# A Gentle Introduction to Risk-limiting Audits

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Abstract—Risk-limiting audits provide statistical assurance that election outcomes are correct by manually examining portions of the audit trail—paper ballots or voter-verifiable paper records. We sketch two types of risk-limiting audits, *ballot-polling audits* and *comparison audits*, and give example computations. Tools to perform the computations are available at statistics.berkeley.edu/~stark/Vote/auditTools.htm.

# I. WHAT IS A RISK-LIMITING AUDIT?

A risk-limiting audit is a method to ensure that at the end of the canvass, the hardware, software, and procedures used to tally votes found the real winners. Risk-limiting audits do not guarantee that the electoral outcome is right, but they have a large chance of correcting the outcome if it is wrong. They involve manually examining portions of an *audit trail* of (generally paper) records that voters had the opportunity to verify recorded their selections accurately.

Risk-limiting audits address limitations and vulnerabilities of voting technology, including the accuracy of algorithms used to infer voter intent, configuration and programming errors, and malicious subversion. Computer software cannot be guaranteed to be perfect or secure, so voting systems should be *software-independent*: An undetected change or error in voting system software should be incapable of causing an undetectable change or error in an election outcome [Rivest and Wack, 2006, Rivest, 2008]. A well-curated audit trail provides software independence; a risk-limiting audit leverages software independence by checking the audit trail strategically.

Systems that do not produce voter-verifiable paper records, such as paperless touchscreen voting systems, cannot be audited this way. Records of cast votes printed after the voter has left do not confer software independence, because voters had no chance to verify them.

The simplest risk-limiting audit is an accurate full hand tally of a reliable audit trail: Such a count reveals the correct outcome. However, a full hand count generally wastes resources: Examining far fewer ballots often can provide strong evidence that the outcome is correct, if those ballots are chosen at random by suitable means. Hence, to keep the counting burden as low as possible, the methods described here conduct an "intelligent" incremental recount that stops when the audit provides sufficiently strong evidence that a full hand count would confirm the original (voting system) outcome. As long

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as the audit does not yield sufficiently strong evidence, more ballots are manually inspected, potentially progressing to a full hand tally of all the ballots. (The full hand count can be part of the audit, or a separate process.) "Sufficiently strong" is quantified by the *risk limit*, the largest chance that the audit will stop short of a full hand tally when the original outcome is in fact wrong, no matter why it is wrong, including "random" errors, voter errors, configuration errors, bugs, equipment failures, or deliberate fraud.

Smaller risk limits entail stronger evidence that the outcome is correct: All else equal, the audit examines more ballots if the risk limit is 1% than if it is 10%. Smaller (percentage) margins require more evidence, because there is less room for error: All else equal, the audit examines more ballots if the margin is 1% than if it is 10%.

The risk limit is *not* the chance that the outcome (after auditing) is wrong. A risk-limiting audit emends the outcome if and only if it leads to a full hand tally that disagrees with the original outcome. Hence, a risk-limiting audit cannot harm correct outcomes. But if the original outcome is wrong, there is a chance the audit will not correct it. The risk limit is the *largest* such chance. If the risk limit is 10% and the outcome is wrong, there is at most a 10% chance (and typically much less) that the audit will not correct the outcome—at least a 90% chance (and typically much more) that the audit will correct the outcome.

There is an extensive literature on post-election audits; we do not summarize it here. And we omit important implementation details. Our point is merely that efficient risk-limiting audits do not require complicated calculations or in-house statistical expertise.

# A. The audit trail

Risk-limiting audits involve manually interpreting the votes in portions of the audit trail. The best audit trail is votermarked paper ballots. Voter-verifiable paper records (VVPRs) printed by voting machines are not as good. Voters might not actually inspect VVPRs. Printers can jam or run out of paper. VVPRs can be fragile and cumbersome to audit. (As noted above, paperless touchscreen voting machines do not provide a suitable audit trail.) Below, we call entries in the audit trail "ballots" regardless of how they were created.

Like a recount, a risk-limiting audit assumes there is a correct interpretation of each ballot. Rules for interpreting ballots must be established before the audit starts.

#### B. Ballot-level audits

States that mandate hand counting as part of audits generally require counting the votes in selected *clusters* of ballots (sometimes called "batches," but "batches" means something

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else below). For instance, under California law, each county counts the votes in 1% of precincts; each cluster comprises the ballots cast in one precinct.

The smaller the clusters, the less counting a risk-limiting audit requires—if the outcome is correct. (If the outcome is wrong, the audit has a large chance of counting all the votes, regardless of the size of the clusters.) A random sample of 100 individual ballots can be almost as informative as a random sample of 100 entire precincts! Hand counting is minimized when clusters consist of one ballot each, yielding "ballot-level" audits or "single-ballot" audits. See Stark [2010a] for more discussion.

Ballot-level audits save work, but finding individual ballots among millions stored in numerous boxes or bags ("batches") is challenging. It requires knowing the number of ballots in each batch (i.e., having a *manifest*, discussed below), how to locate each batch, and how to identify each ballot within each batch uniquely. Labeling each ballot helps, but is prohibited in some jurisdictions. Ballot-level auditing elevates privacy concerns. The most efficient ballot-level audits, comparison audits (explained below), require the voting system interpretation of every ballot—which no federally certified vote tabulation system reports. (See Stark and Wagner [2012].)

If the voting system does not report its interpretation of each ballot, one can audit using an unofficial system that does. *Transitive auditing* checks the unofficial system, rather than the system of record. If the two systems show different outcomes, all votes should be counted by hand. If the systems show the same outcome, a risk-limiting audit of the unofficial system checks the outcome of the system of record: Either both are right or both are wrong. If both are wrong, the risklimiting audit has a large chance of requiring a full hand count. See, e.g., Calandrino et al. [2007], Benaloh et al. [2011].

### **II. BEFORE THE AUDIT STARTS**

Because a risk-limiting audit relies upon the audit trail, preserving the audit trail complete and intact is crucial. If a jurisdiction's procedures for protecting the audit trail are adequate in principle, ensuring compliance with those procedures (possibly as part of a comprehensive canvass or a separate *compliance audit*) can provide strong evidence that the audit trail is trustworthy. If the compliance audit does not generate convincing affirmative evidence that the ballots have not been altered and that no ballots have been added or lost, a risk-limiting audit may be mere theater [Benaloh et al., 2011, Stark and Wagner, 2012].

To sample ballots efficiently requires a *ballot manifest* that describes in detail how the ballots are organized and stored. For instance, the jurisdiction might keep cast ballots in 350 batches, labeled 1 to 350. The manifest might say "There are 71,026 ballots in 350 batches: Batch 1 has 227 ballots; batch 2 has 903 ballots; ...; and batch 350 has 114 ballots." If the jurisdiction numbers its ballots, the manifest might say, "Batch 1 contains ballots 1–227; batch 2 contains ballots 228–1,130; ...; and batch 350 contains ballots 70,913–71,026."

Auditors should verify that the number of ballots in the manifest matches the total according to the election results. It

is good practice to count the ballots in the batches containing the ballots selected for audit, to check whether the manifest is accurate. If the manifest is inaccurate, the risk limit may not be correct.

## III. TWO KINDS OF SIMPLE RISK-LIMITING AUDITS

We present simple examples of two kinds of risk-limiting audits: *ballot-polling audits* and *comparison audits*. (Johnson [2004] makes an analogous distinction, but does not address risk-limiting audits per se.) "Simple" means that the calculations are easy, even with a pencil and paper, so observers can check the auditors' work. Tools that perform these calculations are available at statistics.berkeley.edu/~stark/Vote/auditTools. htm, the "auditTools page."

This section addresses risk-limiting audits of a vote-for-one contest. Section V discusses auditing more than one contest at once, contests with more than one winner, contests that require a super-majority, and ranked-choice voting.

#### A. Ballot-polling audits

*Ballot-polling audits* examine a random sample of ballots. When the vote shares in the sample give sufficiently strong evidence that the reported winner really won, the audit stops.

Ballot-polling audits require knowing who reportedly won, but no other data from the vote tabulation system. They are best when the vote tabulation system cannot export vote counts for individual ballots or clusters of ballots or when it is impractical to retrieve the ballots that correspond to such counts. Ballot-polling audits generally require examining more ballots than ballot-level comparison audits (described below) and the workload is disproportionately higher for contests with smaller margins—but comparison audits require much more information from the vote tabulation system, information that might not be available quickly in a useful format, if at all.

The following ballot-polling audit, which relies on Wald's sequential probability ratio test [Wald, 1945], has risk limit 10%: There is at least a 90% chance it will require a full hand count if the reported winner actually lost. It assumes that the winner's reported share s of valid votes is greater than 50%: a majority rather than a mere plurality. With small changes, it applies to contests that require a super-majority. Slightly more complicated procedures deal with winners who fall short of a majority.

- 1) Let *s* be the winner's share of the valid votes according to the vote tabulation system; this procedure requires s > 50%. Let *t* be a positive "tolerance" small enough that when *t* is subtracted from the winner's vote share *s*, the difference is still greater than 50%. (Increasing *t* reduces the chance of a full hand count if the voting system outcome is correct, but increases the expected number of ballots to be counted during the audit.) Set T = 1.
- Select a ballot at random from the ballots cast in the contest (see section IV). A ballot can be selected more than once; the following steps apply each time.
- 3) If the ballot does not show a valid vote, return to step 2.

4) If the ballot shows a valid vote for the winner, multiply *T* by

$$(s-t)/50\%$$

5) If the ballot shows a valid vote for anyone else, multiply *T* by

$$(1-(s-t))/50\%$$
.

- 6) If T > 9.9, the audit has provided strong evidence that the reported outcome is correct: Stop.
- 7) If T < 0.011, perform a full hand count to determine who won. Otherwise, return to step 2.

If the reported winner's true share of the vote is at least s-t, there is at most a 1% chance that this procedure will lead to a full hand count; that chance and the risk limit can be altered by adjusting the comparisons in steps 6 and 7.

As a numerical example, suppose one candidate reportedly received s = 60% of the valid votes. Set t = 1%. If the reported winner really received at least s - t = 59% of the vote, there is at most a 1% chance that the procedure will lead to a (pointless) full hand count. Note that 1 - (s - t) = 1 - 59% = 41%. To audit, we repeat steps 2–7, drawing ballots at random and updating *T* until either T > 9.9 or T < 0.011.

The number of ballots eventually audited depends on the vote shares and on which ballots happen to be selected. If the first 14 ballots drawn all show votes for the winner,

$$T = (59\%/50\%) \times (59\%/50\%) \times \dots \times (59\%/50\%)$$
  
= (59\%/50\%)<sup>14</sup> = 10.15,

and the audit stops.

If the reported winner's true vote share is 60%, the audit is expected to examine 120 ballots; for a 55% share, 480; and for a 52% share, 3,860: The expected workload grows quickly as the margin shrinks.

When the outcome is correct, the number of ballots the audit examines depends only weakly on the number of ballots cast, so the percentage of ballots examined in large contests can be quite small. For example, in the 2008 presidential election, 13.7 million ballots were cast in California; Barack Obama was reported to have received 61.1% of the vote. A ballot-polling audit could confirm that Obama won California at 10% risk (with t = 1%) by auditing roughly 97 ballots—seven tenthousandths of one percent of the ballots cast—if Obama really received over 61% of the votes.

The expected auditing workload in each county is proportional to the percentage of ballots cast in the county. Almost 25% of the ballots were cast in Los Angeles county, the largest of California's 58 counties. Over 75% of the ballots were cast in the largest 12 counties. The smallest 14 counties together account for less than 1% of ballots cast. So, about 24 of the 97 ballots would be from Los Angeles; 73 from the largest 12 counties, including Los Angeles; and perhaps one ballot total from the smallest 14 counties.

If the winner's share were 52% rather than 61.1%, the expected number of ballots to examine would be 3,860—far more, but still less than three hundredths of one percent of the ballots cast. Of those, Los Angeles would have expected to examine about 946, the largest 12 counties about 2,922 total, and

the smallest 14 counties about 35 total. Since ballot-polling audits do not require data from the vote tabulation system, they are an immediate practical option for auditing large contests. Indeed, *all* statewide contests could be confirmed with a single ballot-polling audit expected to examine 3,860 ballots if the winners' smallest vote share was 52%. Comparison audits, described next, generally involve examining fewer ballots, but require much more from the vote tabulation system.

# B. Comparison audits

*Comparison audits* check outcomes by comparing hand counts to voting system counts for clusters of ballots. In ballot-level comparison audits, each cluster is one ballot. Comparison audits can be thought of as having two phases: (i) Check whether the reported subtotals for every cluster of ballots sum to the contest totals for every candidate. If they do not, the reported results are inconsistent; the audit cannot proceed. (ii) Spot-check the voting system subtotals against hand counts for randomly selected clusters, to assess whether the subtotals are sufficiently accurate to determine who won. If not, the audit has a large chance of requiring a full hand count.

This section is based on the "super-simple" ballot-level risk-limiting comparison audit [Stark, 2010b]. It presumes we know how the vote tabulation system (or, for transitive audits, an unofficial system) interpreted every ballot. The audit compares a manual interpretation of ballots selected at random to the system's interpretation of those ballots, continuing until there is strong evidence that the outcome is correct or requiring a full hand count.

Suppose the manual interpretation of a ballot disagrees with the voting system interpretation. If changing the voting system interpretation to match the manual interpretation would increase the margin(s) between the winner and every loser, the ballot has an "understatement." If the voting system interpretation of a ballot records an overvote but the manual interpretation shows a vote for the winner, the ballot has an understatement. Understatements do not call the outcome into question, because correcting them benefits the winner.

If changing the voting system interpretation to match the manual interpretation would decrease the margin between the winner and any loser, the ballot has an "overstatement" equal to the maximum number of votes by which any margin would decrease. If the voting system interpretation of a ballot records an undervote but the manual interpretation finds a vote for one of the losers, the ballot has an overstatement of one vote: The voting system interpretation overstated the margin by one vote. If the voting system interpretation of a ballot recorded a vote for the winner but the manual interpretation finds an overvote, that ballot has an overstatement of one vote.

If the voting system interprets a ballot as a vote for the winner while a manual interpretation finds a vote for one of the losers, that ballot has an overstatement of *two* votes. For voter-marked paper ballots, occasional one-vote misstatements are expected, owing to the vagaries of how voters mark their ballots: From time to time the system will interpret a light mark as an undervote or a hesitation mark as an overvote. But two-vote overstatements should be quite rare: A properly

functioning voting system should not award a vote for one candidate to a different candidate.

We now present a simple rule for a risk-limiting comparison audit with risk limit 10%. The rule depends on the "diluted margin" m, the smallest reported margin (in votes), divided by the number of ballots cast. Dividing by the number of ballots, rather than by the number of valid votes, allows for the possibility that the vote tabulation system mistook an undervote or overvote for a valid vote, or vice versa. Suppose the audit has inspected n ballots. Let  $u_1$  and  $o_1$  be the number of 1-vote understatements and overstatements among those nballots, respectively; similarly, let  $u_2$  and  $o_2$  be the number of 2-vote understatements and overstatements. The audit can stop when

$$n \ge \frac{4.8 + 1.4(o_1 + 5o_2 - 0.6u_1 - 4.4u_2)}{m}.$$
 (1)

(This follows from equation [9] of Stark [2010b] with risk limit  $\alpha = 10\%$  and  $\gamma = 1.03905$ , by the same conservative approximation used to derive equation [17] there, with a bit of rounding.)

Overstatements increase the required sample size and understatements decrease it, but not by equal amounts. We have more confidence in the outcome if the sample shows no misstatements than if it shows large but equal numbers of understatements and overstatements. In condition [1] a 1-vote understatement offsets 60% of a 1-vote overstatement and a 2-vote understatement offsets 88% of a 2-vote overstatement.

If the diluted margin *m* is 10%, each 1-vote overstatement increases the required sample size by 1.4/10% = 14 ballots and each 1-vote understatement decreases the required sample size by  $1.4 \times 0.6/10\% = 8.4$  ballots. Each 2-vote overstatement increases the required sample size by  $1.4 \times 5/10\% = 70$  ballots and each 2-vote understatement decreases the required sample size by  $1.4 \times 4.4/10\% = 61.6$  ballots. For m = 5%, these numbers double; for m = 2%, they quintuple.

With this method, the auditor can check one ballot at a time against its voting system interpretation sequentially or check a larger number in parallel. Moreover, the auditor can decide at any point to abort the audit and require a full hand count. The risk limit will be 10% provided the audit continues either until condition [1] is satisfied or until there is a full hand count; then the hand-count outcome replaces the reported outcome.

Numerical examples might help. Suppose that 10,000 ballots were cast in a particular contest. According to the vote tabulation system, the reported winner received 4,000 votes and the runner-up received 3,500 votes. Then the diluted margin is m = (4000 - 3500)/10000 = 5%. We consider sampling ballots incrementally and sampling in stages.

1) Sampling incrementally: In an incremental audit, the auditor draws a ballot at random and checks by hand whether the voting system interpretation of that ballot is right before drawing the next ballot. If there is one 1-vote understatement and no other misstatements among the first 80 ballots examined,  $u_1 = 1$  and  $o_1$ ,  $u_2$ , and  $o_2$  are all zero and the audit can stop, because

$$80 \ge \frac{4.8 - 1.4 \times 0.6 \times 1}{5\%}.$$
 (2)

If there are no overstatements or understatements among the first 96 ballots examined,  $u_1$ ,  $o_1$ ,  $u_2$ , and  $o_2$  are all zero and the audit can stop, because

$$96 \ge 4.8/5\%.$$
 (3)

2) Sampling in stages: To simplify logistics, an auditor might draw many ballots at once, then compare each to its voting system interpretation. If condition [1] is not met, the auditor draws another set of ballots and compares them to their voting system interpretations. Each set of draws and comparisons is a *stage*. (If a ballot is drawn more than once, it enters the calculations as many times as it is drawn.)

If the auditor expects errors at some rate, she can select the first-stage sample size so that the audit stops there if her expectation proves correct or pessimistic. Suppose she expects one 1-vote overstatement and one 1-vote understatement per thousand ballots (0.001 per ballot), and expects 2-vote misstatements to be negligibly rare. For a contest with a diluted margin *m* of at least 5%, an initial sample of 4.8/m ballots (rounded up) is 96 ballots or fewer. If overstatements are as infrequent as expected, there are unlikely to be any among the first 96 ballots: The audit will stop at the first stage. An initial sample of 6.2/m (124 ballots or fewer if the margin is at least 5%) allows the audit to stop at the first stage if it shows one 1-vote overstatement.

It can save effort to sort the sample (for instance, by precinct) before retrieving the ballots and checking their interpretation. But then all ballots drawn in the stage should be checked before determining whether to stop. Otherwise the procedure is biased in favor of ballots from precincts that are early in sorted order.

Table I gives stopping sample sizes for various diluted margins and numbers of overstatements and understatements, for 10% risk. It can help select the first-stage sample size for different expected rates of error.

### **IV. RANDOM SELECTION**

Risk-limiting audits rely on random sampling. (Random samples can be augmented with "targeted" samples chosen by other means; see, e.g., Stark [2009a].) If the sample is not drawn appropriately, the risk limit will be wrong. The risk-limiting methods described above rely on drawing a random sample of ballots with replacement. This is like putting all the ballots into an enormous mixer, stirring them thoroughly, and drawing a ballot without looking. The ballot is returned to the mixer, the ballots are mixed again, and another ballot is drawn (possibly the same ballot), until the audit stops.

Public confidence requires that observers can verify the selection is fair—that all ballots are equally likely to be selected in each draw. This speaks against a number of common methods for selecting samples, including "arbitrary" selection by the election officials; drawing slips of paper, where there is little hope of confirming that each ballot is represented by exactly one slip and that the slips have been adequately mixed; using proprietary software such as Excel; or using any source of putative randomness that cannot readily be checked.

Trustworthy methods of generating random numbers often have two features: a physical source of randomness (such

|         | 0 understatements       |      |      |      |      | 1 1-vote understatement |      |      |      |      |
|---------|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| diluted | # 1-vote overstatements |      |      |      |      | # 1-vote overstatements |      |      |      |      |
| margin  | 0                       | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 0                       | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    |
| 0.2%    | 2400                    | 3100 | 3800 | 4500 | 5200 | 1980                    | 2680 | 3380 | 4080 | 4780 |
| 0.5%    | 960                     | 1240 | 1520 | 1800 | 2080 | 792                     | 1072 | 1352 | 1632 | 1912 |
| 1%      | 480                     | 620  | 760  | 900  | 1040 | 396                     | 536  | 676  | 816  | 956  |
| 2%      | 240                     | 310  | 380  | 450  | 520  | 198                     | 268  | 338  | 408  | 478  |
| 5%      | 96                      | 124  | 152  | 180  | 208  | 80                      | 108  | 136  | 164  | 192  |
| 10%     | 48                      | 62   | 76   | 90   | 104  | 40                      | 54   | 68   | 82   | 96   |
| 20%     | 24                      | 31   | 38   | 45   | 52   | 20                      | 27   | 34   | 41   | 48   |

TABLE I

EXEMPLAR SAMPLE SIZES FOR BALLOT-LEVEL COMPARISON AUDITS WITH VARIOUS DILUTED MARGINS AND VARIOUS NUMBERS OF MISSTATEMENTS IN THE SAMPLE, 10% RISK LIMIT.

as dice rolls) and inputs from multiple parties (so that even if some parties collude, any non-colluding party could foil an attempt to rig the sample). It can be efficient, effective, and transparent to use a simple mechanical method—such as rolling dice [Cordero et al., 2006]—to generate a "seed" for a well-designed *pseudo-random number generator* (PRNG). PRNGs can generate arbitrarily many "pseudo-random" numbers from a single seed. PRNG output is deterministic given the seed, but the numbers produced by good PRNGs have many of the desirable properties of random sequences. And any observer who knows the seed and the PRNG can check the output. For good PRNGs, small changes in the seed yield very different sequences, so starting with a random seed makes it effectively impossible for anyone to render the audit less effective by anticipating which ballots will be examined.

The auditTools page (described in section III) provides a good PRNG suggested by Ronald L. Rivest. It relies on the SHA-256 cryptographic hash function, which is in the public domain and has been implemented in many programming languages. That allows observers to confirm that the sequence of pseudo-random numbers is correct, given the seed.

A ballot manifest can be used to identify the particular ballots that correspond to the random (or pseudo-random) numbers in the sample. Before the audit, we use the manifest to assign a unique number to each ballot, if the ballots are not already marked uniquely. Suppose that the manifest lists 822 ballots in three batches, numbered 1 through 3; the batches contain, respectively, 230, 312, and 280 ballots. Then we can number the 230 ballots in batch 1 ballots 1 through 230; the 312 ballots in batch 2 ballots 231 through 542; and the 280 ballots in batch 3 ballots 543 through 822. Ballot 254 is the 24th ballot in batch 2. We assume that the ballots are stored in some order that remains unchanged during the audit, so that "the 24th ballot in batch 2" uniquely identifies a particular ballot.

To draw the audit sample, we generate random numbers between 1 and 822, and retrieve the corresponding ballot. If 254 is generated, we retrieve batch 2 and count into that batch to find the 24th ballot, which we audit.

# V. MORE COMPLICATED SITUATIONS

We have discussed only contests where the candidate with the most votes wins. The methods can be extended to audit contests that require a supermajority, contests with more than one winner, cross-jurisdictional contests, and ranked-choice voting; and to audit a collection of contests simultaneously with a single sample.

Contests with more than one winner and collections of contests can be audited with a comparison audit based on the maximum relative overstatement of pairwise margins (MRO) [Stark, 2008b, 2009b], defined as follows. A pairwise margin is the margin in votes between any winner and any loser in a given contest. An overstatement of a pairwise margin, divided by that margin, is the relative overstatement of the pairwise margin. A one-vote overstatement of a wide margin casts less doubt on the outcome than a one-vote overstatement of a narrow margin; relative overstatements take this into account. The MRO is the maximum relative overstatement on each audited ballot. The arithmetic can be simplified by treating all overstatements as if they affected the smallest diluted margin. This is conservative, but if overstatements are rare, the workload remains manageable. That is the heart of the "super-simple" simultaneous audit method [Stark, 2010b].

For simultaneous audits of multiple contests, the diluted margin is the smallest reported margin in votes, divided by the total number of ballots on which at least one of the contests appears. If a contest appears on only a small fraction of ballots, it may take less work to audit it separately, so that its diluted margin considers only the ballots that contain the contest.

Auditing contests that cross jurisdictional boundaries is straightforward if all the results are available before the audit starts, and the sample can be drawn from all ballots as a pool. If the jurisdictions draw samples independently, the computations are complicated [Stark, 2008a, Higgins et al., 2011]. Auditing instant-runoff or ranked-choice (IRV/RCV) contests is a topic of research: Even computing the "margin of victory" is difficult [Magrino et al., 2011, Cary, 2011].

# VI. A PRACTICAL EXAMPLE: MERCED COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

The methods described above have been used to audit elections in California, including the November 2011 election in Merced County. That audit, authorized by California's 2010 law AB 2023 and funded by a grant from the U.S. Election Assistance Commission, was a comparison audit that used a single sample to confirm two City of Merced contests: the mayoral contest, and the (vote-for-three) councilmember contest. In the mayoral contest, which had five candidates, the voting system reported that Stan Thurston received 2,231 votes, and runner-up Bill Blake received 2,037—a margin of 194 votes, or 2.79% of valid votes cast. In the councilmember contest, the margin of decision (between the third-place and fourth-place candidates) was wider, 959 votes.

Because Merced's voting system cannot report its interpretation of individual ballots, a transitive audit was conducted: The 7,120 cast ballots were digitally scanned. A ballot manifest was prepared. Kai Wang, Ph.D. student at the University of California, San Diego, interpreted the images using software he wrote, spot-checking "difficult" cases by hand. His vote totals were slightly higher than the official totals, but gave the same winners. The margin he found for the mayoral contest was 192 votes, a diluted margin m of about 2.70%. Before the audit started, the unofficial interpretations were posted to a website so that anyone interested could verify that those interpretations did not change during the audit.

The initial sample was large enough to confirm the original results at 10% risk limit if it revealed few overstatements. The minimum sample size if there were no misstatements would be 4.8/m = 178. The initial sample size was chosen on the assumption that the rates of one-vote overstatements and understatements would be 0.001, rounded up to the nearest whole number, and that the rates of two-vote overstatements and understatements would be negligible. That led the auditors to anticipate one 1-vote overstatement and one 1-vote understatement in the sample. Expression [1] with  $o_1 = 1$  and  $u_1 = 1$  yields

$$n \ge (4.8 + 1.4 \times (1 - 0.6 \times 1))/0.027 = 198.5.$$
 (4)

Expression [1] rounds to the nearest tenth but the auditTools page does not; the initial sample was 198 ballots. (To allow for a one-vote overstatement without any compensating one-vote understatement, the initial sample size would be 230 instead: When  $o_1 = 1$  and  $u_1 = o_1 = o_2 = 0$ ,  $n \ge (4.8 + 1.4 \times 1)/0.027$ , giving an initial sample size  $n \ge 229.6$ .)

Each of the four people present contributed two digits to a seed, which was was used with the PRNG on the auditTools page to generate 198 numbers between 1 and 7,120, the number of ballots. Auditors retrieved each of the corresponding ballots using the manifest and the lookup tool on the auditTools page. Their manual interpretation of each ballot matched Kai Wang's interpretation, so the audit stopped, transitively confirming the official winners of both contests at 10% risk limit by looking at 198 ballots.

#### VII. DISCUSSION

Risk-limiting audits guarantee that if the vote tabulation system found the wrong winner, there is a large chance of a full hand count to correct the results. Providing this guarantee requires a voting system that produces a voter-verifiable paper record—an audit trail—and requires the local election official to ensure that the audit trail remains complete and accurate. Risk-limiting audits examine portions of the audit trail by hand until there is sufficiently strong evidence that a full hand count would confirm the reported result, or until there has been a full hand count. There are two general types of risk-limiting audits: *ballotpolling audits* and *comparison audits*. Both types are most efficient when the audit checks individual ballots, *ballot-level auditing*. For both, sample size depends on the margin (or diluted margin) and the luck of the draw—the particular ballots that happen to be in the sample—but only weakly on the size of the contest. Comparison audit sample sizes also depend on the number and nature of errors in the original tally.

Ballot-polling audits require almost nothing but the audit trail and a list of reported winners. In contrast, ballot-level comparison audits require detailed information from the vote tabulation system: its interpretation of each ballot. However, ballot-level comparison audits examine fewer ballots than ballot-polling audits when the margin is small and the outcome is correct: The number grows like the reciprocal of the margin, versus the square of the reciprocal for ballot-polling audits. At 10% risk limit, assuming the vote tabulation system is perfectly accurate, the ballot-polling method we presented would be expected to examine 120 ballots if the winner's share is 60%, 480 if it is 55%, or 3,860 if it is 52%, versus 24, 48, and 120 for the comparison audit method we presented.

Unfortunately, current commercial vote tabulation systems do not report their interpretation of each ballot, so ballot-level comparison audits sometimes rely on unofficial systems, giving *transitive audits*. Ballot-polling audits may be immediately practical for large contests, because they require so little of the vote tabulation system, and the counting burden typically is spread across many jurisdictions.

These auditing methods require random samples, which must be drawn properly, in a way that precludes manipulation, and ideally in a way that the public can verify is proper. Using a high-quality public pseudo-random number generator with a "seed" generated at random by audit participants satisfies these requirements.

While the mathematics that underlie risk-limiting audits might be daunting, the calculations required to conduct the audit can be extremely simple: arithmetic that could easily be done with pencil and paper or a four-function calculator. Simplicity improves transparency and can increase public confidence by allowing anyone interested to check the calculations.

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