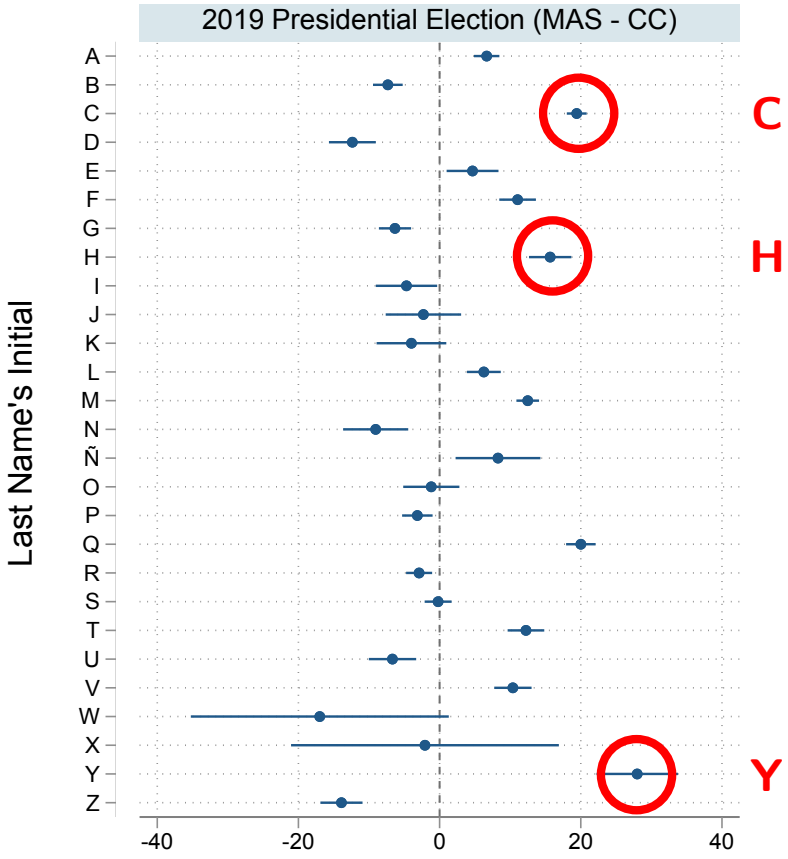
Within-precinct variation: a "natural experiment"?

Escobari and Hoover (2020):