

**EDITORS**

David Capie and Stephen Levine  
Victoria University of Wellington

**REVIEW EDITOR**

Janine Hayward  
University of Otago

**EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD**

Therese Arseneau <i>University of Canterbury</i>	Tim Bale <i>University of Sussex</i>
Clive Bean <i>Queensland University of Technology</i>	Dov Bing <i>University of Waikato</i>
Gerald Chan <i>University of Auckland</i>	Margaret Clark <i>Victoria University of Wellington</i>
Barry Gustafson <i>University of Auckland</i>	Qingguo Jia <i>Peking University</i>
André Kaiser <i>University of Cologne</i>	Richard Ned Lebow <i>Ohio State University</i>
Raymond Miller <i>University of Auckland</i>	Richard Mulgan <i>Australian National University</i>
Jack Nagel <i>University of Pennsylvania</i>	Philip Nel <i>University of Otago</i>
Alexander Tan <i>University of Canterbury</i>	James Tang <i>University of Hong Kong</i>

*Political Science* is published in June and December each year by the School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, in association with the New Zealand Political Studies Association. Statements of fact and opinion appearing in *Political Science* are the responsibility of the authors and do not imply endorsement by the editors or publishers.

The editors invite articles on subjects within the broad field of political science. They particularly wish to encourage the publication of research with a focus on New Zealand and the Asia-Pacific region. Information for contributors is inside the back cover.

Manuscripts and academic correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors, *Political Science*  
School of History, Philosophy,  
Political Science and International Relations  
Victoria University of Wellington  
P.O. Box 600  
Wellington  
New Zealand.

E-mail: David.Capie@vuw.ac.nz  
or Kate.McMillan@vuw.ac.nz

Review copies of books and review correspondence should be sent to:

Professor Janine Hayward  
Department of Political Studies  
University of Otago  
P.O. Box 56  
Dunedin  
New Zealand.

E-mail: Janine.Hayward@stonebow.otago.ac.nz

EDITORS: DAVID CAPIE AND STEPHEN LEVINE

**CONTENTS**

	PAGE
<b>ARTICLES:</b>	
Editorial <span style="float: right;"><i>David Capie and Stephen Levine</i></span>	3
Politics and the Internet: The New Zealand Research <span style="float: right;"><i>Richard Shaw</i></span>	5
The Failure of Electoral Reform Proposals in Canada <span style="float: right;"><i>Lawrence LeDuc</i></span>	21
New Zealand By-Elections and MMP: The Labour Party and the Mt Albert By-Election <span style="float: right;"><i>Katherine McKenzie</i></span>	41
Public Policy: Saying One Thing While Doing Another <span style="float: right;"><i>Robert Gregory</i></span>	63
Grand Designs: Parliamentary Architecture, Art, and Accessibility <span style="float: right;"><i>Nigel S. Roberts</i></span>	75
<b>BOOK REVIEWS:</b>	
Jonathan Boston, Philip Nel and Marjolein Righarts (eds.) <i>Climate Change and Security: Planning for the Future</i> <span style="float: right;"><i>Ton Bührs</i></span>	89
Mark Francis and Jim Tully (eds.) <i>In the Public Interest: Essays in Honour of Professor Keith Jackson</i> <span style="float: right;"><i>G. A. Wood</i></span>	90
Robin Gauld <i>Revolving Doors: New Zealand Health Reforms – The Continuing Saga</i> <span style="float: right;"><i>Tim Tenbense</i></span>	91
Xiaoming Huang <i>Politics in Pacific Asia: An Introduction</i> <span style="float: right;"><i>Gerald Chan</i></span>	92
Hugh Templeton (ed.) <i>Mr Ambassador: Memoirs of Sir Carl Berendsen</i> <span style="float: right;"><i>Andreas Reitzig</i></span>	93

## BOOK REVIEWS

Jonathan Boston, Philip Nel and Marjolein Righarts (eds.), *Climate Change and Security: Planning for the Future* (Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, 2009), pp. 116, \$25.00.

This 116-page book contains the selected and edited proceedings of a symposium by the same title in 2008. The introduction, by the editors, sets the scene by pointing out the growing concern about the potential security threats arising from climate change, reflected also in the literature, but also points out that there is considerable uncertainty about the nature and scale of these threats. The symposium and book aim to contribute to the knowledge on this topic by taking an evidence-based approach from a comparative as well as a New Zealand perspective. Although no common framework or questions are put forward as a basis for the (comparative) analysis, it is stated that the focus of the book is on 'national security' rather than on 'human security' threats.

Six other authors discuss different aspects of the topic. Graeme Pearson provides a succinct overview of climate change trends and likely impacts, notably for Australia and New Zealand, emphasising uncertainty, complexity, urgency, equity and the need for a strategic approach, as well as pointing out the potential threats associated with water, food production, health, energy, natural disasters and social integrity. Marjolein Righarts discusses the evidence that natural disasters lead to conflict, which indicates that such events are more likely to act as amplifying factors for existing domestic conditions that already contribute to conflict, such as social tensions and inequality, than to lead to international conflict. Margaret Purdy provides a Canadian perspective, arguing that climate change poses potentially serious security issues to Canada but that these are largely ignored by the government, as there is no sense of urgency about them. John Barnett's contribution stands out in this volume by being based on a 'human security' rather than a 'national security' interpretation, pointing out the threats of climate change to human and environmental rights, influenced in large part by the socio-economic conditions and status of the people involved. He emphasises the importance of capacity building to more effectively deal with the effects, but also notes that this should not detract from the need to significantly reduce emissions of greenhouse gases. Ewen Sinclair emphasises the uncertainties and complexities associated with the issues, necessitating a risk-based approach. This includes an assessment of the risk of inter-state conflict associated with the impacts of climate change, and he notes that existing global governance mechanisms for dealing with these are inadequate. Even though New Zealand is relatively well-positioned to deal with these impacts, it should strengthen its capacity, including in the areas of defence, civil defence, and aid. The more specific implications for New Zealand's defence force (including hardware) are discussed briefly by Jim Rolfe, who notes, however, that it is 'not so clear that the issues, for New Zealand, translate into defence concerns' (p. 100).

Peter Cozens provides the short summary and conclusions of the book, but in fact points out its limitations by hinting at the importance of underlying issues, notably that the resources of the world are finite, that the dominant mantra of economic growth ignores the need for 'balance', and that restoring balance 'is the most pressing intellectual and practical challenge of our time' (p. 102).

Although the book offers a starting point for the discussion of the implications of climate change for 'national security', in particular for New Zealand, the contribution it makes is indeed quite limited, and not only because of its size. First, the self-imposed focus on 'national security' implies a narrow and reactive approach to the issue, ignoring not only the underlying causes of the 'threats', but also the risks of connecting environmental security issues with the traditional

notion of 'national security'.<sup>1</sup> Few of the contributors (Barnett and Cozens being exceptions) make the link with the broader literature and debate about the notion of security in the context of environmental decline. Much of that literature points out the need for a *comprehensive* interpretation of and approach to the issue, and argues that adopting a traditional 'national security' line of thinking is inappropriate, misleading and even dangerous. Dominant national security (and one should add 'national interest') thinking misses the point that environmental security, especially in an increasingly interdependent world, is a *common* challenge, and one that cannot be resolved, or even addressed, on the basis of 'national security' thinking and actions, which are more likely to aggravate the problem (increasing conflict). The second major limitation of the book lies in the lack of recognition that the 'security' threats posed by climate change are inextricably bound up with the broader issue of 'environmental security', which is not even mentioned. Climate change is just one manifestation of the unsustainable path humankind is on (as noted by Cozens). Humanity is rapidly undermining the environmental (ecological and resource) base on which its well-being, and even existence, depends, even if climate change were to turn out not to be a significant problem. The sources of the more general threat lie in our dominant political-economic and socio-cultural systems, and addressing these requires something quite different than boosting 'national security'.

Ton Bührs  
Lincoln University

Mark Francis and Jim Tully (eds.), *In the Public Interest: Essays in Honour of Professor Keith Jackson* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2009), pp. 256, \$39.95.

Lively, inquiring, the late Keith Jackson stimulated scores of students, initially at the University of Otago, whither he migrated from Britain in 1956, and subsequently at the University of Canterbury. Happily, he was still well enough to enjoy the intellectual challenges when in August 2006 a group of New Zealand political scientists joined in a conference organised in his honour. Now eleven papers from that conference along with a couple of other essays have been published.

Elizabeth McLeay takes up the conference theme, exploring different notions of 'public interest', ultimately adopting Brian Barry's argument that the public interest is equivalent to 'those interests which people have in common *qua* members of the public' (p. 20).

McLeay's rejection as flawed of the notion that 'the public interest lies within the fundamental values of society' (p. 34) is borne out in Alan McRobie's case study of conflicting values and the failure of the Canterbury Museum Trust Board to obtain resource consent for ambitious plans to revitalise the historic museum building. McRobie's study prompts the question: how much do citizens feel that they are involved in decisions being made in the public interest? Two psephologists examine public perceptions of the voting system. Clive Bean, comparing Australia and New Zealand, finds in both countries a belief among the majority of electors that their views are represented in parliament – albeit many also see government as run by big business. Jack Vowles reviews how the MMP voting system is perceived through partisan lenses and by different sectors of society.

For McLeay, democratic institutions are a necessary condition for public good decisions. James Flynn takes the argument in a different direction, from public good to public happiness. Public interest arguments, suggests McLeay, were misused in the pursuit of sectional advantage that occurred in the period of neo-liberal economic policies after 1984. Those policies, says Flynn, made New Zealand 'beyond doubt the libertarian heaven'; New Zealand moved from

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Deudney, 'The Case against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1990, pp. 461–476.

being an egalitarian society to one of growing inequality. His solution to the misery that inequality produces is social democratic policies.

Flynn's 'libertarian heaven' could be seen as an example of the distinctive New Zealand way, or, as Colin James puts it, 'the New Zealand model', the model which was examined and discussed in much of Jackson's writings with his focus on institutions, and his support of progressive change, and adaptation of the model to meet New Zealand's own distinctive needs. Jackson 'believed that New Zealand needed change', observes Mark Francis, in his introduction, surveying political science at Canterbury during the Jackson years and Jackson's approach to the discipline. Neutral in a party political sense, Jackson nevertheless was radically reforming in his political stance as demonstrated in his posthumous essay on changes in the New Zealand parliament; for Jackson 'the study of political change was the chief business of political science'. Appropriately, then, several of the essays in the volume are concerned with change: John Henderson reviewing change in New Zealand foreign policy, and Austin Mitchell commenting on upper houses, the changing British upper house contrasted with the unicameral New Zealand model. In David McGee's essay on constitutional conventions one sees the implicit tension between the inherited Westminster model and the adapting New Zealand one. McGee neatly demonstrates how out of the 1984 devaluation crisis arose a newly New Zealand-crafted convention.

To some scholarly critics the New Zealand model, however well in some respects it might adapt and change, has serious flaws. As Jonathan Boston points out, the New Zealand model has failed to meet the challenge of taking the measures urgently needed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Boston suggests the need for new public institutions to assist government, for political leadership to mobilise public support for action, and for serious efforts to be made to inform and educate the public.

Jack Vowles believes that the more informed the public are, the more likely they are to vote to retain MMP in the planned referendum. The informed public is the concern, too, of Joe Atkinson and John Burrows. Atkinson discusses how in modern journalism the dramatic and commercial approaches (McDonaldisation and Disneyisation) have tended to override the ethical approach of being concerned for the wider public interest. If the approach of modern journalism in effect reduces information in the public domain, judges are having an opposite effect. John Burrows describes how judges will override rights to privacy, given the broader public interest in open information and the right freely to express and publish.

While the conference title 'in the public interest' provides a loose connecting theme through the volume, the different contributors do not engage with each other in their arguments. But then neither is there much overlap of material or repetition. A combination of solid scholarship (there are 22 pages of end-notes) and range of issues, these essays should and will encourage stimulating debate.

G. A. Wood  
University of Otago

Robin Gauld, *Revolving Doors: New Zealand's Health Reforms – The Continuing Saga* (Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, 2009), pp. 259, \$35.00.

This new edition of the landmark book *Revolving Doors* ensures that it will remain the most comprehensive and overarching work on the evolution and continued development of New Zealand's publicly funded health system for this generation of students and health policy practitioners. The original book, published in 2001, was a comprehensive feat of integration. The new edition does not contain any changes to the original work, but adds a chapter on developments since 2001. The current review concentrates on this particular chapter, which is essentially Gauld's review of the legacy of the Labour-led government in health policy over the