

## **JOSÉ D. VILLALOBOS**

### ***Contact Information***

***Citizenship:*** USA

Department of Political Science  
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Personal Website: <http://people.tamu.edu/~jvillalobos>  
Presidency Research Website: <http://presdata.tamu.edu>

### ***Education***

Ph.D., Texas A&M University, expected December 2008 (Dissertation successfully defended on September 5, 2008)  
Fields: American Politics and Public Administration/Public Policy  
Committee: George C. Edwards III (Chair), Kenneth J. Meier, Jon R. Bond, and Kurt Ritter  
Dissertation: *Presidential-Bureaucratic Management and Policy Making Success in Congress*  
B.A., University of Texas at San Antonio, 2003  
Fields: Political Science (Major) and Education (Minor)

### ***Awards and Honors***

APSA Travel Grant, American Political Science Association, 2008  
Prestage-Cook Travel Award, Southern Political Science Association, 2007  
Pathways to the Doctorate Fellowship, Texas A&M University, 2003-2007  
Hispanic Scholarship Fund Award, 2003-2006  
Paper presentation award for Texas A&M University Pathways to the Doctorate Research Symposium, Galveston, TX, November 2003

### ***Journal Publications***

Villalobos, José D., and Justin S. Vaughn. "Presidential Staffing and Public Opinion: How Public Opinion Influences Politicization," *Administration & Society* (forthcoming).  
Vaughn, Justin S., and José D. Villalobos. "The Managing of the Presidency: Applying Theory-Driven Empirical Models to the Study of White House Bureaucratic Performance," *Political Research Quarterly* (forthcoming).

Vaughn, Justin S., and José D. Villalobos. 2006. "Conceptualizing and Measuring White House Staff Influence on Presidential Rhetoric," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (December): 681-688.

### ***Other Publications***

Villalobos, José D. 2008. Entries in the *Encyclopedia of U.S. Campaigns, Elections, and Electoral Behavior*, Kenneth F. Warren, ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

“Presidential Election of 1980”

“Twenty-Sixth Amendment”

“Immigration (as a campaign issue)”

“Issue Evasion”

Villalobos, José D. 2006. “When Made to Choose: Cross-Pressured Republican Senators and George W. Bush’s Private Account Plan,” in *A Dialogue on Presidential Challenges and Leadership*. Thomas M. Kirlin and Jay M. Parker, eds. Washington, DC: Center for the Study of the Presidency, 25-37.

### ***Research Under Review***

“Attributions of Responsibility: Testing the Impact of Policy Domain, Policy Condition, and Partisanship on Public Appraisals of the President,” with Cigdem V. Sirin.

### ***Works in Progress***

“Agency Input as a Policy Making Tool: Measuring the Influence of Agency Input on Presidential Policy Success in Congress.”

“Exploring the Influence of Presidential-Agency Compatibility on Presidential Policy Development and Policy Making Success in Congress.”

“John McCain, Barack Obama, and Immigration Reform: Exploring the Track Records, Campaign Promises, and Policy Agendas of the 2008 Presidential Candidates.”

“The Inactive Presidency: The Strategic Value of Administrative Vacancies,” with Justin S. Vaughn.

“Examining the Potential Influence of Live Information Processing on Public Opinion and Policy Making,” with Cigdem V. Sirin.

### ***Conference Papers***

“Attributions of Responsibility: Testing the Impact of Policy Domain, Policy Condition, and Partisanship on Public Appraisals of the President,” with Cigdem V. Sirin, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 2008.

“Presidential-Bureaucratic Management and Policy Making Success in Congress,” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2008. Also presented at the “Empirical Models of Public Management III” Conference, College Station, May 2008.

*Nominated for the MPSA Westview Press Award and the Presidency Research Group Founders Award.*

- “Transitional Politics: Lessons from the George W. Bush Administration,” with Justin S. Vaughn, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2008.
- “Presidential Staffing and Public Opinion: How Public Opinion Influences Politicization,” with Justin S. Vaughn, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 2007.
- “Minority and Immigrant Empowerment: How Descriptive Representation and Group Dynamics Contribute to a General Theory of Constituent-Representative Linkages,” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2007.
- “The Managing of the Presidency: Applying Systematic Theoretical Models to the Study of White House Bureaucratic Performance,” with Justin S. Vaughn, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, December 2006.
- “60 Stops in 60 Days: Measuring the Pitfalls of the ‘Going Public’ Model by Presidential Stop,” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2006.
- “When Made to Choose: Cross-Pressured Republican Senators and George W. Bush’s Private Account Plan,” Annual Meeting of the Center for the Study of the Presidency, Washington D.C., October 2005 and April 2006.
- “Conceptualizing and Measuring White House Staff Influence on Presidential Rhetoric,” with Justin S. Vaughn, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, December 2005.
- “Transverse Across the Borderlines: The Economics of Legal Immigration,” Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2005.
- “Cantando Las Mananitas: The Latino Effect on Political Campaign Advertising and Rhetoric,” with Rodolfo Espino III and Sarah Kessler, Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Portland, March 2004.
- “Congress in the Face of the Modern Media Giant: Media Coverage and Congressional Behavior,” Texas A&M University Pathways to the Doctorate Research Symposium, Galveston, November 2003.  
*Selected for paper presentation award.*

### ***Other Conference Activities***

- Chair and Discussant, Panel on Presidential Leadership, Annual Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology, Portland, July 2007.
- Discussant, Panel on Immigration Policy, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans, December 2006.
- Chair and Discussant, Panel on Education Policy, Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association Conference, Oakland, March 2005.

Discussant, Panel on Immigration and Education Policy, Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Portland, March 2004.

***Areas of Research Interest***

American presidency  
Immigration policy  
Latino/a politics  
Public opinion and policy decision making

***Teaching Interests***

American presidency  
Public administration  
Public policy  
Public management  
American government and politics  
Congress  
State and local politics  
Mass media and the rhetorical presidency  
Immigration and Latino/a politics  
U.S. foreign policy

***Teaching Experience***

Instructor, POLS 319: The American Presidency, Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University, Fall 2008.  
*Solely responsible for the content, organization, lecturing, and grading of a class of approximately 30 students.*  
See syllabus:  
[http://people.tamu.edu/~jvillalobos/POLS\\_319\\_American\\_Presidency.pdf](http://people.tamu.edu/~jvillalobos/POLS_319_American_Presidency.pdf)

***Guest Lectures***

POLS 353: Constitutional Rights and Liberties, “Civil Liberties Turmoil during the 1960s: The U.S. vs. John Lennon,” February 2008 at Texas A&M University.  
POLS 327: Congressional Politics, “Expectations of the President, Presidential Approval, and Policy Making,” March 2007 at Texas A&M University.  
POLS 327: Congressional Politics, “The President in the Legislative Arena,” February 2007 at Texas A&M University.  
POLS 319: The American Presidency, “Presidential Management and the Bureaucracy,” November 2006 at Texas A&M University.  
POLS 423 (Honors): U.S.-Latin America Relations, “Immigration, Laws, and Trends: Before and After 9/11,” April 2006 at Texas A&M University.  
POLS 206: American Government, “Congressional Committees and Lawmaking,” October 2005 at Texas A&M University.

### ***Other Teaching Experience and Training***

- Graduate Teaching Academy, Teaching Certificate, Texas A&M University, April 2008.
- TATEP (Teaching Assistant Training and Evaluation Program), Texas A&M University, August 2008.
- Presidency Research Group, “Teaching the Presidency: Best Ways to Engage Your Students,” Short Course 19, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 2008.
- POLS 681: Teaching Political Science. Seminar on teaching political science at the undergraduate and graduate school level, Dr. Michelle Taylor-Robinson, Texas A&M University, Spring 2007.
- Graduate Workshop on Writing Syllabi, “Writing Syllabi that Engage and Motivate Students,” Center for Teaching Excellence, Texas A&M University, August 2007.
- Graduate Workshop on Teaching, “Alternatives to Lecture: Using Simulations and Other Techniques in the Classroom,” Michael T. Koch, Texas A&M University, March 2007.
- Education (IDS) Teacher Certification in Government by the State of Texas, Certification for All Social Studies Subjects (Composite Social Studies EXCET), June 2003.

### ***Research Experience***

- Director, Presidential Data Archive, Texas A&M University, 2007-2008 (Web manager for online resources, see: <http://presdata.tamu.edu>).
- Responsibilities include data collection and analysis, design and management of the archive website and maintenance of its physical files, and various other administrative tasks.*
- Research assistant to George C. Edwards III, distinguished professor of political science, Texas A&M University, Fall 2004-2008.
- Research associate to Kenneth J. Meier, distinguished professor of political science, Texas A&M University, Project for Equity, Representation, and Governance (PERG), Fall 2003-2008 (See: <http://perg.tamu.edu/>).
- Research assistant to Jon R. Bond, professor of political science, Texas A&M University, Fall 2003-2006.
- Certified Researcher, Texas A&M University, Institutional Review Board.
- Participant, Workshop on Grant Writing, “How to Write Proposals and Win Research Funding: Strategies for Starting Your Career as a Researcher,” Texas A&M University, October 2006.

### ***Professional and Departmental Service***

- Manuscript Reviewer, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*
- President, Midwest Latino/a Caucus, Midwest Political Science Association, (elected for

a two-year term) 2008-2010

(See: <http://perg.tamu.edu/LatinoCaucus/MidwestLatino-aCaucus.html>)

Officer, Graduate Student Representative, Presidency Research Group, American Political Science Association, 2008

Fellow, Graduate Teaching Academy, Texas A&M University, 2007-2008

Secretary, Midwest Latino/a Caucus, Midwest Political Science Association, 2007-2008

President, Political Science Graduate Student Organization, Texas A&M University, 2006-2007

Fellow, Center for the Study of the Presidency, 2005-2006

### ***Computer Skills***

Microsoft office programs: Word, Excel, PowerPoint, and Outlook

Statistical analysis programs: high proficiency using STATA, experience using SPSS, StatView, and R-Program

Webpage design: Dreamweaver – Essentials, CSS, Forms, and Assets

Certificate of Completion, “Creating Your Personal Webpage,” Center for Employee Education, Texas A&M University, June 2008

### ***Language Skills***

English – native; high proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing

Spanish – native; high proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing

Turkish – basic skills in speaking, reading, and writing

### ***Professional Memberships***

American Political Science Association

Midwest Political Science Association

American Society for Public Administration

Presidency Research Group, American Political Science Association

Midwest Latino/a Caucus, Midwest Political Science Association

Pi Sigma Alpha, 2000-2003

**References**

Professor George C. Edwards III  
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2010 Allen Building  
4348 TAMU  
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## Dissertation Summary

### Presidential-Bureaucratic Management and Policy Making Success in Congress

Presidential policy making in Congress is a lengthy, difficult process that involves developing a policy initiative, proposing it to Congress, and winning the legislature's support. Presidents rely on executive branch staff to help organize, communicate, and coordinate information for policy development. Specifically, presidents have at their disposal two primary sources of information: "loyal" White House personnel and "neutral competent" agency civil servants. To manage the process, presidents may centralize policy development within the Executive Office, delegate (i.e. decentralize) its formation to the wider bureaucracy, or use a combination of the two.

Recent empirical findings indicate that, although centralizing the policy making process eases a president's managerial burdens, it may also decrease the likelihood of presidential policy success in Congress. Alternatively, decentralizing the process increases the likelihood of policy success, but constrains the president's discretion over policy substance and incurs greater administrative burdens in the form of managing differing viewpoints, contradictory interests, and increased information flow. Such findings present an intriguing puzzle: *how can presidents balance their managerial and information needs and costs to maximize their policy success in Congress?*

Solving this presidential dilemma can have substantial payoffs for the White House. Thus, we need to re-examine the underlying assumptions of the strategy of centralized policy making and to determine whether increased agency input can increase the probabilities of presidential success. Whereas most scholars have focused on why presidents prefer to centralize, when presidents are most likely to do so, and how centralization affects legislative policy outcomes, I formulate a theoretical argument for the role and value of agency input in presidential legislative policy making.

Specifically, I argue that agency input provides presidents with a degree of bureaucratic expertise and objectivity, process transparency, and agency support, which imbues presidential proposals with bureaucratic legitimacy and aids their passage into law. Because the substance of a proposal matters, sending a stronger signal for a proposal developed with agency input should provide a particularly potent, positive influence on legislative success. To explore this possibility, I also incorporate the role that voluminous presidential signaling plays at high levels of agency input.

To test my hypotheses, I conduct a series of empirical analyses of pooled cross-sectional logistic regression models using a dataset on presidential legislative proposals over the period of 1949-2007. I find that agency input and presidential signaling are key components to increased presidential policy success in Congress. I also find that the employment of agency input for policy development decreases the amount of changes made to the substance of a presidential initiative from its proposal stage to its passage into law.

As a result of these findings, I prescribe a new policy making strategy with agency input at its core. My conclusions should also provide an impetus for scholars to reconsider conventional wisdom regarding presidential-bureaucratic management and legislative policy making.

Successfully defended on September 5, 2008