Models and Markets: Appraising Probabilistic Predictions of the 2018 Midterm Elections

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Forecasting models and prediction markets are two methods of generating probabilistic predictions of upcoming elections. The efficient market hypothesis holds that fair markets should incorporate all information, including public models, in price discovery. This paper compares the market price on the PredictIt exchange to the model probability released by the data journalist at FiveThirtyEight. Sample includes the last 90 days of 115 races in the 2018 midterm elections. In a test for equal proportion of accurate predictions, the markets outperformed the model to a statistically significant degree (market: 86.03%, model: 83.81%, p = 0.00004166). In a more comprehensive test of forecast skill, there was no statistical difference in Brier scores (market: 0.1084, model: 0.1091, p = 0.7346).

Keywords: Prediction markets, election forecasting, FiveThirtyEight, PredictIt

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Introduction

In the wake of the 2016 Presidential election, pundits and voters alike were stunned by the seemingly impossible outcome. Dozens of respected prognosticators issued predictions that were, in hindsight, comically overconfident. Comedians, Presidents, and journalists alike seemed all but certain in a Clinton victory. Even the most quantitative efforts fell short. After the 2012 Presidential election, it seemed like "big data" was the solution to prediction. Nate Silver's fledgling site FiveThirtyEight made news by using a polling aggregation model to accurately predict the popular vote winner in all 51 states. In 2016, such efforts proved inaccurate. The most egregious errors came from the likes of the Princeton Election Consortium and Huffington Post, who each gave Trump less than a 2% probability of victory. The least bullish of these incorrect odds was FiveThirtyEight's, at a 29% for Trump. This number was so high that it provoked criticism from the Huffington Post's Ryan Grim:

I get why Silver wants to hedge. It's not easy to sit here and tell you that Clinton has a 98 percent chance of winning. Everything inside us screams out that life is too full of uncertainty, that being so sure is just a fantasy. But that's what the numbers say. What is the point of all the data entry, all the math, all the modeling, if when the moment of truth comes we throw our hands up and say, hey, anything can happen. If that's how we feel, let's scrap the entire political forecasting industry. (Grim 2016)

This quotation is particularly thought provoking. Both Silver and Grim built election forecasting models using the same general set of inputs, but used those numbers to tell a different story about how the election was going to unfold. These models have a responsibility to accurately convey information and may very well influence the very event they are trying to predict. If these quantitative forecasting models could be wrong in 2016 (to various degrees), should we consider looking for alternative methods? There has been some focus in recent years on the prediction market (also known as information or decision markets) as one such tool to generate similarly probabilistic forecasts. Might these markets have a role to play in prediction elections? Can they outperform the forecasting model that has become such a widely used tool in recent years, and If so, under what conditions? To answer these questions, I will be comparing the market prices from

the PredictIt exchange against the FiveThirtyEight model for the 2018 midterm elections.

Literature

Prediction markets are a relatively new but fairly researched tool for assessing the likelihood of events. There are a numerous academic investigations into the quality of these predictions across a number of field. These studies have become more popular in the 21st century, as the advent of the internet makes the operation of large scale market exchanges significantly easier. As far as political predictions go, the vast majority of these studies compare prediction markets to opinion polling (simply aggregated at the most) for Presidential races. There is room in the literature to study the ability of prediction markets in congressional races against the more comparable probabilistic forecasting models.

Theory

Kenneth Oliven and Thomas Rietz explored the economic forces of prediction markets in their paper Suckers Are Born but Markets Are Made: Individual Rationality, Arbitrage, and Market Efficiency on an Electronic Futures Market (2004). The paper looked at the individual economic incentives of traders betting on the 2004 presidential election on the Iowa Election Market. The paper specifically explores the way prediction markets fall short of the perfect efficiency claimed by the efficient market hypothesis. The theory is primarily based around two theories of rational traders: (1) the law of one price (LOOP) and (2) arbitrage-free pricing. Since the exchanges hold a single market related to a given election, the price of that election should be the sole reflection of available information. The authors argue that the IEM and other prediction markets are an ideal setting to explore whether or not traders conform to these theories.

Traders on these markets are theoretically more informed than the population at large, but the paper finds that prediction markets are often populated by mistake-prone and biased traders "prone to behavioral anomalies predicted by behavioral finance" (336). The inefficiency from these errors are what make markets useful for individual traders. In a perfectly efficient market, it's impossible to "beat" the market price which should already encompass all information. The authors conclude that "[a] fundamental property of markets is that marginal, not average, traders determine prices.

Who marginal traders are and how they set prices determine whether markets are efficient." (337). The traders who take the prices set by marginal traders are more mistake prone and less rational. On the IEM, the study found that not all traders need to be rational for the market to "generate efficient prices in spite of bias" (337).

Uncertainty

Prediction markets and forecasting models are two predictive methods suited for comparison because both aim to produce a similarly probabilistic prediction. That is, both methods generate a prediction that expresses the given probability of an event occurring that allows observers to evaluate uncertainty in a quantifiable way. This value of uncertainty evaluation was explored by Ray Fair in his paper *Interpreting the Predictive Uncertainty of Elections* (2009). Fair distinguishes between the kind of event uncertainty expressed by prediction markets and forecasting models and the sample-size uncertainty expressed by the margin of error around an opinion poll average. Fair presents a theory of uncertainty that "there are a number of possible 'conditions' of nature that can exist on election day, of which one is drawn. The uncertainty is which condition will be drawn" (612).

Fair has us imagine n possible conditions of nature, where 1/n is the probability of each condition occurring. If in p percent of the n conditions a given candidate wins the election, then p is the probability that said candidate will win on election day. Over the course of the election, every action affects the possible set of conditions that might occur. The challenge of uncertainty is determining what the probabilities are without knowing all possible conditions. The author identifies prediction markets as one tool to estimate that uncertainty by crowd-sourcing and aggregation of many estimated conditions and their likelihood. Forecasting models perform the same function by simulating many potential conditions and calculating p manually.

Uncertainty is more frequently expressed using the standard error of a opinion poll. Fair contrasts these two fundamentally different types of uncertainty estimates by imagining an opinion poll being held the day before the election that polled every single eligible voter. The same size of this poll is so large that the standard error would be zero, but real uncertainty still exists. Voters change their mind, circumstances dictates who can make it to the polls, even weather affects the mood of voters and causes real uncertainty. Even if such a poll existed, the forecasting model

and prediction market would likely produce probabilistic estimates less than 100% for the winner predicted by the poll. This difference in types of uncertainty means market predictions are best compared to a similarly probabilistic prediction, like those generated by the newest iterations of the forecasting model.

Legality

One of the most important things to note about prediction markets is the questionable legality of their use. While gambling in general is not illegal under federal law, online gambling has been generally prohibited under the Unlawful Internet Gambling Enforcement Act of 2006. Additionally, political gambling in particular is even further regulated. In a paper titled *The Promise of Prediction Markets*, 22 researchers, including the likes of Kenneth Arrow and Philip Tetlock, encourage the United States government to relax regulation on prediction markets (2008). The paper begins by citing growing evidence that such markets offer "lower prediction error than conventional forecasting methods." The authors further explain that markets can be used to improve decision making in a number of fields, and that regulation is preventing these tools from being used to their full potential. While the Internet makes it easy enough to skirt such regulation by using prediction markets hosted offshore, the authors contend such lengths are prohibitive to their use by the general public.

The authors conclude by proposing a set of regulatory reforms intended to safely promote the use of prediction markets so that the industry may better gauge their full capabilities. In the regards to specifically political gambling, one such proposal is the "no-action letter" issued by the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) for institutions which strictly violate law but will not be prosecuted. At the time of writing, only the Iowa Election Market (IEM) at the The University of Iowa had received such a letter. As of 2019, both the IEM and the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand's PredictIt exchange, operate under such letters of no-action. The authors urge the CTFC to establish more permanent and relaxed guidance so that markets can operate more freely without fear of unanticipated prosecution. This paper further urges Congress to support the study of prediction markets by giving the CFTC the necessary funding to regulate a growing industry. The legal status of prediction markets must be kept in mind when discussing their feasibility as an alternative tool to the unambiguously legal forecasting model. Furthermore,

the necessary regulatory compromises do inhibit the free market forces theoretically needed for proper price discovery and prediction.

Manipulation

One reason such reason regulation is ultimately necessary is the potential for market manipulation. This possibility is discussed by Iowa University researchers Joyce Berg and Thomas Rietz in their paper Market Design, Manipulation, and Accuracy in Political Prediction Markets (2014). The paper analyzes two markets set up to predict the 2012 presidential election; the first has traders bet on the division of the popular vote, where the second predicted the overall winner of the popular vote. The authors note that the IEM vote-share prediction was closer to the actual election number than 74% of individual opinion polls. The paper discusses the possibility that deliberate manipulate might affect this accuracy and conclude with two market techniques to discourage manipulation. The paper uses the Securities and Exchange Act definition of price manipulation: "To effect, alone or with 1 or more other persons, a series of transactions... raising or depressing the price of (a) security, for the purpose of inducing the purchase or sale of such security by others."

Under the typical conditions, the intentions of the voters drive the actions of traders; that is, traders on the market look to place bets in line with their prediction of voter behavior. The authors explain that "The causal logic underlying prediction market manipulation goes the opposite direction: market prices drive voter actions, affecting them in predictable ways" (293). The authors evaluate the possibility that malicious traders might directly manipulate the price to affect voter behavior and profit off the outcome they directly influenced. The paper cites previous research which shows such manipulate is unlikely in the long term (Rhode and Strumpf 2006). Account limits and linked unit portfolios are two features intended to mitigate the potential for manipulation. Together, these two features require "[a] manipulator who alters bid/ask queues must maintain these bids and asks against the profit motives of hundreds of other traders with hundreds of thousands of dollars" (296). They found little evidence that the IEM can be manipulated in the long run. This is good evidence to support the use of prediction markets as a tool in election forecasting.

Methodology

To compared prediction markets against forecasting models, I will be using the historical probabilistic data from each. I theorize that the prediction markets will outperform the forecasting market early in the election cycle, when polling is sparse and the model must rely on less quantitative data with a greater degree of uncertainty. To test this theory, I will be assessing the daily prediction from both methods against the eventually winner of that race and calculating the proportion of correct predictions for each model. To understand how these two predictive methods might compare to one another, we first have to understand the basic conception of how each model produces probabilistic predictions; this similarity is key to comparing these two methods, as opposed to the vote share division of opinion polls or the typically binary prediction of pundits. Understanding the process behind each predictive method is key to understanding their comparative value and roles in predicting elections.

Predictive Tools

Forecasting models are the natural evolution of opinion polling, the most basic form of election forecasting. Opinion polls as a predictive method date back hundreds of years and rely on equal probability sampling of a population to draw an unbiased sample that can be used to more easily determine the voting intentions of the overall population. These polls fail to perfectly predict the election due to both sampling and statistical errors. To overcome these shortcomings, prognosticators have taken to aggregating many polls and averaging them together. The Law of Large Numbers holds that the mean of repeated samples (polls) of the same population result in a new mean closer to the truth. Forecasting models take poll aggregation and various other quantitative inputs and simulate the election to produce a *probabilistic* view of potential outcomes (i.e., "70% chance of winning" rather than "56% of the vote").

I will be using the FiveThirtyEight forecasting model, as they have a proven record of accuracy and make their output data free to the public. The exact code of the FiveThirtyEight model is proprietary, but we have a general idea of what data is used with what weight. From the public information we have, the model incorporates: (1) aggregate polls weighted for past accuracy and other effects, (2) an algorithm to impute polling for districts without any, and (3) historically useful

"fundamental" factors: incumbency, fundraising, scandals, the generic ballot, past election margin, and challenger's experience, etc. These inputs are used to generate a likely division of the vote in that race. Next, the model makes the important additional of incorporating uncertainty. This addition of uncertainty separates the model from other simpler poll aggregators and allows us to consider their results side by side with prediction markets.

Uncertainty is estimated by evaluating a number of historically useful indicators in the creation of a probability distribution. FiveThirtyEight has found that uncertainty is greater when: the election is further away in time, there are more undecided or third-party voters, there are fewer overall polls, those polls show a more lopsided race, the polls disagree with one another, and those polls disagree with the fundamental variables of the state. For each race being predicted, these factors are considered and a probability distribution is generated around the estimated division of the vote. The model relies on a Monte Carlo simulation to turn this distribution into an expression of probability. The model randomly draws a share of votes from the distribution (i.e., simulates an election). The percentage of drawn divisions with one candidate winning is analogous to that candidates probability of winning on election day. This process allows forecasting models to incorporate a range of historically useful data in the generation of probabilistic predictions.

Prediction markets, on the other hand, generate similar predictions by having self-interested and risk-averse traders buy and sell futures contracts tied to the predefined set of outcomes to an event. Instead of relying on equal probability sampling of a population to draw an unbiased sample and determine a prediction, prediction markets rely on the self-interest of biased yet risk averse traders. Despite the political bias of each individual trader, market theory dictates that each should be willing to place bets that aim to net profit, regardless of political outcome. On these markets, traders buy and sell futures contracts tied to a specific event or point in the future. When a trader "buys" a share of a given market, they are really entering into a contract with another trader on the other side to pay the full price of the contract to the holder of the correct contract. The goal is to make a profit by buying shares of events you think are likely for the lowest possible price. To buy these shares, another trader needs to believe that the inverse of your prediction is true.

For example, if I believe the Democrat is a strong favorite the win the election in a given district, I would be willing to buy shares tied to that outcome for any price less than my prior understanding. The efficient market hypothesis holds market prices reflect all available information. As a trader, I

should consider public opinion polls, insider information, my expert analysis, or maybe just a gut feeling in my assessment of the election. If from all this information I determine that probability of the Democratic candidate winning to be 75%, it's in my self interest to buy contracts for any price below \$0.75. Like any market, the price of the contracts are determined by supply and demand. Prediction markets determine the probability of events the same way the stock market predicts the future earnings of a company by supply and demand of the securities. If I'm right and the Democrat does win, each of the shares executes for \$1.00 and I get my \$0.75 back, plus the \$0.25 from every wrong contract (minus an exchange fee). If more traders believe the probability is above the market price, they will look to buy those shares, increasing demand and the equilibrium price. This is the general process by which prediction markets aggregate many individual beliefs into a single agreed upon probability.

Since these two predictive tools both produce similar probabilistic predictions through different means, they can be compared side by side. Before comparing the data from each method, we must acknowledge the recursive relationship between them. It is the nature of prediction markets to contain auto-correlated feedback loops. The two methods do not produce their respective predictions independent of one another; traders can and do use the public forecasting model in their analysis. There is quite possibly a negligible relationship in the opposite direction, with voters finding the relatively unknown prediction markets and changing their assumptions accordingly, which would affect the polling and forecasting model. This relationship does not disqualify this study. We might rephrase the research question, instead asking if prediction markets improve or dilute the forecasting model prediction with additional crowd-sourced information. There is still value in exploring each method's ability to predict future events from an overlapping source of inputs.

Predictive Data

Now that we understand the source of each set of predictions, I will briefly describe the nature of the data that will be used to asses their respective predictive capabilities. All data used in this paper is freely available for academic research. An archive of all public information has been created on the free Internet Archive. Additionally, the source code for this paper and all analysis is hosted on a public GitHub repository, which can be cloned to reproduce findings exactly. All software needed to produce the same results is free and open source.

All data sets is collected, formatted, combined, and analyzed using the statistical computing language R (R Core Team 2018) and a handful of specialized packages: readr (Wickham, Hester, and Francois 2018) and wayback (Rudis 2017) for data collection; dplyr (Wickham et al. 2019) and tidyr (Wickham and Henry 2019) for data manipulation; stringr (Wickham 2019) and lubridate (Grolemund and Wickham 2011) for character and date strings; ggplot2 (Wickham 2016) for visualization; and verification (Research Applications Laboratory 2015) for forecast analysis. See the appendix for all the R code used in this project, which can be run sequentially to reproduce my findings.

Markets Data

Prediction market data comes courtesy of the PredictIt exchange, which is run by the University of New Zealand at Wellington with logistical support from Aristotle Inc. PredictIt provides historical market data to partnered academic researchers free of charge as part of their "no action" agreement with the Commodity Futures Trading Commission. PredictIt hosts markets for midterm races of interest. Each race is comprised of contracts tied to the outcome, either "Democrat/Republican" or "Yes/No" depending on whether the market question is phrased around a generic congressional election or the reelection of an incumbent. The public PredictIt API was scraped before the election to extract all market IDs related to the midterm elections. Those IDs were passed to the PredictIt contact, who returned a single file containing the price history of all markets. The market data set contains 45,037 rows with 11 variables (Table 1). Each row represents a single day's contract price history (opening, closing, low, and high price). The data spans from January 27th, 2017 to December 3rd, 2018. I will be operationalizing the closing contract price as that day's "final" prediction as to the candidate's probability of victory.

Table 1: Market Data Sample (Random)

Date	Market	Contract	Volume	Price
2017-05-24	CRUZ.TXSENATE.2018	NA	581	0.75
2017-10-29	HURD.TX23.2018	NA	0	0.41
2018-04-10	WA08.2018	DEM.WA08.2018	20	0.72

Date	Market	Contract	Volume	Price
2018-04-26	PA09.2018	DEM.PA09.2018	0	0.20
2018-06-14	MI11.2018	GOP.MI11.2018	0	0.42
2018-07-30	CASE.PASENATE.2018	NA	0	0.93
2018-08-26	FISC.NESENATE.2018	NA	30	0.93
2018-09-14	AZ02.2018	GOP.AZ02.2018	1	0.17
2018-10-29	BACO.NE02.2018	NA	979	0.80
2018-11-04	CURB.FL26.2018	NA	107	0.47

Model Data

Forecasting model data come courtesy of the data journalists at FiveThirtyEight, who were closest to reality in 2016, have a track record of success, and is one of the few forecasts to continue their work into the midterm elections. Again, FiveThirtyEight's exact model is proprietary, but they provide the top-level output to the public. The data comes in two separate files, one for the 435 House races and another for the 35 Senate elections that year. Combined, the two data sets contain 328,113 rows of 13 variables (Table 2). Each row represents a single day's predicted probability of a given candidate's victory. The data set contains daily predictions from August 1st to election day on November 8th of 2018.

Table 2: House Model Data Sample (Head)

Date	State	District	Party	Incumbent	Mean Share	Probability
2018-08-01	AK	1	R	TRUE	49.35	0.718
2018-08-01	AK	1	D	FALSE	44.11	0.282
2018-08-01	AK	1	NA	FALSE	6.54	0.000
2018-08-01	AL	1	R	TRUE	64.90	0.999
2018-08-01	AL	1	D	FALSE	35.10	0.001
2018-08-01	AL	2	R	TRUE	58.23	0.973
2018-08-01	AL	2	D	FALSE	41.77	0.027

Date	State	District	Party	Incumbent	Mean Share	Probability
2018-08-01	AL	3	R	TRUE	62.27	0.997
2018-08-01	AL	3	D	FALSE	37.73	0.003
2018-08-01	AL	4	R	TRUE	76.32	1.000

Combined Data

Each data set is combined by creating a common race key variable so that observations from the same day for the same race can be compared. With this key variable, a relational join is performed to put the prediction variables side by side. It's important to note that only predictions contained in both data sets are kept; while the model predicts all 470 races every day, betting markets only exists for races of interest. This means the races predicted by both data sets are significantly more uniformly distributed (Figure 1). This new distribution is a sample of total races, one with a much greater proportion of toss-up elections. It's a fair assumption to say

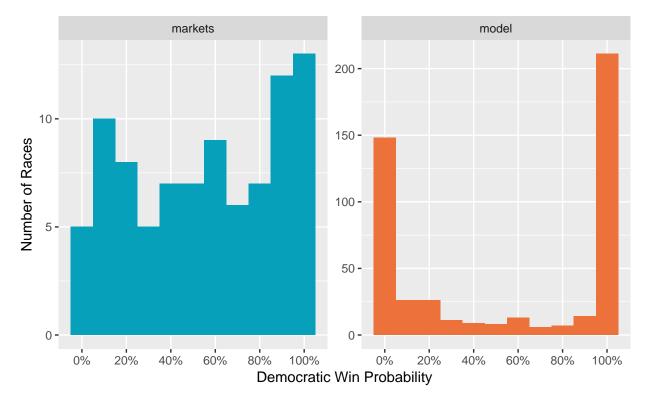


Figure 1: Proportion of Correct Predictions by Week

The data is then filtered to remove redundant predictions by keeping only Democratic predic-

tions (or the inverse of Republican predictions). Finally, the data is converted in a "long" rather than "wide" format, with each row representing a unique prediction and a new variable indicating the method used to generate it. In this "tidy" format, the two groups can be easily visualized and compared against one another. Figure 2 depicts the difference in predictions in the sample. If the two methods were exactly the same, all races would fall on on the x=y line. For races plotted in quadrant 1, the Democratic candidate is predicted to win by the market and predicted to lose by the mode. The inverse is true for quadrant 4. In quadrants 2 and 3, both methods are in agreement in their predictions.

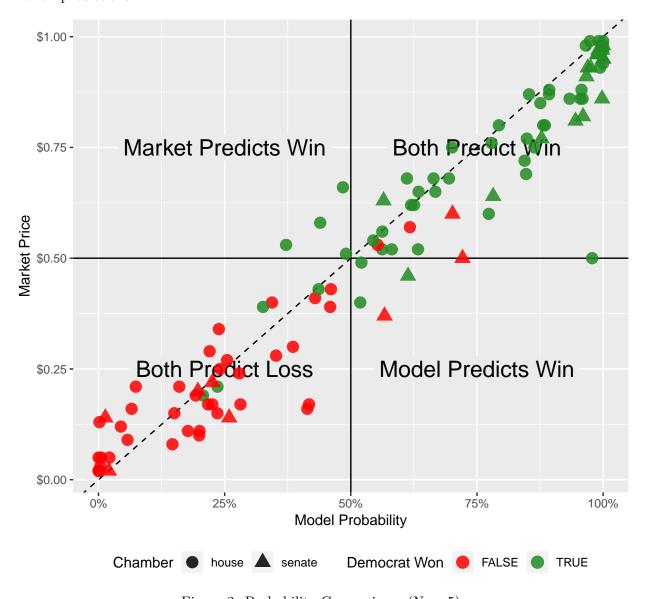


Figure 2: Probability Comparisons (Nov. 5)

Results

When assessing predictions, the most obvious metric is whether they are simply right or wrong. In the combined data set, there are 17,500 predictions and each of them ultimately makes a binary prediction on whether a candidate will win or lose that election. If we want to evaluate two methods of prediction, it makes sense to simply check which method was able to accurately predict more elections. The initial null hypothesis for this study held that there would be no difference in the overall proportion of accurate predictions over the course of the election. The alternative hypothesis being that there is in fact some difference, proving one method to be superior in prediction Congressional races. I chose to test the entire length of the campaign, as opposed to the "final" election night prediction, to evaluate each method as a daily predictive tool. Election prediction serves more roles than simply getting it right on election night; campaign operatives, party leaders, and data journalists rely on daily quantitative predictions to rigorously interpret changes in the campaign.

Proportion

To run a two-sample hypothesis test of equal proportion, the combined prediction data would have to be compared with eventual election results. Those results were provided by the team at FiveThirtyEight and the ABC News decision desk. By formatting the results in the same was as prediction data, a third simple relational join can be performed. This result is compared to the binary win/loss prediction and a new logical value is created to represent the prediction's ultimate accuracy (Table 4). The proportion of "hit" predictions for each method is compared. From this test, we can confidently reject our null hypothesis and accept the alternative hypothesis. With a chi squared value of 16.8 and a p-value of 0.0000417, we are confident the proportion of correct predictions is not equal to zero. In our sample, 86.03% of predictions made by traders on the PredictIt exchanged proved correct. With a 95% confidence, we know proportion value is 1.16 to 3.3% greater than the 83.81% of correct predictions made by the FiveThirtyEight model (Table 5).

Table 3: Tidy Comparison Data

Date	Race	Method	Probability	Prediction	Election	Accurate
2018-08-01	AZ-S1	market	0.660	TRUE	TRUE	TRUE
2018-08-01	AZ-S1	model	0.738	TRUE	TRUE	TRUE
2018-08-01	CA-12	market	0.910	TRUE	TRUE	TRUE
2018-08-01	CA-12	model	1.000	TRUE	TRUE	TRUE
2018-08-01	CA-22	market	0.300	FALSE	FALSE	TRUE
2018-08-01	CA-22	model	0.049	FALSE	FALSE	TRUE
2018-08-01	CA-25	market	0.610	TRUE	TRUE	TRUE
2018-08-01	CA-25	model	0.745	TRUE	TRUE	TRUE
2018-08-01	CA-39	market	0.610	TRUE	TRUE	TRUE
2018-08-01	CA-39	model	0.377	FALSE	TRUE	FALSE

Table 4: 2-sample test for equality of proportions with continuity correction: Markets vs Model

Test statistic	df	P value	Alternative hypothesis	Markets	Model
16.79	1	4.166e-05 * * *	two.sided	0.8603	0.8381

We can further explore these proportions over time to explore the difference in accuracy over time. Such an analysis confirms my hypothesis that the predictions markets would outperform the polling-reliant model earlier in the election cycle. In the early weeks of the campaign, the prediction markets were producing prices that accurately reflected over 90% of races eventually winner. Compare this to the roughly 85% accuracy from the forecasting model. It's worth noting that the number of predictions made each day is not consistent. Over the course of the campaign, markets for more and more races were added to the exchange, from 121 on August 1st to 183 on November 5th (Figure 4). Over this period, the mean of all market prices for Democrats decreased from \$0.60 to \$0.52. This might indicate that the additional markets added over the course of the

election might have a Republican bias. Although it's very possible that the overall trend of the election was shifting towards the Republican party.



Figure 3: Proportion of Correct Predictions by Week

This type of binary hit or miss proportion test may not be the ideal statistical comparison of predictive capabilities. These proportions tell us how likely any given daily prediction is to being right, but they do not evaluate how far those predictions are from the truth. This reductive analysis all but eliminates the probabilistic nature of these two predictive methods. A prediction giving a candidate a 55% chance is treated as accurate and useful as another which gives that same candidate a 95% chance. The probabilistic nature of both prediction markets and forecasting models is what makes them extremely useful tools for election analysis. It is only at the extreme margins where elections cross that 50% threshold. Is there really much value in a candidate's odds shifting from 51% one day to 49% the next? In the test of equal proportion, these two predictions are treated as entirely opposite despite very little actually changing in the underlying scenario. In the 115 race sample for the 2018 midterms, a couple elections crossing this 50% threshold day to day can cause significant changes in the proportion of "correct" predictions. There are better ways to test the skill of probabilistic forecasts. Looking back at figure 2, You can see how few of

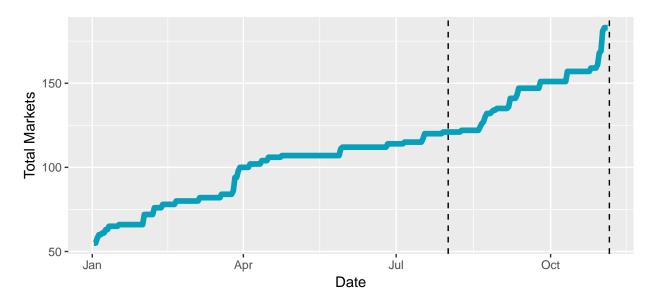


Figure 4: Total Number of Election Markets Over Year

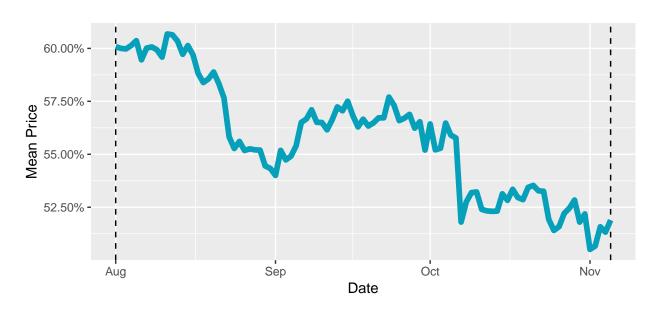


Figure 5: Mean Democratic Price Over Election

the races are predicted differently. As one would expect, the unique predictions are all closer to 50%. It's easy to imagine how a few of these elections drifting across the 50% line would affect the proportion.

Calibration

One way to further test the predictions is to test them against their expected accuracy. Inherent in probabilistic predictions is an expected rate of incorrect predictions. Among all predictions around 70%, you would expect only 70% of those predictions to be correct. From the graph below (Figure 6), we can see how well each predictive method is calibrated. Well-calibrated forecasts are as accurate as you'd expect them to be. Note that the prediction markets are consistently under confident in Democratic chances when they expect the Democrat to win. Of races where the Markets predicted the Democrat to have a roughly 60% chance of winning, the Democrat ended up winning those elections 85% of the time. This nuance is lost in the test for equal proportion.

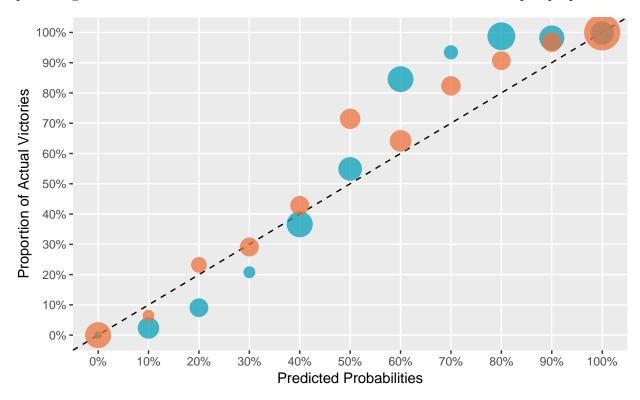


Figure 6: Prediction Calibration

Verification

The Brier score is allows us evaluate the accuracy of nuanced probabilistic forecasts tied to mutually exclusive discrete possibilities. Proposed by Glen Brier in 1950, this function measures the mean square difference between a probability and the binary outcome. The function is most often associated with weather forecasting, where probabilistic forecasts are often assessed on their binary accuracy (Ferro 2007). In a probabilistic forecast, the error is understood to be the gap between the probability and the outcome. A correct prediction at 60% has inherently greater error than the same prediction at 90%. The inverse is true for an incorrect prediction. The Brier score evaluates these errors by summing the squared the difference between forecast and outcome.

$$BS = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{t=1}^{N} (f_t - o_t)^2$$

In the context of these data sets the daily probability (0 to 1) is subtracted from the outcome (1 for win or 0 for loss). Better predictions will thus have a lower brier score. A near perfect prediction will have a brier score of $(0.99 - 1)^2 = 0.0001$, the worst predictions would have a brier score of $(0.01 - 1)^2 = 0.9801$, and a coin flip prediction would have a score of $(0.50 - 1)^2 = 0.25$ regardless of outcome. This test allows us to better evaluate the skill inherent in prediction markets and the forecasting model.

Table 5: Welch Two Sample t-test: brier_score by method (continued below)

Test statistic	df	P value	Alternative hypothesis
-0.339	16943	0.7346	two.sided

mean in group market	mean in group model
0.1084	0.1091

Since the Brier score evaluates a historical prediction by summing the individual prediction

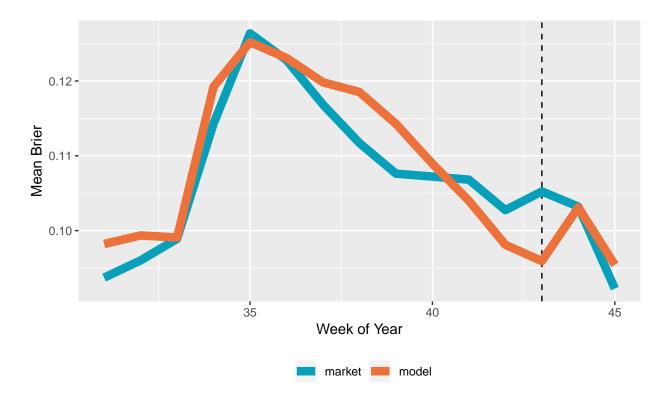


Figure 7: Mean Brier Scores by Week

scores, a paired t-test can be used to test the null hypothesis that prediction markets and forecasting models will have the same mean Brier score (Table 5). When we run such a test, the statistical significance of the test for equal proportion is put into question. The mean brier score for all market predictions is 0.1084, compared to 0.1091 for the model. With a p-value of 0.7346, there is no way to claim a statistically significant difference in these two scores across the history of the election. Only during the week of October 22nd was there a statistically significant difference in the mean Brier scores for each method, with the model slightly outperforming the market (model = 0.105, market = 0.959, p = 0.0008). By using Brier scores instead of reductive proportions, we can now see that any difference in these two predictive methods is actually minimal and unhelpfully accentuated by using the 50% delineator to test right from wrong.

Conclusion

Both predictive methods are fairly well calibrated and can predict elections with a useful degree of accuracy. Considering the sample of races compared and analyzed contains the most contentious races, the upwards of 80% accuracy is impressive. While the predictions markets were able to

predict significantly more of the sample races correctly, especially earlier in the election, the actual skill difference between these two methods is negligible. This difference stems from the confidence in each method. From the table below, you can see the mean probabilities for correct and incorrect predictions. For races where the Democrat was predicted to win and did win, the forecasting model was 5% more confident. For races where the Democrat was correctly predicted to lose, the model is over 6% more confident (Table 6). This disparity may stem from the demographic bias of the traders; *PredictIt* has acknowledged that the vast majority of traders are young, white, conservative men. While they appear to be more capable at predicting the overall winner of the election, the traders seem to demonstrate a bias against Democratic candidates. The traders demonstrate a similar underestimation of incumbent candidates, giving incumbent Democrats over 10% lower odds compared to the forecasting model (Table 7). These potential biases should be kept in mind when using prediction markets as a tool. The trading volume should also be kept in mind and more research needs to be done into the effect volume has on predictive accuracy.

Table 7: Mean Probabilities by Prediction and Outcome

Prediction	Election	Market	Model
FALSE	FALSE	0.230	0.168
FALSE	TRUE	0.406	0.365
TRUE	FALSE	0.593	0.637
TRUE	TRUE	0.795	0.845

Table 8: Mean Probabilities by Incumbency

Incumbent	Market	Model
FALSE	0.487	0.471
TRUE	0.793	0.905

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