

Shades that she gets more policy oriented at home → Put her to policy in the DC part - since it gives with institutional stuff since it comes at a disadvantage policy. take a major place. A regional & national flux.

Rep. Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D/OH) in Cleveland (April 11-12, 2001)

- Because of threatening thunderstorms--and my stand-by status on senior citizen coupons--I took the 10:00 a.m. plane to Cleveland, took a cab to the Urban Studies Center at Cleveland State University to get some stats and maps--then went to Embassy Suites and waited for Nikia to call. She didn't--so about 9:00 p.m. I called on her cell phone. I got her and she agreed to call in the morning--"8:30 at the latest." She called about 9:00, took me to the office. I waited there till about 10:30.
- Rodney came and drove me to her luncheon with 12 bankers. We got there early and STJ was there--she gave me some news stories to look at and talked about her last evening's dinner with George Forbes, who is now President of local NAACP and who has been opposing her on an upcoming bond issue--about which she is fanatical. She spent much of the day either talking on her cell phone about it or piping her remarks to a press conference on it; and she campaigned for it (handed out flyers) at her TV interview and two CSU classes.
- It was a very good--and very frustrating--trip. Good because, considering the short amount of time (one long half-day 12:00 to 8:00 p.m.), she was her same talkative, engaging, fun-loving companion. But frustrating because it proved how wrong you could be after one trip. I'm going to have to revise my "goals and repres. strategy" underpinnings, though it's not exactly clear how--except that she is now more policy-oriented and that affects both variables.
- She talked about her "learning" in various categories; and my problem may be that her trajectory has been especially steep since our first visit. That is, she is changing and, therefore, what I learned before--and have written about--has changed. Personality is still very salient, but policy has become equally so. Can we think of a person-policy combination?
- Re learning: 1. After the banker's meeting, I said that it was a good meeting partly because they all got to talk. "One of the things I didn't understand when I first went to Congress was how much people want to meet me. When I was prosecutor, a few people might have wanted to meet me; but now everyone does. And I've begun to realize that because they

Be more definite in 1st part - then suggest change in other part. The banker's meeting is her ex. of the combination, and the change in emphasis. But the learning "My little next step" Learning is a step. Be clear it is a step. Learning. All this can be used to make it. But don't forget to break it down. That there is a difference in the DC & Detroit. Learning in DC can change. Learning patterns back home.

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want to meet me, I can bring groups together--like the bankers at lunch today--and we can talk to each other and get things done."

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might.*
- 2. "When I first went to Congress, I thought we were going to do great things. The four hundred and thirty four others and I were going to work together to do great things for the country. It didn't happen. I've learned from that experience that in order to survive, I have to set a parallel agenda for myself. We just finished a two day staff retreat to talk about that agenda. I've also learned that the office is a bully pulpit, that I can work outside my committees to pass legislation on any subject I want, so long as I can get someone on the right committee to introduce it."

- This goes
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- 3. "I've learned that because I am the only black member of Congress from Ohio, that I can be helpful to people outside my district. Many black people outside my district call on me for help because I understand their situation. When I first went to Congress, I didn't realize that people outside my district would look to me for help and that I could be helpful. Today, I realized that I still don't fully understand the scope of my influence. You have heard about the rioting in Cincinnati (over the killing of a black man by the police). Sheila Jackson Lee called me to tell me that she was going to Cincinnati and asked if I was doing down there or had spoken out on the situation. It was courtesy to let me know that she might come into my state. You know, it never occurred to me to speak out on that subject or to go down there. Yet I am the only black member of Congress from Ohio. I thought, well, she is always looking for publicity. I'm not. When I was prosecutor, I was always critical of the politicians who were making trouble by speaking to the press about this or that. Their publicity-seeking was an intrusion. But I'm learning there may be times when I should speak out on behalf of black people who are in trouble outside my district--that it's not just publicity-seeking. I called the Mayor's office, but he was meeting with Kwesi Infume. And they told me Jesse Jackson, Jr. is on the way. I never thought about it."

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- She compares her life as a House member to her life as a prosecutor. That's her perception. Very different from Fattah! "When I was prosecutor, I would look upon the politicians making statements to the press as interference out

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there somewhere."

- Later in the day, MSNBC and a black news group asked her for a statement. She referred both of them to a black representative from Cincinnati--a Party leader named Mallory. MSNBC accepted Mallory, but the black news group called her back. She called an aide--"Call Mallory and ask him what I should say. I don't have any idea what's going on down there."
- On her career beginnings, she told the story of her three friends and how the second time "somehow I was it." She went into the law enforcement path because "that's where the opportunity was." "In the beginning, I had no idea about running for public office. I remember one year when I came home from college. One of my friends pointed to me and said, 'There's the next Shirley Chisholm.' I'll never forget that. Others saw it in me, but I didn't."
- "There was some accident to it, then," I said. "Yes, some accident," she replied. "But all my life I had wanted to help others and I had been active in helping others. I was a girl scout. I have been a member of my church all my life and we always had food banks and clothing drives. I was always interested in service. In my day in college, the watch word was "relevant." I went to law school because I wanted to be relevant. I was a sociology major; how could I be relevant with that degree? With a law degree, I thought I could effect relevant change in the world."
- So I asked her if the Delta Sorority had anything to do with it? "No. I didn't join the Delta in college. I wanted to, but we didn't have a chapter. But the reason I joined after college was because they were a service organization. That's what attracted me." (Of the five black women bankers, all but one were Deltas!)
- I think the "service" angle still works OK as an original goal. But now its not enough. When, for example, I asked her if she had "put her stamp on the district." she said, "I have. In the beginning, I had some trouble because people said I wasn't doing what Lou Stokes would have done and I said I don't want to walk in his shoes, his shoes are too big for me. I want to stand on his shoulders. But I am not going to be like Lou Stokes. I have spoken out on housing, on predatory

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lending, on financial institutions, and I've done a lot of work with kids. (Since the violence conference) we have done three different conferences on different problems. Last week we had one on "the biz of show biz" on business management. So far all have been in the northern and eastern part of the district. They have all been great successes. I want to do the same in the southern part of the district."

- part with policy* →
- *If she is making her mark in large part on policy, then I've got to take it more seriously as an emerging representational strategy. The banker who ran the lunch meeting said at the end, "we have been impressed by the breadth and the depth of your understanding of our subjects." Sure, he'd have said that anyway, but after a lot of early bull shitting, she did settle down and engage them on their terms. She culled out of the conversation legislative things she could help on, and wrote them down and said, "I have my assignments, now what are you going to do?"
 - She tried to get them to think in terms of education to produce smart consumers who would be less likely to be victimized by predatory lenders. The bankers are worried about competition, of course.
 - Re bankers: "I agree with them on some things and I disagree with them on some things. But we have a good relationship. We understand each other. That was a very good meeting." They worry about competition in their business of money lending. She worries about consumers getting shafted.
 - On her career decisions, one word that she used a lot was "opportunity." Municipal Court was "an opportunity opened up." Prosecutor, "an opportunity." Congress, "there had been an opportunity to run for Congress and now another opportunity opened up." On the question whether she preferred the inside CBC route to power, or the wider institutional route. "It all depends which opportunity opens up."
 - Re Congress: "I think this is the job I should have had from the beginning. I remember some of my friends saying, 'you don't want to be a municipal judge. A judge can't speak out and you should speak out.'"
 - That's interesting because she uses the term "speaking out" quite a bit. For example, when asked about "putting her
- more evidence*

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stamp" on the district, she said, "I'm speaking out..." on this and this. To one class, she delivered an anti-Bush talk--more "speaking out" than Chaka Fattah and less "influence." She's in the speaking out phase!

- She tries to stay out of feuds. One nice comment she made after she had described the very hot fight between White and Forbes, "when it got to that personal level, I got out. If you get involved at that point, you will never recover. And you've got to recover." The comment came and went, but I like it as a commentary on smart politics. And she's a smart politician. Also, inside CBC: "I have good relations with all of them. I stay out of their feuds."
- Very strongest supporters? Fight, bleed and die? "They are people who have been voting for me for a long time--black and white working class people."
- Re Hallett article that the campaign was fought out in the black churches, "The ministers were split because there was a minister in the race. Many of them supported him. But some ministers thought he should not be in politics; and they supported me. The campaign did take place in the churches, but it was fought and won far away from the churches. Most of the campaign had nothing to do with the ministers. Actually, they canceled each other out, and so they had no effect."
- She has two PD articles laminated and framed in the inner office. One was Sabrina Eaton's. The other was the story of the prosecutor's race. Headline, "Jones Topples Old Guard" by Steve Luttner and Ulysses Tomassa. "A coalition of east and west siders are a new force in county politics." 1/13/91. Vote was 541-511.
- After she had described Forbes, "I have known him for many, many years. I grew up in his ward. He helped me in my career. We have been friends." I asked her, "Could I say that you were his protege?" "Yes you could, absolutely."
- "I never thought about running for Congress. Well, I thought about it, but I never said a word about it. I watched; and I saw that anyone who suggested, over the years, that he might run for Congress--that person got cut off at the knees. I learned to keep quiet."

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- When I gave her the LS campaign team test, she knew all but two of them--could describe what they did, were doing, or when they did. She got a big kick out of it when I told her I had expected they would be an unknown group. She even mentioned that in her talk to the last group we met with (they had just finished dinner) at CSU. She used it as an example of her constant presence in the district.
- *After we chuckled at how surprised I was, "Well, there goes one theory shot to hell!," she said, "Maybe I'm a transition person." Maybe she is. There is a lot of continuity--at least in memory. How about "Repres. stragegy in transition," or "transitional strategy of representation."
- On the New Era idea, she ticked off the ages of the "big four" (in their 70's) and noted that a lot of people thought they "had kept the lid on" too long. They didn't want to share power. She thought Forbes, now, as head of NAACP, was still trying to act as if he was an elected official. "If he wants that kind of power, he ought to run for some office." She also talked about the black/white change in language I could not recall. But I think my discussion of the context is correct.
- She had a hard time with the "which is the most difficult town or area to win?" She finally settled on the 12th Ward: Polish, white, steel workers. We drove though it on the highway. Small wooden homes, packed closely together. Very old, ethnic neighborhood. She was in favor of closing down a neighborhood hospital, and they resented her for that. I have to be more sensitive than I am to neighborhood problems like that hospital. Maybe I've won back some of their support with what I've done to help the steel workers at LTV." No group is a lost cause for her.
- "I think now that I should have been a legislator from the beginning. But I'm glad I have the knowledge of the law and the experience I had as a judge and prosecutor. It has made it much easier to do what I do in Congress. It gives me more authority when I speak and when I make an argument."
- She said she would work with Republicans in committee--that they were not so conservative that they couldn't work together. Talked about Baker, but I can't recall context.

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- We had to wait an awful long time before she could do her taping. She disappeared into the corridor while I sat on the set with the Longerberger basket lady. Then she came and got me to tell me about her phone call from Sheila Jackson Lee. I cite it only because she wanted to keep me in the loop--which she did all day with her constant cell phone talk about the bond issues and Forbes and Cincinnati.
- "Is it an easy district to represent?" "My constituents do not beat on me about my votes. I'm very fortunate in that respect. They don't ask me how I voted. I'm comfortable voting for what I believe in. I'm confident that when I vote, I naturally vote the way they would want me to vote because I have lived with them for so long and because I am around them all the time. I might not even have to campaign at all, but I'm too scared not to." (Laughter)
- She worked for the sewer district at one time and used to take kids to see how the waste treatment system worked. "When You get within a half-mile, you could smell that awful smell. The kids would think they were on a happy field trip till they got that smell, and then they wanted to turn around. But I took 'em right in. They need to see how things work." This was sparked when we drove by the plant--now odorless!
- "I don't talk down to people. They know I have an important job, but they want me to deal with them on their level. And I do." [If it weren't for some good luck, I could be in their position, not mine--something like that.]
- "I'm not on TV all the time. But people know me, because I've run so many times and I'm around so much."
- "In my first term, I came home every weekend. And I'll keep doing that--at least till my son graduates from high school."
- The staff had a retreat for a couple of days this week. Rodney said it was good because DC and Cleveland staffers met each other and they talked about her goals and priorities. When she talked about it, she emphasized that given her bully pulpit, she couldn't do everything or talk about everything. She said she wanted the staff to know her priorities so "they can say 'no' once in a while. I can't do everything and they can't either. I want to train some of them to be able to go around and speak for me. The trouble is that it's hard to

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her and
connecting.*

*personal
connections
1/11*

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keep them, the pay is so poor." Then she discussed the people she thought she could keep--by position, not name. She didn't name any of them. Betty Pinkney is a lawyer, an MA and about to be a Ph.D. But she has a strong loyalty to STJ.

- Betty was pretty cold when I met her in the office, no acknowledgment like Beverly who called me Dick and gave me a hug. Finally, as I was leaving, I called "Betty" and asked her about "the window," which is still there. She showed me the adjacent office space, in which they will have lots more space and get rid of the window. I was shocked when I walked into the office with Nikia and saw that they had taken over the Stokes office space, with the window, the bell and the buzzer. Not constituent-friendly. I pushed Betty on it and she agreed it was not "constituent-friendly" (my term), but said they had to worry about "violent characters."
- The net is that, now, I'm not so sure the window is a Stokes-type thing at all and maybe I should drop it. To me, it symbolized Lou's aloofness. And, after all, he did install it. But here is STJ, the least aloof person; and she kept it. I did not talk to her about it. But Betty would not have given me the tour of the empty space next door if I had not spoken. Rodney had not even been shown the new space and since he and I were together, he got to see it, too. It will be nice. At least I got into the back part of the office and sat in STJ's office, watching the 24 crew members leaving China.
- "Wealth building is the great equalizer. It's the only equalizer."
- "She's housing chairman for the CBC. I have good relations with all the members. I stay out of all their fights and feuds. In the vote for chairman between Eddie Bernice Johnson and Bennie Thompson, I supported Thompson. I'm trying to be friendly with Bernice. She's got me ^{as} on the sergeant-at-arms now, keeping order in the group."
- "I'm a Party loyalist. I went on Ethics. And I'm in the leaders's face every chance I get. He knows I'm there. And he knows I want to be on Ways and Means. I've told everyone that. I've been with him every time except with Terry McCauliffe I supported Maynard Jackson and I told him why. I think, in view of what happened in the last election, where

*Handover me
got a woman*

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we wasted so much money, we need someone with more than just fund-raising experience."

- "I'm the sophomore whip--did I tell you that." She seemed pleased with that, it replaced her freshman presidency.
- One of her consistent themes is that she's much less of a publicity hog than others--Dennis Kucinich, for one. "He does everything in public. He does nothing in private." She was irritated that "I negotiated with Forbes at dinner last night. Dennis negotiates with Forbes at a press conference today." She did get piped in, from the make up room, at Channel BB55.
- *She is not a natural at publicity. It's not instinctive at all. She's used to being a doer where your decisions are your nameplate, and you don't need to talk. But Congress is different. Kuchinch was Mayor and publicity is instinct. Hers is a deeds-oriented view; but deeds are few and far between in Congress; so you start creating "deeds" and talking about them, i.e., the bully pulpit.
- She's very wary of faith-based initiatives for fear government will interfere in church matters. Says there was a wonderful meeting of 100 ministers--all faiths except the Jews. They had their own meeting. "But I was not invited to their meeting. I wonder why they didn't invite me. I have always had excellent relationships with my Jewish constituents."
- "I've come full circle--from emphasizing my work and then my home and now I want to be known more for my involvement in the struggle for equal access, for affirmative action, for helping people build wealth. My full circle is not the way to describe it--it's a development. I'll always be an affirmative action person, speaking out. I did in college. Now I want to be known by my comments--in the papers."
- The banker's luncheon was a good exchange. There were five black women there (all Deltas!) and three black men and the rest white (one woman). Rodney pointed out the three most powerful in the group and they were all white men. She was in great, good humor, lots of laughter. But the bankers are concerned with "predatory lending" where poor people get suckered into bad deals on housing loans. Banks also don't like credit unions, Fannie Maes and all other competition. But predatory lending is key current problem. She emphasized

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education and the view of the consumer. "My vision is wealth-building for every person; and for most people a house is their greatest asset. We must protect that. From where I'm coming from, education, some sort of cooperative educational effort, led by the bankers, is the answer."

- "The poorest person who might be very literate, understands money. Instinctively, people understand money--if you tell it to them honestly."
- "This is a long-term problem; we won't get out of it in the short-term; but we've got to mount a community effort to keep working on it."

From tape:

- Evening class
- "My belief is that the way we equalize our community is that we have economic justice, that we have wealth-building, that we have economic empowerment, we have economic development." For working class people, only asset they have to pass to another generation is their house. That's her talk in predatory lending--it robs working people of their asset.
- There are legitimate "sub-prime lenders," but most "mortgage brokers" are illegitimate.
- "If there's anything I want to be remembered for when I leave Congress, it is that I helped people learn how to create wealth and that we had economic development."
- Re my research, she tells last CSU group, "he studied Congress and has come to travel with me to see what the difference between LS and me. I tell him that I'm prettier than Lou Stokes!"
- "I think that STJ has grown since my last visit. She now talks about her "vision" as "wealth-building." "My vision is wealth-building." I'm not sure where that idea came from. May be from her work on housing--in subcommittee. She talks about a house as "the most important" or "the only" asset most people have--that a house is wealth that can be passed on. And she has learned a lot about housing and the ins and outs "prime," "subprime," etc. So may be that is the change I see.

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- Re "the window"--in the district office, it is still Stokes' doing--not hers, even though she has kept it. Knocking it down would not be easy. They'll do it when they move.
- *Her "learning" talk is good for prosecutor/Congress differences.
- Her good nature dominated the luncheon with the bankers. When she kicked off the meeting and started talking, she turned to the two bankers on either side and said, "You'd better move away a little, because when I start to speak, I wave my arms and when I get going, I'm likely to hit you. Sometimes the people beside me end up black and blue." Everyone laughed. The banker to her left pretended to shrink away and move. And she said, "You don't have to worry too much, my right arm is a lot stronger than my left." Everyone laughed and she had set a tone. They did get down to the hard problems later.
- During the session, she never stopped working on a huge salad. She loves to eat. "You put the corn bread in the bottom of the cup and put the black-eyed peas on top." "I love chocolate, but I've given it up for Lent."
- Is she involved in local politics? "Yes, very much so." We carried the bond issue flyer at CSU and she spoke passionately about it--talked about it on her interview and two CSU appearances. Stokes was aloof in previous years. She is in the middle, now. Her knowledge of local politics came out in discussion of Carl Stokes' son's efforts to get on city council after she and others had endorsed another candidate.
- Interview, "I'm going to drive for an hour out of my district--for a seven minute interview that airs at 1:30 in the afternoon. I must be crazy. But they have asked me several times. And the station carries into my district." There was a lot of waiting.

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