

Can't We Talk about Class? Aotearoa-New Zealand's "Classless" Discourse by Kyle Barrett and Bill Cochrane*

In Aotearoa-New Zealand (ANZ), class discourse is notably absent from mainstream socio-cultural-political narratives. The perception of an egalitarian society is challenged by its continuous promotion of neoliberal ideology, policy and practice, resulting in a fractured society. As a colonised nation, this has exacerbated poor class relations and limited social mobility. This paper examines ANZ's complex political history to better understand how working-class individuals and communities are often marginalised or made invisible within cultural, political, and social frameworks. By analysing these issues, this paper aims to lay the foundation for a broader conversation within and about ANZ's working-class communities.

Keywords: *working-class, colonisation, neoliberalism, egalitarianism, identity*

Introduction

It has been posited that the concept of class has declined since the 1980s (Roper 1997; McAloon 2004; France and Roberts 2017; Haddon 2015). However, as Threadgold (2018) notes, these debates ensure that those involved in class analysis are 'kept on their toes and must constantly ensure that their theoretical tools are developed in ways that remain germane' (20). This paper explores the lack of class discourse within the unique socio-cultural environment of Aotearoa, New Zealand (ANZ). Concepts of class have

long been one of our central animating concerns and has played a major role in numerous areas of inquiry including studies of work and employment; social mobility; education; family and kinship; community and social interaction; culture and lifestyles (Waitkus et al 2024: 127).

Discussions of class and working-class identity are too often ignored in favour of intersectional perspectives, predominately focusing on gender and ethnicity. Ann Phoenix and Pamela Pattynama note that intersectionality is 'useful as a handy catchall phrase that aims to make visible the multiple positioning that constitutes everyday life and the power relations that are central to it' (2006: 187). The complexity of intersectionality also raises numerous methodological issues (McCall 2005: 1772), particularly regarding working-class identity and one's sense of being. Additionally, Barbara Foley has criticised intersectionality as it 'does not offer an adequate explanatory framework for addressing the root causes of social inequality in the capitalist socioeconomic system' (2019: 11). Indeed, the working-class are often riddled with feelings of shame and

*** Dr. Kyle Barrett is an award-winning filmmaking, researcher and Senior Lecturer in Media and Creative Technologies at the University of Waikato. Dr. Bill Cochrane has a PhD in Labour Studies from the University of Waikato and teaches in the Social Policy programme at the University of Waikato.**

inadequacy when compared to the middle- and upper-class (Skeggs 2004: 97), resulting in further disenfranchisement.

Contemporary neoliberal policies have resulted in a fractured, divided and contentious period in ANZ where the working class is further marginalised, particularly regarding public discourse. Charles Crothers notes that:

Social Class undoubtedly remains one of the most (if not the most) potent social background characteristic of a person (and their household) shaping their opportunities, experiences, and life chances, even if this is not always explicitly realised or acknowledged let alone avowed. And in New Zealand not particularly less so than in other countries for all the longstanding tradition of New Zealand's (supposed) egalitarianism (2014: 90).

While egalitarianism may be a myth in ANZ, the global rise in wealth inequality has further weakened working-class voices, which are often unheard or ignored, leading to a significant lack of agency and identity (Linkon 2021: 27). This paper will reflect on the absence of class discourse in ANZ and the attitudes toward the working class in the contemporary neoliberal world. It is contended that the lack of open discourse in ANZ regarding working-class issues has resulted in a shift from a perceived egalitarian society to one that increasingly emulates the neoliberal, conservative world that favours individuals over communities and collectives.

Aotearoa-New Zealand: A History

ANZ's geographical location means it is one of the most isolated countries in the world, where its closest neighbour, Australia, is 1,6000 km to the West (Hay et al 2008: 1). Regardless of its location, ANZ is not immune to Western capitalist ideology, practices or policy. As a colonised country – Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that to call the world post-colonial is 'from Indigenous perspectives to name colonialism as finished business' (2012: 112) – ANZ is a complex socio-cultural-political assemblage. The increase of British settlers in the 1830s led to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) in 1840 by Crown representatives and Māori iwi (tribes) and hapū (sub-tribes). In essence, the treaty contains three articles that outline the agreement:

In article one, the chiefs of the Confederation and the separate and independent chiefs were said to 'cede to Her Majesty, the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty' that they exercised or possessed over their respective territories [...] Article two introduced further difficulties: the Queen 'confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession' [...] [Article three] The Queen extended her protection to the Māori people and granted them 'all the rights and privileges of British subjects' (Orange 2011: 47-9).

The treaty remains highly controversial, particularly regarding Article 2 and the interpretation of the term “possession,” especially from the right-wing perspective. The tensions between Māori and British colonisers led to the Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa (the great New Zealand Wars) from 1845 to 1872, during which Māori lost more land as a form of punishment. Māori have continually fought against injustices stemming from the failures of Pākehā representatives of the Crown to uphold the treaty. In the 1970s, the Māori protest movement played a crucial role in establishing the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, through which Parliament ‘provided a legal process for investigating Māori Treaty claims. Tribunal inquiries assist in resolving Treaty claims and reconciling outstanding issues between Māori and the Crown’ (Waitangi Tribunal 2017). The current right-wing leaning coalition government has advanced a series of policy proposals that have been widely interpreted as efforts to erode Māori sovereignty and reconfigure the constitutional relationship between Māori and the Crown. Central among these is the “Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Bill” (2024), introduced by the ACT party, a libertarian, right-wing minority party. The bill has provoked substantial opposition from Māori communities and allied Pākehā – as demonstrated by the mass nationwide hīkoi (communal protest/walk) from November 10-19th 2024 (Salmond 2024) - who argue that it seeks to dismantle co-governance arrangements in favour of market-driven reforms. Though the bill failed to gain support past its first reading, it has nevertheless demonstrated that these developments are situated within a broader neoliberal agenda that prioritises the privatisation of public assets, including critical sectors such as healthcare (Gillespie and Breen 2024).

Locating Aotearoa’s Class Structure

The emergence of class structure in ANZ can be traced to the onset of colonisation. Prior to the arrival of Pākehā settlers, Māori society was organised hierarchically, yet it did not exhibit stratification in the Marxist sense – that is, divisions based on differential access to control over the means of production, particularly land. Roper (1997: 91) contends that Māori social organisation closely resembled what Engels (1884: 21) termed “primitive communism,” a communal mode of production that, according to Roper (1997: 91), positioned Māori more advantageously than many other indigenous societies in resisting colonisation. Furthermore, Roper argues that the imposition of capitalism – and by extension, the formation of the modern nation-state of ANZ – necessitated the dismantling of traditional Māori social structures. The resulting transformation embedded capitalist relations of production and legitimising the colonial apparatus.

In his historiographical analysis, McAloon (2004: 4) explains that class was a foundational element in the early process of nation-building in ANZ. He delineates a tripartite class structure: an upper class comprised British colonial bureaucrats tasked with establishing the new colony; a middle class of moderately affluent family farmers; and a working class comprising a highly heterogeneous group, ‘ranging from the relatively secure artisans of the towns to the itinerant rural worker’ (McAloon 2004: 11). The persistence and evolution of class structures in ANZ are further examined in Hayes (2005), who analyses census data from 1896 to 2001. Hayes identifies a consistent pattern of class stratification, with a dominant proletariat and relatively small bourgeoisie. Post-

World War II, significant social transformations occurred, including increased urbanisation and the 'evolution of a new middle class, respectable family man' (Hodgetts and Rua 2010: 160). Despite this, the proletariat continued to expand until the 1980s, when a reversal began. Ongley (2016: 85) attributes this shift to rising unemployment, the proliferation of precarity and part-time labour, and the emergence of contradictory class positions. Contrary to the "class is dead" theories, Ongley (2016: 91) contends that while class structures in ANZ have evolved – particularly during periods of economic crisis – there has been a discursive shift in emphasis toward social categories of gender and ethnicity, contributing to a decline in class consciousness. Nevertheless, Ongley (2016: 79) maintains that class remains a critical analytical category, not merely because it continues to shape material conditions under capitalism, but also because it provides a necessary framework for understanding exploitation. This perspective aligns with France and Roberts in their monograph *Youth and Social Class* (2017) which also underscores the relevance of class. Ongley further observes that while inequality has been exacerbated by neoliberal policies since the 1980s, this has not affected all segments of the working-class uniformly, and that this uneven impact has 'probably coincided with a diminishing of class awareness' (72). In contrast, Haddon (2015: 737) instead finds that class is a salient identity marker in ANZ. Furthermore, Haddon's study of survey data between 1999-2009 demonstrates that while collective consciousness may be in decline, individual class identification persists, thereby challenging the notion that class has not lost its significance in the contemporary context.

ANZ: A Neoliberal Project

Neoliberalism has been criticised as an ill-defined term that has been applied to a wider range of social issues (Dunn 2017: 437). However, at its centre – at least in terms of its political goals and reach – is identifying the 'factors indispensable to the maintenance of functioning markets' (Biebricher 2018: 26). To put simply, neoliberalism promotes the deregulated free market (or liberalisation of the market), and reduce state intervention, where in essence it is:

held to be the dominant and pervasive economic policy agenda of our times, a powerful and expansive political agenda of class domination and exploitation, the manifestation of 'capital resurgent', an overarching dystopian zeitgeist of late-capitalist excess (Venugopal 2015: 165).

Furthermore, as an ideology, it is one against collectivism and instead favours the individual and has been proven to be successful for the upper classes (Harvey 2005: 156). As eminent Marxist economic geographer David Harvey indicates, ANZ embraced many neoliberal policies and practices (2007: 23), whereby several socio-cultural-political issues have been unaddressed. For instance, Iiti Joyce recognises there are 'still disparities between Māori and Pākehā within a range of social indicators, with Māori being imprisoned well in excess of any other cultural group in New Zealand' (2017: 141-2). The increase of privatisation in key public and social services from 9 years of a Tory

government (National Party) has resulted in further class divide. Despite the Labour Party's return to power in 2017 (and successful re-election in 2020), the working classes in general continue to be heavily affected by neoliberal policies where the 'scale and intensification of wealth inequality' (Waitkus et al. 2024: 127) has perpetuated over the past two decades. Harvey also acknowledges that neoliberal policies, promoted by political leaders Margareth Thatcher and Ronald Reagan during the 1970s/1980s, were eagerly adopted by ANZ to reform the welfare state (2007: 23). Furthermore, the Thatcher-era welfare reforms that resonated with right-wing political parties in the Western world resulted in devastating cuts and increase of poverty for the working-classes (Andrews and Jacobs 1990: 49). Both National and Labour governments from 1980s-2000s have perpetuated the need to destabilise the state's involvement in public welfare (Cotterell and von Randow 2016: 118).

Jonathan Boston and Chris Eichbaum (2014) both note that since the adoption of neoliberalism in ANZ, there has been a decline in support for egalitarian values (374). Peter Skilling concurs, pointing out that between the 1980s and 2000s, there was a sharp increase in economic inequality (2013: 19). Ongley also adds that:

Most do not consider class to be a significant element of their own identities or an important dimension of New Zealand society. This owes much to our historical ideal of egalitarianism, which – however spuriously – has portrayed this as a country of opportunity where class inequalities are less marked and class boundaries less rigid than elsewhere (2016: 72).

Furthermore, David Littlewood comments that after Labour's election victory in 1984, their adoption of neoliberal policies and welfare reforms undermined any notion of ANZ egalitarianism, as the working class had fewer opportunities for social mobility (2021: 146). The impact of neoliberalism on diminishing trade unions cannot be ignored; capitalism 'materially structures the working class through processes of division, management and mechanisation' (Pitts 2024: 24). This division has been detrimental to labour organisation over the past 40 years. As reflected in class consciousness, ANZ's history of union organisation, and Māori and Pasifika activism within labour unions, particularly from the 1960s to the 1990s, demonstrates the importance of Māori "whānau-like" collectives in several industries, such as the meat packing industry (Boraman 2017; Boraman 2019; Williams 2012; Locke 2017; Poata-Smith 2004).

ANZ: Class Perspectives and Attitudes

Given its history, the advancement of neoliberalism, and its diverse population, societal attitudes toward working-class communities in ANZ are as complex as its structures. Or, rather, considering the ideologies involved, it is often masked within a variety of vocabularies: rich, well-off, poor; occupational groupings, etc. Although analysts detect the lineaments of class lurking behind (Crothers 2014: 92), it can be argued that ANZ has emulated the worst of the West because of continual cultural colonialism and imperialism. Despite its minimal population – just over 5 million – it endeavours to be a key political participant in Western politics. However, its capacity to transcend the constraints of neoliberalism are

further complicated by its geographical location. This isolation can limit economic diversification, reduce regional influence, and constrain exposure to alternative policy models, thereby continuous promotion of neoliberal policies (Mintrom and Thomas 2019: 265-67).

In terms of prevailing societal attitudes, there is the concept of “Tall Poppy Syndrome” (TPS) – or the “small pond, big fish” mentality – reflects certain societal attitudes in ANZ. TPS is commonly understood as the tendency to “cut down” or criticise high achievers, often accompanied by a deep scepticism toward authority figures and those perceived as self-promoting (Littlewood 2017: 142). On the one hand, the middle and upper classes may express TPS as a form of social gatekeeping, discouraging those who challenge established hierarchies. On the other hand, working-class communities may exhibit TPS as a form of protection against arrogance or inequality. However, this attitude is not exclusive to ANZ (Kirkwood 2007: 366-67). Furthermore, the perception among the middle classes is that they have refined taste, whereas the working class in ANZ

go to race-courses, bet at the TAB, and prefer not just beer, but particularly New Zealand beer. Other items are common: shopping, seeking new experiences and exploring technology etc (Crothers 2014: 116).

The assumption that these activities are exclusively associated with the working-class, and that members of a this socioeconomic group are extremely susceptible to excessive gambling and alcohol consumption more than others, reflects a reductive and class-based stereotype (Schelleman-Offermans et al 2025: 1-2). However, activities such as these often heighten middle class concerns, as they tend to view themselves as morally upright and self-discipline (Bailey and Griffin 2017: 3). These stereotypes have a detrimental effect on the working-class, particularly in shaping their sense of identity and self-worth. Being dehumanised and considered “less than” by more affluent groups can cause profound psychological harm (Durante and Fiske 2017: 43). This harm is further compounded by media and political discourse that deliberately avoids discussing issues in class terms – such as reframing economic inequality as “cost of living” and the increase in privatised rentals as a “housing crisis” (Lee and Cain 2019: 188). When class is acknowledged at all, it is often dismissed as a “radical” or “Marxist” position (Taylor and Gray 2014: 73). Furthermore, both media and political institutions often promote a narrow ideal of a “deserving” citizen, often middle class, employed, and self-sufficient, with a particular emphasis on “entrepreneurs” and business owners as emblematic of the “self-made” individual. While this narrative is not necessarily exclusive to ANZ, it is evident in its context, where even reality television has contributed heavily to working-class stereotypes and dehumanisation. Benedicts et al (2017) argue that such media representations fail to reflect the actual “realities” they claim to depict (252). These various factors collectively illustrate what Craig (2004: 134-35) describes as a “crisis of confidence” characteristic of small nations, stemming from perpetual inequalities and pervasive cultural negativity. While the preceding discussion may appear pessimistic in its depiction of a marginalised and often silenced working-class, the hīkoi serves a powerful reminder that ANZ has a deep-rooted tradition of activism and unionism. This

resilient community continues to unite in the face of adversity, actively striving for a fair and equal society. Though the vision of a fully realised egalitarian or socialist nation remains aspirational, history has shown time and again that working-class voices in ANZ society will not be silenced.

Conclusion

This paper has aimed to draw attention to the marginalisation and lack of working-class discourse in ANZ. While it is not finite or exhaustive, it has highlighted the origins of prevailing social attitudes and the mechanisms through which neoliberalism continues to perpetuate disenfranchisement. Crucial factors, such as economic inequality undermine the assumption that working-class communities are the primary source of social disruption. In reality, it is often the actions and policies of the middle and upper classes through increased privatisation and celebration of supposed “self-made” individuals that exacerbate social divisions. Furthermore, within neoliberalism is the notion that everyone is responsible for their own success or failure, obscuring structural barriers that foster isolation of working-class communities. ANZ’s seeming ignorance or unwillingness to articulate social-cultural-political issues through class discourse is a result of its complex colonial history, economic restructuring, and cultural narratives. Media representations and the lack of acknowledging class divide, only reinforce political rhetoric that frames inequality as an individual failing rather than a systemic issue. Despite these challenges, there remains a vibrant working class resistance. Community, union and Indigenous-led initiatives remain at the forefront of the struggle for social justice and equality. Amplifying these voices and fostering greater solidarity are vital steps toward building a society rooted in dignity, inclusivity and collective empowerment.

References

- Andrews, K. and Jacobs, J. 1990. *Punishing the Poor: Poverty Under Thatcher*. London: Macmillan Ltd.
- Bailey, L. and Griffin, C. 2017. 'Social locations: class, gender and young people's alcohol consumption in a digital world'. In Lyons, A.C., McCreanor, T., Goodwin, I. and Barnes, H.M. (eds.). *Youth drinking cultures in a digital world: alcohol, social media and cultures of intoxication*. Oxon: Routledge, 31-48.
- De Benedictis, S., Allen, K., and Jensen, T. 2017. 'Portraying Poverty: The Economics and Ethics of Factual Welfare Television'. *Cultural sociology* 11(3): 337-358. DOI: 10.1177/1749975517712132.
- Biebricher, T. 2018. *The Political Theory of Neoliberalism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Boraman, T. 2017. 'Wildcat Homers, Gamifying Work, and Workplace-Whānau in the Meat Industry: Re-Examining the Subversiveness of Informal Workers' Resistance'. *Journal of Labor and Society* 20(4): 467-485. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/24714607-02004004>.
- Boraman, T. 2019. 'Indigeneity, Dissent, and Solidarity: Māori and Strikes in the Meat Industry in Aotearoa New Zealand During the Long 1970s'. *International Review of Social History* 64(1): 1-35. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859019000178>.
- Boston, J., and Eichbaum, C. 2014. 'New Zealand's Neoliberal Reforms: Half a Revolution'. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 27(3): 373-376. DOI: 10.1111/gove.12092.
- Cotterell, G., and von Randow, M. 2016. 'From expectational to aspirational citizenship? The changing attitudes of the working and middle classes in Aotearoa-New Zealand 1990-2014'. *New Zealand Sociology* 31(7): 115-131.
- Craig, C. 2004. *The Scots' Crisis of Confidence*. Edinburgh: Big Thinking.
- Crothers, C. 2014. 'Social Class in New Zealand: a review based on survey evidence'. *New Zealand Sociology* 29(3): 90-127.
- Dunn, B. 2017. 'Against Neoliberalism as a Concept'. *Capital and Class* 43(3): 435-454. DOI: 10.1177/0309816816678583.
- Durante, F., and Fiske, S. T. 2017. 'How social-class stereotypes maintain inequality'. *Current opinion in psychology* 18: 1843-48. DOI: 10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.07.033.
- Engels, F. 1884. *The Origin of Family, Private Property, and the State*. Hottingen Zurich: Marx Engels Works.
- Foley, B. 2019. 'Intersectionality: A Marxist Critique'. *New Labor Forum* 28(3): 10-13. DOI: 10.1177/1095796019867944.
- France, A. and Roberts, S. 2017. *Youth and Social Class: Enduring Inequality in the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gillespie, A. and Breen, C. 2024. 'The Treaty Principles Bill is already straining social cohesion – a referendum could be worse'. *The Conversation* November 13.

<https://theconversation.com/the-treaty-principles-bill-is-already-straining-social-cohesion-a-referendum-could-be-worse-243568> (accessed 14 May 2025).

- Haddon, E. 2015. 'Class identification in New Zealand: An analysis of the relationship between class position and subjective social location'. *Journal of Sociology* 51(3): 737-754. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1440783314530529>.
- Hay, J., Maclagan, M., and Gordon, E. 2008. *New Zealand English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Harvey, D. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D. 2007. 'Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction'. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 610(1): 22-44. DOI: 10.1177/0002716206296780.
- Hayes, P.J.M. 2005. 'The end of class? An empirical investigation into the changing composition of New Zealand's class structure, 1896–2001'. *New Zealand Sociology* 20(2): 38-75.
- Hodgetts, D. and Rua, M. 2010. 'What Does it Mean to be a Man Today?: Bloke Culture and the Media'. *American Journal of Community Psychology* 45(1-2): 155-168. DOI: 10.1007/s10464-009-9287-z.
- Huckle, T., Parker, K., Mavoa, S. and Casswell, S. 2020. 'Reduction in Late-Night Violence following the Introduction of National New Zealand Trading Hour Restrictions'. *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research* 44(3): 722-728. DOI: 10.1111/acer.14285.
- Joyce, I. 2017. 'Using Māori Metaphors to Develop Culturally Responsive Pedagogy of Relations'. In Pirchai-Illich, F., Pete, S. and Martin, F. (eds.). *Culturally Responsive Pedagogy Working towards Decolonization, Indigeneity and Interculturalism*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 141-164.
- Kirkwood, J. 2007. 'Tall Poppy Syndrome: Implications for entrepreneurship in New Zealand'. *Journal of management & organization* 13(4): 366-382. DOI: 10.5172/jmo.2007.13.4.366.
- Lee, S. and Cain, T. 2019. 'Diversity dividends and the dehumanisation of immigrants in the news media in Aotearoa New Zealand'. *New Zealand population review* 45: 185-210.
- Linkon, S.L. 2021. 'Class analysis from the inside Scholarly personal narrative as a signature genre of working-class studies'. In M. Fazio, C. Launius and T. Strangleman (eds.). *Routledge International Handbook to Working-Class Studies*. London: Routledge, 20-31.
- Littlewood, D. 2017. 'We are All Equal Here, Mate: Egalitarianism in Aotearoa New Zealand'. In Cain, T., Kahu, E. and Shaw, R. (eds.). *Tūrangawaewae: Identity and Belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Auckland: Massey University Press, 139-150.
- Locke, C. 2017. 'From Human Rights to Māori Sovereignty: Māori Radicalism and Trade Unions, 1967–86'. In Bell, R., Kawharu, M., Taylor, K., Belgrave, M. and Meihana, P. (eds.). *The Treaty on the Ground: Where we are headed, and why it matters*. Auckland: Massey University Press, 10-25.
- McAloon, J. 2004. 'Class in Colonial New Zealand'. *New Zealand Journal of History* 38(1): 3-21.

- McCall, L. 2005. 'The Complexity of Intersectionality'. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30(3): 1771-1800. DOI: 10.1086/426800.
- Mintrom, M. and Thomas, M. 2019. 'New Zealand's Economic Turnaround How Public Policy Innovation Catalysed Economic Growth'. In Compton, M.E. and Hart, P.T. (eds.). *Great Policy Successes: Or, A Tale About Why It's Amazing That Governments Get So Little Credit for Their Many Everyday and Extraordinary Achievements as Told by Sympathetic Observers Who Seek to Create Space for a Less Relentlessly Negative View of Our Pivotal Public Institutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 264-282.
- Ongley, P. 2016. 'Class in New Zealand: Past, Present and Future'. *Counterfutures: Left Thought & Practice Aotearoa* 1: 71-101. DOI: 10.26686/cf.v1i0.6442.
- Orange, C. 2011. *The Treaty of Waitangi*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Phoenix, A. and Pattynama, P. 2006. 'Intersectionality'. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 187-192. DOI: 10.1177/1350506806065751.
- Pitts, F.H. 2024. 'Contemporary class composition analysis: The politics of production and the autonomy of the political'. *Capital and Class* 48(1): 23-48. DOI: 10.1177/03098168221139284.
- Roper, B.S. 1997. 'The Changing Class Structure'. In Roper, B.S. and Rudd, C. (eds.). *The Political economy of New Zealand*. Oxford University Press, 79-99.
- Salmond, A. 2024. 'After the hīkoi, the challenge: the Treaty principles debate and an honest reckoning with history'. *The Conversation* November 29. <https://theconversation.com/after-the-hikoi-the-challenge-the-treaty-principles-debate-and-an-honest-reckoning-with-history-244806> (accessed 15 May 2025).
- Schelleman-Offermans, K., Sasso, A., Massar, K. and Teixeira, C.P. 2025. 'Explaining socioeconomic inequalities in alcohol use disorder symptoms: the role of social capital and drinking motives'. *Alcohol and alcoholism* 60(3): 1- 11. DOI: 10.1093/alcalc/agaf012.
- Skeggs, B. 2004. *Class, Self, Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Skilling, P. 2013. 'Egalitarian Myths in New Zealand: a review of public opinion data on inequality and redistribution'. *New Zealand Sociology* 28(2): 16-43.
- Taylor, D. and Grey, S. 2014. 'From Class-Struggle to Neoliberal Narratives: Redistributive movements in Aotearoa/New Zealand'. *New Zealand Sociology* 29(3): 69-89.
- Threadgold, S. 2018. *Youth, Class, and Everyday Struggles*. London: Routledge.
- Venugopal, R. 2015. 'Neoliberalism as concept'. *Economy and Society* 44(2): 165-187. DOI: 10.1080/03085147.2015.1013356.
- Waitangi Tribunal. 2017. 'About the Waitangi Tribunal'. *Waitangi Tribunal* June 16. <https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/en/publications/education/tow-past-and-present/new-section-page-3> (accessed 7 April 2025).
- Waitkus, N., Savage, M. and Toft, M. 2024. 'Wealth and Class Analysis: Exploitation, Closure and Exclusion'. *Sociology* 59(1): 126-143. DOI: 10.1177/00380385241275842.

- Webb, R. 2019. 'The camaraderie and the whakawhanaungatanga: work, culture and community in the New Zealand freezing works, 1970s and 1980s'. *New Zealand History* 53(2): 83-105.
- Wilkinson, R.G. 2009. *The spirit level: Why more equal societies almost always do better*. London: Allen Lane.