

Economics of Competition, Litigation & Regulation

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Pass-on in the UK MasterCard litigation

Does legal and economic pass-on really differ?

Sainsbury's Supermarkets v MasterCard is a landmark decision – it establishes the pass-on "defence"; and it is the first reported UK competition case to award substantial damages and compound interest. What is less welcome is the UK Competition Appeal Tribunal's (CAT) confused treatment of pass-on. Below the Tribunal's reasoning is critically assessed.

The facts

Sainsbury is the first decided case of at least eight retail actions and one consumer collective proceeding currently being pursued against MasterCard in the CAT and High Court. It is a standalone action which found that MasterCard had infringed Chapter 1 of the Competition Act 1998 and Article 101TFEU by charging excessive credit and debit card interchange fees. Interchange fees are wholesale charges paid to card issuers by the acquiring banks which process merchant transactions. MasterCard set default Multilateral Interchange Fees (MIFs) which placed a floor to these fees as set out in European Commission's 2007 MasterCard infringement decision. The CAT calculated that Sainsbury paid £100m in overcharges which was reduced to about £69m when the benefits to Sainsbury Bank of credit card fees were deducted.

Under the MasterCard scheme the acquiring banks levied a Merchant Service Charge (MSC) on each transaction which contained the MIF overcharge. It was uncontested that the MIF was passed-on to retailers because acquiring banks used a cost-plus approach to set the MSC. The central pass-on issue was the extent to which Sainsbury passed-on the MSC to their customers in higher retail prices. MasterCard pleaded that Sainsbury fully passed-on the MIF overcharge and hence suffered no loss. The CAT (para 457-464) accepted that in principle most of the MIF would have been passed-on but that this was not proved how Sainsbury allocated its costs and whether specific product prices had increased due to the overcharge was said the Tribunal (para 464) "unknowable". The pass-on "defence" failed. Despite this, the CAT found that Sainsbury had passed-on 50% of the overcharge to its customers when awarding compound interest on half the claim.

Pass-on is not a defence

The CAT rejected the propositions that there was a passon "defence" or that pass-on was based on the principle of "unjust enrichment". The Tribunal (para 484(3)) stated: "The pass-on "defence" is not a defence but it simply reflects the need to ensure that a claimant is sufficiently compensated, and not over-compensated, by a defendant". Pass-on was also not to avoid "unjust enrichment" as a competition damage claim was one of compensation not restitution.

Does legal and economic pass-on differ?

The CAT (para 484) went on to make a controversial and misconceived distinction between legal and economic pass-on:

- (4) ... whilst the notion of passing-on a cost is a very familiar one to an economist, an economist is concerned with how an enterprise recovers its costs, whereas a lawyer is concerned with whether a specific claim is or is not well-founded. We consider that the legal definition of a passed-on cost differs from that of the economist in two respects:
- (i) First, whereas an economist might well define pass-on more widely (i.e. to include cost savings and reduced expenditure), the pass-on defence is only concerned with identifiable increases in prices by a firm to its customers.
- (ii) Secondly, the increase in price must be causally connected with the overcharge, and demonstrably so. There is danger in presuming pass-on of costs to indirect purchasers (pace Article 14 of the Damages Directive), because of the risk that any potential claim becomes either so fragmented or else so impossible to prove that the endresult is that the defendant retains the overcharge in default of a successful claimant or group of claimants. This risk of under-compensation, we consider, to be as great as the risk of overcompensation, and it informs the legal (as opposed to the economic) approach. It would also run counter to the EU principle of effectiveness in cases with an EU law element, as it would render recovery of compensation "impossible or excessively difficult".
- (5) Given these factors, we consider that the pass-on "defence" ought only to succeed where, on the balance of probabilities, the defendant has shown that there exists another class of claimant, downstream of the claimant(s) in the action, to whom the overcharge has been passed on. Unless the defendant (and we stress that the burden is on the defendant) demonstrates the existence of such a class, we consider that a claimant's recovery of the overcharge incurred by it should not be reduced or defeated on this ground.

What can be made of these statements?

 The CAT's view that the economist's concept of passon is more diffuse and less factual than that in law is spurious. An economist asked to address whether prices increased as a result of an overcharge would address that specific issue. Pass-on means pass-on in higher prices. The Tribunal's (para 432) incorrect attempt to distance legal from economic pass-on was due to the unwarranted weight it gave to a confused exchange between MasterCard's expert economist and Sainsbury's counsel. As the CAT (para 432-435) set out when a firm faces an unavoidable cost increase it has a number of options – increase its prices; reduce costs, reduce spending, and/or reduce its profit margins. This partial and somewhat arbitrary breakdown of potential responses may be part of the assessment of pass-on but is not to be confused with what the economist means by pass-on. Further, if a firm responds to an overcharge by reducing costs this is not pass-on but "pass-back". In principle, passback, such as paying farmers less for their milk ("mitigation" in legal terms) should be offset against the claimant's damages, and gives farmers a separate claim in damages as difficult as this may seem. Nor do the options discussed by the CAT exhaust what may happen - supermarkets may "re-engineer" their products by selling a smaller chocolate bar for the same (but really higher effective) price; or alter the quality and range of the products they offer. All these will affect the pass-on rate either directly or indirectly.

2. The CAT's requirement that "the increase in price must be casually connected with the overcharge, and demonstrably so" was applied rigidly. The Tribunal (para 434) accepted that pass-on was a complex matter: "The problem is that it can be very difficult to ascertain whether and, if so, how, a given cost has been passed-on". It (para 468) further accepted that in the commercial environment in which Sainsbury operated full pass-on was "blindingly obvious" – "If Sainsbury's did not seek to recover the inevitable costs of its business from its customers, it would rapidly lose more than it made, and become an ex-business." Yet, the CAT (para 469) stridently rejected a caricature of MasterCard's case which it later conceded MasterCard had not pleaded:

... if MasterCard, by its submissions, was seeking to assert that it was possible to link a given cost incurred by Sainsbury's to a specific price charged by Sainsbury's for a product sold by it or to a specific saving, then that is a submission that we have to reject as unarguable. It is obvious from the manner in which Sainsbury's carried on its business that such a nexus does not exist. It is quite simply impossible to say that of the price for Sainsbury's Loose Fairtrade Bananas – which at the time of this Judgment sell for 68p per kilogram – 0.1p (or any other amount) is attributable to the UK MIF and is the means by which Sainsbury's recovers the cost of the UK MIF. Given the manner in which Sainsbury's does business, the proposition that such a nexus exists would be a frankly absurd one.

The CAT, based on the evidence of Sainsbury, concluded that there was a "detachment" between costs and prices, and that product prices were determined by competitive pressures rather than costs.

This applied to all costs not just the MIF overcharge – the price of bananas did not necessarily reflect the cost of bananas. This is not all that surprising. At any one time Sainsbury sold over 2,000 mainly food products and changed hundreds of their prices each week in response to competition from other supermarkets. Thus while the price of a specific product may not have reflected the MSC, this does not rule out that over the whole product range prices reflected costs on average. The Tribunal came close to suggesting that only cost-plus pricing would satisfy the legal test for pass-on while at the same time accepting that competition between retailers would force them to cover their costs, or become, to use its words, "exbusinesses". Moreover, the judgment contains no assessment of MasterCard's evidence, and oddly accepts that Sainsbury did not know how the MSC affected its prices.

The CAT did find that the MSC and MIF were no different to any other cost faced by Sainsbury. This was not strictly correct for credit cards. The MSC was expressed as a percentage of the retail price. Thus it was directly related to the value and volume of retail transactions in much the same way as value added tax (VAT). Hence the MIF was not a cost embedded in Sainsbury's overheads but one which was easily measurable and directly related to its prices and sales. As the British Retail Consortium (BRC) has frequently claimed it was a "tax" on consumers. But again this characterisation does not address the final incidence of the MSC.

It is also not apparent how the CAT's (para 423) hard line sat with its endorsement of Shaw L's *obiter* in *Watson Laidlaw* that "where there is an element of estimation and assumption... restoration by way of compensation is often accomplished by "sound imagination" and a "broad axe"". Uncertainty as to causation and damages is frequent in commercial litigation, and dealt with flexibly by the courts. Why in such a crucial aspect of cartel damage actions with its acknowledged complexity, the CAT should have decided to take such a hard-line is surprising (although see the next comment).

3. The judgment (para 484(4)(ii)) sets out a contentious (or else badly expressed) justification for its hard-line on pass-on. It stated that the risk of undercompensation should be guarded against as much as the risk of over-compensation. While most economists would agree with this proposition it seems to have little to do with whether a cost has been passed-on in higher prices. It also appears dubious in law. To the extent it is valid, it is in respect of the claimants in the action only not to all potential claimants at large as asserted by the CAT. Indeed, the Tribunal came close to distorting the compensatory objective of damages by transposing full compensation to the claimants with

the notion of full compensation paid by the Defendant. While one appreciates that pass-on is routinely pleaded by defendants to avoid paying damages because downstream claimants are unlikely to bring actions, this does not provide a legal basis for overcompensating a claimant. The overcompensation to one class of claimants cannot be justified by the risk of under- or no compensation to another class of indirect purchasers not party to the action.

What the Tribunal meant by this requirement is ambiguous. It stated that the defendant must establish the existence of the class of downstream claimants to which the overcharge had been passed-on. If this is merely a repetition of the causation point, then there is no issue. But paragraph 484(5) reads as if there must be a realistic prospect that this class will claim compensation and the Defendant must prove this. This burden goes well be beyond that which could reasonably be imposed on a defendant and would emasculate the pass-on "defence", and paradoxically the prospect that downstream claimants, including end consumers, could gain compensation.

Why the Tribunal could not identify the class of downstream claimants required under its legal test (para 484(5)) is a mystery – they were Sainsbury's customers, although the fact that further standalone actions were time barred may have been a factor. The irony is that just as the ink was drying on the Tribunal's judgment, a collective proceeding (*Walter Merricks v MasterCard*) was launched in the CAT under the *Consumer Rights Act 2015* against MasterCard representing all downstream consumers premised on a high pass-on rate.

Pass-on for interest

The CAT's (para 525) treatment of pass-on in awarding interest is the most perplexing part of the judgment:

Sainsbury's would have sought to pass the cost of its UK MIF on to its customers. Although Sainsbury's would not have been unconstrained in its ability to pass this cost on, because the UK MIF was a cost common to Sainsbury's and its supermarket rivals, we consider that a substantial amount of the UK MIF – 50% – would have been passed-on (albeit

not in a manner which would have amounted to a "defence" of pass-on, for the reasons given at paragraphs 484 to 485). It follows that had the overcharge not been made, Sainsbury's would not have received any interest: it would simply have not passed on the overcharge.

The same economics the Tribunal dismissed to deny passon was now sufficient to find that half the overcharge had been passed-on in higher prices by Sainsbury. Where now was the "demonstrable" proof? On what evidence did the Tribunal conclude that only 50% of the overcharge had been passed-on? Was the CAT setting out two different evidentiary standards? Or, as has been suggested, this part of the judgment was written by a different Tribunal member and was not consistent with the "legal test" of pass-on (as indeed suggested by the wording above)?

Yet further questions

The Tribunal's judgment prompts other questions. If passon is not a "defence", why does the Defendant have the burden of proof? Does the same "hard" standard of proof apply when pass-on is being used as a "sword" to claim damages rather than as a "shield"? Does the judgment leave open the possibility of an asymmetric standard of proof which is lower when pass-on is pleaded to enable compensation or the award of interest? How does the CAT's "demonstrable proof" apply to mass consumer claims where pass-on can be economy wide covering thousands of retailers and millions of end customers?

Conclusion and summary

Pass-on is one of the most difficult evidentiary issues faced by the courts, claimants and defendants in a cartel damage action. It is also one of the central elements and battlegrounds of any cartel damage claim. The economic and legal bases for pass-on set out by the Tribunal are at best confused and confusing, and will now have to be resolved. Given the large number of cases in the pipeline this will not take long.

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