Anomalies and Frauds in the Korea 2020 Parliamentary Election, SMD and PR Voting*

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The 2020 parliamentary election in Korea is controversial, with fraud allegations. I examine data from the election using eforensics, tests from the Election Forensics Toolkit and the spikes test. This paper improves on a previous version ("Frauds in the Korea 2020 Parliamentary Election," April 29, 2020) by using updated complete data and by adding Election Forensics Toolkit and spikes test results. This paper improves on a previous version ("Anomalies and Frauds in the Korea 2020 Parliamentary Election," May 9, 2020) by using a corrected dataset that includes 50 previously omitted independent candidates (May 13, 2020). The current version adds analysis of proportional representation data. The estimates and tests all exhibit anomalies that suggest the election data were fraudulently manipulated, although the suggestion is stronger for single-member district voting than for proportional representation voting.

1 eforensics

The statistical model implemented in eforensics¹ offers evidence that fraudulent votes occurred in the election that may have changed some election outcomes. The statistical model operationalizes the idea that "frauds" occur when one party gains votes by a combination of manufacturing votes from abstentions and stealing votes from opposing parties. The Bayesian specification² allows posterior means and credible intervals for counts of "fraudulent" votes to be determined both for the entire election and for observed individual aggregation units.

It is important to keep in mind that "frauds" according to the eforensics model may or may not be results of malfeasance and bad actions. How much estimated "frauds" may be produced by normal political activity, and in particular by strategic behavior, is an open question that is the focus of current research. Statistical findings such as are reported here should be followed up with additional information and further investigation into what

¹https://github.com/UMeforensics/eforensics_public

²Ferrari, McAlister and Mebane (2018) and http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/efslides.pdf

happened. The statistical findings alone cannot stand as definitive evidence about what happened in an election.

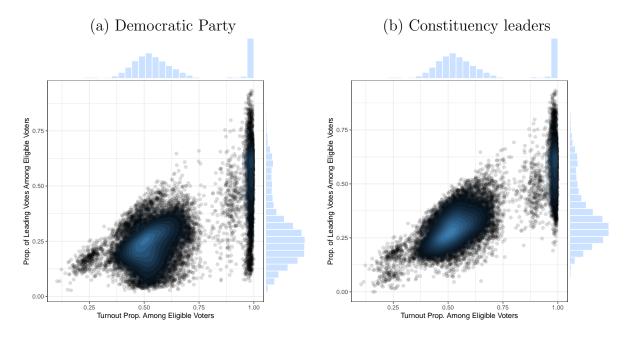
Figure 1 shows the distribution of turnout and vote proportions across aggregation units for single-member district (SMD) voting.³ Each turnout proportion is (Number Valid)/(Number Eligible), and each vote proportion is (Number Voting for Party)/(Number Eligible). The data include counts for n = 19131units. 329 "abroad_office" observations have zero eligible voters but often a small number of votes—the largest number is 23—and are omitted from the plots. One "prevote_in" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted. Figure 1(a) uses vote proportions defined based on Democratic Party votes, and Figure 1(b) uses vote proportions defined based on the votes received by the party with the most votes in each constituency. Fraud allegations have focused on the Democratic Party, but a principled way to analyze the SMD election data is to consider that frauds potentially benefited the leading candidate in each constituency. In the figure differences between the two distributions are apparent, but both share a distinctive multimodal pattern. There appear to be clusters of observations that share distinctive levels of turnout and votes, some with low, medium, high and very high turnout. The diagonal edge feature in the plots results from using Number Eligible as the denominator for both proportions: when the party receives nearly all the valid votes, then the observation is near that diagonal.

Figures 2 and 3 show that the different clusters in Figure 1 correspond to observations

³Vote and eligible voter count data come from the file korea_election_regional_21_eng.sqlite at https://github.com/freedomfighter2022/koreaelection2020, downloaded May 11, 2020 19:48. "The source data (Excel files) of the 21st general election of Korea was pulled from https://www.nec.go.kr/portal/bbs/view/B0000338/40935.do?menuNo=200185" (freedomfighter2022@protonmail.com 2020a). I determined constituency information using the tables of "Electoral District and Eupmyeon-dong" at http://info.nec.go.kr/main/showDocument.xhtml?electionId=0020200415&topMenuId=BI&secondMenuId=BIGIO5 and the lists of winners at http://info.nec.go.kr/main/showDocument.xhtml?electionId=0020200415&topMenuId=EP&secondMenuId=EPEIO1. Google Translate helped me by translating the Korean sources into English in my Chrome browser.

⁴ "Number Valid" is the number voting for any candidate, and "Number Eligible" is sum_people in korea_election_regional_21_eng.sqlite. Candidates are mapped from the candidate table of korea_election_regional_21_eng.sqlite to parties (there are 187 of them, including each independent candidate as a separate party), then votes for any of the parties are summed for each aggregation unit observation to produce "Number Valid" for that unit.

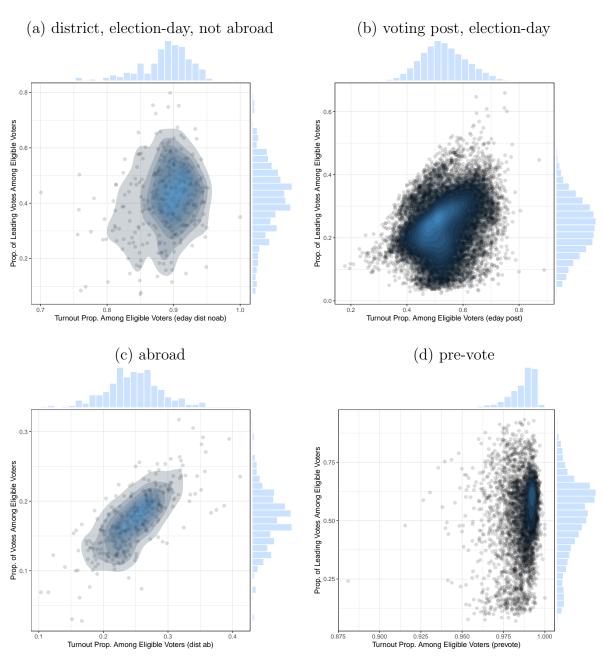
Figure 1: Korea 2020 Parliamentary Election Data Plots



Note: plots show turnout (number voting/number eligible) and vote proportions (number voting for party/number eligible) for (a) the Democratic Party or (b) the party the most votes in each constituency in aggregation units in the Korea 2020 parliamentary election. Plots show scatterplots with estimated bivariate densities overlaid, with histograms along the axes. 329 "abroad_office" observations reported with zero eligible voters but often with a positive number of votes are omitted. One "prevote" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted.

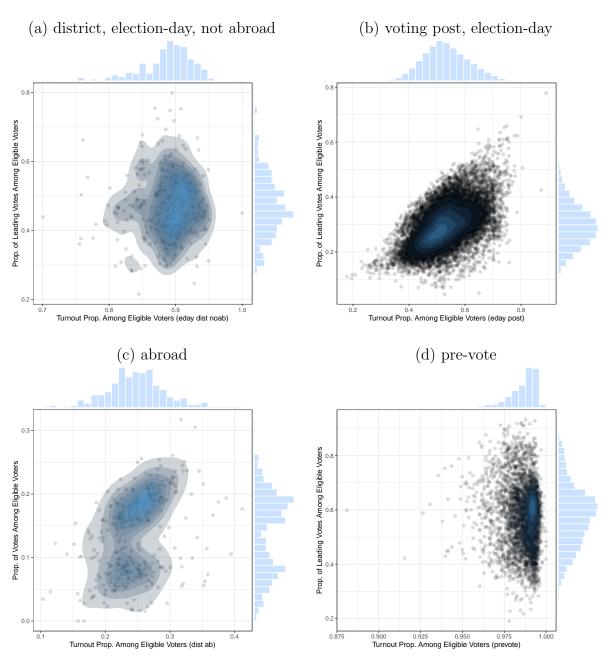
that are administratively distinctive. Figure 2 displays data for Democratic Party votes, and Figure 3 shows data for constituency leader votes. The four sets of units that have distinctive distributions are district-level, election-day units that are not abroad (Figures 2(a) and 3(a)), voting post, election-day units (Figures 2(b) and 3(b)), abroad units (Figures 2(c) and 3(c)) and pre-vote units (Figures 2(d) and 3(d)). Each subset of units (a), (b) and (d) has a mostly unimodal distribution: the marginal histograms are mostly near symmetric. But exceptional points are evident in each of these subsets. The pre-vote vote distributions are noticeably skewed. Abroad units are more distinctively bimodal when constituency leaders are considered than when the Democratic Party is in focus.

Figure 2: Korea 2020 Parliamentary Election Data Plots, Democratic Party



Note: plots show turnout (number voting/number eligible) and vote proportions (number voting for Democratic party/number eligible) for four subsets of observations: (a) district-level, election-day, not abroad; (b) voting post election-day; (c) abroad; (d) pre-vote. Plots show scatterplots with estimated bivariate densities overlaid, with histograms along the axes. 329 "abroad_office" observations reported with zero eligible voters but often with a positive number of votes are omitted. One "prevote" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted.

Figure 3: Korea 2020 Parliamentary Election Data Plots, Constituency Leaders



Note: plots show turnout (number voting/number eligible) and vote proportions (number voting for constituency-leading party/number eligible) for four subsets of observations: (a) district-level, election-day, not abroad; (b) voting post election-day; (c) abroad; (d) pre-vote. Plots show scatterplots with estimated bivariate densities overlaid, with histograms along the axes. 329 "abroad_office" observations reported with zero eligible voters but often with a positive number of votes are omitted. One "prevote" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted.

I estimate the eforensics model separately for the two definitions of leading party votes.⁵ Covariates for turnout and vote choice include indicators for pre-vote, voting post, abroad and disabled-ship status and fixed effects for the 253 constituencies included in the data. The two specifications agree that 446 aggregation units are fraudulent, but 761 additional units are fraudulent in the Democratic party specification and 807 additional units are fraudulent in the constituency-leading party specification. As Table 1 shows, some parameter estimates differ between the models. Parameters for the probabilities of incremental and extreme frauds (π_2, π_3) are about the same in the two specifications. The coefficients for expected pre-vote turnout $(\gamma_0 + \gamma_1)$ are similar between specifications,⁶ and other coefficients in the turnout equation $(\gamma_2 - \gamma_4)$ are similar. Coefficients for vote choice $(\beta_0 - \beta_4)$ differ, reflecting the differences in vote proportions being modeled.⁷

Figure 4 uses plots by subset of Democratic party focused observations to illustrate which observations are fraudulent according to the eforensics model with the Democratic party focused specification. Nonfraudulent observations are plotted in blue and fraudulent observations appear in red. The frequencies of fraudulent and not fraudulent units appear in the note at the bottom of the figure. Visually and by the numbers, frauds occur most frequently for pre-vote units (28.7% are fraudulent), next most frequently for district-level, election-day, not abroad units (2.43% are fraudulent) then next most frequently for voting post election day units (.67% are fraudulent) then abroad units (.61% are fraudulent).

⁵Parameter estimates reported in Table 1 and in the Appendix are based on four parallel MCMC chains. Due to RAM limitations, observation frauds computations use only the first chain. Parameter estimates do not vary that much over chains.

⁶Notice that the relatively large coefficients for pre-vote in the turnout equations match the high turnout that is observed due to the definition of pre-vote "eligible voters" as those who cast ballots using the pre-vote method. For instance, in the constituency leader specification, expected turnout for pre-vote in constituency Busan 1, which is the reference constituency for the constituency fixed effects, is $1/(1 + \exp(-(.757 + 1.11))) = .866$. In contrast expected turnout in non-prevote voting post units in the same constituency is $1/(1 + \exp(-(.757 - .0403))) = .672$. "Manufactured" fraudulent votes would add apparent turnout to such baselines.

⁷Constituency fixed effects for the Democratic-Party-focused specification, reported in the Appendix, exemplify how these fixed effects reflect local political variations. The fixed effects in the vote equation for Democratic Party strongholds Jeollabuk and Jeollanam-do (freedomfighter2022@protonmail.com 2020b) are almost all positive (beta.nu[181]–beta.nu[200]), while the fixed effects for Future Integration Party strongholds Gyeongsangbuk-do and Gyeongsangnam-do (freedomfighter2022@protonmail.com 2020b) (beta.nu[136]–beta.nu[164]) are almost all negative.

Figure 5 uses plots by subset of constituency-leader focused observations to illustrate which observations are fraudulent according to the eforensics model with the constituency-leader focused specification. Nonfraudulent observations are plotted in blue and fraudulent observations appear in red. The frequencies of fraudulent and not fraudulent units appear in the note at the bottom of the figure. Visually and by the numbers, frauds occur most frequently for pre-vote units (25.0% are fraudulent), next most frequently for voting post election day units (2.04% are fraudulent) then next most frequently for district-level, election-day, not abroad units (1.52% are fraudulent). None of the abroad units are fraudulent.

Table 1: Korea 2020 Parliamentary eforensics Estimates

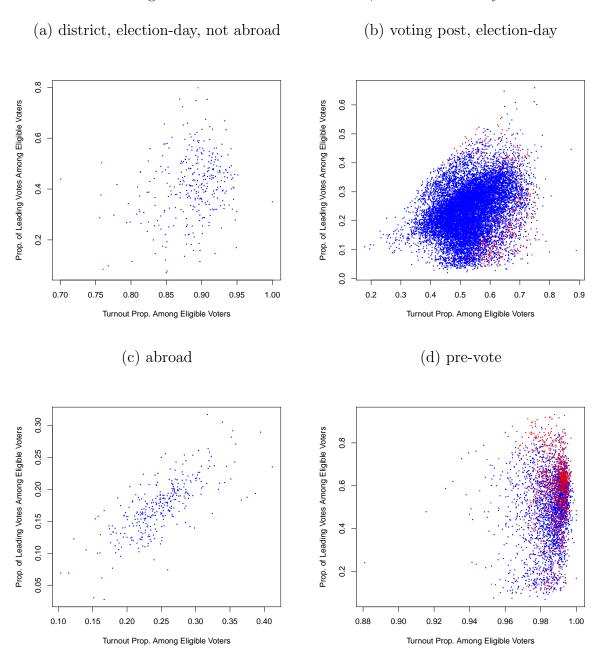
(a) Der	nocratic Party specif	ication		
Parm.	Covariate	Mean	$\mathrm{HPD}.\mathrm{lo}^a$	$\mathrm{HPD}.\mathrm{up}^b$
π_1	No Fraud	.933	.929	.937
π_2	Incremental Fraud	.0615	.0574	.0654
π_3	Extreme Fraud	.00512	.00399	.00621
γ_0	(Intercept)	.766	.723	.813
γ_1	pre-vote	1.10	1.00	1.24
γ_2	voting post	0398	0708	0155
γ_3	abroad	0869	125	0528
γ_4	disabled-ship	.0366	.00614	.0818
eta_0	(Intercept)	139	160	0941
β_1	pre-vote	.0399	.0222	.0606
eta_2	voting post	117	157	0930
β_3	abroad	.195	.135	.241
β_4	disabled-ship	00406	0484	.0247
(b) con	stituency leader spec	eification		
(b) con Parm.	stituency leader spec Covariate	cification Mean	$\mathrm{HPD.lo}^a$	$\mathrm{HPD.up}^b$
` /			HPD.lo ^a .919	HPD.up ^b .933
Parm.	Covariate	Mean		_
Parm. π_1	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud	Mean .927	.919	.933
Parm. π_1 π_2	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud	Mean .927 .0651 .00783	.919 .0588	.933 .0725
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept)	Mean .927 .0651 .00783	.919 .0588 .00650	.933 .0725 .00905
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept)	Mean .927 .0651 .00783 .757	.919 .0588 .00650 .687	.933 .0725 .00905 .827
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post	Mean .927 .0651 .00783 .757	.919 .0588 .00650 .687 .963	.933 .0725 .00905 .827 1.24
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1 γ_2	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post abroad	Mean .927 .0651 .00783 .757 1.11 0403	.919 .0588 .00650 .687 .963 0826	.933 .0725 .00905 .827 1.24 .0275
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1 γ_2 γ_3	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post abroad	Mean .927 .0651 .00783 .757 1.11 0403 0711 .0382	.919 .0588 .00650 .687 .963 0826	.933 .0725 .00905 .827 1.24 .0275 00294
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1 γ_2 γ_3 γ_4	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post abroad disabled-ship	Mean .927 .0651 .00783 .757 1.11 0403 0711 .0382 .168	.919 .0588 .00650 .687 .963 0826 111 .000400	.933 .0725 .00905 .827 1.24 .0275 00294 .0713
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1 γ_2 γ_3 γ_4 β_0	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post abroad disabled-ship (Intercept)	Mean .927 .0651 .00783 .757 1.11 0403 0711 .0382 .168	.919 .0588 .00650 .687 .963 0826 111 .000400 .133	.933 .0725 .00905 .827 1.24 .0275 00294 .0713 .216
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1 γ_2 γ_3 γ_4 β_0 β_1	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post abroad disabled-ship (Intercept) pre-vote	Mean .927 .0651 .00783 .757 1.11 0403 0711 .0382 .168 0857	.919 .0588 .00650 .687 .963 0826 111 .000400 .133 110	.933 .0725 .00905 .827 1.24 .0275 00294 .0713 .216 0656

Note: selected eforensics model parameter estimates (posterior means and highest posterior density credible intervals). All coefficients including constituency fixed effects are reported in the Appendix. For parameter notation see

 $\verb|http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/efslides.pdf|. $n=18801.$$

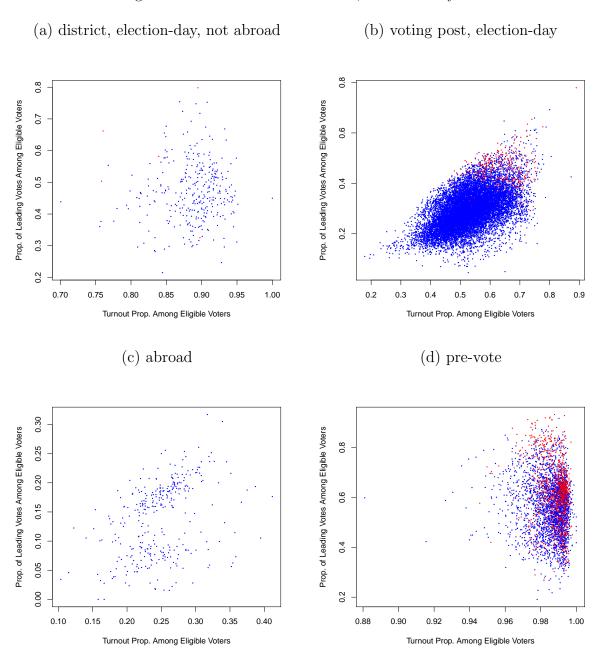
 $[^]a$ 95% highest posterior density credible interval lower bound. b 95% highest posterior density credible interval upper bound.

Figure 4: Korea 2020 Fraud Plots, Democratic Party



Note: plots show turnout (number voting/number eligible) and vote proportions (number voting for Democratic Party/number eligible) for four subsets of observations: (a) district-level, election-day, not abroad (8 fraudulent, 321 not); (b) voting post election-day (101 fraudulent, 14877 not); (c) abroad (2 fraudulent, 327 not); (d) pre-vote (1096 fraudulent, 2717 not). Plots show scatterplots with nonfraudulent observations in blue and fraudulent observations in red. 329 "abroad_office" observations reported with zero eligible voters but often with a positive number of votes are omitted. One "prevote" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted.

Figure 5: Korea 2020 Fraud Plots, Constituency Leaders



Note: plots show turnout (number voting/number eligible) and vote proportions (number voting for constituency-leading party/number eligible) for four subsets of observations: (a) district-level, election-day, not abroad (5 fraudulent, 324 not); (b) voting post election-day (293 fraudulent, 14037 not); (c) abroad (0 fraudulent, 329 not); (d) pre-vote (955 fraudulent, 2858 not). Plots show scatterplots with nonfraudulent observations in blue and fraudulent observations in red. 329 "abroad_office" observations reported with zero eligible voters but often with a positive number of votes are omitted. One "prevote" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted.

I use a counterfactual method to calculate how many votes are fraudulent.⁸ Table 2 reports the observed counts of eligible voters, valid votes and votes for the (a) Democratic party and (b) constituency-leading party totaled over all units in the analysis, along with fraudulent vote count totals. The total of "manufactured" votes is reported separately from the total number of fraudulent votes: manufactured votes are votes that the model estimates should have been abstentions but instead were observed as votes for the (a) Democratic Party or (b) constituency-leading party. Both posterior means and 95% and 99.5% credible intervals are reported. The results show that for the Democratic-Party-focused specification over all about 1,418,079 votes are fraudulent, and of the fraudulent votes about 1,056,462 are manufactured (the remaining 361,617 are stolen—counted for the Democratic Party when they should have been counted for a different party). Overall, according to the eforensics model, about 9.9% of the votes for Democratic Party candidates are fraudulent. The results show that for the constituency-leading-focused specification over all about 1,234,217 votes are fraudulent, and of the fraudulent votes about 961,296 are manufactured (the remaining 272,921 are stolen—counted for the constituency-leading party when they should have been counted for a different party). Overall, according to the eforensics model, about 7.7% of the votes for constituency-leading candidates are fraudulent.

Fraudulent vote occurrence varies over constituencies. Counts of frauds by aggregation unit appear in a supplemental file⁹, but I use the unit-specific fraudulent vote counts from the constituency-leader focused specification to assess whether the number of fraudulent votes is ever large enough apparently to change the winner of a constituency contest. For 231 constituencies it is not, but for 22 constituencies the number of fraudulent votes is large enough apparently to change the winner of the constituency contest. In 15 instances the apparently fraudulently winning party is the "Democratic Party," and in 7 instances it

⁸For a description of the method see "approach two" described at http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/efslides.pdf.

⁹See the original **R** output files wrkef4_1_Korea2020dAC_1d.Rout and wrkef4_1_Korea2020daAC_1d.Rout in Korea2020ef2.zip for the numbers of fraudulent votes at each aggregation unit.

Table 2: Korea 2020 eforensics Estimated Fraudulent Vote Counts

(a) Democratic Party specification fraudulent counts Observed Counts

Voters	Valid	Votes
43961157	28738468	14343693

	95% interval		99.5% i	nterval		
Manufactured	lo up		Manufactured lo up		lo	up
1056461.9	1026145.6	1026145.6 1095485.7		1106749.6		
	95% interval		99.5% i	nterval		
Total	lo	up	lo	up		
1418079.2	1384391.2 1454150.3		1070337.2	1467822.7		

(b) constituency leader specification fraudulent counts

Observed Counts

Voters	Valid	Votes		
43961157	28738468	16125511		
	95% in	nterval	99.5% is	nterval
Manufactured	lo	up	lo	up
961296.2	925904.3	925904.3 996418.2		1009922.4
	95% in	nterval	99.5% is	nterval
Total	lo	up	lo	up
1234217.0	1188138.2	1268770.5	929474.9	1278893.6

Note: observed counts and total fraud posterior means and credible intervals based on eforensics model estimates. n = 18801.

is the "Future Integration Party." ¹⁰

¹⁰The particular constituencies that have these conditions can be identified by matching constituencies sequentially in "list of winners" tables available from http://info.nec.go.kr/main/showDocument.xhtml? electionId=0020200415&topMenuId=EP&secondMenuId=EPEI01 (as of May 9, 2020 17:12 EST). Province constituency-sequence-number (party posterior mean fraudulent): Busan 7 (DP 2466.0899 fraudulent), Busan 12 (DP 1779.2709 fraudulent), Busan 15 (FIP 4884.7443 fraudulent), Chung-cheong bukdo 8 (DP 5645.5870 fraudulent), Chung-cheong bukdo 2 (DP 4749.2379 fraudulent), Chungcheongnam-do 5 (FIP 3319.3754 fraudulent), Chungcheongnam-do 1 (DP 1568.9601 fraudulent), Gyeonggi-do 36 (DP 4885.5827 fraudulent), Gyeonggi-do 8 (FIP 4660.3408 fraudulent), Gyeonggi-do 9 (DP 7990.4613 fraudulent), Gyeonggi-do 27 (DP 5717.1240 fraudulent), Gyeonggi-do 52 (DP 7072.9549 fraudulent), Gyeongsangnam-do 15 (DP 2251.0704 fraudulent), Gyeongsangnam-do 5 (FIP 2961.5911 fraudulent), Incheon Metropolitan City 5 (DP 8599.4068 fraudulent), Seoul 48 (DP 8687.1952 fraudulent), Seoul 6 (DP 4397.1784 fraudulent), Seoul 45 (FIP 5855.9778 fraudulent), Seoul 46 (FIP 9355.8661 fraudulent), Seoul 35 (DP 6209.7094 fraudulent), Seoul 4 (FIP 2849.0302 fraudulent), Ulsan Metropolitan City 5 (DP 7624.0325 fraudulent). In the "list of winners" tables, as translated by Google Translate, the constituency winner is designated as associated with ("Party Name") "Democratic Party" (DP) or "Future Integration Party" (FIP).

Given two specifications, which one is better? Probably neither model is correct, strictly speaking, even beyond the generality that no model is ever correct, but some are useful. If frauds only ever benefit the Democratic Party, then those frauds may have induced apparent frauds when we constrain frauds to benefit only constituency-leading candidates, because many of these do not affiliate with the Democratic Party. Similarly if only constituency-leading candidates benefit from frauds, then eforensics may be producing misleading results when we constrain frauds to benefit only the Democratic Party. Or perhaps other candidates—or several in each constituency—benefit from frauds and both specifications are producing misleading results. Possibly, of course, there are no frauds and something else is going on.

Caveats are many. The most basic caution is to keep in mind that "frauds" according to the eforensics model may or may not be results of malfeasance and bad actions. If some normal political situation makes the apparently fraudulent aggregation units appear fraudulent to the eforensics model and estimation procedure, then the frauds estimates may be signaling that "frauds" occur where in fact something else is happening. In particular there maybe something benign that leads many of the pre-vote units to have a turnout and vote choice distribution that differs so much especially from the distribution for election-day voting post units, the latter comprising the bulk of the data. Likewise something benign may distinguish the election-day voting post units that the eforensics model identifies as fraudulent. Beyond that general caution, there may something about the particular data used for the analysis that triggers the "fraud" findings. And there may be something about the model specification that should be improved that would produce different results.

2 Election Forensics Toolkit and Spikes

I use the Election Forensics Toolkit (EFT, a website developed as part of a USAID-funded project) (Hicken and Mebane 2015; Mebane 2015) to look at features of the SMD data.

The EFT results add to the impression that the election results are manipulated.

Results for five tests (see Hicken and Mebane 2015 for explanations of the tests) computed using the entire set of aggregation units all together appear in Table 3. The DipT statistics for Turnout shows there is significant multimodality, a result that matches what can be seen visually in Figure 1. The P05s statistic for Turnout is significantly below the expected value of .2: this does not match the excessively high value of P05s that occurs in the case of signalling in Russia (Kalinin and Mebane 2011; Kalinin 2017), but it is difficult to think of natural processes that would produce frequencies of percentages that end in 0 or 5 that are too low. The 2BL statistics differ significantly from the expected value of 4.187, but the values that occur for the candidates' votes match what I observe given strategic turnout and voting with multiparty competition (Mebane 2013a), so these 2BL statistics do not support a diagnosis that there are frauds.

Table 3: Distribution and Digit Tests, Korea 2020

Name	2BL	${\tt LastC}$	P05s	C05s	DipT	Obs
Turnout	4.113	4.496	.173	.204	0	18801
	(4.074, 4.151)	(4.453, 4.536)	(.167, .178)	(.199, .210)		
Democratic Party	4.129	4.473	.199	.200	.994	18801
	(4.085, 4.172)	(4.432, 4.473)	(.193, .205)	(.194, .205)		
Constituency Leader	4.101	4.513	.199	.202	.997	18801
	(4.056, 4.142)	(4.471, 4.553)	(.193, .204)	(.196, .208)		

Note: statistics and tests based on aggregation unit observations. "2BL," second-digit mean; "LastC," last-digit mean; "P05s," mean of variable indicating whether the last digit of the rounded percentage of votes for the referent party or candidate is zero or five; "C05s," mean of variable incicating whether the last digit of the vote count is zero or five; "DipT," p-value from test of unimodality; "Obs," number of aggregation unit observations. Values in parentheses are 95% nonparametric bootstrap confidence intervals. Point estimates in red differ significantly from the values expected if there are no anomalies.

Given the SMD election rules, an approach that potentially produces sharper insights

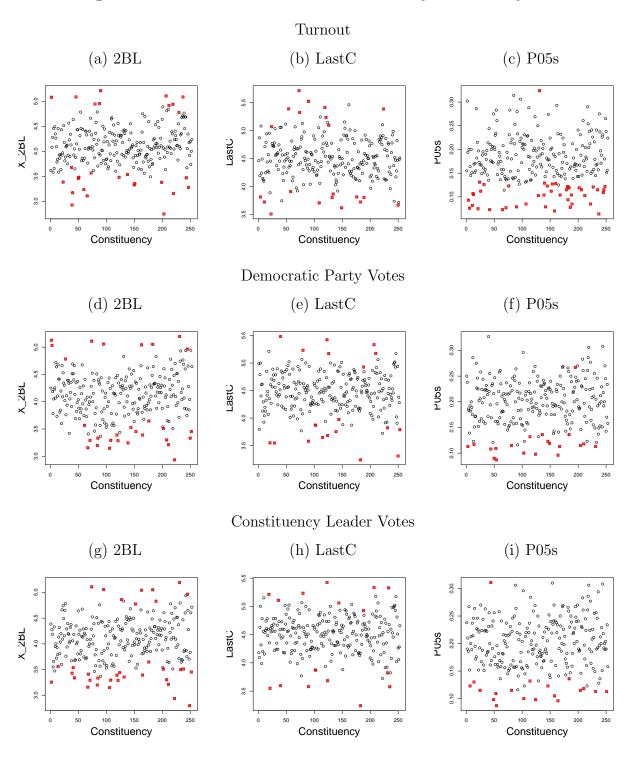
regarding the constituency contests is to compute the EFT statistics separately for each constituency. The counterbalancing concern is statistical power: overall there are n=18801 aggregation unit observations, but the median size of constituencies is 66 aggregation units with sizes ranging from a minimum of 38 units to a maximum of 183 units. In most cases with such sample sizes bootstrap confidence intervals for the EFT statistics (Hicken and Mebane 2015; Mebane 2015) are too wide to support finding significant differences from the values of the statistics that are expected if there are no anomalies.

Nonetheless Figure 6 shows that many constituencies have significantly anomalous values for the 2BL, LastC and P05s statistics.¹¹ The plots of the 2BL statistic show several values that are either too big or too small to explain as results of electors' strategic behavior (Mebane 2013a). The LastC statistics, motivated by Beber and Scacco (2012), show many too-large or too-small values.¹² The P05s statistics show a few constituencies with excessively high values, in line with the usual understanding of how the percentages are often used to signal, but many more have significantly small values. Moreover both Turnout and the votes for the candidates exhibit many significantly anomalous P05s statistics. The many significant P05s statistics suggest the data are artificial (cf. Mebane 2013b).

 $^{^{11}}$ The C05s statistics, not shown, exhibit similar frequencies of significant anomalies. The significance test results used to color points in Figure 6 are obtained by checking whether the nonanomalous expected values are contained in 95% confidence intervals obtained using bootstrap methods. The EFT software is not designed to support finding exact p-values that might be used to implement adjustments for multiple testing.

¹²A qualification to note is that LastC does not exclude aggregation units that have counts less than 100. Beber and Scacco (2012) advocate excluding such counts. In the Democratic-Party-focused data, 1463 units have fewer than 100 votes for the Democratic Party candidate, with a median of one such unit per constituency (max 83). For the constituency-leader-focused data, 601 units have fewer than 100 votes for the constituency leading candidate, with a median of one such unit per constituency (max 22).

Figure 6: Korea 2020 Election Forensics Toolkit by Constituency Plots



Note: statistics and tests based on aggregation unit observations, analyzed by constituency. Constituencies are matched to numbers in the Appendix. "2BL," second-digit mean; "LastC," last-digit mean; "P05s," mean of variable indicating whether the last digit of the rounded percentage of votes for the referent party or candidate is zero or five. Red points differ significantly at level $\alpha=.05$ from the values expected if there are no anomalies.

The spikes model tests for deviations in the proportions of votes for candidates in a more general way than does the P05s test, relative to a flexible and empirically grounded null distribution (Rozenas 2017). Figure 7 shows graphics that identify the ranges of polling stations the model estimates are fraudulent. Vertical gray bars in the graph indicate which aggregation units have suspicious votes: the aggregation units with vote proportions for (a) the Democratic Party or (b) the constituency leader that match the highlighted vote shares are suspicious. The results reinforce the findings for P05s in Table 3 and Figure 6 in that Figure 7(a) shows an excess of proportions near .05. The spikes at 1.0 in Figure 7 matches the significantly high values of P05s in Figure 6(f) and 6(i). The spikes test in this case appears to be more sensitive, in that the P05s test is restricted to reporting only a single average value while the spikes test assesses an entire distribution with reference to an empirically grounded null distribution.

(a) Democratic Party (b) Constituency Leader Korea 2020 Democratic Party Korea 2020 district leaders F = 0.06F = 0.04100 80 80 9 Density Density 9 4 40 20 20 0.2 0.3 0.5 0.6 0.9 0.0 0.1 0.2 0.4 0.5 0.6 0.7 0.1 0.4 0.8 0.3 0.8 0.9 Vote-share Vote-share

Figure 7: Korea 2020 Spikes Tests Plots

Note: vote shares are the proportion of valid votes for all (a) Democratic Party or (b) constituency leading cabdidates in each aggregation unit. n = 18801.

3 Proportional Representation Voting

At the same time voting occurred for SMD seats, each elector could cast a second ballot for proportional representation (PR) seats. The identities of the parties differed between the two ballots (Wikipedia 2020). Figure 8 shows the distribution of turnout and vote proportions across aggregation units for PR voting.¹³ The data include counts for n = 19064 units. 250 "abroad_office" observations and 250 voting post observations that have a blank name have zero eligible voters but often a small number of votes and are omitted from the plots.¹⁴

The differences between Figure 8 for PR voting and Figure 1 for SMD voting exemplify the effects strategic behavior can have on voting. The same electors voted at the same time for seats in the same body of parliament, except the rules used to go from vote counts to seats differed. The difference between the figures is first a story of coalition strategies and second a story of wasted vote strategies. An immediate symptom of coalition considerations is that the candidates decided to use distinctive party labels for the SMD and PR contests. Two parties received more than one million votes in SMD voting but five parties did so in PR voting, and the two largest SMD parties each had more than two million votes fewer in PR voting than in SMD voting (Wikipedia 2020): in the data I am analyzing the differences are 11914740 SMD to 9441520 PR votes (Future Integration Party to Future Korea Party) and 14344512 SMD to 9307112 PR votes (Democratic Party to Platform Party). The coalition dynamics plus wasted vote calculations caused the two largest SMD parties to receive more votes than did the corresponding parties in the PR contest. Strategic behavior explains why in Figure 8 noticeable vertical gaps are apparent between clusters for PR votes but not in Figure 1 for SMD votes: voters that selected the same party targets given SMD selected different party targets given PR.

¹³Vote and eligible voter count data come from the file korea_election_proportional_21_eng.sqlite at https://github.com/freedomfighter2022/koreaelection2020, downloaded May 11, 2020 19:48.

¹⁴The largest number of valid votes for such an "abroad_office" observation is 1406 in election district "jongrogu"—all the rest have zero valid votes. Among the nameless voting post observations that have zero eligible voters the largest number of valid votes is 73 in election district "nowueongu."

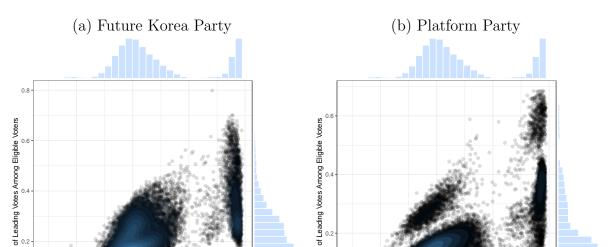


Figure 8: Korea 2020 Parliamentary Election PR Data Plots

Note: plots show turnout (number voting/number eligible) and vote proportions (number voting for party/number eligible) for (a) the Future Korea Party or (b) the in aggregation units in the Platform Party 2020 parliamentary election. Plots show scatterplots with estimated bivariate densities overlaid, with histograms along the axes. 329 "abroad_office" observations reported with zero eligible voters but often with a positive number of votes are omitted. One "prevote" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted.

Prop.

Turnout Prop. Among Eligible Voters

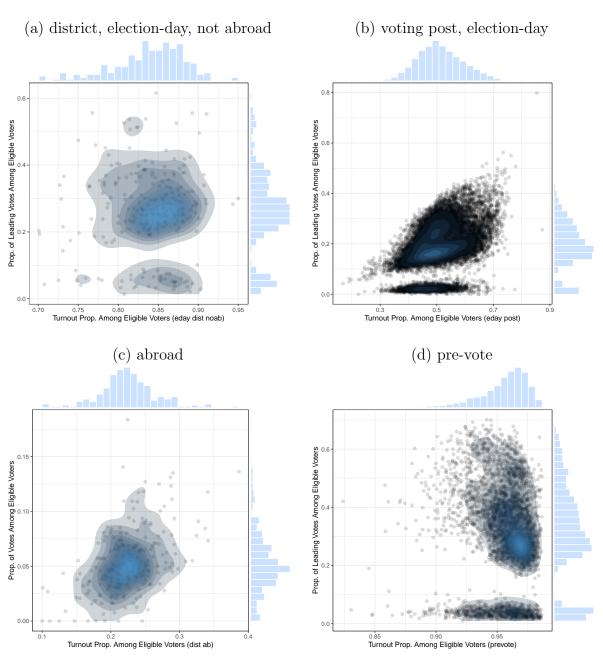
Prop.

Turnout Prop. Among Eligible Voters

As much as strategic behavior causes such visable differences in vote distributions, strategic behavior can also produce significant apparent anomalies and eforensics frauds. The reason for this is a subject of active research, but the basic idea is that because strategic behavior is defined by individual electors acting based partly on their accurate anticipations of what the collection of other electors will do, strategic behavior induces dependencies between electors' actions. For example, electors coordinate their actions for or against one another's choices. My working hypothesis is that, for various technical reasons, such dependencies can trigger test results that look like anomalies or frauds when in fact nothing is wrong. Strategic behavior, of course, is of the essence in normal politics.

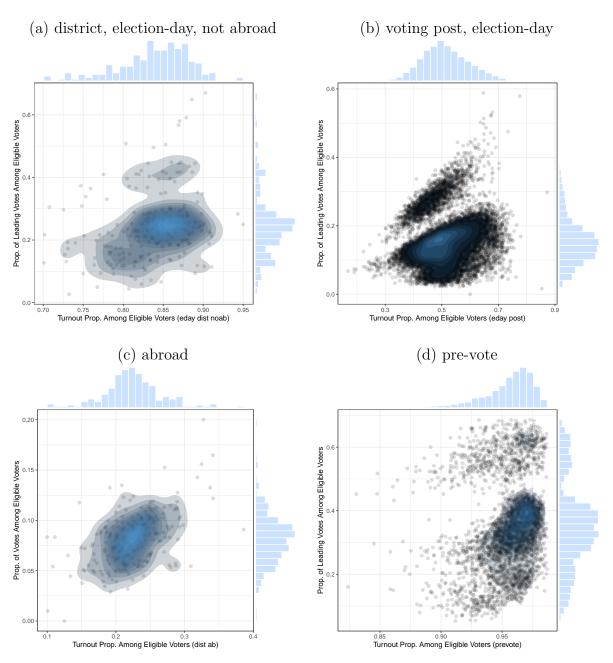
Figures 9 and 10 show that, similar to Figures 2 and 3 for SMD votes, the different clusters in Figure 8 correspond to observations that are administratively distinctive.

Figure 9: Korea 2020 Parliamentary Election PR Data Plots, Future Korea Party



Note: plots show turnout (number voting/number eligible) and vote proportions (number voting for Future Korea Party/number eligible) for four subsets of observations: (a) district-level, election-day, not abroad; (b) voting post election-day; (c) abroad; (d) pre-vote. Plots show scatterplots with estimated bivariate densities overlaid, with histograms along the axes. 329 "abroad_office" observations reported with zero eligible voters but often with a positive number of votes are omitted. One "prevote" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted.

Figure 10: Korea 2020 Parliamentary Election PR Data Plots, Platform Party



Note: plots show turnout (number voting/number eligible) and vote proportions (number voting for Platform Party/number eligible) for four subsets of observations: (a) district-level, election-day, not abroad; (b) voting post election-day; (c) abroad; (d) pre-vote. Plots show scatterplots with estimated bivariate densities overlaid, with histograms along the axes. 329 "abroad_office" observations reported with zero eligible voters but often with a positive number of votes are omitted. One "prevote" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted.

I estimate the eforensics model separately for two definitions of leading party votes: one specification uses votes for the Forward Korea Party, which received the most PR votes, and the other specification uses votes for the Protect Party, which has the second-most PR votes. Covariates for turnout and vote choice include indicators for pre-vote, voting post, abroad and disabled-ship status. The two specifications agree that 148 aggregation units are fraudulent, but 661 additional units are fraudulent in the Future Korea Party specification and 534 additional units are fraudulent in the Platform Party specification. As Table 4 shows, some parameter estimates differ between the models. Parameters for the probabilities of incremental and extreme frauds (π_2, π_3) are about the same in the two specifications.

Figures 11 and 12 use plots by subset of Forward Korea Party or Platform Party focused observations to illustrate which observations are fraudulent according to the eforensics model with each specification. Nonfraudulent observations are plotted in blue and fraudulent observations appear in red. The frequencies of fraudulent and not fraudulent units appear in the note at the bottom of the figure. Visually and by the numbers, for the Forward Korea Party votes frauds occur most frequently for pre-vote units (16.6% are fraudulent), next most frequently for district-level, election-day, not abroad units (11.6% are fraudulent) then next most frequently for abroad units (.40% are fraudulent) then voting post election day units (.24% are fraudulent). For the Platform Party votes frauds occur most frequently for district-level, election-day, not abroad units (26.0% are fraudulent), next most frequently for pre-vote units (18.7% are fraudulent) then next most frequently for voting post election day units (.32% are fraudulent), and none of the abroad units are fraudulent.

With pre-vote units not having the highest proportion of frauds for the Platform Party votes and having a frauds proportion not much greater than that for district-level, election-day, not abroad units for Future Korea Party votes, the distribution of frauds in the PR votes differ from the distribution in the SMD votes. Such results may be a clue

that the eforensics frauds for PR votes are less likely to result from malfeasant behavior and more likely from strategic behavior—normal politics—than are the frauds estimated for the SMD votes. In any case both the district-level, election-day, not abroad units and the pre-vote units are special in the PR data.

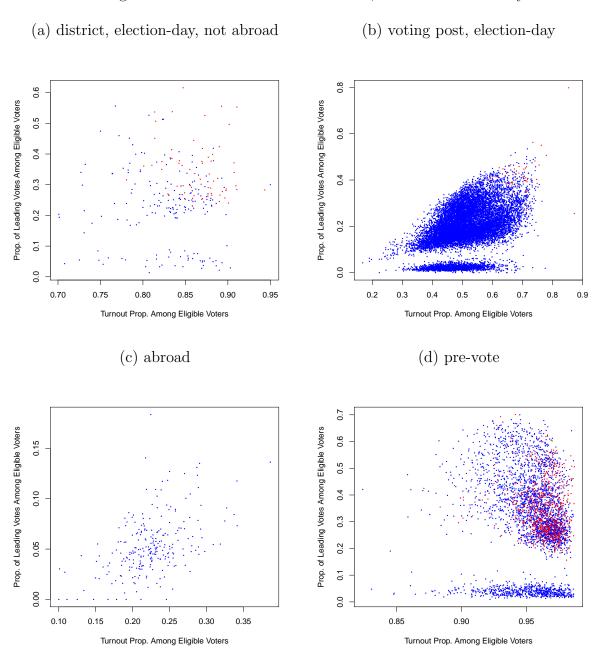
I use a counterfactual method to calculate how many votes are fraudulent. Table 5 reports the observed counts of eligible voters, valid votes and votes for the (a) Future Korea Party and (b) Platform Party totaled over all units in the analysis, along with fraudulent vote count totals. The results show that for the Future-Korea-Party-focused specification over all about 636,694 votes are fraudulent, and of the fraudulent votes about 448,143 are manufactured (the remaining 188,551 are stolen). Overall, according to the eforensics model, about 6.7% of the votes for Future Korea Party candidates are fraudulent. The results show that for the Platform-Party-focused specification over all about 571,665 votes are fraudulent, and of the fraudulent votes about 366,390 are manufactured (the remaining 205,275 are stolen). Overall, according to the eforensics model, about 6.1% of the votes for constituency-leading candidates are fraudulent.

Table 4: Korea 2020 PR Parliamentary eforensics Estimates

(a) Fut	ure Korea Party spe	cification		
Parm.	Covariate	Mean	$\mathrm{HPD}.\mathrm{lo}^a$	$\mathrm{HPD}.\mathrm{up}^b$
π_1	No Fraud	.955	.952	.958
π_2	Incremental Fraud	.0444	.0412	.0471
π_3	Extreme Fraud	.000212	.0000408	.000419
γ_0	(Intercept)	.127	.119	.136
γ_1	pre-vote	3.00	3.00	3.01
γ_2	voting post	0642	0720	0550
γ_3	abroad	680	730	637
γ_4	disabled-ship	.585	.507	.648
β_0	(Intercept)	850	866	831
β_1	pre-vote	474	484	464
β_2	voting post	.175	.167	.188
β_3	abroad	103	115	0952
β_4	disabled-ship	125	130	120
(b) Pla	tform Party specifica	ation		
(b) Pla Parm.	tform Party specifica Covariate	ation Mean	$\mathrm{HPD.lo}^a$	$\mathrm{HPD.up}^b$
` /	· -		HPD.lo ^a .959	$\begin{array}{c} {\rm HPD.up}^b \\ .965 \end{array}$
Parm.	Covariate	Mean		-
Parm. π_1	Covariate No Fraud	Mean .962	.959	.965
Parm. π_1 π_2	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud	Mean .962 .0382 .0000582	.959 .0349	.965 .0416
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud	Mean .962 .0382 .0000582	.959 .0349 7.10e-08	.965 .0416 .000182
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept)	Mean .962 .0382 .0000582 116	.959 .0349 7.10e-08 141	.965 .0416 .000182 0929
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote	Mean .962 .0382 .0000582 116 3.00	.959 .0349 7.10e-08 141 2.97	.965 .0416 .000182 0929 3.04
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1 γ_2	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post abroad	Mean .962 .0382 .0000582 116 3.00 .255	.959 .0349 7.10e-08 141 2.97 .240	.965 .0416 .000182 0929 3.04 .274
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1 γ_2 γ_3	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post abroad	Mean .962 .0382 .0000582 116 3.00 .255 .565	.959 .0349 7.10e-08 141 2.97 .240 .500	.965 .0416 .000182 0929 3.04 .274 .639
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1 γ_2 γ_3 γ_4	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post abroad disabled-ship	Mean .962 .0382 .0000582 116 3.00 .255 .565 .954	.959 .0349 7.10e-08 141 2.97 .240 .500	.965 .0416 .000182 0929 3.04 .274 .639 .980
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1 γ_2 γ_3 γ_4 β_0	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post abroad disabled-ship (Intercept)	Mean .962 .0382 .0000582 116 3.00 .255 .565 .954 863 .122	.959 .0349 7.10e-08 141 2.97 .240 .500 .924 877	.965 .0416 .000182 0929 3.04 .274 .639 .980 851
Parm. π_1 π_2 π_3 γ_0 γ_1 γ_2 γ_3 γ_4 β_0 β_1	Covariate No Fraud Incremental Fraud Extreme Fraud (Intercept) pre-vote voting post abroad disabled-ship (Intercept) pre-vote	Mean .962 .0382 .0000582 116 3.00 .255 .565 .954 863 .122	.959 .0349 7.10e-08 141 2.97 .240 .500 .924 877 .114	.965 .0416 .000182 0929 3.04 .274 .639 .980 851 .129

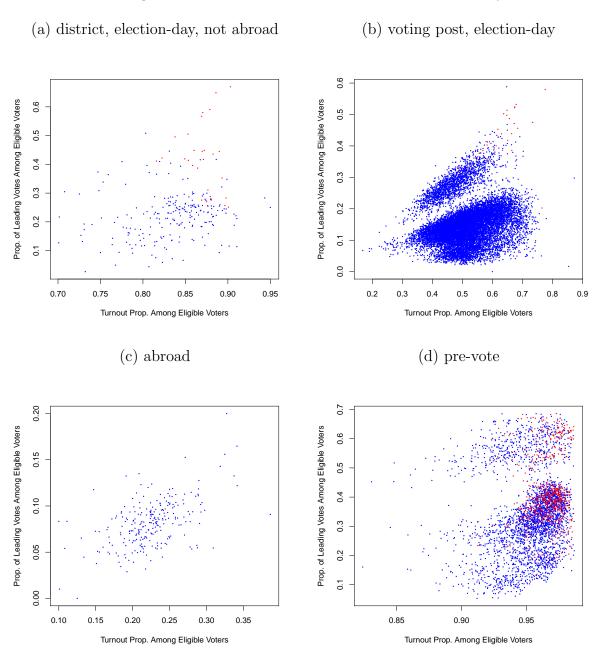
Note: selected eforensics model parameter estimates (posterior means and highest posterior density credible intervals). All coefficients are reported in the Appendix. For parameter notation see http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/efslides.pdf. n=18564. a=95% highest posterior density credible interval lower bound. a=95% highest posterior density credible interval upper bound.

Figure 11: Korea 2020 PR Fraud Plots, Forward Korea Party



Note: plots show turnout (number voting/number eligible) and vote proportions (number voting for Forward Korea Party/number eligible) for four subsets of observations: (a) district-level, election-day, not abroad (29 fraudulent, 221 not); (b) voting post election-day (34 fraudulent, 14296 not); (c) abroad (1 fraudulent, 249 not); (d) pre-vote (618 fraudulent, 3116 not). Plots show scatterplots with nonfraudulent observations in blue and fraudulent observations in red. 329 "abroad_office" observations reported with zero eligible voters but often with a positive number of votes are omitted. One "prevote" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted.

Figure 12: Korea 2020 PR Fraud Plots, Platform Party



Note: plots show turnout (number voting/number eligible) and vote proportions (number voting for Platform Party/number eligible) for four subsets of observations: (a) district-level, election-day, not abroad (65 fraudulent, 185 not); (b) voting post election-day (46 fraudulent, 14284 not); (c) abroad (0 fraudulent, 250 not); (d) pre-vote (698 fraudulent, 3036 not). Plots show scatterplots with nonfraudulent observations in blue and fraudulent observations in red. 329 "abroad_office" observations reported with zero eligible voters but often with a positive number of votes are omitted. One "prevote" unit with zero voters and zero votes is also omitted.

Table 5: Korea 2020 PR eforensics Estimated Fraudulent Vote Counts
(a) Future Korea Party specification fraudulent counts

Voters	Valid	Votes		
43994247	27897883	9440964		
	95% int	erval	99.5% in	terval
Manufactured	lo	up	lo	up
448143.13	51260.84	728715.25	50979.23	732786.55
	95% int	serval	99.5% in	terval
Total	lo	up	lo	up
636693.97	369756.91	825662.78	368113.53	828706.72

(b) Platform Party specification fraudulent counts Observed Counts

Observed Counts

	Observed Counts				
	Voters	Valid	Votes		
-	43994247	27897883	9306483		
		95% in	terval	99.5% in	nterval
	Manufactured	lo up		lo	up
_	Manaractarca	10	ар	10	<u>up</u>
	366390.0	50416.5	593768.1	48935.9	597613.0
		0507 :	. 1	00 507 :	, 1
		95% interval		99.5% in	itervai
	Total	lo	up	lo	up
_	571664.8	315921.6	789796.8	314168.5	794197.6

Note: observed counts and total fraud posterior means and credible intervals based on eforensics model estimates. n = 18564.

Results for five EFT tests computed using the entire set of PR voting aggregation units all together appear in Table 6. The DipT statistics for Turnout shows there is significant multimodality, a result that matches what can be seen visually in Figure 1. The P05s statistic for Turnout is significantly below the expected value of .2, but the upper bound of the 95% confidence interval for P05s is .196. If P05s differs from .2, it does so by only a little. The 2BL statistics differ significantly from the expected value of 4.187, but unlike the results for SMD voting 2BL is now greater than than 4.187. Such 2BL values are similar to values I observe given strategic voting (Mebane 2013a), although I have not simulated precisely the kinds of coalition dynamics and PR voting used in Korea, so these 2BL

statistics do not support a diagnosis that there are frauds. There is also a significantly large LastC statistic for Platform Party votes, but the lower bound of the 95% confidence interval is 4.503, only slightly larger than 4.5. If LastC differs from 4.5, it does so by only a little.

Table 6: Distribution and Digit Tests, Korea 2020 Proportional Reprentation

Name	2BL	LastC	P05s	C05s	DipT	Obs
Turnout	4.078	4.488	.191	.201	0	18564
	(4.038, 4.117)	(4.447, 4.528)	(.185, .196)	(.195, .207)		
Future Korea Party	4.281	4.511	.199	.200	0	18564
	(4.237, 4.319)	(4.469, 4.555)	(.194, .205)	(.194, .206)		
Platform Party	4.317	4.542	.203	.198	0	18564
	(4.273, 4.355)	(4.503, 4.579)	(.197, .209)	(.192, .204)		

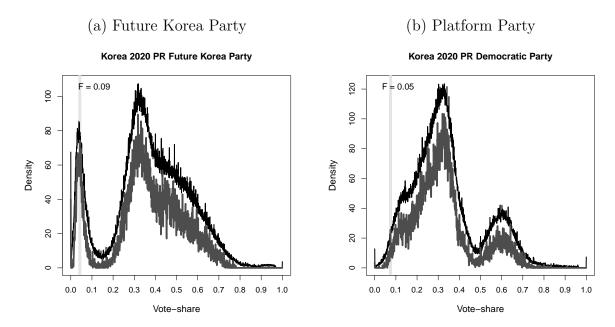
Note: statistics and tests based on aggregation unit observations. "2BL," second-digit mean; "LastC," last-digit mean; "P05s," mean of variable indicating whether the last digit of the rounded percentage of votes for the referent party or candidate is zero or five; "C05s," mean of variable incicating whether the last digit of the vote count is zero or five; "DipT," p-value from test of unimodality; "Obs," number of aggregation unit observations. Values in parentheses are 95% nonparametric bootstrap confidence intervals. Point estimates in red differ significantly from the values expected if there are no anomalies.

All together the EFT results do not present a strong signal that the PR data have been manipulated.¹⁵

Figure 13 shows PR data spikes test results. Vertical gray bars in the graph indicate which aggregation units have suspicious votes: the aggregation units with vote proportions for (a) the Future Korea Party or (b) the Platform Party that match the highlighted vote shares are suspicious. The results differ from the findings for P05s for the parties in Table 6 in that Figure 13(a) shows an excess of proportions near .05 and Figure 13(b) shows an excess of proportions near .08. As for SMD, the spikes test in this case appears to be more sensitive.

¹⁵Replicating Figure 6 with a constituency breakdown for PR data is not well motivated for PR voting because the PR votes are tabulated nationally to determine seats.

Figure 13: Korea 2020 PR Spikes Tests Plots



Note: vote shares are the proportion of valid votes for all (a) Democratic Party or (b) constituency leading cabdidates in each aggregation unit. n = 18564.

4 Korea eforensics Results in a Broader Context

The number and proportion of eforensics fraudulent votes are smaller for PR voting than for the SMD contests, but it may be helpful to view both in a broader context. Compared to a set of 401 other elections to which I have applied eforensics, 79 percent of those 401 elections have a fraudulent vote percentage smaller than PR voting's fraudulent vote percentage of 6.1% and 81 percent have a percentage smaller than 6.7%, and 82 percent of the set of 401 elections have a fraudulent vote percentage smaller than the SMD contests' fraudulent vote percentage of 7.7% and 88 percent have a percentage smaller than 9.9%. The comparison set includes elections from around the world over the past twenty years. The Korean elections rank high compared to that set in terms of eforensics fraudulent votes.

But not only for Korea but for the other elections the extent to which eforensics

fraudulent votes are produced by bad acts versus normal politics remains an open question. For several of the elections in the comparison set it is clear that frauds as described by the eforensics model did not occur, yet nonzero numbers of eforensics fraudulent votes are estimated. For instance, for 2000 U.S. Presidential election voting in Florida eforensics estimates that 2.5% of the votes for George Bush are fraudulent even though it's well established that the types of frauds eforensics considers—where votes are added to a leading candidate—did not occur in that election; instead in Florida votes lost to Al Gore (which were not lost due to normal politics but due to administrative failures and voter suppression) trigger the eforensics fraudulent votes estimates for Bush. The Korean eforensics fraudulent vote percentages are larger than any other election I've examined for which I have extremely strong evidence that vote-adding fraud did not occur, but it remains to be determined whether the kinds of coalition dynamics and other strategic behavior that occurred in the Korean election can produce such eforensics fraudulent vote percentages. Many of the elections I've looked at are notorious for frauds—bad acts—and eforensics identifies those. So the statistical analysis of the 2020 Korean election does not by itself settle the matter.

5 Conclusion

Taken together the eforensics estimates and EFT and spikes tests exhibit anomalies that strongly suggest the Korea 2020 legislative election SMD data were fraudulently manipulated. Such suggestions regarding the PR data are weaker although not absent. "Such conclusions are always subject to the caveat that apparent frauds may really be consequences of strategic behavior, but that ambiguity can sometimes be mitigated by exploiting a multiplicity of statistics.... An election fraud will not necessarily trigger all of the statistics and tests, but we think a genuine fraud will in general set off many of them" (Hicken and Mebane 2015, 39).

Statistical findings such as are reported here should be followed up with additional information and further investigation into what happened. Most important, and in principle perhaps simplest to do, is to validate the paper ballots, and once they have been validated to count the paper ballots manually. The statistical findings alone cannot stand as definitive evidence about what happened in the election.

6 Appendix

List of constituencies: ¹⁶ 1, Busan 1; 2, Busan 10; 3, Busan 11; 4, Busan 12; 5, Busan 13; 6, Busan 14; 7, Busan 15; 8, Busan 16; 9, Busan 17; 10, Busan 18; 11, Busan 2; 12, Busan 3; 13, Busan 4; 14, Busan 5; 15, Busan 6; 16, Busan 7; 17, Busan 8; 18, Busan 9; 19, Chung-cheong bukdo 1; 20, Chung-cheong bukdo 2; 21, Chung-cheong bukdo 3; 22, Chung-cheong bukdo 4; 23, Chung-cheong bukdo 5; 24, Chung-cheong bukdo 6; 25, Chung-cheong bukdo 7; 26, Chung-cheong bukdo 8; 27, Chungcheongnam-do 1; 28, Chungcheongnam-do 10; 29, Chungcheongnam-do 11; 30, Chungcheongnam-do 2; 31, Chungcheongnam-do 3; 32, Chungcheongnam-do 4; 33, Chungcheongnam-do 5; 34, Chungcheongnam-do 6; 35, Chungcheongnam-do 7; 36, Chungcheongnam-do 8; 37, Chungcheongnam-do 9; 38, Daegu Metropolitan City 1; 39, Daegu Metropolitan City 10; 40, Daegu Metropolitan City 11; 41, Daegu Metropolitan City 12; 42, Daegu Metropolitan City 2; 43, Daegu Metropolitan City 3; 44, Daegu Metropolitan City 4; 45, Daegu Metropolitan City 5; 46, Daegu Metropolitan City 6; 47, Daegu Metropolitan City 7; 48, Daegu Metropolitan City 8; 49, Daegu Metropolitan City 9; 50, Daejeon 1; 51, Daejeon 2; 52, Daejeon 3; 53, Daejeon 4; 54, Daejeon 5; 55, Daejeon 6; 56, Daejeon 7; 57, Gangwon-do 1; 58, Gangwon-do 2; 59, Gangwon-do 3; 60, Gangwon-do 4; 61, Gangwon-do 5; 62, Gangwon-do 6; 63, Gangwon-do 7; 64, Gangwon-do 8; 65, Gwangju 1; 66, Gwangju 2; 67, Gwangju 3; 68, Gwangju 4; 69, Gwangju 5; 70, Gwangju 6; 71, Gwangju 7; 72, Gwangju 8; 73, Gyeonggi-do 1; 74, Gyeonggi-do 10; 75, Gyeonggi-do 11; 76, Gyeonggi-do 12; 77, Gyeonggi-do 13; 78, Gyeonggi-do 14; 79, Gyeonggi-do 15; 80, Gyeonggi-do 16; 81, Gyeonggi-do 17; 82, Gyeonggi-do 18; 83, Gyeonggi-do 19; 84, Gyeonggi-do 2; 85, Gyeonggi-do 20; 86, Gyeonggi-do 21; 87, Gyeonggi-do 22; 88, Gyeonggi-do 23; 89, Gyeonggi-do 24; 90, Gyeonggi-do 25; 91, Gyeonggi-do 26; 92, Gyeonggi-do 27; 93, Gyeonggi-do 28; 94, Gyeonggi-do 29; 95, Gyeonggi-do 3; 96, Gyeonggi-do 30; 97,

¹⁶Constituencies can be identified fully by matching constituencies sequentially using "list of winners" tables available from http://info.nec.go.kr/main/showDocument.xhtml?electionId=0020200415&topMenuId=EP&secondMenuId=EPEI01.

Gyeonggi-do 31; 98, Gyeonggi-do 32; 99, Gyeonggi-do 33; 100, Gyeonggi-do 34; 101, Gyeonggi-do 35; 102, Gyeonggi-do 36; 103, Gyeonggi-do 37; 104, Gyeonggi-do 38; 105, Gyeonggi-do 39; 106, Gyeonggi-do 4; 107, Gyeonggi-do 40; 108, Gyeonggi-do 41; 109, Gyeonggi-do 42; 110, Gyeonggi-do 43; 111, Gyeonggi-do 44; 112, Gyeonggi-do 45; 113, Gyeonggi-do 46; 114, Gyeonggi-do 47; 115, Gyeonggi-do 48; 116, Gyeonggi-do 49; 117, Gyeonggi-do 5; 118, Gyeonggi-do 50; 119, Gyeonggi-do 51; 120, Gyeonggi-do 52; 121, Gyeonggi-do 53; 122, Gyeonggi-do 54; 123, Gyeonggi-do 55; 124, Gyeonggi-do 56; 125, Gyeonggi-do 57; 126, Gyeonggi-do 58; 127, Gyeonggi-do 59; 128, Gyeonggi-do 6; 129, Gyeonggi-do 7: 130, Gyeonggi-do 8: 131, Gyeonggi-do 9: 132, Gyeongsangbuk-do 1: 133, Gyeongsangbuk-do 10; 134, Gyeongsangbuk-do 11; 135, Gyeongsangbuk-do 12; 136, Gyeongsangbuk-do 13; 137, Gyeongsangbuk-do 2; 138, Gyeongsangbuk-do 3; 139, Gyeongsangbuk-do 4; 140, Gyeongsangbuk-do 5; 141, Gyeongsangbuk-do 6; 142, Gyeongsangbuk-do 7; 143, Gyeongsangbuk-do 8; 144, Gyeongsangbuk-do 9; 145, Gyeongsangnam-do 1; 146, Gyeongsangnam-do 10; 147, Gyeongsangnam-do 11; 148, Gyeongsangnam-do 12; 149, Gyeongsangnam-do 13; 150, Gyeongsangnam-do 14; 151, Gyeongsangnam-do 15; 152, Gyeongsangnam-do 16; 153, Gyeongsangnam-do 2; 154, Gyeongsangnam-do 3; 155, Gyeongsangnam-do 4; 156, Gyeongsangnam-do 5; 157, Gyeongsangnam-do 6; 158, Gyeongsangnam-do 7; 159, Gyeongsangnam-do 8; 160, Gyeongsangnam-do 9; 161, Incheon Metropolitan City 1; 162, Incheon Metropolitan City 10; 163, Incheon Metropolitan City 11; 164, Incheon Metropolitan City 12; 165, Incheon Metropolitan City 13; 166, Incheon Metropolitan City 2; 167, Incheon Metropolitan City 3; 168, Incheon Metropolitan City 4; 169, Incheon Metropolitan City 5; 170, Incheon Metropolitan City 6: 171, Incheon Metropolitan City 7: 172, Incheon Metropolitan City 8: 173, Incheon Metropolitan City 9; 174, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province 1; 175, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province 2; 176, Jeju Special Self-Governing Province 3; 177, Jeollabuk do 1; 178, Jeollabuk do 10; 179, Jeollabuk do 2; 180, Jeollabuk do 3; 181, Jeollabuk do 4; 182, Jeollabuk do 5; 183, Jeollabuk do 6; 184, Jeollabuk do 7; 185,

Jeollabuk do 8; 186, Jeollabuk do 9; 187, Jeollanam-do 1; 188, Jeollanam-do 10; 189, Jeollanam-do 2; 190, Jeollanam-do 3; 191, Jeollanam-do 4; 192, Jeollanam-do 5; 193, Jeollanam-do 6; 194, Jeollanam-do 7; 195, Jeollanam-do 8; 196, Jeollanam-do 9; 197, Sejong Special Self-governing City 1; 198, Sejong Special Self-governing City 2; 199, Seoul 1; 200, Seoul 10; 201, Seoul 11; 202, Seoul 12; 203, Seoul 13; 204, Seoul 14; 205, Seoul 15; 206, Seoul 16; 207, Seoul 17; 208, Seoul 18; 209, Seoul 19; 210, Seoul 2; 211, Seoul 20; 212, Seoul 21; 213, Seoul 22; 214, Seoul 23; 215, Seoul 24; 216, Seoul 25; 217, Seoul 26; 218, Seoul 27; 219, Seoul 28; 220, Seoul 29; 221, Seoul 3; 222, Seoul 30; 223, Seoul 31; 224, Seoul 32; 225, Seoul 33; 226, Seoul 34; 227, Seoul 35; 228, Seoul 36; 229, Seoul 37; 230, Seoul 38; 231, Seoul 39; 232, Seoul 4; 233, Seoul 40; 234, Seoul 41; 235, Seoul 42; 236, Seoul 43; 237, Seoul 44; 238, Seoul 45; 239, Seoul 46; 240, Seoul 47; 241, Seoul 48; 242, Seoul 49; 243, Seoul 5; 244, Seoul 6; 245, Seoul 7; 246, Seoul 8; 247, Seoul 9; 248, Ulsan Metropolitan City 1; 249, Ulsan Metropolitan City 2; 250, Ulsan Metropolitan City 3; 251, Ulsan Metropolitan City 4; 252, Ulsan Metropolitan City 5; 253, Ulsan Metropolitan City 6.

eforensics Parameter Posterior Means and 95% HPD Intervals, Democratic Party Specification:

	D	Q i a to	W	IIDD 1	IIDD
	Parameter	Covariate	Mean	HPD.lower	HPD.upper
1	pi[1]	No Fraud			0.937325000
2	pi[2]	Incremental Fraud			0.065445500
3	pi[3]	Extreme Fraud			0.006212070
4	beta.tau[1]	(Intercept)	7.657118e-01	7.23005e-01	0.813216000
5	beta.tau[2]	isprevoteTRUE	1.102963e+00	1.00074e+00	1.243470000
6	beta.tau[3]	typep	-3.984513e-02	-7.08209e-02	-0.015460700
7	beta.tau[4]	isabroadTRUE	-8.685810e-02	-1.24995e-01	-0.052778200
8	beta.tau[5]	isdisabTRUE	3.661882e-02	6.13867e-03	0.081809000
9	beta.tau[6]	constitBusan_10	-2.490826e-02	-1.10768e-01	0.047370000
10	beta.tau[7]	constitBusan_11	4.758777e-03	-1.96166e-02	0.039620300
11	beta.tau[8]	constitBusan_12	7.793986e-03	-2.99791e-02	0.054374400
12	beta.tau[9]	constitBusan_13	2.046349e-02	-2.47747e-02	0.068248700
13	beta.tau[10]	constitBusan_14	-8.984234e-03	-4.32889e-02	0.025318200
14	beta.tau[11]	constitBusan_15	-1.083961e-02	-7.11953e-02	0.023176500
15	beta.tau[12]	constitBusan_16	-8.934980e-03	-3.23189e-02	0.008175250
16	beta.tau[13]	constitBusan_17	-7.690011e-03	-4.63372e-02	0.032388400
17	beta.tau[14]	constitBusan_18	-1.616151e-02	-4.46721e-02	0.014440400
18	beta.tau[15]	constitBusan_2	1.459468e-02	-1.37764e-02	0.030927900
19	beta.tau[16]	constitBusan_3	-3.834894e-03	-5.63037e-02	0.039518500
20	beta.tau[17]	constitBusan_4	7.439973e-04	-5.21283e-02	0.025082600
21	beta.tau[18]	constitBusan_5	-8.020135e-04	-1.75037e-02	0.015561200
22	beta.tau[19]	constitBusan_6	-1.232057e-02	-4.66536e-02	0.032623200
23	beta.tau[20]	constitBusan 7			0.048554200
24	beta.tau[21]	constitBusan_8			0.013064300
25	beta.tau[22]	constitBusan_9		-2.59489e-02	0.075402000
26	beta.tau[23]	constitChung-cheong bukdo_1			
20	Scou. odu[20]	combattoning encome bukdo_1	2.2001020 00	1.200010 02	3.041041000

```
beta.tau[24]
                                   constitChung-cheong bukdo_2 1.881560e-02 -4.06746e-02 0.079822600
                                                                                           0.056640200
28
     beta.tau[25]
                                   29
     beta.tau[26]
                                   0.019649700
                                   constitChung-cheong bukdo_5 -1.642587e-02 -3.59188e-02 0.018820000
    beta.tau[27]
30
                                   constitChung-cheong bukdo_6 7.046252e-04 -2.37114e-02 0.027874900
31
     beta.tau[28]
32
    beta.tau[29]
                                   constitChung-cheong bukdo_7 9.707407e-03 -8.29183e-03 0.036830100
33
     beta.tau[30]
                                   constitChung-cheong bukdo_8 9.567694e-03 -3.90821e-02
                                                                                           0.032447100
     beta.tau[31]
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_1 -1.591910e-02 -4.25184e-02
                                   constitChungcheongnam-do_10 -1.392417e-03 -4.57796e-02
35
    beta.tau[32]
                                                                                           0.033715700
                                   constitChungcheongnam-do_11 -8.037374e-03 -4.79574e-02
     beta.tau[33]
     beta.tau[34]
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_2 -1.488603e-02 -2.72973e-02
                                                                                           0.001446620
37
38
     beta.tau[35]
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_3 -1.313697e-02 -3.07375e-02
                                                                                           0.004393400
     beta.tau[36]
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_4 5.077459e-03 -2.44029e-02
                                                                                           0.052558500
39
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_5 2.516465e-02 -1.96108e-02
    beta.tau[37]
                                                                                           0.072950700
40
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_6 1.339019e-02 -2.25803e-02
41
     beta.tau[38]
    beta.tau[39]
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_7 -9.369723e-03 -5.27990e-02
42
                                                                                           0.024857100
43
     beta.tau[40]
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_8 1.840900e-02 -2.71193e-02
                                                                                           0.082187400
44
     beta.tau[41]
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_9 3.266685e-02 -1.29361e-02
                                                                                           0.062314000
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_1 2.130631e-02 -4.28509e-03
45
     beta.tau[42]
                                                                                           0.050792800
     beta.tau[43]
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_10 -3.505113e-03 -2.24180e-02
                                                                                           0.018876800
                             constitDaegu Metropolitan City_11 -3.109487e-03 -5.85382e-02
                                                                                           0.038349500
     beta.tau[44]
47
                             constitDaegu Metropolitan City_12 3.674500e-03 -4.34302e-02
     beta.tau[45]
                                                                                           0.044733700
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_2 2.258313e-02 -3.02282e-02
49
    beta.tau[46]
                                                                                           0.067008700
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_3 -1.801539e-02 -5.21261e-02
50
    beta.tau[47]
                                                                                           0.035965900
     beta.tau[48]
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_4 -4.557127e-03 -2.71066e-02
    beta.tau[49]
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_5 3.293443e-02 8.26135e-03
                                                                                           0.063955900
52
     beta.tau[50]
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_6 -3.848999e-03 -2.64156e-02
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_7 1.568119e-02 -2.57898e-02
    beta.tau[51]
                                                                                           0.042287300
54
    beta.tau[52]
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_8 -1.538827e-02 -6.26832e-02
                                                                                           0.021421000
55
     beta.tau[53]
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_9 -7.826120e-04 -1.55626e-02
                                                                                           0.015214500
                                              constitDaejeon_1 -6.570512e-03 -1.92152e-02
                                                                                           0.006038450
     beta.tau[54]
57
    beta.tau[55]
                                              constitDaejeon_2 -1.923171e-02 -4.00517e-02
                                                                                           0.002197710
58
                                              constitDaejeon_3 -1.248399e-02 -3.17053e-02
    beta.tau[56]
                                                                                           0.005527960
59
60
    beta.tau[57]
                                              constitDaejeon_4 1.059562e-02 -2.35518e-02
                                              constitDaejeon_5 1.175370e-02 -2.05266e-02 0.036851500
61
    beta.tau[58]
     beta.tau[59]
                                               constitDaejeon_6 -6.388179e-03 -4.72156e-02
                                                                                          0.028319800
62
63
    beta.tau[60]
                                               constitDaejeon_7 -1.170862e-02 -3.06207e-02 -0.000337944
    beta.tau[61]
                                           constitGangwon-do_1 1.565297e-02 -1.88731e-02 0.047111800
64
                                           constitGangwon-do_2 -1.279803e-02 -4.92507e-02
     beta.tau[62]
                                                                                          0.034314900
     beta.tau[63]
                                           constitGangwon-do_3 -3.191431e-03 -4.32403e-02
66
67
     beta.tau[64]
                                           constitGangwon-do_4 2.113934e-02 -8.33543e-03
                                                                                           0.042558200
68
    beta.tau[65]
                                           constitGangwon-do_5 4.349605e-03 -2.77497e-02
                                                                                           0.025682400
                                           constitGangwon-do_6 -5.559136e-03 -3.95537e-02
69
    beta.tau[66]
                                                                                           0.035441900
     beta.tau[67]
                                           constitGangwon-do_7 -8.884572e-04 -5.22099e-02
70
71
    beta.tau[68]
                                           constitGangwon-do_8 -5.539408e-03 -3.19181e-02
                                                                                          0.026776200
72
     beta.tau[69]
                                              constitGwangju_1 -2.000743e-02 -6.99227e-02
                                                                                           0.010307000
73
    beta.tau[70]
                                               constitGwangju_2 9.326260e-03 -3.17892e-02
                                                                                           0.072152600
74
    beta.tau[71]
                                              constitGwangju_3 -6.234781e-03 -6.45978e-02
                                                                                           0.076465000
     beta.tau[72]
                                              constitGwangju_4 1.570045e-02 1.92908e-03
                                                                                           0.034046700
75
                                              constitGwangju_5 -7.997496e-03 -4.99121e-02
                                                                                           0.019440200
76
    beta.tau[73]
77
     beta.tau[74]
                                               constitGwangju_6 -7.094260e-03 -4.09668e-02
                                                                                           0.038956800
                                              constitGwangju_7 -1.339699e-02 -4.66952e-02
                                                                                           0.028393200
78
    beta.tau[75]
    beta.tau[76]
                                              constitGwangju_8 -1.736118e-02 -5.90333e-02
                                                                                           0.024726500
    beta.tau[77]
                                          constitGyeonggi-do_1 4.138106e-03 -3.56468e-02
                                                                                           0.038418100
80
     beta.tau[78]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_10 1.680852e-02 -8.12178e-04
                                                                                           0.033262500
81
     beta.tau[79]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_11 2.516637e-02 1.26606e-02
                                                                                           0.036980900
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_12 -7.564284e-03 -3.36414e-02
    beta.tau[80]
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83
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_13 1.804407e-03 -8.28855e-03
     beta.tau[81]
85
     beta.tau[82]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_14 1.436499e-02 -2.57479e-02
                                                                                          0.047626400
     beta.tau[83]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_15 -2.558908e-02 -7.24469e-02
                                                                                           0.010137500
86
87
     beta.tau[84]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_16  4.922766e-03 -2.83147e-02
                                                                                           0.042199800
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_17 -5.960784e-03 -3.09868e-02
    beta.tau[85]
                                                                                           0.016720800
88
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_18 -3.404241e-03 -3.07183e-02
    beta.tau[86]
                                                                                           0.011139800
90
    beta.tau[87]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_19 7.127631e-03 -3.93471e-02 0.042943400
91
     beta.tau[88]
                                          constitGyeonggi-do_2 1.150081e-02 -1.21961e-02
                                                                                           0.047078300
92
    beta.tau[89]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_20 -7.520636e-03 -4.80605e-02
                                                                                           0.032747300
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_21 9.338456e-04 -3.74002e-02 0.031414400
    beta.tau[90]
93
     beta.tau[91]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_22 -1.053825e-02 -4.91715e-02 0.020957600
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beta.tau[92]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_23 2.008157e-02 -4.65046e-02 0.089167200
                                                                                          0.077617100
    beta.tau[93]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_24 1.195041e-02 -6.38376e-02
96
97
     beta.tau[94]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_25 2.857034e-02 -7.60116e-03
                                                                                          0.098649300
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_26 -2.900446e-02 -5.70296e-02 0.005063980
    beta.tau[95]
98
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_27 1.414388e-02 -1.76356e-03 0.034280200
    beta.tau[96]
100 beta.tau[97]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_28 -1.999502e-02 -3.63369e-02 0.006304710
101 beta.tau[98]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_29 2.929897e-02 -1.48730e-03 0.048060000
102
    beta.tau[99]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_3 1.294162e-02 -1.08661e-02
                                                                                          0.040042900
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_30 -3.408694e-03 -2.18064e-02
103 beta.tau[100]
                                                                                         0.029304000
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_31 5.920610e-03 -3.63107e-02 0.049730200
104 beta.tau[101]
105 beta.tau[102]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_32 6.918103e-03 -9.18472e-03
                                                                                         0.024329300
106 beta.tau[103]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_33 -8.035374e-03 -3.61243e-02
                                                                                          0.027515500
107 beta.tau[104]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_34 -7.736612e-04 -3.60849e-02
                                                                                          0.020005900
108 beta.tau[105]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_35 -3.867381e-03 -2.01272e-02
                                                                                         0.017842000
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_36 3.954989e-03 -2.27546e-02
109 beta.tau[106]
110 beta.tau[107]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_37 1.854245e-03 -2.47803e-02 0.022595500
111 beta.tau[108]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_38 -7.573993e-03 -2.02101e-02
                                                                                          0.010729200
112 beta.tau[109]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_39 1.282646e-02 -5.23745e-02
                                                                                          0.060229500
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_4 3.829031e-03 -4.61082e-02
113 beta.tau[110]
                                                                                          0.035253100
114 beta.tau[111]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_40 -2.051345e-03 -3.67957e-02
                                                                                          0.030211500
115 beta.tau[112]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_41 7.451542e-03 -1.00346e-02
                                                                                          0.024516700
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_42 9.273300e-03 -2.40001e-02 constitGyeonggi-do_43 7.122253e-03 -2.64972e-02
116 beta.tau[113]
                                                                                          0.027669200
117 beta.tau[114]
                                                                                          0.080373600
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_44 8.015231e-03 -2.03103e-02 0.038045500
118 beta.tau[115]
119 beta.tau[116]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_45 2.251525e-02 -3.97088e-03 0.040670400
120 beta.tau[117]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_46 5.218842e-03 -5.95696e-02 0.073600700
121 beta.tau[118]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_47 3.374073e-03 -9.74068e-03
                                                                                         0.021612700
122 beta.tau[119]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_48 -1.844425e-02 -3.43596e-02 -0.004154490
123 beta.tau[120]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_49 -7.898870e-03 -5.69319e-02 0.034504500
124 beta.tau[121]
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_5 -4.648258e-03 -3.59810e-02
                                                                                          0.024303800
                                         constitGyeonggi-do_50 1.560783e-02 -2.58945e-02
                                                                                          0.035828300
125 beta.tau[122]
126 beta.tau[123]
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129 beta.tau[126]
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130 beta.tau[127]
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132 beta.tau[129]
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133 beta.tau[130]
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134 beta.tau[131]
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135 beta.tau[132]
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136 beta.tau[133]
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137 beta.tau[134]
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138 beta.tau[135]
                                          constitGyeonggi-do_9 2.732350e-02 -1.97037e-02
139 beta.tau[136]
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140 beta.tau[137]
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141 beta.tau[138]
                                    \verb|constitGyeongsangbuk-do_11 -5.112409e-03 -5.44707e-02|\\
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142 beta.tau[139]
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143 beta.tau[140]
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144 beta.tau[141]
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145 beta.tau[142]
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146 beta.tau[143]
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147 beta.tau[144]
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148 beta.tau[145]
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149 beta.tau[146]
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151 beta.tau[148]
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152 beta.tau[149]
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153 beta.tau[150]
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                                    \verb|constitGyeongsangnam-do_{11} -1.045961e-02| -4.37314e-02|
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154 beta.tau[151]
155 beta.tau[152]
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157 beta.tau[154]
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158 beta.tau[155]
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                                    constitGyeongsangnam-do_16 4.488924e-03 -2.90327e-02
159 beta.tau[156]
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160 beta.tau[157]
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161 beta.tau[158]
162 beta.tau[159]
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163 beta.tau[160]
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164 beta.tau[161]
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165 beta.tau[162]
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166 beta.tau[163]
167 beta.tau[164]
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168 beta.tau[165]
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169 beta.tau[166]
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170 beta.tau[167]
171 beta.tau[168]
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                           constitIncheon Metropolitan City_13 -8.356438e-03 -7.31456e-02
172 beta.tau[169]
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173 beta.tau[170]
                            {\tt constitIncheon\ Metropolitan\ City\_2} \quad {\tt 2.210712e-03\ -3.88017e-02}
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                                                                                          0.062190300
174 beta.tau[171]
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175 beta.tau[172]
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                            constitIncheon Metropolitan City_5 -1.564957e-02 -4.19429e-02
176 beta.tau[173]
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177 beta.tau[174]
178 beta.tau[175]
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179 beta.tau[176]
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180 beta.tau[177]
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181 beta.tau[178] constitJeju Special Self-Governing Province_1 -1.053802e-02 -4.85524e-02
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182 beta.tau[179] constitJeju Special Self-Governing Province_2 4.949366e-03 -3.32675e-02
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183 beta.tau[180] constitJeju Special Self-Governing Province_3 6.932106e-03 -5.44960e-02
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184 beta.tau[181]
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185 beta.tau[182]
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186 beta.tau[183]
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187 beta.tau[184]
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188 beta.tau[185]
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                                         constitJeollabuk do_5 2.856610e-03 -2.54504e-02
189 beta.tau[186]
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190 beta.tau[187]
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191 beta.tau[188]
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192 beta.tau[189]
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197 beta.tau[194]
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200 beta.tau[197]
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203 beta.tau[200]
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204 beta.tau[201]
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205 beta.tau[202]
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206 beta.tau[203]
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207 beta.tau[204]
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208 beta.tau[205]
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209 beta.tau[206]
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210 beta.tau[207]
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211 beta.tau[208]
212 beta.tau[209]
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213 beta.tau[210]
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214 beta.tau[211]
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215 beta.tau[212]
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216 beta.tau[213]
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217 beta.tau[214]
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218 beta.tau[215]
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219 beta.tau[216]
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220 beta.tau[217]
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221 beta.tau[218]
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222 beta.tau[219]
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224 beta.tau[221]
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226 beta.tau[223]
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227 beta.tau[224]
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228 beta.tau[225]
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229 beta.tau[226]
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231 beta.tau[228]
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232 beta.tau[229]
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234 beta.tau[231]
235 beta.tau[232]
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236 beta.tau[233]
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237 beta.tau[234]
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238 beta.tau[235]
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239 beta.tau[236]
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240 beta.tau[237]
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                                               constitSeoul_41 7.663800e-04 -4.75245e-02
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241 beta.tau[238]
242 beta.tau[239]
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243 beta.tau[240]
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244 beta.tau[241]
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                                               constitSeoul_45 -1.795146e-02 -6.38331e-02
245 beta.tau[242]
246 beta.tau[243]
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247 beta.tau[244]
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248 beta.tau[245]
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249 beta.tau[246]
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250 beta.tau[247]
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251 beta.tau[248]
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252 beta.tau[249]
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253 beta.tau[250]
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254 beta.tau[251]
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259 beta.tau[256]
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260 beta.tau[257]
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261
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262
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                                                         typep -1.166660e-01 -1.56555e-01 -0.093016500
263
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265
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266
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269
      beta.nu[9]
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270
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271
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272
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273
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274
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     beta.nu[15]
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276
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277
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278
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280
281
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282
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284
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287
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288
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289
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293
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294
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295
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296
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297
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299
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                                                                                           0.054449400
    beta.nu[210]
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    beta.nu[211]
                                               constitSeoul_17 2.265649e-02 -2.22301e-03
                                                                                           0.046767800
                                               constitSeoul_18 2.357859e-02 -1.59199e-02
472
                                                                                          0.057693300
    beta.nu[212]
473
    beta.nu[213]
                                               constitSeoul_19 5.511135e-03 -1.86128e-02
                                                                                           0.021141200
                                                                                           0.042560000
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    beta.nu[214]
                                                constitSeoul_2 -3.202944e-03 -3.89070e-02
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    beta.nu[215]
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                                                                                           0.060192500
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    beta.nu[216]
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    beta.nu[217]
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    beta.nu[218]
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                                                                                           0.071194600
                                               constitSeoul_24 9.399392e-03 -3.65921e-02
                                                                                          0.046926000
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    beta.nu[219]
480
    beta.nu[220]
                                               constitSeoul_25 1.009803e-03 -3.86501e-02
                                                                                           0.059791200
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    beta.nu[221]
                                               constitSeoul_26 7.948540e-03 -7.06570e-02
                                                                                           0.042625200
482
    beta.nu[222]
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                                                                                           0.076744600
                                               constitSeoul_28 -2.082102e-02 -7.68947e-02
                                                                                           0.030544800
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    beta.nu[224]
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485
    beta.nu[225]
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                                                                                           0.049347200
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    beta.nu[226]
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                                                                                           0.080503700
487
                                               constitSeoul_31 1.402547e-02 -6.21663e-03
    beta.nu[227]
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    beta.nu[228]
                                               constitSeoul_32 3.273837e-02 1.27163e-02
488
                                                                                           0.050971100
489
    beta.nu[229]
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                                                                                           0.015458000
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    beta.nu[230]
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                                                                                           0.036655600
                                               constitSeoul_35 -1.938904e-04 -2.83491e-02
491
    beta.nu[231]
                                                                                           0.031656300
    beta.nu[232]
                                               constitSeoul_36  2.887748e-02  6.30988e-03
                                                                                           0.053647000
493
    beta.nu[233]
                                               constitSeoul_37 2.297925e-02 -3.31719e-02
                                                                                           0.072516600
494
    beta.nu[234]
                                               constitSeoul_38 2.359042e-02 4.52493e-03
                                                                                           0.038082200
                                               constitSeoul_39 3.434784e-02 7.39497e-03
                                                                                           0.062647800
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    beta.nu[235]
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    beta.nu[236]
                                                constitSeoul_4 -1.442003e-02 -5.95701e-02
                                                                                           0.049249500
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    beta.nu[237]
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                                                                                           0.038565100
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499
                                               constitSeoul_42 -2.345831e-02 -8.13629e-02
                                                                                           0.008855650
    beta.nu[239]
500
    beta.nu[240]
                                               constitSeoul_43 1.517378e-02 -3.54200e-02
                                                                                           0.066681600
                                               constitSeoul_44 -1.885208e-02 -3.82479e-02 0.006596350
501 beta.nu[241]
502 beta.nu[242]
                                               constitSeoul_45 1.724652e-03 -1.92025e-02 0.028171700
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503 beta.nu[243]
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    beta.nu[244]
                                               constitSeoul_47  2.261815e-02 -3.87323e-02  0.086170000
504
505
    beta.nu[245]
                                               constitSeoul_48 1.080411e-02 -4.45726e-02 0.050963600
                                               constitSeoul_49 -1.864706e-02 -3.50981e-02 0.003567860
506 beta.nu[246]
507 beta.nu[247]
                                                constitSeoul_5 3.603643e-02 -5.18292e-02 0.095784000
                                                constitSeoul_6 1.456662e-02 -1.07082e-02 0.041542200
508 beta.nu[248]
509 beta.nu[249]
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    beta.nu[250]
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510
                                                constitSeoul 9 3.308920e-02 -1.64147e-02 0.078986600
511 beta.nu[251]
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512 beta.nu[252]
513 beta.nu[253]
                              constitUlsan Metropolitan City_2 -8.276909e-03 -4.37611e-02 0.030517100
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    beta.nu[254]
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515
    beta.nu[255]
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                              constitUlsan Metropolitan City_5 -2.226917e-02 -6.04889e-02 0.009650900
516 beta.nu[256]
    beta.nu[257]
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517
                                                   (Intercept) 2.951485e-01 2.16284e-01 0.339614000
518
     beta.iota.m
519
     beta.iota.s
                                                   (Intercept) -4.588055e-01 -5.05951e-01 -0.410698000
                                                   (Intercept) -1.452836e-01 -2.35488e-01 -0.046219000
520
      beta.chi.m
                                                   (Intercept) -5.791656e-01 -6.90371e-01 -0.420073000
521
      beta.chi.s
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eforensics Parameter Posterior Means and 95% HPD Intervals, Constituency Leader Specification:

```
Parameter
                                                                                  HPD.lower
                                                                                               HPD.upper
                                                      Covariate
                                                                          Mean
                                                       No Fraud 9.270384e-01 9.19241e-01 9.33267e-01
           pi[1]
           pi[2]
                                              Incremental Fraud 6.512788e-02 5.88438e-02 7.24786e-02
2
     pi[3]
beta.tau[1]
                                                  Extreme Fraud 7.833748e-03 6.50419e-03 9.05366e-03 (Intercept) 7.568751e-01 6.87372e-01 8.27337e-01
3
4
                                                  isprevoteTRUE 1.108130e+00 9.62600e-01 1.23914e+00
      beta.tau[2]
      beta.tau[3]
                                                           typep -4.033252e-02 -8.26054e-02 2.74751e-02
                                                   isabroadTRUE -7.109992e-02 -1.11289e-01 -2.94186e-03
7
      beta.tau[4]
8
                                                    isdisabTRUE 3.821377e-02 3.99922e-04 7.12939e-02
      beta.tau[5]
      beta.tau[6]
                                                constitBusan_10 2.374025e-02 4.04847e-03 4.23252e-02
9
                                                constitBusan 11 -5.099162e-03 -2.95894e-02 2.99276e-02
10
     beta.tau[7]
11
      beta.tau[8]
                                                constitBusan_12 5.971536e-03 -2.00513e-02 2.53246e-02
      beta.tau[9]
                                                constitBusan_13 -1.601258e-02 -4.61268e-02 2.81555e-02
12
13
     beta.tau[10]
                                                constitBusan_14 8.956976e-03 -5.37386e-02 3.54746e-02
     beta.tau[11]
                                                constitBusan_15 -1.058801e-02 -5.00068e-02 4.96155e-02
14
                                                constitBusan_16 -1.335161e-02 -5.47815e-02 4.31133e-02
15
     beta.tau[12]
                                                constitBusan_17 8.930746e-03 -1.69128e-02 2.39643e-02
16
     beta.tau[13]
17
     beta.tau[14]
                                                constitBusan_18  4.841590e-03 -3.73091e-02  3.12827e-02
18
     beta.tau[15]
                                                 constitBusan_2 1.882562e-02 3.53366e-03 4.48288e-02
                                                 constitBusan_3 4.095276e-02 8.90009e-03 8.15721e-02
     beta.tau[16]
19
                                                 constitBusan_4 -1.483410e-02 -3.36497e-02 -3.11300e-03
     beta.tau[17]
     beta.tau[18]
                                                 constitBusan_5 1.567616e-02 -2.95204e-03 3.38301e-02
21
22
     beta.tau[19]
                                                 constitBusan_6 -7.318027e-03 -4.11041e-02 1.37410e-02
23
     beta.tau[20]
                                                 constitBusan_7 -6.570729e-03 -2.33949e-02 1.78108e-02
     beta.tau[21]
                                                 constitBusan_8 5.993937e-03 -6.20754e-02 6.50334e-02
24
25
     beta.tau[22]
                                                 constitBusan_9 9.290129e-03 -3.29076e-02 5.19879e-02
26
     beta.tau[23]
                                    constitChung-cheong bukdo_1 1.196187e-02 -3.30348e-02 4.96451e-02
27
     beta.tau[24]
                                    constitChung-cheong bukdo_2 -7.572350e-03 -4.32137e-02 2.52742e-02
28
     beta.tau[25]
                                    constitChung-cheong bukdo_3 -3.023872e-02 -6.16645e-02 -8.24562e-03
                                    constitChung-cheong bukdo_4 -5.141638e-03 -5.60276e-02 2.85081e-02
     beta.tau[26]
29
     beta.tau[27]
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     beta.tau[28]
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31
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32
     beta.tau[29]
                                    constitChung-cheong bukdo_8 5.580535e-03 -2.13786e-02 3.65362e-02
     beta.tau[30]
33
                                     constitChungcheongnam-do_1 6.133656e-03 -5.49225e-02 6.01042e-02
34
     beta.tau[31]
     beta.tau[32]
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_10 9.575699e-03 -5.10625e-02 6.81655e-02
35
     beta.tau[33]
                                    constitChungcheongnam-do_11 8.773262e-03 -3.30789e-02 3.76462e-02
36
     beta.tau[34]
                                     constitChungcheongnam-do_2 -9.588676e-04 -2.61093e-02 1.98530e-02
                                     constitChungcheongnam-do_3 1.943231e-02 -3.18927e-02 7.14147e-02
38
     beta.tau[35]
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     beta.tau[36]
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     beta.tau[37]
                                     constitChungcheongnam-do_5 9.992877e-04 -5.58853e-02 3.85915e-02
     beta.tau[38]
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     beta.tau[40]
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43
44
     beta.tau[41]
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                               constitDaegu Metropolitan City_1 2.210305e-03 -3.65302e-02 4.22373e-02
     beta.tau[42]
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     beta.tau[43]
                              constitDaegu Metropolitan City_11 -2.781636e-03 -2.53982e-02 3.38146e-02
47
     beta.tau[44]
48
     beta.tau[45]
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     beta.tau[46]
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                               constitDaegu Metropolitan City_3 -1.377238e-02 -5.70548e-02 3.13068e-02
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     beta.tau[47]
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     beta.tau[48]
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     beta.tau[49]
52
53
     beta.tau[50]
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                               constitDaegu Metropolitan City_7 2.113316e-03 -3.39196e-02 3.44561e-02 constitDaegu Metropolitan City_8 8.275740e-03 -2.12859e-02 6.22350e-02
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55
     beta.tau[52]
     beta.tau[53]
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     beta.tau[54]
                                               constitDaejeon_1 -2.215701e-02 -5.49963e-02 2.20877e-02
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                                               constitDaejeon_2 -1.063725e-02 -4.81010e-02 3.96391e-02
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     beta.tau[55]
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59
     beta.tau[56]
                                               constitDaejeon_3 -3.355762e-03 -2.18662e-02
60
     beta.tau[57]
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     beta.tau[58]
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     beta.tau[59]
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62
                                               constitDaejeon_7 -1.766235e-02 -8.35607e-02
                                                                                            3.70345e-02
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     beta.tau[61]
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     beta.tau[62]
     beta.tau[63]
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                                            constitGangwon-do_4 7.854659e-03 -2.94539e-02 4.61422e-02
67
     beta.tau[64]
     beta.tau[65]
                                            constitGangwon-do_5 -4.929073e-03 -4.43420e-02 3.66884e-02
68
                                            constitGangwon-do_6 2.283254e-02 -2.76767e-03 4.97622e-02
     beta.tau[66]
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                                            constitGangwon-do_7 7.442457e-03 -2.71191e-02 2.80262e-02
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     beta.tau[67]
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     beta.tau[68]
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73
     beta.tau[70]
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78
     beta.tau[75]
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                                               constitGwangju_8 -1.198226e-02 -6.77050e-02 4.30592e-02
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     beta.tau[78]
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     beta.tau[79]
83
     beta.tau[80]
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                                          constitGyeonggi-do_16 -1.368191e-02 -5.09530e-02 2.06548e-02
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     beta.tau[85]
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     beta.tau[86]
     beta.tau[87]
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                                                                                            1.42331e-02
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     beta.tau[92]
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     beta.tau[93]
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     beta.tau[94]
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                                          constitGyeonggi-do_26 -5.575544e-03 -4.63036e-02 1.74661e-02
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     beta.tau[95]
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     beta.tau[96]
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    beta.tau[97]
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     beta.tau[98]
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102 beta.tau[99]
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103 beta.tau[100]
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104 beta.tau[101]
105 beta.tau[102]
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106 beta.tau[103]
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107 beta.tau[104]
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108 beta.tau[105]
109 beta.tau[106]
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110 beta.tau[107]
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111 beta.tau[108]
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112 beta.tau[109]
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113 beta.tau[110]
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114 beta.tau[111]
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115 beta.tau[112]
116 beta.tau[113]
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117 beta.tau[114]
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118 beta.tau[115]
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119 beta.tau[116]
120 beta.tau[117]
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124 beta.tau[121]
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128 beta.tau[125]
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133 beta.tau[130]
134 beta.tau[131]
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144 beta.tau[141]
145 beta.tau[142]
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149 beta.tau[146]
150 beta.tau[147]
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155 beta.tau[152]
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158 beta.tau[155]
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166 beta.tau[163]
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168 beta.tau[165]
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171 beta.tau[168]
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177 beta.tau[174]
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179 beta.tau[176]
180 beta.tau[177]
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182 beta.tau[179] constitJeju Special Self-Governing Province_2 3.536613e-02 9.62115e-04 7.37587e-02
183 beta.tau[180] constitJeju Special Self-Governing Province_3 -1.895092e-02 -4.99673e-02 1.04245e-02
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187 beta.tau[184]
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188 beta.tau[185]
189 beta.tau[186]
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474
    beta.nu[214]
                                                 constitSeoul_2 -1.629637e-02 -5.44633e-02 2.49861e-02
475
    beta.nu[215]
                                                constitSeoul_20 2.356910e-02 -3.52111e-03 4.04774e-02
476
    beta.nu[216]
                                                constitSeoul_21 9.889683e-04 -2.75047e-02 3.83965e-02
                                                constitSeoul_22 -1.331746e-02 -3.23920e-02 6.52668e-03
477
    beta.nu[217]
                                                constitSeoul_23 1.072714e-02 -9.76979e-03 2.22357e-02
478
    beta.nu[218]
479
    beta.nu[219]
                                                constitSeoul_24 -1.787584e-02 -6.05867e-02 3.31181e-02
    beta.nu[220]
480
                                                constitSeoul_25 -1.500131e-02 -4.81826e-02 1.69077e-02
                                                constitSeoul_26 -2.868826e-02 -6.95090e-02 -2.73144e-03
481
    beta.nu[221]
                                                constitSeoul_27 -1.009155e-02 -7.05643e-02 6.24284e-02
482
    beta.nu[222]
483
    beta.nu[223]
                                                constitSeoul_28 -4.929046e-03 -3.77296e-02 3.65183e-02
484
    beta.nu[224]
                                                constitSeoul_29 -1.018873e-02 -6.04820e-02 2.83424e-02
485
                                                constitSeoul_3 -1.477541e-02 -5.41279e-02 8.32188e-03
    beta.nu[225]
486
    beta.nu[226]
                                                constitSeoul_30 -3.788150e-02 -7.40158e-02 -6.18334e-03
                                                constitSeoul_31 -1.534847e-02 -7.07631e-02 4.33913e-02
487
    beta.nu[227]
488
    beta.nu[228]
                                                constitSeoul_32 -9.719155e-03 -3.68096e-02 1.82280e-02
                                                constitSeoul_33 -2.921042e-02 -8.12880e-02 8.01932e-03
489
    beta.nu[229]
490
    beta.nu[230]
                                                constitSeoul_34 -2.008221e-02 -3.92418e-02 -4.78141e-03
491
    beta.nu[231]
                                                constitSeoul_35 -2.801026e-02 -7.66810e-02 4.61246e-02
                                                constitSeoul_36 -2.964309e-02 -1.06122e-01 2.45258e-02
492
    beta.nu[232]
                                                constitSeoul_37 -2.750080e-02 -7.02642e-02 1.47963e-02
493
    beta.nu[233]
494
                                                constitSeoul_38 -1.752420e-02 -6.08371e-02 1.12728e-02
    beta.nu[234]
495
    beta.nu[235]
                                                constitSeoul_39 -3.083663e-02 -6.01302e-02 -1.54101e-03
496
    beta.nu[236]
                                                 constitSeoul_4 -3.458996e-02 -9.85479e-02 1.34943e-02
497
    beta.nu[237]
                                                constitSeoul 40 2.434083e-02 -1.60543e-02 6.38106e-02
                                                constitSeoul_41 9.425761e-03 -3.76876e-02 6.01606e-02
    beta.nu[238]
    beta.nu[239]
                                                constitSeoul_42 -7.886287e-03 -5.16371e-02 3.34753e-02
499
500
    beta.nu[240]
                                                constitSeoul_43 -5.099703e-03 -4.94660e-02 4.17927e-02
501
    beta.nu[241]
                                                constitSeoul_44 1.103074e-02 -3.88779e-02 4.98031e-02
502
    beta.nu[242]
                                                constitSeoul_45 -6.713044e-03 -2.95299e-02 9.38430e-03
503
    beta.nu[243]
                                                constitSeoul_46 -2.836999e-02 -8.55225e-02 3.44873e-02
                                                constitSeoul_47 -3.428739e-02 -9.91914e-02 1.52484e-02
504
    beta.nu[244]
                                                constitSeoul_48 -5.152996e-02 -7.74537e-02 -3.26412e-02
505
    beta.nu[245]
                                                constitSeoul_49 -4.434332e-02 -7.72019e-02 -2.42234e-02
506
    beta.nu[246]
    beta.nu[247]
                                                 constitSeoul_5 -1.131655e-02 -5.96006e-02 2.41517e-02
508
    beta.nu[248]
                                                 constitSeoul_6 -3.482140e-02 -6.97856e-02 6.77051e-03
509
    beta.nu[249]
                                                 constitSeoul_7 -2.007616e-02 -3.14014e-02 -9.62450e-03
    beta.nu[250]
                                                 constitSeoul_8 -5.383768e-03 -3.02820e-02 2.70291e-02
510
                                                 constitSeoul_9 -8.546156e-03 -3.57467e-02 1.82757e-02
511 beta.nu[251]
512 beta.nu[252]
                              constitUlsan Metropolitan City_1 9.351479e-03 -4.44259e-02 5.93673e-02
513 beta.nu[253]
                              constitUlsan Metropolitan City_2 4.019833e-03 -2.75262e-02 2.54996e-02
                              constitUlsan Metropolitan City_3 2.145210e-02 -1.18057e-02 4.95828e-02
514
    beta.nu[254]
515
    beta.nu[255]
                              constitUlsan Metropolitan City_4 -7.055998e-02 -9.95224e-02 -2.59660e-02
                              constitUlsan Metropolitan City_5 -3.497198e-02 -7.99640e-02 1.67927e-02
516 beta.nu[256]
517 beta.nu[257]
                              constitUlsan Metropolitan City_6 1.069686e-02 -8.74206e-03 3.43474e-02
```

```
518 beta.iota.m (Intercept) 1.744052e-01 1.40994e-01 1.98129e-01
519 beta.iota.s (Intercept) -8.591155e-01 -9.37079e-01 -8.02521e-01
520 beta.chi.m (Intercept) -2.870988e-01 -3.25324e-01 -2.30152e-01
521 beta.chi.s (Intercept) -8.173870e-01 -1.08694e+00 -6.04918e-01
```

eforensics Parameter Posterior Means and 95% HPD Intervals, Future Korea Party Specification:

```
Parameter
                       Covariate
                                         Mean
                                                 HPD.lower
                                                              HPD.upper
        pi[1]
                       No Fraud 0.9554357430 9.52475e-01 0.958436000
1
        pi[2] Incremental Fraud 0.0443523797 4.12297e-02 0.047107900
2
3
        pi[3]
                   Extreme Fraud 0.0002118793 4.08028e-05 0.000419374
                                 0.1272775640 1.18697e-01
  beta.tau[1]
                     (Intercept)
                                                            0.136123000
  beta.tau[2]
5
                   isprevoteTRUE 3.0013993500 2.99668e+00 3.008140000
                          typep -0.0642359824 -7.20363e-02 -0.054992800
  beta.tau[3]
7
  beta.tau[4]
                    isabroadTRUE -0.6804265470 -7.29965e-01 -0.636823000
                    isdisabTRUE 0.5851198110 5.07103e-01 0.647553000
  beta.tau[5]
   beta.nu[1]
                     (Intercept) -0.8498179370 -8.66493e-01 -0.831223000
                   isprevoteTRUE -0.4743879020 -4.84236e-01 -0.463862000
10 beta.nu[2]
11 beta.nu[3]
                          typep 0.1749439140 1.66586e-01 0.188163000
                    isabroadTRUE -0.1034548719 -1.15369e-01 -0.095240400
12 beta.nu[4]
13 beta.nu[5]
                    isdisabTRUE -0.1251443700 -1.29812e-01 -0.119662000
                     (Intercept) 0.2049184590 1.85594e-01 0.225396000
14 beta.iota.m
                     (Intercept) -0.8639855560 -8.83760e-01 -0.833646000
15 beta.iota.s
                     (Intercept) -0.0429112080 -5.40807e-02 -0.032432200
16 beta.chi.m
                     (Intercept) -0.1116372156 -1.31574e-01 -0.098274700
17 beta.chi.s
```

eforensics Parameter Posterior Means and 95% HPD Intervals, Platform Party Specification:

```
Parameter
                      Covariate
                                         Mean
                                                HPD.lower
                                                            HPD.upper
        pi[1]
                       No Fraud 9.617300e-01 9.58581e-01
                                                           0.96524000
2
        pi[2] Incremental Fraud 3.821183e-02 3.49011e-02
                                                           0.04161080
                  Extreme Fraud 5.818085e-05 7.09872e-08 0.00018169
3
        pi[3]
  beta.tau[1]
                    (Intercept) -1.155634e-01 -1.39834e-01 -0.09293950
                  isprevoteTRUE 3.002471e+00 2.97105e+00 3.03654000
5
  beta.tau[2]
  beta.tau[3]
                          typep 2.554812e-01 2.39648e-01
                                                           0.27361600
6
  beta.tau[4]
                   isabroadTRUE 5.653088e-01 5.00119e-01
                                                           0.63941500
8
 beta.tau[5]
                    isdisabTRUE 9.542181e-01 9.23600e-01 0.98011500
   beta.nu[1]
                    (Intercept) -8.632377e-01 -8.76773e-01 -0.85086200
10 beta.nu[2]
                  isprevoteTRUE 1.223453e-01 1.14415e-01 0.12916400
11
   beta.nu[3]
                          typep -5.789002e-03 -2.07915e-02
                                                           0.00298988
                   isabroadTRUE 1.274714e-01 1.16253e-01 0.14435600
12 beta.nu[4]
13 beta.nu[5]
                    isdisabTRUE -5.417925e-02 -7.34870e-02 -0.03873120
14 beta.iota.m
                    (Intercept) 1.138850e-01 1.02790e-01 0.12651700
                    (Intercept) -7.497073e-01 -7.77006e-01 -0.72658400
15 betaliotals
16 beta.chi.m
                    (Intercept) 1.006223e-01 9.33521e-02 0.10796400
17 beta.chi.s
                    (Intercept) 8.203355e-02 7.38885e-02 0.09362820
```

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