

Thomas H. Stubbs

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		Twitter	@thomstubbs
		Nationality	New Zealand; United Kingdom

Research Interests

International Development; Global and Public Health; Political and Economic Sociology; Political Economy; East African Politics; Research Methods

Academic Positions

2017-
2015-19 **Lecturer, Department of Politics & International Relations, Royal Holloway**
Research Associate, Centre for Business Research, University of Cambridge;
→ Project: IMF Lending and Socio-Economic Development

2015-18 **Visiting College Research Associate, Wolfson College, University of Cambridge**

2015-17 **Lecturer, School of Social Sciences, University of Waikato**

2013-15 **Research Associate, Department of Sociology, University of Cambridge**
→ Project: The Political Economy of Structural Adjustment

2012-13 **Intern, Global Urban Observatory, United Nations (Kenya)**
→ Project: The Determinants of Slums

2004-10 **Research Assistant, School of Social Sciences, University of Waikato**
→ Project: Relative Surplus Population & Uneven Development (2009, 2010)
→ Project: Enhancing Wellbeing in an Ageing Society (2007, 2008)
→ Project: Knowledge Capital in State-Owned Enterprises (2004, 2005)

Education

2010-16 **PhD in Sociology, University of Cambridge**
→ Dissertation: The Determinants of Slums.
→ Supervisor: Lawrence King, Professor of Sociology and Political Economy.
→ Examiners: Ash Amin, Professor of Geography, University of Cambridge; Marie Huchzermeyer, Professor of Architecture & Planning, University of the Witwatersrand.

2007-08 **MSocSc in Sociology and Social Policy, University of Waikato**
→ Dissertation: Labour Market Segmentation and the Reserve Army of Labour.
→ Supervisor: David Neilson, Senior Lecturer in Sociology.

2002-06 **BSocSc(Hons) in Industrial Relations and Psychology, University of Waikato**

Publications

Journal articles

2019 **Stubbs, T.**, Kentikelenis, A., Reinsberg, B., & King, L. Evaluating the effects of IMF conditionality: An extension of quantitative approaches and an empirical application to public education spending. *Review of International Organizations*, in press.

2019 Daoud, A., Reinsberg, B., Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.**, & King, L. The International Monetary Fund's interventions in food and agriculture: An analysis of loans and conditions. *Food Policy*, in press.

2018 Reinsberg, B., Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.**, & King, L. (2018). The world system and the hollowing-out of state capacity in developing countries: How structural adjustment programs impact bureaucratic quality. *American Journal of Sociology*, 124(3).

2018 **Stubbs, T.**, & Kentikelenis, A. (2018). Targeted social safeguards in the age of universal social protection: The IMF and health systems of low-income countries. *Critical Public Health*, 28(2), 132-139.

2017 **Stubbs, T.**, & Kentikelenis, A. (2017). International financial institutions and human rights: Implications for public health. *Public Health Reviews*, 38, 27.

- 2017 Thomson, M., Kentikelenis, A., & **Stubbs, T.** (2017). Structural adjustment programmes adversely affect vulnerable populations: A systematic-narrative review of their effect on child and maternal health. *Public Health Reviews*, 38, 13.
→ Highly accessed article (over 3,800 views in 12 months)
- 2017 Daoud, A., Nosrati, E., Reinsberg, B., Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.**, & King, L. (2017). Impact of International Monetary Fund programs on child health. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(25), 6492-6497.
→ International media coverage (*Agence France-Presse*)
- 2017 **Stubbs, T.**, Kentikelenis, A., Stuckler, D., McKee, M., & King, L. (2017). IMF conditionality and government health expenditure: A response to Sanjeev Gupta. *Social Science & Medicine*, 181, 202-204.
- 2017 **Stubbs, T.**, Kentikelenis, A., Stuckler, D., McKee, M., & King, L. (2017). The impact of IMF conditionality on government health expenditure: A cross-national analysis of 16 West African nations. *Social Science & Medicine*, 174, 220-227.
- 2016 Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.**, & King, L. (2016). IMF conditionality and development policy space, 1985-2014. *Review of International Political Economy*, 23(4), 543-582.
→ International media coverage (*The Guardian*, *The Washington Post*, *Radio New Zealand*)
→ Most accessed article published in the journal in 2016 (over 2,000 views in 7 months)
- 2016 **Stubbs, T.**, Kentikelenis, A., & King, L. (2016). Catalyzing aid? The IMF and donor behavior in aid allocation. *World Development*, 78, 511-528.
- 2016 Neilson, D., & **Stubbs, T.** (2016). Competition states in the neoliberal era: Towards third generation regulation theory. *Competition & Change*, 20(2), 122-144.
- 2015 Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.**, & King, L. (2015). Structural adjustment and public spending on health: Evidence from IMF programs in low-income countries. *Social Science & Medicine*, 126, 169-176.
- 2014 **Stubbs, T.**, King, L. & Stuckler, D. (2014). Economic growth, financial crisis, and property rights: Observer bias in perception-based measures. *International Review of Applied Economics*, 28(3), 400-417.
- 2011 Neilson, D. & **Stubbs, T.** (2011). Relative surplus population and uneven development in the neoliberal era: Theory and empirical application. *Capital & Class*, 35(3), 435-453.
- Book chapters*
- 2019 Kentikelenis, A., Forster, T., & **Stubbs, T.** Neoliberalism and health in global context: The role of international organizations. In T. Schrecker & K. Mohindra (Eds.), *Handbook of Global Health Politics*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. In press.
- 2018 **Stubbs, T.**, & Kentikelenis, A. (2018). Conditionality and sovereign debt: An overview of human rights implications. In I. Bantekas & C. Lumina (Eds.), *Sovereign Debt and International Human Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. In press.
- 2017 **Stubbs, T.**, Cochrane, W., Uerata, L., Hodgetts, D., & Rua, M. (2017). The Māori precariat: A silhouette. In S. Groot, C. Van Ommen, B. Masters-Awatere & N. Tassell-Matamua (Eds.), *Precarity: Uncertain, Insecure, and Unequal Lives in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Auckland: Massey University Press, pp.115-123.
- 2017 Cochrane, W., **Stubbs, T.**, Rua, M., & Hodgetts, D. (2017). A statistical portrait of the New Zealand precariat. In S. Groot, C. Van Ommen, B. Masters-Awatere & N. Tassell-Matamua (Eds.), *Precarity: Uncertain, Insecure, and Unequal Lives in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Auckland: Massey University Press, pp.27-36.
- 2015 **Stubbs, T.** (2015). Ethnopolitics and the military in Kenya. In D. Zirker (Ed.), *Forging Military Identity in Culturally Pluralistic Societies: Quasi-Ethnicity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, pp.69-88.
- Working papers*
- 2018 Daoud, A., Reinsberg, B., Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.**, & King, L. (2018). Spreading the Washington Consensus into food and agriculture sectors: The case of the International Monetary Fund (No. 468). *PERI Working Paper Series*. Amherst, MA.
- 2018 Reinsberg, B., Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.**, & King, L. (2018). How structural adjustment programs impact bureaucratic quality in developing countries (No. 452). *PERI Working Paper Series*. Amherst, MA.
- Op-eds and blog posts*

- 2017 **Stubbs, T.**, & Kentikelenis, A. How international financial institutions undercut human rights and impede public health. *BMC On Health*, 4 December 2017. Available at <http://blogs.biomedcentral.com/on-health/2017/12/04/how-international-financial-institutions-undercut-human-rights-and-impede-public-health>
- 2017 **Stubbs, T.** Ethnopolitics in Kenya – history repeats in 2017 presidential elections. *AAME Centre Blog*, 27 November 2017. Available at <https://www.aame.london/single-post/2017/11/27/Blog-Ethnopolitics-in-Kenya-%E2%80%93-history-repeats-in-2017-presidential-elections>
- 2017 **Stubbs, T.**, & Abbott, P. Election guide: What you need to know about the Rwandan presidential poll. *The Conversation Africa*, 30 July 2017. Available at <https://theconversation.com/election-guide-what-you-need-to-know-about-the-rwandan-presidential-poll-81496>
- 2017 **Stubbs, T.**, & Kentikelenis, A. The truth behind IMF's claims to promote social protection in low-income countries. *Bretton Woods Observer*, 16 June 2017. Available at <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/2017/06/truth-behind-imfs-claims-promote-social-protection-low-income-countries/>
- 2017 **Stubbs, T.**, & Kentikelenis, A. How years of IMF prescriptions have hurt West African health systems. *The Conversation Africa*, 22 February 2017. Available at <https://theconversation.com/how-years-of-imf-prescriptions-have-hurt-west-african-health-systems-72806>
- 2016 Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.** & King, L. Did the IMF actually ease up on structural adjustment? Here's what the data say. *The Washington Post*, 2 June 2016. Available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/06/02/did-the-imf-actually-ease-up-on-demanding-structural-adjustments-heres-what-the-data-say/>
- 2016 Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.** & King, L. The IMF has not lived up to its own hype on social protection. *The Guardian*, 25 May 2016. Available at <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/may/25/the-imf-international-monetary-fund-has-not-lived-up-to-hype-on-social-protection>
- 2016 **Stubbs, T.**, Kentikelenis, A. & King, L. The IMF unlocks billions in aid, but from whom? *The Institute Blog*, 02 February 2016. Available at <http://www.ineteconomics.org/ideas-papers/blog/the-imf-unlocks-billions-in-aid-but-from-whom>
- 2016 **Stubbs, T.** Why Kagame's bid to serve a third term makes sense for Rwanda. *The Conversation Africa*, 27 January 2016. Available at <http://theconversation.com/why-kagames-bid-to-serve-a-third-term-makes-sense-for-rwanda-53354>
- 2014 Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.** & King, L. The IMF and human development: Little progress and worrisome trends. *The Institute Blog*, 30 October 2014. Available at: <http://www.ineteconomics.org/ideas-papers/blog/the-imf-and-human-development-little-progress-and-worrisome-trends>

Work-In-Progress

Books under contract

- Kentikelenis, A., & **Stubbs, T.** *Austerity without a Safety Net: Social Protection and Structural Adjustment*. Status: Under contract with Oxford University Press.

Manuscripts under review

- Forster, T., Kentikelenis, A., Reinsberg, B., **Stubbs, T.**, & King, L. How structural adjustment programs affect inequality: A disaggregated analysis of IMF conditionality, 1980-2014. Status: Revise and resubmit at *Social Science Research*.
- Reinsberg, B., **Stubbs, T.**, Kentikelenis, A., & King, L. Privatization and the fueling of corruption: Evidence from IMF programs in developing countries. Status: Under review at *Regulation & Governance*.
- Reinsberg, B., **Stubbs, T.**, Kentikelenis, A., & King, L. Unions first? The political economy of labor market deregulation during IMF interventions. Status: Under review at *International Interactions*.
- Reinsberg, B., **Stubbs, T.**, & Kentikelenis, A. Tax the people, not trade: The International Monetary Fund and the structure of taxation in the developing world. Status: Under review at *Review of International Political Economy*.

- Reinsberg, B., Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.**, & King, L. Creating crony capitalists: How structural adjustment fuels corruption in the developing world. Status: Under review at *Socio-Economic Review*.
- Forster, T., Kentikelenis, A., **Stubbs, T.**, & King, L. Globalization and health equity: The impact of structural adjustment programs on developing countries. Status: Under review at *Social Science & Medicine*.

Manuscripts in preparation

- **Stubbs, T.** Slum urbanism and the Weberian state: Divergent trajectories in Kenya and Rwanda. Target: *American Sociological Review*.
- **Stubbs, T.**, Rua, M., Cochrane, W., Stolte, O., & Hodgetts, D. Indigeneity and precarity in Aotearoa. Target: *Work, Employment & Society*.
- **Stubbs, T.**, Rua, M., Cochrane, W., Waite, K., Stolte, O., & Hodgetts, D. Social resilience in New Zealand's neoliberal era: Collective imaginings of the Maori precariat. Target: *Socio-Economic Review*.
- **Stubbs, T.**, & Thomson, M. Beyond 'good governance' of health systems: Understanding the drivers of effective healthcare delivery through a political settlements approach. Target: *Health Policy and Planning*.
- **Stubbs, T.**, & Kentikelenis, A. Spreading neoliberalism: International financial institutions and the free-market revolution in the Global South. Target: invited book chapter.
- Reinsberg, B., Kentikelenis, A., & **Stubbs, T.** Unimplementable by design? A theory of compliance with International Monetary Fund policy conditionality. Target: *International Organization*.

Invited Talks & Conference Presentations

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| 2018 | Stubbs, T. The Māori precariat: A silhouette. <i>Te Whakarurubau Partnering for Whanau Symposium, Te Wananga o Aotearoa Mangakotukutuku, Hamilton, 19-20 July 2018.</i> |
| 2017 | Stubbs, T. Cities without slums? The political economy of urban development in Kigali and Nairobi. <i>Politics and International Relations Departmental Seminar Series, Royal Holloway, London, 18 October 2017.</i> |
| 2017 | Stubbs, T. The impact of IMF conditionality on government education expenditure. <i>Transformations in Global Economic Governance, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 28-29 September 2017.</i> |
| 2017 | Stubbs, T. Harnessing decentralisation for inclusive urban service delivery: The case of Kigali, Rwanda. <i>Development Studies Association Conference, University of Bradford, Bradford, 6-8 September 2017.</i> |
| 2017 | Stubbs, T. Evaluating the effects of IMF conditionality: A review and extension of quantitative approaches. <i>Political Methodology Conference of the Political Studies Association, University of Oxford, Oxford, 13 January 2017.</i> |
| 2016 | Cochrane, W., Stubbs, T. , Hodgetts, D. & Rua, M. The Maori precariat: A silhouette. <i>Nga Pae o te Maramatanga International Indigenous Research Conference, Auckland University, Auckland, 15-18 November 2016.</i> |
| 2016 | Stubbs, T. Internationalized political settlements: Understanding Uganda's wars at home and abroad. <i>Development Studies Association Conference, University of Oxford, Oxford, 12-14 September 2016.</i> |
| 2016 | Stubbs, T. Governing the slums: Lessons from Kenya and Rwanda. <i>Centre of Governance and Human Rights Research Group Forum, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 6 June 2016.</i> |
| 2015 | Stubbs, T. Health systems and the International Monetary Fund: A cross-national analysis of west African nations, 1995–2014. <i>National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis (NIDEA), University of Waikato, Hamilton, 8 September 2015.</i> |
| 2015 | Stubbs, T. & Tsinda, A. Governing the post-conflict city: A case study of Kigali, Rwanda. <i>Urban Emergencies: Emergent Urbanism Conference, Department of Architecture, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 17-18 March 2015.</i> |
| 2015 | Stubbs, T. The impact of regional economic resilience and social connectedness on post-crisis employment trends: Evidence from New Zealand. <i>Western Economic Association International (WEAI) 11th International Conference, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, 8-11 January 2015.</i> |

- 2014 **Stubbs, T.** Catalyzing aid? The IMF and donor behaviour. *Aotearoa New Zealand International Development Studies Network (DevNet) Biennial Conference, University of Otago, Dunedin, 27-29 November 2014.*
- 2014 **Stubbs, T.** The political economy of slums: Kigali and Nairobi in comparative perspective. *African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) Annual Conference, University of Otago, Dunedin, 25-26 November 2014.*
- 2014 Stolte, O., Carr, S., **Stubbs, T.**, van Ommen, C., & Hodgetts, D. On the psychology of poverty: Beyond piggy banks, individual therapy and other facile interventions for the poor. *New Zealand Applied Psychology Conference, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 23-24 October 2014.*
- 2014 Kentikelenis, A., & **Stubbs, T.** IMF conditionality, 1985-2013: Introducing a new dataset. *Department of Sociology, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 23 September 2014.*
- 2013 **Stubbs, T.** Rethinking the urban challenge: Critical perspectives on the 'slum' Millennium Development Goal and lessons for the post-2015 agenda. *Sociological Association of Aotearoa New Zealand (SAANZ) Annual Conference, University of Auckland, Auckland, 9-11 December 2013.*

Grants & Awards

- 2016-19 Co-Investigator, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Research Commissioning (\$485,000)
→ Connections and flows: Precarious Maori households in austere times
- 2015-18 Co-Investigator, Cambridge Political Economy Society Trust (£300,000)
→ IMF lending and socio-economic development: The evolution and consequences of structural adjustment, 1985-2014
- 2016 Co-Investigator, ESRC Impact Acceleration Account (£6,000)
→ Transparency and accountability in international organizations
- 2016 University of Waikato, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Research Grant (\$3,000)
- 2016 University of Waikato, Research Trust Contestable Fund (\$5,000)
- 2016 University of Waikato, New and Emerging Researcher Award (\$3,000)
- 2010-13 Cambridge Commonwealth Trust, Prince of Wales Scholarship (£36,000)
- 2012 Wolfson College Travel Grant (£350)
- 2007-08 University of Waikato, Masters Research Scholarship (\$12,000)
- 2005-06 University of Waikato, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Honours Award (\$1,500)
- 2005-06 Freemasons New Zealand, Graduate Scholarship (\$6,000)
- 2002-04 Rotorua Energy Charitable Trust Scholarship (\$8,000)

Teaching Experience

- 2017-19 **Lecturer, Department of Politics & International Relations, Royal Holloway**
PR2500: International Political Economy (2017/18, 2018/19)
PR3950: Global Health Policy (2018/19)
PR5923: Qualitative Approaches in Politics and International Relations (2017/18)
PR5957: Development Politics in Africa (2017/18, 2018/19)
- 2015-17 **Lecturer, School of Social Sciences, University of Waikato**
LBST101: The Nature of Work (2015)
LBST301: Globalisation and the Nation State (2016)
SOCP102: Introduction to Social Policy (2016)
SOCP302: Social Policy (2015, 2016)
SOCP304: Health, Wellbeing and Policy (2015, 2016, 2017)
SOCY101: Introduction to Sociology (2016, 2017)
SSRP202: Social Science Research Methods (2017)
- 2010-14 **Guest Lecturer, School of Social Sciences, University of Waikato**
LBST301: Globalization and the Nation State (2010, 2012, 2013, 2014)
SOCP304: Health, Wellbeing and Policy (2014)
- 2011-12 **Supervisor, Department of Sociology, University of Cambridge**
SOC2: Modern Societies and Global Transformations (2011)
SOC7: The Political Economy of Capitalism (2011, 2012)
- 2005-08 **Sessional Assistant, School of Social Sciences, University of Waikato**
LBST101: The Nature of Work (2005, 2008)
PCSS231: Planning Learning Opportunities for Adults (2005, 2006)

Additional Training

- 2018-19 Postgraduate Certificate in Academic Practice in Teaching and Learning (CAPITAL), Royal Holloway, University of London
2013 Methods in Causal Inference, London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine

Academic Service

Reviewer

- 2018 South African Journal of Economics; Research in Political Sociology; Social Science & Medicine; Journal of Public Health; Electoral Studies; European Journal of Government and Economics; Journal of Refugee Studies; Journal of International Relations & Development; Review of International Political Economy
2017 European Journal of Comparative Economics; Health Policy and Planning; International Review of Applied Economics; Review of International Political Economy; Social Science & Medicine; SAGE Books
2016 Current Sociology; Journal of Public Health; Public Health Reviews; The Social Science Journal; European Journal of Comparative Economics
2015 Journal of Public Health; Social Science & Medicine
2014 Journal of Global Health
2013 Health Policy

Conference organisation

- 2018 'Political Stability in Deeply Divided Societies', organised for AAME Centre for Politics, Royal Holloway

Administration

- 2018-19 Teaching Committee for Department of Politics & International Relations, Royal Holloway; Hiring Committee for two Research Associates in African Studies, AAME Centre for Politics, Royal Holloway; Webmaster for School of Politics, International Relations and Philosophy, Royal Holloway
2017-18 Teaching Committee for Department of Politics & International Relations, Royal Holloway; Library Liaison Officer for Department of Politics & International Relations, Royal Holloway
2015 Hiring Committee for two Research Associates in Political Economy, Centre for Business Research, University of Cambridge

Additional Information

- Languages English (native), Japanese (intermediate), Chinese Mandarin (basic)
Software Stata, R, Tableau, Alas.ti
Affiliations American Sociological Association (ASA), International Studies Association (ISA)