

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

# **Agenda success?**

## **The prospects for sub-regional human rights arrangements in the Pacific**

A thesis presented in fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Politics

at Massey University, Manawatu,  
New Zealand

Kathryn Susan Hay

2011



# Abstract

---

Regional human rights institutions have been established in all United Nations (UN)-defined regions except for the Asia-Pacific. Although as a region the Asia-Pacific faces myriad human rights challenges, the diversity of countries and cultures and absence of a shared sense of regional identity inhibits momentum to form a regional mechanism for the promotion and protection of human rights. Within this region several sub-regional configurations exist. The Pacific Islands Forum (PIF), whose members include fourteen small island states, Australia and New Zealand, is the primary political body in the Pacific section of the broader Asia-Pacific region. The vision of the PIF emphasises the promotion and protection of human rights in the Pacific. Human rights issues have, however, tended to be addressed within individual countries, and Pacific leaders have paid little attention to the idea of sub-regional human rights arrangements (SHRAs) as a means of supporting human rights objectives.

Within the PIF complex political and institutional processes shape the work of the Pacific leaders and affect which ideas are focused on and advanced. Within the policy process agenda setting is a critical element as new ideas and policy solutions can only be implemented after they have been deliberately considered and agreed upon by the political decision-makers. Several elements shape the agenda setting process: the framing of issues and possible solutions by policy advocates, the availability of appropriate venues in which decisions can be made, and opportunities to have ideas presented to the decision-makers. If the political decision-makers, in this thesis the PIF leaders, agree to advance and implement a policy idea then agenda success has occurred. This thesis examines the prospects for agenda success of SHRAs in the Pacific.

Twenty two semi-structured interviews were undertaken with selected experts from throughout the Pacific. These empirical materials were triangulated with secondary sources. Analysis of these materials highlighted that all components of the agenda setting process are evident in this case study of SHRAs in the Pacific. In particular, interrelationships between the framing of issues and alternative solutions, venues and policy advocates, previously understated in other agenda setting research, are able to be identified. Certain conditions, such as political instability, international obligations,

environmental challenges, and the current scoping exercise, provide opportunities for policy advocates to push their ideas.

Further, the results of the research identify several contextual factors that are shaping the agenda setting process in the PIF. These include historical, national, sub-regional, international, cultural, economic, and geo-political factors, and issues of sovereignty. Before Pacific leaders are likely to agree to the advancement of SHRAs in the Pacific they will also need to be convinced that the idea is both feasible and immediately important. Therefore, although there is moderate evidence of the preconditions for agenda success being in place, the receptivity and political will of the PIF leaders is critical, and will, in the final instance, determine agenda success for SHRAs in the Pacific.

# Acknowledgements

---

The doctoral journey is long and sometimes arduous but ultimately one of reward and satisfaction. I have endeavoured to rely on my faith in God throughout this journey and gratefully acknowledge the “peace of God that transcends all understanding” that has sustained me during the ups and downs, both personally and professionally over the past five years (Philippians 4v7).

My heartfelt love, thanks and appreciation is extended first and foremost to my husband Craig Steed who has been a constant support throughout the highs and lows of this journey. Words cannot adequately explain how much I have appreciated you believing in me. With our wonderful children, Emma and Zac Steed, you have also helped me ensure I have maintained a balanced lifestyle and not let this ‘book’ become all-consuming. I hope that in some way you will feel a shared sense of accomplishment as this thesis comes to a conclusion.

Associate Professor Richard Shaw and Professor Regina Scheyvens have been, without a doubt, the best supervisors I could have ever hoped for. Your wisdom, unfaltering support, encouragement and guidance have made this journey so much more enjoyable and achievable. I have certainly had moments of ‘muddling through’ and Richard, I have most definitely needed and appreciated your vast knowledge of the political process to help me from getting completely stuck. Regina, I have valued your ‘development’ perspective which, while new to me, was always thought-provoking and enriching. Thank you to you both for disproving my initial skepticism about having friends as supervisors.

A special thanks to the participants who agreed to be interviewed and gave generously of their time and expertise. I am honoured you were willing to share your knowledge with me. Thanks also to Dale Anderson for transcribing the interviews and Tim Nolan ([blackant@snap.net.nz](mailto:blackant@snap.net.nz)) for transforming my tables and figures. Thank you to the IT consultants at the Massey University library who were extremely valuable sources of formatting knowledge.

I am appreciative of the financial support from NZAID, the Vice Chancellors Committee, Massey University, the Australian National University, the Pacific Islands Political Studies Association, and InterRights and the Victoria University of Wellington

Law School for fieldwork costs and conference attendance. These opportunities enriched my learning and enabled me to receive valuable feedback as the research evolved.

My colleagues in the School of Health and Social Services, Massey University have been gracious and understanding throughout the research. Rachael Selby, Dr Kieran O'Donoghue and Professor Steve LaGrow have been encouraging and accommodating Directors, enabling me to maintain some form of balance with my teaching and other work responsibilities. Litea Meo-Sewabu has also kindly and generously shared her knowledge and friendship and familial ties back in Fiji.

There are several other people to whom I am thankful. They include Associate Professor Christine Cheyne for her sage advice several years ago to treat the PhD process as a project with several small milestones along the way, and Professor Robyn Munford for mentoring me as a young graduate student and providing me with opportunities to continue my academic career when I became a mother. Also, thanks to Karen Shepherd and Dr Bronwyn Wood, my fellow students along the way for sharing this academic journey with me. I have also appreciated many of my friends and family 'checking in' from time to time and attempting to understand why the thesis was taking me so long to write! Thank you for keeping on asking.

Finally, I am thankful to my parents Juliet Hay and Bob Hay for instilling in me the value of education and the importance of following one's dreams.

# Table of Contents

---

Abstract .....	i
Acknowledgements .....	iii
Table of Contents .....	v
List of Figures .....	viii
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Appendices.....	ix
List of Acronyms.....	x
<b>Chapter One: The idea of sub-regional human rights arrangements in the Pacific .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Situating the idea of Pacific human rights arrangements.....	1
Why sub-regional human rights arrangements?.....	6
Applying an agenda setting framework .....	8
The aims of this research .....	9
Structure of the thesis.....	11
Summary .....	12
<b>Chapter Two: Agenda setting.....</b>	<b>15</b>
Introduction.....	15
Agenda setting models .....	17
Kingdon’s seminal contribution.....	19
Princen’s 3-step model of agenda setting in the European Union .....	22
Issues and alternatives.....	22
The role of policy actors .....	27
Venues.....	36
Policy windows .....	39
Receptivity of decision-makers.....	44
Institutional contexts and agenda setting .....	46
A critique of agenda setting .....	46
The theoretical framework.....	50
Summary .....	53
<b>Chapter Three: Situating sub-regional human rights arrangements..</b>	<b>55</b>
Introduction.....	55
Theories of human rights .....	55
Debates on universalism and cultural relativism .....	58
Human rights arrangements at the international level .....	61
Regional human rights arrangements.....	63
Regional arrangements in the UN regions .....	66
Regional arrangements in the Asia-Pacific.....	76
Moving towards SHRAs in the Pacific? .....	80
Summary .....	85



<b>Chapter Four: Methodology</b> .....	87
Introduction.....	87
The research journey.....	87
Research design.....	88
The generation, management and analysis of empirical materials.....	96
Evaluative criteria for qualitative research.....	104
Reflections on the research strategy.....	107
Summary.....	110
<b>Chapter Five: Issues, Alternatives and Policy Actors</b> .....	111
Introduction.....	111
Issues.....	111
Alternatives.....	122
The work of policy actors.....	129
Summary.....	137
<b>Chapter Six: Venues, Windows of Opportunity, Receptivity and Processes</b> .....	139
Introduction.....	139
The location of agenda setting.....	139
Opportunities for agenda setting.....	144
Convincing the decision-makers.....	146
Processes for increasing agenda success.....	155
Summary.....	159
<b>Chapter Seven: The prospects for agenda success of SHRAs in the Pacific</b> .....	161
Introduction.....	161
Seeking agenda success.....	161
Venues for decision-making.....	163
Connecting with issues.....	164
Institutional alternatives.....	168
Policy actors.....	173
Opening windows.....	178
The Pacific context and agenda setting.....	181
Receptivity and political will.....	185
The prospects for agenda success.....	188
Summary.....	191
<b>Chapter Eight: Conclusion</b> .....	193
Introduction.....	193
Tracing the prospects for agenda success.....	193
Applying an agenda setting framework.....	195
A new framework for examining agenda success.....	198

Recommendations for future research .....	203
Concluding remarks .....	205
Appendix A: Information Sheet and Consent Form.....	206
Appendix B: Interview Questions .....	210
Appendix C: List of Participants .....	212
Appendix D: Index .....	214
Appendix E: Example of Thematic Chart (partial) .....	216
Appendix F: Principles Relating to the Status of National Institutions .....	219
Appendix G: Excerpts from the Pacific Plan .....	220
References .....	221

# List of Figures

---

Figure 2.1 The Multiple Streams Model.....	21
Figure 2.2 A theoretical framework for examining the prospects for agenda success of sub-regional human rights arrangements in the Pacific.....	52
Figure 8.1 A theoretical framework for examining the prospects for agenda success of sub-regional human rights arrangements in the Pacific.....	196
Figure 8.2 A framework for examining agenda success.....	199

# List of Tables

---

Table 3.1 Functions and powers of regional human rights arrangements.....	67
Table 4.1 Quantitative and qualitative criteria and methods for ensuring trustworthiness.....	105
Table 7.1 A summary of factors affecting the prospects for agenda success of sub-regional human rights arrangements in the Pacific.....	162

# List of Appendices

---

Appendix A: Information Sheet and Consent Form .....	206
Appendix B: Interview Questions.....	210
Appendix C: List of Participants.....	212
Appendix D: Index.....	214
Appendix E: Example of Thematic Chart (partial).....	216
Appendix F: Principles Relating to the Status of National Institutions .....	219
Appendix G: Excerpts from the Pacific Plan .....	220

# List of Acronyms

---

AIPO	ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organisation
APF	Asia Pacific Foundation
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	African Union
EU	European Union
HRB	Human Rights Body
IACHR	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights
LAWASIA	Law Association of Asia and the Pacific
MPs	Members of Parliament
NGOs	Non-government Organisations
OAS	Organisation of American States
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PIF	Pacific Islands Forum
PIFSec	Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SHRAs	Sub-regional human rights arrangements
SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commission for Human Rights
UPR	Universal Periodic Review
US	United States of America