Editorial Introduction: Special Issue on Inequality and Class in New Zealand

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(1) The Need for A Special Issue and its Configuration

Despite the much-vaunted supposed fascination of sociologists with class, and perhaps their also supposedly-renowned focus on surveys (particularly relevant to class analyses) the last book on social class in post-Second World War New Zealand was published 30 years ago in 1983 (Pearson and Thorns). Of course, a steady trickle of theses, articles, chapters etc. has kept the topic alive (Crothers, 2008a, 2008b). This lacuna is of major significance since during the interim New Zealand has experienced the obvious upheavals associated with Rogernomics and the sharply shifting social patterns reverberating from that, but also huge shifts in employment and other aspects of inequality which have changed the contours of social class in New Zealand.

Recently, however, there seems to be an emerging tide of interest and concern about inequality in New Zealand. There are several immediately precipitating factors (mid-2013) which propel this special issue:

- The launch of the *Inequalities* book edited by Max Rashbrooke (2013) and the associated speaking tour by Robert Wade (see his article below in this special issue) and VUW one-day seminar (see Michael Forster's presentation for the Wellington seminar which was based on recent work published already at OECD over the last two years, namely in the frame of our report "Divided we Stand"[1];
- Ongoing concerns with child poverty and more generally various recent government benefit 'reforms': see discussion of former by Crothers (2012);
- Lurking, unpublished (or insufficiently cited) analyses on class (including several being published in this special issue);

[1] http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/dividedwestandwhyinequalitykeepsrising.htm, and a recent update available at http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/OECD2013-Inequality-and-Poverty-8p.pdf. A video of his presentation is available at http://video.oecd.org/?action=video&id=709. See also other presentations at http://igps.victoria.ac.nz/ events/previous_events-2013.html#Jul Websites contained further material concerning Inequalities are http://www.maxrashbrooke.org.nz/inequality/ and www.bwb.co.nz/books/inequality

- Advent of the latest 2013 Brian Perry/Ministry of Social Development update;
- Recent issuing of the 2012 wave of the Statistics NZ *General Social Survey (GSS)* and other relevant data-sets;
- An Antipodean echo of the 'UK Big Class Debate' (Savage et al. 2013) in the form of Du Fresnes's 2013 *Listener* article;
- Screening in August of Bryan Bruce's recent television documentary *Mind the Gap* on Inequality[2];
- US class analyst Erik O Wright's collegial visit to New Zealand in July[3];
- Continuing concern with the causes and social impacts of the immediate conjuncture with New Zealand (along with much of the rest of the world) falteringly emerging from the fairly long drawn out 'Global Financial Crisis' which commentators have seen as the largest period of difficulty in the world economy for many decades (eg. OECD, 2011);
- Ongoing interest in depiction of the changed configuration of capitalism over the last few decades under the ideological driver of 'neo-liberalism' and variously involving massive technological developments, globalisation and the very considerable rise of inequalities.

Sociologists have been but little involved in these various most recent issues - except where, for example, ethnicity (and maybe gender and gay/queer studies) is seen to have a class dimension: Tracey McIntosh and Evan Poata-Smith have chapters in Rashbrooke, 2013. Moreover, the various exercises have varied in the extent to which they have drawn down on appropriate evidence or engaged with relevant theory. In particular, sociologists are concerned to frame inequality within a wider understanding of social class, and the layerings of meanings involved with this. There has been a rise in more abstract theorising using overseas theorists but with little attempt to finesse how local conditions are directly comparable to these models. Moreover, a wider array of important sources of analysis on New Zealand inequality and social class seem to have been overlooked in the intellectual material in recent circulation, and these need to be drawn on (see also Crothers, 2008a; 2008b which plot the contours of New Zealand sociology). In too much of the writing (see Easton's critique in his *Listener* review (2013) of Rashbrooke and his article in this issue) there is a leap

2 http://www.nzonscreen.com/person/bryan-bruce http://www.tv3.co.nz/INSIDE-NEW-ZEALAND-Mind-The-Gap/tabid/3692/articleID/94816/MCat/3061/Default.aspx

3 Perhaps rather more tangentially related, but nevertheless of symbolic significance!

from immediate experiences with some backing data to policy prescriptions, without filtering the thinking through a drive to develop explanations (including links to further studies) about why things are shaping up the way they are. Moreover, explorations of policy alternatives need to be coupled with examination of the extent of societal support for these alternatives. So the special issue is concerned with mobilising appropriate academic resources.

While the origins of this special issue lie in a felt need to organise an appropriate review of the *Inequality* book, it made some sense also to bring into it some relevant articles already in hand. Because it is a collective effort some editorial attempt to reduce repetition has been made. It is intended this special issue will further an ongoing debate.

The special issue canvassed appropriate authors (known to the editor and his contacts) and is organised as follows:

- Reactions to the *Inequality* book and related debates: Brian Easton (below provides a synoptic constructive overview of the studies by Perry and others while also commenting on Rashbrooke (ed.), and Peter Skilling reviews the Rashbrooke volume within the context of other literature on inequalities;
- Ideological dimensions of Class/Inequality: e.g. see Pearson's substantive article below;
- Material dimensions of Class/Inequality;
- More particular aspects of Class/Inequality (e.g. food security);
- Sub-group involvement in Class/Inequality (e.g. ethnic differences);
- and to conclude: Issues concerning New Zealand Class/Inequality in Comparative Perspective: see in particular Robert Wade's essay in this issue.

To set the context for the articles and research notes included in the special issue, this editorial introduction will provide brief comments on recent sociological (and wider social science) conceptualisations of Social Class/Inequality and an appendix provides a review of the scope of the New Zealand literature on Class/Inequality.

(2) The Conceptualisation of Social Class/Inequality

There is little attempt here to review class studies in Sociology as a whole, which would be a momentous task. However, I briefly endeavour to draw on appropriate conceptual and comparative material in order to provide some guidance in reading the material of the special issue. This whole area of study is too often bedevilled by lack of clear conceptualisation and by muddled

terminology and these notes may help untangle some of the complexities. In particular, there have been major developments in the last couple of decades, particularly following the interest in cultural dimensions of class and in the usefulness of 'field theory' inspired by Bourdieu's writings. This has expanded the analytical repertoire of class researchers perhaps at some cost of neglect of macro-level issues although most recently there has been rather more interest, too, in re-capturing the wider political economic dimensions of class.

As well as conceptual analysis, class research can benefit from inventories (or better still meta-analyses) of the assemblage of studies deploying class-related variables, although this more empirically-based approach is not discussed further in this introduction (see Reid, 1999 for a UK example of an inventory of social class differences across many domains).

In this introduction, inequality is seen as a particular aspect of the more generic interest in social differentiation, concerning much of the more materially-grounded aspects of the broader term. Inequality and class have been bracketed, as they clearly overlap. The common element concerns understandings about how (the social distribution involved in) society's goods etc are produced, distributed and consumed. Whereas inequality particularly refers to study of the more immediately apparent issues of income, nonmaterial deprivations and hardships, and also affluence, the conception of class is seen as rather more structural and general lying behind this immediate appearance. A somewhat related distinction is between descriptive and explanatory components in study, although again there are overlaps. In turn, the study of inequality can have various foci. Inequality refers to the overall distribution of resources. However, some studies are more focused on particular ranges of the income distribution: the Rich; the Poor; the Middle class and perhaps other groupings. Sometimes, such foci are pursued separately, but they all belong to the study of inequality and the various aspects all need to be covered.

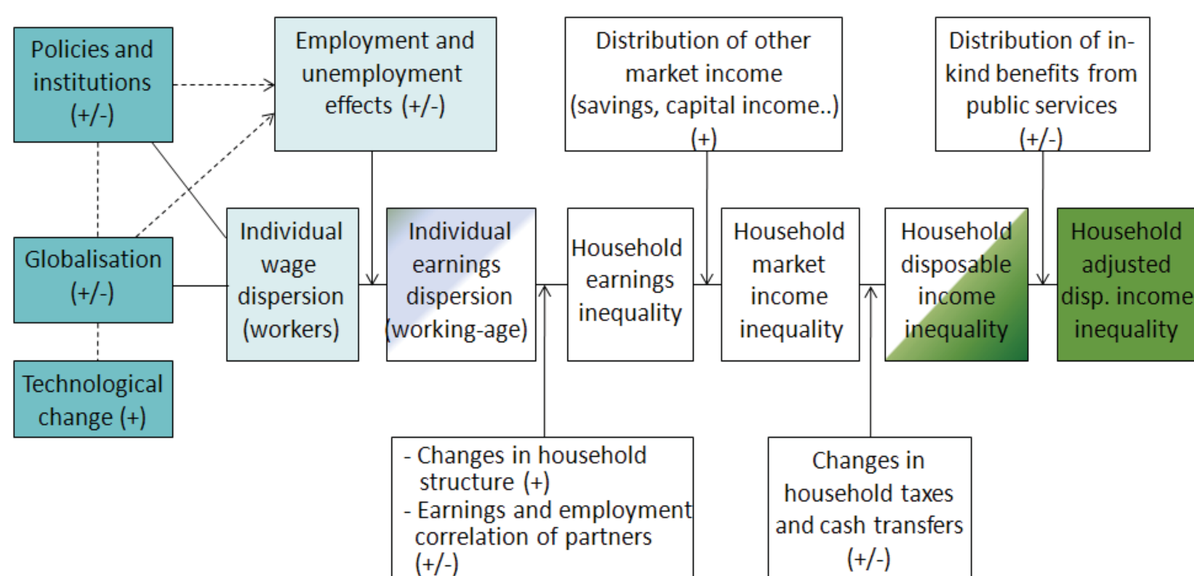
Inequality is a central area of interest which necessarily focuses on income. However, attention to income needs to be supplemented by interest in other related topics which include:

- Sources of income/market etc.
- Non-income/material hardship/affluence
- Wealth/Assets
- Education
- Cultural resources/life-style/status/prestige
- Short-term mobility and change

- Inter-generational ‘inheritances’ and long-term mobility
- Intra-household arrangements
- Collective social mobility
- Class awareness/consciousness
- Political action (where class-based or class-mobilising)
- Locality and other spatial and environmental aspects.

In examining inequality, the framework used by OECD in its studies is particularly useful. See the very useful conceptual framework below: taken from OECD, 2011: 21 (for a wider perspective see Therborn, 2006):

Chart: Identifying key drivers of income inequality: a partial and “step-wise” approach



(Source: OECD, 2011: 21)

Stepping back now from inequality to consider class analysis, a wider framework is required which more actively brings in both human and structural dimensions. Class analysis is often best seen as a level of analysis sandwiched between, and embedded within:

- a political economic framework on the broader side, and
- at a more detailed level, studies of occupations, sectors, workplaces, industries, beneficiary situations etc. on the other more detailed side.

In both these other levels class is at least indirectly implicated, so there is some necessity to include or refer to this material as well, although it also necessary to avoid being overwhelmed by becoming too caught up in considerations of the general trajectory of the economy, state and society on the one hand or in the detailed configurations on the other. From a political economy viewpoint classes are amongst actors or potential actors shaping competitions and conflicts

and from a more detailed sociological level classes are essentially alliances or configurations of groupings of occupations etc.

At the heart of much contemporary thinking about social class various capitals are placed. However, as Carroll (2010:1) argues: "...the nature of capital does not dictate a specific form of capitalist class organisation since capitalism is divided into competing units, so sociological analysis is needed to understand how these are embedded in socio-political relations".

Class has both objective and subjective aspects. To provide some preliminary guidance recourse is made to Sayer (quoting EP. Thompson) on the perils, when discussing class, of:

> ..beginning with particular classes, for class is not this or that part of the machine, but the way the machine works once it is set in motion .. not this interest and that interest, but the friction of interests ..by a class we are thinking of a very loosely defined body of people who share the same categories of interests, social experiences, traditions and value-system, who have a disposition to behave as a class, to define themselves in their actions and in their consciousness in relation to other groups of people in class ways. But class itself is not a thing, it is a happening.

The conclusion of this editorial returns to this viewpoint of classes in activity and action. Thompson's account is useful in drawing attention to the end-point of class analyses which are often considered (in Weber's terms) to provide explanations of differences in differential (objective) life chances and different life-styles (ways in which resources are used). Thompson's account also raises the issue about whether classes are seen as graduated (spread across a range) or entities (with more distinct boundaries and which can engage in relationships with each other). Level of activity is another aspect in his and others' thinking about class in which (latent) class structure can result in the expression of class interests which results in (or is accompanied by) class consciousness which results in class formation which results in class struggle, although movement up and down these levels of activity needs to be seen as interactive and dynamic, with feedback loops.

To begin with, Erik Olin Wright can provide useful guidance (for example, 2009). He sees three main sociological approaches to class analysis:

- Marxist
- Weberian, and
- mainstream stratification research.

He argues that these different ways of analysing class can all potentially contribute to a fuller understanding by identifying different causal processes at work in shaping the micro- and macro- aspects of inequality in capitalist societies and that a 'pragmatist realism' should, and hopefully has, replaced the 'grand battle of paradigms'. Classes as seen from these perspectives involve:

- attributes and material life conditions of individuals;
- ways in which social positions afford some people control over economic resources while excluding others—defining classes relative to processes of 'opportunity hoarding';
- structure by mechanisms of domination and exploitation in which economic positions accord some people power over the lives and activities of others.

In the stratification approach, people can be categorised by age, gender etc. but also by their material conditions. 'Class' is those economically important attributes that shape people's opportunities and choices in their material conditions of living. Such attributes include education in particular, but also more elusive attributes such as cultural resources, social connections and even individual motivations. Broad clusters of these different attributes and life conditions are termed 'classes':

- The 'middle class' denotes people who have enough education and money to participate fully in 'mainstream' way of life (which might include particular consumption patterns, for example);
- The 'upper class' designates people whose wealth, high income and social connections enable them to live their lives apart from 'ordinary' people; while
- the 'lower class' refers to those who lack the necessary educational and cultural resources to live securely above the poverty line;
- finally, the 'underclass' are those who live in extreme poverty, marginalised from the mainstream of society by a lack of basic education and skills needed for stable employment.

Since for most people "... economic status and rewards are mainly acquired through employment in paid jobs, the central focus of research in this tradition has been the process through which people obtain the cultural, motivational and educational resources that affect their occupations in the labour market" (p. 103). Since childhood is the platform for later developments much attention needs to be accorded to 'class background'—the family and other settings in which key attributes are acquired. But this approach focuses more on the people in the 'class slots' rather than the relationship amongst the positions in the first place.

Certain high income jobs (often also suffuse with other special advantages) can be sustained only if their incumbents have mechanisms for excluding others from access (i.e. 'social closure'). Costly entry requirements, such as high educational credentials, is one such mechanism but so are tight admission procedures, high tuition costs and avoidance of making large loans to low-income people. Thus higher status groups 'opportunity-hoard'. Three broad categories of opportunity-hoarding are:

> ... capitalists, defined by private-property rights in the ownership of means of production; the middle class, defined by mechanisms of exclusion over the acquisition of education and skills; and the working class, defined by their exclusion from both higher educational credentials and capital. That segment of the working class that is protected by unions is seen either as a privileged stratum within the working class, or sometimes as a component of the middle class (p. 106).

A more Marxist approach involves consideration of 'domination' (the ability to control the activities of others) and 'exploitation' (the acquisition of economic benefits from the labour of those who are dominated) although these are set within an ongoing wider framework of cooperation and tension.

Taking all of these processes together yields the following general picture of the American (although New Zealand's would be very similar) class structure at the beginning of the 21st century (p. 114):

- At the top, an extremely rich capitalist class and corporate managerial class, living at extraordinarily high consumption standards, with relatively weak constraints on their exercise of economic power;
- An historically large and relatively stable middle class, anchored in an expansive and flexible system of higher education and technical training connected to jobs requiring credentials of various sorts, but whose security and future prosperity is now uncertain;
- A working class which once was characterised by a relatively large unionized segment with a standard of living and security similar to that of the middle class, but which now largely lacks these protections;
- A poor and precarious segment of the working class, characterized by low wages and relatively insecure employment, subjected to unconstrained job competition in the labour market, and with minimal protection from the state; and
- A marginalised, impoverished part of the population, without the skills and education needed for jobs that would enable them to live

above the poverty line, and living in conditions which make it extremely difficult to acquire those skills.

Wright also notes that there is "a pattern of interaction between race and class in which the working poor and the marginalized population are disproportionately made up of racial minorities" (p.140).

A range of recent developments in class analysis have variously been generated in the UK, USA, Europe and Australia and the work of Mike Savage, who has been a leader in several of these, can provide a useful map. Savage et al. (2013) depict three phases in the analysis of class and stratification.

- Up to the 1980s there was a dominance of 'moralising' official measures of class in which 'standing within the community' (replaced by 'skill' in the 1980s) was used to portray a six-fold class schema, with professionals at the top, and unskilled manual workers at the bottom – with this approach being accompanied by sociological critiquing in favour of more rigorous sociologically informed class schemas, variously deploying theoretical frameworks from Marx and Weber;
- from the 1970s, this sociological critique triumphed, especially with the model of social class developed by John Goldthorpe et al. which was more widespread adopted than the rival Marxist framework of Erik Olin Wright. What is termed the Erikson–Goldthorpe–Portocarero (EGP) model defined seven classes in relation to an individual's employment position: differentiating between employees and employers and, amongst employees between those on a labour contract (routine, semi-routine, technical employees) and those in a more diffuse 'service relationship' (professionals and managers). This class schema also proved influential in the overhaul of official class schema, and in cross-national schemes for comparative analysis.

Five main lines of criticism of this class analytical platform point to ways in which it is limited:

- its validation as a deductive class schema predominantly focuses on the extent to which it measures postulated class-related features of the employment relations, but it is of less use in linking to wider cultural and social activities and identities;
- a major appeal is its usefulness in placing individuals into social classes using standard nationally representative surveys with a moderate sample size (with appropriate data analysis strategies) - so that an 'elite' was not distinguished and (visible only in surveys with larger samples) and distinctive differences between 'micro-classes' could not be investigated;

- class is based on employment rather than income and wealth and so examining income and wealth variation within and amongst categories was not carried out;
- a focus on occupations occludes consideration of the more complex ways that class operates symbolically and culturally;
- the comparative and contemporary validity of the scheme is thrown into doubt since it does not take highly important horizontal cleavages into account: for example it provides a too homogenous description of the salaried middle class and overemphasises the manual/non-manual divide in separating 'male' production workers and 'female' routine sales and service occupations. Neither does it capture the considerable cross-national differences with qualification levels, job autonomy, career prospects (i.e. social mobility), organisation of production, etc.

Recent approaches often draw on Pierre Bourdieu who argues that there are three *main* different kinds of capital, each of which conveys certain advantages:

(1) economic capital (wealth and income),
(2) cultural capital (the ability to appreciate and engage with cultural goods, and credentials institutionalised through educational success), and
(3) social capital (contacts and connections which allow people to draw on their social networks).

Bourdieu's point is that although these capitals may overlap, they are also different, and that it is possible to draw distinctions between people with different stocks of each of the three capitals, which then allows the provision of a more complex model of social class. Comprehensive questions on cultural and social capital are recently being asked on national surveys so these dimensions can now be explored. The social linkages framework advanced by Prandy: see Stewart et al., 1980.) looking at the array of social contacts reported by respondents is also seen as important in tracing the social texture of class relations.

Various of these ideas have been tested out in a variety of empirical studies. One which is of particular interest, because of its public dimension, was the Great British Class Survey (GBCS) - sponsored by the BBC's *Lab UK* which commissioned in 2009 a major web survey on social class which generated, because of very considerable public interest in the topic, a large scale dataset (n=160k), with a wide range of information, and was supplemented by a nationally representative sample. The GBCS includes detailed measures of economic, cultural and social capitals and might be taken as providing a 'state of the art' class measurement tool. Questions on cultural capital asked about

people's leisure interests, musical tastes, use of the media, and food preferences. Questions on social capital mainly take the form of 'position generator' which measures the range of people's social ties by asking respondents whether they knew anyone in 37 different occupations. Questions on economic capital asked about household income, savings and the value of owner-occupied housing. Finally extensive information was obtained about household composition, education, social mobility and political attitudes, to contextualise the measures of cultural, economic and social capital. Complex statistical analysis was then applied which led to the postulation of a 7-category class schema summarised in Table 1 (together with an estimate of the size of each).

Table 1. Summary of UK social classes according to Savage et al., 2013. (including % of UK population)

Elite	Very high economic capital (especially savings), high social capital, very high highbrow cultural capital	6
Established middle class	High economic capital, high status of mean contacts, high highbrow and emerging cultural capital	25
Technical middle class	High economic capital, very high mean social contacts, but relatively few contacts reported, moderate cultural capital	6
New affluent workers	Moderately good economic capital, moderately poor mean score of social contacts, though high range, moderate highbrow but good emerging cultural capital	15
Traditional working class	Moderately poor economic capital, though with reasonable house price, few social contacts, low highbrow and emerging cultural capital	14
Emergent service workers	Moderately poor economic capital, though with reasonable household income, moderate social contacts, high emerging (but low highbrow) cultural capital	19
Precariat	Poor economic capital, and the lowest	15

Oesch's work (e.g. 2006) was mentioned in passing while summarising Savage's account above: separate attention is warranted. He points out that the current generation of class schema are based on analyses which are at least three decades old and that major changes to the workforce and capitalism have since intervened, and the effects of these changes on class formation needs to be attended to. The major changes include the expansion of service occupations, often particularly occupied by women and a decline of the (often male) industrial workforce. Oesch endeavours to extend more usually hierarchical

schema along a horizontal axis which better represents cleavages in the employment structure. He distinguishes between three different 'work logics':

- technical:
- organisational and
- interpersonal.

In turn, these comprise 4 dimensions (see Table 2):

- how the work process is set
- the degree of authority relations
- the primary orientation, and
- skill requirements.

Table 2: **The dimensions at the basis of three different work logics of employees (Oesch, 2006)**

	Interpersonal work logic	*Technical work logic*	*Organizational work logic*
(a) Setting of work process	Service setting based on face- to-face exchange	Work process determined by technical production parameters	Bureaucratic division of labour
(b) Relations of authority	Working largely outside the lines of command	command for higher grades, working within a clear-cut com	Working within a bureaucratic command structure that corresponds to a career sequence
(c) Primary orientation	Orientation towards the client, student, patient or petitioner	Orientation towards the professional community or group of trades	Primary orientation towards the employing organization
(d) Skill requirements	Expertise and social (communicative) skills for higher grades, social skills for lower grades	Scientific expertise for higher grades, craft and manual skills for lower grades	Coordination and control skills for higher grades, clerical skills for lower grades

As an example, comparing similarly 'ranked' occupations along the horizontal dimension of the three work logics, he contrasts the middle class examples of (he also provides examples of similar discrepancies in work situations amongst working class occupations):

- *Associate managers* who coordinate/control others, are embedded in a career sequence and who must display a high degree of organisational loyalty;
- *Semi-professionals who* focus on (social and technical) skills with considerable work autonomy which can include some advocacy of clients' interests since their job tasks require client cooperation;
- *Technicians* who are in an intermediate situation.

Oesch also argues that class analysts need to bring institutions into their analysis since these can confer rights or grant resources that affect inequality – three key

such institutions are Welfare states, Trade Unions and Political citizenship. From this framework, Oesch then generates a 17-category class schema which can be readily reduced.

Hypotheses are proposed about the link between class locations and socio-economic characteristics which Oesch argues should be correlated to at least three different sets of characteristics:

- to material advantage;
- to the work setting;
- to political preferences.

Individuals in hierarchically higher classes – that is individuals in class locations where occupational skill requirements are more demanding – are expected to benefit from more advantageous employment relationships and thus to receive higher compensation for their work effort than individuals in hierarchically lower class locations. The notion of compensation encompasses both present compensation in the job, work income, and potential compensation and in the future, promotion prospects. This latter aspect corresponds to Erikson and Goldthorpe's emphasis on the long-term dimension of the bureaucratic employment.

Nor should an earlier class analysis developed by Dunleavy (e.g. Dowding and Dunleavy, 1996) be entirely ignored. This schema widened the coverage of class-relevant social categories to include consumption more generally (e.g. the potential 'class' interests which might be generated by sharing 'social housing' or private renting or being dependent on public transport or of housing ownership perhaps leading to 'housing classes') as well as to the potential 'class'-related differences in interests which might emerge as a result of employment in particular 'sectors': private enterprise, the state or the non-profit sectors.

There are a few other necessary complicating aspects of class analysis which must be noted and considered:

- Multinationality;
- Intersectionality (the interaction amongst class, gender and ethnicity which is often complex);
- Unequal intra-household asset-sharing.

Each of these points signals attention that is needed to significantly extend class analysis. That a national framing of inequality and social class no longer suffices is clearly evident. As Carroll (2010) states: "Rising volumes of trade and foreign investment, the growing share of the world economy claimed by the

largest transnational corporations (TNCs), the expansion of global transportation and communication flows and the formation of integrated global financial markets are all indicative..” of globalisation of the forces and relations of production. And class is strongly embedded in other social dimensions: particularly ethnicity and gender. Moreover, these topics are in turn entwined with the brute fact that we are each not just individual agents but share assets and trajectories with various social units that we are embedded in: particularly our families and households.

Some literature has focused on inequality per se rather than the more hierarchical distribution of assets. In particular, in their *The Spirit Level* Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) (together with a large supporting literature) has shown a convincing link between inequality and a range of unfortunate societal outcomes, although there is also some stringent critique of this work, in particular focusing on the lack of convincing causal mechanisms linking inequality levels to the outcomes. Further empirical testing and theoretical development is needed.

Penultimately, it is not enough to assemble the analytical apparatus but sociological accounts need to show it at work. The fate of particular class groupings depends on the nexus of alliance/competition/conflict amongst the classes, bearing in mind that their organisational and ideological capacities for such interrelationships may vary considerably. In the most recent conjuncture some of the changing crucial capacities include (according to Wade, 2013 in Rashbrooke, but extended – see also Hacker and Pierson, 2010):

- Concentration of financial power
- Interests of the rich/upper class
- Interests of the middle class
- Conservative ideology and its links to ‘non-negotiable’ values
- Economists’ defence of inequality
- Declining capacity of the working class
- Globalisation.

Needless to say, understanding of the ways in which an array of forces shape and are shaped by class and other competition and conflict is a topic requiring much further attention.

Finally, a widening ethical dimension is emerging which involves a turn to wider consideration of the ethics of asset distribution - extending the contemporary moral concern with poverty to also consider the moral worth of the situation of more wealthy people (e.g. Sayer, 2005). (In past decades – as

Sayer notes in Atkinson et al., 2012 – a moral vocabulary was deployed in relation to such people which is now apparently obsolete. See also Jones 2011 for a thorough critique of the UK situation.) Alongside this, economists (and other social scientists) are increasingly turning attention to the viability of alternative ways of delivering policy which would ameliorate (or even repair) inequalities and class divisions. To these analytical efforts, political sociologists (and social marketers) need to add consideration for the levels of political support such strategies might gain.

Hopefully, some of this conceptual mapping will provide useful guidance in perusing the complexities that arise with the subject-matter of this special issue, and a provocation to further reading for those readers who have not been closely following trends in class analysis. Moreover, it may form a benchmark against which the provision and the lacks of New Zealand class analysis can be assayed.

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