

# Jessica Luce Trounstone

Department of Political Science  
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## Academic Appointments

Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2023-present

Foundation Board of Trustees Presidential Chair of Political Science, University of California, Merced, 2019-2023

Professor of Political Science, University of California Merced, 2019-2023

Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California Merced, 2012-2019

Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California Merced, 2009-2012

Assistant Professor of Politics and Public Affairs, Princeton University, 2005-2009

Instructor, Department of Politics/Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University 2004-2005

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego, 2003-2004

## Education

Ph.D. in Political Science, University of California, San Diego, 2004

M.A. in Political Science, University of California, San Diego, 2001

Consortium on Qualitative Research Methods, Training Institute in Qualitative Methods, 2003

B.A. in Political Science awarded High Honors, University of California, Berkeley, 1998

## Peer Reviewed Books

*Segregation by Design: Local Politics and Inequality in American Cities*, Cambridge University Press, 2018

Winner, 2020 Best Book in the Field, Urban Affairs Association

Co-winner, J. David Greenstone Prize for Best Book in Politics and History, published in 2018, American Political Science Association

Winner, Best Book in Race, Ethnicity, and Urban Politics, published in 2018, American Political Science Association

*Political Monopolies in American Cities: The Rise and Fall of Bosses and Reformers*, University of Chicago Press, 2008

Winner, Best Book in Urban Politics published in 2008, American Political Science Association

## Peer Reviewed Articles

Crowder-Meyer, Melody, Shana Gadarian, Jessica Trounstone. 2023. "Ranking Candidates in Local Elections: Neither Catastrophe nor Panacea," *Journal of Experimental Political Science, special issue in honor of Rebecca Morton*. Forthcoming

Trounstone, Jessica and Sidra Goldman-Mellor. 2023. "County-Level Segregation and Racial Disparities in COVID-19 Outcomes," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*. Volume 48, Issue 2

Trounstone, Jessica, "You Won't Be My Neighbor: Opposition to High Density Development," *Urban Affairs Review*, 2021

- Collins, Jonathan, Eddie Lucero, Jessica Trounstone, "Will Concurrent Elections Reshape the Electorate?", *California Journal of Politics and Public Policy*, 2020
- Trounstone, Jessica, "Local Political Economy: The State of the Field: Past, Present, and Future", *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*, Vol. 1: No. 3, 2020
- Lucero, Eddie, Jessica Trounstone, Jennifer Connolly, Casey Klostad, "A Matter of Life or Death: How Racial Representation Shapes Compliance with City Disaster Preparedness Orders," *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 2020
- Trounstone, Jessica, "The Geography of Inequality: How Land Use Regulation Produces Segregation," *American Political Science Review*, Volume 114, Number 2, 2020
- Crowder-Meyer, Melody, Shana Kushner Gadarian, and Jessica Trounstone, "Voting is Hard, Information Helps," *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol 56, Number 1, 2020
- Crowder-Meyer, Melody, Shana Gadarian, Jessica Trounstone, and Kau Vue, "A Different Kind of Disadvantage: Candidate Race, Cognitive Complexity, and Voter Choice," *Political Behavior*, Volume 42, Number 1, 2018
- Trounstone, Jessica, "Political Schizophrenics? Factors Affecting Aggregate Partisan Choice at the Local Versus National Level," *American Politics Research*, Volume 46, Number 1, 2018
- Trounstone, Jessica, "Segregation and Inequality in Public Goods," *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 60, Issue 3, July 2016
- Crowder-Meyer, Melody, Shana Gadarian, and Jessica Trounstone, "Electoral Institutions, Gender Stereotypes, and Women's Local Representation," *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, Volume 3, Number 2, 2015
- Trounstone, Jessica, "The Privatization of Public Services in American Cities," *Social Science History*, Volume 39, Issue 3, September 2015
- Trounstone, Jessica, "How (and How Not) to Use History in the MPA/MPP Classroom," *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, Volume 20, Issue 1, Winter 2014
- Hajnal, Zoltan and Jessica Trounstone, "Identifying and Understanding Perceived Inequities in Local Political Outcomes," *Political Research Quarterly*, Volume 67, Number 1, 2014
- Hajnal, Zoltan and Jessica Trounstone, "What Underlies Urban Politics: Race, Class, Ideology, Partisanship and the Urban Vote," *Urban Affairs Review*, Volume 50, Issue 1, 2014
- Trounstone, Jessica, "Turnout and Incumbency in Local Elections," *Urban Affairs Review*, Volume 49, Number 2, 2013
- Rugh, Jacob and Jessica Trounstone, "The Provision of Local Public Goods in Diverse Communities: Analyzing Municipal Bond Elections," *Journal of Politics*, Volume 73, Number 4, 2011
- Trounstone, Jessica, "Evidence of a Local Incumbency Advantage," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, Volume 36, Issue 2, May, 2011
- Hajnal, Zoltan and Jessica Trounstone, "Who or What Governs? The Effects of Economics, Politics, Institutions, and Needs on Local Spending," *American Politics Research*, Volume 38, Number 6, 2010
- Trounstone, Jessica, "Representation and Accountability in Cities," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Volume 13, 2010
- Trounstone, Jessica, "All Politics is Local: The Reemergence of the Study of City Politics," *Perspectives on Politics*, Volume 7, Number 3, 2009
- Trounstone, Jessica and Melody Ellis-Valdini, "The Context Matters: The Effects of Single Member vs. At-Large Districts on City Council Diversity," *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 52, Number 3, 2008
- Trounstone, Jessica, "Dominant Regimes and the Demise of Urban Democracy," *Journal of Politics*, Volume 68, Number 4, 2006
- Hajnal, Zoltan and Jessica Trounstone, "Where Turnout Matters: The Consequences of Uneven Turnout in City Politics," *Journal of Politics*, Volume 67, Number 2, 2005

## Book Chapters

Trounstone, Jessica, "The Production of Local Inequality: Race, Class, and Land Use in American Cities," in *The American Political Economy: Politics, Markets, and Power*, edited by Jacob Hacker, Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, Paul Pierson, and Kathleen Thelen, Cambridge University Press, 2021

Hajnal, Zoltan and Jessica Trounstone, "Uneven Democracy: Turnout, Minority Interests, and Local Government Spending," in *Representation: Elections and Beyond*, edited by Jack Nagel and Rogers M. Smith, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013

Davies, Jonathan and Jessica Trounstone, "Urban Politics and the New Institutionalism," in *Oxford Handbook of Urban Politics*, edited by Karen Mossberger, Susan Clarke, and Peter John, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012

Hajnal, Zoltan and Jessica Trounstone, "Winners and Losers in Mayoral Elections," in *America's Uneven Democracy: Race, Turnout, and Representation in City Politics* by Zoltan Hajnal, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010

Hajnal, Zoltan and Jessica Trounstone, "Turnout and Representation on City Councils," in *America's Uneven Democracy: Race, Turnout, and Representation in City Politics* by Zoltan Hajnal, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010

Trounstone, Jessica, "Challenging the Machine-Reform Dichotomy: Two Threats to Urban Democracy," in *The City in American Political Development*, edited by Richardson Dilworth, New York: Routledge Press, 2009

Hajnal, Zoltan and Jessica Trounstone, "Transforming Votes into Victories: Turnout, Institutional Context, and Minority Representation in Local Politics," in *Voting Rights Act Reauthorization of 2006: Perspectives on Democracy, Participation, and Power*, edited by Ana Henderson. Institute for Global Studies, The University of California Press, 2007

### **Other Publications**

Trounstone, Jessica, "Reforming Zoning in a Racist Market Still Worth It," *Shelterforce*, March 2, 2023

Trounstone, Jessica, "Land Use Regulation and Residential Segregation," *The Regulatory Review*, April 11, 2022

Trounstone, Jessica, "What Trump Misunderstands About Suburban Voters," *The Atlantic*, September 9, 2020

Trounstone, Jessica, "Race and Class Segregation and Local Public Policy," *Tax Law Review*, 70 Tax L. Rev. 513, June 21, 2017

Hajnal, Zoltan and Jessica Trounstone, "Race and Class Inequality in Local Politics," in *The Double Bind: The Politics of Racial and Class Inequalities in the Americas*, edited by Juliet Hooker and Alvin B. Tillery, Jr., for the APSA Task Force on Racial and Class Inequalities in the Americas, September 2016

Book review of John Arena, *Driven from New Orleans: How Nonprofits Betray Public Housing and Promote Privatization*, University of Minnesota Press, 2012. *Perspectives on Politics*, Volume 13, Number 1, March 2015

Trounstone, Jessica, "How Racial Segregation and Political Mismanagement led to Flint's Shocking Water Crisis," *The Monkey Cage*, *Washington Post*, February 8, 2016

Book review of Cedric Johnson, ed. *The Neoliberal Deluge: Hurricane Katrina, Late Capitalism, and the Remaking of New Orleans*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. *Perspectives on Politics*, Volume 10, Number 3, September, 2012

Book Review of Eleonora Pasotti, *Political Branding in Cities: The Decline of Machine Politics in Bogota, Naples, and Chicago*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. *Perspectives on Politics*, Volume 8, Number 3, September, 2010

Trounstone, Jessica. "Local Legislator", in *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*, edited by Donald P. Haider-Markel, Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2008

Trounstone, Jessica. "Township," in *Political Encyclopedia of U.S. States and Regions*, edited by Donald P. Haider-Markel, Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2008

Hills, Jessica. "Housing Policy", in *Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy*, edited by David Schultz, New York: Facts on File, 2003

Hills, Jessica. "Department of Housing and Urban Development," in *Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy*, edited by David Schultz, New York: Facts on File, 2003

Trounstone, Jessica and Gianzero, Gina. *Curriculum Matters: The Importance of Rigorous Course-taking in High School*. San Diego Dialogue Report, 2003.

### **Awards, Grants, Fellowships**

Andrew Carnegie Fellow, 2022-2024, \$200,000

STIR Labs Academic in Residence with the Association of Bay Area Governments, 2021, \$19,686

Mobility Metrics Working Group Member, Urban Institute, 2019-2021

New America Foundation Grant, "Evaluating Voter Experiences and Traits of Supported Candidates in Ranked Choice Voting Elections," co-PI, March 2020, \$19,000

Political Science Seed Grant, University of California, Merced, May 2018

Best Paper in American Politics presented in 2017, Midwest Political Science Association

Best Paper on Urban and Local Politics presented in 2017, American Political Science Association

Sophonisba Breckenridge Award for the Best Paper on the Topic of Women and Politics presented in 2015, Midwest Political Science Association

University of California, Multi-campus Grant, "Will California's New Electorate Reflect the New California?" co-PI, \$545,641

Political Science Seed Grant, University of California, Merced, May 2014

Academic Senate Award for Distinguished Early Career Research, University of California, Merced, 2012

Outstanding Women's Luncheon Honoree, University of California, Merced, 2012

Clarence Stone Scholar, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, 2010

Princeton University Ralph O. Glendinning University Preceptor, 2008-2009

Russell Sage Foundation Fellow, 2007-2008 (declined)

Princeton University Department of Politics Manuscript Conference, *Urban Empires: Rise and Fall of Monopoly Government in American Cities*; discussants included Amy Bridges, Rebecca Morton, Douglas Massey, David Mayhew, John Mollenkopf, and Paul Peterson, May 2006

Best Urban Politics Paper presented in 2002, American Political Science Association, 2003

Distinguished Teaching Assistant Award, University of California, San Diego, 2001, 2003

Sustainable Communities Leadership Program Fellow, 2001, 2002

Edmund G. Brown Scholarship, University of California, San Diego, 2000

Phi Beta Kappa, University of California at Berkeley, 1998

Robert C. Byrd Scholarship; Letters and Science Dean's Scholarship; Louis Levy Scholarship; G&H Pardee Scholarship, University of California, Berkeley, 1994-1998

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Summer Fellow, Washington D.C., 1996

### **Invited Talks (most recent 5 years)**

2023

Princeton University, Yale University, American Enterprise Institute, University of Wisconsin, Madison

2022

Princeton University, University of Pittsburgh, Gimme Shelter Podcast, University of Toledo, Coastal Housing Commission

2021

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Livable Sunnyvale, Massachusetts Housing Partnership, University of Chicago Center for Effective Government, Association of Bay Area Governments, University of Pennsylvania Race and Regulation Series, San Jose State University, San Mateo County Let's Talk Housing, Up for Growth Racial Equity Panel,

2020

Texas A & M University

2019

University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, University of Southern California, University of California, Berkeley, University of California, Irvine, Brigham Young University, City Lights Bookstore, TechEquity

2018

Harvard University, New York University

2017

UC Center in Sacramento, Washington University, St Louis

### **Conference Papers (most recent 5 years)**

“Does Where You Live Shape Your Politics? Disentangling Treatment and Selection in the Relationship Between Local Context & Political Identity,” with Christopher Berry

Western Political Science Association 2023; PolMeth 2023

“Racial Polarization in Local Elections,” with Melody Crowder-Meyer and Shana Gadarian

American Political Science Association Conference 2022

“Ranking Candidates in Local Elections: Neither Catastrophe nor Panacea,” with Melody Crowder-Meyer and Shana Gadarian

Midwest Political Science Association Conference 2022

“Segregation Kills: How County Level Segregation Generated Unequal Outcomes in the COVID-19 Pandemic,” with Sidra Goldman-Mellor

Entrenchment and Health Equity Conference Sponsored by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2021

“The Political Influence of City Employees: Civil Service Adoption in America,” with Sarah Anzia

American Political Science Association Conference, 2021; Western Political Science Association Conference 2022, Midwest Political Science Association Conference 2022; American Political Science Association Conference 2022

“Redlined Forever: The Racist Past of Today’s Land Use Regulations”

Institute for Human Studies Paper Workshop for the Center for Ethics at St. Anselm College, August 2021

“Civilians as Agents of Repression,” with Courtenay Conrad and Emily Ritter

American Political Science Association Conference, 2020, American Political Science Association Conference, 2021

“The Production of Local Inequality: Race, Class, and Land Use in American Cities”

American Political Science Association Conference, 2020

“The Geography of Inequality: How Land Use Regulation Produces Segregation and Polarization”

Workshop on Cities, Inequality, and Electoral Politics at Princeton University, March 2018; Anxiety of Democracies Workshop at Villa Vigoni, Menaggio, Italy, 2018, PolMeth 2018

“Voting Can be Hard, Information Helps,” with Melody Crowder-Meyer and Shana Gadarian

Midwest Political Science Association Conference 2017, American Political Science Association Conference 2017, Citizenship and the City Conference at Brown University 2018

### **Professional Service**

American Political Economy Section, American Political Science Association, vice-chair, 2022-2023

Midwest Political Science Association, Council and Officer Nominations Committee member, 2021-2022

California Statewide Housing Plan Advisory Committee, member, 2021

Class and Inequality Section, American Political Science Association, nominations committee member, 2021-2023

American Political Science Association, Best book award renaming committee member, 2021-2022

Clarence Stone Scholar Award Committee, American Political Science Association, Chair, 2021

*American Journal of Political Science*, Editorial Board Member, 2021-2023

*Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*, Editorial Board Member, 2019-present

Local Political Economy Conference, organizer, 2016-present

J. David Greenstone Book Award Committee, American Political Science Association, 2020  
*Studies in American Political Development*, Editorial Board Member, 2019-2021  
Midwest Political Science Association, Council Member, 2019-2022  
Urban and Local Politics Section, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Section chair, 2019  
Urban and Local Politics Section, Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Section chair, 2018  
*California Journal of Politics and Policy*, Co-Editor, 2017-2019  
*Journal of Politics*, Editorial Board Member, 2016-2020  
Nominations Committee, Public Policy Section, American Political Science Association, Chair, 2017  
National Science Foundation Political Science Review Panel, member, 2017-2018  
Local Political Economy Pre-Conference, American Political Science Association, co-organizer, 2017, 2019  
*American Politics Research*, Editorial Board, member, 2016-2019  
APSA Task Force on Racial and Class Inequalities in the Americas, member, 2014-2015  
Executive Committee, Representation and Electoral Systems Section, American Political Science Association, member, 2013-2015, 2017-2019  
*Political Research Quarterly* Editorial Board, member, 2014-2016  
Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, president, 2014-2015  
*Urban Affairs Review* Editorial Board, member, 2012-present  
Best Dissertation Award Committee, Western Political Science Association, member, 2013  
Urban and Local Politics Section, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, chair, 2013  
Mary Parker Follett Award Committee, Politics and History Section, American Political Science Association, member, 2011  
Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, Treasurer/Secretary, 2010-2013  
Best Book Award Committee, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, chair, 2010  
William Riker Book Award Committee, Political Economy Section, American Political Science Association, member, 2010  
Urban and Local Politics Section, Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, chair, 2010  
Byran Jackson Dissertation Award Committee, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, chair, 2008-2009  
Executive Committee, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association, member, 2008-2010  
Federalism and Sub-national Politics Advisory Board, Political Science Network, member, 2007  
Parties and Interest Groups Section, Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, chair, 2006  
Referee/Reviewer: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Research*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, *Cambridge University Press*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Cornell University Press*, *Demography*, *Economics and Politics*, *Election Law Journal*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Policy History*, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy*, *Kansas University Press*, *Law and Society*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *National Science Foundation*, *Oxford University Press*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Political Behavior*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Research and Methods*, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, *Princeton University Press*, *Public Administration Review*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Polity*, *Publius*, *Public Choice*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *Review of Economics and Statistics*, *Routledge Press*, *Social Science Journal*, *Social Sciences Quarterly*, *Sociological Forum*, *State and Local Government Review*, *Studies in American Political Development*, *Time Sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences*, *University of Chicago Press*, *University of Pennsylvania Press*, *Urban Affairs Review*, *Urban Research and Practice*, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, *World Politics*, *W.W. Norton and Company*

**University and School Service, University of California, Merced**

Center for Analytic Political Engagement, Executive Committee, member, 2021-present  
EDI Virtual Dialogue: Equity, Justice, and Politics, presenter, 2020  
UC Merced Divisional Council, at-large member (elected), 2020-2021  
School of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Arts, Executive Committee, Chair, 2019  
Pi Sigma Alpha, advisor, 2019-present  
University of California Planning and Budget Committee, member, 2018-2019  
UC Merced Divisional Council, member, 2018-2019  
UC Merced Academic Planning Working Group, co-chair, 2018-2019  
UC Merced Committee on Academic Planning and Resource Allocation, chair, 2018-2019  
UC Merced Committee on Academic Planning and Resource Allocation, vice-chair, 2017-2018  
UC Merced Committee on Academic Planning and Resource Allocation, member, 2016-2017, 2019-2021  
Inequality, Power, and Social Justice Search Committee, member, 2016-2017  
School of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Arts, Curriculum Committee, member, 2016-2017  
School of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Arts, Executive Committee, member, 2016, 2017-2018  
Hellman Fellowship Award Committee, member, 2013  
University of California Center Sacramento Faculty Council, member, 2010-present  
University of California Center Sacramento Campus Representative, 2010-present  
Academic Degree Program Policy Working Group, member, 2016-2018  
Campus Physical Planning Committee Subcommittee on Academic Space, member, 2013

### **Department and Graduate Group Service, University of California, Merced**

Political Science Department, Chair, 2020-present  
Understanding Politics Speaker Series Committee, member, 2019-2020  
Political Science Mentor for Elaine Denny, 2018-present  
Political Science By-Law Unit, Vice-Chair, 2017-2018, 2019-2020  
Political Science Lecturer Search Committee, Chair, 2017  
Political Science Graduate Group Admissions and Awards Committee, member, 2016-2019  
Political Science Undergraduate Program Review, Lead Author, 2016-2018  
Undergraduate Director/Faculty Assessment Organizer, Political Science, 2016-2017  
Comprehensive Graduate Exam in Political Institutions and Political Economy, chair, 2014-2016, 2018  
Political Science Graduate Group, Chair, 2013-2015  
Political Science Executive Committee, member, 2013-2017, 2018-present  
First Year Graduate Exam in Political Science, member, 2012-2014  
Committee for the Advancement of Graduate Education in the Social Sciences, Member, 2010-2011  
Social and Cognitive Sciences Graduate Group, Chair, 2011-2013  
Graduate Studies in Political Science, Director, 2009-2013  
Understanding Politics Speaker Series Committee, Chair, 2009-2011, 2013  
Political Science Search Committee, Member, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2015, 2018  
Political Science Mentor for Emily Ritter, 2013-2018

## **Graduate Student Placements**

Eddie Lucero, Chair, Assistant Professor, Colorado State University, Pueblo  
Ada Nina Johnson-Kanu, Chair, Assistant Professor, University of Kentucky  
Josue Franco, Committee member, Assistant Professor, Cuyamaca College  
Tessa Provins Smith, Committee member, Assistant Professor, University of Pittsburgh  
Kau Vue, Chair, Assistant Professor, Fresno Community College  
Jacob Rugh, Committee member, Associate Professor, Brigham Young University  
Rebecca Casciano, Committee member, Office of Population Research Fellow, Princeton University  
Melody Crowder-Meyer, Committee member, Assistant Professor, University of the South, Davidson University  
Jeff Tessin, Committee member, Government Accountability Office  
Yue Zhang, Committee member, Associate Professor, University of Illinois Chicago  
Gregory Stankiewicz, Reader, New Jersey Office of Management and Budget  
Erik Mobrand, Reader, Associate Professor, Seoul National University  
Jonathan Rothwell, Reader, Brookings Institute, Metropolitan Policy Program

## **Teaching Experience**

American Political Institutions, University of California, Merced  
Senior Honors Thesis Seminar, undergraduate, University of California, Merced  
Politics of Diversity, graduate, University of California, Merced  
Subnational Politics, graduate, University of California, Merced  
Quantitative Analysis of Political Data I, graduate, University of California, Merced  
Understanding Political Controversies, undergraduate, University of California, Merced  
Introduction to American Politics, undergraduate, University of California, Merced, Princeton University  
Urban Politics, undergraduate, University of California, Merced, University of California, San Diego,  
The American City, undergraduate, Princeton University  
Politics and Policy Making in Metropolitan Areas, graduate, Princeton University  
Congressional Simulation, undergraduate, University of California, San Diego

## **Work Experience**

Expert Witness, Central California Legal Services and Public Interest Law Project, 2020  
Consultant, Department of Justice, 2016-present  
Consultant, City of San Diego, 2005  
Research Fellow, San Diego Dialogue, San Diego, 2000-2004  
Press Aide, Governor Gray Davis, Sacramento, 1998-1999  
Investigator, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Washington DC, Summer 1996