

Manipulation and (mis)trust in prediction markets

Financial Fraud, Misconduct and Market Manipulation
Conference @ Lancaster
September 13, 2024

Lawrence Choo¹, Todd R. Kaplan² and Ro'i Zultan³

¹Southwestern University of Finance and Economics

²University of Exeter and University of Haifa

³Ben-Gurion University of the Negev



Motivation

- ▶ The efficient market hypothesis (e.g., Fama, 1970) states that market prices reflect the aggregate information existing in the market—also see Hayek (1954).

Motivation

- ▶ The efficient market hypothesis (e.g., Fama, 1970) states that market prices reflect the aggregate information existing in the market—also see Hayek (1954).
- ▶ **Prediction markets** flip this ⇒ design markets for the sole purpose of finding out information.
 - ▶ Each possible outcome is associated with an *asset*.

Motivation

- ▶ The efficient market hypothesis (e.g., Fama, 1970) states that market prices reflect the aggregate information existing in the market—also see Hayek (1954).
- ▶ **Prediction markets** flip this ⇒ design markets for the sole purpose of finding out information.
 - ▶ Each possible outcome is associated with an *asset*.
 - ▶ Each asset pays a fixed amount only if that outcome occurs.

Motivation

- ▶ The efficient market hypothesis (e.g., Fama, 1970) states that market prices reflect the aggregate information existing in the market—also see Hayek (1954).
- ▶ **Prediction markets** flip this ⇒ design markets for the sole purpose of finding out information.
 - ▶ Each possible outcome is associated with an *asset*.
 - ▶ Each asset pays a fixed amount only if that outcome occurs.
 - ▶ Asset price relative to the payout = market's predicted probability that the outcome it will occur.

Motivation

- ▶ The efficient market hypothesis (e.g., Fama, 1970) states that market prices reflect the aggregate information existing in the market—also see Hayek (1954).
- ▶ **Prediction markets** flip this ⇒ design markets for the sole purpose of finding out information.
 - ▶ Each possible outcome is associated with an *asset*.
 - ▶ Each asset pays a fixed amount only if that outcome occurs.
 - ▶ Asset price relative to the payout = market's predicted probability that the outcome it will occur.
- ▶ Prediction markets are used to:
 - ▶ Forecast presidential elections and geopolitical event (e.g., Chen and Plott, 2002; Wolfers and Zitzewitz, 2004).

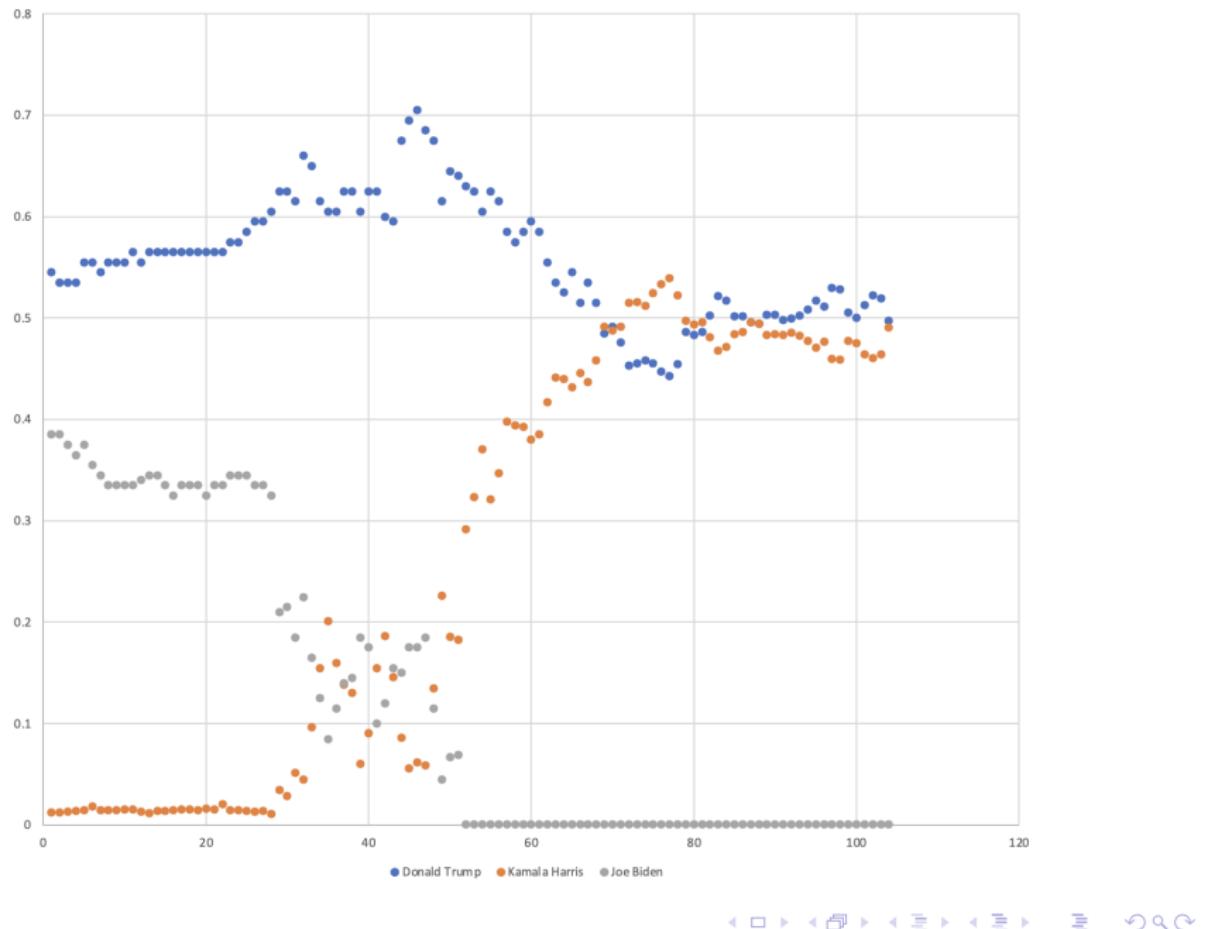
Motivation

- ▶ The efficient market hypothesis (e.g., Fama, 1970) states that market prices reflect the aggregate information existing in the market—also see Hayek (1954).
- ▶ **Prediction markets** flip this ⇒ design markets for the sole purpose of finding out information.
 - ▶ Each possible outcome is associated with an *asset*.
 - ▶ Each asset pays a fixed amount only if that outcome occurs.
 - ▶ Asset price relative to the payout = market's predicted probability that the outcome it will occur.
- ▶ Prediction markets are used to:
 - ▶ Forecast presidential elections and geopolitical event (e.g., Chen and Plott, 2002; Wolfers and Zitzewitz, 2004).
 - ▶ Forecast climate-related events (CRUCIAL - Lancaster)

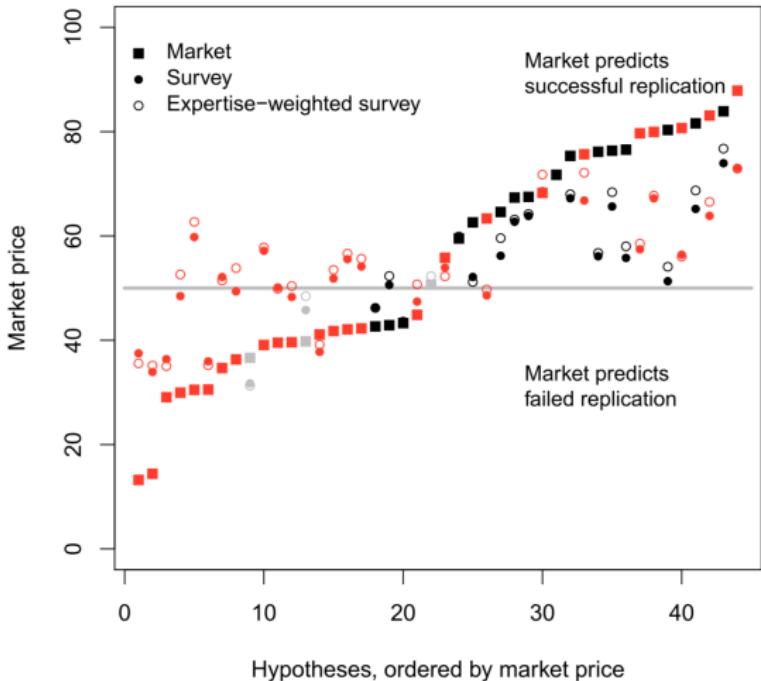
Motivation

- ▶ The efficient market hypothesis (e.g., Fama, 1970) states that market prices reflect the aggregate information existing in the market—also see Hayek (1954).
- ▶ **Prediction markets** flip this ⇒ design markets for the sole purpose of finding out information.
 - ▶ Each possible outcome is associated with an *asset*.
 - ▶ Each asset pays a fixed amount only if that outcome occurs.
 - ▶ Asset price relative to the payout = market's predicted probability that the outcome it will occur.
- ▶ Prediction markets are used to:
 - ▶ Forecast presidential elections and geopolitical event (e.g., Chen and Plott, 2002; Wolfers and Zitzewitz, 2004).
 - ▶ Forecast climate-related events (CRUCIAL - Lancaster)
 - ▶ Used in organisation as forecasting tools (e.g., Chen and Plott, 2002; Gillen, Plott and Shum, 2017).

Presidential election 2024



Replication of psychology research (Dreber et. al, 2015).



- ▶ Black = Successful replication
- ▶ Red = Failed replication

Lab experiments find that markets “can be” good at aggregating information when traders only care about their market payoffs (e.g., Choo, Kaplan, and Zultan, 2019; Forsythe and Lundholm, 1990; Plott and Sunder, 1988).

Lab experiments find that markets “can be” good at aggregating information when traders only care about their market payoffs (e.g., Choo, Kaplan, and Zultan, 2019; Forsythe and Lundholm, 1990; Plott and Sunder, 1988).

Arrow et.al (2008) write:

“The ability of groups of people to make predictions is a potent research tool that should be freed of unnecessary government restrictions.”

Lab experiments find that markets “can be” good at aggregating information when traders only care about their market payoffs (e.g., Choo, Kaplan, and Zultan, 2019; Forsythe and Lundholm, 1990; Plott and Sunder, 1988).

Arrow et.al (2008) write:

“The ability of groups of people to make predictions is a potent research tool that should be freed of unnecessary government restrictions.”

Story so far...

Prediction markets are promising tools to guide policy or organisation decision making.



Lab experiments find that markets “can be” good at aggregating information when traders only care about their market payoffs (e.g., Choo, Kaplan, and Zultan, 2019; Forsythe and Lundholm, 1990; Plott and Sunder, 1988).

Arrow et.al (2008) write:

“The ability of groups of people to make predictions is a potent research tool that should be freed of unnecessary government restrictions.”

Story so far...

Prediction markets are promising tools to guide policy or organisation decision making.

⇒ Less clear when traders also care about the outcome of the policy that market prices affect.

Lab experiments find that markets “can be” good at aggregating information when traders only care about their market payoffs (e.g., Choo, Kaplan, and Zultan, 2019; Forsythe and Lundholm, 1990; Plott and Sunder, 1988).

Arrow et.al (2008) write:

“The ability of groups of people to make predictions is a potent research tool that should be freed of unnecessary government restrictions.”

Story so far...

Prediction markets are promising tools to guide policy or organisation decision making.

⇒ Less clear when traders also care about the outcome of the policy that market prices affect.

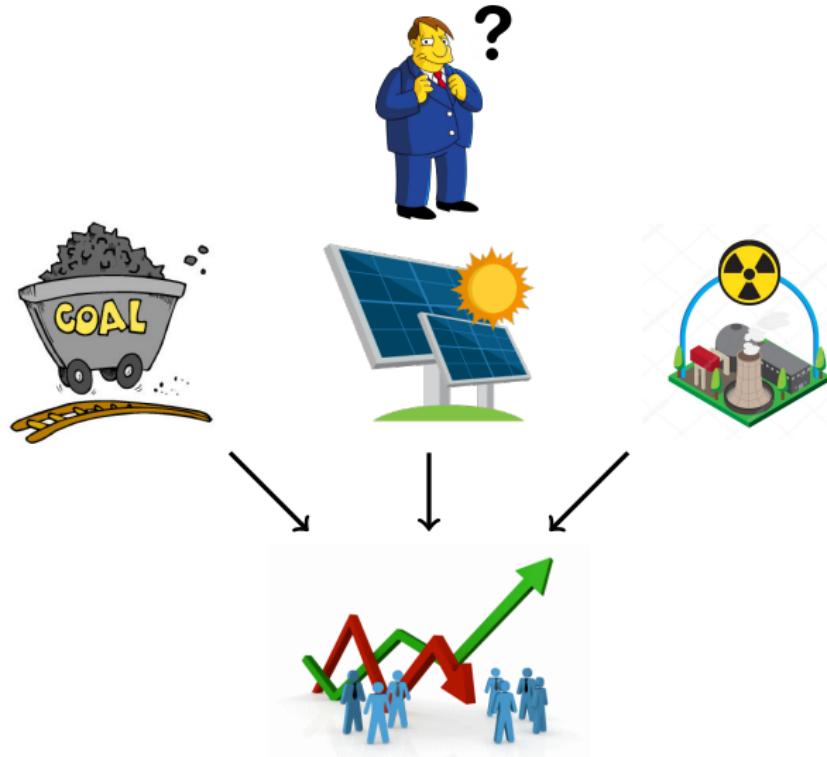
Our Objective:

Study how manipulators can affect information aggregation properties of market and influence policy makers' decisions.

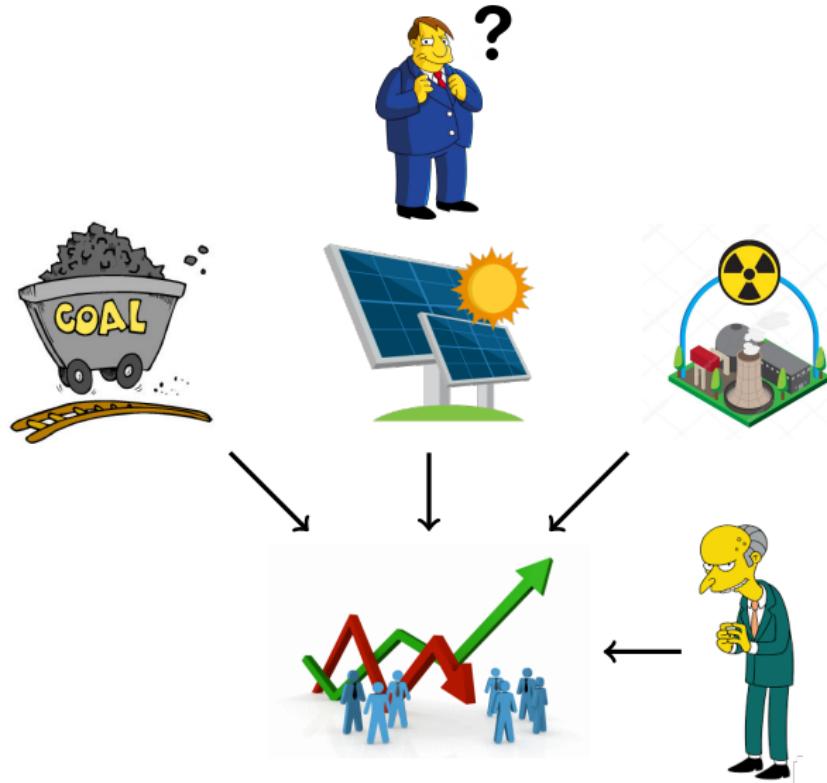
Motivation



Motivation



Motivation



Terror futures

Print edition

A bet too far

Futures markets meet two formidable foes: terrorists and politicians

Jul 31st 2003



Timekeeper

Like 2

Tweet

PREDICTING terrorism is a devilishly hard business. So it is perhaps no surprise that America's government should cast about for unorthodox ways to guess when the bad guys might strike next. One of the most eclectic routes that the Pentagon chose, creating an online futures market to enable punters to place bets on the odds, say, of a bioterrorism attack or the assassination of the king of Jordan, created a furore when Democratic senators got wind of it. The plan was cancelled on July 29th by the defence under-secretary, Paul Wolfowitz. ([The Economist Intelligence Unit](#), a sister company of *The Economist*, supplied economic and political data to the plan's developer.)

AP



Ne faites pas vos jeux, Mr Wolfowitz

Related literature

Very hard to identify manipulation in the field!

- ▶ A political party explicitly asked supporters to manipulate a prediction market (Hansen, Schmidt, and Strobel, 2004).
- ▶ Camerer (1998) actively placed bets on horse races trying to manipulate the odds.

Related literature

Very hard to identify manipulation in the field!

- ▶ A political party explicitly asked supporters to manipulate a prediction market (Hansen, Schmidt, and Strobel, 2004).
 - ▶ Camerer (1998) actively placed bets on horse races trying to manipulate the odds.
- ⇒ Study manipulation in the laboratory!

Related literature

Very hard to identify manipulation in the field!

- ▶ A political party explicitly asked supporters to manipulate a prediction market (Hansen, Schmidt, and Strobel, 2004).
- ▶ Camerer (1998) actively placed bets on horse races trying to manipulate the odds.

⇒ Study manipulation in the laboratory!

There are a few studies: Hanson, Oprea and Porter (2006) and Veiga and Vorsatz (2009,2010), Deck, Lin and Porten (2013)

This paper

- ▶ We use multiple asset markets à la Plott and Sunder (1988).
⇒ Information aggregation is efficient and robust.

This paper

- ▶ We use multiple asset markets à la Plott and Sunder (1988).
⇒ Information aggregation is efficient and robust.
- ▶ We allow for a status-quo in addition to three policies.
⇒ Estimates policy makers' confidence in the market.
⇒ Disentangles noise and successful manipulation.

This paper

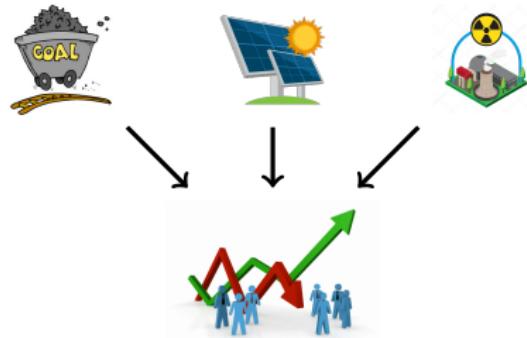
- ▶ We use multiple asset markets à la Plott and Sunder (1988).
 - ⇒ Information aggregation is efficient and robust.
- ▶ We allow for a status-quo in addition to three policies.
 - ⇒ Estimates policy makers' confidence in the market.
 - ⇒ Disentangles noise and successful manipulation.
- ▶ The policy decision affects all traders.
 - ⇒ Traders have explicit incentives to counter manipulation attempts.

This paper

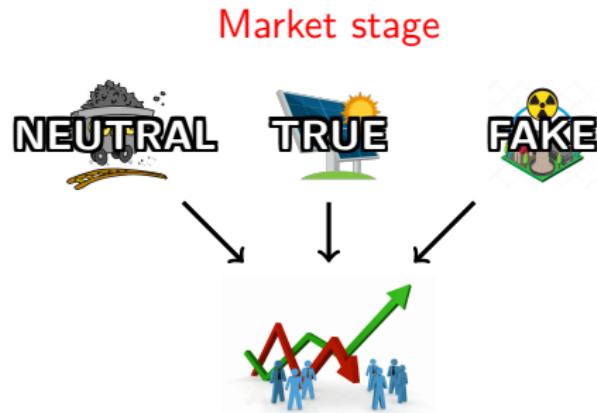
- ▶ We use multiple asset markets à la Plott and Sunder (1988).
 - ⇒ Information aggregation is efficient and robust.
- ▶ We allow for a status-quo in addition to three policies.
 - ⇒ Estimates policy makers' confidence in the market.
 - ⇒ Disentangles noise and successful manipulation.
- ▶ The policy decision affects all traders.
 - ⇒ Traders have explicit incentives to counter manipulation attempts.
- ▶ We manipulate common knowledge regarding the existence of manipulators.

Experimental design

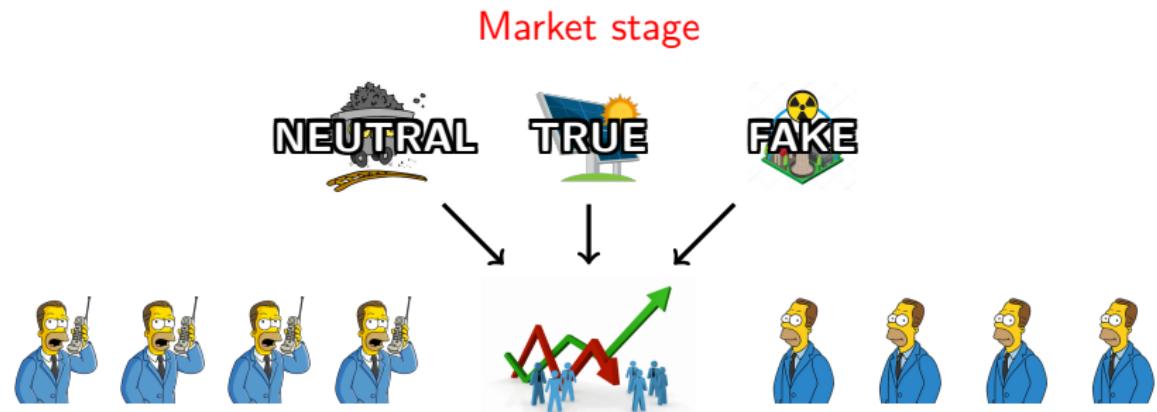
Market stage



Experimental design

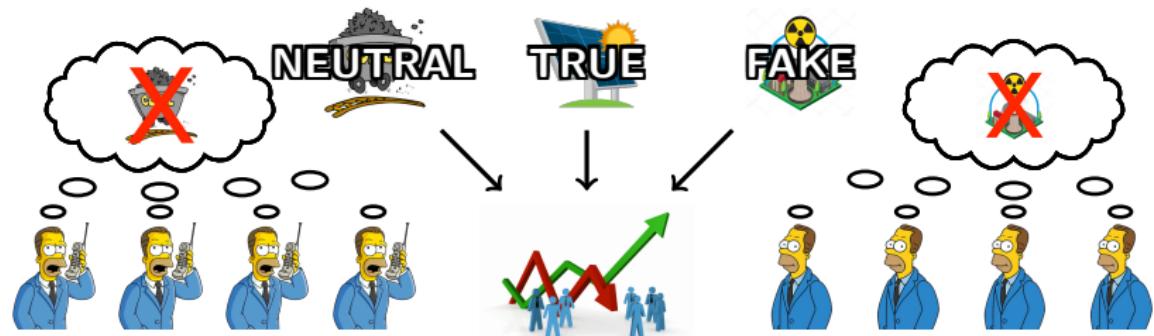


Experimental design



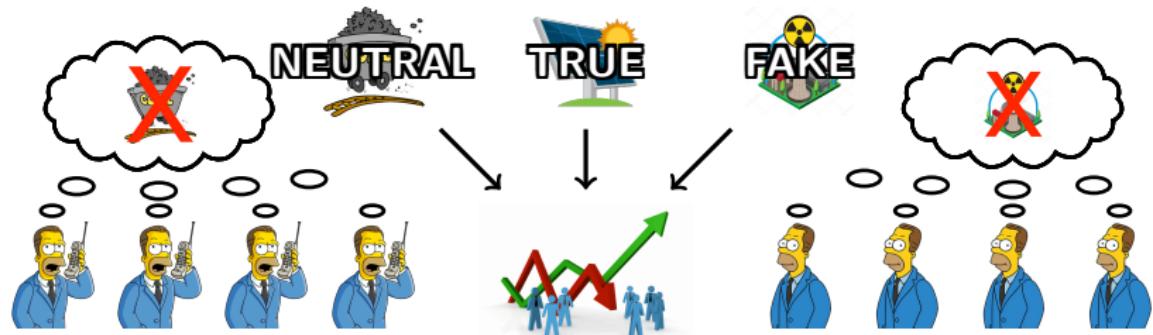
Experimental design

Market stage



Experimental design

Market stage

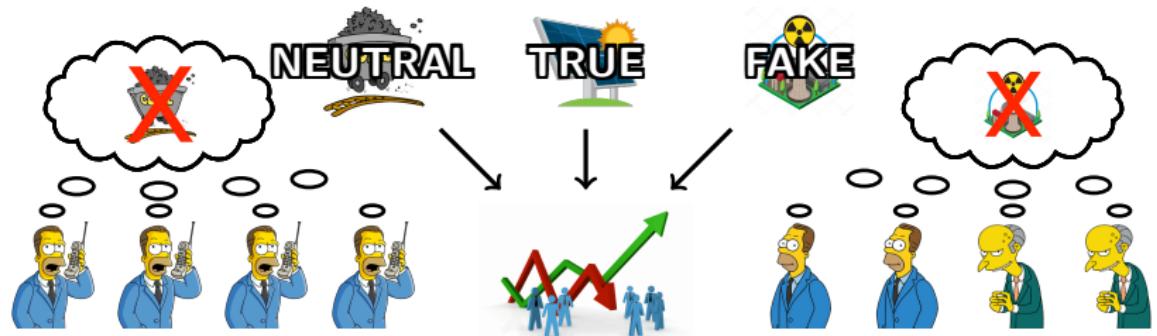


Voting stage



Experimental design

Market stage



Voting stage



Manipulators

Two traders in Group I are **Red traders**.

Manipulators

Two traders in Group I are **Red traders**.

The other traders in Group I and all traders in Group II are **Blue traders**.

Manipulators

Two traders in Group I are **Red traders**.

The other traders in Group I and all traders in Group II are **Blue traders**.

Blue traders. are always of Type-A.

Manipulators

Two traders in Group I are **Red traders**.

The other traders in Group I and all traders in Group II are **Blue traders**.

Blue traders. are always of Type-A.

The **Red traders** are equally likely to be Type-A or Type-B (manipulators), determined independently at the beginning of each round.

Preferences over polices



Type-A traders, policy makers



Type-B traders

Project	Payoff from project	Project	Payoff from project
<i>SQ</i>	100	<i>SQ</i>	100
<i>TRUE</i>	400	<i>FAKE</i>	1000
Otherwise	-400	Otherwise	-400

Payoffs

Policy makers:

$$\pi = 650 + \text{Payoff from project.}$$

Traders:

$$\pi = 400 + \text{Market cash} + 10x \text{Correct assets} + \text{Payoff from project.}$$

Design summary

- ▶ Learning phase where all 12 traded (no voting or manipulators)

Design summary

- ▶ Learning phase where all 12 traded (no voting or manipulators)
- ▶ Learning: 1 Practice Round + 5 Playing rounds

Design summary

- ▶ Learning phase where all 12 traded (no voting or manipulators)
- ▶ Learning: 1 Practice Round + 5 Playing rounds
- ▶ Main: 2 Practice Rounds + 14 market rounds.

Design summary

- ▶ Learning phase where all 12 traded (no voting or manipulators)
- ▶ Learning: 1 Practice Round + 5 Playing rounds
- ▶ Main: 2 Practice Rounds + 14 market rounds.
- ▶ Fixed groups and roles.

Design summary

- ▶ Learning phase where all 12 traded (no voting or manipulators)
- ▶ Learning: 1 Practice Round + 5 Playing rounds
- ▶ Main: 2 Practice Rounds + 14 market rounds.
- ▶ Fixed groups and roles.
- ▶ Red traders are either Type-A (Not manipulators) or Type-B (Manipulators), within groups.

Design summary

- ▶ Learning phase where all 12 traded (no voting or manipulators)
- ▶ Learning: 1 Practice Round + 5 Playing rounds
- ▶ Main: 2 Practice Rounds + 14 market rounds.
- ▶ Fixed groups and roles.
- ▶ Red traders are either Type-A (Not manipulators) or Type-B (Manipulators), within groups.
- ▶ This is either common knowledge (CK) or private information (NCK), between groups.
- ▶ We had seven markets in each treatment.

Theory (static equilibrium)

	Security prices			Implemented policy
	True	Fake	Neutral	
<i>Equilibria</i>				
Prior Information Equilibrium (PIE)	5	2.5	2.5	True policy
Fully Revealing Equilibrium (FRE)	10	0	0	True policy
Non-Revealing Equilibrium (NRE)	5+	5+	0	Status quo

All traders value the True asset at 5.

An equal number of traders value the Fake and the Neutral assets at 0 and at 5.

Theory (static equilibrium)

	Security prices			Implemented policy
	True	Fake	Neutral	
<i>Equilibria</i>				
Prior Information Equilibrium (PIE)	5	2.5	2.5	True policy
Fully Revealing Equilibrium (FRE)	10	0	0	True policy
Non-Revealing Equilibrium (NRE)	5+	5+	0	Status quo

Prices are fully revealing.

All traders value the True asset at 10 and the others at 0.

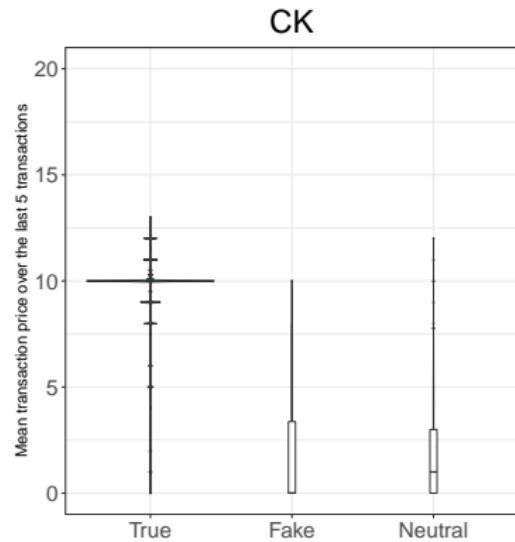
Theory (static equilibrium)

	Security prices			Implemented policy
	True	Fake	Neutral	
<i>Equilibria</i>				
Prior Information Equilibrium (PIE)	5	2.5	2.5	True policy
Fully Revealing Equilibrium (FRE)	10	0	0	True policy
Non-Revealing Equilibrium (NRE)	5 ⁺	5 ⁺	0	Status quo

Manipulators mirror the behavior of the traders in their group.

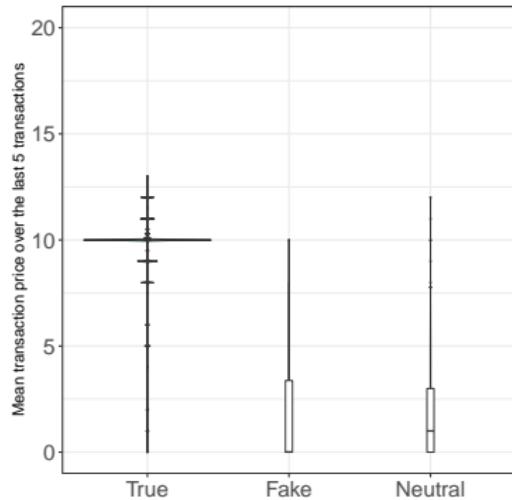
RESULTS

No manipulators: transaction prices

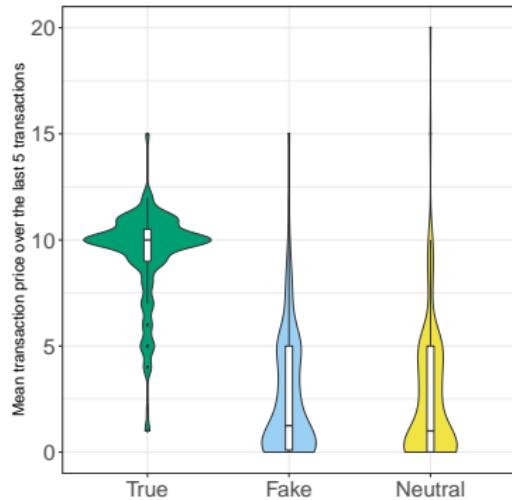


No manipulators: transaction prices

CK



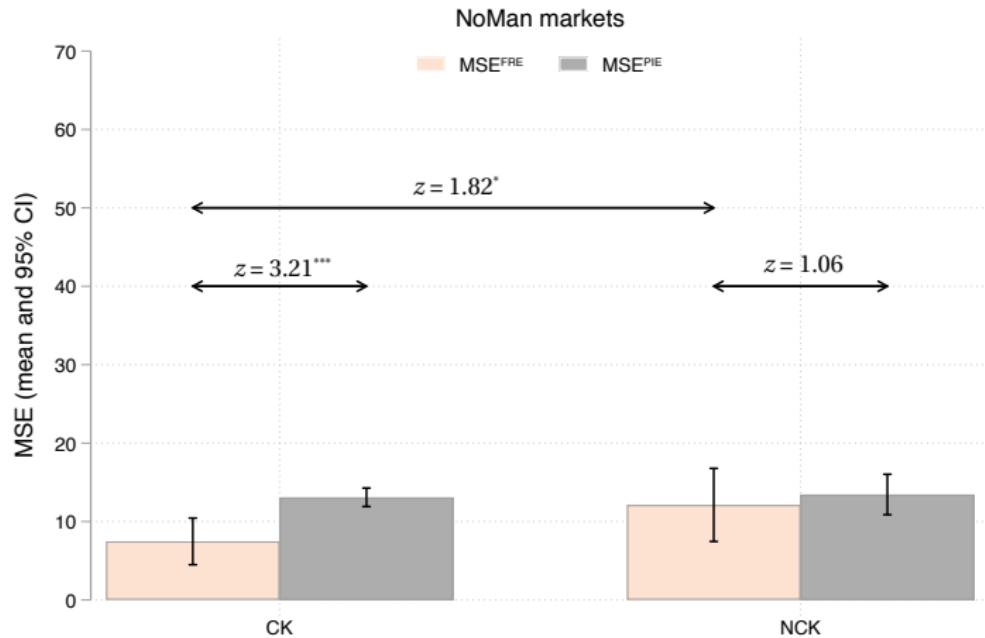
NCK



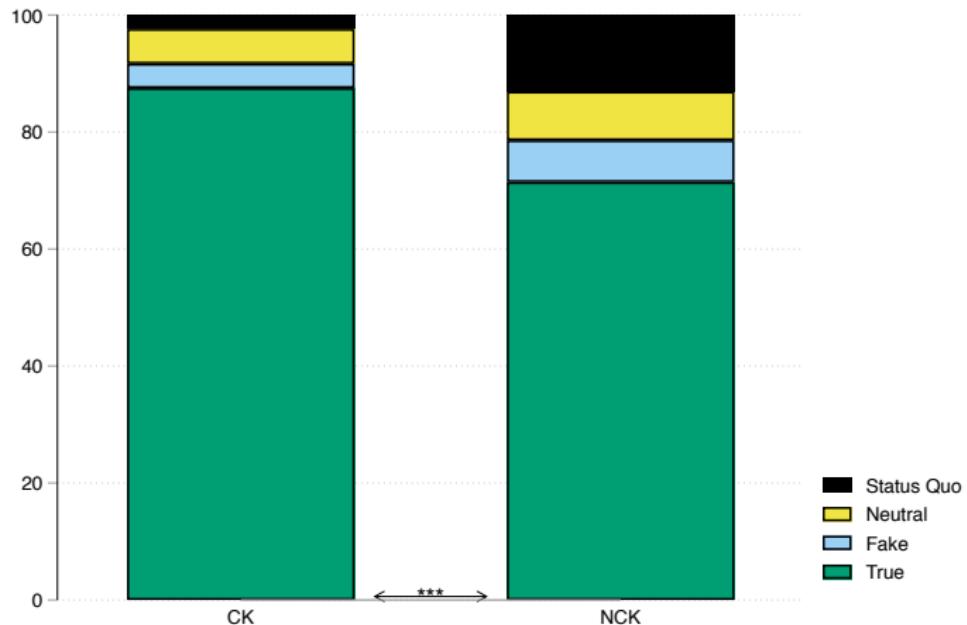
Equilibrium predictions: no manipulators

Focus on transactions in the last **five transaction** of the market.

- ▶ MSE^{PIE} : mean square deviations of prices from the PIE.
- ▶ MSE^{FRE} : mean square deviations of prices from the FRE.



No manipulators: voting



Results

Result 1

If it is common knowledge that there are no manipulators in the market, Arrow-Debreu markets are successful at aggregating diverse and partial information about the true state into prices and facilitating optimal policy making.

Results

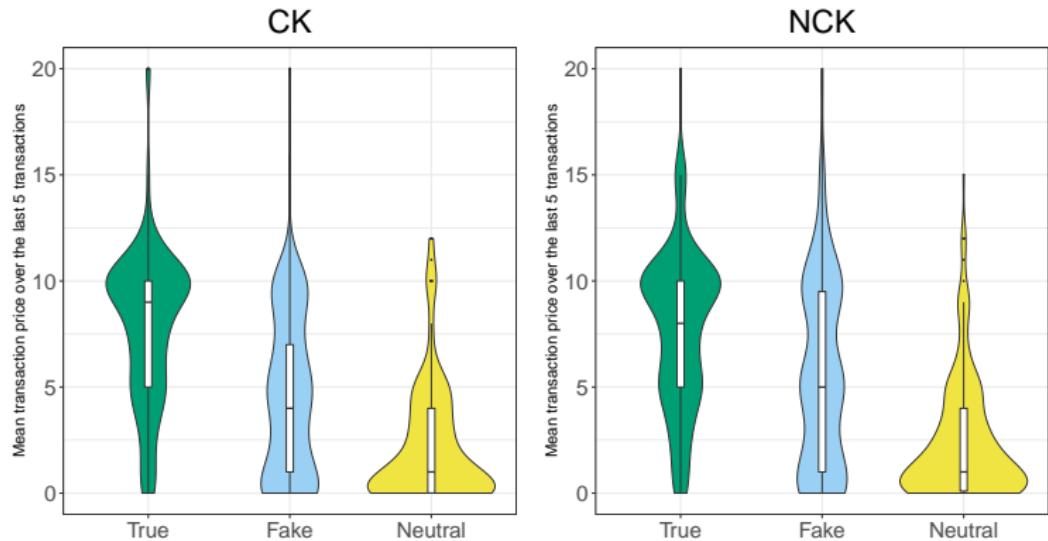
Result 1

If it is common knowledge that there are no manipulators in the market, Arrow-Debreu markets are successful at aggregating diverse and partial information about the true state into prices and facilitating optimal policy making.

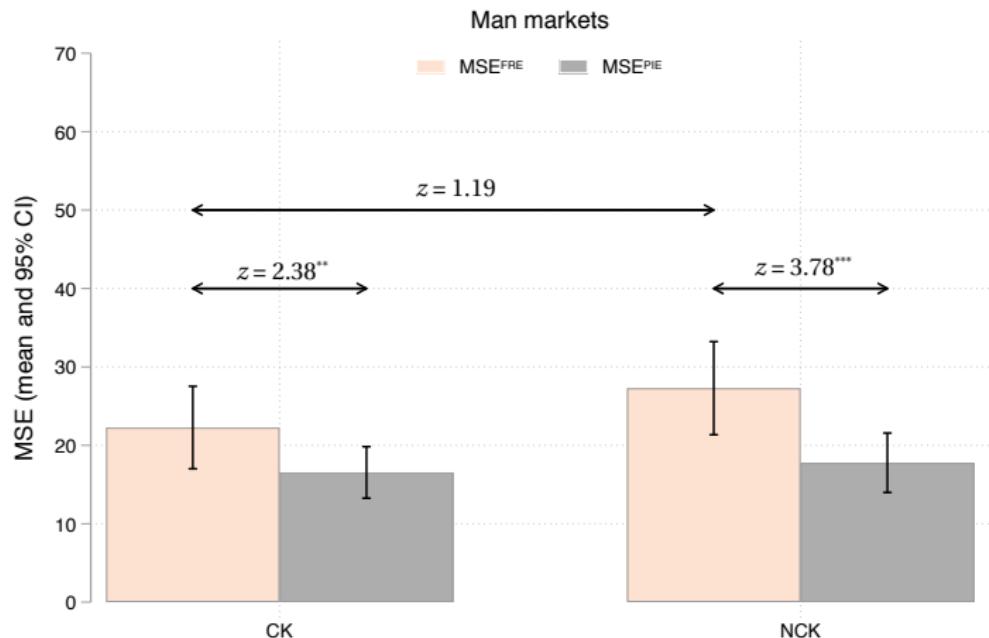
Result 2

Mere suspicion of manipulation – even when there is none – impedes information aggregation and optimal policy making.

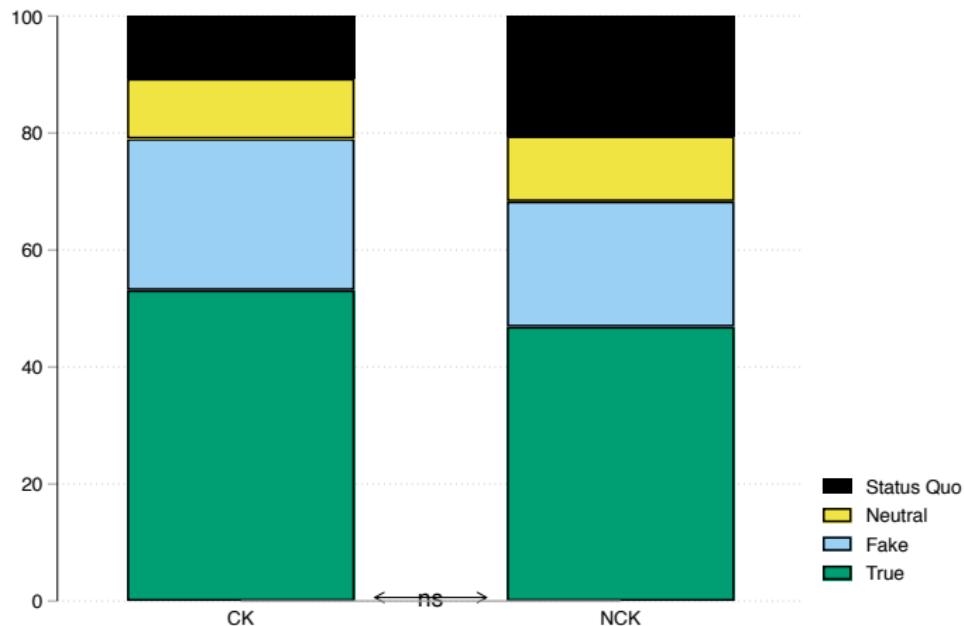
Manipulators: transaction prices



Equilibrium predictions: manipulators



Manipulators: voting



Results

Result 3

When traders are aware of manipulators in the market,
Manipulators are able to severely impede information aggregation,
though prices are still informative.

Results

Result 3

When traders are aware of manipulators in the market,
Manipulators are able to severely impede information aggregation,
though prices are still informative.

Result 4

When the existence of manipulators is not common knowledge,
prices do not significantly discriminate between the True and Fake
states.

Results

Result 3

When traders are aware of manipulators in the market,
Manipulators are able to severely impede information aggregation,
though prices are still informative.

Result 4

When the existence of manipulators is not common knowledge,
prices do not significantly discriminate between the True and Fake
states.

Results

Result 5

When policy makers know that the market is free of manipulation, they trust the market, and are able to implement the True policy with high probability.

Results

Result 5

When policy makers know that the market is free of manipulation, they trust the market, and are able to implement the True policy with high probability.

Result 6

Uncertainty regarding manipulation substantially impedes policy decisions - even when there are no manipulators in the market!

Results

Result 5

When policy makers know that the market is free of manipulation, they trust the market, and are able to implement the True policy with high probability.

Result 6

Uncertainty regarding manipulation substantially impedes policy decisions - even when there are no manipulators in the market!

Result 7

Manipulators are successful in manipulating around 25% of the votes.

Optimal voting

Do voters vote optimally?

We compare the possible payoff conditional on the voter being pivotal:

- ▶ Based on actual votes.
- ▶ Based on the following strategy:

Vote for the policy associated with the **highest observed price** if the ratio of the second to the first price is less than α , and for the **Status Quo** otherwise. That is,

Optimal voting

Do voters vote optimally?

We compare the possible payoff conditional on the voter being pivotal:

- ▶ Based on actual votes.
- ▶ Based on the following strategy:

Vote for the policy associated with the **highest observed price** if the ratio of the second to the first price is less than α , and for the **Status Quo** otherwise. That is,

IF $\frac{P_2}{P_1} < \alpha$, THEN vote for 1 (market), OTHERWISE Status quo

Optimal voting

Do voters vote optimally?

We compare the possible payoff conditional on the voter being pivotal:

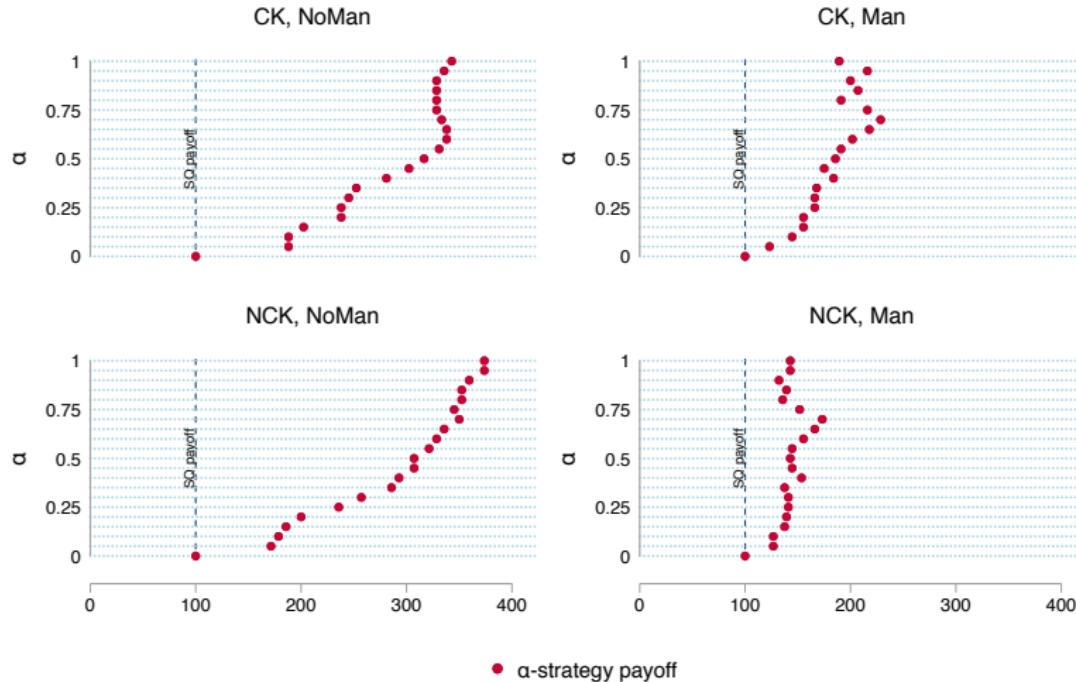
- ▶ Based on actual votes.
- ▶ Based on the following strategy:

Vote for the policy associated with the **highest observed price** if the ratio of the second to the first price is less than α , and for the **Status Quo** otherwise. That is,

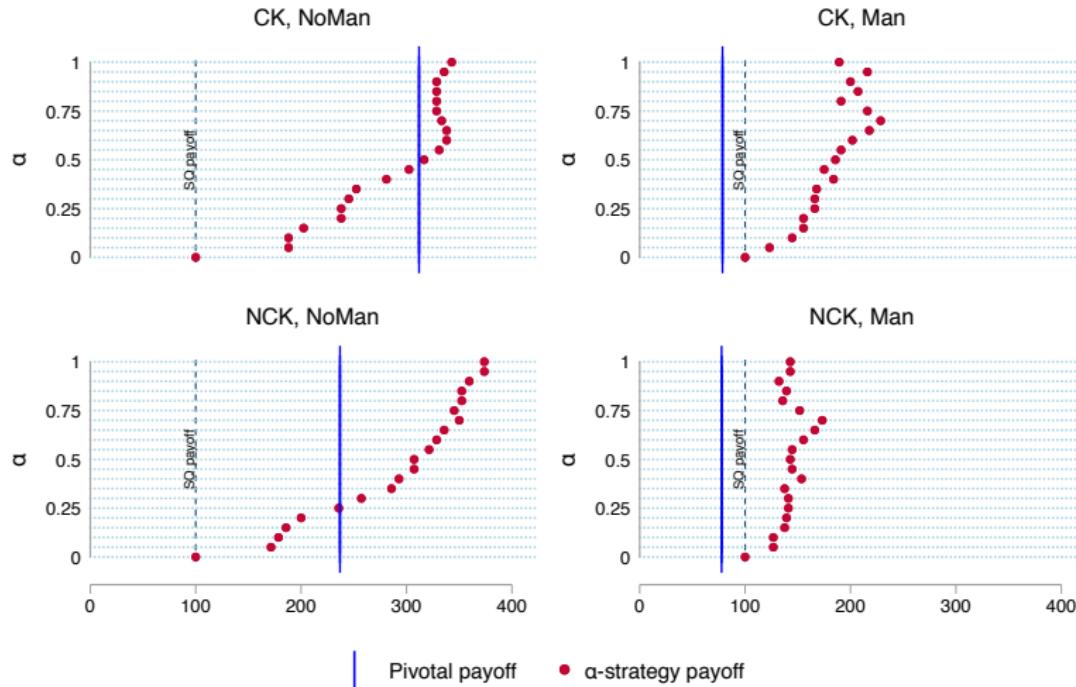
IF $\frac{P_2}{P_1} < \alpha$, THEN vote for 1 (market), OTHERWISE Status quo

⇒ Note that $\alpha = 1$ implies always voting based on the highest price (unless tied), and $\alpha = 0$ implies always voting for the status quo.

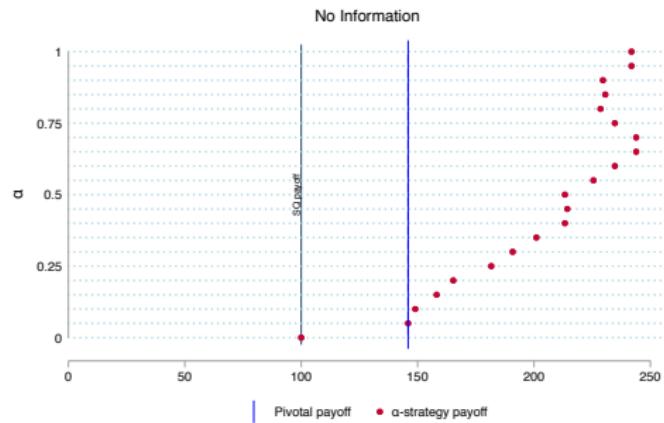
Optimal voting



Optimal voting



Optimal voting



Optimal voting

Result 8

Without manipulators, policy makers should always gain from trusting the market. With full information, the ‘actual’ mean payoff is close to the payoff from always following the market. Without information, trust is substantially lower, and voting is suboptimal.

Optimal voting

Result 8

Without manipulators, policy makers should always gain from trusting the market. With full information, the 'actual' mean payoff is close to the payoff from always following the market. Without information, trust is substantially lower, and voting is suboptimal.

Result 9

With manipulators, policy makers votes are suboptimal, and lead to worse outcomes than voting for the status quo.

Conclusion

Markets are efficient in aggregating diverse information.

Conclusion

Markets are efficient in aggregating diverse information.

However, the mere suspicion of manipulation is enough to inhibit price convergence and increase policy makers' uncertainty enough to substantially reduce the probability of implementing the optimal policy.

Conclusion

Markets are efficient in aggregating diverse information.

However, the mere suspicion of manipulation is enough to inhibit price convergence and increase policy makers' uncertainty enough to substantially reduce the probability of implementing the optimal policy.

Manipulator markets are unsuccessful in aggregating information into prices, especially when the majority traders do not know for certain that manipulators exist in the market.

Conclusion

Markets are efficient in aggregating diverse information.

However, the mere suspicion of manipulation is enough to inhibit price convergence and increase policy makers' uncertainty enough to substantially reduce the probability of implementing the optimal policy.

Manipulator markets are unsuccessful in aggregating information into prices, especially when the majority traders do not know for certain that manipulators exist in the market.

Nonetheless, it is still beneficial to follow the market.

Conclusion

Markets are efficient in aggregating diverse information.

However, the mere suspicion of manipulation is enough to inhibit price convergence and increase policy makers' uncertainty enough to substantially reduce the probability of implementing the optimal policy.

Manipulator markets are unsuccessful in aggregating information into prices, especially when the majority traders do not know for certain that manipulators exist in the market.

Nonetheless, it is still beneficial to follow the market.

Mistrust in markets susceptible to manipulation leads to bad policy decisions!

Next steps

- ▶ Note the initial study was published in Management Science (2022). More work to do though.
- ▶ Recruit a new sample of participants who observe the market histories and guess whether there were manipulators in each market.

Next steps

- ▶ Note the initial study was published in Management Science (2022). More work to do though.
- ▶ Recruit a new sample of participants who observe the market histories and guess whether there were manipulators in each market. Perhaps try with AI.

Next steps

- ▶ Note the initial study was published in Management Science (2022). More work to do though.
- ▶ Recruit a new sample of participants who observe the market histories and guess whether there were manipulators in each market. Perhaps try with AI.
- ▶ Test whether an automated market maker is able to thwart manipulation.

Next steps

- ▶ Note the initial study was published in Management Science (2022). More work to do though.
- ▶ Recruit a new sample of participants who observe the market histories and guess whether there were manipulators in each market. Perhaps try with AI.
- ▶ Test whether an automated market maker is able to thwart manipulation. We hope to be able to do this with CRUCIAL's software.

Thank you for your attention!