Whose Votes (Were) Counted in the Election of 2016?

Philip B. Stark

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My connection to this election

- Op-ed with Ron Rivest calling for audit
- ► Testified against SD RoV for not following CA audit law
- Petition to audit the election (>330k signatures)
- Conversations with state & local election officials re auditing
- Conversation with Clinton campaign after election re audits & recounts
- Worked with Stein campaign on recount effort:
 - Testimony in Wisconsin
 - Affidavit in Michigan
- Report & op-eds regarding Maryland's not-really-an-audit
- ► Dozens of interviews, radio & tv appearances, etc.

University of California

Professor Phillip Stark

367 Evans Hall

Berkeley, CA 94720

Dear Professor Stark,

Thank you for the entertaining gnashing of teeth since President Trumps election win last November. This should be a lesson to your class and your colleagues that you cannot always get what you want.

Please repeat after me, P-R-E-S-I-D-E-N-T T-R-U-M-P!

Despite your loss, I have enclosed a 2016 presidential election participation award trophy to make you feel better about yourself. Feel free to share this participation trophy with the other whiners and snowlikes in your student body as well as the other professors. Thank you for the entertainment.



Figure 1: award

Yesterday's news

- https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/postpolitics/wp/2017/01/23/at-white-house-trump-tellscongressional-leaders-3-5-million-illegal-ballots-cost-him-thepopular-vote/
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- https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/23/us/politics/donaldtrump-congress-democrats.html
- How could you check?

 ~11 million aliens living in the US http://www.wsj.com/articles/number-of-illegal-immigrants-inu-s-holds-steady-at-11-million-1474394518 http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/03/5-factsabout-illegal-immigration-in-the-u-s/

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- Includes people of all ages
- ▶ For the sake of argument, suppose that 75% are over the age of 18, i.e., 8.25 million.
- Turnout rate would need to be 5/8.25 = 61% among illegal aliens for them to account for 5 million votes: higher than the overall turnout, which was about 56%.

Statistical check

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- Imagine drawing a random sample of 250 voters from whole US.
- If indeed 2.16% or more voted illegally, the chance that the sample finds at least one of them is

 $1 - \Pr\{\text{none in sample}\} \approx 1 - (0.9784)^{250} = 99.6\%$



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- Why stop there?

State	Margin (%)	Margin (votes)	Electoral votes
Michigan	0.22%	10,704	16
New Hampshire	0.37%	2,736	4
Pennsylvania	0.72%	44,292	20
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- Unusually high undervote rates in some places

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- No evidence of hacking

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- Many centralized vulnerabilities. E.g., in MI, 75% of jurisdictions outsource ballot programming to 2 commercial firms, each with fewer than 20 employees.
- Nobody *looked* for evidence of hacking: need to check the paper

http://www.greenbaypressgazette.com/story/news/politics/elections/2017/recount-raised-human-error-concerns/96346840/

Marinette County's vote total changed by almost 300 because some voters were given the wrong pens to mark ballots, the Wisconsin Elections Commission said.

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- Recount showed that laws & regs make it hard: states & candidates sued to stop recounts!

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- Recounts clumsy & expensive compared to good audits
- Need laws requiring 3Cs: create paper, take care of paper, check results against paper

What do we want election audits to do?

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- If outcome is wrong, correct it before it's official

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- Shouldn't overturn outcome on statistics alone

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- Instead, count by machine, and check a random sample by hand.
- Keep checking until there's convincing evidence that the outcome is right—or until all ballots have been examined and the right outcome is known.

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Generally, have to check more to make chance smaller

Random Sampling

"Stirring" is key to reducing work

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- Don't have to walk all over town to tell if it's cold outside: the air is mixed well enough that you just have to step outside to get a pretty good idea.
- Don't have to drink a whole pot of soup to tell if it's too salty: a teaspoon is enough—if the pot has been stirred. (Doesn't matter whether the pot holds 1q or 50gal.)

Random sampling is stirring

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- Easier to stir balls than ballots. Even easier to generate (pseudo-)random numbers
- Still amounts to putting ballots into a huge cement mixer to stir them, then taking a "teaspoon" of ballots

Paper rules-if it is right

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- Counting the whole audit trail won't give right answer unless it's adequately accurate and intact.
- Current procedures for protecting, tracking, and accounting for ballots are spotty. Should be top priority!
- Risk limit assumes outcome is wrong in the hardest-to-find way: Max chance outcome won't be corrected.

http://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/18/election-audit-paper-machines-column/93803752/



Tools for Comparison Risk-Limiting Election Audits

To hide or show everything but the tools, click this link.

Initial sample size

Contest information Ballots cast in all contests: [7116 Smallest margin (votes): 61. Diluted margin: 0.86%.						
Contest 1, Contest name: Supervisor, 2nd District						
Winners: 2 :						
Reported votes:						
Candidate 1 Name: Juliana Inman	Votes: 177	2				
Candidate 2 Name: Mark Luce	Votes: 269	6				
Candidate 3 Name: Mark Van Gorder	Votes: 183					
		3				
Add candidate to contest 1 Remove last candidate from c	ontest 1					
Add candidate to contest 1) Remove last candidate from c Add contest Remove last contest Audit parameters	ontest 1					
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Add candidate to contest 1] Remove last candidate from of Add context, Remove last context, Audit parameters Risk limit; [con- Expected rates of differences (as decimal numb Overstatements, 1-vote; [a.co1] 2-vote; [a.	ers):					
Add candidate to context 1] Remove last candidate from c Add context Remove last context Addit parameters Risk limit: [use Expected rates of differences (as decimal numb Overstatements, 1-vote: [use1] 2-vote: [understatements] Understatements	ers): .0001					
Add candidate to contest 1 [Remove last candidate from or Add candidate to contest] Addit parameters Risk limit: [con Expected rates of differences (as decimal numb Overstatements. 1-vote: [con1] 2-vote: [o Understatements. 1-vote: [con1] 2-vote: [o Starting size	ers): .0001					

Figure 3: Contest inputs



Figure 4: Dice for PRNG seed

Random sampling

Pseudo-Bandom Sample of Ballots				
Coode Transcon Campo of Sanota				
Seed: 73567556725160627585				
Number of ballots: 7116				
Current sample number: 623				
Draw this many ballots: 623 draw sample reset				
Ballots selected: d show sequence numbers show hash values				
sequence_number, ballot 1,2086 2,2452 3,3320 4,4719 5,4813 6,3838 6,3838 7,2655 8,2747 9,3059				
Ballots selected, sorted:				
$ \begin{array}{l} [19, 43, 73, 85, 10, 96, 66, 99, 101, 109, 114, 150, 156, 163, 175, 187, 187, 195, 197, 182, 442, 802, 821, 901, 36, 723, 935, 403, 404, 074, 124, 924, 444, 504, 514, 174, 724, 804, 814, 824, 915, 14, 454, 555, 555, 757, 555, 5595, 5595, 576, 153, 6597, 613, 614, 615, 629, 645, 647, 657, 685, 682, 692, 694, 739, 750, 763, 766, 792, 795, 798, 819, 812, 841, 842, 857, 862, 718, 748, 786, 840, 910, 906, 920, 3203, 914, 937, 937, 550, 653, 973, 671, 910, 1104, 1105, 1105, 1105, 1105, 1105, 1105, 1105, 1125, 1130, 1165, 1205, 1210, 1218, 1219, 1224, 1226, 1224, 1226, 1224, 1224, 1224, 1224, 1244, 1464, 1461, 1124, 1124, 1144, 1444, 1444, 1451, 1484, 1494, 1444, 1451, 1484, 1494, 1451, 1124, 1123, 11474, 1124, 1144, 1444, 1444, 1451, 1124, 1144, 1444, 1451, 1124, 1144, 1444, 1451, 1124, 1143, 1144, 1144, 1145, 1145, 1144, 1145, 1144, 11464, 1145, 1145, 11464, 11454, 11454, 11464, 11454, 11454, 11464, 11454, 114$				
Ballots selected, sorted, duplicates removed:				
$\begin{array}{c} 19.34, 37, 38, 51, 90, 96, 99, 101, 109, 114, 150, 156, 163, 175, 187, 195, 197, 198, 244, 280, 281, 301, 316, 372, 395, 403, 404, 407, 147, 429, 444, 450, 451, 417, 440, 484, 482, 445, 151, 452, 455, 550, 554, 577, 585, 596, 597, 513, 514, 512, 529, 557, 557, 558, 5692, 694, 739, 750, 763, 768, 792, 795, 798, 819, 332, 841, 842, 857, 862, 877, 862, 864, 864, 864, 864, 864, 864, 864, 864$				

Figure 5: Manifest

Ballot-polling Audits and Comparison Audits

 Ballot polling audit: sample ballots until there is strong evidence that looking at all of them would show the same election outcome.

Like an exit poll—but of ballots, not voters.

- Comparison audit:
 - 1. Commit to vote subtotals (or CVRs), e.g., precinct-level results
 - 2. Check that the subtotals add up exactly to contest results
 - 3. Check subtotals by hand until there is strong evidence the outcome is right

Tradeoffs

Ballot polling audit

- Virtually no set-up costs
- Requires nothing of voting system
- Need a ballot manifest to draw sample
- Preserves voter anonymity except possibly for sampled ballots
- Requires more counting than ballot-level comparison audit
- Does not check tabulation: outcome could be right because errors cancel
- Comparison audit
 - Heavy demands on voting system for reporting and data export
 - Requires LEO to commit to subtotals
 - Requires ability to retrieve ballots that correspond to CVRs or subtotals
 - May compromise voter privacy
 - ▶ Most efficient (ballot-level) not possible w/ current systems
 - Checks tabulation
 - Ballot-level comparison audits require least hand counting

Ballot-polling Audits are often Cheap for Big Contests

255 state-level presidential contests, 1992-2012, 10% risk limit

 BPA expected to examine fewer than 308~ballots for half the contests.

Work expands as margins shrink, but we could get a lot of election integrity at low cost—with any paper-based system.

Ballot-Polling Audit, 2 Candidates, 10% Risk Limit

Winner's share	median	90th percentile	Mean
70%	22	60	30
65%	38	108	53
60%	84	244	119
58%	131	381	184
55%	332	974	469
54%	518	1,520	730
53%	914	2,700	1,294
52%	2,051	6,053	2,900
51%	8,157	24,149	11,556
50.5%	32,547	96,411	46,126

Risk-Limiting Audits

- ▶ ~25 pilot audits in CA, CO, and OH; AZ tomorrow
- CO law goes into effect this year; CA has pilot law
- simple measures, super-majority, multi-candidate, vote-for-n
- multiple contests audited simultaneously with one sample
- contest sizes: 200 ballots to 121,000 ballots
- counting burden: 16 ballots to 7,000 ballots
- cost per audited ballot: nil to about \$0.55
- several jurisdictions have audited on their own—no geeks needed

Evidence-based elections

Principle: Trust, but verify

- LEOs should give convincing evidence that outcomes are right (or say they can't).
 "Trust me" is not convincing.
- ► Voters create complete, durable, accurate audit trail.
- LEO curates the audit trail adequately.
- Compliance audit to check whether the audit trail is trustworthy enough to determine who won.
 If not, how strong can the evidence be?
- Risk-limiting audit to correct the outcome if it is wrong.
 Presumes audit trail is OK.
Reading

Scholarly-ish articles

- Stark, P.B., and D.A. Wagner, 2012.
 Evidence-Based Elections. IEEE Security and Privacy, 10, 33–41.
 http://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/evidenceVote12.pdf
- Lindeman, M. and P.B. Stark, 2012. A Gentle Introduction to Risk-Limiting Audits. IEEE Security and Privacy, 10, 42–49. http://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/gentle12.pdf
- Bretschneider, J., S. Flaherty, S. Goodman, M. Halvorson, R. Johnston, M. Lindeman, R.L. Rivest, P. Smith, and P.B. Stark, 2012. Risk-Limiting Post-Election Audits: Why and How. http://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/RLAwhitepaper12.pdf

Popular media, letters to politicians, etc.:

http://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2016/11/18/election-audit-paper-machines-column/93803752/

- https://www.theguardian.com/usnews/2016/nov/29/security-experts-join-jill-steins-electionchanging-recount-campaign (read the pleadings and the expert declarations)
- https://www.scribd.com/document/336463904/Experts-Letter-to-Lindsey-Graham-20170113

 $https://epic.org/policy/SHSGAC_EPIC_Bossert_Jan_2017.pdf$

- https://mobile.nytimes.com/2017/01/06/us/politics/russiahack-report.html
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- https://wcmcoop.com/2012/05/22/meet-command-central-