

Busting the Paper Ballot: Voting Meets Adversarial ML



Image source: ChatGPT.

Aayushi Verma (University of Connecticut)

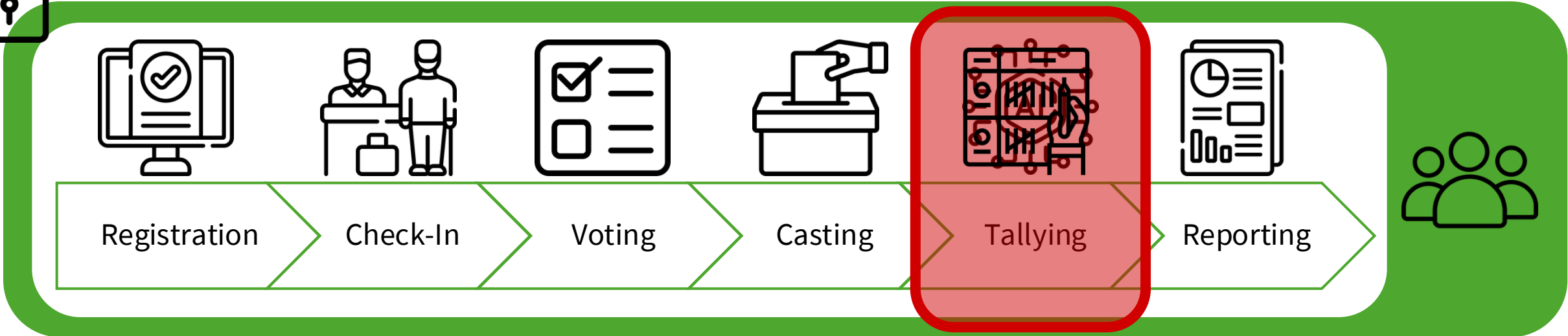
Joint work with: Kaleel Mahmood, Caleb Manicke, Ethan Rathbun, Nicholas Stamatakis, Sohaib Ahmad, Benjamin Fuller, Laurent Michel

Just a *few* **tampered** ballots can **swing** a **close** election.

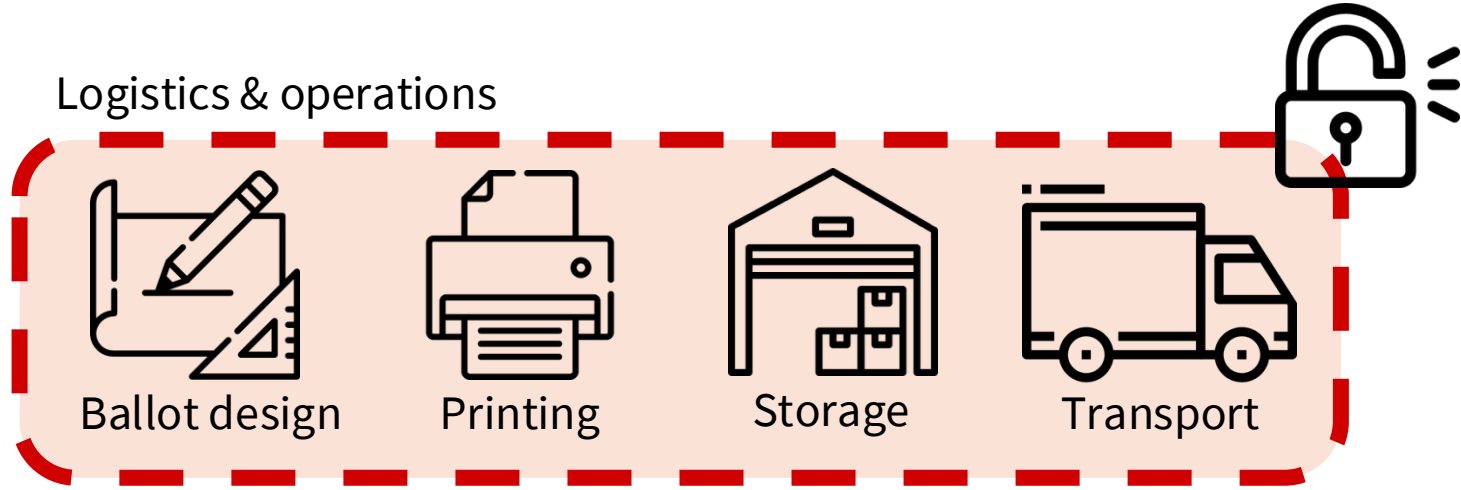
This is a **cautionary** tale about using machine learning in **critical** systems.

Disclaimer: The images of ballots in this presentation are for illustrative purposes only. They are not intended as endorsements of any candidate, political party, or policy. All tested models are entirely created by our team for research purposes and are not intended to represent any vendor product(s).

This is our threat model and adversary.



Logistics & operations



- ✓ Full **knowledge** of ML system (but no access)
- ✓ **Access** to physical pipeline.

Visual representation of attack.



- **Goal:** real Loser wins by at least 0.5%.
- **Attack:** create enough tampered ballots, mix with real ballots, watch chaos unfold.

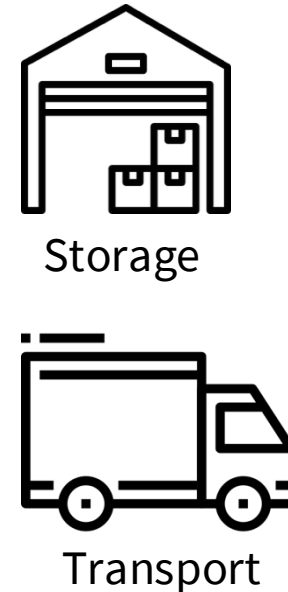
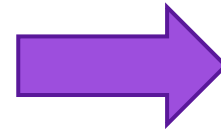
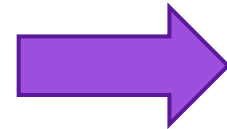
State of Connecticut Official Ballot
Mansfield Connecticut State Election November 3, 2020
Page 1 of 1
Congressional District 2
Senatorial District 29
Assembly District 54
Voting Districts 1

VOTE ON THE QUESTION(S)
1. "SHALL THE TOWN OF MANSFIELD APPROPRIATE \$2,000,000 FOR COSTS WITH RESPECT TO ROOF REPLACEMENT AND PHOTOVOLTAIC SYSTEM INSTALLATION AT MANSFIELD MIDDLE SCHOOL, AND AUTHORIZE THE ISSUE OF BONDS AND NOTES TO FINANCE THE PORTION OF THE APPROPRIATION NOT DEFRAYED FROM GRANTS?"

YES NO

OFFICE	1 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTOR FOR TWO YEAR TERM	2 REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FOR ONE TERM	3 STATE SENATOR FOR ONE TERM	4 STATE REPRESENTATIVE FOR ONE TERM	5 REGISTER OF VOTING FOR ONE TERM
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1A BRIAN AND HARRIS JOE COURTENAY	2A MAE FLECK GREG HADDAD	3A JESSICA ALBA GREG HADDAD	4A JESSICA ALBA GREG HADDAD	5A RANE BREWSTER
REPUBLICAN PARTY	1B TOMMY AND FINCH	2B JUSTIN ANDERSON	3B JESSICA ALBA	4B VINA STARKS WARD	5B
INDEPENDENT PARTY	1C	2C	3C JESSICA ALBA	4C	5C
WORKING FAMILIES PARTY	1D	2D JOE COURTENAY	3D MAE FLECK	4D GREG HADDAD	5D
LIBERTARIAN PARTY	1E JOSHUA AND COHEN	2E DANIEL STALE	3E	4E	5E
GREEN PARTY	1F HANNAH AND WALSH	2F CASANDRA MATRICCHI	3F	4F	5F
WRITE-IN VOTES	1G	2G	3G	4G	5G

Be sure to read the instructions on the reverse side of this ballot.



Real Loser → more votes
Real Winner → less votes

Election flipped!

Attack happens *before* election day.

Votes are classified by individual bubbles.

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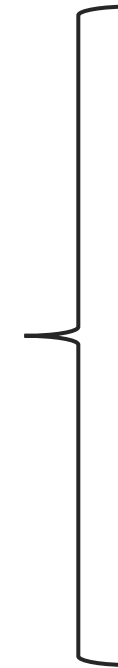
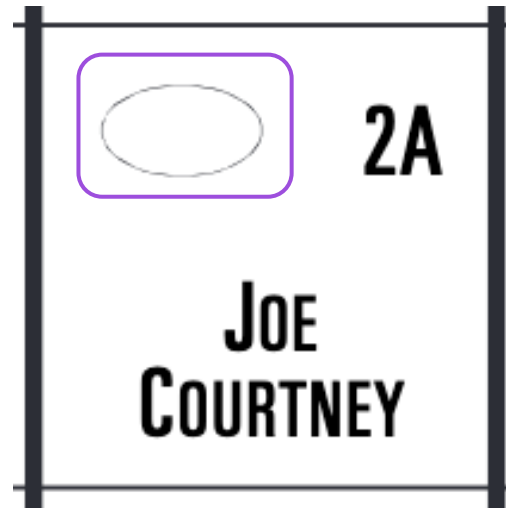
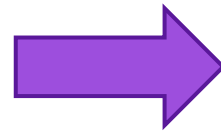
YES NO

1. "SHALL THE TOWN OF MANSFIELD APPROPRIATE \$2,800,000 FOR COSTS WITH RESPECT TO ROOF REPLACEMENT AND PHOTOVOLTAIC SYSTEM INSTALLATION AT MANSFIELD MIDDLE SCHOOL, AND AUTHORIZE THE ISSUE OF BONDS AND NOTES TO FINANCE THE PORTION OF THE APPROPRIATION NOT DEFRAYED FROM GRANTS?"

OFFICE	1 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS FOR VOTE FOR ONE	2 REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS VOTE FOR ONE	3 STATE SENATOR VOTE FOR ONE	4 STATE REPRESENTATIVE VOTE FOR ONE	5 REGISTRAR OF VOTERS VOTE FOR ONE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1A BIDEN AND HARRIS	2A JOE COURTNEY	3A MAE FLEXER	4A GREGG HADDAD	5A ANNE GREINER
REPUBLICAN PARTY	1B TRUMP AND PENCE	2B JUSTIN ANDERSON	3B JESSICA ALBA	4B VERA STEARNS WARD	5B
INDEPENDENT PARTY	1C	2C	3C JESSICA ALBA	4C	5C
WORKING FAMILIES PARTY	1D	2D JOE COURTNEY	3D MAE FLEXER	4D GREGG HADDAD	5D
LIBERTARIAN PARTY	1E JURIGENEN AND COHEN	2E DANIEL RIZALE	3E	4E	5E
GREEN PARTY	1F HAWKINS AND WALKER	2F CASSANDRA MARTINEAU	3F	4F	5F
WRITE-IN VOTES	1G	2G	3G	4G	5G

Be sure to read the instructions on the reverse side of this ballot.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32



Empty bubble = non-vote

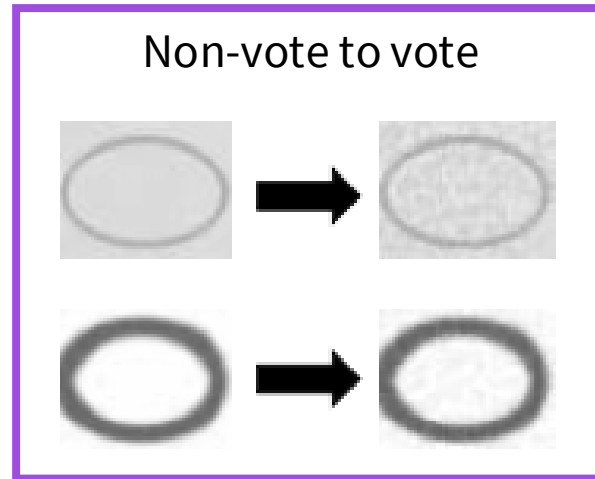


Marked bubble = vote

Binary image classification problem!

Attack Phase One: adversarial images to fool classifier.

Goal: human-*imperceptibility*.



Attack specs:

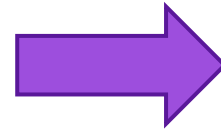
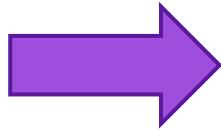
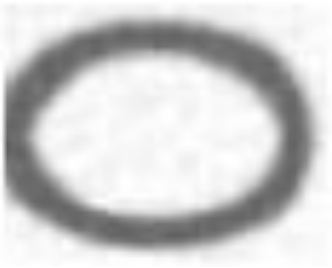
- APGD (Auto-Projected Gradient Descent)
- L_∞ norm
- DLR loss
- $\epsilon = 8/255$

Full attack experiments: (for non-vote to vote, and vote to non-vote)

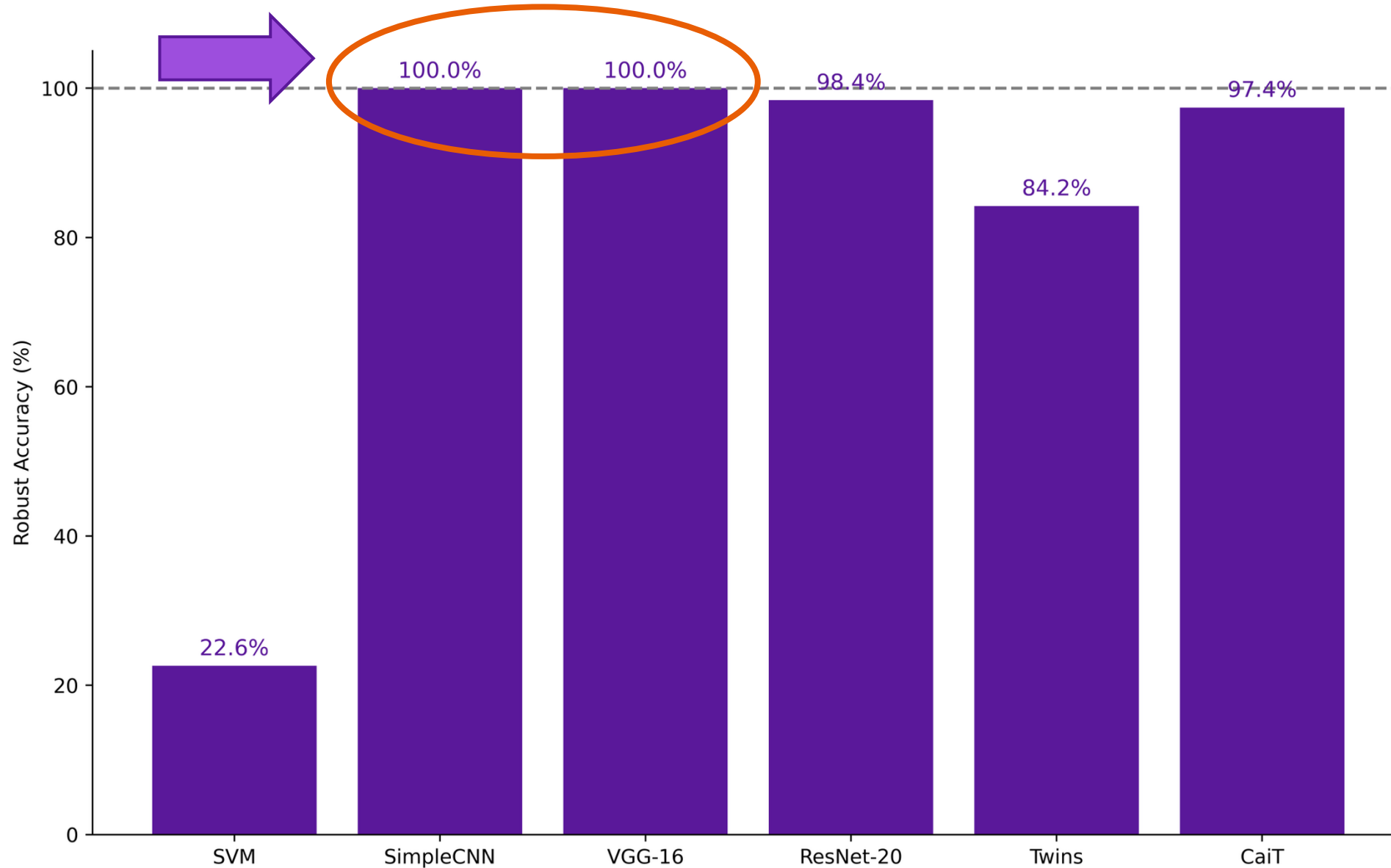
- APGD, MIM, PGD, FGSM
- $\epsilon = \{0, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 255\} / 255$
- CE and DLR loss

Attack Phase Two: print tampered ballots (simulated).

Adversarial
bubbles



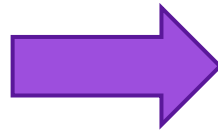
Not all models can resist this physical attack.



This is just a baseline – attacks only get better!

Adversary needs *just 1* successful example.

Adversarial bubble



State of Connecticut Official Ballot

Mansfield Connecticut

State Election

November 3, 2020

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PARTY					
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	<input type="radio"/> 1A BIDEN AND HARRIS	<input type="radio"/> 2A JOE COURTNEY	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 3A MAE FLEKER	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 4A GREGG HADDAD	<input type="radio"/> 5A ANNE GREINER
REPUBLICAN PARTY	<input type="radio"/> 1B TRUMP AND PENCE	<input type="radio"/> 2B JUSTIN ANDERSON	<input type="radio"/> 3B JESSICA ALBA	<input type="radio"/> 4B	<input type="radio"/> 5B VERA STEARNS WARD
INDEPENDENT PARTY	<input type="radio"/> 1C	<input type="radio"/> 2C	<input type="radio"/> 3C JESSICA ALBA	<input type="radio"/> 4C	<input type="radio"/> 5C
WORKING FAMILIES PARTY	<input type="radio"/> 1D	<input type="radio"/> 2D JOE COURTNEY	<input type="radio"/> 3D MAE FLEKER	<input type="radio"/> 4D GREGG HADDAD	<input type="radio"/> 5D
LIBERTARIAN PARTY	<input type="radio"/> 1E JORGENSEN AND COHEN	<input type="radio"/> 2E DANIEL REALE	<input type="radio"/> 3E	<input type="radio"/> 4E	<input type="radio"/> 5E
GREEN PARTY	<input type="radio"/> 1F HAWKINS AND WALKER	<input type="radio"/> 2F CASSANDRA MARTINEAU	<input type="radio"/> 3F	<input type="radio"/> 4F	<input type="radio"/> 5F
WRITE-IN VOTES	<input type="radio"/> 1G	<input type="radio"/> 2G	<input type="radio"/> 3G	<input type="radio"/> 4G	<input type="radio"/> 5G

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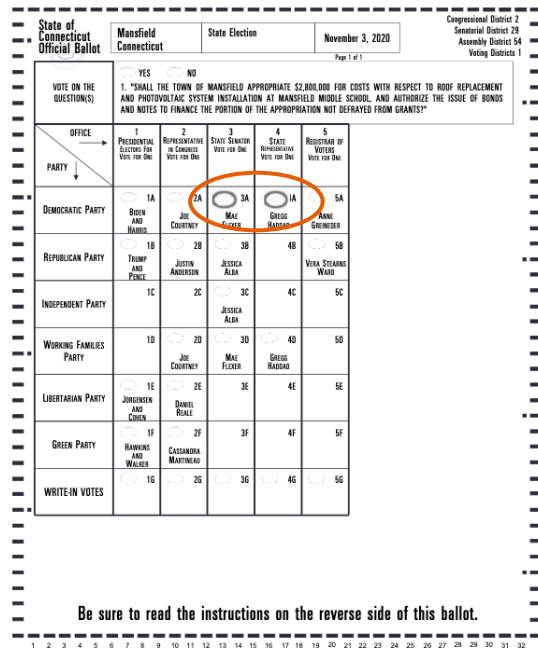
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32



Adversarial ballots can change the margin by 2.5%.



Election day scenario:

- Local, 2-party race
- Tight margin of 2%
- 12% of ballots left blank
- Mail-in ballots only



Race left empty →  

Vote for preferred candidate →  

Voted for opponent → overvote*.  

*typically. Other possibilities: new ballot requested, ballot nullified.

	Real Results	Adversarial Interference
Real Loser	0.395 (-2%)	0.407 (+0.5%)
Real Winner	0.415	0.402

Final Takeaways

Just a *few* **tampered** ballots can **swing** a **close** election.

ML in voting → risky!

For trusted election security:

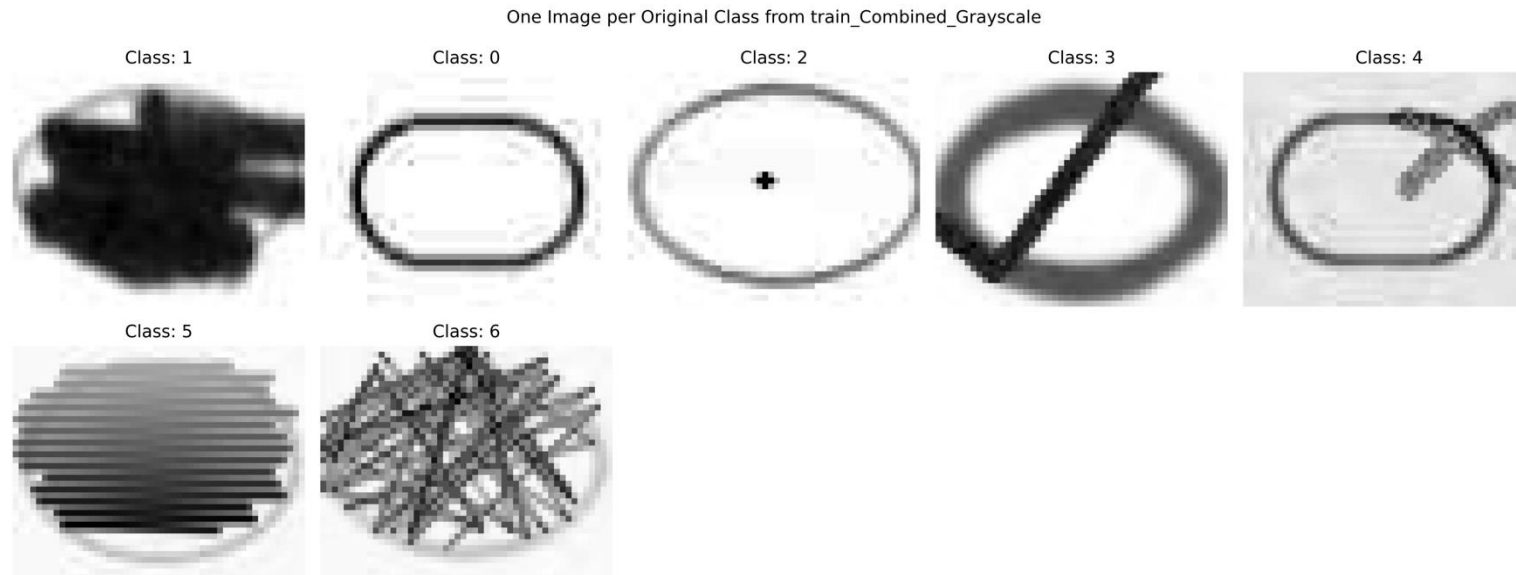
- NEVER replace humans in the loop!
- View physical world pipeline as part of defense.
- More transparency, and shared models/data!

Request to community:
How can we better defend these models for trustworthiness?



Work-In-Progress

- Created new dataset, augmented with synthetic marks to model realistic voter behavior
- Investigating physical-world transformations and deformations
- Investigating defense mechanisms



Thank you! Check out our work here:



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awesomecosmos



Our paper!

<https://dl.acm.org/doi/10.1145/3719027.3744882>

Backup Slides for Q&A

Work-In-Progress

- Question: how to reverse-engineer “ideal” adversarial bubble which survives physical world printing process
- Follow-up question: how to build defenses?

Digital Physical Denoised

