



Santa Fe  
Institute

# Complex Systems Summer School

## PREDICTION MARKETS

Rajiv Sethi

June 13, 2023

## Overview

- What are prediction markets?
- Some current predictions for the 2024 Presidential Election
- Ecology of a complex system
- Coordination and manipulation
- Markets versus models
- Using markets to evaluate model performance

## What is a Prediction Market?








- Mechanism for **aggregating beliefs** about likelihood of events
- Venue for the trading of securities with **state contingent payoffs**
- Sometimes called **binary options** or **event futures**
- Examples (real money, peer-to-peer): IEM, Intrade, PredictIt

## What is a Prediction Market?

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- Examples (real money, peer-to-peer): IEM, Intrade, PredictIt
- Contracts are **liquid**: traders can enter, exit, reverse positions
- Contracts have an **expiration date**, resolution based on **public information**
- Margin requirement is **worst-case loss** (exchange bears no risk)
- Forecasting **performance** can be evaluated based on **Brier scores** or **calibration curves**
- Historical **accuracy** competitive with poll aggregates and models







Current Quotes on [PredictIt](#)

## Who will win the 2024 Republican presidential nomination?

Contract	Latest Yes Price	Best Offer	Best Offer
 Donald Trump	50¢ <small>NC</small>	51¢	50¢
 Ron DeSantis	33¢ <small>1¢↓</small>	35¢	67¢
 Tim Scott	9¢ <small>1¢↑</small>	9¢	92¢
 Glenn Youngkin	6¢ <small>2¢↑</small>	6¢	95¢
 Nikki Haley	5¢ <small>1¢↓</small>	6¢	95¢
 Mike Pence	4¢ <small>NC</small>	5¢	96¢
 Kristi Noem	2¢ <small>NC</small>	2¢	99¢







10 More Contracts ▾

# Who will win the 2024 Democratic presidential nomination?

Contract	Latest Yes Price	Best Offer	Best Offer
 Joe Biden	74¢ NC	74¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 27¢
 Gavin Newsom	15¢ 1¢↓	16¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 85¢
 Kamala Harris	7¢ NC	8¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 93¢
 Pete Buttigieg	4¢ NC	4¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 97¢
 Hillary Clinton	3¢ NC	4¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 97¢
 JB Pritzker	2¢ NC	2¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 99¢

6 More Contracts ▼

# Who will win the 2024 US presidential election?

Contract	Latest Yes Price	Best Offer	Best Offer
 Joe Biden	45¢ NC	46¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 55¢
 Donald Trump	28¢ 1¢↓	29¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 72¢
 Ron DeSantis	27¢ NC	27¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 74¢
 Gavin Newsom	5¢ NC	6¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 95¢
 Kamala Harris	4¢ NC	5¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 96¢
 Pete Buttigieg	2¢ 1¢↓	3¢	<input type="button" value="Buy Yes"/> <input type="button" value="Buy No"/> 98¢

## Example

PredictIt 2024 GOP Nominee Contract:

- Each Contract pays \$1 if referenced candidate wins, \$0 otherwise
- If contract trades at \$0.09, buyer posts \$0.09, seller posts \$0.91
- Buyer faces large gain with low probability, seller faces small but likely gain
- Trade driven by differences in **beliefs** and **risk attitudes**



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Trading based on **continuous double auction**:

- All orders are **limit orders** (specify price and quantity)
- Non-marketable orders enter **order book**
- Marketable orders trade against a resting order

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Can prices be **interpreted as probabilities**?

## Who will win the 2024 US presidential election?



### Make a Trade

Joe Biden

45¢ NC

46¢  
Buy YES

55¢  
Buy NO

Maximum Buy Price

Number Of Shares

-1¢ 46¢ +1¢

-25 1 +25

Buy Yes		Sell Yes	
46¢	613	45¢	449
47¢	2,812	44¢	1,708
48¢	933	43¢	1,822
49¢	4,018	42¢	1,030
50¢	2,175	41¢	1,931
51¢	382	40¢	1,822

Submit Offer

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56¢	1,708	53¢	2,812
57¢	1,822	52¢	933
58¢	1,030	51¢	4,018
59¢	1,931	50¢	2,175
60¢	1,822	49¢	382

Submit Offer

## Market Ecology

- Prediction markets can serve as **natural experiments** to answer fundamental questions
- How does **information** get transmitted to prices?
- Price **dynamics** determined by **ecology** of trading strategies
- Need **transaction level data** to identify strategies

**TRADING STRATEGIES AND MARKET  
MICROSTRUCTURE:  
EVIDENCE FROM A PREDICTION MARKET\***

*David M. Rothschild*

*Rajiv Sethi<sup>‡</sup>*

# TRADING STRATEGIES AND MARKET MICROSTRUCTURE: EVIDENCE FROM A PREDICTION MARKET\*

*David M. Rothschild*

*Rajiv Sethi<sup>‡</sup>*

For **each trade** over existence of market (11/16/2010 to 11/7/2012)

- Time, Market, Price, Quantity, Buyer, Seller, Aggressor side

Data allows us to **compute**, for each account:

- Volume, Transactions, Aggression, Duration, Direction, Margin, Profit

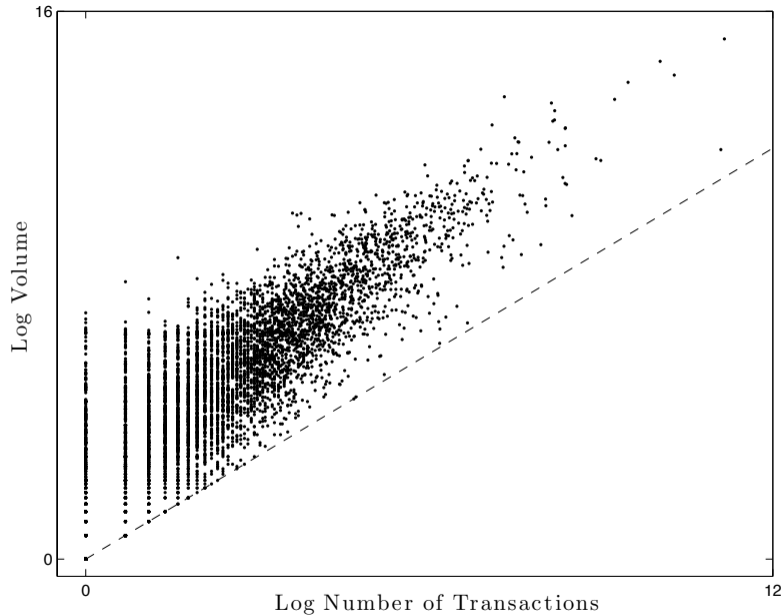


## Volume, Transactions, and Accounts

- 22 markets: Obama, Romney, Santorum, Gingrich, Palin, etc.
- 12.9 million contracts traded in 287,000 distinct transactions
- 7.6 million contracts in the major party nominees
- 6,300 unique trader accounts

## Volume, Transactions, and Accounts

- 22 markets: Obama, Romney, Santorum, Gingrich, Palin, etc.
- 12.9 million contracts traded in 287,000 distinct transactions
- 7.6 million contracts in the major party nominees
- 6,300 unique trader accounts
- Average transaction size was 45, largest was 10,000
- Relatively small numbers of traders dominate volume and transactions
- 55% of traders had less than ten trades; 12% had just one
- Largest trader accounts for 15% of volume, 12% of trades
- One percent of traders account for 67% of volume
- One percent account for 60% of transactions



## Classifying Strategies

- **Aggression**: proportion of orders that are marketable
- **Holding Period**: Median time between entry and exit of a position
- **Duration**: holding period relative to median time to expiration
- **Margin**: maximum amount at risk
- **Profit**: Net gain across all trades

## Characteristics of Selected Traders

	<b>Volume</b>	<b>Trades</b>	<b>Aggression</b>	<b>Direction</b>	<b>Holding</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Margin</b>	<b>Profit</b>
<i>A</i>	3,961,242	69,977	0.77	0.19	0	0.00	\$9,877	\$61,871
<i>B</i>	2,062,908	22,738	0.27	-1.00	520,428	1.00	\$6,882,186	-\$6,882,186
<i>C</i>	1,380,406	29,134	0.31	-0.49	2,491	0.00	\$737	\$11,921
<i>D</i>	321,818	1,207	0.83	0.92	51,470	1.00	\$2,099,441	\$867,059
<i>E</i>	174,712	4,340	0.79	-0.13	7	0.00	\$415	\$1,058
<i>F</i>	156,413	65,652	0.72	0.38	0	0.00	\$1,375	\$2,147
<i>G</i>	138,264	1,707	0.39	1.00	1,802,885	1.00	\$535,018	\$318,975
<i>H</i>	72,563	392	0.73	1.00	149,180	1.00	\$479,896	\$233,414
<i>I</i>	68,416	858	0.37	-1.00	664,333	1.00	\$121,609	-\$121,609
<i>J</i>	44,195	350	0.64	-1.00	152,360	1.00	\$149,998	-\$149,998

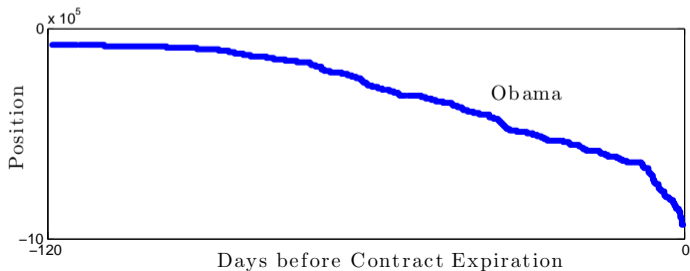
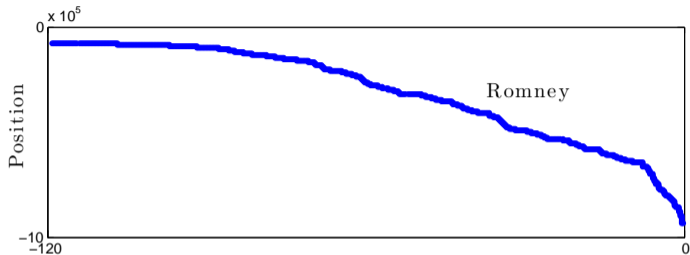
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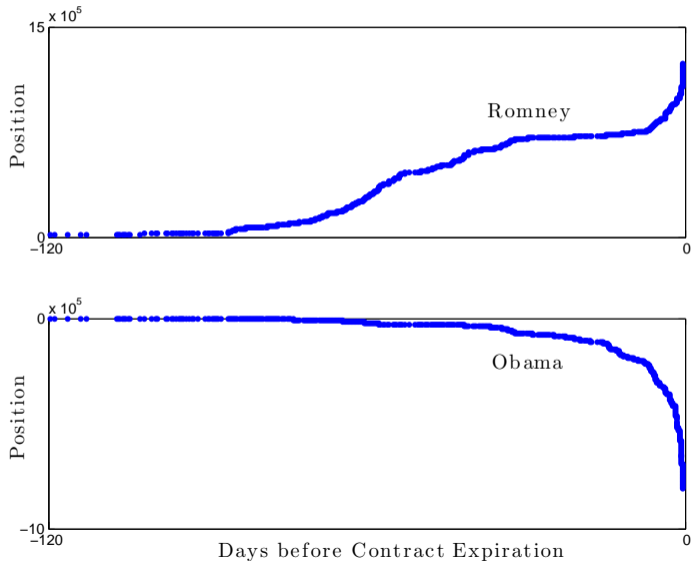
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## Trader A: Largest Volume and Most Transactions





## Trader B: Largest Directional Exposure and Loss



WASHINGTON WIRE

# One Big Trader Lost Millions Betting on Romney, Study Finds

# Why a Single Trader Was Willing to Lose Millions Betting on a Romney Win

By Josh Voorhees



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Had Romney won, the unidentified trader would have taken in a \$12 million haul.

## Study: Bettor lost \$4M on Romney

By LUCY MCCALMONT | 09/24/2013 01:21 PM EDT



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Today's Mortgage Rate

3.04%  
APR 15 Year Fixed

Select Loan Amount

\$225,000

NETNET



# Romney loss cost trader up to \$7 million: Study

Jeff Cox | @JeffCoxCNBCcom

Published 11:40 AM ET Wed, 25 Sept 2013

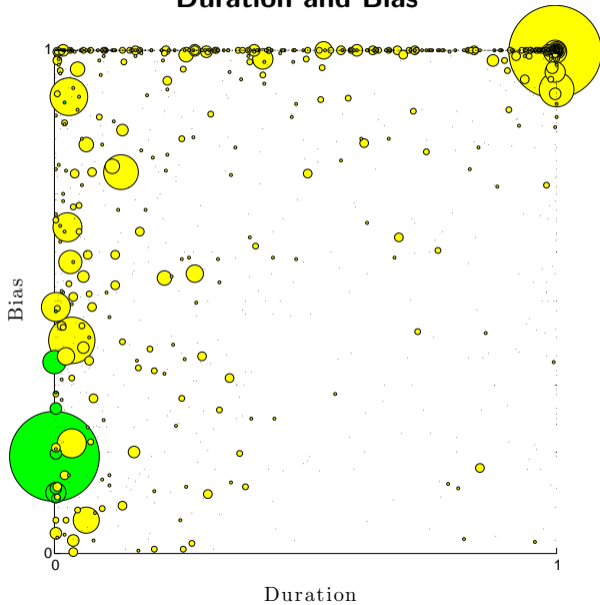
## Taxonomy of Trading Strategies

- **Arbitrage**: median holding period less than 10 minutes (*A*, *E*, and *F*)
- **Unidirectional**: bias equal to 1, non-arb (*G*, *H*, *I*, and *J*)
- **Extreme Bias**: bias above 0.9 but below 1, non-arb (*B* and *D*)
- **High Bias**: bias between 0.5 and 0.9, non-arb
- **Moderate Bias**: bias between 0.25 and 0.5, non-arb (*C*)
- **Low Bias**: bias less than 0.25, non-arb

## A Taxonomy of Trading Strategies

<b>Strategy</b>	<b>Traders</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Volume</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Aggression</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>Bias</b>
Unidirectional	5,118	87%	4,901,262	32%	0.65	0.75	1.00
Extreme Bias	136	2%	3,987,006	26%	0.38	0.65	0.97
High Bias	272	5%	1,699,355	11%	0.42	0.22	0.71
Moderate Bias	173	3%	1,293,289	9%	0.41	0.06	0.43
Low Bias	167	3%	926,702	6%	0.40	0.10	0.13
Arbitrage	40	1%	2,368,380	16%	0.73	0.00	0.20
Total	5,906	100%	15,175,994	100%			

## Duration and Bias



## Coordination and Manipulation

- Can market **prices** affect **probability** of referenced event?
- Can prices **coordinate beliefs** and result in **self-fulfilling prophecies**?
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## The Prediction Market Paradox

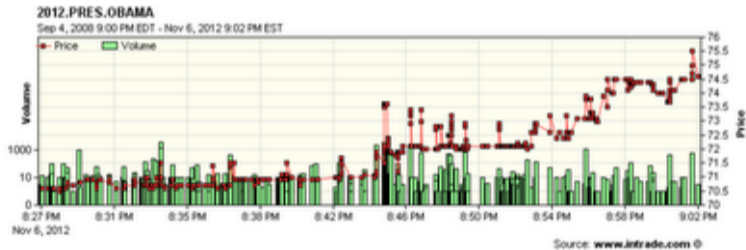
- Incentives to manipulate forecasts believed to be **unbiased**
- But not forecasts believed to be **manipulated**
- Forecasting **accuracy is self-limiting**
- Is there evidence of attempted manipulation?

## Election Day Romney Order Book (3:30 pm)

BID		ASK	
Qty	Price	Price	Qty
678	30.3	30.6	1
10	30.1	30.7	15
9999	30.0	30.8	119
8505	29.9	30.9	223
4890	29.2	31.0	839
6900	29.0	31.1	202
4999	28.5	31.2	800
10000	28.0	32.0	101
647	27.8	32.7	299
2318	27.5	32.8	300
598	27.1	32.9	1654
1338	27.0	33.0	50
1	26.9	33.3	456
1	26.1	33.4	71
100	26.0	33.7	98



# Floor and Ceiling





**Rajiv Sethi**

@rajivatbarnard

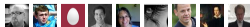
Romney order book on Intrade is amazing, someone with deep pockets trying to hold price above 30 @justinwolfer

[pic.twitter.com/EHvm1DGI](http://pic.twitter.com/EHvm1DGI)

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16  
RETWEETS





Justin Wolfers

@justinwolfers



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Wow RT @rajivatbarnard Romney order book on Intrade is amazing, someone with deep pockets trying to hold price above 30 [pic.twitter.com/df2HIlia](http://pic.twitter.com/df2HIlia)

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**BID**

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RETWEETS

8  
FAVORITES



## Motives for Manipulation

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## Was There Manipulation?

- Evidence suggestive but not decisive
- Consistent belief that market was undervaluing Romney?
- Financial motives possible but hard to identify
- Campaign related motives seem more plausible

## Prediction Market Performance

- Wishful thinking and manipulation incentives should lower performance
- But prediction market accuracy has been consistently high
- What accounts for this? Shouldn't models produce better forecasts?
- How does **market performance** compare with **model performance**?

## **Models, Markets, and the Forecasting of Elections**

RAJIV SETHI, Department of Economics, Barnard College, Columbia University and the Santa Fe Institute, USA

JULIE SEAGER and EMILY CAI, Department of Economics, Barnard College, Columbia University, USA

DANIEL M. BENJAMIN and FRED MORSTATTER, USC Information Sciences Institute, USA



## Overview

Two approaches to forecasting: **models** and **markets**

- Models (typically) **backward-looking**, limited set of variables, sluggish adjustment
- Markets **forward-looking**, use arbitrary information sources, rapid adjustment

## Overview

Two approaches to forecasting: **models** and **markets**

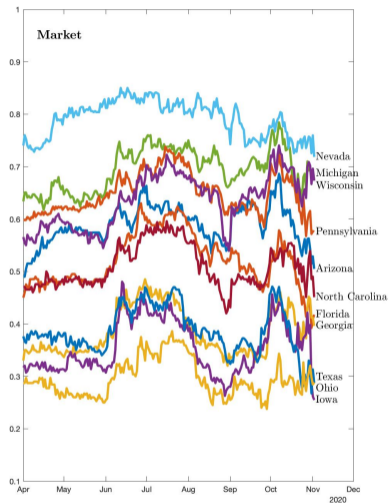
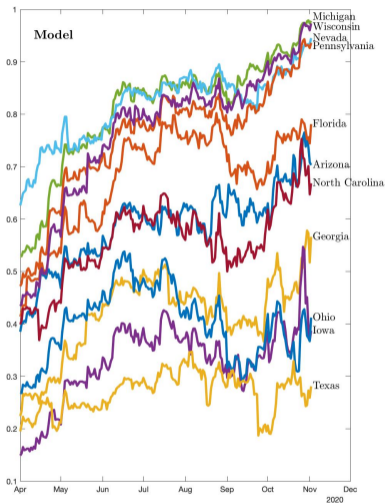
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This paper

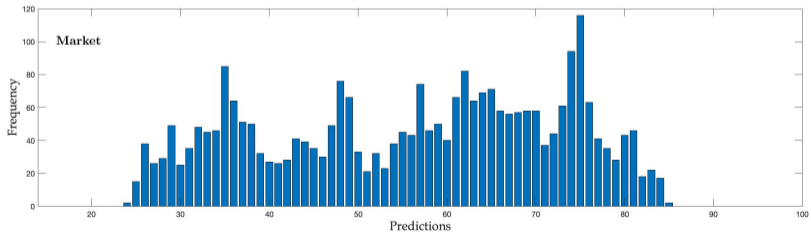
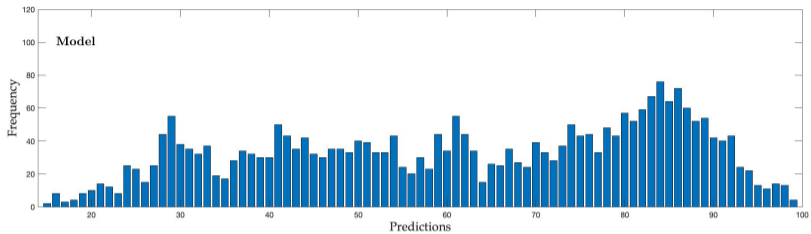
- Examine daily forecasts from **Economist** model and **PredictIt** exchange
- Data for 13 **battleground** states over 216 consecutive days leading to election
- Comparative performance **evaluation**, value of **integration**, method of **hybridization**
- Models can incorporate prices, **markets can incorporate model-based beliefs**
- **Trading bot** updates beliefs and portfolios daily, given endowment and risk preferences
- Bot **profitability** can be used for comparative model evaluation
- Check for **robustness** by computing profitability under different election outcomes

## Data

- Daily **closing prices** and daily **model forecasts** for thirteen battleground states
- Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas, Wisconsin
- Significant **disagreement** between model and market in many states
- Model spans **larger range** of probabilities
- Model has **greater movement** across this range for individual states



Probabilities of a Democratic Victory in Selected States



Frequency Distributions for Model and Market Predictions

## Performance

- Let  $p_{it}$  denote the probability assigned in period  $t$  to a Democratic victory in state  $i$
- Brier score for period  $t$ , state  $i$  forecast

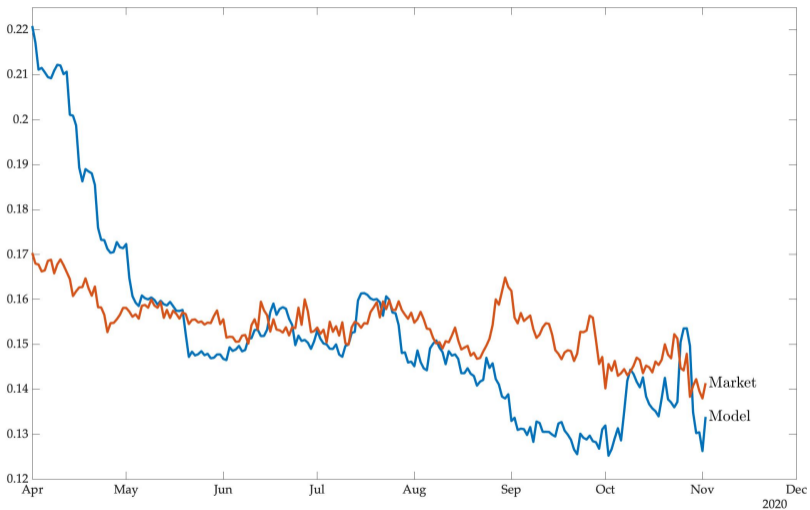
$$s_{it} = (p_{it} - r_i)^2$$

where  $r_i = 1$  if state  $i$  resolved in favor of Democratic nominee,  $r_i = 0$  otherwise

- We have  $T = 216$  periods (consecutive days) and  $n = 13$  states
- Averaging across states, obtain **time series** of **average Brier score**

$$\bar{s}_t = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n (p_{it} - r_i)^2$$

that is computed for models and markets separately



Mean Brier Scores for the Model and Market over Time

## Overall Performance

Averaging across time as well as states, obtain a scalar measure of **overall performance**:

$$\bar{s} = \frac{1}{nT} \sum_{t=1}^T \sum_{i=1}^n (p_{it} - r_i)^2$$

where  $T = 216$  and  $n = 13$

Virtually identical average forecasting performance across mechanisms:

$$\bar{s}^{model} = 0.1523$$

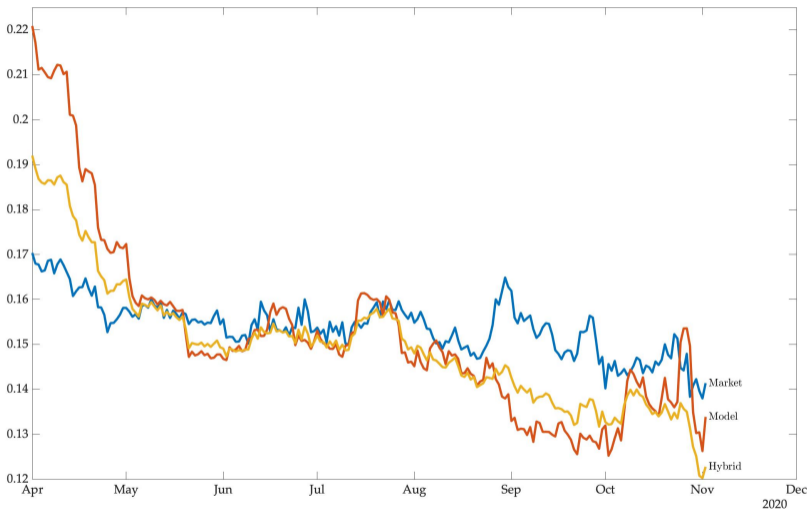
$$\bar{s}^{market} = 0.1539$$

However, this conceals significant differences in performance over time



## Averaging Forecasts

- For each state-date pair, compute **simple average** probability of Democratic victory
- For any given state-date pair, **average cannot get better score than both components**
- But this is no longer true when we average across states and/or dates
- On 87 (of 216) days average performs better than **both** model and market
- Includes the 26 days leading up to the election



Mean Brier Scores for the Model, Market, and a Simple Average over Time

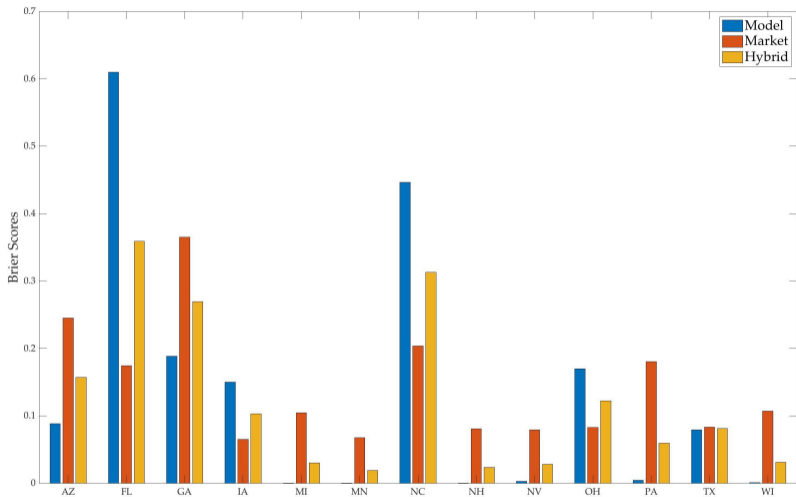
## Averaging Forecasts

- Across all periods and states, average Brier score is

$$\bar{s}^{hybrid} = 0.1499$$

so **simple average** of the two component forecasts **beats both market and model**

- Model and market made errors in different ways and for different states
- Model **confidently wrong** in FL/NC, market **too uncertain** in MN/NH
- Average avoids the most egregious errors
- Scores for last day: 0.1414 for market, 0.1339 for model, and 0.1228 for average



Brier Scores for Market, Model, and Hybrid Forecasts on November 2

## Hybrid Prediction Market

- Algorithmic trading common in financial markets, low latency can be highly rewarding
- Insert into market a **trading bot** that acts as if it believes the model forecast
- Bot endowed with a budget and preferences that exhibit risk aversion
- Bot posts orders based on model-based **beliefs**, **preferences**, and current **portfolio**
- Orders trade immediately or enter order book, providing **liquidity** to market
- Cash and asset holdings of bot evolve over time, affecting the prices and sizes of orders
- Parameters can be **tuned** in experimental settings to examine effects on accuracy

## Notation

### Model

- Model generates distribution over outcomes in  $m$  jurisdictions,  $n$  candidates in each
- $\mathbf{S}$  denotes **outcome realization**,  $s_{ij} = 1$  indicates candidate  $i$  wins jurisdiction  $j$
- $\Omega$  is set of possible outcomes,  $p : \Omega \rightarrow [0, 1]$  is model forecast
- With two candidates and thirteen states  $|\Omega| = 2^{13} = 8192$

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### Market

- For each jurisdiction, prediction market lists  $n$  **contracts**, one for each candidate
- Each contract has a unique price at which it can be bought/sold (ignore bid-ask spread)
- $\mathbf{Q}$  denotes prices,  $q_{ij} \in [0, 1]$  is price of contract that pays if  $i$  wins in  $j$

## Trading

- Bot portfolio is  $(y, \mathbf{Z})$ , where  $y$  is cash and  $\mathbf{Z}$  is  $n \times m$  matrix of contract holdings
- If outcome is  $s \in \Omega$ , **terminal wealth** resulting from portfolio  $(y, \mathbf{Z})$  is

$$w = y + \sum_{j \in M} s'_j z_j,$$

where  $M = \{1, \dots, m\}$  is the set of jurisdictions



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- **Risk-averse** trader will maximize expected utility, given by

$$E(u) = \sum_{S \in \Omega} p(S) u \left( y + \sum_{j \in M} \mathbf{s}'_j \mathbf{z}_j \right)$$

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- Given starting portfolio, beliefs, preferences, and prices, trades  $\mathbf{X}$  chosen to **maximize**

$$E(u) = \sum_{S \in \Omega} p(S) u \left( y + \sum_{j \in M} (\mathbf{s}'_j (\mathbf{z}_j + \mathbf{x}_j) - \mathbf{q}'_j \mathbf{x}_j) \right)$$

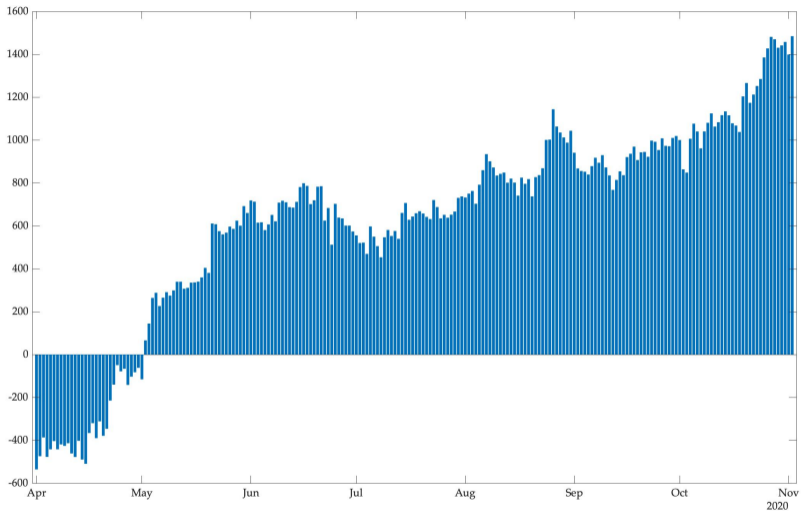
## Implementation

- Consider two candidates, one market
- Preferences exhibit constant relative risk aversion (CRRA):

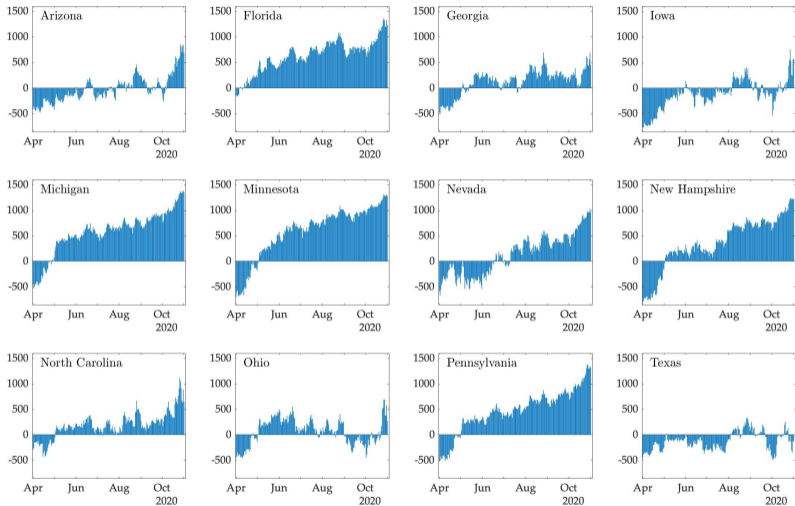
$$u(w) = \begin{cases} \frac{1}{1-\rho} w^{1-\rho}, & \text{if } \rho \geq 0, \rho \neq 1 \\ \log(w), & \text{if } \rho = 1 \end{cases}$$

where  $\rho = 0$  is risk-neutrality, higher  $\rho$  involves greater risk aversion

- Initial portfolio  $(y, z) = (1000, 0)$
- How would portfolios have evolved in the case of Wisconsin?



Evolution of Contract Holdings for Wisconsin



Bot Contract Holdings for 12 battleground States

State	Cash	Contracts	Value	Payoff	Profit	Return
Arizona	\$566.45	748.55	\$944.35	\$1,314.99	\$314.99	31%
Florida	\$339.96	1351.73	\$904.28	\$339.96	-\$660.04	-66%
Georgia	\$743.54	735.23	\$1,034.72	\$1,478.76	\$478.76	48%
Iowa	\$855.20	722.99	\$1,039.50	\$855.20	-\$144.80	-14%
Michigan	\$68.29	1383.63	\$1,004.27	\$1,451.92	\$451.92	45%
Minnesota	\$54.98	1305.55	\$1,021.09	\$1,360.53	\$360.53	36%
Nevada	\$190.84	1094.15	\$976.93	\$1,284.99	\$284.99	28%
New Hampshire	\$72.74	1274.46	\$984.85	\$1,347.20	\$347.20	35%
North Carolina	\$607.15	880.03	\$1,004.03	\$607.15	-\$392.85	-39%
Ohio	\$904.82	669.22	\$1,096.97	\$904.82	-\$95.18	-10%
Pennsylvania	\$138.91	1359.79	\$921.43	\$1,498.70	\$498.70	50%
Texas	\$1,027.13	-36.95	\$1,016.47	\$1,027.13	\$27.13	3%
Wisconsin	\$89.92	1484.09	\$1,088.83	\$1,574.01	\$574.01	57%
<b>Total</b>			<b>\$13,037.72</b>	<b>\$15,045.36</b>	<b>\$2,045.36</b>	<b>16%</b>

Terminal portfolios, payoffs, and profits in battleground states.

## Robustness

- How would model have performed if one or more close states had been decided differently?
- **Closest states:** GA (0.24 percent), AZ (0.31 percent) and WI (0.62 percent)
- What if one or more of these had been **decided differently?**

Flipped State(s)	Payoff	Profit	Rate
Georgia	\$14,310.14	\$1,310.14	10.08%
Arizona	\$14,296.82	\$1,296.82	9.98%
Wisconsin	\$13,561.27	\$561.27	4.32%
Georgia, Arizona	\$13,561.60	\$561.60	4.32%
Georgia, Wisconsin	\$12,826.05	-\$173.95	-1.34%
Arizona, Wisconsin	\$12,812.73	-\$187.27	-1.44%
Georgia, Arizona, Wisconsin	\$12,077.51	-\$922.49	-7.10%

Hypothetical payoffs and profits if the closest states had been decided differently.

## Conclusions

- Overall performance differences negligible, but interesting patterns in time series
- Market does better early, worse late
- Possible distortions due to massive inflow of funds, increase in volume
- Simple average beats both components overall and at the end of the period
- Suggest value of hybridization; we propose a **hybrid prediction market**
- Based on **virtual trader** with **tunable budget and preferences**; **model-based beliefs**
- Profitability test can be used for **comparative evaluation** of model performance



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