



**STATE OF HAWAII
OFFICE OF ELECTIONS**

802 LEHUA AVENUE
PEARL CITY, HAWAII 96782
elections.hawaii.gov

SCOTT T. NAGO
CHIEF ELECTION OFFICER

TESTIMONY OF THE
CHIEF ELECTION OFFICER, OFFICE OF ELECTIONS
TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY AND HAWAIIAN AFFAIRS
ON SENATE BILL NO. 2333
RELATING TO ELECTION AUDITS

March 15, 2024

Chair Tarnas and members of the House Committee on Judiciary and Hawaiian Affairs, thank you for the opportunity to testify in support of Senate Bill No. 2333. This bill allows the Chief Election Officer to use accurate copies of paper ballots, rather than the originals, when conducting a precinct audit of an electronic voting system's tally.

The Office of Elections supports this bill as it clarifies and updates the conduct of the audit used with modernized voting equipment and technology for elections by mail. The post-election audits are conducted to confirm the results and ensure the accuracy and integrity of the election rather than conducting a hand tally recount. Pursuant to HRS §16-42, we audit 10% of precincts randomly selected by Official Observers. The Official Observers then select a contest to audit from the randomly selected precincts.

Ballots are scanned and counted through the electronic voting equipment and since we have transitioned to elections by mail, ballots are processed and counted in the order they are received, in contrast to a polling place model where the ballots are isolated to the assigned district/precinct only. Using the voting equipment, the counted ballots can be filtered to the selected precinct and viewed to create a hand tally of expected results. Further, we are still able to track and go back to the individual source paper ballot and do a physical review as necessary.

The method of using the voting equipment to view the ballot and create a hand tally of expected results was used for the mail ballots in the 2022 Elections. We found it beneficial as we were able to check and confirm how the voting equipment counted a particular mark. We also compared and matched batches of the scanned ballots with the same batch of the physical ballots. For the voter service center ballots, as the voting equipment counting these ballots is different, we created the hand tally of expected results based on the physical ballots. We found more human errors were created in the audit process since the ballots had to be first manually sorted by district/precinct.

No evidence of issues affecting the outcome of the election has been found to question the validity of the results. However, if an issue were to arise during the conduct of the post-election audit impacting the results of the election, the audit may be expanded to include first additional contests and further additional precincts. Further, we would also like to mention that there are additional safeguards of checks and balances including logic and accuracy tests of the voting equipment before and after counting voted ballots, and the comparison of ballots received and accepted by the County Elections Division to voted ballots counted (i.e., turnout) by district/precinct reported in the election results.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify in support of Senate Bill No. 2333.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 1:18:25 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| Camron Hurt | Common Cause Hawaii | Comments | In Person |

Comments:

Dear Chair and Committee members,

Thank you for the opportunity to provide comments on behalf of Common Cause Hawaii.

We strongly recommend that you take a different tack with the changes proposed for Section 16-42, Hawaii Revised Statutes, regarding provisions for post-election audits. We agree with Chief Election Officer Scott Nago’s concerns, in his previous testimony on SB2334, about the burden and complexity of extending the current audit method to all races on all the different ballots in various precincts – particularly before certification.

We recommend that Hawaii’s post-election audit focus on random *batches* of ballots, rather than precincts. We recommend that the audit check two races – one statewide, one countywide – rather than all the races on all the audited ballots. If the batches are randomly selected, then auditing 50 batches – rather than 10% of precincts – could provide a post-election audit that is more robust, and easier to administer, than Hawaii’s current practice.

Specifically, we recommend that Section 2 of SB2334 be changed to read as follows:

SECTION 2. Section 16-42, Hawaii Revised Statutes, is amended by amending subsection (b) to read as follows:

"(b) The chief election officer may rely on electronic tallies created directly by electronic voting systems, in lieu of counting the paper ballots by hand or with a mechanical tabulation system if:

(1) The electronic voting system is subject to inspection, audit, and experimental testing, by qualified observers, before and after the election, pursuant to administrative rules adopted by the chief election officer under chapter 91;

(2) No upgrades, patches, fixes, or alterations shall be applied to the system through thirty days after the election;

(3) The chief election officer conducts a post-election, pre-certification audit ~~of a random sample of not less than [ten] five per cent of the precincts~~ **50 randomly selected batches tabulated by employing** the electronic voting system, to verify that the electronic tallies generated by the system ~~for all elections in those precincts~~ equal hand tallies of the paper ballots ~~generated by the system~~ **for at least one statewide contest and one countywide contest** ~~for all elections in those precincts~~; and

(4) If discrepancies appear in the pre-certification audits in paragraph (3), the chief election officer, pursuant to administrative rules, shall immediately conduct an expanded audit to determine the extent of misreporting in the system."

We also urge the Committee to authorize risk-limiting audit pilots, to be held during 2025, as part of a process to begin using risk-limiting audits to verify election results in Hawaii. Risk-limiting audits, also discussed in CEO Nago's testimony on SB 2334, provide strong evidence that an initial election outcome is correct – or, if the outcome initially announced is not correct, they provide a path to correcting it.

Risk-limiting audits are widely considered “the gold standard” of post-election tabulation audits, and have been recommended by federal agencies and advocacy groups from across the political spectrum. Endorsers include the U.S. Senate Select Intelligence Committee; the Presidential Commission on Election Administration; the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine; the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA); the American Statistical Association; the League of Women Voters of the United States; the Brennan Center for Justice; the Center for Democracy and Technology; National Election Defense Coalition; Protect Democracy; Public Citizen; Verified Voting Foundation; Americans for Tax Reform; R Street Institute; Liberty Coalition; FreedomWorks; Business for America; and, of course, Common Cause.

Colorado, Georgia, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania and Virginia are currently using risk-limiting audits to check their election outcomes, and Texas is planning full statewide use beginning in August 2026. We urge this Committee to authorize pilot risk-limiting audits as a way of familiarizing elections officials with the audits' process and procedures, as sort of a “dress rehearsal” before implementing them in Hawaii.

We also urge the Committee to allow SB2333 to die in Committee. Election security experts recommend using original voter-verified paper ballots for post-election audits rather than copies – and if SB2334 is changed as recommended above, SB2333 will not be needed.

We would be pleased to provide you with additional information, and we appreciate your consideration of our comments.

Sincerely,

Camron Hurt

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/12/2024 3:40:13 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Ralph Cushnie | Individual | Oppose | Remotely Via Zoom |

Comments:

I oppose this bill. The elections are for the people not the office of elections. The paper ballots tie the results created by the electronic voting machine back to the people. Paper ballots must be used for audits. Ballot images are created using an algorithm and can be manipulated. This bill will erode the confidence of the public. Please do not pass this bill.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 7:14:03 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| April Handog | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose this bill.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 7:50:45 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Andy Crossland | Individual | Oppose | Remotely Via Zoom |

Comments:

I **oppose** this Bill and I urge all committee members to **VOTE NO**.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 7:58:30 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Stephanie Maldonado | Individual | Oppose | Remotely Via Zoom |

Comments:

This WILL ONLY CONTRIBUTE TO VOTER FRAUD! Keep our original paper ballots and IN PERSON VOTING! Requiring proper identification

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 8:02:37 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Justin Kaawa | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I DO NOT SUPPORT ANY ELECTRONIC DEVICES WHEN COUNTING OUR BALLOTS

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 8:06:18 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Brendan Ajolo | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

oppose bill

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 8:09:18 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Shawnie Campbell | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose this bill

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 8:14:21 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Timothy Ashton | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Audits should be performed by hand, on paper ballots AFTER every voter has shown proper identification. I strongly oppose

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 8:15:30 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| David E Shormann | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Opposed, as this encourages election fraud.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 8:21:55 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mary Smart | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Original ballots are the only valid voter documents and must be the basis of audits. Electronic tallies can be manipulated. Hand count is the only satisfactory method of an audit.

Do not pass SB2333.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 8:59:08 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Kaiulani Bowers | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose this Bill because it will lead to election fraud. Election audits should not be done electronically and should be done with the original paper ballots.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 9:12:51 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| kamakani de dely | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose this bill.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 9:21:48 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mallory De Dely | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose this bill.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 9:35:02 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Susan Dedely | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose this bill.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 10:04:41 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Deven English | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I strongly oppose this bill, original paper ballot tally, not electronic.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 12:03:00 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Joy Dillon | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Aloha, members of JHA Committee.

I strongly oppose SB2333 and urge you to vote NO on it. We need to eliminate any electronic voting, tallying, images and stick to PAPER BALLOTS ONLY. This bill could open the door to huge amounts of election fraud.

Please vote NO on this bill. Thank you for your consideration.

Joy Dillon

Hilo Resident

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 12:06:02 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| David Williams | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Strongly oppose this bill, I want a fair election. Everything needs to have a paper trail.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 12:24:30 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| David Ruiz | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

This will lead to more fraud and distrust in our elections.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 1:14:09 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Luis Ma | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I am strongly opposed this bill.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 1:36:05 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| CHESTER LUM | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Thank you for allowing me to submit testimony opposing this bill.

Glitches can occur in machines at any time and cause the scanned image to reflect a vote that is not the intent of the voter. Re-running that faulty scanned image multiple times will only result in counting the faulty vote multiple again.

The proposed amendment goes directly against the intent of the Legislature as stated on Page 1, lines 6 through 9. And if there are any discrepancies between the paper ballot count and the machine count, then it will be caused by a machine glitch.

Accuracy should never be compromised in the election process.

SB2333 should be tabled.

Once again, thank you for allowing me to submit testimony opposing this bill.

Chester Lum

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 2:20:04 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Lesha Mathes | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Electronic voting is already an issue. We need to keep doing any audits with paper ballots. Easier to track and verify, harder to alter.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 3:28:16 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Vivek Pathela | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

OPPOSE as the proposed audits will use electronic images (fraud prone) and not the original paper ballots. Get rid of electronic systems as they are being RIGGED!

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 4:06:20 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| THOMAS KENT | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Reduce voter fraud, keep paper ballots.

I oppose this bill.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 7:57:53 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| James R Cabodol Jr | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

OPPOSE,OPPOSE,OPPOSE ELECTION INTEGRITY!!!!

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 8:27:42 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Sharron VanDeusen | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I OPPOSE SB2333.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 9:25:36 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Karen Mountain | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Why are we creating/spending time on bills that contradict others that have already passed? There is much speculation and uncertainty (in the last 10-15 year from both parties), that machines cannot be trusted. Until it is proven otherwise, in the current court cases, in several states, we should not change or rewrite the laws in regards to voting machines. Hand counted ballots take time but can be done by volunteers from all parties, US citizens at little to no cost.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/13/2024 11:28:55 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Jennifer Cabjuan | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Oppose this bill. Paper ballots are essential to a free and fair election. I have no confidence in electronic ballot images.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 12:06:51 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Paula Russo | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Aloha,

I oppose this because this is election fraud. providng images will skyrocket election fraud.

Mahalo,

Paula Russo

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 3:29:44 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Alice Abellanida | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose this bill. We need to vote with paper ballots. Vote no.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 4:54:50 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| james wallace | Individual | Oppose | In Person |

Comments:

I oppose SB2333. Another electronic rig system. Regular paper ballots is the best accurate way. Electronic is easy to rig. That's how sleep joe biden got 80 million votes. The most popular president. That is a fake and fraud!!!

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 5:48:38 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| julie schaus | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose SB 2333

stop using electronic images and ballots this only enables fraudulent results and election rigging.
There is no legitimate audit trail with electronic

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 5:59:18 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Greg schaus | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose sb2333

throw out electronic images and ballots which allow for cheating. Use only paper ballots.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 6:15:52 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Sam schaus | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose sb2333

we should only be using paper ballots, anything else is subject to cheating.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 8:51:25 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Corinne Solomon | Individual | Oppose | Remotely Via Zoom |

Comments:

Aloha House Judiciary Committee Chair Tarnas and Committee Members,

I strongly oppose SB2333.

Do you buy lottery tickets when you travel to the mainland?

If you won, would it be acceptable to present a digital copy of your ticket to claim your winnings, without presenting the original paper ticket?

You can attest to the lottery officials that it's a true and accurate copy, and the original is safely stored and retrievable.

Would you make payments for your largest purchases in digital copies of real money?

Would the bank accept that if you told them that your copies are the exact same as the originals and thus can be used interchangeably?

A ballot image is not the same as the original physical paper ballot.

The computer scanner does not “read” a name and a filled in circle and assign it a vote like a human would from looking at a paper ballot or a ballot image on a computer screen. Computer programmed ballot definition files (BDF) for each ballot style (there are lots, every district has a different ballot) are loaded into the computers hooked up to the ballot scanners, and complex computer source code (this can be several thousands of lines long) analyzes ballot race positions and corresponding circles using timing marks on the physical ballot. This information is transferred to a flash drive and then analyzed by the Elections Management System (EMS) computer source code to create the vote tally.

We are not allowed to review the source code or the BDFs to verify that the ballot positions of candidates' names are interpreted correctly. This source code and BDFs are considered proprietary information by Hart Intercivic, the company who runs our elections. Ballot images themselves can be hacked, as proven by nonpartisan computer experts.

Only physical paper ballots should be used for the election audits. This is considered post-election audit best practices and just plain common sense.

I strongly urge you to vote no on SB2333.

Respectfully submitted,

Corinne Solomon HD20 resident

***Audit best practices documents and the Halderman report on ballot image manipulation available upon request*

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 10:06:51 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Alex Akui | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Strongly opposed

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 10:13:10 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Bruce Javellana | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose this bill. .Creates discrepancy on voting possible way for voting to be tampered. Will not make elections safe.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 10:13:36 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Vincent r Golio | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

The Corrupt Office of Elections broke the law in 2022 when they used images instead of paper ballots for the audits. Any sane person with nothing to hide would feel shame and apologize for breaking the law and promise to do better. Not Scott Nago! Because he is overflowing with dumbassness and ardation. He had his attorneys wrote a new law that says a paper ballot is the SAME THING as a ballot image.

The gaslighting from the OE is unreal.

OPPOSE SB2333!

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 10:15:44 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Robin Gusich-Batara | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I strongly oppose this absurd bill, SB2333. Using ballot images vs. actual ballots presents serious security risks. It is no secret that our digital election system can be easily hacked. Just like all important transactions require original documents to ensure authenticity, our ballots should be available, counted and verified by using the actual hard copy of the ballot, not an image. Images can easily be altered. Imagine if we were allowed to make purchases with pictures of money. Authenticity is more important than efficiency. Please do not compromise the security of our votes.

Thank you

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 10:17:00 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Teresa Parmenter | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I OPPOSE SB2333

UnclearBallot: Automated Ballot Image Manipulation

Matthew Bernhard, Kartikeya Kandula, Jeremy Wink, and J. Alex Halderman

Department of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, University of Michigan
{matber, kartkand, jr Jeremy, jhalderm}@umich.edu

Abstract. As paper ballots and post-election audits gain increased adoption in the United States, election technology vendors are offering products that allow jurisdictions to review ballot images—digital scans produced by optical-scan voting machines—in their post-election audit procedures. Jurisdictions including the state of Maryland rely on such image audits as an alternative to inspecting the physical paper ballots. We show that image audits can be reliably defeated by an attacker who can run malicious code on the voting machines or election management system. Using computer vision techniques, we develop an algorithm that automatically and seamlessly manipulates ballot images, moving voters’ marks so that they appear to be votes for the attacker’s preferred candidate. Our implementation is compatible with many widely used ballot styles, and we show that it is effective using a large corpus of ballot images from a real election. We also show that the attack can be delivered in the form of a malicious Windows scanner driver, which we test with a scanner that has been certified for use in vote tabulation by the U.S. Election Assistance Commission. These results demonstrate that post-election audits must inspect physical ballots, not merely ballot images, if they are to strongly defend against computer-based attacks on widely used voting systems.

Keywords: optical scan, paper ballots, image manipulation, drivers, image processing

1 Introduction

Elections that cannot provide sufficient evidence of their results may fail to adequately gain public confidence in their outcomes. Numerous solutions have been posited to this problem [9], but none has been as elegant, efficient, and immediately practical as post-election audits [21, 25, 39]. These audits—in particular, ones that seek to limit the risk of confirming an outcome that resulted from undue manipulation—are one of the most important layers of defense for election security [32].

Risk-limiting audits (RLAs) rely on sampling robust, independent evidence trails created by voter-verified paper ballots. However, other types of post-election

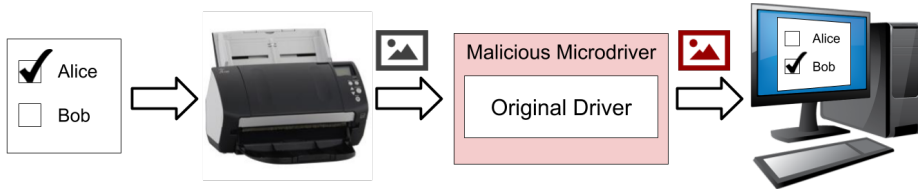


Fig. 1. Attack overview—A voter’s paper ballot is scanned by a ballot tabulator, producing a digital image. Malware in the tabulator—in our proof-of-concept, a microdriver that wraps the scanner device driver—alters the ballot image before it is counted or stored. A digital audit shows only the manipulated image.

audits are gaining popularity in the marketplace. In particular, Clear Ballot, an election technology vendor in the United States, pioneered audit software designed to perform audits of *images* of ballots which have been scanned and tabulated, which we shall refer to as “image audits”. Other vendors have adopted support for this kind of audit, and one U.S. state, Maryland, relies on image audits to provide assurances of its election results [33].

While image audits can help detect human error and aid in adjudicating mismarked ballots, we show that they cannot provide the same level of security assurance as audits of physical ballots. Since ballot images are disconnected from the actual source of truth—physical paper ballots—they do not necessarily provide reliable evidence of the outcome of an election under adversarial conditions.

In this paper, we present UnclearBallot, an attack that defeats image audits by automatically manipulating ballot images as they are scanned. Our attack leverages the same computer vision approaches used by ballot scanners to detect voter selections, but adds the ability to move marks from one target area to another. Our method is robust to inconsistent or invalid marks, and can be adapted to many ballot styles.

We validate our attack against a corpus of over 180,000 ballot images from the 2018 election in Clackamas County, Oregon, and find that UnclearBallot can move marks on 34% of the ballots while leaving no visible anomalies. We also test our attack’s flexibility using six widely used styles of paper ballots, and its robustness to invalid votes using an established taxonomy of voter marks. As a proof-of-concept, we implement the attack in the form of a malicious Windows scanner driver, which we test using a commercial-off-the-shelf scanner certified for use in elections by the U.S. Election Assistance Commission.

UnclearBallot illustrates that post-election audits in traditional voting systems must involve rigorous examination of *physical ballots*, rather than ballot images, if they are to provide a strong security guarantee. Without an examination of the physical evidence, it will be difficult if not impossible to assure that computer-based tampering has not occurred.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides background on image audits, ballot scanners, and image processing techniques we use to implement our attack. Section 3 describes the attack scenarios against

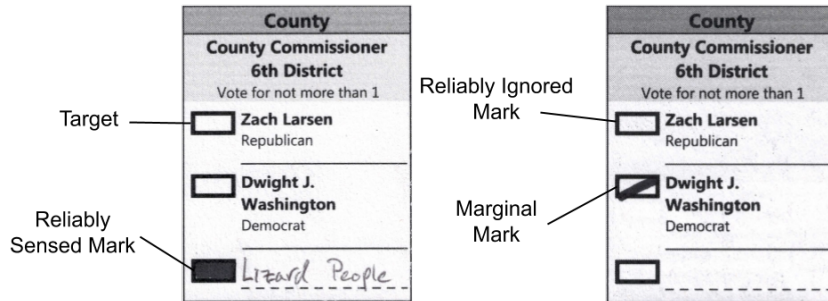


Fig. 2. Terms for parts of a marked ballot, following Jones [23].

optical scanners and image audits. Section 4 explains the methodology of our attack. In Section 5 we present data indicating that our attack can be robust to various ballot styles and voter marks. Section 6 contextualizes our attacks and discusses mitigations. We conclude in Section 7.

2 Background

Our attack takes advantage of two aspects of optical scanner image audits: the scanning and image processing techniques used by scanners, and the reliance on scanned images by image audits. Here we provide a brief discussion of both.

2.1 Ballot Images

Jones [23] put forth an analysis of the way that ballot scanners work, particularly the mark-sense variety that is most common today. All optical scanners currently sold to jurisdictions, as well as the vast majority of scanners used in practice in the U.S., rely on mark-sense technology [44]. Scanners first create a high-resolution image of a ballot as it is fed past a scan head. Software then analyzes the image to identify dark areas where marks have been made by the voter.¹ Once marks have been detected, systems may use template matching to translate marks into votes for specific candidates, typically relying on a barcode or other identifier on the ballot that specifies a ballot style to match to the scanned image.

Detecting and interpreting voter marks can be a difficult process, as voters exhibit a wide range of marking and non-marking behavior, including not filling in targets all the way, resting their pens inside targets, or marking outside the target. The terms Jones developed to refer to the ballot and marks are illustrated in Figure 2. Marks that adequately fill the target and are unambiguously interpreted as votes by the scanner are called *reliably sensed* marks, and targets that are unambiguously not filled and therefore not counted are *reliably ignored* marks.

¹ The details of how marks are identified vary by hardware and scanning algorithm. See [13] for an example.



Fig. 3. Taxonomy of voter marks adapted from Bajcsy [2], including the five leftmost marks that may be considered marginal marks.

Marks of other types are deemed *marginal*, as a scanner may read or ignore them. Moreover, whether a mark should be counted as a vote is frequently governed by local election statute, so some marginal marks may be unambiguously counted or ignored under the law, even if not by the scanner.

Bajcsy et al. [2] further develops a systematization of marginal marks and develops some improvements on mark-detection algorithms to better account for them. An illustration of Bajcsy et al.’s taxonomy is shown in Figure 3. Ji et al. [22] discuss different types of voter marks as applied to write-in votes, as well as developing an automated process for detecting and tabulating write-in selections.

2.2 Image Audits

Risk-limiting post-election audits rely on physical examination of a statistical sample of voter-marked ballots [24, 26, 39, 40]. However, this can create logistical challenges for election officials, which has prompted some to propose relaxations to traditional audit requirements. To reduce workload, canvass audits and recounts in many states rely on retabulation of ballots through optical scanners (see the 2016 Wisconsin recount, for example [31]).

Some election vendors take retabulation audits a step further: rather than physically rescan the ballots, the voting system makes available images of all the ballots for independent evaluation after the election [15, 16, 42].² While the exact properties of these kinds of image audits vary by vendor, they typically rely on automatically retabulating all or some images of cast ballots, as well as electronic adjudication for ballots with marginal marks. These “audits” never examine the physical paper trail of ballots, which our attack exploits.

Several jurisdictions have relied on these image audits, including Cambridge, Ontario, which used Dominion’s AuditMark [17], and the U.S. state of Maryland, which uses Clear Ballot’s ClearAudit [28]. Maryland has also codified image audits into its election code, requiring that an image audit be performed after every election [27].

² While the review is made available to the public, the actual images themselves are seldom published in full out of concern for voter anonymity.

3 Attack Scenarios

Elections in which voters make their selections on a physical ballot are frequently held as the gold standard for conducting a secure election [32]. However, the property that contributes most to their security, software independence [34], only exists if records computed by software are checked against records that cannot be altered by software without detection. Image audits enable election officials to view images of ballots and compare them with the election systems’ representation of the particular ballot they are viewing (called a cast vote record or CVR). While these two trails of evidence may be independent from each other (for example, Clear Ballot’s ClearAudit [15] technology can be used to audit a tabulation performed by a different election system altogether), they are not software independent. A clever attacker can exploit the reliance on software by both evidence trails to defeat detection.

To surreptitiously change the outcome of the election in the presence of an image audit, the attacker must alter both the tabulation result as well as the ballot images themselves. Researchers have documented numerous vulnerabilities that would allow an attacker to infect voting equipment and change tabulation results (see [10, 20, 30] among others), so we focus on the feasibility of manipulating ballot images once an attacker has successfully infected a machine where they are stored or processed.

The most straightforward attack scenario occurs when the ballot images are created by the same equipment that produces the CVR. In this case, the attacker can simply infect the scanner or tabulator with malware that corrupts both the CVR and the images at the same time. The attack could change the image before the tabulator processes it to generate the CVR, or directly alter both sets of records.

In some jurisdictions, the ballot images that are audited are collected in a separate process from tabulation—that is, by scanning the ballots again, as in Maryland’s use of ClearAudit from 2016 [28]. In this case, the adversary has to separately attack both processes, and has to coordinate the cheating to avoid mismatches between the initial tally and the altered ballot images.

Depending on the timing of the audit, manipulation of ballot images need not be done on the fly. For example, if the ballot images are created during tabulation but the image audit does not occur until well after the election, an attacker could modify the ballot images while they are in storage.

For ease of explication, the discussion that follows assumes that ballot images are created at the time of tabulation, in a single scan. The attack we develop targets a tabulation machine and manipulates each ballot online as it is scanned.

4 Methodology

To automatically modify ballot images, an attacker can take a few approaches. One approach would be to completely replace the ballot images with ballots filled in by the attacker. However, this risks being detected if many ballots have

the same handwriting, and requires sneaking these relatively large data files into the election system without being detected. For these reasons, we investigate an alternative approach: automatically and selectively doctoring the ballot scans to change the vote selections they depict.

For the attack to work successfully, we need to move voter marks to other targets without creating visible artifacts or inconsistencies. We must be able to dynamically detect target areas and marks, alter marks in a way that is consistent with the voter’s other marks, and do so in a way that is undetectable to the human eye. However, there is a key insight that works in the adversary’s favor: an attacker seeking to alter election results does not have to be able to change *all* ballots undetectably, only sufficiently many to swing the result. This means that the attacker’s manipulation strategy is not required to be able to change *every* mark—it merely has to reliably detect *which* marks it can safely alter and change enough of them to decide the election result.

4.1 Reading the ballot

To interpret ballot information, we rely on the same techniques that ballot scanners use to convert paper ballots into digital representations. Attackers have access to the ballot templates, as jurisdictions publish sample ballots well ahead of scheduled elections. Using template matching, an attacker does not have to perform any kind of sophisticated character recognition, they simply have to find target areas and then detect which of the targets are filled.

Our procedure to read a ballot is illustrated in Figure 4. First, we perform template matching to extract each individual race within a ballot. Next, we use OpenCV’s [11] implementation of the Hough transform to detect straight lines that separate candidates and break the race into individual panes for each candidate. Notably, the first candidate in each race may have the race title and extra information in it (see Figure 4c), which is cropped out based on white space.

Target areas are typically printed on the ballot as either ovals or rectangles. To detect them, we construct a bounding box around the target by scanning horizontally from the left of the race and then vertically from the bottom up, and compute pixel density values. The bounds are set to the coordinates where the density values first increase and last decrease. Once we have detected all the target areas, we compute the average pixel density of the area within the bounding box to determine whether or not a target area is marked. We then use our template to convert marks into votes for candidates.

4.2 Changing marks

Once we have identified which candidate was marked by the voter, we can move the mark to one of the other target locations we identified. If the vote is for a candidate the attacker would like to receive fewer votes—or if it is not a vote for a candidate they would like to win—the attacker can simply swap the pixels within the bounding boxes of the voter’s marked candidate and an unmarked candidate.

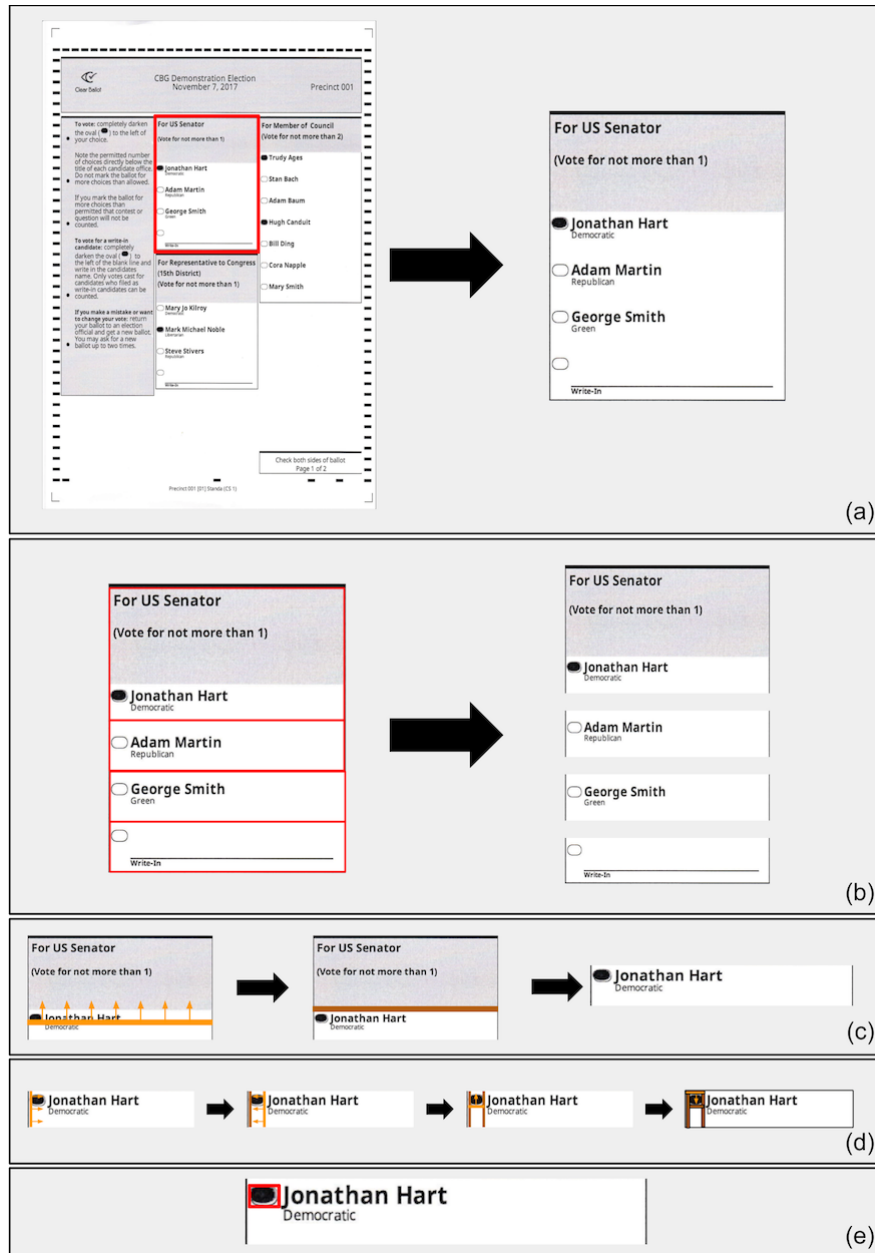


Fig. 4. Ballot manipulation algorithm—First, (a) we apply template matching to extract the race we intend to alter. Then, (b) we use Hough line transforms to separate each candidate. If the first candidate has a race title box, (c) we remove it by computing the pixel intensity differences across a straight line swept vertically from the bottom. For each candidate, (d) we identify the target and mark (if present) by doing four linear sweeps and taking pixel intensity. Finally, (e) we identify and move the mark. At each step we apply tests to detect and skip ballots where the algorithm might leave artifacts.

| Original | | Manipulated | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| County | | County | |
| Supervisor, District 1 | | Supervisor, District 1 | |
| Vote for One | | Vote for One | |
| Alfred Hitchcock | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | Alfred Hitchcock | <input type="radio"/> |
| Vincent Price | <input type="radio"/> | Vincent Price | <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| Write In | <input type="radio"/> | Write In | <input type="radio"/> |
| State | | State | |
| Governor | | Governor | |
| Vote for One | | Vote for One | |
| Amelia Earhart | <input type="radio"/> | Amelia Earhart | <input checked="" type="radio"/> |
| Howard Hughes | <input checked="" type="radio"/> | Howard Hughes | <input type="radio"/> |
| Charles Lindbergh | <input type="radio"/> | Charles Lindbergh | <input type="radio"/> |
| Write In | <input type="radio"/> | Write In | <input type="radio"/> |

Fig. 5. Automatically moving voter marks—UnclearBallot seamlessly moves marks to the attacker’s preferred candidate while preserving the voter’s marking style. It is effective for a wide variety of marks and ballot designs. In the examples above, original ballot scans are shown on the left and manipulated images on the right.

By moving marks on each ballot separately, we ensure that the voter’s particular style of filling in an oval is preserved and consistent across the ballot. Figure 5 shows some marks swapped by our algorithm, and how the voters original mark is completely preserved in the process.

4.3 UnclearBallot

To illustrate the attack, we created UnclearBallot, a proof-of-concept implementation packaged as a malicious Windows scanner driver, which consists of 398 lines of C++ and Python. We tested it with a Fujitsu fi-7180 scanner (shown in Figure 6), which is federally certified for use in U.S. elections as part of Clear Ballot’s ClearVote system [43]. These scanners are typically used to handle small volumes of absentee ballots, and must be attached to a Windows workstation that runs the tabulation software.

The UnclearBallot driver wraps the stock scanner driver and alters images from the scanner before they reach the election management application. We chose this approach for simplicity, as the Windows driver stack is relatively easy



Fig. 6. The **Fujitsu fi-7180 scanner** we used to test our attack has been certified by the U.S. Election Assistance Commission for use in voting systems. Our proof-of-concept implementation is a malicious scanner driver that alters ballots on the fly.

to work with, but the attack could also be implemented at other layers of the computing stack. For instance, it could be even harder to detect if implemented as a malicious change to the scanner’s embedded firmware. Alternatively, it could be engineered as a modification to the tabulation software itself.

Once a ballot is scanned, the resulting bitmap is sent to our image processing software, which manipulates the ballot in the way described in Section 4.1. Prior to the election, the attacker specifies the ballot template, which race they would like to affect, and by how much. While ballots are being scanned, the software keeps a running tally of the actual ballot results, and changes ballot images on the fly to achieve the desired election outcome. To avoid detection, attackers can specify just enough manipulated images so that the race outcome is changed.

5 Evaluation

We evaluated the performance and effectiveness of UnclearBallot using two sets of experiments. In the first set of experiments, we marked different ballot styles by hand using types of marks taxonomized by Bajcsy et al. [2]. In the second set of experiments, we processed 181,541 ballots from the 2018 election in Clackamas County, Oregon.

5.1 Testing Across Ballot Styles

In order for our application to succeed at its goal (surreptitiously changing enough scanned ballots to achieve a chosen election outcome), it must be able to detect marks that constitute valid votes as well as distinguish marks which would be noticeable if moved. The marks in the latter case represent a larger set than just marginal marks, as they may indeed be completely valid votes, but considered invalid by our mark-moving algorithm. For example, if we were to swap the targets on a ballot where the user put a check through their target, we may leave a significant percentage of the check around the original target when swapping. The same applies for marked ballots where the filled in area extends into the candidate’s name, which could lead our algorithm to swap over parts of the candidate’s name when manipulating the image.

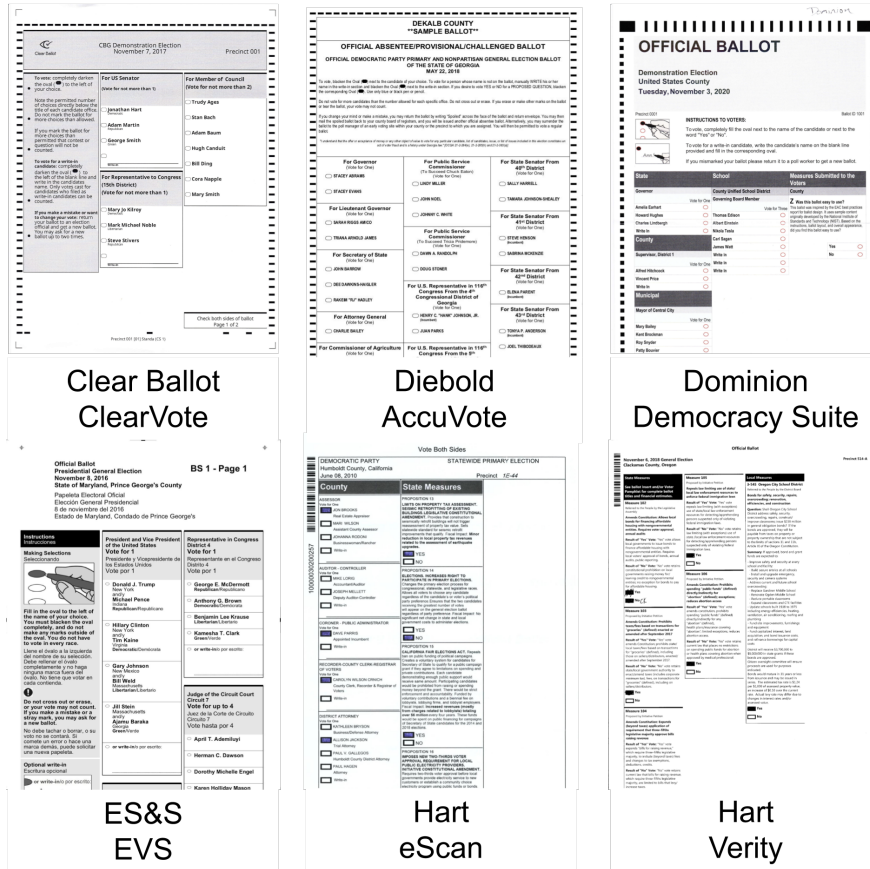


Fig. 7. Ballots Styles— We tested ballot designs from five U.S. voting system vendors: Clear Ballot, Diebold, Dominion, ES&S, and Hart (two styles, eScan and Verity).

To detect anomalies for invalid ballots, we leverage the same intensity checking algorithm that first found the marked areas. The program checks if the width or height is abnormally large, which would indicate an overfilled target, as well as if there are too few or too many areas of high intensity, which would indicate no target or too many targets are filled out. If the program detects an invalid ballot, it will not be modified by the program.

To show our attack is replicable on a variety of different ballot styles, we modified our program to work on six different sample ballot styles, shown in Figure 7. The ballots we tested come from the four largest election vendors in the U.S. (ES&S, Hart InterCivic, Dominion, and Clear Ballot), as well as two older styles of ballots from Hart and Diebold.

Our first experiment was designed to characterize the technique’s effectiveness across a range of ballot styles and with both regular and marginal marks. We

| Ballot Style | Invalid Marks | | | Valid Marks | | | Time/Success |
|---------------|---------------|---------|---------|-------------|---------|---------|--------------|
| | Skipped | Success | Failure | Skipped | Success | Failure | |
| Clear Ballot | 55 | 5 | 0 | 26 | 34 | 0 | 25 ms |
| Diebold | 60 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 54 | 0 | 11 ms |
| Dominion | 38 | 22 | 0 | 7 | 53 | 0 | 30 ms |
| ES&S | 52 | 8 | 0 | 29 | 31 | 0 | 54 ms |
| Hart (eScan) | 60 | 0 | 0 | 38 | 22 | 0 | 46 ms |
| Hart (Verity) | 60 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 33 | 0 | 21 ms |

Table 1. Performance of UnclearBallot — We tested how accurately our software could manipulate voter marks for a variety of ballot styles using equal numbers of invalid and valid marks. The table shows how often the system skipped a mark, successfully altered one, or erroneously created artifacts we deemed to be visible upon manual inspection. We also report the mean processing time for successfully manipulated races, excluding template matching.

prepared 720 marked contests, split evenly among the six ballot styles shown in Figure 7. For each style, we marked 60 contests with what Bajcsy [2] calls “Filled” marks, i.e. reliably detected marks that should be moved by our attack. We marked another 60 ballots in each ballot style with marginal marks, ten each for the five kinds of marginal marks shown in Figure 2 and ten empty marks.

Because the runtime of the template matching step of our algorithm is highly dependent on customization for the particular races on a ballot, we opted to skip it for this experiment. Rather than marking full ballots, we marked cropped races from each ballot style and then ran them through our program. We then manually checked to ensure that the races the program moved were not detectable by inspection. Results for these experiments are shown in Table 1.

Despite rejecting some valid ballots, our program is still able to confidently swap a majority of valid votes. In a real attack, only a small percentage of votes would need to actually be modified, a task easily accomplished by our program. Our program also correctly catches all votes that we have deemed invalid for swapping. This would make it unlikely to be detected in an image audit.

Dominion ballots saw a much higher rate of invalid mark moving, and Diebold and Dominion ballots saw a much higher rate of valid mark moving. This is likely due to the placement of targets: on the Dominion ballots, the mark is right justified, separating it significantly from candidate label information, as can be seen in Figure 7. Similarly, the Diebold ballot provides more space around the target and less candidate information that can be intercepted by marks, which would cause Unclear Ballot to skip moving the mark.

In an online attack scenario (such as if a human is waiting to see the output from the scanner), the attacker needs to be able to modify ballot scans quickly enough not to be noticed. Factors which might affect how quickly our program can process and manipulate ballots include ballot style, layout, and type of mark. During the accuracy experiment just described, we collected timing data for

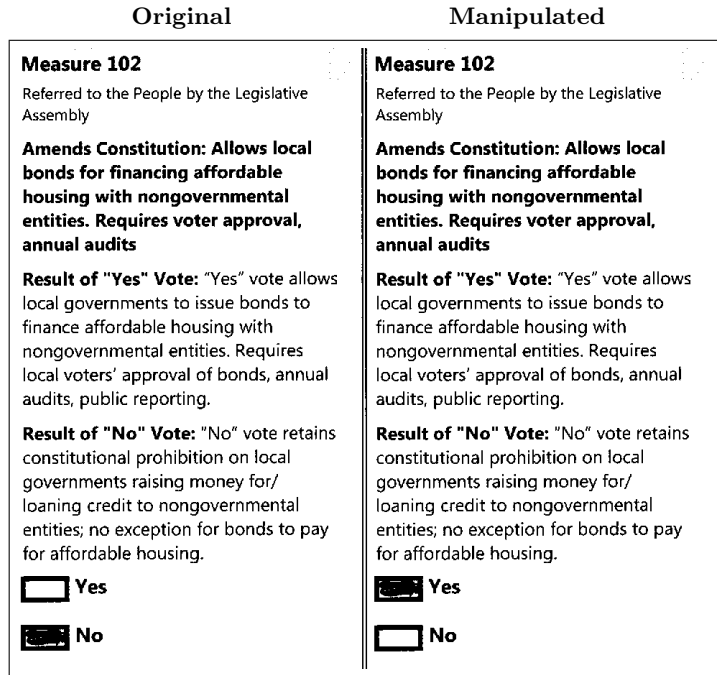


Fig. 8. Attacking Real Ballots—Using 181,541 images of voted ballots from Clackamas County, Oregon, we attempted to change voters' selections for the ballot measure shown above. UnclearBallot determined that it could safely alter 34% of the ballots. For reference, Measure 102 passed by a margin of 5%, well within range of manipulation [14]. We inspected 1,000 of them to verify that the manipulation left no obvious artifacts.

successfully manipulated ballot, and report the results in Table 1. The results show that after the target race has been extracted, the algorithm completes extremely quickly for all tested ballot styles. We present additional timing data at the end of the following section.

5.2 Testing with Real Voted Ballots

To assess the effectiveness of UnclearBallot in a real election, we used a corpus of scans of 181,541 real ballots from the November 6, 2018, General Election in Clackamas County, Oregon, which were made available by Election Integrity Oregon [18]. Like all of Oregon, Clackamas County uses vote-by-mail as its primary voting method, and votes are centrally counted using optical scanners. All images were Hart Verity-style ballots, as shown in Figure 7.

We selected a ballot measure that appeared on all the ballots (Figure 8) and attempted to change each voter's selection. UnclearBallot rejected 20,117 (11%) of the ballots because it could not locate the target contest. We examined a subset of the rejected ballots and found that they contained glitches introduced

during scanning (such as vertical lines running the length of the ballot), which interfered with the Hough transform.

To simulate a real attacker, we configured UnclearBallot with conservative parameters, so that it would only modify marks when there was high confidence that the alteration would not be noticeable. As a result, it would only manipulate marks that were nearly perfectly filled in. In most cases, marks that were skipped extended well beyond the target, but the program also skipped undervotes, overvotes, or mislabeled scans. Under these parameters, the program altered the target contest in 62,400 (34%) of the ballot images.

Two authors independently inspected a random sample of 1,000 altered ballots to check whether any contained artifacts that would be noticeable to an attentive observer. Such artifacts might include marks which were unnaturally cut off, visible discontinuities in pixel darkness (i.e. dark lines around moved marks), and so on. If these artifacts were seen during an audit, officials might recheck all of the physical ballots and reverse the effects of the attack. None of the altered ballots we inspected contained noticeable evidence of manipulation.

We also collected timing data while processing Clackamas County ballots. Running on a system with a 4-core Intel E3-1230 CPU running at 3.40 GHz with 64 GB of RAM, UnclearBallot took an average of 279 ms to process each ballot. For reference, Hart’s fastest central scanner’s maximum scan rate is one ballot per 352 ms [37], well above the time needed to carry out our attack.

These results show that UnclearBallot can successfully and efficiently manipulate ballot images to change real voters’ marks. Moreover, the alterations likely would be undetectable to human auditors who examined only the ballot images.

6 Discussion and Mitigations

UnclearBallot demonstrates the need for a software-independent evidence trail against which election results can be checked. It shows that audits based on software which is independent from the rest of the election system is still not software independent. To date, the only robust and secure election technology that is widely used is optical-scan paper ballots with risk-limiting audits based on a robust, well-maintained, *physical* audit trail. However, image audits are not useless, and here we discuss uses for them as well as potential mitigations for our attack.

Uses for image audits. So long as image audits are not the sole mechanism for verifying election results, they do provide substantial benefits to election officials. Using an image audit vastly simplifies some functions of election administration, like ballot adjudication in cases where marks cannot be interpreted by scanners or are otherwise ambiguous. Image audits can be used to efficiently identify and document election discrepancies, as has occurred in Maryland where nearly 2,000 ballots were discovered missing from the audit trail in 2016 [28]. Image audits also identified a flaw in the ES&S DS850 high speed scanner, where it was causing some ballots to stick together and feed two at a time [29].

Another way to utilize image audits is a transitive audit. Methods like SOBA [8] seek to construct an audit trail using all available means of election evidence, rooting the audit in some verification of physical record. By using physical records to verify other records, like CVRs or ballot images, confidence in election outcomes can be transitively passed on to non-physical audit trails. The drawback with this kind of audit is that it usually requires the same level of work as an RLA, plus whatever work is needed to validate the other forms of evidence. However, since ballot image audits already require a low amount of effort, they may augment RLAs and provide better transparency into the auditing process.

Image audits are an augmentation and a convenience for election administration, however, and should not be viewed as a security tool. Only physical examination of paper ballots, as in a risk-limiting audit, can provide a necessary level of mitigation to manipulated election results.

End-to-end (E2E) systems. Voting systems with rigorous integrity properties and tamper resistance such as Scantegrity [12] and Prêt à Voter [35] provide a defense to UnclearBallot. In Scantegrity, when individuals mark their ballots, a confirmation code is revealed that is tied to the selected candidate. This enables a voter to verify that their ballot collected-as-cast and counted-as-collected, as they can look up their ballot on a public bulletin board. Since each mark reveals a unique code, moving the mark would match the code with the wrong candidate, so voters would be unable to verify their ballots. If enough voters complain, this might result in our attack being detected.

Prêt à Voter randomizes the candidate order on each ballot, which creates a slightly higher barrier for our attack, as an additional template matching step would be needed to ascertain candidate order. More importantly, the candidate list is physically separated from the voter’s marks upon casting the ballot, so malware which could not keep track of the correct candidate order could not successfully move marks to a predetermined candidate. Since the candidate order is deciphered via a key-sharing scheme, malicious software would have to infect a significant portion of the election system and act in a highly coordinated way to reconstruct candidate ordering. Moreover, as with Scantegrity, votes are published to a public bulletin board, so any voter could discover if their vote had not been correctly recorded.

Other E2E systems which make use of optical scanning and a bulletin board, like STAR-Vote [6], Scratch and Vote [1], and VeriScan [7], are similarly protected from attacks like UnclearBallot.

Other mitigations. Outside of E2E, there may be other heuristic mitigations that can be easily implemented even in deployed voting systems to make our attack somewhat more difficult. As mentioned above, randomizing candidate order on each ballot increases the computation required to perform our attack. Voters drawing outside the bubbles can also defeat our attack, though this might also result in their votes not counting and may be circumvented by replacing the whole race on the ballot image with a substituted one. Collecting ballot images

from a different source than the tabulator makes our attack more difficult, as votes now have to be changed in two places. Other standard computer security technologies, like secure file systems, could be used to force the attacker to alter ballot images in a way that also circumvents protections like encryption and permissions.

Detection. Technologies that detect image manipulation may also provide some mitigation. Techniques like those discussed in [3–5, 38], among others, could be adapted to try to automatically detect moved marks on ballots. However, as noted by Farid [19], image manipulation detection is a kind of arms race: given a fixed detection algorithm, adversaries can very likely find a way to defeat it. In our context, an attacker with sufficient access to the voting system to implant a manipulation algorithm would likely also be able to steal the detector code. The attacker could improve the manipulation algorithm or simply use the detector as part of their mark-moving calculus: if moving a mark will trip the detector, an attacker can simply opt not to move the mark.

While a fixed and automatic procedure for detecting manipulation can provide little assurance, it remains possible that an adaptive approach to detection could be a useful part of a post-election forensics investigation. However, staying one step ahead of sophisticated adversaries would require an ongoing research program to advance the state of the art in detection methods.

A less costly and more dependable way to detect ballot manipulation detection would be to use a software independent audit trail to confirm election outcomes. This can be accomplished with risk-limiting audits, and the software independence enabled by RLAs provides other robust security properties to elections, including defending against other potential attacks on tabulation equipment and servers.

Future work. We have only focused on simple-majority elections here, because those are the kinds of elections used by jurisdictions that do image audits. Audits of more complex election methods, like instant-runoff voting or D’Hondt, have been examined to some extent [36, 41], but future work is needed into audits of these kinds of elections altogether. Because the marks made in these elections are different than the kind we’ve discussed here, manipulating these ballot images may not be able to employ the same image processing techniques we have used. Additionally it may be difficult for malware to know how many marks it needs to move, since margins in complex elections are difficult to compute. We leave exploration of image manipulation of these elections to future work.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, we demonstrated an attack that defeats ballot image audits of the type performed in some jurisdictions. We presented an implementation using a real scanner, and evaluated our implementation against a set of real ballots and a set of systematically marked ballots from a variety of ballot styles. Our

attack shows that image audits cannot be relied upon to verify that elections are free from computer-based interference. Indeed, the only currently known way to verify an election outcome is with direct examination of physical ballots.

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SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 10:54:23 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| TERI SAVAIINAEA | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose SB2333.

Thank you,

Teri Kia Savaiinaea

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 11:15:36 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Dalene McCormick | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

This bill is bad for voters and I do not support this change. Images can be manipulated 100%. Why doesn't the office of elections want to do audits to paper, there is no reason that makes sense. Voters want their paper ballot audited not some picture in a computer screen.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 11:51:33 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| James K. Rzonca | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose this bill

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 12:04:37 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Rosemarie Vailisale | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I DO NOT SUPPORT BILL

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 12:06:32 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Jeanine Acopan | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Oppose!!!

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 12:12:42 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Kim Cordery | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I APPOSE THIS BILL! NO ERIC MACHINES SHOULD BE ALLOWED AS THERE ARE NO CHECKS AND BALANCES WITH THIS PROCESS! ONE DAY! ONE PAPER VOTE!

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 12:13:01 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| L Toriki | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I strongly oppose this bill.

Imaging or photo copies of ballots are not the same as original ballots. Using photo copies of ballots for auditing leaves too much room for ballot manipulation, especially in this age of AI.

Our EO broke the law using ballot images once already so instead of punishment, our "elected" officials just want to change the law to suit themselves.

Our election process needs to be more transparent. Using ballot images instead of actual ballots to audit will only cause more distrust in this process.

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 1:48:40 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Cheryl Rzonca | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I oppose this bill and am in favor of paper ballots instead of electronic images

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 1:52:13 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Samuel Luke | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

Using anything other than paper ballots for audits presents a clear threat to election integrity

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 2:07:09 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ryan Willis | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I OPPOSE SB2333

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 2:11:15 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Kanoë Willis | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I OPPOSE SB2333

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/14/2024 3:12:33 PM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Mary Healy | Individual | Oppose | Remotely Via Zoom |

Comments:

I oppose this bill and will give oral testimony

SB-2333

Submitted on: 3/15/2024 8:26:50 AM

Testimony for JHA on 3/15/2024 2:00:00 PM

| Submitted By | Organization | Testifier Position | Testify |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Doug Pasnik | Individual | Oppose | Written Testimony Only |

Comments:

I strongly oppose this bill. A system audit does not validate the output of a system if it checks a copy of what the the system produces to its own output. This bill violates the voting system requirements of the Help America Vote Act 2002 & Voluntary Voting System Guidelines (US EAC).