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Social and Behavioural Sciences

In Charge of the Future:

Climate Refugees' Desire to Stay Put

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Matthew Longo

Second Reader: Dr. Francesco Ragazzi

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Sepiedeh Orafa

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Abstract

This thesis aims to understand why future climate refugees from the Pacific Islands express resistance towards migration and hold on to staying on their own islands, even when climate change is threatening both their security and livelihoods. The study identifies a theoretical gap in rational theories of migration focused on economic security and human security, which fail to explain why refugees would choose to stay. Through an interpretative in-depth interviewing approach, it finds a multitude of motivations for staying put. Firstly, the decision to stay is informed by the concern that culture and traditions, which are so interconnected to identity and belonging, will fade upon migration. Secondly, the expected loss of self-determination plays a role, due to the lifestyle that is largely dependent on natural resources, and the loss of location-specific advantages. Lastly, respondent base their decision on information about the hardships of life abroad, retrieved through social networks and media. The study concludes that rational migration theories are ill-equipped in explaining such motivations, due to its narrow definitions of security and economic self-sufficiency.

1. Introduction

In recent years, the situation of individuals who are forcibly displaced due to the effects of climate change has increasingly sparked debate (Berchin, Valduga, Garcia, & de Andrade Guerra, 2017). Also referred to as climate refugees, many problems surround their existence, such as the lack of formal recognition and protection under international law, and the question of whom will take responsibility for relocation as climate change is mostly the product of industrialized countries (Eckersley, 2015). These discussions are particularly relevant for the Pacific Islands, with its low-lying atolls which are threatened by sea-level rise, coastal erosion, increased incidence of drought, coral bleaching, and storm surges (Farbotko & Lazrus, 2010), threatening the entire existence of the islands and its residents. Programs have been put in place to prepare for possible relocation, by increasing educational standards and creating expat communities overseas, however these programs are only aimed towards those who are willing to leave and belong to higher social classes (Mcnamara, 2015). A large part of the population, such as people with limited literacy skills or largely subsistence livelihoods, are disregarded, inducing claims that there is a lack of true representation of those who are at risk of becoming climate refugees (Dreher & Voyer, 2015; McNamara & Gibson, 2009). Both experts and residents of the islands fear that the cultural, spiritual and social connections and traditions of the islanders will not be taken into account throughout the displacement process.

While the threat of climate change on people's livelihoods and security is increasing day by day, residents continue to voice resistance towards the idea of migration. Studies have shown that even in the case of further deterioration, many Pacific Islanders would prefer to remain on their island as opposed to migrating overseas (Farbotko, 2018). From the perspective of rational migration theories, which dominate the migrant decision-making literature, staying in a place where one's livelihood or security is in danger seems like an unnatural response (Weiner, 1992). This study thus argues that these theories fall short in explaining the case of climate refugees, who choose to stay while the rational decision would be to leave.

Taking into account this paradox, it becomes salient to understand what it is that urges them to hold on to their islands so strongly. These findings can be applied to the general refugee debate, which shares a lot of characteristics with the climate refugee case, mainly in terms of the involuntariness of flight. Whereas refugees generally leave under urgency (Kunz, 1973), due to

which there is no time for research, the climate refugees under study face crisis in the future, giving us a very rare opportunity to understand the attitudes and concerns in anticipation of forced departure. Furthermore, by looking at why individuals choose to stay, we can gain insight in what would increase the voluntariness of flight. Studies have shown this voluntariness to be important, as migrants whose main motive to leave is the need to escape adapt significantly less to their host societies than migrants that leave in search of a better quality of life (Udahemuka & Perdice, 2010).

This research aims to understand the attachment that motivates potential climate refugees' resistance towards migration through interpretative in-depth interviews with residents of the Pacific Islands of Fiji, Kiribati and Tuvalu. The perspective of the residents of the Pacific Islands are important to study, as this avoids top-down and post-colonial approaches of enforcing ideas that might not be compatible with the local population, especially when their forced displacement is the result of environmental pollution mostly caused by industrialized states. Furthermore, previous scholarly literature will be examined to understand the gap in rational migration literature, illustrate the interaction between the refugee case and the climate refugee case, and in order to build upon prior research on the phenomenon of staying put. Finally, this study aims to answer the following question: *How might we understand potential future climate refugees' seemingly irrational choice to stay on their islands when their livelihood and security is threatened by climate change?*

2. Literature Review

While this study aims to examine potential climate refugee's attitudes towards staying, in order to answer the question it is important to have a comprehensive understanding of how dominant theories have examined refugee decision-making. A dominant part of such work focusses on rational theories of migrant decision-making in explaining why one would choose to leave home for a life abroad (Ravenstein, 1889; Neumayer, 2005; Todaro, 1976). These theories are essentially based on the assumption that potential refugees make a strict cost-benefit analysis, in which migration takes place when the costs of staying put are outweighed by the benefits of leaving (Neumayer, 2005). Traditionally, rational theories of migration point to two major models: the economic model and the security model. The following paragraphs will provide an overview of the positions and key assumptions of both models.

2.1 Economic Model

Most of rational choice theory is directly related to microeconomics, in which migration behavior is considered a rational action that is expected to maximize a person's net benefit (Todaro, 1976). The economic model is heavily influenced by Ravenstein (1889) who proposed the push-pull approach, in which unfavorable conditions in one place 'push' people out and favorable conditions in an external location 'pull' them in. The economic model perceives migration to be the result of a predominant pull in terms of economic gain. As a consequence of this pull, migrants will move to high-wage, labor-scarce countries. As stated, such a decision will usually be made through a cost-benefit calculation, resulting into movement if a positive return in monetary terms is expected. Instead of treating individuals as passive actors, the economic model of rational choice argues that potential migrants actively select from sets of alternatives within the structure of constraint and opportunity that restricts their choice (Haug, 2008). Furthermore, some theorists argue that benefits do not necessarily have to be limited to monetary ones, recognizing that non-monetary benefits can be of importance, but do not consider them as key-factors (ibid). Other theories assume migration to be a family strategy in which economic gain to the household is prioritized over the individual (ibid).

However, some scholars have criticized this model, arguing that if indeed the differences in wage levels and unemployment rates provide for enough motivation to leave, the market should eventually balance out, by lowering wages in receiving areas as a result of the influx of cheaper

laborers, and causing migration between the regions to decrease (Morawska, 2007). O'Reilly (2015) argues that the economic push and pull model overlooks important factors in migrant decision-making, such as historical relations, family and community dynamics, migration policies of sending and receiving countries, availability of mobility, and citizenship rights. Furthermore, the relation between economic and political factors in migration decision-making, is often left out of the equation, overlooking the interdependence of economic, social and political factors (Richmond, 1988). Economic factors are often assumed to be the predominant motivations behind migrant out-flows, but in reality economic migrants are often responding as much to political repression as to material deprivation (ibid).

2.2 Security Model

The second dominant framework in rational theories of migration is the security model. This model argues that the perception of insecurity at home is of direct impact on the decision to migrate (Zimmerman, 2011; Weiner, 1992; Ibáñez & Moya, 2016; Richmond, 1993; Castles, 2013; Neumayer, 2005). Migration and refugee flows are encouraged by the lack of human security in the destination country, as a result of colonization, recent economic and political power structures, as well as the spread of inequality in some places of the world (Castles, 2013). As opposed to the economic model, the security model is more concerned with the push factors, particularly in terms of domestic turmoil, conflict and persecution (Weiner, 1992). It is therefore concerned with the presence of violence that motivates individuals to leave in order to reduce the risk of victimization (Ibáñez & Moya, 2016). It enters the cost-benefit analysis when the notion of insecurity at home changes through either victimization or by reports of violence in the neighborhood. Even when not being directly hit by the violence, it might spill over to the neighborhood in the future, leading to the decision to migrate in the present (Basu & Pearlman, 2013). More so than insecurity as a fact, it is the individual's perception of insecurity that motivates migration fueled by reports from surroundings, even when the environment might still be relatively safe (Zimmerman, 2011). Furthermore, Morrison & May (2016) have argued that when normal migratory flows transform into mass displacement and exodus, it can often be explained through the effects of security-related concerns such as political crisis and war.

One shortcoming of this model is the idea that refugees simply react to danger, particularly because it lacks a dimension of human agency (Zimmerman, 2011). For Cuny & Stein (2014),

refugees are people who make “rational choices among unsatisfactory options, striving for an outcome that achieves relative security and some degree of control over their lives”. Potential refugees engage in long wait and see periods to defer their flight. This suggests that they do indeed act rationally, even during situations of mass displacements, but do not necessarily choose to leave.

The economic framework and the security framework are similar in the way that migrant decision-making is placed within a larger social, political and economic context within which migrants choose (Weiner, 1992). However, they both fail to explain a generally under-studied phenomenon in migration literature: staying put. If indeed a strict cost-benefit analysis is made in which economic and security concerns are the predominant determinants, then how can this attribute to the fact that some individuals choose to stay when their livelihood or security is in danger? In the case of climate refugees, how can we explain their urge to cling to their homes?

2.3 Why Refugees Stay

Taking into account the literature focused on migrant decision-making, the majority of the work focusses on why migrants decide to leave, rather than the phenomenon of staying or the consequences of that decision. In order to answer the question of why those affected by climate change decide to stay in their home countries, we first have to understand why refugees in general choose to stay. The very similar characteristics of future climate refugees to anticipatory refugee movements allow us to fill the theoretical gap about climate refugees’ decision to stay. Anticipatory refugees leave their country before a deterioration requires their immediate departure. This allows them to prepare for their flight, arriving in the country of settlement relatively prepared, often being informed about the language and how to reenter their profession (Kunz, 2006). Climate refugees are preparing for migration in a similar way, an example of which being the Migration with Dignity program on Kiribati, which provides those who want to migrate with the necessary skills to be independent in the host-society (McNamara, 2015). Furthermore, both anticipatory refugees and climate refugees are not driven by the desire to live in a particular country, but rather by the degree of the perceived ‘push’ (Kunz, 2006). These interactions can be used to further explore the phenomenon of staying put.

Scholars who have explored staying put in areas characterized by refugee-outflows, have mainly centered their arguments around forced immobility. Forced immobility is the phenomenon of being unable to migrate, often due to a lack of resources, dominant gender norms, and the

collapse of infrastructure (Mata-Codesal, 2015). Others have emphasized the importance of making a distinction between undesired immobility and desired immobility, the latter being much understudied (Hjälml, 2014; Reeves, 2011). Theories around desired immobility can generally be divided into two categories: arguments related to the high costs nowadays associated with migration, and arguments related to identity and the sense of belonging. The costs related to migration include the loss of familiar surroundings and culture, having to adapt to new living conditions, a new language, differences in culture, and potentially even suspicion and hostility from the host society (Zimmerman, 2011). Such costs are often sufficient to encourage staying put rather than migration. Salazar states ‘the motivations to cross borders are usually multiple but greatly linked to the ability of travelers and their social networks to imagine other places and lives’ (Mata-Codesal, 2015). Often those who live in emigration-driven areas have first-hand knowledge on the hardships of life abroad, from family members and acquaintances who have already migrated (Mata-Codesal, 2015). Furthermore, migration results in the loss of location-specific advantages such as social capital, navigation skills, work-related connections, integration at the place of residence, and knowledge about cultural events and the local housing market amongst others (Tassinopoulos & Werner, 1999). Location-specific advantages are only accessible to “insiders” and long-term residents, encouraging a culture of permanence rather than a culture of migration (ibid). Desired immobility is thus more likely in areas where staying put is associated with upward social mobility. Other research has indicated that those who have stronger interpersonal ties at home are less willing to migrate abroad (Bjarnason & Thorlindsson, 2006; Lowry, 2015; Johnston, 1971; Hjälml, 2014). Johnston (1971) argues that kinship ties can lead to resistance to migration. His study of small districts in rural England shows that members of close kinship networks are more hesitant towards migration because of the barrier that distance forms to inter-personal social contact. Other studies support this argument by illustrating that staying can be motivated by proximity to the extended family (Hjälml, 2014).

As for arguments related to identity, Lowry (2015) argues that a country facing the consequences of crisis can enhance the connection that individuals have to their country, by which migration is perceived as leaving behind a more important part of identity. Stayers often make sense of their belonging and personal history through the place where they have chosen to live all their lives, by which staying becomes a way of practicing agency and identity construction (Hjälml, 2014). Building upon community-driven theories, the common assumption is that people with

strong territorial bonds are less willing to move, yet this is often left out in rational theories. Attachment to home is regarded to be a valuable factor in understanding how people experience their migratory journey and their perception on possible future movements (Liu, 2014). Home consists of both emotional and material aspects, in which the material refers to the objects in the home that shape memories and feelings of nostalgia, and the emotional consists of the associations with a sense of protection, comfort, joy and positivity (ibid). This sense of belonging is regarded as the key factor in non-migration according to the attachment theory. Attachment theory describes the desire to remain within the protective range of places that are known. It argues that security is assumed to be of high levels in local areas, and thus attachment encourages greater freedom of behavior and confidence within this locality. Once this security becomes threatened, it can induce increased protest and extreme attempts in avoiding separation, as to maintain the integrity of this community (Fried, 2000).

2.4 Climate Refugees and Staying

The line between voluntary and forced migration of climate refugees is blurry, as individuals' decisions to migrate are rarely driven by climate change alone (Farbotko, 2018). Climate change impacts livelihoods, due to which many perceive climate refugees as economic migrants. It should be noted that identifying the primary cause of migration, especially in the case of environmental problems, is very complicated, as migratory movements are almost always the product of mutually reinforcing factors. For climate refugees, the decision to migrate is based on a multitude of reasons, in which economic constraints, social networks and politics might play a role as well (Piguet, Pécoud & Guchteneire, 2011). It is however evident that many of the residents of the Pacific Islands affected by climate change would rather not leave their island, despite the circumstances (McDonnell, 2018). While very little has been written on the motivations behind this phenomenon, the few scholars that have addressed it mostly do so in terms of land and cultural connections. Pascoe (2015) emphasizes the importance of land to Pacific Islanders, arguing that Western conceptions of land, which often focus on territorial sovereignty and statehood, do not take into account the spiritual and cultural connections that many of the individuals and communities on the Pacific Islands have to their land. Their grounds often serve as ancient ancestral burial grounds, and have been passed down from generation to generation, which means that departure would result into the loss of culture, tradition and ancestral heritage. This could explain why Pacific Islanders, who are generally very mobile and regularly migrate for purposes of

education and (seasonal) work, are so reluctant towards climate change migration: temporary migration allows for back-and-forth movement to visit their land, while climate change-migration is associated with permanence (Farbotko, 2018).

Furthermore, many of the residents are dependent on their land for economic self-sufficiency (ibid). The lifestyle on the islands is generally less intensive than on the mainland, since individuals create their own resources and thus do not have a hefty workload. Holding on to this lifestyle can be a reason to stay, underlined by the inability to replicate the environmental conditions of small islands and atolls upon relocation (Pascoe, 2015). Since such a large part of livelihood is dependent on land, migration would force Pacific Islanders to adjust their diet, work habits, and construction of houses (ibid).

As mentioned, motivations beyond the attachment to land have not quite been explored yet, however one possible explanation is ethical considerations. Staying put can be a kind of resistance, in which one finds it unethical to migrate because of climate change, given that the Pacific Islands are amongst the smallest contributors to climate pollution (McNamara & Gibson, 2009). This view perceives migration as admitting that mitigation efforts are no longer useful.

3. Research Design

As this research focusses on sense-making and meaning-giving, it will follow an interpretive and ethnographical approach. The interpretative approach will allow us to dig deep into how the residents of the islands under study make sense of their decision to stay. Schatz (2009) argues that “ethnography is an approach that cares – with the possible emotional engagement that implies – to glean the meaning that the people under study attribute to their social and political reality” (p. 5). Since this research is concerned with views of individuals that have been largely neglected on an international level, it is important to seek such a sensitive approach. Furthermore, it serves to gain descriptive and explanatory insight into how insiders understand their own existence (p. 7). As this study is interested in digging deep into the feelings and understanding of people on their reality of climate change and potential migration, it serves as an appropriate method to approach this. This will be done through qualitative interviewing, which allows for thematic open-endedness (Christou, 2004). As this type of research depends on the subjectivity of respondents, it is important to allow participants the agency to identify and add themes, that might not have been included through an approach with a set structure (ibid). The open-endedness of this method also avoids the risk of predetermining too many themes, and due to my “outsider” status as an interviewer this is important to ensure no relevant themes are missed.

3.1 Case Selection

The geographical area under study are the Pacific Small Island Developing States (PSIDS), and the respondents recruited are its residents. The selection of this region is based upon a few factors. Firstly, in contrast to other regions where climate change has posed a significant problem, internal displacement is not an option for the Pacific Islands, thus offering this study the important element of forced migration over borders. Secondly, the mass resistance that has been expressed by Pacific Islanders towards migration can provide interesting insights into the apparently strong incentives to stay (Farbotko, 2018). In order to narrow down the scope of the study, it will focus on the islands of Fiji, Kiribati, and Tuvalu. This choice was made based on the fact that these islands are already facing displacement due to climate change, in particular Kiribati and Tuvalu, which are at risk of completely becoming inhabitable in the future (ibid). Furthermore, all three islands have received a remarkable amount of international and scholarly attention (Dreher & Voyer, 2015; Farbotko, 2018). These factors together indicate that the general population of these islands are at least familiar with the subject, which can also be based upon government officials

who have addressed climate change and implemented programs, such as the “Migration with Dignity” program on Kiribati (McNamara, 2009). This will possibly allow for a better understanding amongst participants of how climate change might affect their lives at home, as well as offer better access in terms of resources and literature to the researcher.

3.2 Method and Data Collection

The study has been conducted through semi-structured interviewing. This method has been selected because interviews form an important way of understanding refugees as they allow for fuller expressions of their experiences (Steimel, 2017). Since this research aims to understand how the decision to stay is constructed, it is necessary to allow interviewees to tell their own stories and experiences. In fact, exploring migration puzzles through personal stories has become a favored approach to assessing the relationship between identity and migration (Gilmartin, 2008).

The semi-structured approach of the interviews will enable the comparability of the data retrieved, whilst maintaining the freedom to ask follow-up questions and allow for a conversational approach of interviewing through which participants can feel at ease, and provide more insight into the meanings and interpretations that this research aims to explore. Furthermore, Schaffer’s (2007) “ordinary language interviewing” will be applied, which can be useful for understanding the meanings of words in everyday talk, as well as provide insight into the social realities that underly these words. It allows for researchers to dive into the shared meanings of particular words. It proves particularly useful when the researcher is from a different culture than the interviewees, as is the case for this research, since the method can help the researcher understand the differences in vocabulary and intention (ibid). The interviews were set-up mostly by direct questions such as “How do you feel about climate change?”, which were explored further through follow-up questions in the form of elaboration prompts, example prompts, and restatement questions (“From your answer I understood x, is this correct?”). Questions such as “What do the people on your island think about x?” were used to gain insight into the wider attitudes on the islands.¹

A total of 12 respondents were interviewed, as studies have shown that interviews for which “the goal is to describe a shared perception, belief, or behavior among a relatively homogeneous group, a sample of twelve will likely be sufficient” (Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2005, p. 74).² As

¹ For the complete interview guide, please refer to appendix A.

² For more information on the demographics of the participants, please refer to the transcripts in appendix B.

the researcher is situated very remote from the region under study, and visiting the islands exceeds its limit, participants for the interviews were recruited through Facebook. Respondents from each island were approached through Facebook-based forums. One of the benefits of this approach is the “specificity of focus” of internet groups which can create a unique sampling opportunity (Hamilton & Bower, 2006). Furthermore, research has shown that using Facebook as a recruitment tool for research can reduce costs, create better representation, reach harder to access demographics, and lead to shorter recruitment periods (Whitaker, Stevelink & Fear, 2017). The groups that were used for this purpose were: “*Fiji (chat) fiji*”, “*Fiji the world.. news. its Sanaka and Dhamaka*”, “*Tuvalu USP Students Association*”, and “*Kiribati Islands Student Association (KISA)*”. In each group a poll or text was posted explaining the need for respondents for an interview about climate change and migration. Respondents who were interested could voluntarily sign up by responding to these posts in the following ways: 1) By indicating that the researcher could contact them through the poll; 2) By sending a message to the interviewer themselves; or 3) By liking or commenting on the post.

The interviews were conducted through Facebook video call, Facebook call and Facebook chat. The platform offers a useful tool, as no additional information from the interviewees is required to conduct interviews through Facebook, such as phone numbers or email-addresses, which allows respondents to feel safe and comfortable while talking to a stranger. Of the interviews, 8 were conducted through chat, 3 were conducted through call, and 1 was conducted through video call. While the initial goal was to interview everyone through video call, this proved to be impossible mostly due to the weak internet connections on the islands under study. One participant was able to fulfill this request because they were visiting the UK at the time of the interview. Most interviewees struggled with calling due to these weak connections, and others indicated that they would feel more comfortable answering through chat. Interviews that did not take place through chat were recorded and transcribed near-verbatim in order to enhance the comparability of the interviewees’ responses and narratives (Soss, 2006). Transcripts of the interviews through chat were not edited.

After data collection was completed, all data was carefully read through and continuously compared through Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six-step thematic analysis approach. This means that transcripts were read to gain a greater understanding of the answers given, after which themes were

identified and divided into categories. Subsequently, each category or theme was labeled (e.g. “territorial concerns” for narratives concerning the loss of ancestral burial grounds). Then, data was coded into those categories and the categories were narrowed down into overarching themes that captured the underlying meaning of the data. Lastly, quotes were selected based on which gave the most accurate description of the given themes.

3.3 Identification

This section will identify some of the methodological limitations of the study. Firstly, as older generations are underrepresented on the online platforms that were used for recruitment, this demographic was hard to reach and is therefore underrepresented in this study. While it is true that this could lead to a generational gap, in which the attitudes between the younger and older generations differ, it should be taken into account that the phenomenon under study is an anticipatory one, focused on a scenario that is situated in the future. Therefore, the demographic that will be most affected by climate change, is the younger generation under study. Thus, they might have given climate change migration more serious consideration than the older generation. Furthermore, as the connections between young people and their elders is generally very close on the islands, respondents were asked about their insights into the excluded demographic, providing the study with a sense of their attitudes.

Secondly, it should be noted that interviewing through messenger might seem limited, however due to the remoteness of the interviewer to the subjects under study and the weak internet connections, it became a necessary tool to bridge the distance. Conducting the interviews through Facebook enabled generating a more diverse sample of interviewees than might otherwise have been possible (Hamilton & Bowers, 2006). In order to preserve the quality of interviews, the interviewing time for chat was extended (up to 2.5 hours) and more follow-up questions were asked. As for the sample, while it might seem small, the responses were lengthy and rich, allowing for an accurate image of respondent’s attitudes.

As for the interviews themselves, I was aware of both the benefits and disadvantages of my status as an “outsider”, a person that does not face the impacts of climate change directly and is situated in a different cultural setting. The benefit of this status was that respondents were very eager to share their stories, their culture and the challenges that their islands are facing on a daily basis. My outsider status contributed to this, because the respondents very much understood that

their replies and explanations were important for me to develop a comprehensive understanding of their situation, and also hoped to create more awareness on their reality by sharing their stories to “an outsider”. It formed a barrier when respondents were careful not to offend me when talking of the responsibility of the industrialized countries, which they perceived where I’m from to be a part off. Such negative by-effects were avoided by emphasizing that there are no right or wrong answers before the start of the interviews, and that respondents should feel comfortable sharing whatever thoughts they might have on the topic.

4. Climate Refugees and the Desire to Stay Put

After having reviewed the literature and possible answers to why individuals choose to stay put, we will now analyze the subject's lived experiences. As previous literature has suggested, indeed the interviewees expressed negative attitudes towards the idea of migration. Five of the interviewees view it as a last resort, after every other possibility has been exhausted. Three interviewees indicated that they would for the benefit of their children and education, albeit not willingly. Four of them indicated that they would not leave under any condition, even when faced with severe hardships due to climate change. Without exception, these respondents used variations on the quote "I would rather die than leave". None of the interviewees indicated that they would simply leave.

During the analysis of the interviews, three main themes were recurring, explaining why respondents would rather stay put: (i) the loss of identity and culture; (ii) the loss of self-determination; and (iii) the perception of life in a foreign land. The analysis below will discuss these themes in this order.

4.1 Expected Loss of Identity and Culture

As mentioned previously, culture and tradition are generally of much importance to Pacific Islanders. It is therefore not surprising that every interviewee made references to culture in relation to their identity. Respondents seem to understand culture as traditional practices such as dance and music, language, clothing, national holidays, food, and architecture, but also as ways of communication characteristic to the locals. Friendly smiles, kindness and helpfulness were repeatedly mentioned as such characteristics, as was the fear that these will be lost upon migration. Many of these expressions of identity are perceived to be territorially dependent. The following quote illustrates how this fear of detachment reveals itself:

Ructa: The youth will start adapting through the society. Take for example the people who relocated to Rambli. Have you heard about them?³

Interviewer: No.

³ Quotes in this chapter have been edited for grammar and clarity, without altering context or interpretation. For the original text, please refer to the transcripts in appendix B.

Ructa:

Alright so, basically I am from that place. When my ancestors relocated to Rambi, from that point until now the youth have mixed their culture with Fiji. When you hear a Rambian talking, his accent is different, his approach is different, it's basically dominated by the Fijian culture. And that really makes a lot of clashes with the Kiribati people. The Rambians are saying, we are not Kiribati, we are Fijians, they process it this way. [...] I'm taking Rambi as an example, but if all the Kiribati people start migrating to a foreign land, it is the youth that we fear. It is hard to control them.

This interviewee believes characteristics and practices that are common among I-Kiribati to disappear once migration abroad has taken place, and fears that the host-society's dominance will overshadow these commonalities. He thus attaches characteristics he believes to be common to the I-Kiribati to the physical place of the island. As discussed in the literature review, the bond between people and places comes into existence through the sharing of familial, communal and cultural bonds with neighbors, manifesting into a sense of belonging with the wider area. While it has been argued that both the physical as the emotional aspects of territory is of importance (Liu, 2014), the interviewees seem to be mostly concerned about the emotional aspects. Places have come to symbolize the socio-cultural patterns of group identity and embody a sense of community identity, facilitated by the organization of roles within the community and the regularized settings for activities and interactions. Thus, the separation with this territory is associated with feelings of estrangement, alienation and homelessness: it entails eventually not belonging to any place at all. Fried (2000) indeed argues that being forcibly detached from such a place can result into disorientation and alienation, in which one "may continue to live for some time in transitional places where home base is fragmented before one is ready to establish alternative reference points for security and solidarity" (ibid). In anticipation of migration, coming out of this transitional place seems far away, and it is thus not surprising that interviewees fear to no longer feel like a "I-Kiribati", "Tuvaluan" or "Fijian", while not being able to become one of "them", a member of the host-society, either.

Furthermore, place is not merely where the home is as for Pacific Islanders, place contains important territorial aspects of culture, such as ancestral connections and forms of self-governance by villages. This form of identification is also referred to as 'territorial identity', which some describe to be the true identity between place and people, signifying the belief that the people belong to the land, instead of the land to the people (Fried, 2000). While the interviews indeed illustrated such territorial identity to be important, most respondent indicated that it is mostly "the elders" that would resist migration in order to preserve ancestral ties. It should be emphasized that this study does not disregard the importance of territorial identity, however it believes it to be overgeneralized by scholars who propose it to be the main motivation behind reluctance towards migration (Farbotko, 2018; McDonnel, 2018). The younger generation seems to value more the national identity than the territorial identity. This becomes evident in for example the responsibility that is expressed towards the nation:

Karibwannang: If the next generation has to leave my country I won't be able to call myself a I-Kiribati. Because it's my fault, after having done my research and studies, I should have done something for my country.

Such responses indicate that besides culture, identity goes back to the sense of responsibility. Migration is associated with having "failed" the country and future generations, making one unworthy of carrying the name of the nation that is such a crucial part of one's identity. Indeed, this confirms one of the key arguments of attachment theory, which as mentioned in the literature review, anticipates an enhanced sense of identification with one's country as a result of crisis, leading to increased efforts to avoid separation in order to maintain the integrity of the community.

4.2 Expected Loss of Self-determination

It should be noted first that Pacific Islanders generally have a different lifestyle than much of the Western world. Livelihoods are mostly based on the island's natural resources, through fishing and planting, and getting water from the well. Repeatedly, the interviewees emphasized the importance of the ability to take care of oneself through one's own resources, and the expectation that such independence would disappear upon migration:

Koatinrerei: For our lifestyle, we can survive without money. We plant our own foods, fish for proteins, climb trees to cut toddies for

drink. One part of lifestyle our people usually have is that they help each other. If one family has no soy sauce for example, they go to their neighbor to borrow it from them.

Pacific lifestyles are characterized by independence, self-sufficiency and communal living. To be self-sufficient, one needs to have the skills that the islanders have been developing since childhood. All interviewees expressed concern about the loss of such skills, and the need to acquire new skills to maintain access to the basics needs of life once living abroad. Beyond food security, medicine and even navigation skills are perceived as resources one might not be able to independently access upon migration. These insights confirm the discussion on location-specific advantages, as the abilities and assets of individuals are lost once they no longer enjoy the “insider” status, but rather become an “outsider” in an unfamiliar place. This concerns both work-oriented and leisure-oriented advantages. The ability to depend on natural resources can be considered a work-oriented skill, one that will be lost once proximity to the sea, permit-free fishing, and the right weather circumstances for planting no longer exist, indicating that these assets are in-transferable. The anticipated loss of such advantages means that individuals are expected to act upon insecurity, not being certain of what will be waiting for them on the other side of migration. While it is true that the possibility of better livelihoods and economic status is a possible outcome of migration, scholars have argued that most stayers take risk-averse decisions rather than risk-tolerant decisions (Ceriani & Verme, 2018). These individuals would rather protect their minimum standards of living, rather than search for greater opportunities and risk being left with even less. This illustrates an important difference between economic migrants and forced migrants, as the former are driven by risk tolerance (ibid). In addition to this, failing to acquire new skills or not being able to adapt to new demands in the host-country, might contribute to the already existing sense of isolation.

As for leisure-oriented advantages, these are mostly expressed in terms of the social quality of life in a specific place. Interviewees indicate that entertainment is created by collectively watching and supporting the rugby team in Fiji, by kids, teenagers, and parents getting together in a *mwaneaba*⁴ to dance during the weekends in Kiribati, and through extending invitations for tea to passing neighbors in Tuvalu. Such leisure-oriented advantages, that go together with space-oriented advantages such as having the knowledge of where cultural events take place

⁴ A communal meeting place where I-Kiribati come together for leisure

(Tassinopoulos & Werner, 1999), are lost upon migration, and it takes time to accumulate new location-specific advantages. Such advantages however are an important factor in the sense of happiness and a crucial part to social interaction. However, what theories on location-specific advantages seem to be suggesting is that time will allow to acquire new advantages (ibid). What it doesn't seem to take into account is unwillingness to acquire new advantages, as individuals engage in a process of mourning the advantages that were lost. Moreover, interviewees expressed expectations of leisure abroad to be individualistic, such as watching TV, social media and staying in, while leisure in the country of origin is characterized by getting out of the house and its communal aspect. This illustrates that location-specific advantages in the host-society might differ so largely from those at home, that they are not considered advantages at all. The following quote makes such attitudes evident:

Sem:

I don't want to live in the world that they live in, waking up in the morning at 5 AM, driving to work for 2 hours without saying good morning to your children, then coming home in the evening when most of the kids are already in bed. Who wants to live this kind of life? Waking up shoveling the snow off the driveway, then turning on the engine for the car to melt the snow, parking tickets, walking etcetera. We don't have this back home. [...] I can't imagine it, I have experienced it in Wellington, Auckland, people there are not living the way they used to. They mostly stay indoors because of the lousy cold weather outside. Sleeping, watching TV most of the time. Social media plays a big part on their new culture.

In sum, while the way of living at home is described in terms as “carefree” and “enjoyable”, the way of living in the outside world is connected to terms such as “slavery”, “helplessness” and “fatigue”. Being forced upon a lifestyle that is not theirs, leads to the feeling that self-determination - the choice to live as is desired and familiar- is being taken away.

Furthermore, another important aspect of self-determination as indicated by the interviewees is the ability to return. It should be noted that Pacific Islanders are generally mobile people. Both migration for work purposes and education are common, underlined by the fact that the South-Pacific only hosts 1 university due to which many young people move abroad for a period of at least 3 years for their studies. Thus, the resistance towards climate change migration might seem strange at first. However, it is evident that a salient factor causing this resistance is the inability to return. The connotation of permanence that clings to climate change migration induces feelings of exile, the unhealable rift forced between a human being and the native place, inducing a sadness that can never be surmounted (Said, 2000). And in turn, the temporariness of labor and educational migration is what makes it bearable:

Karibwannang:

When I migrated as a student, it was easy for me to leave the country because I knew I will be back again. I just went out to study for like 3 years.

Even when the time away from home is of considerable length, or return never actually takes place, temporary migration will always be underlined by the notion that there is a home to return to. In fact, such migration is often focused on acquiring capital that serves the purpose of life after return. But for future climate refugees, whether home will still exist is an uncertain fact. Immobility is a way of avoiding the permanence of exile. Self-determination can thus be described in terms of self-sufficiency, location-specific advantages and the prospect of return.

4.3 Perception of Life in a Foreign Country

Perceptions of what life might look like in a foreign land are an integral part of migrant decision-making. As the literature touched upon, non-migrants' views of life abroad is mostly based on reports and information provided by those who have already moved abroad. Social networks are indeed key to shaping the notion of migration. As has been illustrated in the literature review, much of the scholarly work on migrant decision-making suggests that a pre-existing social network abroad, or even the mere presence of a relative, friend, or acquaintance abroad, has a positive effect on the decision to migrate. Social networks are believed to reduce the cost of migration, by offering familiarity with the destination country and help throughout the migration process (Neumayer, 2005). However, while some interviewees indeed indicated that they would choose to migrate to a place where they have acquaintances, it also showed that social networks

have a negative effect on the overall willingness to migrate. Stories from abroad mostly discouraged interviewees, by emphasizing the hardships that one might face upon migration. The relationship between social networks and migration thus is not necessarily positive, as previous literature has suggested. Furthermore, the interviews illustrated that social media can have a significant role in painting an image of life abroad, through the mass information it has available. Its role is often overlooked, as literature mostly focuses on the impact of social media on anti-immigrant sentiments, rather than on anti-emigration sentiments. It also allows those who do not have a social network abroad to have access to the same kind of information as those who do:

Ructa:

I saw this video online where this American women got really pissed at this Mexican, and when she got pissed she was talking like "you should go back to the place you came from". And in another video this woman, she was white and she was talking to this Chinese guy, telling him to fuck off to his own country, you know... like there is no respect. If you look at it, all these whites from Australia they are also immigrants in history. And that's the thing that I feel... that if you are at home in your own culture you will never get those kinds of comments

Interestingly, 58% of interviewees addressed the unsafety that they expect to face when living abroad. This was mostly expressed through references to criminality, disturbance of family life, and anti-immigrant hatred. Despite the threat of climate change, life at home is perceived as safe and stable, as climate change seems like a small concern compared to the drugs and criminality filled outside world. The word "peaceful" has been used a significant amount of times to describe life in the country of origin as opposed to the situation abroad:

Penina:

I want my children to have a good life, even though I know that foreign countries put their lives in danger. I've heard on the news about killings, drug dealings etc. This makes me scared and know that my life is in danger in those places, because I am not used to that.

Gabriele: Fiji is a peaceful country.

Interviewer: And you think that other places will not be?

Gabriele: Yes, just look around what has been happening around the world. Shootings in New Zealand and terrorism.

As some security theories argues, the extent of insecurity that motivates the potential migrant does not necessarily have to be a fact, however the reports shape perceptions in such a way that it might be sufficient to make an individual migrate or stay (Zimmerman, 2011). Even if migrating does offer a more secure environment than staying on an island hit by climate change, it is eventually the notion of insecurity that leads to a decision.

Furthermore, security is also defined through the interactions with the host-society. Mostly, interviewees expect this interaction to result into an unavoidable clash between the natives and the newcomers. Since the islands are relatively homogenous in terms of religion and ethnicity (Farbotko, 2018), interviewees expressed fear for the consequences of their arrival into a multicultural society. Essentially, in-group and out-group tensions can be looked at through two perspectives: contact theory and group threat theory. The former argues that interactions between people from diverse backgrounds will lead to reduced intolerance and increased acceptance between different groups in society, and the latter implies that the in-group will perceive the “intruders” to be a threat towards their collective identity (Steele & Abdelaaty, 2018). The interviewees expressed notions situated in the latter theory:

Alex: Fiji is a Christian nation. So if we are migrated to an Islamic country, we will have the difficulties of living there because we are Christians. Every Sunday, we go turn on our loudspeakers and we preach to God, and we have church services gatherings during the week. The Indian community, they have their cultural happenings. So from Monday to Sunday there is a religious gathering somewhere around. An example, if I'm your neighbor and then when you have a prayer, I as your neighbor start singing phrases of my religion, you would be offended right? You would call the

cops on me. In Fiji we don't call cops on each other. We simply join in.... we simply join in. If the Indian's have an Islamic prayer, we also join in. That's our lifestyle in Fiji, and things like that will be taken away.

Interviewees hold the expectation that their arrival in host-society would be perceived as a threat. Such an expectation makes sense in relation to contact theory, which suggests that interaction first has to take place before groups can live in harmony. In anticipation of migration, such interaction has not taken place yet, explaining reluctance towards migration. Beyond the question of whether one will be accepted into and acceptive of the host-society, there are also concerns about dominance. Interviewees would rather remain a part of the in-group, than becoming part of the out-group, as the out-group is expected to having to adhere and be controlled by the rules of the dominant host-society. In order to avoid this, the idea of collectively migrating to a separate piece of land as a nation has been proposed. It can be argued that this partly goes back to the idea of self-determination, but it cannot be denied that such desire is also expressed to avoid a hostile host-society. Thus, expected hostility, oppression and reluctance from the host-society are important factors in the decision to stay put.

5. Discussion

This thesis has examined the complexities and nuances of individuals' decision to stay put when they face threats towards their security or livelihoods at home. These are especially interesting because they can be looked at within the large scope of refugee studies and migrant decision-making, and contribute to a wider understanding of why refugees might not act how rational theories of migration expect them to act. Questioning why potential future climate refugees might choose to stay while their security and livelihoods is in danger, this research has argued that motivations to stay can include the emotional connection that is attached to territory, inducing feelings of belonging that are not expected to be retrieved anywhere else. Staying can also be about an act of resistance, to hang on to the survival of a place that achieves even more important connections once its existence comes under threat. Furthermore, we have discussed the loss of location-specific advantages, that have been build up over a long period of time and might never be retrieved in the same way, staying to avoid being exiled, and the effects that social networks have on notions of security. Lastly, the interactions with the host-society and a possible clash between the in- and out-group have been addressed.

It should be emphasized that in no way does this thesis disregard rational theories of migration. In fact, indeed are rational theories of security and economics useful for explaining why migrants leave, they however cannot explain why potential migrants stay. This is mainly due to their limited definitions of security and livelihood. The interviews made evident that what individuals perceive as security, goes beyond purely physical security. Insecurity was described in terms of a threat against family life, which was expected to be disturbed upon migration due to differences in norms and values, as illustrated by the following interviewees quote: *“Most of the decisions are made by men, women support what the men do. This is the common setting of our Polynesian culture. If we take this tradition and practice it in a Western country, we will be sued by the laws of that country for not following the UN women’s rights law”* (Sem). Indeed, do migrants worry about security, but what rational theories do not take into account is that notions of security differ. To Pacific Islanders, security means to pursue family life and to be able to discipline kids and teach the norms and values as they do at home. The threat against this kind of security is greater than the physical well-being that rational theories center their argument around. Another type of threat that rational theories do not take into account is the increase of anti-immigrant sentiments or hostility from the host-society. Future migrants seem to be aware of the hostility they

might face upon migration, however are unfamiliar with the kind of threats they might receive. While staying doesn't offer security either, at least the type of threat is known, can be prepared for and possibly adapted to. At the very least, living through the kind of insecurity at home can be done without the emotional detachment and stress that migration might cause.

Secondly, while it is true that the notion of economic security and livelihood that rational theories today argue for have been expanded beyond a mere focus on monetary gain, it still proves too limited in explaining what one might perceive as a secure livelihood. Livelihood for Pacific Islanders is the ability to create their own resources, being able to provide for themselves even when finances are scarce. The insecurity of not knowing where food will come from when moving abroad, if jobs will be available and whether one's skills will be sufficient to be hired, whilst not knowing if one's livelihood will increase or deteriorate, provides sufficient motivation for stayers to not take the risk. What rational theories seem to be missing is that the mere possibility of increased economic status is often not enough to leave, especially when required a complete turnover of what one knows and practices to acquire livelihood at home.

What this research contributes to the field of refugee decision-making is providing an expansion of its understanding, shifting the focus from the existing narrow definitions of security and livelihood that are supposed to drive refugees, into understanding the complexities and contrasts that inform these decisions. As for climate refugees, whereas previous literature has mostly focused on notions of territorial identity, in which the people belong to the land and will rather choose to die than to leave behind the spiritual attachments, this research has argued that the detachment from identity goes beyond merely territorial concerns. Nevertheless, the scholarly literature that examines refugees' decisions to stay is still very limited, and in the rare occasions that it is discussed it focusses primarily on involuntary immobility. This research has aimed to fill this gap, but due to the limitations of time and space to the scope of this study, further research is necessary to dedicate further attention to the complex phenomenon of desired immobility and staying put.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Semi-structured interview guide

1. Can you introduce yourself?
 - a. What is your age:
 - b. Where do you live / Where are you from?
 - c. What do you do in daily life?
2. What do you generally know about climate change?
3. Do you ever have debates with your environments about climate change? If so, what are the main views discussed?
4. How do you feel about the effects of climate change on your home?
5. How do you feel about migration as a result of climate change?
6. If climate change impacted your life in such a way that it becomes harder to stay on your island, would you consider migration?
 - a. Can you elaborate why you would/would not stay on your island?
 - b. Can you give examples of what it is that you would/would not want to leave behind?
7. How do you feel about future generations potentially having to leave your island?
8. Do you think people on your island see migration as a solution to climate change?
 - a. Why do they/do they not?
 - b. What do you think needs to happen before the people on your island would perceive migration as a solution to climate change?
9. Do you think people on your island have fears about leaving the island?
 - a. Can you explain what these fears are?
10. How do you feel about living in a different culture?
11. If you were to leave your island, are there any places you would prefer to go?
 - a. What is it about this place that makes you prefer it? Why do you not have a preference?
12. What would you be looking for in a new place to live?
13. If you were to migrate, how would you like to be prepared for it?
14. If you were to migrate, what aspects from your own island would you want the destination to have?
15. What do you think you would miss if you left the island?
16. What do you think it would look like, this new life?
17. What do you think it would feel like?
18. What could make you feel more at home in this new country if you would have to migrate?
19. What do the people on your island think is the solution if climate change indeed makes your island unlivable?

Appendix B: Interview transcripts

I= Interviewer

(A= Alex, aged 53, male, Fiji, April 21st, 2019, Facebook call)

A: Where I live, I live in the mainland. The low islands have a little problem. Like right now in Fiji we are facing a lot of climate dismay, like sometimes when we have summer we don't have summer, climate has changed itself. In the lower islands in the Pacific, the Cook Islands, Samoa, Tonga, they are facing drastically about climate change.

I: Yes, definitely. Also Tuvalu and Kiribati, they are also being affected.

A: Yes, many of their islands have gone under water now, specifically Tuvalu.

I: And how do you feel about that, that people from those islands and maybe in the future this could even happen to some parts of Fiji, how would you feel about that effect on your home?

A: Well, to me when you leave home and then you go to a foreign land you are always going to be treated as a foreigner. So you don't have the livelihood, that livelihood in your life on its way, that smile, that laughter and that feel is no longer going to be with you. I believe climate change goes through the heavy industrial around the globe, the pollution. Fiji has brought in a lot of laws now in regard to climate change. And there are many laws, recently there was a major development in Mao Island, which was also researched by the New Zealand media. Now the government has shut down the whole development program, just because the environment and damage it had done to our reefs and the mainland and the mangroves.

I: If climate change would impact Fiji in such a way that it would become harder to stay on your island, would you yourself consider to migrate somewhere else?

A: That's a hard question. It would be very hard, actually right now we have a population of about a million people, we have 300 islands yeah, and many of our major islands... they will.. we have major mountains, big mountains. But the last experience we had, we had a cyclone a couple years back, it was called Winston. It was a category 6. Now that had really devastated Fiji. It had destroyed many of the islands, one of the major islands was Coral island, and I went to that island as soon as the hurricane hit that place, and then that island has about 300-meter hilltops. It's like Fiji is always green right. But on that day, everything was brown, even the trees, the coconut trees, everything was rooted out. Houses were pushed from one top from the other. There were three stages of villages there, the first stage was taken and smacked on the second stage, and the first one and two stage was taken and smacked on the third stage. There was a big cave on the island, where all the animals and all the people went inside there, and they lived there for 3 or 4 days. And many of the islanders, like from the small islands, from then they started migrating to the mainland. So the mainland started facing difficulties in their livelihood like when you have a mass migration into the mainland you have road condition deterioration, housing problems, and presently the government is really really facing a lot of hardship.

I: I can imagine.

A: But anyway we are sort of christianistic people in Fiji, so we believe that whenever the hurricane or the cyclone comes in, it is god given and we have to simply take it. But actually if you go to the modern area we know it is from the heavy industrial pollution. It's really affecting the South Pacific and we had this nuclear accident in Japan, and things like that, and Fiji belongs to the Pacific Ocean, so those things have come into the sea and really has affected us. Climate change actually does, there are NGOs that are here in Fiji, the major one is the Greenpeace. They are doing great job, they are going out and bring out their boats and doing a lot for the people of the Pacific. And we actually salute them, they have done a great job. And I think they were the first organization ever to bring up what climate change will do to us in the world.

I: Imagine that, I'm not saying that this will happen but I just want to look at your opinions and what you would do, imagine that climate change would impact the mainland in such a way that your livelihood would be in danger on the mainland, would you in that case consider to leave the entire island and go live abroad?

A: But which country is going to take us in. That is the major question.

I: Would that matter in your decision? If certain countries would take you, would that make your decision easier?

A: Well in Fiji, Pacificers we only migrate for a couple of years just to go work in foreign countries just to bring in reserves for our retirements to our own country, actually that is mostly the Pacific way. But such disasters happen, well people might die in their own country rather than go slaves in another country, do you know what I mean.

I: So you are saying that you would rather have a difficult live in Fiji, rather than going and living in another country for the rest of your live?

A: Yes, yeah. I'm going to simply stay in Fiji.

I: Yeah I understand. And can you explain to me why, why it is that you would decide to stay on your own island?

A: Homeland, that is why. I was born and raised and grew up, my live my livelihood. And live in the foreign land, without fitting in for real. It is going to be very very hard for a Fijian anywhere in the world. Like if I am going to leave to Australia tomorrow I would simply be treated as an alien always. Example, if I'm going to go to Holland, the Dutch people will just they won't welcome me. If there is a competition to get into work, even if I got more knowledge in that work than a Dutch person, but I will still have that little racial thing in the heart and mind. So you know, I will always be the second or the third person in any country or work. So we in Fiji, we are a proud people. We don't lose that.

I: Are there certain things... so I understand that you have a sense of belonging on your island that you don't want to leave behind. Are there certain conditions, for example, if the Fijian people would be relocated as a whole, or for example if you could still live among your people in a different country, would that be something you would consider or would you still want to stay on your own island, even though live would be harder?

A: We'll take it as it comes, we will simply leave because actually I have worked around the work, some UN work uhm, and I have been to refugee camps and... well to live in a refugee camp well, what can I say. Your livelihood, even though, you don't have that space, you don't have that

mental happiness of living outside a refugee camp. But if I'm staying at home and I live in a shack, even there is water around I can build a home. I just wiggle myself round and start fishing you know. Stay the rest of my life and do my work, rather than going to another country and living in refugee camp and you know, seeking for people's sympathy and things like that. The pride of a Fijian is simply wash itself away. So I don't think anybody from Fiji will like to go.

I: Do you think that people on your island see, because you are saying that you don't think anyone on Fiji would consider it, so do you think that people on your island see migration as a solution to climate change, or not at all?

A: I cannot represent the whole of Fiji though sorry, but yeah

I: Of course, but from the things that you've discussed with the people around you what is the feeling that you get?

A: Like I said, people migrate to other countries to work there and save some money, but when they come to the age of 55, 50, 60, 65, they start to return back home, they come back to their villages, they build themselves some nice houses, they buy cars, and they so much make a land here. People start you know, they start fawning, and getting a 20-dollar income per day it just helps them out, so everybody leave. In Fiji if you don't work for a week or two, or a month, you can still survive because there is a lot of landscape here and its rich soil, so you just simply plant, or go down to the sea and fish. That's why these major industrial developments here in Fiji, industrial developments are done, but not that much, mostly resorts are done because of the tourist attraction. And we don't have a big budget, we have a small budget, but everyone is happy. We don't export any industrial item. But yet our elders are well looked after, and our kids are going to school for free. That all from the tax-payers money though, and we have a good government.

I: So what you are saying is that, if they would have to migrate for climate change they won't be able to return, and that is the problem, that is why they wouldn't go for migration.

A: Yes. yes. They will be in standoff with others, if I say example if I go to Australia, the whole of Fiji one million people goes to Australia, for example so let's say about Israel and Palestine right now. Now, the Palestinians are, the Israelites are going home. Now they don't have landscapes, so they are going to the Palestine area and building. So if one million Fijians go to Australia, and the students who are working around Europe and America and other countries, if they start to return back home, obviously we will have a standoff with them when they start to take over what we have built to start our lives, you know what I mean. So there will be like warfare and threats, a lot of things that will affect any human being. Because the world right now, lacks humanity. The world right now lacks humanity. Right now, it's development, weaponry and space.

I: So you don't think that there is any condition under which people will consider migration, it is just not on the table at all?

A: Nah, I don't think so, they might migrate into the mainland. The mainland will be overcrowded, but in Fiji if a person walks by your house we call them to have tea, we call them to have lunch or dinner with us even though there is a small piece of bread there. We just simply just divide it. During cyclone Winston, we had this major problem in Fiji, but then the unity of

the whole population, the ethnics, the indigenous, the Indos, we just simply combined together, and that is one time the face of Fiji that the world saw that the whole of Fiji came as one. And mainland people, they were sending clothes and everything, they were withdrawing money from their bank accounts, and they were like buying things and sending it to the devastated areas. We have a very small budget, our budget is mostly a billion dollar on half, the damage was 3.9 billion dollars. Fiji didn't face any difficulties or hardship, everybody just opened up and simply helped each other, and back to normal. Really actually one way, drew the entire nation together.

I: So you are saying there is this sense of solidarity between the people.

A: Yeah.

I: And do you think that people are scared, or that they have fears about being forced to leave the island or their homes in the future?

A: No. They don't. During the crisis in 2000 there was a saying that the foreign countries, Australia etcetera, would invade Fiji. And everybody said, "let them come". Even though we have our own little problem, but we can solve our own problem ourselves, rather than we have an invasion, and if anyone is going to invade we are going to smack their bum.

I: So you're very united.

A: Do you watch rugby?

I: Yes.

A: Well, in Fiji in every home you watch it with the entire family. It's any migrant in Fiji, example even the Chinese or the Indians, when Fiji plays everybody is playing, yelling, cheering, the livelihood is just like that. We happy, we smiling, we are going to say Kula with a big simile.

I: So, I understand that migration is not... there is no fear about it, there is no way that it is on the table, people don't perceive it as a solution. I understand that from your answers. I just want to ask you a few questions about what you would feel if you would have to migrate, so I can understand a bit more about your culture. Do you think that if migration would happen, would you be concerned that Fijians would lose their culture?

A: Of course, if anybody was forced, first there would be a big warfare. There would be war with the invaders. And if the people of Fiji loses, then... well slavery is next, the next rule of any foreign country that takes us in.

I: If water takes the entire island, there is no other option then to leave right. In that case, what places would you go, and what would you look for in a place, what would make you prefer that place?

A: I would love to come to Holand and come live with you.

I: [laughs] Well the Netherlands also has climate change issues, we are also at risk of going under water.

A: We will move to the higher grounds.

I: But what is it about a country that would make you want to go there? What would you be looking for in a new culture or a new home that would allow you to keep your Fijian culture?

A: If we are appreciated and understood, we are not violate people, we are sportsmen, we are very hard working, a small little piece of land we can always cultivate and start our livelihood. Tuvaluan people, our government has given them some land, Kiribati our government has given

them some land to reside in for the migration, and the other islands have been allocated to higher grounds. Most of the villages that were staying by the sea they are relocated to higher grounds and if foreign countries help us to relocate to higher grounds, there would be a very great thing for the world to help us. Well currently our government is doing so, since our prime minister was president, many foreign countries helped us in places and aid to relocate, so a lot of villages they have been relocated but what happened there is that the tribal... how do I say this... tribal differences happen, because every piece of land in Fiji is marked for a clan, we can say clan. So if your clan's land is relocated to another clan's land, you don't have the right to build anything else apart from your house. You can simply build your house, but you cannot plant there anymore, you can't build yourself anything. So even though they are living there, the livelihood of the person is not there.

I: So, if I understand correctly if you would have to migrate you would look for a place where you could have your own livelihood? Is that correct?

I: What would you be looking for in a new home, if I can ask? So what aspects from your own island would you want to have if you would have to leave your home?

A: Well we mostly live by the sea, we like to plant, crops or something just to survive. We hard working, we like to work and have education. Education is a priority in Fiji, everybody knows how to read and write in English. And we are mostly, see 80%, yeah 70%... Fiji is a Christian nation. So if we are migrated to an Islam country, we will have the difficulties of living there because we are Christians. And every Sunday we go turn on our loudspeakers and we preach to God, and we have church services and during the week gatherings. The Indian community they have their cultural happenings. So from Monday to Sunday there is a religious gathering somewhere around. An example, if I'm your neighbor and then when you have a prayer, and I as your neighbor started singing phrases of my religion you would be offended right. You would call the cops on me. In Fiji we don't call cops on each other. We simply join in.... we simply join in. When they play an Indian prayer, we join in, if we have Islamic prayer, the Indians join in. That's our livelihood in Fiji, and things like that will be taken away. We will be living in slavery, no human being would like to live in a slave world.

I: I understand. And in case you were to migrate, how would you like to be prepared for it? How do you for example think your own government, but also the government of other countries, can help the Fijian people to be prepared for possible migration.

A: Well we have to do the costing on that first. For example, if you are migrating you have to create 1 million homes, and we will be simply come with our bags because that ship won't be able to carry our luggage and our furniture and other things in live, so you have to make that costing of one million people to emigrate. So the person, the example, 2000 dollars per person. And then times a million, well I don't think any country can afford it. If they afford it they would have to rise their own taxes on their own people, and when people are taxed out of their pockets, well there will be a big problem.

I: So if I understand correctly you are saying that the only way to migrate is as the entire country to the same country? Am I understanding that correctly? That you do not want the Fijian people to be spread all over the world, you would want to go to one place together.

A: Yes, yes.

I: I understand the financial aspect, but if you would go beyond the financial aspect, so how could they prepare you before you arrive? Do you think that there is something that can be done to prepare people in the Pacific Islands who might have to migrate in the future?

A: Well, build the appropriate schools and the appropriate houses for living, and if they are Christians, a church can be built for them. If they are Muslim, a mosque can be built for them. If they are Hindu, a temple can be built for them. I don't think this will be a problem, but the whole thing of the migration is that you have the costs. What will the recipient country, can they afford us?

I: Yeah. And what do you think you would miss the most if you would leave Fiji?

A: I would miss my livelihood, because when I go to another country I won't have that livelihood. The Fijian livelihood.

I: Can you explain what that means to you, the Fijian livelihood?

A: Well, you have to come to Fiji to know about that.

I: Can you explain a little bit in your own words? So I can imagine it?

A: Paradise. Island in the sun. You can walk through sand, play a guitar, build a bonfire, sing some songs. Play some rugby. And believe in humanity.

I: So when you talk about livelihood, you really mean the culture of the Fijians, did I understand that correctly? So your way of living, your lifestyle? Which is very open, and very free, and walking in the sun and having bonfires, and being friendly to each other. You see livelihood as all of that being part of Fijian culture, is that correct?

A: Yes, the main, the main thing that we have in Fiji is humanity. We respect another human being. We believe that we are created in the image of God, and the next human being is also a human being and also a creation of God. If I love God, I got to love him too. So if I'm going to please God, I have to do my best for the other guy. When we are living that way, we don't have racial discrimination here. Because, what we Fijians actually believe is that God created humans. Humans created religion. So, we believe more in humanity rather than the industrial world because we also believe that when we die, we are going to take a penny. The rich men's grave and the commoners grave, it's going to be the same size and the same depth. And everybody's aim in Fiji is to each other.

I: I understand. And do you ever discuss about climate change with people in your environment?

A: We always say it, too much rain, too much sun it is overheating now. Yeah, we nag, we nag. But end of the day before we have dinner or something after you come back from work, we sit down we have our prayers. That is the time that we thank God for everything he has provided for us. So probably we are thanking God for the climate change. We human beings, we have to take it you know.

I: When you talk about these issues about climate change, but also about how some of the islands are going under water, when you talk about these things with people in your environment, what are their main views about that this is happening?

A: Everybody knows that climate change is happening from the heavy industrial constructions around the world, and small countries they don't have those guns and planes to go and invade

another country to say hey, stop your developments, stop your productions you are causing climate change you know. We just like keep our mouth shut and just live in this world.

I: So people are mostly upset and angry with the rest of the world for not changing anything and for still having these heavy industrial productions, is that correct?

A: We leave that to the politicians to do that actually.

I: If you think that you would have to relocate, what do you think that your new life would look like?

I: And what do you think it would feel like also?

A: Devastating.

I: Can you explain why?

A: Because I don't live in Fiji anymore. We live in a foreign world. For example, if they were to migrate to Mars, how would the Marsians feel? It is the same thought, example you live in Holland. And right now the immigrants from the Middle East are coming to the Europe, for example all of Europe now they are coming. And the migrants they have their own beliefs, their own culture, and own way of livelihood. So you've seen the devastation what the people of the Middle East are doing to the Europeans. From England, in France, couple days back. Your own world is being destroyed by another foreign person. And just because that foreigner has its own culture, and its own religion and own face and own way of life. It won't really go together.

I: So you think that the Fijian way of life would not suit for example the European way of life?

A: Even though we talk in English, we do everything the Englishmen do, we hail the Queen, but I don't think so.

I: So what is it about the Fijian lifestyle that doesn't fit, or the Fijian culture, that doesn't fit with other parts of the world? Because you also mentioned a lot of similarities between the cultures. But what is it that wouldn't fit? Or what is it that you think you would miss.

A: Well, I don't really know what I would miss. That is a pretty hard question though.

I: I understand.

A: Yeah, you've repeated over and over [laughs].

I: Yeah, I need to get as much explanation as I can get.... See I really want to understand what makes the culture of Fiji so incompatible with different parts of the world.

A: The problem is the different parts of the world doesn't have the humanity. You understand what I'm saying. The attitude towards another human being. Now Fiji has this attitude towards another human. And if we go to another part of the world and we will have this humanity, and another person doesn't have this, there will be a conflict. Now, when the conflict happens, the enforcement will have a problem, the government of the day will have a problem. When these major institutions will have a problem, the whole country will have it. And the happiness of each and every individual, there will be none, you know. Everyone will be like "Eey look at them walking over there, that's an alien, he's from Fiji. Damn they have invaded the country, they have taken over our jobs". There will be differences between us.

I: Do you think there is a way to cope with these differences or to put these differences away?

A: Well, one has to believe in humanity first.

I: So the world has to change?

A: Yes, the world has to change into becoming humans actually. If you want me to migrate to America, I would first like to ask the Americans why send space explorations when hundreds of thousands of people are still living under bridges. Poor people are living in sheds and stuff... and you are spending billions of dollars in space explorations. Why don't you feed your hunger first? Same goes with India. Same goes with China. China is helping all the world around, giving aid and everything, but poverty in China is really high. So first you have to take the speck out of your own eye, you have to take dirt out of your own eye, before you start pinning another person's eye. I hope you understand what I'm saying.

I: I do, I understand what you are saying. I have one last question for you, so having talked about all of this it is clear that migration is not a solution, so what do you think than is a solution, if climate change makes Fiji unlivable or hard to live on, what would be the solution, you think? Or what would you want to see to happen?

A: Let's think about the narrative first, human beings rather than mass developments, production lines, space interference, that we need our earth to be fewer and clean with its own people. Then we look into the development. Actually the world has everything now, why do they want more and more. Like example, people look for foreign reserves, for reserves, where they keep digging. We already have billions of dollars in reserves, why don't we use that reserve and feed the people and clean all the pollution that is around. Every pollution can be cleaned, what about scientists develop new technology to clean the pollution rather than sending space explorations you know. What's in Pluto, what's in Venus. What if they discover the black hole, okay then load on the pollution in the space shuttle and ship it to the black hole. Why dump it in the Pacific? The Pacific has become the dumping ground. If they would stop the pollution in the Pacific Ocean, I don't think the Pacific Ocean have what we are facing now.

I: So you are saying that the International community should take responsibility and just stop polluting the world, right?

A: Yes, of course.

I: That is the only solution that you see?

A: Yeah. If they stop polluting we won't have that. We have so much trees here. We don't cut them. We only cut them for building our houses. We only use them when we need a bit of money, otherwise no we just keep it. And every house in Fiji has close about 20 trees. There are flower gardens, name it. We plant wood crops, we plant flowers, just for the best oxygen you can get. We run and play, we come back and do our training exercise, we breath in breath out, we need the oxygen, so we go by the trees. Like I said, you should come to Fiji.

I: It is difficult for people to understand that when your life is in danger, what makes you still not want to leave your home you know. Some people can't understand how people can stay when they are literally about to lose their lives if they would stay. And that is really what I'm trying to understand. Do you have any comment on that?

A: Well the Pacific people, they prefer dying on their own home soil, rather than dying in a foreign land. That's why if anybody dies from Fiji overseas, if they are working overseas they are

mostly, 90% the body is brought back to Fiji and the culture will just be done in Fiji. If they are cremated overseas, their ashes are brought to Fiji and thrown into the rivers here and the sea.

I: I can very much understand that. Thank you for your answers.

(K= Karibwanang, aged 25, male, Kiribati, April 28, 2019, Facebook call)

I: Can you introduce yourself a little bit, your age, where approximately you live and anything else that might be interesting?

K: I am Karibwanang as you know, I'm from the central part of Kiribati, Tarawa, the city, and I am 24 years old now, I'm almost turning 25. I'm doing a bachelor's in public administration and international business in the University of the South-Pacific. And just a preview, climate change has affected our country.

I: So, just in general and shortly, what do you know about climate change?

K: Climate change, what I know is that a lot of changes have been happening in Tarawa, South-Tarawa, and the impacts those are coastal erosion and those kinds of things.

I: So, do you ever talk with people around you about climate change?

K: Yeah, mostly when high tide comes, I think those are the times that we are talking about climate change.

I: And then when you talk about it, what are the main views of people, or the main things that are being said?

K: Sorry, come again

I: So, when you talk about it with the people around you, what are the main views that you discuss, or what are the main opinions of people about climate change, what do you talk about in other words.

K: Last summer it's something... it's not a high tide but it's when the rain fall, like over 3 weeks. And my place where I stay it is always flooded. That's when we are always talking about it because we know that.. in the past years we notice that it is not happening, but now in the recent years it is happening.

I: Okay, so how do you feel about the effects of climate change on your home? How does it make you feel?

K: I feel... sometimes I feel like almost homeless. It's like that feeling.

I: I understand. Can you explain what it is that makes you feel homeless?

K: Like what I see and what I experience in my home, it's always flooded, and the flood always comes up to the knee, above the knee, and so I have to live somewhere else for some time until the flood is off. That is why whenever I think about a part of climate change, I think that what if it's going to happen in the next 10 years, where I am going to live? That's why I feel homeless.

I: So, if I understand correctly it is the insecurity, not knowing what will happen in the coming years that makes you feel homeless?

K: Yeah.

I: I understand. So, a lot of people have been talking about possibly people having to migrate as a result of climate change in the future. How do you feel about that, how do you feel about migration as a result of climate change?

K: I think, the climate change migrates the people from the city. The main climate issue that most experience is the city so Tarawa, and I think that we should do the migration from Tarawa to some part of Kiribati such as the North part and the [inaudible] part because they are not affected by the climate change.

I: So, you are talking about migration about your own island. But some people are saying that possibly the entire island would become unlivable, and then people would have to migrate to other countries. How would that make you feel, if you would have to leave Kiribati completely?

K: That... that would be... that would be sad. I feel good that I can escape from the consequence, but what I am not feeling good about is leaving my whole identity, I leave my country. But living in one country will be best for us, otherwise we are going to suffer the consequences. But what I am feeling, I feel a bit that that's not possible.

I: Can you explain to me, because you are talking about the culture and the identity of Kiribati, can you explain to me what that culture is and that identity?

K: Okay the culture, the different cultures you know, if we migrate from Kiribati to Fiji, Fijians they have their own culture and us Kiribati we are different from other Pacific Islands. We are not living the way that they are, we create our own resources from the sea as we have a big ocean, our food is simple, we can eat something and if we live in some other country I don't think we are going to live their long, because we are going to miss our own food, our own place, the environment that we always live in. Yeah, you understand?

I: So, you are scared that the culture where you will end up will be very different, and the culture according to you is your way of eating, your way of getting food. What about identity, can you talk a little bit about I-Kiribati identity?

K: Okay, like the identity, if I am moving to another country as a I-Kiribati we are always like, you know in your home place you talk whenever you like, like the normal way you always do. Like we are saying [word in Kiribati] but if we are saying in another country, we can't say that. Because they will not understand what you say. And that would make you different from the Kiribati people who are living in their country, and you as a migrant you will not be recognized. Not sure if you are a Kiribati or an outcast. The people will recognize you as an outcast.

I: So, if climate change would make your life on Kiribati harder, would you consider to leave and to migrate to another country?

K: Like I say, if the climate change comes, I'd rather migrate to the highland, rather than moving to another country.

I: Yeah. But if the time comes that you won't be able to stay on the island completely, would you accept the offer to move overseas?

K: I would accept that because there is no choice.

I: And can you give examples of what it is that you would not want to leave behind?

K: First, the environment that I live in and am attached to. Second, my life there. Like the way we normally do living our lives.

I: And you said you study in the University of the South-Pacific in Fiji, right? So, you already have experienced then what migration is, have you lived in Fiji for your studies?

K: Yes, right now I am living in Fiji.

I: Okay, so can I ask what makes that type of migration different, because you've already migrated but you are mentioning how difficult it would be to migrate because of climate change to another country. So, what is the difference between these two types of migration for you?

K: Okay, if I migrate for the impact of climate change, from my vision returns would be hard. You know when living in another country you need to find another job in order to leave. While in your own country your job is already waiting for you. Because it depends on every student who have been to their studies, you already prepare something for them for when they are done studying. And if we do migration, I don't think I can get a job somewhere in that country. Or if I can get it, it would take me a lot of time to get another job and my life would not be easy.

I: And when you migrated to Fiji, it was not that difficult?

K: When I migrated as a student, it's easy for me to leave the country because I know that I will be back again. I just went out for studying like 3 years.

I: So what if you think about, you know maybe it won't ever happen that you will have to leave because of climate change, but what if you think about future generations who will possibly have to leave your island, how does that make you feel?

[silence]

I: So that you won't ever have to leave but you know that in the far future they won't be able to stay on Kiribati, how do you feel about that?

K: I would feel like, if the next generation leaving the country, I won't be able to call myself a I-Kiribati. Because it's my fault, after having done my research and study, I should have done something for my country. Even if we can't do anything, but we should do exactly something like preventing the impacts on mostly the offshore ocean, like planting a lot of mangroves I should have done that. And if the next generation is leaving the country that's my fault, I would feel like a horrible person. Because I am not doing my job.

I: So, if I get it correctly you feel responsible for the future generations?

K: Yes, I feel responsible for the next generation.

I: And do you think that people on your island see migration as a solution to climate change?

K: Migration is not the only option for climate change. Like I said we can do something like planting mangroves in order to prevent high tide for the coastal erosion. Preventing, building seawalls, we should have done something instead of migration.

I: Do you think people on your island agree with this? Do they consider migration as some sort of final solution, or not at all?

[silence]

I: Or maybe in other words, do you think they would be ever willing to migrate from their land?

K: It depends on the consequence, but if it's getting bad, I don't see any point why they are not leaving the country.

I: And what do you think that needs to happen, before they will perceive migration as solution?

K: Yeah

I: So for example, I've read a bit about the ancestral connections of land, so some people are saying a lot of I-Kiribati will not leave because their ancestors are buried on their land, and that they would rather die there than leaving. Do you think that that is true, or do you think that if it becomes dangerous enough to live there, that people will leave?

K: Yeah, culturally I think that one of the reason that they don't want to leave they won't leave their ancestors behind, mostly the lands as we own some of the lands in the country.

I: Does everyone feel this way you think, or is there a divide between the elders and the younger generation?

K: I think that that would be in the past, past years the people think like that. But in this kind of changed region, it depends on their own attitude. Whether they really love their country.

I: And do you think that people are scared that they will have to leave their island? Do they have fears about having to leave?

K: Yeah, I would say so, they would be scared. Because they don't know what they are facing if they are moving.

I: So, can you explain? What they are scared about, or what their fears are?

K: They are really scared about what kind of country they are entering to, what kind of people they are going to mingle with when they are leaving and are in that country. I am not sure, as for myself if I'm leaving, I would consider doing some research on that country first before living there.

I: You would do research, what would you like to know before going there?

K: I would like to know if the country is not affected by climate change, so that when I am living there, I would know that I would leave there one day also. And I would be like, what the main food for that country is, as our main body resource is food and drink, how am I going to get those kinds of resource? Is it easy or not easy?

I: Thank you. And how do you feel about living in a different culture?

K: In the first place I feel insecure about living in another country and that new culture.

I: Can you explain a little bit more about why you feel insecure?

K: Like if you know what I mean, if you are living in some other country like Fiji, Fijians are Fijians, Kiribati are Kiribati, Solomons are Solomons. They can't live the way that Kiribati live. But we can try to adapt to the country we are in, but we normally can't be like to their standards or to their whole life. We would remain unless we can't change, but if it's going to change in some ways, we have to adapt to that. But it's kind of scary, because you don't know if they are accepting you, as they are one of the members in the country.

I: I understand. And why do you think they might not accept you?

K: As you know, people always stand for their home country. If you do something that will embarrass them, they will not accept you or they would like facing you only what kind of attitude they are facing, you know what I mean.

I: So, if you would have to leave your island, are there any countries that you would prefer to go?

K: There are some, but I'm not sure but I rather move to one of the Pacific countries rather than moving in a developed country.

I: Can you explain why?

K: I'd rather live in a Pacific country as we are one part of the Pacific Islands, and we Pacific Islanders are almost similar in the way we live but not really the same. But very similar.

I: And what would you be looking for in a new country to live?

K: I would look for the fish, as it's our main food resource.

I: Is there anything else? So, if tomorrow you would have to choose any country in the world and you could choose wherever you want, what are the things that you would judge a country on to go live there?

K: First I would like to get to know better that country, I should consider their country, what kind of culture are they living with, they are using. What are the things that they don't like, and otherwise we going to end up somewhere and we will not be obeying their cultures or following their cultures.

I: So can you also explain, because you are saying that you would look at what kind of culture, but what kind of culture would you want to go to? So, what kind of culture would you be looking for?

K: The culture, I would like to look for a culture that is similar to our culture. Like the Tuvaluan people they are almost like Kiribati people, we are understanding the same culture.

I: So, if I understand correctly, just for myself, you are saying that Kiribati and Tuvalu are very similar, but Fiji is very different right, the culture? Did I understand that correctly or?

K: Yeah, it is different. The Tuvaluan and Kiribati are almost similar.

I: Can you explain in what ways they are similar and in what ways Fiji is different?

K: I would say that... in Kiribati their main resource is the same with Tuvalu, they pick plants, they have low lands, close to the seas, and our main resource is the sea, the ocean.

I: And in Fiji people don't have their own resources, they don't do it on their own but they go out and buy stuff, is that correct?

K: No... what I meant is Fijian living mostly in the center of the lands and their main resources is plants and crops as their soil is more richer than the Kiribati soil. And the main source is that they live from their land, rather than going out to fish because it is more far. So that is the difference.

I: So then if I understand correctly, you would like to live somewhere that is close to the sea so that you could have your own resources the way you do in Kiribati, is that correct?

K: Yes.

I: Okay, great. And if you would have to migrate somewhere, how would you like the process to go. So for example, how would you like to be prepared, before migration?

K: Like you mean, what am I going to prepare?

I: No what would you like to be prepared for? For example, what would you like the government to prepare you for, before you would have to leave?

K: Oh, the government should prepare something like a promising for the own land of the Kiribati. If you purchase a land overseas, it belongs to the Kiribati in order to avoid consequences from the own people of that country.

I: And besides from the government, how would you prepare yourself?

I: Or what would you prepare yourself in?

K: I don't know if I would prepare myself for something like that, I would rather go without preparing.

I: Why, can you explain? Why you would choose to just not be prepared?

K: For me, I just prefer going with what the government say, beside from our own voice. I'd rather go with what they are deciding, and not prepare myself. I don't have to prepare myself because what is there is there, so I just have to go and adapt myself.

I: And if you would have to migrate, we talked a bit about the sea but maybe there are other things as well, what things from your own island would you like the destination to also have?

K: Euhm, what?

I: So, if you would have to migrate what things from your own island would you like the new country that you would go to also have?

K: The plants. We have different kinds of plants, and in some other countries they might not have these. And plants are one of our main food sources, so I would prefer if these would be there.

I: So, what do you think you would miss the most if you would leave Kiribati?

K: I would miss a lot the... my home.

I: And what about your home would you miss the most?

K: It's peaceful. Like, besides the climate change issues, it is peaceful. We can say that in Fiji there are always soldiers everywhere, that means that there might be something going out in that country. In Kiribati, we don't have soldiers. We just have police to care of our laws. So, I would miss the most is the peaceful land.

I: So, if I understand correctly, peace for you is the environment of the island, the political stability for example, is that correct?

K: Yes, that is correct.

I: And is there anything else that you can think off, that you would miss from your home?

K: Euhm, no.

I: And what do you think your new life would look like, if you would have to migrate. It is a bit of a difficult question, but if you think about it, what do you think what this new life would look like?

K: Not sure if I can answer that but, it would be difficult because as I said before, finding new jobs and adapting ourselves into that country. I think it would be difficult for us to live in there, if we will fit in that country.

I: Okay. And can I also ask, what do you think it would feel like? Having this new life?

K: First I would feel scared, scared after I myself live in that country. I have to always preparing myself for what is coming next.

I: Yeah. So, you are also talking a lot about adaption. How do you think you would be able to adapt in that country? What would help you adapt?

K: How do I feel?

I: Well not really how you feel, but if you would arrive in your new country and you would have to adjust to the society there, to living there, is there anything that could help you to adjust to that, or anything that could help you adapt to that?

K: I would rather not going alone; I would have to go with my family so that I can adapt to that

environment.

I: Okay, that is important I understand. And what would make you feel at home in your new country. Or what could increase that feeling?

K: Can you explain more?

I: Yeah, so your home is Kiribati. And when you are there you feel like you belong, right?

K: Yes.

I: So, if you would move to a different country, you would feel as an outsider or as a stranger. I am wondering, how would you be able in that country, to feel as if that is your home, as well?

K: I would.

I: Or what would you need in that new country, to be able to feel at home?

K: What would I need to feel at home in that country. Yeah, the same, as long as I have with me my family, that would help me to feel at home. Because without my family I cannot go anywhere as if it is my own home, because there is no family there.

I: So, if you would have to migrate, you would like to be relocated with your family together. Would it also be important for you to migrate with the Kiribati community together? Or to move to a place where a lot of I-Kiribati live?

K: It depends on what the government decides. If they can't move in the community where we living with, to the same place that we are going to live in another country. If there is a lot of Kiribati living in that country, I would rather go alone.

I: Can you explain why?

K: Because I know that there are Kiribati, so I know they are the ones they can help me adapt to that country.

I: Okay, so... because I'm a little bit confused. If there would already be Kiribati people living in that country, you would be able to go alone because there would be other people there who could help you. But if there would be no I-Kiribati in that country, you would like to move together with Kiribati people. Did I understand correctly?

K: Yes.

I: Oh okay. So, in any case, it would be easier if you would be together with Kiribati people. Can you explain to me why that would make it easier?

K: It would be easier; you know Kiribati we are helpful people. Like mostly in the other parts of Pacific Islands they really don't like helping each other a lot. Here in Kiribati, we love helping each other. Like we can't do things separately or on our own, we always do things together as a team. I know that it can help.

I: Okay, that is great. I have one last question and that is, what do the people in Kiribati think that the solution to climate change is if it would make your island unlivable. Is it migration, or is it something else, what do the people think that the solution is?

K: Like I said before, another solution is doing a lot of activities in avoiding those consequence like planting mangroves, education, educating the young generations to understand and to adapt themselves to the environment that they are going to face in the coming years.

I: Okay, thank you. I've asked all my questions, thank you so much.

(R=Ructa, aged 24, male, Kiribati, April 22, 2019, Facebook call)

I: Could you introduce yourself, tell me your age and where about you live?

R: My name is Ructa, I'm 24 years old, I'm currently in Vanuatu(?) studying Law, I'm in my final year.

I: Just as an introduction, are you familiar with climate change, do you know what climate change can mean to Kiribati?

R: Climate change is a very sensitive issue. If you haven't heard, the former president ... he is the main advocate on it. We've been really affected by the sea-level rise. Affected, we are saying this because the scientists say that due to the gas emissions and all the things that have been done by the developed countries, and those facts have contributed to the sea-level rise that we have. The government has been providing many strategies, one of it, I mean one of the main strategies, is migrate with dignity. That seems to be the subject matter of the advocates on climate change, Anote Tong.

I: Yes, I've read about the migration with dignity program. What do you think that dignity means, because it's a bit of a vague concept, what do you think that would be migration with dignity?

R: Well dignity in Anote Tong's perspective was that we migrate to foreign land and then we could contribute with whatever skills that we have into that new country, that's what he meant with dignity. So, we are not migrants as refugees, but migrants... the dignity requires a, as I've stated earlier, skills, with which we will contribute to the country we are in.

I: Do you agree with that? Do you think that that is dignity?

R: I would say that's not dignity. But we have different perspective. To us that is not dignity, leaving our land, moving to another foreign land. That's pretty much not dignity to us.

I: Can you explain why?

R: Well... we are operating in a way that the society thinks that we are born into our lands, that we should also die on our lands. That is the conservative perspective. But others are much more modernized, the way they think they would take the approach of dignity as a way of contributing, which is arguable, that's pretty much arguable.

I: I understand. So, you are saying that dignity for you would be staying on your own land, instead of going and contributing to another country? While for the government dignity would just mean that you could go somewhere where you could use your skills, if I understand correctly?

R: Yeah, that's Anote Tong's perspective.

I: Okay. And do you ever talk with people in your environment about climate change?

R: Oh yes, yes yes.

I: And what are the main views you discuss with people around you?

R: I would always talk to them to see what are their perspectives on climate change. The thing is, the concepts they give us are founded by religion right, Christianity plays a really important part. They think that the land will not sink. It is their main argument to say that climate change and migration is just a way of getting attention.

I: Interesting. So, they don't think it will actually happen?

R: The thing is, there was an official trip that came over here, and one of them, Mr. Choy Keeting, is the one who is the climate change officer, I had a chat with him, I wanted to see what he thinks. I put up a topic that the society wants to move, and then he said that the society, the people in the country, did not want to migrate. That is one of their main perspectives.

I: I understand. How do yourself feel about the effects of climate change on your home?

R: Like I said, it's a very sensitive topic.

I: In what sense? How is it sensitive? Can you elaborate on that?

R: To be more specific, sensitive in a way that everyone is talking about how the country will go under water, so there is no more Kiribati, that's basically like the whole of our identity will be just vanished by the water. So, I say that it is a very specific and sensitive topic.

I: You're talking about identity, how the entire identity would go under water. Can you explain to me what that identity is to you? What makes the Kiribati identity?

R: Culture, culture is our true identity.

I: And what is your culture?

R: Our culture is very simple: respect. That is the common culture in the Pacific, we are all connected by that same word, respect.

I: And you fear that if Kiribati would go under water, that you can't continue having your own identity in a different place. Do I understand that correctly?

R: Yes, yes

I: And why do you think that is, why do you think that you can't keep having your culture somewhere else?

R: Because by the time we go to the foreign land, the future will change. The youth will start adapting through the society. Take for example the people who relocated to Rambi. Have you heard about that?

I: No, I haven't.

R: Alright so, basically, I'm from that place, from Rambi. So, before independence, the British was also looking after Fiji, the territory. So, they moved the I-Kiribati. to Rambi. They told them that everything is fixed, houses, everything, but that was a lie, nothing was there. So, when my ancestors relocated to Rambi, from that point until now the youth have mixed their culture with Fiji. When you hear a Rambian talking, his accent is different, his approach is different, it's basically dominating by the Fijian culture. And that's really makes a lot of clashes with the Kiribati people. They are saying that the Rambians, we are not Kiribati, we are Fijians, they process it in their way. If the ... ancestors did not migrate to ... the youth would not turn out in that kind of matter. So, I'm taking Rambi as an example, but if all the Kiribati people start migrating to a foreign land, it is the youth that we fear. It is really hard to control them.

I: Yeah, this is a very interesting perspective that you are telling me. Also, you mentioned how the people who migrated, they have become Fijian, their culture, the Kiribati culture has been mixed with Fijian culture, and I wonder what is it that makes Kiribati culture so different, so distinct. Because you mentioned respect, but does that mean that the people who migrated, how do you see them as different, do they not have respect or are there different things from your

culture that they have lost since they have migrated.

R: So basically, the Rambiens where I come from, they have taken the Fijian culture as part of their culture. For example, like, in each function, Fijians would have a ceremony called Yaqona, so that's part of their culture that they have included.

I: And have they also lost something from your culture, while taking Fijian culture?

R: Yes, there is a lot.

I: Can you name examples?

R: The traditions, approaches, and how to respect. Because we have a different way of respect.

I: What way, can you be a little bit more specific? So, I can understand it a little bit better? Because I understand when you are talking about respect, but because I am not from there, I don't exactly know in what ways you see them as being different in their respect?

R: For example, in Kiribati it is a male-dominant culture right. So, the male decides what to do. In the migration, there is a lot of women like controlling everything. And the language is really really different, like you can tell they are Rambian, and they are not from Kiribati from the way they talk.

I: Okay, very interesting. So, how do you feel about migration as a solution to climate change?

R: As a solution... I was thinking about my children, so if I were to migrate to another country, I would migrate for them, but then I should also maintain their culture in order to not lose it.

Because culture is not static right, it always keeps on changing.

I: Exactly, okay and if I understand correctly you think that it is not possible to maintain your culture somewhere else?

R: Yeah, it is really hard to maintain culture in a different place. Because normally you would adjust to the new environment right, so it's kind of hard, you are living with different people, different mindset, different approach, different mentality. Everything is different. While if you just stay in Kiribati, everyone can communicate, we have the same culture, same approach, same mentality, everything.

I: So, if climate change impacts your life in such a way that it becomes hard for you to stay in Kiribati, would you consider to migrate?

R: Yes, I would. I would definitely migrate.

I: Can you explain why?

R: Part of the reason is what I stated earlier, for the benefit of my children.

I: What do you think that migrating can give your children that would benefit them?

R: Education, that's one of the most important aspects. In Kiribati education is like a way of getting out of problems. Basically, education is one of the things that would motivate migration.

I: So if I understand correctly, even though you are scared of losing your culture if you would migrate, if staying means that your children won't have the right education, or would live more difficultly, you will still take the risk of losing a part of your culture, and migrate. Is that correct?

R: Yes, yes, that is definitely correct.

I: And are there things that, or sorry, how do you feel about this, that there is a possibility that you might leave your island in the future.

R: Sad, like really really sad.

I: Yeah, I can imagine, can you elaborate on that a little bit, or can you tell me what it is that would make you so sad to leave about, or what is it that you're going to miss?

R: Everything, you were born there, you grew up there and then all of the sudden you The elders, they really don't like migrating to another place, they are very conservative.

I: Can you explain to me why?

R: One of the reasons is about ancestors and everything, like anything they build, their faith and salvations? and then suddenly have to go to a different place.

I: So, if I understand correctly, for the older generation it's a little bit different than for your generation right? So, they are more concerned about their ancestral connections and...

R: You see what I mean, like I'm from the youth and I'm a bit more flexible. But if you ever considered interviewing a person who is like 60 years old or 50, they would give a different answer. The answer would be very much more interesting.

I: That's very interesting, I hope to be able to interview the older generation as well. So, for you it's more about culture and for them it's more about ancestors and their faith and everything?

R: Yes

I: And if you think about, imagine you won't have to leave your island, but you know that future generations might have to leave your island, so for example your children or the generations after them, how does that make you feel?

R: Very sad, but it's their time to shine. My time has been. But I think that the solution would be maintaining culture, like migrants should always have a talk every day, like half an hour, something like that. They would all tell stories, talk about culture, they would always remember that religion is the most important part of life, and then I hear it and I process it, and oh it's kind of different for me because I am more associated with the Western part and the approaches.

I: So, you mention that maintaining culture is the solution, how do you think that if they would leave, future generations would leave and live somewhere else, how could they maintain the Kiribati culture?

R: They would have a community. In New Zealand they have a community. So every 12th of July each year, they would all celebrate our independence day, so when the celebrate that event, do the dances of the Kiribati culture, each island has their own traditional dance, that's the thing in New Zealand, they have a community. If they send a community with a lot of skills, you have that sense of home.

I: What is that sense of home? What gives you that sense of home?

R: The fact that you get out of the door, and you see everyone, all I-Kiribati say hi, and it feels like you are still at home just a little bit on that say. One culture that the Kiribati have is that the women are really, like treasured, so it used to be a thing back in the days that when a girl gets married they put on a white sheet or a tulle that is white, and all the others would sit and watch, watch them make love right, and if there is no blood on that white sheet than the girl's been shamed. And that's a part that we are really losing.

I: That's erasing from your culture you are saying?

R: Yes, it is losing. The fact is that in that current era, they would think "Oh you know that's all right" but I now they would say it's offensive.

I: So, by continuing these kinds of traditions you think that Kiribati culture can be maintained in other countries as well, right?

R: Totally, totally, it can be maintained if they still practice right. The hardest part is, you cannot control the youth.

I: Okay, and do you think that people on your island see migration as a solution, or not at all?

R: First of all, the don't think that it is a solution, they would think that, have you heard the previous president purchased land in Fiji?

I: Yeah or wait, what time are you talking about?

R: 2015

I: Oh, no I haven't heard then actually.

R: Yeah, well in Fiji there is two parts, there is Vanua Levu and there is Viti Levu, and so he bought the land in Vanua Levu at a rural place. So it is there as a consideration, so if it will come to it all the people will migrate there. But for now, New Zealand has played a really big part, in terms of the ... Every year 50 are selected, randomly, and they get to go to New Zealand to live there, where there is a huge number in New Zealand.

I: So, because before you mentioned that moving as a community would help maintain the culture, and you mentioned the previous president buying help on Fiji, would that then help? Because if everyone would relocate to that land, that would mean that the I-Kiribati would leave Kiribati as a community right, or not?

R: Yeah

I: Do you think that would be a good thing?

R: It is, that is a good approach.

I: Do you think the people on Kiribati would agree with that, would they migrate if they would migrate to the same place?

R: I think they would, but the majority is reluctant to accept that, that Kiribati will vanish, they still haven't accepted that. But the majority of the people who are educated, would say that that's a solution.

I: Okay, and even... because you also mentioned ancestors and other parts of the culture. That would still be lost, even if you would move as a community right?

R: That is true, but I think by the time we migrate I don't think the youth would have that kind of thinking, about ancestors. I think the only ones who have that kind of mindset is probably 50 and upward by now.

I: So the younger generation doesn't have such a strong connection to the land and the ancestors, but more with the culture. That's very interesting.

I: So do you think that people on your island are scared, or do they have fears about having to leave the island?

R: Oh yes, that is one of the huge conversations that I would always have. Homesick feeling and everything.

I: So it's mostly fears about getting homesick?

R: Yes, most of the students they go to the University of the South-Pacific which is located in Fiji, and we really miss home, we would always have that homesick feeling. It is really hard to

adapt from your country to a new one, it takes time to adapt.

I: So you're saying that a lot of students already have to migrate in order to get university education.

R: They don't really migrate, they just go there for 3 or 4 years for school.

I: So the main difference is that they can return?

R: Yeah, when they return they are like smiling. There is no place like home.

I: So how would you feel about living in a different culture?

R: I would find it really interesting. Because I was brought up in in Fiji, and then grew up with the mentality of Fijian. And then I would always get critiques, because my mom is Kiribati, my dad is ..., and I would always get critiques from the family of my mom that I had no respect. For me I mean, what I do I thought that was respect, but the Kiribati respect is different. So moved to Kiribati in 2008, and when I went there I had a reality check. In the Fijian culture you can joke with for example your sister, but in the Kiribati culture you don't do that. I thought I could joke around with my cousin's wife, and the day I did I was beaten up. The culture here is very [inaudible].

I: So if you would leave your island, would there be any place that you would prefer to go?

R: Of course Fiji

I: Why Fiji, what is it about Fiji that makes you prefer it?

R: Because that's my other home, it was my first home.

I: But Fiji also has climate change problems right... so if it would be somewhere else, that is not your home, would you have a preference?

R: Well, I think the Netherlands [laughs].

I: Haha, really, why? It's a nice country it's not bad.

R: Haha just a joke, I don't know, I just know they are very good at football.

I: Well we were, we've been bad the past few years [laughing].

I: But if you really think about it, because the people I am interviewing not everyone has two homes like you do. So if you would have a preference that would not be your home, what would you look for?

R: To be honest, I have no idea.

I: Yeah, it's a bit of a difficult question.

R: Yeah it's a very difficult question.

I: But would there be certain things about a country that you would look to, when you would have to decide?

R: Yeah, one of the things is a country that has human rights. Because without human rights we wouldn't be migrating to any place. So, a place that respects human rights and immigrants. I've seen stuff on the internet about the wall, about the Mexican wall or whatever they call it, I want a place that recognizes our rights, otherwise it would be really hard to live there.

I: So you mention that you want to go to a place that respects immigrants. Can you explain what you mean by respecting immigrants?

R: I saw this video online where this American woman got really pissed at this Mexican, and when she got pissed she was talking like "you should go back to the place you came from". And

in another video this woman, she was white, and she was talking to this Chinese guy, telling him to fuck off to his own country, you know what I like there is no respect. If you look at it, all these whites from Australia they are also immigrants in history. And that's the thing that I feel... but if you are at home, in your own culture, you will never get those kinds of comments.

I: And if you would have to migrate, how would you like to be prepared for that migration?

R: Preparation in my view would have a lot of things. First of all, how will you contribute there, one of the things that I would want to know, how would I contribute to that country economically. Do I see a future in that country? How would I maintain my identity, my culture?

I: Would you prepare yourself, or do you think the government should prepare the I-Kiribati or what do you think?

R: I would prepare myself, I wouldn't want to go to another place and not know about education and the industry. And that's the main thing with the youth, us, we take education as a preparation to a new destination. That's how I would prepare, by education.

I: So education plays an important role you say, in preparing yourself so that you can contribute. And if you have to migrate, what aspects from Kiribati would you want the destination to have? [pause] So are there things from Kiribati that you would say this has to be in my new home as well?

R: I really don't know how to answer that kind of question. I think it will be up to the individuals. So I would say that to migrate anywhere, in my perspective I would want to migrate to a place where I could get a job, without a job you cannot put food on the table. And I want a place that is safe.

I: So it's not so much about moving to a place that is similar to Kiribati but more about the ability to build up economic stability and security, if I understand correctly?

R: Yes, yeah security.

I: And what would you miss the most?

R: I would like miss living close to the sea. The thing is, we're always surrounded by the ocean, in fact we have the biggest ... in the world. It's close to the ... right. So, the sea is like life. That's the thing in Kiribati.

I: Would it then make it easier for you to move to a place that is also close to the sea?

R: Yeah it could but if the sea rises there as well then we will have challenges again.

I: True... it's difficult. And when do you think that this new life would look like?

R: A lot of change in this new life.

I: What kind of changes?

R: Like, because you are living in a new place you have live up to new standards, and the new countries standards might be something you are not used to.

I: And what do you think it would feel like? Living somewhere else?

R: Probably hard, but we would have to adapt.

I: What do you think you would have to adapt to?

R: How the society functions. Each place has different ways of function. So if we move to New Zealand, in Kiribati we discipline kids by getting hit or being smacked by a broom or stick, that's how we discipline kids. And, the thing is that society finds that hitting children, the way we

discipline children, makes them know what is right and wrong. And most of them turn out to be a success. But then that's different in New Zealand. To them when you hit a child, you are making them much more worse, and that is how they function, it is different from how we function. I mean when I was a kid, I got hit by my dad and I turned out to be good. It's a different lifestyle. My uncle who lives in New Zealand, his kid was like really annoying and he just wacked him, and when he wacked him his neighbors heard him cry, and they were from New Zealand, they heard him crying and called the police. It's [laughs] pretty funny. That's what we would say, it's really really funny. These kinds of things that happen. It's funny because most of the people in New Zealand think you don't do that kind of discipline, and it's different how they function to in Kiribati.

I: So if I understand correctly, it's a lot about how family life is in Kiribati as compared to how it is in different countries, right?

R: Yes, it's different societies, different ways of function.

I: Okay yeah, and what would make you feel at home if you would migrate to a different place? Are there certain things that would make you feel like you belong?

R: One which I've stated earlier, have a community. Because having a community in a foreign society keeps you close, you will have a chance of staying close to your culture. I would say that one.

I: Do you think that, because you mentioned that you would need to adapt in this new society, but you also mention that living in your own community would make you feel at home more, do you think those two things would clash? Having to adapt to a new society, but at the same time still living kind of in your own society? Would that clash, those two things with each other?

R: [Laughs] Yeah it will clash, because the community will have things to say, but the society will want to be dominant over the community.

I: Yeah, that's difficult. And what would you do in that situation, if you would still live in your own community but the dominant society would be very different, what do you think you would do, or how would you handle that?

R: I've got no other choice, if the society doesn't allow our community to function the way we are disciplining our kids then my hands are tied. I can't do much.

I: So you would in the end choose to adapt to the society in your new country?

R: Yes, that's basically the thing.

I: And then I have one last question: What do the people on Kiribati think that would be the actual solution to climate change? If your island would be unlivable because of it, what would have to happen?

R: I would think that that would be one solution to migrate

I: And do you think the people on Kiribati agree with you? That migration is the only solution

R: Like I've stated earlier, those who have that they would say yes. But it is different for the elders.

I: Okay, thank you so much. These were all my questions.

(A=Alatina, aged 35, male, Tuvalu, April 29, 2019, Facebook videocall)

I: Could you introduce yourself and tell me where you live, what your age is, and just something about yourself?

A: I'm Alatina, do you want the address?

I: No not the address, just the city

A: The place? I'm staying in Tuvalu and I've studied Law at USP.

I: And you are in London now, are you there on holiday?

A: Yeah well I've been here for a month to accompany my sister, I have one more course to finish up for my law degree at the [inaudible] campus. I'm going to go do that in July.

I: Okay, nice great. And how old are you?

A: I'm 35.

I: 35, okay. So my first question is, what do you generally know about climate change?

A: Climate change is affecting the islands as you know, there are lots of changes we can see about the climate which bring a lot of side events and changes a lot of things. Mostly for us like the developing poor countries, and low islands. If you know that we have two main seasons in Tuvalu, we don't have wintertime and summer, but we have a dry and wet season. So usually the wet season, like the hurricane season or wind season, usually is around November till February or March. So November, December. Now we can see that a lot changes now. What is reaches February and March, it is still windy, cyclone, raining season. But usually before it just ended around March. So there are a lot of side effect of the climate change for us, we can see that the changes of the lifestyle, adaptational, the food chain, food security, the operation of people. Also it has the side effect according to the how people are doing such things in accordance of the cultural way of doing things. You see this influence, lack of coral reef, it effect a lot of.. it is hard to some of the coral and to the fisher man, it is not normal. Like fish are getting migrated to deeper and deeper, and far from the riff. We are facing now new breeds of seaweed around the capital which kill a lot of marine resources, which most of us in Tuvalu relied on. Because of the sea is our main source, we rely and depend mostly on the sea, and that is one of the biggest problem that we are facing now. So climate change is a lot of impact to us. You know a place we have, less than an inch of the soil. So lot of research, lots of investigation by the government for us to be adapted, that we can grow our food not only because of the not rich of the soil, but also the scarcity of the land mass of the island. So there are a lot of expenses, that's why you can see us protesting for further alert to those people with all these pollutions, to reduce it. Because we are going to suffer a lot from the other side of the world, and if you look at the percentage of the pollutions, it just appoints something. So it has a lot of impacts, it changes the way that we presented our craft, if we have less and less resources on the land. So we are like modifying everything now to save some of the important resources. Which are very present the identity of us, all around the globe we are in.

I: I understand yeah.

A: So.... is it ok or?

I: Yes yes, it is perfect thank you. So you mentioned how there have been changes in lifestyle because of climate change and how the cultural way of some things has to change, can you

explain a little bit what kind of changes these are? So how has the lifestyle because of climate change, or how has the culture changed?

A: Well maybe it is more better for us to go to different areas so that you can have a broad regional view. Okay, for example if you know us in the islanders, our main food fish and crops. We don't farm, only source of meat we get is pork. The one that we can feed. So how more salty the ocean is, we see the migrations of fish like tuna, once on the reef the coral fish are poisoned, and it's going to be hard for us because most of the people are just lay people, they don't have the resources they don't have much boat to go further, only few. So if we look at the business side, the more this migration of species of fish goes further out of the ocean, you can see that the more fuel the fishermen are using. And then the question is who will suffer. Because the customers, the consumers, are the one who are going to buy the fish. So you imagine in Tuvalu which main resource is fish and all those marine resources, but you cannot just imagine the kilo fish on the capital is around 4 dollar 50. And 5. It is so expensive. The wages, the salaries are so small, which doesn't cover really cover the standard of living. And there are lots and lots of side effects of it. So within this people cannot afford to buy these fresh fishes. So we switch to the shop, but what we are going to it is just junk, from other countries which are not really healthy. And that is why we are talking about health issues now. Diabetes, obesity, heart attack, blood hyper pressures are a lot common now in Tuvalu. Which is more like a threat to the people, you get it.

I: Yeah, I do. Do you ever talk about climate change with the people around you? The people in your environment?

A: A lot.

I: Yeah? So what are the main views that people express about climate change?

A: The rising cost of living, the expenses goes up. Which is going to affect the salary the government gives. Migration. Comparing of the seasons. Water is getting warmer and drinking it becomes more unsafe.

I: And do they talk about their feelings or their emotions about climate change? Do they say about how it makes them feel?

A: Yes.

I: Can you tell me something about that?

A: Yes, most of the people are Christians so they are conservative about these kinds of topics. It's very hard for them because on the one hand they see the problems that we are facing so they have to make a choice.

I: What do you mean, the choice to believe in climate change?

A: No, I'm saying when climate change becomes worse, they have to choose whether to stay or whether to go.

I: So you are talking about religion, and that's very interesting then a lot of people say that this is God's will, and not everyone believes, from the other interviews that I have, not everyone believe that it is real. How is that in Tuvalu, is there a general consensus or agreement that climate change is real or not?

A: No. I have to say no, because of the faith. Because there is faith and there is facts.

I: And have you see a shift in that? Do you see that more people go to the facts or still it's more about the faith?

A: The new generation looks more at the scientific evidence.

I: And the elders are still more conservative?

A: Yes.

I: Do you think that they will ever be willing to migrate if the time comes? The elders?

A: I cannot really answer that, cause the fact is we were brought up in our tradition and one of the really important things in our culture is to look after the elders. So some of the elders they don't know what to do, because the kids want to go because of this, and the parents don't want to migrate. They say there is no such things as climate change. And in the end people are arguing, but people cannot migrate, they cannot leave their elders.

I: I understand. What do you think that needs to happen until everyone would be willing to leave? Do you think that's possible?

A: As I stated before, Tuvalu is one of the countries that has big resources, so the question is how can people leave and leave those resources. Who's going to be help us create our own resources.

I: So how do you personally feel on the effects of climate change on your home?

A: They give us worry. If this is the effect than people start moving, we will be moving. There will be no one left to stay and develop the country.

I: So you're saying that people shouldn't migrate, am I correct? That you are stronger if you stay in Tuvalu?

A: I'm saying, as for me, I feel responsible for the future of the new generation. But the thing is that there is no one to prevent the effects, but on the other hand people want to choose for their own livelihoods. So there is no correct answer, I cannot give one. As I voice it, the final answer is that it depends on the individual, I cannot answer for them.

I: But how do you personally feel about migration as a result of migration?

A: It is like, imagine that.. sometimes it gives us tears, sometimes they talk about how this could be happening.

I: Can you elaborate a little bit on your emotion with it, how does it make you feel that your forced?

A: The Tuvaluan people they are getting more educated, they are getting skills that could help us contribute to Tuvalu, but now instead we have to leave and bring those skills to a different place and to a different people. If we move, we will have no experience, we will be forced. It's going to be a new beginning for us, yeah. We don't know what will happen.

I: So what if climate change impacted your life in such a way that it would be hard to stay on the island, would you yourself choose for migration?

A: No.

I: Can you explain? That's very interesting.

A: Because that's we were looking for, to go out, to be educated, and to come back and help the country.

I: So even if you would not be able to have your livelihood in Tuvalu, you would still choose to stay there?

A: Yes, I would not leave.

I: So I'm going to ask a few questions about migration and in the case that it would happen, but I understand your point of view that you do not want to leave. But some of my questions are about what if you would have to leave. I'm interested in what it is that makes it so difficult for you to leave behind. So what are the things that you don't want to leave behind in Tuvalu.

A: Free lifestyle at home, not a lot of crime, we live happily, we are experiences in how each of everyone is in communal living. We have land so we have everything we want, and those are the most treasured gifts, the land of our ancestors, the land is our identity, our land is our graveyard, we have lots of tribes, lots of families.

I: Can you explain a little bit more about the connection of your land to your identity?

A: Well, on Tuvalu there are lots of islands and lots of identities, everyone has a different identity connected to its island. So this connection is strong between us, and we do not want to remove that part of us. You cannot make that identity disappear. The way we live, the way we move, it's all connected to that.

I: It's different in terms of behavior. So how do they behave that Tuvaluans don't behave?

A: You know that the Europeans have a different kind of upbringing. Their kids they can do whatever they like. Tuvaluans don't discipline their kids like that, you can see that this is very different between those who were brought up abroad, their responses are different to their parents then to those who were brought up in Tuvalu. The children in Tuvalu have more respect.

I: So it's about discipline, the way that family life is.

A: Yeah, and we don't blame it, it's just different contexts. It's so different.

I: That's very interesting. So how do you feel about, imagine that you will never have to migrate, and you can forever stay on Tuvalu but future generations they will have to migrate, how do you feel about that?

A: It makes me sad because I am proud of my identity, and I don't want it to be lost in the future.

I: Do you think it's possible to maintain Tuvaluan identity even if they live somewhere else?

A: It's hard work because life abroad is different. Here in Tuvalu we are used to dance, we dance everywhere. It's possible but it's hard work.

I: Do you think people on your island have fears about having to leave? Do you think they are scared about it?

A: Yes, I think so.

I: What do you think these fears are about?

A: Losing family lineage, how the generation is going to reconnect to the islands, family titles, the loss of knowledge.

I: Can you maybe hold your microphone a little bit closer?

A: Yes sure.

I: So how would you feel about living in a different culture, if you would have to migrate?

A: To live in a different culture. I mean for us it's not unusual to live in other countries for work or education. We have moved from country to country. We can adapt to different lifestyles, yeah. But the mentality and the teachings is what makes us Tuvaluans. Sunday's we have communal religion, but you cannot bring a different religion to the island, even though we have freedom of

religion and movement in our constitution. The only problem the mixed marriages, when they totally adapt to the country, and forget we are Tuvaluans. They can be married to Tuvaluans who live in those countries, but

A: If they a Tuvaluan marries to someone from another country, but remains the culture, then it wouldn't be a problem.

I: So you think because these cultures are getting mixed it is not possible for people to stick to the Tuvaluan culture, because they are getting other things, right?

A: Not really like that but as we experience in Tuvalu, on the islands you don't rent a house, each and every one of us has a house and a family estate. The only place where it's different is the capital. If you don't have a house you are just adding more pressure to your family and you need to find a house for you to rent. In Tuvalu, the main food is chicken and also little bugs. We don't grow rice in Tuvalu. It's not a problem for us to migrate, but if we migrate we can go to all the world, but we cannot continue to practice the values and traditions as best as in Tuvalu.

I: And if you would have to migrate, would there be any place that you would prefer to go? Any country that you would prefer to go?

A: You ask me as an individual or as a Tuvaluan.

I: Both actually, I'd like to get both answers. So you as an individual as well as the Tuvaluan answer.

A: As I see it a question like this I think each and every Tuvaluan has a personal answer. Some will leave and choose places like ..., and if you ask them why they will say different kind of people. This will be the only good way to explain from the culture. Contribution to the islands, contribution to the communities, contribution to churches, donations just for them to be isolated from other Tuvaluans. And some, if you ask me, choose places like Fiji, more so because the similar weather as Tuvalu. Some choose places like Australia. Some choose places because of cultural, religion and family.

I: So what about you personally, where would you choose to go?

A: For me to go... it depends if I use the opportunity to come to Europe, it depends on what plans I have.

A: So where do your base your plans on, why would you choose those places?

A: If I for example go to the UK because of the high salary, and the good social benefits, but I will probably be away from my family. And if I choose to stay near in the Pacific, I can be with my family. But the closer you are, the more easy it is to travel back home. But you must have because even though you live in Fiji, most of Tuvaluans know each other. So if you are in Fiji and don't go to church, those people will talk about it. They make fun of you.

I: So what would you personally look for in a new place to live? At what things would you judge a new home, how would you choose a new home?

A: Okay well, security.

I: What kind of security?

A: A peaceful place, that doesn't have much crime, a more isolated place from the city. a place that has a good system in terms of transportation, somewhere that is near to a coastal area, and somewhere where I can settle and enjoy life.

I: And if you would have to migrate, how would you like that process to go? Or in other words, how would you like to be prepared for migration?

A: Strengthen my educational background, financial savings, look for in terms of visa applications and citizenship of a country is strict or hard to get, and then the best option is to marry someone from that country.

I: Okay. And what about, is there anything you would like the government to prepare you for? The government of Tuvalu.

A: The government should assist its citizens, one the government should invest in its inhabitants, resources, prepare them so that they can migrate as contributors not as refugees. If we move to anywhere, we come there with skills that is one of the things that can be known, that we can contribute. There has to be job security. Tuvaluans go there to contribute, and it will be a nice reputation.

I: If you would have to migrate, what things from Tuvalu would you like the destination to have?

A: Like what?

I: I don't know, for example some people like to live close to the sea because they lived close to the sea in Tuvalu. So what things from your island, from your island, do you want your new home to also have?

A: Well yeah, maybe the coastal area, for them to choose a place which we can grow and continue the plants, our native plants. Yeah. Or maybe to have a piece of land on one of the islands.

I: And what do you think you would miss the most about Tuvalu? What things would you miss if you would have to leave?

A: The friendly smiles of the people, the way of social contact, the cultural events that we celebrate, the oceans with our reefs, the fish, and the beauty of the islands. So you can find another place or relocate, but it won't be the same as Tuvalu.

I: Would it be an option to relocate as a community? So if everyone would move to the same place, how do you think about that?

A: For the government to just provide any piece of land, and to guarantee everyone to move on to that country?

I: Yeah, so if everyone would move to the same place.

A: I think it won't meet each and everyone's interests.

I: Can you explain?

A: So, I think buying a land or selecting an area for us to live in is so complicated. It won't be an easy task for someone or the government to do it.

I: Can you explain why?

A: One, it's going to be depending on the interest of the government of today. They can prefer the cost and the price of that land, and two the location. But the problem is, what about the people that they are moving to. How will they react? How will us moving to their community affect them? What about the elders who do not want to leave the island? And what about our resources, what if we don't have water supplies

I: So if we are going to go back to imagining that you would have to migrate, how do you think this new life would look like?

[silence]

I: It's a bit of a hard question, you can think about it.

A: For the movement as I say, you are asking all these questions but how can I imagine a place in eternity that does not go with my preferences. You are forcing me to go there.

I: Yes, I understand.

A: And, what about if we want to stay on our island, but we don't have the option. We have the right to stay you know. And if, it's different with multiple choices, because you can take the gain and you can change your mind. Moving or migrating, it's a big issue. But at the end we don't want to suffer, we don't want to regret. I'm not saying all these risks just to stop people from moving, no. Let's continue this, but we can use our knowledge, who knows the answer to this issue in Tuvalu.

A: I understand what you're saying, and I definitely hope and support the idea that Tuvaluans can stay and won't be forced to migrate. But a lot of other people don't understand why someone whose life is in danger, would choose to stay there. So I am asking these questions to understand what it is that gives Tuvaluans such a strong connection that they don't want to leave whatever happens. Do you have any more thought on that?

A: Tell those people that it is important to stay in a place that is your place. And it is impossible for me to leave because of the importance, the importance of the land, the importance of those culture. You briefly explain the risk of staying at home, people will die. But they prefer to die on their own land instead of starving on a foreign land.

I: Very interesting. So what do the people in Tuvalu think that should then be the solution to climate change if indeed Tuvalu because impossible to live on.

A: I think the Tuvaluans, the only solution where satisfactions method would be done to the people is not to move against the believe, their faith, cultural and religion, and use their tradition and knowledge of their land. Tell someone that has no knowledge to understand something. If we tell someone like it's hot don't touch the floor because it is hot, yeah, the answer they will give you is that one: they will touch the floor because they don't understand what is happening to him or her, and two they don't want and they don't know anything about what hot means, and three he just curious. He knew what he is doing but he just wants a taste of it. So now apply this concept to the Tuvaluan situation, people will have the knowledge yeah, that is why some of them decide to move because they are facing the reality of climate change. But others know and cannot move because of their conservative faith that withholds them. If I move, they will laugh in me because I don't have faith. But, I just try to tell people, even though those things that happens there, and what happens in Tuvalu, I just want to make tell a case of how this impact us.

I: Thank you.

(P= Penina, aged 30, female, Tuvalu, April 30, 2019, Facebook chat)

I: Yes, so my first question is: Can you shortly introduce yourself? Tell me something about your age, where you live, and what you do

P: Ok thanks. First of all I would to introduce myself. My name is Penina. I am 30th years of age. I am married with 4 children 2 girl and 2 boys. For the time being I am here on Tarawa the capital of Kiribati attending Teachers College known as KTC Kiribati Teachers College. Doing a course on teaching Advance Diploma in Teaching. I have been working as an approved Primary Teacher in Tuvalu from 2007- 2018. But I did not have any qualification. So it came up on my mind that it would be better for me to pay my own fee to attend the KTC just for the sake of my career and children. That why I am here in Tarawa Kiribati

I: That's so nice, how great that after so many years of teaching you chose to get qualification. My next question is, what do you generally know about climate change?

P: For your information my daddy was from Kiribati and my mom from Tuvalu but I brought in Tuvalu

I: Good to know

P: So far Climate Change was a changing in weather conditions including the results in sea level rise

I: And do you ever talk with people around you about climate change?

P: Etc

P: Yes climate change is one of the major problem faced by Pacific Countries

I: So what are the main views and opinions that people around you have when you talk with them about it?

P: People here faced mostly the flood and soil erosion.

P: There were thought of how their leaders could be able to save them if something was happen urgently.

P: Some people whom lives near the sea built there own sea wall using man power. They collected big and heavy stones and arranged them nicely and fill the area with rubbish soils trunk of big trees etc and then level them nicely

P: But the rumours here that the leaders seek for help and they are looking for high places like NZ and whatever countries so that they could be help by giving spaces for them to live and they could also be help in reducing the populated of the ozone layer.

I: So how do people feel about that, that they might have to go to New Zealand?

P: Polluted of ozone layer

I: Do you know that the people here they don't want to leave their countries even they were scared and knew that their island would be vanish nowhere in the coming years but the do have faith that God created each islands and he already promised Abraham that rainbow the sign of no more scary weather conditions will be occurred.

P: So they trust in God and they knew about the changes they see it with their own eyes but they never care at all.

I: That's very interesting. So do you think that even if climate change will make their lives difficult and be in danger, they will still stay on the island?

P: Yes even death

P: They loved their country more than themselves

I: Can you explain a little bit more about that. What makes them love their country so much that they are willing to die?

I: instead of leaving

P: Culture here is more strictly involves in their life. They have a great and good life here

P: Even they are not working they used their lands for survival sea and air

P: Easy life and smiling faces everywhere peaceful but mostly Tuvalu it like a paradise

P: You sleep at night no need to lock your door no killings no stealing only peaceful

I: I understand. Can you explain how culture is involved in their lives?

P: Culture and religious goes together they used to live in extend only some lived in nuclear family they share lives like survival needs

P: They are kind and they are helpful

I: I see

P: They still used to live like their ancestors

P: They have island chief council etc

I: I see, and moving somewhere else would mean that they would have to give that up and that is why they do not want to leave, is that correct?

P: The eldest men are the ones to look after the people on the island if they need things that they could not afford their government ministers will help them with their needs

P: That why they like to live on their islands until death will part them

I: I understand

I: How do the effects of climate change on your home make you feel?

P: Afraid but keep on faith that God only the one that could help

P: He was more powerful he could do impossible and amazing things

I: If climate change impacted your life in such a way that it becomes harder to stay on your island, would you consider migration?

P: For myself no but for the sake of my loving children 100% yes

I: Can you explain a bit more about why you would make the choice to migrate?

P: I want my children to have good life even though I know that foreign countries makes their lives in danger but as long as I live I will work hard and provide them a good life so if suddenly migration happens they will adapt the foreign countries lifestyle and they will get used to it and they could be able to take care of themselves

I: Can you explain why you think foreign countries make their lives in danger?

P: As I've been heard on news killing drug dealings etc makes me scared and knew that life is in danger in those places because I don't use to that kind of living but if my kids brought up in those places they would find it more easier for them but for me is in danger because I brought up in the Tuvalu

I: I understand

I: If you would have to leave your island, are there any places you would prefer to go?

P: Yep

P: NZ and Australia

I: What is it about these countries that make you want to go there?

P: My grandmother and uncle's aunt are in NZ

P: But in Australia my sister-in-law

I: So you would be looking for a place where you have family

P: Even it easy for they are there for me to help me in whatever I need

I: Is there anything else about these countries that you like?

P: Yep almost of the low coral islands migrated to this islands and easy for us because they offer us jobs like fruit picking etc

P: And they are getting to like the low coral islanders

I: I see

I: so what would you be looking for in a new place to live? What would you like it to have

P: A simple house to live a peaceful environment and a good salary to support my family

I: If you were to migrate, how would you like the process of migration to go? How would you like to be prepared for migration?

P: Nothing if for sure I graduated from KTC I would work and save money just for a start in a new place before settling and copies of document needed and important souvenirs of my country artificial made and never forget the photos of memorials

I: If you were to migrate, what things from your own island would you want the destination to have?

P: Artificial art craft made by my own family

P: Interesting

I: Is there anything else from your island, such as the way of living, living close to the sea, or other things that you would like the new country to have?

P: Plus culture

I: What aspects from your culture?

P: Kindness Love sharing and everyone should be treated equally

I: What do you think you would miss the most from your home?

P: Beautiful view of the lagoon when sun rise early in the morning. Beautiful voices of the people the language spoken. Peaceful and enjoyable life of gathering in a community smiling faces peaceful environment feeling of happiness etc

I: If you would have to migrate, what do you think it would look like, this new life?

P: Everything should be difficult in a way of life you used to it but only for sometime and then you will become strangers hhhh

P: It couldn't be you are born to who you are but not to what are you

I: Can you explain your last sentence to me, I didn't quite understand

P: It cannot change the feeling of what a kind of person are you if you born to become a peaceful kindhesrted person you will never change your personality even the environment adapt to your life system

P: Kindhearted

I: I understand, and you are scared that as a kindhearted person you cannot live in a different country, correct?

P: Yep because I am scared and don't want to change my emotions toward others

I: What would you need to be able to feel at home in this new country?

P: I need to feel my loving home island lifestyles

I: And how would you be able to feel your homeland's lifestyle in a different country?

P: From food to be eaten way of doing things at home like cooking speaking gathering with families every Sunday etc

I: Yes I understand

I: So how would you feel about living in a different culture?

P: Feeling uncomfortable and disconnected

I: Can you explain why?

P: Seems like culture shock

I: I see

I: Do you think people on your island see migration as a solution to climate change?

P: Yes for low coral countries but for the world nope

I: Can you explain why?

I: Or give more information

P: For low coral countries they would be able to get themselves being settle in high places like NZ and whatever countries they will be live far along way from sea level rise etc but the world more and more professional civil engineering buildings etc build and ways they search in solution for climate change but climate change keeps on steeping it feet over and over again without stopping

I: Yes it is indeed very complicated how the world perceives this problem...

I: Why do you think the low coral countries would be willing to settle in places such as NZ?

Because before you mentioned that culture, tradition and ancestors are more important for a lot of your people, than migration

P: I think yes for the youngest generations but for the oldest I don't think so

I: Why is it different for the young and older generation?

P: The younger generation they now adapt some new lifestyle apart from the oldest way of living but for older people they don't want to that what they usually say

P: They will die very quickly if they live in cold places because they don't used to the climate they used to

I: Do you think people on your island have fears about leaving the island?

P: May be because they have their own views and what I do know they never leave their island. They love their island very much.

I: Even if their lives are in danger?

P: Yep as I mentioned before

I: Okay thank you so much

(T= Teabike, aged 21, female, Kiribati, April 28, 2019, Facebook chat)

I: Can you please introduce yourself?

T: First of all.. Lets introduce me.. Im Teabike.. And im from Kiribati.. KIRIBATI is one of the pacific islands experiencing impact of climate change..im so eager to hear ur questions as there are so many impact of CC that i ihad experience.

T: Sepi u can elaborate ur ques if im not strait in answering ur quest

I: I will, thank you so much!

I: Can you also tell me about your age and very you approximately live?

T: Im 21yr and im living on Tarawa @ teaoraereke village very close to the sea (ocean side)

I: Ok great, thanks

I: What do you generally know about climate change?

T: Climate change is a thing that is very scary as it can diminish the island and can make the islanders suffer as well..

I: Can you explain to me in what way it causes suffering?

I: Because you mentioned that it makes the islanders suffer. How does it make them suffer?

T: We... Experiencing the rising of sea level cause by CC... As sea level rise exist.. We people living close to the shoreline.. Our underground water(wellwater) were affected in a way of salth water.. And underground water is the one we depend on for drinking..eats.. Shower..

I: I understand... so do you ever talk with people in your environment about climate change? And if so, what are the main views that are discussed, or the main things being said when you have these conversations

T: Thats the people we dnt talk to people who is experiencing this as well... But what i experience in my home.. When sealevel exist what they said about it.. Is o ly heard from them blaming bigger countries in whatever they do and regret ting inventing or buying cars as fuel is another contributor to sealevel .. They blame bigger countries From their industries and their factories...

T: Thats the problem*

I: Interesting. So you are saying that people don't talk to each other about it outside of their homes. Why do you think that is?

T: They dont talk about it as sometimes they said thats climate change is not real.. And they dnt care if sea level rise exist because they were not affected.. But we living ose to the shoreline really affected and thats why they talk about it.

I: Do you also know why they think it is not real?

T: I dont know why they think CC is not real

T: In my understanding and my experience... I think CC is real

I: How do you feel about the effects of climate change on your home?

T: The seawall of my house is eroded.. And when the sea level is rise... The sea comes is spreading all around my house and its seems thats my house is floating.. Im very sad when i First saw this.. In addition to my underground water... It is very salty and i know that this is a serious problem

I: Can you elaborate a bit on why it makes you sad?

T: Its sad. Cos when i saw this.. Im thinking about the future that, is my home going to be the same like this or it will be dissapeared by the effect of sea level??

T: Cos i know this is not a joke

I: I understand. And how do you feel about migration to other countries as a result of climate change?

T: Thats is a better idea for us people to migrate to other countries for the effect of CC.. But what holds us here not to migrate is our own island, culture and everything about our Islands.. Some of our island people like to migrate to other countries but what i heard from my grandma is that.. I will die in where i belong.

T: Means that she will never accept migrating to other countries even when the effect of CC is worse

I: That is very interesting... can you explain to me what it is that makes her so determined to stay on her island? Even if living there will become to difficult, why would she still not leave?

T: She knows that CC is real from what she is experience from the effect of CC.. But she did not want to migrate to other place as she said that it is where she belong.. But maybe she is dementiar(memorylost) cos she is very old.. That why she is talking like that ahah..

I: I understand, but I have heard a lot of elderly people think about it this way. Does she ever explain why she thinks that she can only belong Kiribati and why she doesn't want to migrate?

T: We see here nationalism..

T: Right?

T: What i heard from her only is that she belongs to Kiribati and she doesnt want to migrate. Thats the only reason i heard from her

I: Okay, thank you for explaining

I: If climate change impacted your life in such a way that it becomes harder to stay on your island, would you consider to migrate yourself?

T: Yes.. I better migrate... From what i experience and in what i see.. I should migrate

I: Can you explain why you would choose for migration>

T: I chooss to migrate because i feel so worried about the effect of climate and indepth i dont want to die...

I: I understand

I: Can you also give examples of what it is that you would not want to leave behind?

T: Can u elaborate plis

T: A bit confusing for me ahah

I: Yes of course. So I can imagine that having to migrate would be really difficult, and that you would have to leave things behind that make you feel at home in Kiribati. Can you explain to me what things you would find the most difficult to leave?

I: I hope that is clearer

T: Thank you..

T: Things that is difficult for me to leave behind is my families my friends and especially my culture...

I: I can imagine,... can you elaborate a bit more on your culture? For example: what is your culture exactly? And what about your culture is difficult for you to leave

T: Our culture exactly is that social belief, customs, religion, festivals, Music and dance

T: Literature and arts

T: It very difficult for us to leave all of those since we all growth from and it is who where we belong, our identity.

T: And we know moving to another country we woluld adapt to that country's culture and forget our own

I: I understand

I: So how do you feel about potentially having to leave your island in the future?

T: I am feeling like i rather dead than leaving my home island, my culture and everything that i belong to and been through

T: That what I am truly feels

I: What if you think about future generations? If you won't have to leave Kiribati but they will have to? How would that make you feel

T: Every individuals have different opinons right... So if it that what they need... They want to leave... I am happy for them there are great opportunities for them out there.

T: And what if they don't want to leave but are fored to because of climate change, how does that make you feel

T: Sad for leaving everything behind but at the same i am happy because i know they will be save

I: Do you think people on your island see migration as a solution to climate change?

T: Yeees they all think that migration is the only solution

I: Can you elaborate a bit on that? Why do they think that migration is the only solution

T: Since the is no way for them to avoid climate change damages and it getting worst very often

T: So migration is the best option for them

I: Would they prefer another solution?

T: Seeking for help from developed countries to reduce such causes which contribute to climate change

T: That what our government do right now

T: But there no changes to climate change it still happening

T: So they people prefer more migration

I: I understand, so there is no hope in developed countries anymore if I understand correctly?

I: Do you think people on your island have fears about leaving the island?

T: Yeah that corect no hope for developed countries

T: Yeah they fear of losing the connection they had with thire friends, villagers, everything they experiences and share with on that island.

I: How do you feel about living in a different culture if you have to migrate?

T: How do I feel about living in a different culture... I will feel like starting from the begining learn the local language, get myself familiar with new enviroment, make friends

Try new things

(K= Kaotinrerei, aged 23, female, Kiribati, April 29, Facebook chat)

I: So my first question is if you could introduce yourself and tell me about your age and where about you live?

K: OK no worries... My name is Kaotinrerei Tebau and I live at Kiribati, South Tarawa

I: And how old are you?

K: 23

I: Okay great

I: What do you generally know about climate change?

K: There are lots thing I have known about climate changes because it is the problem we I-Kiribati people usually face

K: Such as sea level rise

K: did I answer your question?!

I: Yes. Have you been affected by climate change personally?

K: Yes our house is located near the sea cause Kiribati is to small and low

K: Our highest point in Kiribati is just 3 meters above sea level

I: I see

I: Can you explain how it has affected you?

K: Sorry I mean most of the house is located near the sea so if sea level rise, most of us affected as it is flood

I: Don't be sorry, all answers are good!

I: Do you ever talk with people in your environment about climate change?

K: Yes sometimes we talk about finding solutions to prevent these problems like planting mangroves or building sea wall

I: Interesting. And what are the opinions of people who you talk with about climate change, what kind of views are discussed?

K: Well in our country, old peoples are expected to make decisions so even when my friends and I talk about climate change, sometimes they say that we can't do anything about it since we can't make people to follow us because in our culture, we should always follow older people or people works in government

I: That's very interesting. Could you maybe explain what it is that the older people think, what is their opinion on it?

K: Older people do want to prevent these problems but they always depend on ministry of Environment to do the work because maybe that is their responsibility

K: I mean MELAD

K: Ministry of Environment Land and Algriculture Development

I: So how is that different from what the newer generations think?

K: You know some of I-Kiribati people have lack of confidence to do the work like sometimes they are scared they might get scolded if they do works without confirming from MELAD or even people owning the islands but some community did planting mangroves near the coastal areas of the sea

I: So if I understand correctly, you are saying that the older generation doesn't really take any action and waits for responses from the MELAD, while the younger generation wants to do

things on its own, but has to follow the older generation, and so also can't really take a lot of action. Did I understand it correctly?

K: Yeah that what I am trying to say sorry I found English hard since it is not our real language so I am sorry for any grammatical error

I: No I think your English is really good! I just need to confirm everything to make sure that I understand it correctly

K: So sometimes I might repeat things, but that is not because you are not clear.

I: So, how do the effects of climate change on your home make you feel?

K: It is makes me feel sad to see our home destroyed by the climate change effect

I: Can you tell me a bit more on what it is exactly that makes you sad?

K: I know that we are now living in climate change effect so I am scared if climate change never prevent, it will wiping out my whole island

K: That what makes me feel sad since I think if our islands are totally wiping out, our home we grow up with, the home where our ancestors generally live will be gone so I think that what makes me sad

I: I understand. And how do you feel about maybe having to migrate to another country as a result of climate change?

K: I would be feel happy because that is our only choice to stay survive ☺ and comfortable as well but it is sad as well because our status as an I-Kiribati people will be gone since we'll be living in another country

I: Can you explain why you think that moving to another country wil erase your status as an I-Kiribati?

K: Well living in other country is not the same as living in our own country and so I guess we'll be controlled by the country we'll be moving into

K: I think our future generations as I suggest will never be the same I-Kiribati as the old generations

I: Okay this is very interesting. Can you tell me why exactly you think that they won't be the same I-Kiribati?

I: And how do you think your people will be controlled if they go to another country?

K: First in our country, we live with our own people and have our own lifestyles but if we migrate to another country, we'll be living with other people so their lifestyle will become our future generations lifestyles

K: Every countries have leaders so if we move to their countries, we must respect their leadership so we have to follow every events they have. That is what I mean

I: I understand

I: Can you tell me a bit about the Kiribati lifestyle, I'm very curious

K: For our lifestyle, we can survive without money like we can plants our own foods, fishing for proteins, climbing trees to cut toddies for drink. One lifestyles our people usually have is they help each other like if one family have no soy sauce for example, they went to their neighbour to borrow from them

K: They always do barter system

I: I see. So you've explained to me why it would be difficult for you to migrate somewhere else. Can you also explain to me then why you would choose to leave?

K: No we don't want to leave our country, every of our Ministry tried their best to prevent these climate changes

K: Effect

K: It is not our fault our country is in this state but it is other developed countries problems

K: And we are affected from it

K: Their industrial have great effect

K: Because they are destroying the ozone layer

K: Our lesders

K: Went to beg

K: To minimize

K: Their doings but they never do

K: I am sorry if I offend you with any of my answer

I: No of course not! Not at all

I: Do you think people on your island see migration as a solution to climate change?

K: Of course if the climate change is not prevent, that is simply our only way to survive

I: Do you think people on your island have fears about leaving the island?

K: Yes they all are

K: They never want to leave their country that what makes them feared

I: Can you explain why they don't want to leave?

K: Because they don't want lose everything because leaving the country where you are born is like abandoning your own lifestylesm. In my point, I don't want leave the country because I know it is the only country I am saved because it is so peaceful and enjoyable as well if u know what I mean. You must know that I-Kiribati people usually create their own entertainments for e.g. during the weekend days, in a community, childrens, teenagers and even parents gathered together in a mwaneaba to dance just like people usually do in bars but without beers, they only do dancing and never got tired to dance.

I: How would you feel about living in a different culture?

K: I would feel sad like it would be not the same as living in our own country

I: If you were to leave your island, are there any places you would prefer to go?

K: The only place I have considered to live in is one of the Pacific countries whether it is Fiji

I: Can you explain why preferably the Pacific countries and Fiji?

I: What is it about those places that make you want to live there?

K: Because I have been in Fiji for more than 3 years

K: So that why I considered living there

K: I have experience their lifestyles even though there are lots of different lifestyles I have experience from it but at least they are pacific islanders as well so I preffered living with my own pacific islanders

I: Do you think that the culture from other pacific islands is closer to your own culture?

K: A little like I have seen people from Fiji respect elders but the difference is there are lots of burglary happening in Fiji

I: So you are saying that criminal activity is also important to you? TO go to a place where you feel safe

I: What other things would you be looking for in a new place to live?

K: Yes exactly

K: I want a peaceful place

K: Like a place without tsunami

K: Earthquake

K: Wars

I: I see, can you also elaborate a bit on what peaceful means to you?

K: like a place without burglary or a place where you feel safe for e.g. in many countries there a lots of people using guns but in Kiribati, you can hardly found one person with a gun so I kind of scared living with people having weapons

I: I understand that

I: If you were to migrate, how would you like the process of migration to go? How would you like to be prepared for migration?

K: that is one of our real problem because our country has less profit even now, most people are hard to travel because the flight ticket is too expensive and so when living in other countries, it will required lots of money as well so I think we should save lots of money

I: I understand, so financial preparation is necessary. What about other kinds of preparation, before you would leave to go to a new country, what would you like to know about the country or how would you like to be prepared for your new life?

K: so we need to first find jobs in that country, find rental houses first until we get our own home

K: also need to follow every events the country make so that we can get to know their culture

K: I think it will be hard living in other country since there are lots of people search for jobs so I guess if we migrated, finding jobs will become our problems

K: as well so I guess we'll live in our own local life like planting our own food

K: I don't know

I: I see, thank you for your answer. And if you were to migrate, what things from your own island would you want the destination to have?

K: I think we need a own land or island that we can live with our people imean a sperate land

I: Interesting can you explain why you think it's better that you live on your own land?

K: because we don't want to controlled by others as we need to continue living like we are

I: What do you think you would miss if you left the island?

K: everything

K: like our homes

K: land our environment

I: What about your environment?

K: in our environment, we usually feel comfortable to people around us and have good connections between each other so that what I will miss the most

I: I understand

I: What do you think you would need in your new country in order to feel at home?

K: I would need to live with our own people gathered in one big islands

K: with no one living in it

K: then I would feel it as my own home

I: I can understand. And imagine if you would be relocated to a country where you are not all together, are there other things that would make you feel a bit more at home?

K: I would love to have neighbours with good personalities

K: and safe as well

I: And what do you think this new life might look like?

K: I have no idea but I know that this will change our culture

I: In what ways do you think your culture will be changed?

K: like the way we speak because we are going to use English languages

K: I am sorry it is possible that our culture could change because people will perform their own cultures to others which will could affects our culture

I: I understand, so you think that people will adapt to the new culture and therefore lose the Kiribati culture, correct?

K: yes

K: that what I mean

I: I have one last question, and that is, how do you think this new life would feel like?

K: it would feel like living as not I-Kiribati people but as one of the country as well

I: Can you explain a little bit, what do you mean by "one of the country as well"

K: like we are not going to live as our own way to live but we are going to live as one of the people in a country that we moved in

I: Why would you not like to be like one of the people in the new country?

K: Well It is not that I don't want to become the people from other countries. I want to become part of them but it would be hard because it is the new culture that we are going to experience and new lifestyles as well so yes it would feel good to experience new lifestyles

I: I understand 😊 Thank you so much Kaotinrerei, I've asked all my questions. Is there anything that you want to add?

oh yes I hope you help us and find ways to prevent these climate changes disasters Thanks and have a nice day

(G= Gabriele, aged 18, male, Fiji, May 5, 2019, Facebook chat)

I: So first of all, could you introduce yourself shortly? Where about do you live, how old are you, and what do you do

G: My name is Gabriele Are. I am a final year high school student and lives in Fiji

G: I'm 18 going on 19

I: Okay great, thank you

I: And what do you generally know about climate change?

G: Climate change is a global issue that needs to be addressed. It is the change in weather patterns caused by human activities such as deforestation and pollution.

I: Do you ever talk with people in your environment about climate change?

G: Yes. I'm a Year 13 High School student and I'm also doing research on Climate Change as part of my English Project. I've been talking with the community on their views on the impacts of climate change and how I can use my voice to address the causes and effects of climate to the community and look for ways to help combat the issue mentioned.

I: That's very interesting! So what are the main views of the people you talk with?

G: The main views of the community is that of flooding as one of the major effects of climate change. For example, in Nadi (where I live) the town is always hit by flood almost every year. The community is mostly concerned with the infrastructure and business on the impact the businessmen face from the effects of flooding. Some point that pollution is a major cause of climate change.

I: Do they ever talk about how the impact of climate change makes them feel?

G: No.

G: But for me I think we the Pacific island countries are suffering just because of the contribution of carbon emissions by some countries like Japan and USA.

I: I understand. And how about you, how do the effects of climate change on your home make you feel?

G: In my village some of the houses near the coastal areas had been relocated already and it's not only us that experience this village such as Narikoso in Kadavu and Vunidagoloa in Natewa have also been relocated. This is due to sea level rise. With the increase in temperature farmers have not been able to make good harvest as crops cannot cope with the climatic conditions.

I: I see. And when you think about that, that these changes are affecting your home so much, do you have any particular feeling that comes with that?

G: I feel so sad about the fact that we're feeling the consequences of climate change instead of USA or China since they're the major contributor of carbon emissions accounting almost 40%.

I: I understand... can you elaborate on what it is exactly that makes you sad?

G: I'm scared that in years to come our islands will no longer exist as it will be covered with sea. I'm scared that I will lose my home, my country and my people.

I: I understand.

I: And how do you feel about migration as a result of climate change?

G: It will be a good option but we will not get attached to the environment of the host country like how we used to when we are in the Pacific.

I: Can you explain why you think you won't get attached to the host country?

G: We will tend to lose our culture that Fijians are known for and our identity will no longer exist. Even though life in the host country will be way better than Fiji yet people will never feel at home.

I: That's an interesting thing to say. So I have a few questions about that, first one being if you can explain what Fijian identity is?

G: You getting my point?

G: I come from a place called Fiji FJ 🇫🇯 where people ride in buses 🚌 & taxis 🚗 with music 🎵 playing louder then the actual engine 🚗 and the driver is either your father 👨, uncle

👨 brother 👨 or u just call them that to try get a discount or free ride 😊💯 We don't need "fones" we have 📶 "coconut wireless" 📶 courtesy of the people. "Sis go mada" 😊 (girl just come here) 😊👀👀👀😊😊 is always said with a low pitched voice. 'Bunene' 🧑 is definitely a word. Like Nzlanders Shoes aren't necessary if we go outside. We mock & joke the shit out of each other 😊😊💯 then laugh so loud the house down the road can hear us 🗣️🗣️. We get dirty and ♥ it. We love the water 🌊🌊🌊☀️ (sea, rivers or anything with a hole deep enough to

jump into!! "Shopping carts" are called "👉the bara boys",and "wash cloths" are anything easy to use, a "thong" is a g-string... JANDALS 👣 are called Flip-Flops. An "esky" is a CHILLY BIN ❄️ or styrofoam box, and

"swim suits 🩴"? WHATS THAT? we wear Sapo (underwear) or jump in fully clothed... 🌊 Oh, and if you disrespect MY FAMILY, don't be suprised to have a visit from them later that day!! We are proud of who we are 💯FJ 📶📶📶📶📶!!!! There's nothing like home ♥

G: I hope this might help.

I: It does. You also mentioned that life in the host country will be easier, can you explain why? And why do you think that Fijian identity will be lost once you migrate

G: Fijian identity will be removed because we will have to adhere to the rules and culture of the host country. Since most of Fijian are poor migrating overseas will be a good opportunity for them as they will be able to support their family

I: So if climate change impacted your life in such a way that it becomes harder to stay in Fiji, would you consider migration?

G: I would rather die

I: Can you explain why?

G: Fiji is a peaceful country

I: And you think that other places will not be?

G: Yes just look around what has been happening around the world. Shootings in New Zealand and terrorism

I: Yes, I understand what you mean

I: Thank you

I: So just to be sure I got it correctly, even if climate change would threaten your livelihood in Fiji, you would rather stay and die in your own country than to go abroad, is that correct?

G: Yes, Defintely

I: So I will ask a few questions about migration, and what would happen in the case that you would have to migrate and a new life abroad. But just to make clear, I completely understand your position of not wanting to leave, I just need to ask these questions for my thesis

I: If you think about future generations, and the possibility that the might have to leave your country, how does that make you feel?

G: Migrating for jobs is part of dream on the effort of improving the lives of my family. Life in Fiji is poor and this corrupt government have no sympathy for the people that voted them in.

I: I see, so you would be sympathetic to the future generation's decision to migrate?

G: Yes 😊

I: Do you think people on your island see migration as a solution to climate change?

G: Yes

G: Very much

I: Do you know why they see it as a solution?

G: Not because they want to escape the effects of climate change but they want to run away from the dictatorship if this current government

G: Of

I: That's a very interesting perspective... so they are using climate change as a way to get out?

I: So they very much want to leave you are saying?

G: And are not forced by climate change

G: Well that's from my perspective

I: I understand

I: Do you think people on your island have fears about leaving the island?

G: I have no idea

I: That's okay

I: How would you feel about living in a different culture?

G: Ok

G: I would feel the same for mine

I: Can you explain why?

G: Understand that people who have not grown up in the same country or context as I can sometimes interpret some of my behaviors the wrong way. To avoid this, seek feedback from your friends and family to find out more about what type of person you are and what might come across as offensive to people who do not know me. Might also consider conducting a little research into what type of stereotypes other cultures might hold for people from my country. It might seem a bit odd to learn about my culture after living it for so long, but if you gain an understanding of how others might perceive you, you will be better prepared to address and clarify any misunderstandings or awkward situations.

G: 2. Get rid of your stereotypes

G: Knowing about the values, expectations, and beliefs which drive individuals' behaviors from certain cultures should inform how to behave towards an individual, but what it does not do is inform you about the individual himself. Most people confine others to a stereotype, as do I and it is never a nice feeling to get the impression that you are being put in the same basket as everyone else. So approach them with some guidelines, but do not think that you know them.

G: 3. Be understanding & patient

G: Now that you know that people are all different and that you should not approach them with pre-conceived ideas, be understanding when you get to know them. Try to be open-minded so

that you can start off on the good foot, and also understand what type of person they are. This will facilitate communication with them.

G: People are more similar than you think most of the time. We grow up in such a large world with so much information everywhere and sometimes we can be mislead into thinking something which we should not believe. We have had the opportunity to make up our own mind. So be kind; you don't know from where people come and what their story is.

I: Thank you for that extensive answer!

I: Do you think that people on your island fear that their culture will be lost if they would have to migrate?

G: Obviously very much. When people migrate they will be living with different people from different ethnic backgrounds that will influence each others culture. Fijian will be adapted to these new cultures thus will impacted the younger generation since their children will be confused to follow which culture since the parents themselves have brought with them western thinking and values hence will force children to expose themselves to.

I: If you were to leave your island, are there any places you would prefer to go?

G: Yes Jerusalem. I want to go to Israel because I wanna learn more about the history of my religion at Jerusalem

I: That's very interesting

G: Yes indeed

I: What would you be looking for in a new place to live?

G: The people the food and of course experiencing new cultures

I: If you were to migrate, how would you like the process of migration to go? How would you like to be prepared?

G: I think I'll have to first make a passport and lodge my visa and then choose a country to migrate to and if everything goes on point then I'll leave but to top it off I have to save money first

I: So based on what would you choose where to go?

I: And would you like the government to prepare you for migration in any way?

G: I think the government should just help us financially in lodging our visas and compiling all relevant documents

I: If you were to migrate, what aspects from your own island would you want the destination to have?

G: Respect for nature and different culture. Fiji is a multicultural nation and we never discriminate each other due to their skin colour and religion. All we do was live in harmony and help each other in times of need so i want this aspect of life to be practised

I: What do you think you would miss if you left the island?

G: The people and the local food

I: And what do you think that you would need in order to feel at home? Or like you belong

G: By involving myself in community work and make some friend so that they can give me a clear insight of the country lifestyle and cultures

I: And what do you think this new life would like like? And what do you think it would feel like?

G: At first it will be challenging trying to adjust your new life to a different culture but it would feel great as there will be many people out there who will be willing to accept new migrants to them

I: Why do you think that adjusting will be challenging?

G: Coz it will be a new environment and meeting new people you know how it feels moving to another country and tryna settle your life there

G: It will take some time for us to settle our lives

I: Okay, thanks

I: So I have one more question

I: What do you think that the people on your island think is the solution if climate change indeed makes your island unlivable?

G: Sure

G: If that is the state we might face I think migrating will be the only choice therefore we will be considered as Climate Refugee

I: Do you think the people on your island would agree?

G: I think yeah because everyone will have no choice but to leave the country

I: I understand

I: thank you so much

(B= Benateta, aged 28, female, Kiribati, April 23, 2019, Facebook chat)

I: So just to start, could you shortly introduce yourself? I was wondering where about you live (nothing specific) and your age

B: ok...fire away

B: I'm Benateta

B: currently undertaking my Bachelors' degree

B: at USP in Suva Fiji

B: and I lived most of my life on South Tarawa

B: the Capital of Kiribati

B: 28 years old

I: Okay great thank you

I: and also as a general introduction, what do you know about climate change?

B: All i know about climate change is that it is a change in weather patterns caused by the increase of CO2 in the atmosphere

I: Great. And do you ever talk with the people in your environment about climate change? If so, what are the main views that are discussed?

B: Unfortunately no, I haven't had the chance to speak with my community/village members about

B: but it is a most widely discussed issue among our elders

I: Do you know about those discussions? What mostly is said about climate change amongst the elders?

B: Mostly it about its effect on weather patterns, coastal erosion, inundation of the land, wells becoming salty

B: but they don't say it outright..like climate change did this

B: or that

B: but they know that obvious changes

B: are the cause of a change in weather patterns

I: Interesting, so they don't call it out as "climate change" but they know that things are changing.

I: Do you know how they feel about the changes?

B: Overall..sad

B: If an old man or woman speaks about how their home or land have been eroded in the past years...you can just see the sadness

B: in their eyes

I: I understand. Can you explain what it is exactly that makes them sad? is it just the change of the land or is it about more than that

B: I think it's mainly the memory of what they once had in the past being washed away...and of the future...what it has in store for them

I: So how has that changed? What is the memory that they have lost and what do they think the future will have?

B: Mostly their childhood carefree memories, where they can just drink from any well without having to go inland and many more

B: They know that their future now depends on what this current generation and government will decide to do

B: Will they be able to continue living where their ancestors live

B: will they would still be able to uphold their tradition

B: etc

I: Very interesting, thank you. So what about yourself, how do you feel about the effects of climate change on your home?

B: For me truly, all I know is that when we first move in to our new home in 2006 we can use our well water for drinking and cooking

B: but now we cannot

B: it is more 'what do you call it..salty??

I: I understand. Also, some people say that in the future Kiribati will be taken completely by the sea water rise, and that the island will become unliveable. How does this make you feel ?

B: Very sad...if that will be the case

B: especially since then, i think I would be very old to do something

B: lolz

I: What is it that makes you sad about this the most. Sorry if my questions seem obvious, I need to ask for more descriptions in order to be able to use it 😊 Because obviously it will make you sad, but can you explain why

B: The fact that my country would be completely wiped off the world's map

B: and the uncertainty of what the future holds for us

B: and another important thing

B: is losing our identity

B: even if let's say...we have been relocated to another country in the future

B: our identity, what makes us I-Kiribati in the first place

B: will soon be no more

I: Can you elaborate on what you think is the I-Kiribati identity?

B: Our dances, our traditional costumes, our language, our canoe-design making, our local food, our architecture

B: local medicines, navigation skills..etc

I: I Understand. Do you think that it's not possible to preserve these as a result of climate change?

B: to preserve?

I: So to keep this as part of the Kiribati identity

I: do you think these things that you named will be lost

I: and why do you think that they will be lost

B: Yes, I think that relocating to another country cannot guarantee that we can still have all the type of plants we use to make our traditional costumes, medicines and others

B: and also intermarriages with other races can easily wipe off the traces of our culture

B: as we can see from our people living on Rabi island and in the solomons

B: they have adopted several alterations in their costumes and esp their language

I: Interesting. That's clear thank you. So if climate change would impact your life in such a way that it would become hard to live on your island, would you consider migration?

B: If left with no other options...then that would be my choice

I: Can you explain why that would be the last option... and why would you choose to go?

B: Leaving your home country permanently is surely a hard thing to do. Who would want to leave their traditions, memories and loved ones behind. That's why it is the last thing to do

B: if time and conditions have left me with no choice

I: What about future generations. If it's not you who has to leave the island, but you know that future generations won't be able to live there anymore. How would that make you feel?

B: That would surely saddens me.

I: Can you explain why

B: For them to have to leave everything behind, I think that the cultural values that has been instilled in me as a child is the same with our future generations

I: Okay, so if I understand correctly it's mostly about cultural values and a loss of them

I: You've talked a bit about what the I-Kiribati identity is

I: what about the cultural values

I: can you give examples of the cultural values

B: yes, i think so

B: the cultural values such as our manners, sense of hospitality and social relationships

B: are part of our traditions

B: and identity

I: Thank you for clarifying. So what about the people on your island, do you think that they see migration as a solution to climate change?

B: honestly, most locals could not think of relocating to any country

B: they may talk on the issues they now have face as a result of climate change

B: but when you ask them they would simply brush off the idea

I: Why is that do you think it is that they brush it off?

B: I mean...they just don't think it would come to a serious end where they have to move permanently to another country

I: Very interesting. Do you think that something can change their minds? As in, what needs to happen before they will perceive migration as a solution to climate change

B: I think when all the water lens on the islands have been contaminated with sea water...then they might consider the possibility of relocating

B: as you can see

B: water is the key to life

B: plants will soon die

B: their bwabwai pits, breadfruits, coconut trees, pandanus trees will be dying

B: and they will have little to depend on for their livelihood

I: Do you think they are scared that they would have to migrate? Do they have fears about it. Or is it just not on the table at all

B: well, not today...but surely when the impacts are more evident and troublesome

I: I understand. So back to you, how would you feel about living in a different culture?

B: honestly, it would be hard for me

B: adapting

B: to new lifestyles and traditions

I: In what ways? Can you explain what it is that would be hard to adapt to in those lifestyles and traditions

B: just about everything I think.

I: Can you give some examples of situations that it would be hard in? 😊

B: Ok...the food

B: the dress

B: working in a new environment

B: the language barrier

I: What do you think you need in order for those things to become easier for you? Is there a way to make it easier?

B: I think time is the powerful player in such cases

B: and soon everything will not be as complicated as before

I: I understand. And if you were to leave your island, are there any places you would prefer to go?

B: I prefer Australia

B: I've been to it a few times and it always give me a sense of security

B: unlike here in Fiji

I: That's very instresting. What is it about Australia that gives you a sense of security?

B: And what is it about Fiji that does not?

B: its stable government

B: and I heard they have a very attractive paycheck..although I'm not sure on the figures

B: I mean minimum wage ragte

B: rate

I: So a stable government and the right economic situation are important to you? Can you also explain to me what makes the government of Australia stable to you?

B: I'm sorry..that's all I know at the moment..lolz

B: on the australian government

I: That's completely ok!

B: but compared to here in Fiji

B: last year they have an election

B: and during that time...all have to be cautious

B: when walking

B: alone

I: I didn't know about that!

B: or just doing what they normally do

B: i'm sorry...this is from my own perspective

B: you see...we were told by our high commission office

B: that we have to stay indoors

B: all the time

I: That fine, that is exactly what I;m looking for, your own perspective.

I: Did they say why? Why wsa it dangerous to go out?

B: they just mention its dangerous during elections

B: supporters for other parties

B: let's just say its dangerous...could not find the right words to describe it...

B: but anyway, we were given emergency contacts

B: and place of evacuation, if things go wrong

B: so for us that is extreme, compared to our friendly election day

B: no coups, no danger on the horizon...so...thats the difference why i prefer Australia than Fiji

I: Thank you for clarifying, this was something I dont know much about yet

B: So you want safety and stability... are there any other things you would look for in a new home?

B: My pleasure...

B: I think thats about it

B: stability and safety/security

B: if any country can guarantee that then I would have no problem residing in one..

I: Okay, thank you 😊 So, if you were to migrate, how would you like the process of migration to go? Or in other words, how would you like to be prepared for migration

B: well, i think it is important to know how to conduct yourself when arriving in a new country

B: so a departure briefing would be most preferred

I: What would you like to learn in such a departure briefing?

B: the basics i think

B: the weather, the currency

B: housing conditions

B: etc

I: Okay. And if you were to migrate, what aspects from your own island would you want the destination to have?

B: The local food? only i doubt i can get it all

I: What do you think would miss if you left your home?

B: I would definitely miss the friendly smiles and extended family

I: And what do you think your new life would feel like?

B: Easy I think, however I would have to work in order to survive

I: Why do you think it would feel easy?

B: well, back home we have to get water from the well every day. We plant bwabwai and breadfruit for food.

B: i mean...manual labour everyday

B: and living abroad, everything is easy if you have money

I: I understand! So it would make life easier in a way

B: yes, kind of

I: Earlier you mentioned that the elders are most concerns with traditions and the land of their ancestors. I was wondering, because these are things that cannot be taken if migration would happen, do you think that there are people who will not migrate in any case? That they will stay on the land of their ancestors and history, even if living there becomes too difficult

B: Yes

B: most would prefer staying

I: Can you explain a bit, why they would stay? Because it might be very difficult for them to live, and most people on the outside would think that it is irrational to stay when livelihoods can be better in other places

B: Well for one thing, most elderly people just could not leave everything behind, even if you persuade them to.

B: for example

B: in one case, my husband have a grandmother

B: who lives alone near the lagoon

B: her husband died many years ago but the old lady just could not abandon the land

B: where her husband was buried

B: even when the lagoon has become a serious issue during king high tide

B: she just could not leave

B: I don't know...maybe she just don't want to leave the memories of her loved ones behind

I: That is very sad indeed 😞 Do you think it is different for the younger generation?

Are they less attached to land?

B: I think its the same...especially with those who grew up in the same part of the land since childhood and could recall the changes they experience until now

B: they would do whatever they can to at least have something to hold on to in the future

B: for e.g. building sea walls to preserve what's left of their land

I: And when all these options would run out... would they still stay on the island?

B: I'm not sure how they would feel when that time comes, but i can only say that those living in urban areas would care less for their land and prefer migrating to a new country

B: than for those living their lives in the outer islands

B: they are the ones who grew up with the traditions and the love for their lands

B: i'm sure they would not feel as enthusiastic as others

B: ahahah..no worries

I: Very interesting

I: so my last question is

I: What do you think the people on your island think is the solution if climate change indeed makes your island unlivable?

B: I think....if relocation is the option...there would be those that prefer to move and those who will prefer to stay

B: its a hard decision but that will be the case. some will move

I: But would there be other solutions that they would prefer?

I: or what do they think that the solution is

I: from your idea

B: Most would prefer that the Government of today would do everything in its power to at least change the course of climate change...if they could do something about it today...maybe we won't have to leave our country in the near future

B: lobbying against other governments to lower their CO2 emissions

B: investing in plants that can turn sea water into clean water

B: keeping the waves at bay...

I: Okay, thank you

I: I think those were all my questions

(S= Semese, aged 44, male, Tuvalu, May 5, 2019, Facebook chat)

I: Could you introduce yourself?

S: my name is Semese Alefaio and am the vice president of the TuCAN(Tuvalu Climate Action Network). Currently, am studying here at the University of the South Pacific

I: I want to talk about climate change, because a lot of people have talked about relocation, and I wonder what Tuvaluans themselves think of the future?

S: I think it's an important issue to consider for security purpose as a country but individually I think many people don't want to migrate

S: the younger generation may want to migrate due to social benefit that might benefit from e.g the NZ migration scheme or the Australian labour scheme, however the older population of the country especially those living on the outer islands don't want to

S: their way of life is too hard to de attached from them

I: Can you explain why the older population would not want to migrate?

I: What aspects of their life?

S: sensitivity of the culture, their traditional governance system and their beliefs

S: migrating to settle in a new place will affect their way of living

I: Can you give examples? Of what aspect of their culture is sensitive, or how it will affect their way of living?

S: rights and access to their land and resources, traditional protocols which the western world wouldn't understand it because it might not comply with the international Human Rights

S: such as gender issues when it comes to decision making and family values

I: That's very interesting. Can you can give an example of a decision making practice that might not comply?

S: thats why I want to send you those documents so you understand some of the background information from the inside of the country

S: anyway, let me try and sum up this in few lines

I: yes sure, I would be very glad if you send them to me, I know some of the traditions and how it's different, but I would like to know how you would answer, instead of filling the blanks myself

S: Tuvalu is made up of 9 islands, and there are 8 islands communities that constitute the country. Each island has a traditional governance system comprise of a Falekaupule assembly(traditional parliament made up of chiefs/family leaders) then we have a Kaupule(executive arm of the assembly), then we have several small community organisations such as young titled men, women organisation, etc then lastly the community at large with their families.

I: Thank you for the information

I: So how do you feel about migration as a result of climate change?

S: Most of the decision in the decision is made my men, women supports whatever men do

S: this is the common setting of our polynesian culture

S: if we take this tradition and practice it in a westrn country we will be sued by the laws of that country for not following the UN women's right law

S: access to our land to do our gardens and fishing in our lagoons, these are the stuffs that they won't have acces to if they migrate

S: Marine protected areas is another traditional way of practicing resource management whcih has been here with us for 100s of years. Decision are made by the assembly for the people, if people migrate they won't have any saying in NZ if they want to protect a species or a historical heritage

S: our culture will face a lot of adaptation if we are to live in a new land, new weather, new environment, etc

S: we rather stay and died happily then watch the clock force our existing to vanish silently

S: 85% of my family lives outside of Tuvalu, 70 in NZ, some in the US, some in Australia

S: my two sisters are now living in the state, my parent lives in the Marshall Islands, my brother lives in Canada

I: So how does this make you feel? That everyone is living abroad

S: so you see I understand all these issues very well because I've been there

S: it's a big challenge for me because I don't want to live in the world they live in, wake up in the morning 5am, drive for 2 hrs to work without saying good morning to your children, then come home in the evening when most of the kids are already in bed

S: who wants to live in this kind of life?

S: waking up shelving the snow off the driveway, then turn on the engine for the car to melt the snow, parking ticket, J walking, etc

S: we don't have this back home

I: I understand

S: where's our right to live free and go fishing anywhere and catch any amount I want to feed my family, not in the western world

I: But if climate change impacted your life in such a way that it becomes harder to stay on your island, would you consider migration?

I: Or absolutely not

S: we don't have terrorists, bombs and guns and drugs

S: I think it depends on the status of the situation

S: I have a PR in NZ through my family, that's why 70% of them are NZ citizens, so I have an exit strategy in hand already

S: if it comes to worse

I: Sorry, what is a PR? 😊

S: Permanent Resident

I: Ah okay, thanks

I: So how does this make you feel? Potentially having to leave your home in the future

S: personally I think this is very sad and to me we don't deserve to be forced to migrate S: this is like an unseen act of terrorism

S: force and threatening innocent people to move elsewhere

S: life will never be the same on another land

I: That's a very interesting perspective. Lots of people think that it is very logical to move when your livelihood in a country is in danger (this is not my perspective, but a lot of academics think this way), but you refer to it as an act of terrorism. Can you explain why?

S: if you look deep at the impact of those being forced because of wars in their land e.g Syria or others in the middle east, the situation created their utmost reason for leaving their homes to have dignity and life in this world.

I: Interesting. And you also mention that you think life will never be the same on another land, can you also explain why you think that is?

S: wars is an act of terrorist forcing a situation to an objective outcome, not a peaceful thing. So going back to the issue of climate change and how this is link to it, in my opinion climate change is a situation crated by those industrialised countries to impact people lives in a very complicated way

S: especially for those living in small island developing states

I: So you think that the pollution of the world by industrialized countries is a form of war because they are forcing people to live under hardship or to leave their homes because of their pollutions, is that correct?

S: yes, if anyone living in these industrialized countries does not undestand this then they have to come to the islands to feel the reality of peace that we live in

S: we currently observing some changes in our weather but we are adapting to different situations such as droughts, storms, etc

I: Do you think people in Tuvalu have fears about leaving the island?

S: I think some, especially those that understand the circumstance that they will face in another culture, force to speak different language, adapt to new laws and rules, environment, etc

S: some absolutely nothing

S: especially the innocent children

I: And how do you personally feel about potentially having to live in a different culture?

S: I think I will feel exactly the same if you bring an eskimo to live in the tropics

S: culture shock, loss, sad, anxiety, you name it

I: Can you explain why you would feel loss or anxiety?

S: the world where I live in on the islands is very different to the world outside esp if we are to go and live in NZ or Australia. The culture there is made up of many ethnic groups, culture, rules and almost everything is money

S: but back home you know necessary need money to live peacefully on th island

S: everyone has lands, rights and freedom to their resources

I: I understand

S: I went fishing once in Townsville in Australia and the fisheries officer there told me " mate you can't fish here unless you have fishing license'

S: we even sleeps at night o the island without locking them

S: I mean house doors

S: It sounds like a very safe environment

S: people sleeps on the runway at night and you'll see young girls walks around at night

S: if you bring someone from NY to stay for a week in Tuvalu they wouldn't want to go back to NY

I: If you were to leave Tuvalu, are there any places you would prefer to go?

S: There;'s no place like home but if I have to migrate I rather live anywhere where I will have full access to my rights, my resources, not a land lock country and somewhere the culture is similar to ours.

I: If you were to migrate, how would you like the process of migration to go? How would you like to be prepared?

S: well it depends on the immigration policy of that new country that am moving into

S: I think I have to have some background knowledge first of the requirements, secondly I have to have some financial support, home, health insurance, and education

S: In Tuvalu, education and health is free

S: by the way

S: I mean medical service is free

S: and water,

I: If you were to migrate, what aspects from your own island would you want the destination to have?

S: every aspect of basic human right

S: in that country

I: Could you elaborate on which human rights you are referring to?

S: freedom to vote, freedom to express my views, freedom to have access to the resources(sea)

S: and freedom to worship freely

I: And what do you think it would look like, this new life?

S: I can't imagine it, I have experience it in Wellington, Auckland, people there are not living the way they used to

S: mostly stay indoors most of the time because of the lousy cold weather outside

S: sleeping, watching TV most of the time

S: social media plays a big part on their new culture

I: I understand that that's quite different from how the Tuvaluans live

I: Can you also explain how you would feel in such a life?

S: obesity and cardiovascular diseases rates is quite high among those that migrate because of the change in life style and food, I felt that this is very life threatening and sad

S: we will be forced to develop a new set of mind set in order to adapt to the changes of the situation we face in wherever we have to go

I: So what if you won't ever have to migrate from Tuvalu, but you know that future generations potentially will have to migrate, how does that make you feel?

S: I feel sad, angry and worried

S: frustrated mainly because I understood the problems they will face because I've been there

S: that's why I don't want to migrate overseas

I: What do you think that you would need if you were ever to migrate overseas, to feel at home there? To feel like you belong

S: the government have to develop first a migration adaption strategy that would accommodate people's needs and ensure to provide guidelines and policies to help people to settle in a new land

S: secondly the communities have to work together to sustain the culture, and families have to strengthen family values

I: Can you explain what you mean with your last sentences? Sustain the culture, how would that work? As well as for strengthening the family values

S: All Tuvaluan regard the culture as an important part of our way of life, this is mainly because most of the key principals of our way of life is embedded in it, peace, prosperity, God, land and freedom

S: without this there is no Tuvalu

S: Family values is the reason why there is a culture and good one in my view, most these are based on Christianity principals, love, forgiveness, kind, etc

S: respect,

S: young people will have a big social impact on changes of behavior and values

S: In Tuvalu children are taught to respect and obey their parents

S: I don't see this in many western world families

S: I see kids even swears to their mum and elders

S: which is very sad

I: I understand

I: I have one or two questions left, I will try to go through them quickly to not take up more of your time

I: Do you ever have debates with your environments about climate change? If so, what are the main views discussed?

S: Is the island sinking or raising up? is one, secondly, to migrate or not?

S: adaptation or migration?

S: So what do they think about these important topics?

S: these are some of the question in people's minds

S: well, different people have different views about it. depending on their level of capacity

S: I see the more knowledge you have on an issues the more diverse you are with your answers to each issue

S: some very skeptic some just go with the flow

S: depending on what the topic is and how each topic is understood

I: I see, and what do the people on your island think is the solution if climate change indeed makes your island unlivable?

S: most of the people that want's remain on the island wants to build resilient thats the priority principal

S: migration is not a priority in the views of our government but it's an option we have to take if the situation comes to worst

S: the role of the government is to build resilient

S: which every community supports

S: migration will be the last option

I: I understand, thank you for the clarifications and for all your answers.

(T=Tuvina, aged 21, female, Kiribati, June 7, 2019, Facebook chat)

I: Can you introduce yourself?

T: My name is Tuvina Beero.

T: I'm 21 years old.

T: I'm from the island of Tarawa in Kiribati.

I: What do you generally know about climate change?

T: From what I know, climate change is the change of weather patterns and an increase in global warming which causes many problems. In the Pacific region, the most problematic effect of climate change is sea level rise which is caused by the melting of ice in the poles due to the increasing temperature.

I: Do you ever have debates with your environments about climate change? If so, what are the main views discussed?

T: Yes, there are debates regarding climate change. The main views discussed is whether climate change is an actual problem or it is just a myth.

I: What are the arguments that different people use for this? Are there specific people who think climate change is a myth or could it be anyone?

T: There are Kiribati islanders who say that climate change is not an actual thing. They believe that some people are making it seem so serious so that they can get financial help from foreign countries... and they also say that sea level is not rising. It is just a normal high-tide and low-tide sequence to them

I: How do you feel about the effects of climate change on your home?

T: I feel worried because it could possibly get worse. Many people have moved further inland because the coastal area they once lived in had been eroded.

I: How do you feel about migration as a result of climate change?

T: I feel like it is the only possible solution if climate change cannot be controlled.

I: Why do you feel that it is the only possible solution?

T: I feel like it is the only possible solution because if Kiribati will eventually vanish underwater then it is best to let Kiribati people continue their lives in a live-able environment, rather than leaving them to die.

I: If climate change impacted your life in such a way that it becomes harder to stay on your island, would you consider migration?

T: Yes, I would

I: Can you elaborate why you would stay on your island?

T: I wouldn't stay because I still have my life and that matters. If my island can no longer support life, migrating is the only rational choice because as one person, it is impossible to stop climate change myself.

I: Can you give examples of what it is that you would/would not want to leave behind?

T: I want to leave behind the problems brought by climate change, for example: eroding land, discomfort from the heat and the increasingly salty water.

I: How do you feel about future generations potentially having to leave your island?

T: I feel sad that they will have to go through such a change in their life but they do deserve a better home and if climate change is at its worst, then Kiribati can no longer be their home.

I: Why do you feel sad that Kiribati might no longer be home to the future generations?

T: I feel sad because if Kiribati is no longer a home to them, then over generations, Kiribati will no longer be known to even those who are descendants from Kiribati.

I: Do you think people on your island see migration as a solution to climate change?

T: No

I: Why do they not?

T: Many people feel that leaving our island shouldn't even be considered a solution.

I: Can you explain why they don't think that it should be considered a solution?

T: People do not want to consider migration a solution because they know that there are other ways to prevent losing their island to climate. They find it extremely harsh for them to actually leave their home country.

I: What do you think needs to happen before the people on your island would perceive migration as a solution to climate change?

T: I believe action needs to be taken before climate change reaches a critical level. Industries should reduce their emissions and people should consider living an environmental-friendly life.

I: Do you think people on your island have fears about leaving the island?

T: Yes

I: Can you explain what these fears are?

T: They fear the changes and the hardship of starting a new life all over again.

I: What kind of changes and hardships are they scared about?

T: The changes would include the change in the way of life and the environment. Most Kiribati people obtain their needs and wants from the ocean and from local plants and trees. If they live in a huge country where the ocean is miles away from them, then it would be hard for them.

Another change is if the climate of their new country is different. Some people can find it hard to live in the cold because they're used to a temperature of 27-30DegreesCelsius

I: How do you feel about living in a different culture?

T: I feel sad if we have to adapt to a different culture. It's as if not only was our island lost to climate change, but even our identity and existence vanished.

I: Why do you think your identity and existence will be vanished if you live in a different culture? Why are you sad that you have to adapt?

T: In the Pacific, culture is identity. Our cultures make us unique. Adapting to another culture means leaving behind everything that our ancestors had passed onto us, such as our way of life and unique skills and knowledge. And eventually it will be forgotten.

I: Can you explain what this way of life and skills and knowledges are?

T: Well for one, fishing... almost all people fish because its tradition and it's the way we obtain our needs from the ocean... because the sea is not far from most homes. now if we move to a bigger continent and our locations are far from the ocean, our fishing skills would no longer be needed

I: If you were to leave your island, are there any places you would prefer to go?

T: Any island in the Pacific that is not low-lying, such as Fiji.

I: What is it about this place that makes you prefer it?

T: Considering that it is a Pacific island, the change in the way of life wouldn't be too much and Kiribati people can actually connect with the people there. Most people fear losing their dignity as well when they will be treated as refugees.

I: Can you elaborate on why people fear losing their dignity as a result of being treated like refugees?

T: People fear losing their dignity because rather than being treated normally as fellow citizens of their new country, they might be treated as if they're outsiders.

I: What would you be looking for in a new place to live?

T: A tropical island with the same vegetation as Kiribati.

I: If you were to migrate, how would you like to be prepared for it?

T: I would want to actually learn about the new place I would be going to so that I can prepare myself mentally and physically to the change.

I: What things would you like to learn?

T: I would wanna learn how they do things.. such as how they provide their livelihood and also how different it is from my country (climate and culture)

I: If you were to migrate, what aspects from your own island would you want the destination to have?

T: Tropical climate and vegetation.

I: What do you think you would miss if you left the island?

T: My home, the food and the way of life on the island.

I: Can you explain what this way of life that you will miss is?

T: I will miss our way of life because in Kiribati, community is very important. Everyone is interconnected and people depend on each other and they always help each other out. It might change.

I: What do you think it would look like, this new life?

T: It would look different.

I: What do you think it would feel like?

T: It would feel challenging and hard.

I: Can you explain what it is that makes it feel challenging in hard?

T: I think life would be different regarding the change of culture. Also, it would be very challenging because people would have to start their life all over again and they might have difficulty finding employment or sustaining their livelihood if the conditions are different.

I: What could make you feel more at home in this new country if you would have to migrate?

T: The local trees, such as coconut trees and many Pacific islanders who understand our culture.

I: What do the people on your island think is the solution if climate change indeed makes your island unlivable?

T: Migration.

I: Thank you.

(M= Marae, aged 30, male, Kiribati, June 8, 2019, Facebook chat)

I: Can you introduce yourself?

M: My name is Maraë, I'm 30 years old. I'm currently at Brisbane, Australia for study but I am originally from the Kiribati Island.

I: What do you do in daily life?

M: I am a senior accountant at the treasury department of the Ministry of finance and Economic Development, but I am on study leave now.

I: What do you generally know about climate change?

M: Little that I know is that it is the change in weather and the rising of sea level that caused by global warming. This is not occurred naturally, rather it is a doing of human beings around the globe, but the major contributors are those who live in an industrialized and developed countries.

I: Do you ever have debates with your environments about climate change? If so, what are the main views discussed?

M: No, I have not engaged in any debate

I: How do you feel about the effects of climate change on your home?

M: I feel scare for the future is uncertain, this makes me worry about the future of my family, especially my children. But I also found it to be a turning point for my country as most of the people would not want to leave but would rather stay. This give us and government the idea of combatting climate change to preserve our mother land but doing so is not easy for a developing country for we have limited resources.

I: How do you feel about migration as a result of climate change?

M: Migration is always a last choice for me.

M: To migrate will surely mean the end of my identity as an I-Kiribati as the way we brought up is very different. Our Identity does mean us as a human being, but it also encompasses the land in which we brought up at.

I: Can you explain why you think that you can't maintain this identity abroad?

M: Individually, I can uphold my identity abroad but my recognition as an I-Kiribati will be differ from what I am originally known. As an Island, if call yourself an I-Kiribati, that means you have unity which means you have a people, a land and freedom. You may still call yourself an I-Kiribati while you are abroad but saying it will only make you proud for as long as you have a country to reference to.

M: However, migration is a last alternative for many us due to the fact that our country is being impacted by climate change. Such notion gave us a belief that our identity will soon irrelevant for there will be no more such country known as Kiribati in the future. Although such identity maintained, the submerge of Kiribati in the nearer future will give us no evidence to prove our existence to our future generation.

I: If climate change impacted your life in such a way that it becomes harder to stay on your island, would you consider migration?

M: If it comes to this worse, my individual decision would be to stay for as long as I can. But as a father, I would rather choose not to stay for I have the responsibility to ensure that my family are safe and have a certain future.

I: Can you give examples of what it is that you would/would not want to leave behind?

M: What I would I not leave behind is our unique culture for the Kiribati culture is known as friendly and welcoming to everyone.

I: Do you think people on your island see migration as a solution to climate change?

M: Most of the people do not see migration as a solution of climate change. The reason is more than a believe that my people did not want to leave their birth place as we believe that this concept will affect all countries around the globe. Migration may be seen as a solution for our people but that is the possible solution for low lying countries like Kiribati. Yet, such solution does not stop global warming and the increase of sea level. Countries who believe that they would not be affected by climate change will later come to the stage that my country and people are experiencing right now. So, a concrete and a better solution is needed rather than relying on migration.

I: What do you think needs to happen before the people on your island would perceive migration as a solution to climate change?

M: To be seen a country that try all possible alternative to preserve the land and this is by fighting against climate change.

I: Do you think people on your island have fears about leaving the island?

M: Yes

I: Can you explain what these fears are?

M: You could imagine us leaving the land we have known for many years, the land that our forefathers have cultivated for many centuries and the land that have provided all our needs. The fear of losing such priceless land is

I: How do you feel about living in a different culture?

M: I will always be a stranger

I: Can you explain why?

M: The fact that cultures are unique in their own way is what will make you a stranger. Living in a different culture will mean two things; first you have to learn the new culture and to adjust to it; and second to try to maintain your culture. The two may be interchange but sometimes people who do not understand your culture may be surprise for the way your talk or act. This will make you a stranger if you try to maintain your own culture while living in a different culture.

I: If you were to leave your island, are there any places you would prefer to go?

M: No preference for there is no other land that could replace the land that I once know.

I: What would you be looking for in a new place to live?

M: A place that can unite all of my people as one and as a nation that can help to preserve the culture and norms of our life as islanders.

I: Can you explain how you think life as an islander & your culture and norms can be preserved in a foreign country?

M: As an Islander, we always live in unity. This means that we learn our way of life, culture and norms through each other whether it is from our family or from the community (or land) we live in.

M: Living in a foreign land with foreign people means that you have to adjust to a multicultural society. This means that your children have to learn the different way of life, culture and norms

from other ethnicity groups and that they may have little knowledge of their local culture and norms.

M: To be identified as an I-Kiribati you need to maintain the original culture and way of life, otherwise you will be considered as an I-Kiribati living in a foreign Land. A place that can unite all the people of Kiribati will therefore help in the preservation of our way of life, culture and norms in a foreign country.

I: If you were to migrate, how would you like to be prepared for it?

M: We have a concept which we call migration with dignity. Because we have the time, we are preparing ourselves by furthering our study and to upskills our people. This will allow them to choose whether to migrate now or to later but not as a refugee rather to migrate with dignity as they should have the necessary skills and knowledge that can be used in a foreign country.

I: If you were to migrate, what aspects from your own island would you want the destination to have?

M: To be honest, the aspects of my own island is very unique to me, so I would want my destination to have every bit of it, but I know that this is not possible. Once, I have to migrate, it would be for the benefit and future of my family and not for what matters to me for my heart will always with my birth land.

I: What do you think you would miss if you left the island?

M: The land, the air and the surrounding sea, especially the way we islanders live and cultivate ourselves.

I: What do you think it would look like, this new life?

M: I can tell what new life would be, but I perceive that it would be challenging for an islander like me. This is my reality that I am now living in Australia.

I: Can you explain how it will be challenging and how you are experiencing this?

M: By comparing the land mass of Australia and my home country will give you some hint on why it is challenging for me to live abroad. Kiribati is not just about land always; it is also about the vast ocean that surround it. Due to the fact that Kiribati is a low-lying country and that it is located at the equator gives me a challenge to live in a country that has four seasons and that I cannot access to the ocean every day. In my country, getting to the ocean is only a few minutes or a few steps from your home while in Australia, it can take times. Also, Australia is a multicultural country that this need me to learn different culture in order to know or to befriend with my colleges.

I: What do you think it would feel like?

M: It would be a lonely and scary feeling like the one that I have now in this country, which I have to stay indoors most of the time.

I: Can you elaborate on why you feel lonely in Australia and why you have to stay indoors?

M: For me Australia is a lonely due to the fact that only a few people from my country lives here. However, getting to these people is not so easy and it requires plans using social media or telephone. Also, the people in here do not act the same way as the people in my home country.

M: In my country, we always ask a neighbour or a stranger to take a break or to have a cup of team if

that person happen to by-pass our home. Also, when you are bored or have nothing to do and needed someone to talk to, you can just go to your neighbour's house.

I: What could make you feel more at home in this new country if you would have to migrate?

M: I do not believe that a new country will make me feel at home. Once I am a stranger in a foreign land, I will always be until the end of my time. There is no such place that could give me back the belief that I would live once again in a country where freedom, culture, land and the people matter the most. All that I have to do it to blend in and adopt or adjust to the new society and culture, but sooner or later, my identity and culture will be forgotten by my future generation.

I: Why do you think that your identity and culture will be forgotten by future generation?

M: The submerge of my home country due to climate change impact is the root for the loss of my identity and culture. Also, as I have said, living in a foreign land require us to adapt to the new way of living and cultures.

M: Although my generation that call still call themselves I-Kiribati in a foreign country, the submerge on our country will give us no prove to provide to our future generation in which they can see with their own eyes how the Kiribati people live their live. This will be the case because they will live in a multicultural country and where everything they see will be different or a mixture of different cultures.

I: What do the people on your island think is the solution if climate change indeed makes your island unlivable?

M: Like I said, migration is a last resort when it comes to a stage that the islands are no longer livable. But the questions are: would migration solve climate change? If not does that means we will always migrate from one country to another in the future if the country, we chose to migrate to come to a stage of our country as of now? What will happen in the future if all countries come a stage in which our country is experiencing now, would be there any other place to migrate to?

M: A concrete solution that will completely stop the impact of climate change is what we prefer. If the sea has a high and low tide, it would mean that it can be studied to find other possible solution that will help to maintain or to reduce the sea level. Also, if scientist can fly to outer space, it would mean that a study to reduce global warming is also possible and this may even help in eliminating climate change and to restore the natural beauty of the earth in which we all live in.

I: Thank you.