (A1) *Monotonic Legal Production Function* The quality of the case presented by player i is given by $q_i = \phi(e_i)$, where ϕ is a continuous and strictly increasing function of player i ’s expenditures on legal services.

Notice that we are taking an agnostic position with respect to any notion of the ‘truth’ underlying the case. Our motivation for this is three-fold. First, ‘truth’ is typically unobservable; all the court can do is to evaluate observable evidence presented at trial. Second, in many disputes regarding ownership, each side believes that they have the legal right to the item in dispute. Each

⁶ For notational convenience, we will use the notation $\beta = 0$ and $\alpha = 0$ to refer to the cases where $\lim \beta \rightarrow 0$ and $\lim \alpha \rightarrow 0$, respectively.

⁷ An interesting (but complicated) extension would be to allow for such asymmetries. One possible justification for the symmetry assumption is the evidence provided by Waldfogel (1998) which suggests that the pretrial adjudication process tends to weed out parties with observable asymmetries, so that parties actually going to trial tend to be fairly symmetric.

side presents arguments supporting a decision in their favour, and the court's role is to weigh the case presented by the parties and render its decision. Third, since our objective is to compare the amount spent for legal services under various fee-shifting rules, it is important to restrict attention to environments where legal expenditures do not distort the truth. While situations do arise where a party expends hefty legal expenditures to win a case 'wrongfully', a comparative analysis of fee-shifting rules in such environments would be misguided. In particular, if one fee-shifting system resulted in lower expenditures than another system but resulted in more 'incorrect' judicial decisions, the relative merits of the two systems would depend on the social trade-off (if any) between 'justice' and legal costs. Our focus on the expected expenditures arising under different systems is meant to provide a positive analysis of the outlays induced by different systems – not a general normative analysis of which system is 'best'.

Since we are assuming that the true ownership of the item in dispute is unknown, 'justice' or 'fairness' reduces to the situation where the court weighs the observable evidence presented at trial, and awards the asset to the party with the most meritorious case. For example, consider a divorced couple engaged in a nasty custody battle over a child and suppose that there is no *a priori* basis for determining the 'correct' or 'incorrect' decision (both parent's work and are on good terms with the child). All the court can do is evaluate the arguments presented by each side at trial, and award custody to the party presenting the best case. Thus, the assumption that the 'best case wins' does not mean that absolute 'truth' is realised but rather that the court awards custody to the most deserving party, given the evidence presented at trial.

- (A2) *Best Case Wins* If party i presents the best case ($q_i > q_j$), party i wins with probability one. If the two parties' cases are of identical quality ($q_i = q_j$), each party wins with probability 1/2.

This assumption rules out, for example, 'jury nullification' whereby the court relies on non-trial evidence or other 'unobservables' to rule against the party presenting the most meritorious case at trial; the Appendix relaxes this assumption.

Finally, we focus on environments where the two litigants' legal expenditures are neither subsidised nor taxed by an outside party. Thus, while the loser and/or winner might be required to reimburse the other party for some portion of her legal expenditures, the sum of the expenditures of the two litigants exactly equals the aggregate amount spent on legal services. We formalise this assumption as

- (A3) *Internalised Legal Costs* There are no subsidies or taxes; all legal expenses are borne by the litigants.

Note that assumption A3 implies that $\alpha + \delta = \beta + \theta = 1$, so $\delta = (1 - \alpha)$ and $\theta = (1 - \beta)$. By A2, party i wins if $q_i > q_j$, loses if $q_j > q_i$, and wins with probability 1/2 if $q_i = q_j$. Substituting these relations into (1) and noting that A1 implies that $q_i \geq q_j$ if and only if $e_i \geq e_j$ yields:

PROPOSITION 1 *Suppose assumptions A1 to A3 hold. Then the payoff functions for the two parties are given by*

$$u_i(e_i, e_j, v_i) = \begin{cases} v_i - \beta e_i - (1 - \alpha)e_j & \text{if } e_i > e_j \\ v_i/2 - e_i & \text{if } e_i = e_j \\ -\alpha e_i - (1 - \beta)e_j & \text{if } e_j > e_i. \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

Two aspects of Proposition 1 are worth noting. First, in symmetric environments where legal expenditures enhance the quality of the case presented and the best case wins, the party spending the most on legal services always wins. Outcomes where parties appear to ‘buy justice’ by hiring superior (and more costly) attorneys are, in fact, consistent with the court determining the winner based purely on the observable evidence presented at trial. While our focus on trial environments that are symmetric in the eyes of the court and where the best case wins is not without loss of generality, it is the natural benchmark to use in comparing the relative merits of different fee-shifting rules.

Second, the form of payoff functions in Proposition 1 permits us to vary the fee-shifting parameters to capture a variety of different litigation rules as special cases. For instance, the following litigation rules are included as important special cases:

American System ($\alpha = \beta = 1$)⁸ Each party pays their own legal expenses, and the party presenting the highest quality case wins.

Continental System ($\alpha = 1; \beta \in (0,1)$) The loser pays his own costs and, in addition, pays a fraction $(1-\beta)$ of the winner’s expenses.

British System ($\alpha = 1; \beta = 0$)⁹ Technically, this is the limit of the Continental System as β tends to zero. Here, the party presenting the best case wins, and the loser pays her own legal expenses and virtually all of those of the winning party.

In addition to these well-known systems, our parameterisation permits us to examine more exotic systems, such as ones we call the Quayle, Marshall, and Matthew systems:

Quayle System ($\alpha = 2; \beta = 1$)¹⁰ The loser pays his own costs and reimburses the winner up to the level of the loser’s own costs.

⁸ We have adopted this terminology from the economics and legal literatures, which uses the terms ‘American System’ and ‘American Rule’ to refer to legal environments where each party pays his or her own legal expenses. It is important to note, however, that in practice it is not this black and white. Kritzer (2002) notes that many US jurisdictions have adopted ‘one-way’ fee-shifting regimes, whereby a successful *plaintiff* may recover a fraction of its attorneys’ fees from the losing defendant but a winning defendant cannot recover its legal expenses. One such example stems from the *Equal Access to Justice Act*, which allows a successful nongovernmental party to recover a fraction of its legal outlays in cases involving federal agencies.

⁹ Once again, we adopt this terminology from the relevant literatures which use the terms ‘British System’ and ‘English Rule’ to refer to environments where the loser pays the winner’s legal expenses. Even in England, this rule is not generally applied in its pure form (Kritzer, 2002; Davis, 1999).

¹⁰ As noted in introduction, we call this parameterisation the ‘Quayle system’ because Dan Quayle chaired the President’s Council on Competitiveness, which recommended that the US adopt this mechanism in its *Agenda for Civil Justice Reform in America* (1991). Smith (1992) analysed this system in a model where parties’ subjective probabilities of winning may not be consistent, and in which the determination of legal expenditures is exogenous.

Marshall System ($\alpha = 0; \beta = 1$).¹¹ Technically, this is the limit of the Continental system as α tends to zero. The Marshall system is the reverse of the British system: The *winner* pays her own costs and, in addition, reimburses the loser for all of its legal costs.

Matthew System ($\alpha = 1; \beta \in (1, \infty)$).¹² The winner is required to 'go the extra mile' and transfer an amount to the loser that is proportional to the winner's legal expenditures. This is, in a sense, the reverse of the Quayle system which requires the *loser* to transfer an amount to the winner. The payoffs for the Matthew system are similar to the Continental rule, except $\beta > 1$.

The auction-like structure of these payoffs, and more generally the payoffs in (2), permits us to use auction-theoretic tools to analyse this parameterised class of legal systems. For the remainder of the analysis, we also assume:

- (A4) *Regulatory Conditions on the Distribution of Valuations* The density of valuations is bounded, continuous and strictly positive on its support, $[0, \bar{v}]$, where $0 < \bar{v} < \infty$.

2. Legal Outlays at Trial

This Section characterises the equilibrium expenditures on legal services that arise when both parties opt to litigate their dispute in court. The first subsection provides closed-form expressions for the equilibrium expenditures that arise at trial, while the second subsection shows how the cost of litigation per trial varies across different legal systems.

2.1. Equilibrium Legal Outlays

Let $e_i(v_i)$ denote the legal expenditures of a party who values the item in dispute at v_i . If legal expenditures are a strictly increasing function of the amount a litigant stands to gain by winning ($e_i'(v_i) > 0$) then e_i^{-1} exists and the expected payoff $EU(e_i, v_i)$ of a party who expends e_i on legal services is:

$$EU(e_i, v_i) = \int_0^{e_i^{-1}(e_i)} [v_i - \beta e_i - (1 - \alpha)e_j(v_j)]f(v_j)dv_j + \int_{e_i^{-1}(e_i)}^{\bar{v}} [-\alpha e_i - (1 - \beta)e_j(v_j)]f(v_j)dv_j. \quad (3)$$

The first term represents the payoffs arising when player i puts forth a higher-quality case than player j and thus wins the item valued at v_i , while the second term

¹¹ We call this the Marshall System in honour of George Catlett Marshall who, as US Secretary of State, organised the *European Recovery Program* (better known as the *Marshall Plan*). He is not to be confused with Thurgood Marshall or John Marshall, both of whom served on the US Supreme Court.

¹² We call this the Matthew system because Matthew 5: 39–41 states: 'But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.' Loosely translated: if you are forced to spend \$1 defending yourself in court, go the extra mile and pay an additional amount to your adversary.

represents the payoff from losing. Notice that the expected payoff from litigation critically depends on the fee-shifting rules of the legal system.

Differentiating with respect to e_i gives the first-order condition for player i 's optimal level of legal expenditures, given the level e_j of the rival. Using standard auction-theoretic methods (see the Appendix for a detailed proof) we obtain:

PROPOSITION 2 *Suppose the litigation environment satisfies (A1) to (A4). In the unique symmetric equilibrium in differentiable strategies, the legal expenditures of a party who values the item in dispute at v is*

$$e(v) = [\alpha - (\alpha - \beta)F(v)]^{-2} \int_0^v sf(s)[\alpha - (\alpha - \beta)F(s)]ds. \tag{4}$$

Notice that under assumptions A1 to A4, the item in dispute is always awarded to the party presenting the best case and, furthermore, the allocation of the item is efficient, since it is always awarded to the party valuing it most highly (this follows from the symmetry and monotonicity of the equilibrium expenditures in (4); see the Appendix).

As a corollary to Proposition 2, one may obtain closed form expressions for the equilibrium legal expenditures that arise under various legal systems by simply substituting specific parameter values for (α, β) into the general expression in Proposition 2. These are presented in Table 1.

2.2. The Cost of Litigation per Trial

Proposition 2 permits us to compare the expenditures arising under several of the litigation systems in Table 1. To see this, note that the only differences in the American, British, Continental, and Matthew systems is β , as $\alpha = 1$ for all of these systems. It is straightforward to establish that the equilibrium expenditures of a litigant who values the item at $v \in (0, \bar{v})$, given in (4), are strictly decreasing in β . Thus, other things equal, litigants spend less *per trial* in systems where β is higher. The intuition is that legal systems with higher β s require the winner to pay a greater

Table 1
Equilibrium Legal Expenditures

Legal system	α, β	Expenditures ($e(v)$)
American	$\alpha = 1, \beta = 1$	$\int_0^v sf(s)ds$
British	$\alpha = 1, \beta = 0$	$\frac{\int_0^v sf(s)[1 - F(s)]ds}{[1 - F(v)]^2}$
Continental	$\alpha = 1, \beta \in (0,1)$	$\frac{\int_0^v sf(s)[1 - (1 - \beta)F(s)]ds}{[1 - (1 - \beta)F(v)]^2}$
Marshall	$\alpha = 0, \beta = 1$	$\frac{\int_0^v sf(s)F(s)ds}{F(v)^2}$
Quayle	$\alpha = 2, \beta = 1$	$\frac{\int_0^v sf(s)[2 - F(s)]ds}{[2 - F(v)]^2}$
Matthew	$\alpha = 1, \beta \in (1,\infty)$	$\frac{\int_0^v sf(s)[1 - (1 - \beta)F(s)]ds}{[1 - (1 - \beta)F(v)]^2}$

share of her own legal expenditures. This reduces the benefits of winning and therefore induces parties to spend less on attorneys. Furthermore, an increase in β increases the payoff to the loser by reducing the amount of the winner's expenses the loser is required to pay. In fact, when β increases above unity, the loser actually receives a direct payment from the winner. In short, an increase in β reduces the benefit of winning relative to losing, and this leads to less vigorous legal battles in court.

Since β is highest under the Matthew system and lowest under the British system, it follows that, regardless of her valuation, a litigant will spend more under the British system than under the Continental, American, or Matthew systems. To summarise:

PROPOSITION 3 *Under assumptions A1 to A4, the equilibrium expenditures of a litigant who values the item at $v \in (0, \bar{v})$ can be ordered as follows:*

$$e(v)^{\text{British}} > e(v)^{\text{Continental}} > e(v)^{\text{American}} > e(v)^{\text{Matthew}}.$$

Unfortunately, Proposition 3 does not provide a complete ranking of all of the legal systems in Table 1. This stems from the fact that the equilibrium expenditure functions under the American system and the Quayle system cross, as do expenditures under the American system and Marshall system. In situations where the expenditure functions cross, unambiguous expenditure rankings are not possible. To see this, consider the special case where the distribution of values is uniformly distributed on the unit interval ($F(v) = v$ for $v \in [0,1]$). In this case, equilibrium expenditures under the American and Marshall systems are given by

$$e^A(v) = \frac{1}{2}v^2$$

and

$$e^M(v) = \frac{1}{3}v,$$

respectively. These functions cross at $v = 2/3$: Litigants with valuations below $2/3$ spend less under the American system, while those with valuations above $2/3$ spend more under the American system.

It is possible, however, to rank the *expected* legal outlays induced by legal systems unambiguously with arbitrary fee-shifting parameters. Indeed, the expected legal outlays induced by a litigation system are independent of α and decreasing in β . A simple and elegant way of seeing this is to apply arguments based on the Revenue Equivalence Theorem (RET).¹³

Let $U(v)$ denote the expected utility of a litigant of type v in the unique symmetric equilibrium in differentiable strategies, and $P(v)$ denote the corresponding probability she wins the suit. Note that, since the litigant with the higher valuation always wins, $P(v) = F(v)$ for all $v \in [0, \bar{v}]$. Hence, the expected utility of a litigant of

¹³ In Baye *et al.* (2000) we provide an alternative analytic proof that expected legal outlays are independent of α and decreasing in β by direct integration of (4) with respect to the density f . Paul Klemperer, in private communication and subsequently in Klemperer (2003), suggested a proof based on the Revenue Equivalence Theorem (RET). We are indebted to Paul Klemperer for this insight and use the RET approach in what follows.

type v is the probability she wins the suit times her valuation of the item in dispute, less her expected net payment. Since the internalisation of legal costs (A3) implies that the expectation of net payments across all types is simply $E[e(v)]$,

$$E[U(v)] = E[F(v)v] - E[e(v)]. \tag{5}$$

Note that, by standard results in mechanism design (Klemperer, 1999), $U(v) = U(0) + \int_0^v F(x)dx$. Hence

$$E[U(v)] = U(0) + E\left[\int_0^v F(x)dx\right]. \tag{6}$$

Furthermore, since the litigant with the higher valuation always wins, the expected utility of a litigant with the lowest possible valuation is $U(0) = -(1 - \beta)E[e(v)]$. Substituting this expression for $U(0)$ in (6) and taking expectations yields

$$E[U(v)] = -(1 - \beta)E[e(v)] + \int_0^{\bar{v}} \left[\int_0^v F(x)dx\right] f(v)dv. \tag{7}$$

Equating (5) and (7) and integrating reveals that

$$E[e(v)] = \frac{1}{\beta} \int_0^{\bar{v}} vf(v)[1 - F(v)]dv.$$

To summarise:

PROPOSITION 4 *Under assumptions A1 to A4, a litigant’s expected equilibrium legal expenditures at trial are given by*

$$E[e(v)] = \frac{1}{\beta} \int_0^{\bar{v}} vf(v)[1 - F(v)]dv. \tag{8}$$

Thus, while a litigant’s actual legal expenditures generally depend on both α and β , her *expected* legal expenditures are independent of α . The above proof essentially utilises a version of the RET that applies to litigation systems in which the expected utility of a litigant with the lowest possible valuation is non-zero (as is the case in the British legal system). The RET implies that equilibrium expected utility depends on the underlying litigation parameters only through their effect on the expected utility of a litigant with the lowest possible valuation. Regardless of the magnitude of α , a litigant with the lowest possible valuation knows she will lose for sure, and thus in equilibrium spends nothing on legal services. Hence, the expected utility of a litigant with the lowest possible valuation is simply $-(1 - \beta)$ times the expected equilibrium expenditures induced by the litigation system. These observations induce the structure of (7), which when combined with (5), implies that expected equilibrium expenditures are independent of α , but are strictly decreasing in β .

In addition, since total expected legal expenditures per trial are given by $TC = 2E[e(v)]$, Proposition 4 implies that total expected legal expenditures per trial are not only independent of α , but are strictly decreasing in β . Thus we immediately have the following result as corollary to Proposition 4:

PROPOSITION 5 *Under assumptions A1 to A4, total expected legal expenditures per trial are given by*

$$TC(\beta) = \frac{2}{\beta} \int_0^{\bar{v}} vf(v)[1 - F(v)]dv.$$

Thus, regardless of the value of α , legal systems with higher β s result in unambiguously lower total expected legal expenditures per trial. In particular:

$$TC^{British} > TC^{Continental} > TC^{American} = TC^{Marshall} = TC^{Quayle} > TC^{Matthew}.$$

Since the American, Marshall and Quayle systems all have the same β , they result in the same expected legal expenditures at trial. As we show in the Appendix, this result critically depends on our assumption (A2); if random effects also influence the court's decision, the Marshall, Quayle, and Matthew systems will result in different expected expenditures at trial.¹⁴

Proposition 5 reveals that, conditional on both players litigating, expected legal expenses per trial are highest under the British system and lowest under the Matthew system. In fact, Proposition 5 implies that by choosing β arbitrarily large in the Matthew system, one can make total expected legal expenditures arbitrarily small. Thus, one might be tempted to conclude that, given the assumptions of the model, the Matthew system is the 'optimal' litigation system; after all, the judicial outcome is both efficient and just (in the sense that the party presenting the best case always wins), and furthermore, the system can be devised in a manner that 'minimises' legal expenditures on a per-trial basis. This reasoning is incomplete, however, as the following analysis reveals.

By assumption A3, litigation costs are internalised, so total expected legal expenditures equal the total expected utility loss from litigation. Thus, the expected payoffs from litigating (denoted EU) are higher in legal systems where expected expenditures per trial are lower. It follows from Proposition 5 that

PROPOSITION 6 *Under assumptions A1 to A4, the expected payoffs of litigants can be ordered as follows:*

$$EU^{British} < EU^{Continental} < EU^{American} = EU^{Marshall} = EU^{Quayle} < EU^{Matthew}.$$

More generally, the expected payoffs of the litigants are independent of α and strictly increasing in β .

Together, Propositions 5 and 6 illustrate an important trade-off. On the one hand, legal systems with higher β s result in lower expected equilibrium legal expenditures per trial, and the Matthew system results in the lowest possible expected expenditures per trial. On the other hand, legal systems with higher β s result in higher expected payoffs from litigation, thus making it more attractive for parties to bring suits in the first place. Thus, while the Matthew system results in lower expenditures per trial, adopting such a system would likely increase the number of cases brought to trial.

¹⁴ We are indebted to an unusually insightful referee for pointing this out and for providing a sketch of the treatment we provide in the Appendix.

Factoring in the increased number of trials, it is not at all clear which legal system results in the lowest expected total legal expenditure from an *ex ante* standpoint. Furthermore, for litigation systems in which expected payoffs are negative at trial, it is not at all clear rational players would opt to litigate in the first place. We address these two important issues in the next Section.

3. Why Litigate in the First Place?

The total expected expenditures induced by a given legal system depend not only on the expected expenditures per trial under each system but also on the number of trials induced by each system. *Ceteris paribus*, systems that generate lower expected expenditures per trial provide greater expected payoffs from litigation and, therefore, result in more cases being brought to trial. The ranking across legal systems of the *ex ante* expected total costs of litigation depend upon this trade off. We now provide a simple model that captures these basic forces, and also show that litigation results in a sort of ‘prisoner’s dilemma’ when one endogenises players’ decisions to litigate or settle in the first place.

To illustrate these issues, consider a two stage game where in the first stage, players simultaneously but independently make a decision whether to litigate or to concede. If both players decide to litigate, they enter a second stage in which they simultaneously decide how much to spend on legal effort (the game analysed above). If one party concedes while the other opts for litigation, the litigating party is awarded the item in summary judgement. If both parties concede, the payoffs to the parties depend on the nature of the dispute. For example, if the item in dispute is a parcel of land, the absence of clearly defined property rights might result in the land remaining fallow and each party receiving a payoff of $U^C(v_i) = 0$. Alternatively, property rights in this case might be allocated on the basis of a coin flip or an unmodelled administrative process which – from the standpoint of the disputants – resembles a fair randomising device. In this case party *i*’s expected payoff is $U^C(v_i) = v_i/2$.

The expected payoff to player *i* (with value v_i) from entering the litigation stage depends on the set of values v_j for which player *j* chooses to litigate, the beliefs that player *j* has about the set of values for which player *i* litigates, the beliefs of player *i* concerning these beliefs of player *j*, and so on. If players have common beliefs regarding the distribution of litigants’ valuations in the litigation stage (so that the environment is symmetric and our previous results apply), the incentives of the two parties in the first stage of the game are as illustrated in the matrix.

		Player <i>j</i>	
		Litigate	Concede
Player <i>i</i>	Litigate	$U^L(v_i, F^*), U^L(v_j, F^*)$	$v_i, 0$
	Concede	$0, v_j$	$U^C(v_i), U^C(v_j)$

Here $U^L(v_i, F^*)$ and $U^L(v_j, F^*)$ refer to the expected payoffs to i and j , respectively, from entering the litigation game described in the sections above when the distribution of valuations of those opting to litigate is F^* .¹⁵ Note that, due to the asymmetric information, player i knows v_i but perceives that v_j is a random draw from F^* . We will show that there exists a symmetric perfect Bayesian equilibrium with a cut-off value \hat{v} , such that each player litigates if and only if his realised value is greater than or equal to his respective cut-off value, and thus $F^*(v) = [F(v) - F(\hat{v})]/[1 - F(\hat{v})]$.

Note first that if $U^C(v_i) < v_i$, player i has an incentive to litigate if he expects his rival to concede. This implies, among other things, that there does not exist an equilibrium in which all types of players concede, so that $\hat{v} < \bar{v}$. Since player valuations are private information, this implies that, in a symmetric equilibrium, a positive fraction of players will be engaged in litigation games of the sort examined in Sections 1 and 2. Expressed differently, even if litigation is socially inefficient (due to wasteful expenditures on attorneys), one would expect to observe a positive level of litigation. Furthermore, if $U^L(v_i, F^*) \geq 0$ for all i , endogenising players' decisions to litigate in the first place leads to a sort of 'prisoner's dilemma'.

To illustrate, consider the special case where $U^C(v_i) = v_i/2$. Suppose there exists a symmetric equilibrium in which players with valuations $v \geq \hat{v}$ choose to litigate and those with valuations below \hat{v} do not. Hence,

$$\begin{aligned} U^L(v_i, F^*) &= U^L\{v_i, [F(v) - F(\hat{v})]/[1 - F(\hat{v})]\} \\ &\equiv EU^L(v_i|\hat{v}). \end{aligned}$$

In this case, a player with a valuation \hat{v} is indifferent between litigating and not, so \hat{v} must satisfy

$$[1 - F(\hat{v})]EU^L(\hat{v}|\hat{v}) + F(\hat{v})\hat{v} = \frac{1}{2}\hat{v}F(\hat{v}), \quad (9)$$

where $EU^L(\hat{v}|\hat{v})$ refers to the expected payoff of a player whose valuation is \hat{v} , given that it is common knowledge that each player litigates if and only if his value is greater than or equal to \hat{v} . Rearranging this expression yields

$$EU^L(\hat{v}|\hat{v}) = \frac{-\hat{v}F(\hat{v})}{2[1 - F(\hat{v})]}. \quad (10)$$

For a given \hat{v} , we know from Proposition 6 that the left-hand side of (10) depends only on β and F , and furthermore, is increasing in β . It follows that \hat{v} is a decreasing function of β , and thus there exists a symmetric perfect Bayesian equilibrium where players with valuations below \hat{v} concede while those with higher valuations go to trial and play a game analogous to that described in Sections 1 and 2.

¹⁵ Note that, while the results in the previous section assume valuations are drawn from a common distribution F on $[0, \bar{v}]$, it is trivial to extend the results to the case where the support is $[\underline{v}, \bar{v}] \subset R_+$. All we require here is that, given an initial distribution of values, F , each litigant perceives that valuations (conditional on litigation) are *iid* draws from some distribution, F^* . As shown below, there exists an equilibrium in which F^* is a simple truncation of F .

Ex Ante
Expected
Legal Outlays

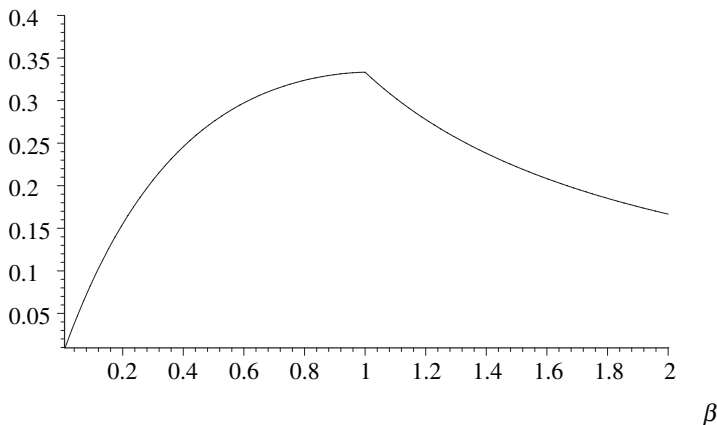


Fig. 2. *Expected Expenditures at Trial and the Incentive to Litigate.*

Imposing additional structure enables one to solve explicitly for the set of types who will rationally engage in litigation. For instance, suppose v is uniformly distributed on $[0,1]$ (so that $F(v) = v$) and $\alpha = \beta$. Straightforward calculations (see the Appendix) reveal that the *ex ante* expected legal outlays – taking into account both the incentives to litigate and expected expenditures per trial – are maximised when $\beta = 1$. The relationship between expected expenditures and β is shown in Figure 2. In this case, taking into account not only *ex post* expenditures per trial but also the incentives to litigate in the first place, the *ex ante* expected legal expenditures are maximised under the American System ($\alpha = \beta = 1$). Under this system, litigation dominates conceding for any player with valuation $v > 0$, and total expected expenditures are

$$\begin{aligned}
 2E[e(v)] &= 2E\left[\int_0^v sf(s)ds\right] \\
 &= 2\int_0^1 \frac{1}{2}v^2dv = \frac{1}{3}.
 \end{aligned}$$

We may conclude that, for this parameterisation with endogenous litigation choice, the American system results not only in more litigation but in greater *ex ante* expected legal outlays than in a system in which $\beta < 1$. Furthermore, all types litigate under the American system, so increases in β above 1 do not increase the incidence of litigation. Since total legal expenditures conditional upon litigating decrease in β , the American legal system leads to the highest possible *ex ante* total expected legal expenditures.

Since the expected legal expenditure of the litigant with the lowest valuation is invariant with respect to α , any legal system satisfying (A1) to (A4) and $\beta = 1$ will generate the same *ex ante* expected legal expenditure as the American system.

Hence, in particular, the Quayle System also results in higher *ex ante* expected expenditures than legal systems where $\beta \neq 1$.

In concluding this Section, we stress that these findings are based on a specific parameterisation of a discrete two stage game in which any attempts to settle the case out of court must occur in the first stage. The second stage represents the point at which there is insufficient time for further settlement discussions, and players must commit (through the irreversible payments to attorneys required at this stage) to the court's mechanism for resolving the dispute. One may readily extend the settlement stage to include multiple periods, so long as there exists a 'drop dead date' at which players must *simultaneously* commit *all* legal expenditures. An interesting extension of our model would be to examine settlement and litigation with flow expenditures in continuous time or to extend the model to allow for pre-emption by one of the parties.

4. Discussion

Our auction-theoretic framework considered a symmetric litigation environment in which the legal ownership of the disputed asset is unknown to the court. The court observes only the quality of the case presented by each party and awards the asset to the party presenting the best case (justice is always served). Litigants can influence the quality of their case by hiring skilful attorneys. The class of litigation systems considered includes standard systems (such as the American, British, and Continental systems), as well as more exotic ones (which we call the Quayle, Marshall and Matthew systems). Equilibrium legal expenditures per trial are increasing in the proportion of the winner's attorney fees that must be paid by the loser, while the expected payoffs of the litigants are a decreasing function of this proportion. This results in a trade-off: litigation systems with lower equilibrium legal expenditures per trial (such as the American, Quayle and Matthew systems) provide a greater incentive for parties to sue than systems that entail higher equilibrium legal expenditures (such as the British and Continental systems). Expected legal expenditures per trial, as well as litigation incentives, are independent of the proportion of the loser's legal fees paid by the winner and loser.

Notice that if one's objective is solely to reduce wasteful expenditures on attorneys, one might contemplate imposing a tax on legal expenditures. This can easily be analysed within our framework by altering assumption (A3) to permit taxes on legal services. For example, suppose a proportional tax rate of, say τ , is imposed on the parties' legal expenditures. Given the payoff structure in (1), the invariance of expected utility with respect to affine transformations implies that the ultimate effect is to reduce each litigant's valuation of the disputed item by the same factor. In particular, for any tax rate τ imposed on the parties' litigation expenditures, the incentives confronting a player with valuation v are equivalent to a no-tax regime in which the disputed item's value is $v_\tau \equiv v/(1 + \tau)$. Thus, it follows that for any given τ , the rankings derived in Propositions 3 to 6 still apply.

Importantly, however, even a casual reading of the literature makes it clear that the 'best' legal system is not necessarily the one that minimises expected legal expenditures. Indeed, equity, equal access to the law, fairness, and a host of other

factors (such as the probability of a wrong verdict) are also important considerations. Furthermore, different legal systems induce different asymmetries; in some jurisdictions, a defendant is presumed innocent until proven guilty, while in others the burden is on the defendant. Even within a given country, some types of cases have different burdens of proof, ranging from 'beyond reasonable doubt' to merely a 'preponderance of the evidence'. In short, alternative legal systems have a plethora of advantages and disadvantages, and are far more complex than those analysed in any theoretical model. Our analysis of the expected expenditures arising under different legal systems is but one small piece of a much larger puzzle.

With these caveats, our analysis suggests that a movement from the American system to the Quayle system would neither reduce expected legal expenditures on a per-trial basis nor reduce the incentives for parties to litigate. To the extent that America's reputation for being a litigious society is based on the sheer number of suits brought to trial,¹⁶ a movement toward the Continental or British system might reduce the number of suits and the strain on the court system. Furthermore, while our analysis suggests that such a move would result in higher expected legal costs on a per-trial basis, under plausible conditions the *ex ante* legal expenditures (taking into account both incentives to litigate and expected expenditures to trial) would be lower.

Unfortunately, there are relatively few empirical studies that shed definitive light on whether these predictions are consistent with the evidence. As Kritzer (2002) notes, cross-country comparisons, such as studies comparing litigation expenditures in the US with those in Britain, are problematic because of other substantive differences between the countries.¹⁷ Snyder and Hughes (1990) attempt to avoid these problems by using data from a 'natural experiment' within the US in which Florida shifted from the American system to the British system for resolving medical malpractice suits. They provide evidence that is consistent with the predictions of our model: The shift from the American to the British system significantly reduced the incidence of litigation, but increased expenditures at trial by over 61.3%. Further empirical research in this area, perhaps combining our theoretical framework with empirical auction techniques, might be a fruitful avenue for future research.

Finally, it is also important to stress that our findings are based on a stylised model that incorporates a number of simplifying assumptions. For instance, our assumption (A1) restricts attention to environments where neither party has an advantage with respect to the evidentiary or legal merits of her claims to the disputed asset, nor access to an attorney capable of making superior arguments on her behalf. While the empirical evidence provided by Waldfogel (1998) suggests that the pre-trial adjudication process tends to weed out cases with observable asymmetries, one can certainly imagine trials in which one party has a distinct advantage with respect to the intrinsic legal merits. An interesting extension would

¹⁶ Branham (1998) reports that product liability suits are, on a per-capita basis, 8 times more prevalent in the US than in the UK.

¹⁷ For example, contingency fees – the practice whereby attorneys do not bill clients for attorney's fees but instead receive a fraction of any winnings – are common in the US but absent in most other countries (Davis, 1999).

be to capture differences in intrinsic merit by allowing for asymmetric legal production functions.

Our analysis also ignores the impact of budget constraints. One undesirable feature of the British system is that it might make courts a playing field for only the wealthy. Under the British system, the prospect of having to pay the winner's legal expenses might preclude the poor from seeking justice through the court system. This may explain why there are significant differences across countries in government subsidies designed to aid low-income litigants. For example, Houseman (2003) notes that, as a fraction of GDP, Britain's expenditures on civil legal aid is about 12 times greater than that in the US. The simple auction-theoretic litigation framework set forth in this paper, coupled with recent work by Che and Gale (1998) on auctions with budget-constrained players, may serve as a useful starting point for a more complete analysis of these issues.

Indiana University

Purdue University

Erasmus University Rotterdam and Tinbergen Institute

Date of accept of first submission: February 2002

Date of accept of final type script: August 2004

A Technical Appendix is available for this paper at <http://www.res.org.uk/economic/ta/tahome.asp>

References

- Baye, M. R., Kovenock, D. and de Vries, C. G. (1998). 'A general linear model of contests', mimeo, Purdue University.
- Baye, M. R., Kovenock, D. and de Vries, C. G. (2000). 'Comparative analysis of litigation systems', Discussion Paper, Tinbergen Institute, TI 2000-103/2.
- Bebchuk, L. A. and Chang H. F. (1996). 'An analysis of fee-shifting based on: the margin of victory: on frivolous suits, meritorious suits and the role of Rule 11', *Journal of Legal Studies*, vol. 25, pp. 371–403.
- Braeutigam, R., Owen, B. and Panzar, P. (1984). 'An economic analysis of alternative fee shifting systems', *Law and Contemporary Problems*, vol. 47, pp. 173–85.
- Branham, C. W. (1998). 'It couldn't happen here: the English rule but not in South Carolina', *South Carolina Law Review*, vol. 49, p. 971.
- Che, Y.-K. and Earnhart, D. (1997). 'Optimal use of information in litigation: does withholding information deter frivolous suits?', *Rand Journal of Economics*, vol. 28, pp. 120–34.
- Che, Y.-K. and Gale, I. (1998). 'Standard auctions with financially-constrained buyers', *Review of Economic Studies*, vol. 65, pp. 1–21.
- Coddington, E. A. and Levinson, N. (1955). *Theory of Ordinary Differential Equations*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Cooter, R. and Rubinfeld, D. L. (1989). 'Economic analysis of legal disputes and their resolution', *Journal of Economic Literature*, vol. 27, pp. 1067–97.
- Davis, W. K. (1999). 'The international view of attorney fees in civil suits: why is the US the "odd man out" in how it pays its lawyers', *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law*, vol. 16, p. 361.
- Gong, J. and McAfee, R. P. (2000). 'Pre-trial negotiation, litigation and procedural rules', *Economic Inquiry*, vol. 38, pp. 218–38.
- Hause, J. C. (1989). 'Indemnity, settlement, and litigation, or I'll be suing you', *Journal of Legal Studies*, vol. 18, pp. 157–79.
- Houseman, A. W. (2003). 'Civil legal aid in the US: an overview of the program in 2003', Center for Law and Social Policy Working Paper, September.

- Hughes, J. W. and Snyder, E. A. (1995). 'Litigation and settlement under the English and American rules: theory and evidence', *Journal of Law and Economics*, vol. 38, pp. 225–50.
- Klemperer, P. (1999). 'Auction theory', *Journal of Economic Surveys*, vol. 13(3), pp. 227–86.
- Klemperer, P. (2003). 'Why every economist should learn some auction theory', in (M. Dewatripont, L. Hansen, and S. Turnovsky, eds.), *Advances in Economics and Econometrics: Theory and Applications*, Vol. I, pp. 25–55, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kritzer, H. M. (2002). 'Lawyer fees and lawyer behavior in litigation: what does the empirical literature really say?'. *Texas Law Review*, vol. 80, pp. 1943–83.
- Matthews, S. A. (1995). 'A technical primer on auction theory I: independent private values', Discussion Paper no. 1096, Northwestern University.
- Myerson, R. B. (1981). 'Optimal auction design', *Mathematics of Operations Research*, vol. 6, pp. 58–73.
- Polinsky, A. M. and Rubinfeld, D. L. (1996). 'Optimal awards and penalties when the probability of prevailing varies among plaintiffs', *Rand Journal of Economics*, vol. 27, pp. 269–80.
- Polinsky, A. M. and Rubinfeld, D. L. (1998). 'Does the English rule discourage low-probability-of-prevailing plaintiffs?', *Journal of Legal Studies*, vol. 27, pp. 519–35.
- Posner, R. A. (1997). 'Explaining the variance in the number of tort suits across US states and between the US and England', *Journal of Legal Studies*, pp. 26, pp. 477–90.
- Reinganum, J. and Wilde, L. L. (1986). 'Settlement, litigation, and the allocation of litigation costs', *Rand Journal of Economics*, vol. 17, pp. 557–66.
- Schweizer, U. (1989). 'Litigation and settlement under two-sided incomplete information', *Review of Economic Studies*, vol. 56, pp. 163–78.
- Shavell, S. (1982). 'Suit, settlement, and trial: a theoretical analysis under alternative methods for the allocation of legal costs'. *Journal of Legal Studies*, vol. 11, pp. 55–81.
- Smith, B. L. (1992). 'Three attorney fee-shifting rules and contingency fees: their impact on settlement incentives', *Michigan Law Review*, vol. 90(7), pp. 2154–89.
- Snyder, E. A. and Hughes, J. W. (1990). 'The English rule for allocating legal costs: evidence confronts theory'. *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, vol. 6(2), pp. 345–80.
- Spier, K. (1992). 'The dynamics of pre-trial negotiation', *Review of Economic Studies*, vol. 59, pp. 93–108.
- Spier, K. (1994). 'Pre-trial bargaining and the design of fee-shifting rules'. *Rand Journal of Economics*, vol. 25, pp. 197–214.
- Waldfogel, J. (1998). 'Reconciling asymmetric information and divergent expectations theories of litigation', *Journal of Law and Economics*, vol. 41, pp. 451–76.