

# “There's so much more to that sinking island!” – Restorying migration from Kiribati and Tuvalu to Aotearoa New Zealand

Olivia E. T. Yates<sup>1</sup>  | Shiloh Groot<sup>1</sup>  | Sam Manuela<sup>1</sup> |  
Andreas Neef<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>School of Psychology, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand

<sup>2</sup>Development Studies, School of Social Sciences, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand

## Correspondence

Olivia E. T. Yates, School of Psychology, The University of Auckland, 23 Symonds St, Auckland 1010, New Zealand.  
Email: [o.yates@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:o.yates@auckland.ac.nz)

## Funding information

New Zealand Psychological Society

## Abstract

**Background and Aims:** Many Pacific people are considering cross-border mobility in response to the climate crisis, despite exclusion from international protection frameworks. The ‘Migration with dignity’ concept facilitates immigration within existing laws but without host government support. Through the metaphor of Pacific navigation, we explore the role of dignity in the lives of I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans in Aotearoa New Zealand.

**Methods:** Combining talanoa (pacific research method) with I-Kiribati and Tuvaluan community members, alongside critical community psychology and thematic analysis, we depict climate mobility as a wa or vaka moana (ocean-going canoes) journey.

**Analysis:** Participants are expert navigators, navigating immigration obstacles to (re)grow their roots in Aotearoa New Zealand before charting a course for future generations to thrive. They draw strength from culture and community to overcome the adversity of precarious living and visa non-recognition.

**Conclusion:** Reconceptualising climate mobility through a Pacific lens imagines both dignity and cultural preservation

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs License, which permits use and distribution in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, the use is non-commercial and no modifications or adaptations are made.

© 2022 The Authors. *Journal of Community Psychology* published by Wiley Periodicals LLC.

as possible, despite the indignities and limitations of socio-political systems and protections for climate migrants.

#### KEYWORDS

climate change, environmental justice, human migration, human rights, migrants, migration policy, undocumented immigrants

## 1 | INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 | Background

Climate mobility can be retold through Pacific metaphors of purposeful, agentic movement. Pacific peoples across history hold the ocean as sacred; a vast highway joining interconnected islands, where no movement is ever accidental (T. Bishop, personal communication, July 13, 2021). The voyaging canoe, including *te vaka* (Tuvalu) or *te wa* (Kiribati) is central to this navigation, a medium for exploring a boundless ocean which colonial borders have artificially separated (Hau'ofa, 1994; Howe, 2007; The Kiribati Working Group, 2015). Seeing Oceanic navigation through *te wa* or *vaka* gives us language to position climate migrants as rooted, self-determined navigators without the indignity of victim-based narratives. *Te wa* or *vaka* journeys tell stories of fluid identity and connectivity; of people paddling together through the liminal spaces between vulnerability and agency 'to stand together against the riptides of colonisation and globalisation' (Haili'ōpua Baker et al., 2016; p. 46).

*Te vaka* or *te wa* exemplify the interconnectedness of land, ocean and people. Although Pacific conceptions of land are diverse, most Pacific peoples express relational, reciprocal ties to land – *te aba* (Kiribati), *fenua* (Tuvalu) (and variations, e.g., *fanua*, *fonua*, *whenua*, *vanua*, *'enua*). Land is the essence of belonging, the source of livelihood and the sustainer of life (Havea, 2007). From the *fenua* or *aba* emerge Pacific identities, languages, spiritualities, and ancestral connections (Hau'ofa, 1994; Jolly, 2001; Yates et al., 2021); to refer to one's *fenua* or *aba* is to simultaneously claim physical place on land and a sense of belonging to land (Dei et al., 2022). However, attachment to land is not static, but a way of being and a point of reference in a shifting Oceanic environment (Farbotko & McMichael, 2019; Māhina, 2008). *Te wa* or *te vaka* are emblematic of these fluid relationships between society and nature. Crafted from trees and traversing oceans, *te wa* or *te vaka* link roots (heritage; place attachment) to routes (mobility) (Clifford, 2001; Farbotko & McMichael, 2019; Haili'ōpua Baker et al., 2016; Hau'ofa, 1994, 2008; Jolly, 2001; Teaiwa & Launiuvao, 2015). They have come to symbolise post-colonial resistance and cultural revitalisation as groups such as the Polynesian Voyaging Society revive early canoe-building techniques, and the Pacific Climate Warriors paddle canoes to resist fossil fuel powers (Finney, 2003; McNamara & Farbotko, 2017; Suliman, 2019).

Yet, environmental deterioration complicates realities of rootedness and fluidity for people from Kiribati and Tuvalu (Falefou, 2018; Haili'ōpua Baker et al., 2016). Residents of these neighbouring states on the frontlines of climate change are already observing changing weather patterns, diminishing landscapes and reduced food security, raising concerns about the continued ability of their *aba* or *fenua* to support them (Corcoran, 2016; Lala, 2015). Some residents are considering settling elsewhere to safeguard their lives and livelihoods (Falefou, 2018; Kupferberg, 2021; Tabe, 2019), although most desire to remain rooted to their *aba* or *fenua* to preserve the legacies of place, identity and nation (Corcoran, 2016; Falefou, 2018). However, adaptation options are constrained by lowered socio-ecological resistance, the product of 19th and 20th century colonisation and extractivism in the Pacific. Colonial administrations imposed borders and forcefully exploited and resettled Pacific communities for political and economic benefit, leaving lasting impacts on community structure and connections to land, identity,

culture, and language (e.g., Connell, 2012; Tabe, 2019; Teaiwa, 2014). Eager to avoid colonial harms, many Pacific governments are considering alternative mobility solutions (Thornton et al., 2020).

Accordingly, the former President of Kiribati developed the novel 'Migration with dignity' approach (Tong, 2014). Currently, no legally binding frameworks exist to protect those who migrate for climate-related reasons (hereafter, climate migrants) (McAdam, 2020). Thus, Kiribati's strategy encapsulated the provision of transferable skills for I-Kiribati, facilitating migration to neighbouring states within existing frameworks to ensure the continuation of cultural practices abroad (Kupferberg, 2021; McMichael et al., 2021). However, the focus has now shifted towards economic prosperity, mitigation and in situ adaptation (Kupferberg, 2021). This echoes Tuvalu's preference for temporary labour migration 'with dignity' and local resilience-building (Falefou, 2018; Ministry of Foreign Affairs Trade Tourism Environment and Labour, 2011, 2014).

Nonetheless, the notion of dignity continues to hold weight within climate mobility discussions (e.g., Farbotko et al., 2018; Kupferberg, 2021; McAdam, 2020). Dignity is an elusive construct with multiple definitions, broadly comprising the notion that human beings possess intrinsic worth which demands respect and recognition (McCrudden, 2008). Although conceptually vague, dignity is operationalised within human rights charters and constitutions around the world (Daly & May, 2019), most notably the UN General Assembly (1948). Leaning upon dignity as a human right can highlight the impacts of climate change on people's lives and ways-of-being (Daly & May, 2019). For example, climate change worsens I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans' access to material resources, such as food, housing, or education, and their abilities to practice their cultural rights (Human Rights Measurement Initiative, 2021a, 2021b). In 2015, Ioane Teitiota from Kiribati used such arguments to seek asylum in Aotearoa New Zealand, although his claim was denied and he and his family were deported. However, a subsequent ruling by the United Nations' Human Rights Committee found future migrants may be afforded asylum when climate change unequivocally threatens their right to a life with dignity (see McAdam, 2020).

To secure the rights of future climate migrants, Kupferberg (2021) proposes a dignity framework for mobility. The framework outlines 'the minimally good life' (p. 6) in which all basic needs (e.g., autonomy, food, water, healthcare and social support) are met. However, Kupferberg's (2021) 'minimally good life' primarily centres on material needs. The definitional haziness of dignity allows for it to be reinterpreted to sit within Pacific peoples' ontologies of worth (Barlo, 2016; Winter, 2019). I-Kiribati and Tuvaluan conceptualisations of dignity give priority to land, cultural, and spiritual practices. For instance, Uriam (1983) links dignity to faithfulness to *te katei ni Kiribati* (the Kiribati way) as a pathway to *Te Mauri, Te Raoi ao Te Tabomoa* (health, peace and prosperity). From a Tuvaluan perspective, *te ola lei* (the good life) is not just physical (Panapa, 2012) but sits alongside *te olaga lei* (good, meaningful living), and *olaga tokagamalie*, a sense of security and preparedness embedded in family, land, ancestral knowledge, and cultural and spiritual practices (Aselu, n.d).

## 1.2 | Aotearoa New Zealand context

Rather than offering dignified avenues to migration, Aotearoa New Zealand maintains a dominant focus on controlling its borders. The New Zealand Government sought to implement a targeted climate change visa in 2017, but this was dropped after dialogue with its Pacific neighbours about their preference to remain (Neef & Bengel, 2022). The Government's updated approach supports in situ adaptation alongside options for expanding migration pathways from the Pacific (e.g., Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2021). However, with these yet to be implemented, migrants from communities on the frontlines of climate change must navigate Aotearoa New Zealand's neoliberal, securitised immigration system. Visas are offered to the self-sufficient, self-protecting migrant—who provides exploitable low-wage labour—while hostility is extended to the 'non-ideal' climate migrant, who makes claims to welfare or citizenship (Stanley, 2021). Such nonrecognition of climate migrants might be considered a form of 'legal violence' (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012) where the legal harm inflicted on migrants' bodies manifest through the denial of haven from climate breakdown. Mobility restrictions primarily impact frontline nations, forcing

residents to remain in exposed locations or traverse state borders on temporary visas and 'overstay'. And as a penalty for seeking refuge, these irregular migrants risk being criminalised or deported, and are otherwise pressed to live precarious lives excluded from Government services (Nguyen & Kenkel, 2021; Skillington, 2015; Stanley, 2021).

Nonetheless, many I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans continue to migrate to Aotearoa New Zealand in pursuit of employment, education, family reunification, or to send remittances home (Gillard & Dyson, 2012; Malua, 2014). Most people migrate through the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) category, a temporary labour mobility visa, or the Pacific Access Category (PAC), a ballot-based scheme giving permanent residence to 75 I-Kiribati and 75 Tuvaluans per year. However, low wages, unstable employment, workplace exploitation, and strict visa requirements can hinder resettlement (Gillard & Dyson, 2012; Malua, 2014; Immigration New Zealand), forcing some into illegality and constant fear of deportation (Malua, 2014).

The vestiges of Pacific labour exploitation structure such punitive processes. Since the forced indentured labour ('Blackbirding') of Pacific peoples in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Pacific bodies have been commodified as solutions to economic problems (Enoka, 2019; Stanley, 2021). Aotearoa New Zealand's place as a wealthy agrarian settler colony was built upon the import of Banaban phosphate fertiliser—and by extension, of Banaban bodies—to Aotearoa New Zealand (Stanley, 2021; Teaiwa, 2014). The country's economy has continued to be reliant upon the Pacific region, with the introduction of visas in the 1950s for Pacific people to fill labour shortages, and the establishment of the RSE scheme to buttress the horticulture and viticulture industries (Malua, 2014). Despite this dependence, social discourse perpetuates anti-Pacific rhetoric, historically framing Pacific peoples as criminals and economic threats—resulting in the inhumane treatment and deportation of Pacific migrants in the Dawn Raids era (Anae, 2020)—and more recently, as cheap, dehumanised labour (Enoka, 2019).

However, such narratives do not align with the Tuvaluan and Kiribati communities' experiences of migration. Despite a shared past as the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, joined by the British Empire until 1976, I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans are far from homogenous; distinct in history, culture and language, with multi-layered collective identities and vibrant communities. According to the most recent census, among the roughly 380,000 Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand, there were 3225 I-Kiribati, 44% living in Auckland, and 4653 Tuvaluans, 69% living in Auckland, populations which are rapidly growing (Stats New Zealand, 2018). Community and church groups create a sense of transnational island belonging as well as provide social support and assist with resettlement (Gillard & Dyson, 2012; Malua, 2014). The uniqueness of these communities are honoured nationwide during the annual Kiribati and Tuvaluan Language Weeks, Independence Days and at events throughout the year, affirming their right to belong in Aotearoa New Zealand.

### 1.3 | Research focus

This article documents Kiribati and Tuvaluan migration journeys to Aotearoa New Zealand in the context of climate change. We bring migration with dignity into conversation with tales of Oceanic voyaging, echoing the move to place Pacific knowledge systems at the centre of psychological research (e.g., Lala, 2015; Manuela & Anae, 2017; Panapa, 2012; Yates et al., 2021). While dominant modes of psychology tend to prioritise Eurocentric understandings of well-being, which emphasise an individualised, reductionist separation of oneself from the environment, Pacific psychologies generally view well-being as interconnected to all aspects of life (Johnson et al., 2021; Ponton, 2018). Yet, Pacific psychologies rarely feature within climate change research (Yates et al., 2021) resulting in little understanding of climate mobility from Pacific, relational perspectives (Johnson et al., 2021; Lala, 2015; Yates et al., 2021). Combining Pacific psychologies with the critical community psychology framework (Evans et al., 2017) outlined below, we offer a retelling of migration with(out) dignity which conceptualises climate mobility as an ongoing process structured by personal, local and national-level forces. Specifically, we draw upon the journeys of vaka and te wa to (a) highlight the impact of societal barriers and political

loopholes (including the denial of climate migration pathways) on diasporic communities' dignity and well-being and (b) discuss the Tuvaluan and Kiribati communities' efforts to (re)claim their dignity in the face of climate change and neoliberal immigration systems.

The next three sections of this article story Kiribati and Tuvaluan experiences of climate mobility with(out) dignity. First, we outline our research strategy, detailing our multi-layered methodology which grounds community-level analysis (Fernandes-Jesus et al., 2020) in the talanoa methodology (Vaioleti, 2006). Next, we introduce the vaka or wa model of mobility, based on a series of open group discussions (Sautalaga, Tuvalu; Maroro, Kiribati) with members of the Kiribati and Tuvaluan communities in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. We recount climate mobility as a three-stage, recursive journey wherein voyagers navigate immigration obstacles to arrive on new shores, regrow roots from the seeds of connection they carry and chart a course forward for future generations. Each stage of the model teases out the interrelatedness of host society dynamics, environmental degradation, and migrant well-being. Finally, the third section weaves together some concluding remarks and outlines implications for the governance of climate mobility across Oceania.

## 2 | RESEARCH STRATEGY

This article draws upon the accounts of mobility in the context of the climate crisis for 38 people from the Kiribati and Tuvaluan communities in Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland. The city has been nicknamed the 'Polynesian Capital of the World' (Anae, 2004; p. 3), being home to diverse Pacific communities who together comprise 15% of Aucklanders (Auckland Council, n.d.). Although the term 'community' is critiqued for assuming homogeneity and fixed boundaries (Titz et al., 2018), we refer to the Kiribati and Tuvaluan groups as 'communities' to reflect how they label themselves. Our multi-ethnic (Palagi [New Zealander of European descent], Māori [Uenukukōpako, Ngāti Pikiao], Cook Island Māori; German) research team (all also authors) pair the talanoa methodology (Vaioleti, 2006) with critical community psychology (CCP, Evans et al., 2017) for a contextualised, culturally relevant and justice-oriented view of mobility. Talanoa, meaning a flexible, empathetic conversation, is a deeply emotional and intersubjective methodology with embedded Pacific values (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Vaioleti, 2006).

Talanoa co-constructs knowledge that legitimates Pacific metaphysical realities as socially, spiritually, politically and historically situated and seeks transformative change for Pacific peoples (Anae, 2010; Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Tualalelei & McFall-McCaffery, 2019). CCP then affords an ecological and justice-oriented analysis of climate mobility. It is a framework that directs researchers to attend to how community affiliation structures people's lives, and how power, inequality and liberation can shape climate mobility practices (Arcidiacono et al., 2016; Fernandes-Jesus et al., 2020).

Our approach centres reciprocity, the honouring of that given to the research through relationships and the advancement of the collective (Arcidiacono et al., 2016; Vaioleti, 2006). In both talanoa and CCP, relationality and justice as inseparable. Researchers build committed, reciprocal relationships with community partners to enable collaborative research which centres the communities' priorities for change (Chung-Do et al., 2016; Evans et al., 2017; Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). Open dialogue with community members throughout the research optimises opportunities for co-constructing knowledge. This knowledge can then supplement community-led initiatives to enact institutional change (Rua et al., 2021). Dialogue and relationship shift researcher power to the sidelines, blur the lines between the personal and the professional, and afford participants more agency over outcomes, disrupting the coloniality of Eurocentric psychologies that seek to maintain researcher objectivity (Fletcher et al., 2006; Rua et al., 2021). For the Palagi first author, fostering relationships required participating in the shared consciousness of all community members (Bishop, 2011). At the inception of the project, she sought to build relationships with Kiribati and Tuvaluan community partners, engaging community elders in talanoa about how to design the research to support their

interests. She 'resided alongside' the communities (Rua et al., 2021), investing in their concerns and aspirations (Bishop, 2011) for mobility justice. Opportunities for the research to support community efforts towards immigration reform were collectively determined.

Community engagement and an advisory board then informed the research design. The advisory board (composed of community partners, Pacific youth climate activists and Pacific academics) helped to align the study design, topics and outcomes with the communities' priorities (Chung-Do et al., 2016). Data were collected through face-to-face group *sautalaga*, *te maroro* and field notes (participants' names with an \* are pseudonyms). *Te maroro* and *sautalaga* are Kiribati and Tuvaluan concepts, respectively, of freely and casually exchanging ideas, similar to *talanoa* (Lala, 2015; Namoori-Sinclair, 2020). More than open interviews, they are respectful, reciprocal, and culturally appropriate exchanges between researchers and community members (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014; Vaoletti, 2006). Community partners led recruitment for four *maroro* with I-Kiribati and four *sautalaga* with Tuvaluans, held in familiar settings. These were segmented by age, sometimes gender and community affiliations (Table 1) to respect eldership and to allow a diversity of voices. Community partners assisted as co-moderators and interpreters. *Maroro* or *sautalaga* opened in prayer followed by information about the study, giving oral consent, and dialogue on topics related to climate change, mobility and cultural identity. After closing in prayer, participants were offered a voucher, invited to collaborate on the research analysis and outcomes, then shared a meal in acknowledgement of the knowledge and time gifted (as informed by Anae [2010]). We returned after transcription to discuss evolving findings and applications.

The challenges of outsider research require negotiation through a commitment to relationship, reflexivity, and collaboration between Pacific and Palagi researchers (Fletcher et al., 2006; Vaoletti, 2006). In this, our multiple identities, ideologies and intersubjectivities (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014) become tools for connection. O. Yates is Palagi, a researcher and an activist. She calls herself Palagi as this is how community partners refer to her. Relationships from her background in climate activism ground her conviction that Palagi carry a responsibility to work alongside frontline groups towards a climate-just future. This shapes her epistemological commitments to research as an activist-scholar (Hodgetts et al., 2014), and relationality (Reynolds, 2019). O. Yates leans upon her activist voice and research tools to accompany community partners in asserting their dignity and calling for climate justice (Evans et al., 2017) while moving carefully across intercultural and positional edges in the space created by collaborating communities (Reynolds, 2019). S. Groot is a Māori community psychologist with extensive experience documenting and addressing precarity in partnership with Indigenous peoples and community services. S. Manuela is Cook Islands Māori social psychologist with a focus on Pacific peoples' ethnic identities and wellbeing within the Aotearoa New Zealand context. A. Neef is Palagi of German descent with an interest in climate change adaptation

**TABLE 1** Maroro and Sautalaga demographics

Group	Maroro with I-Kiribati				Sautalaga with Tuvaluans			
	N	Age	Gender	Years in Aotearoa New Zealand	N	Age	Gender	Years in Aotearoa New Zealand
Men	4	48–59	Male	9–27	2	61–78	Male	7–24
Women	6	NA	Female	14–25	6	45–77	Female	6–34
Youth <sup>a</sup>	8	18–29	Male & Female	14-born here	3	23–29	Female	22-born here
West <sup>b</sup> /Elders <sup>c</sup>	3	41–64	Male & Female	9–16	3	60–65	M	>1–35

<sup>a</sup>For the communities, this includes people aged ~15–30 years.

<sup>b</sup>With I-Kiribati in West Auckland.

<sup>c</sup>With Tuvaluans.

and climate mobility justice in the Pacific and globally. He has worked extensively on these topics with iTaukei (Indigenous) communities in Fiji as well as with Fijians of Indian descent.

The research adopted a relational epistemology, wherein knowledge was co-constructed through ongoing, inclusive relationships between researchers and community members. Community members entrusted us with their accounts of mobility, which we then re-interpreted vicariously while remaining in conversation with one another (cf. Hodgetts et al., 2021). Following Braun and Clarke's (2019) reflexive thematic analysis, O. Yates inductively transcribed and coded transcripts using NVivo12. O. Yates and X organised, revised and reconceptualised these codes into interrelated latent themes, attending to the unexpected or 'stumble data' (Brinkmann, 2014) which challenged dominant theories of climate mobility. We mapped connections between candidate themes, noting that they followed the three stages of migration expressed within Solofa's story: immigration/resettlement, recreating belonging and preparing for the future. We then revisited the transcripts to test these developing themes. Themes were checked with S. Manuela who provided guidance and cultural accountability throughout the project. Finally, we returned to participants and community partners to discuss resonances between our interpretation and their experiences (Colucci, 2008). Tying together community and advisory board suggestions (such as to use the outrigger metaphor), we reconceptualised the themes through the journey of te wa and te vaka, as in the analysis below.

### 3 | ANALYSIS

Te wa and te vaka model of climate mobility (see Figure 1) reflects the strengths, challenges, and aspirations shaping the mobility journeys of the Kiribati and Tuvaluan communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. 'Te wa' and 'te vaka' each refers to an ocean-going outrigger canoe in the Kiribati and Tuvaluan languages. However, just as the names and significance of te wa and te vaka differ by form, function and dialect (Teaiwa & Launiuvao, 2015; Zann, 1980), so too do the Kiribati and Tuvaluan diasporas have diverse tales of climate mobility. The model does not assume

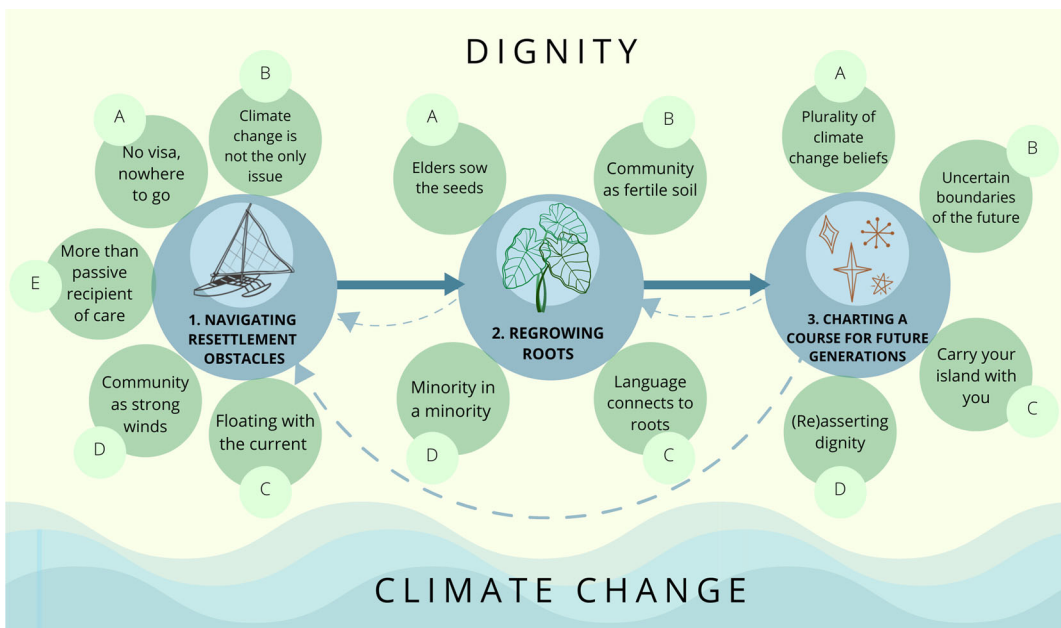


FIGURE 1 Te wa and te vaka model of climate mobility



uniform experiences across communities nor within but notes the shared threads which unite the lives of Kiribati and Tuvaluan community members.

The three phases through the centre of the model (Figure 1) tell a story of climate mobility as a recursive, ever-evolving journey, anchored in migrants' homelands while moving towards a more secure future in Aotearoa New Zealand. I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans are expert navigators faced with 'navigating immigration obstacles' and socio-political barriers to well-being (phase 1), 'regrowing roots' to negotiate a transnational sense of belonging (phase 2), and 'charting a course for future generations' to thrive in the face of uncertainty (phase 3). Although presented as a one-way journey, the phase boundaries are fluid, as histories and genealogies present challenges and the realisation of future hopes converge to guide people's daily lives.

Dignity and climate change shape each phase of the journey (Figure 1). The placement of dignity above the model illustrates how community members' beliefs in their rights to safety and the inherent value of their ways-of-being guide them through the murky waters of migration. Similarly, the location of climate change below the model depicts how rising tides, shrinking shores, and other environmental changes are inextricably linked to community members' journeys of migration and resistance—regardless of the motivation to move. Whereas most overseas-born community members migrated in search of better opportunities in education, employment or healthcare (cf. Roman, 2013; Siose, 2017; Smith, 2013), more recent arrivals migrated for climate-related reasons (cf. Roman, 2013; Siose, 2017). Nonetheless, climate change rhetoric, policies and uncertainties touch all community members' lives.

The following sections story the community members' experiences of mobility in the context of climate change, following the metaphor of *te wa* and *te vaka* journeys (Figure 1). We examine the interconnections between dignity, climate change, and mobility while retaining a dominant focus on how Kiribati and Tuvaluan wayfinders navigate immigration obstacles, regrow their roots, and chart courses forward for future generations.

### 3.1 | Navigating immigration obstacles

Upon arriving on the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand, I-Kiribati and Tuvaluan community members were quickly confronted with new, unforeseen obstacles in their journeys (Figure 1, phase 1). The first barrier encountered was a paradox of immobility, of having no visa and nowhere to go but moving regardless (see Figure 1, phase 1A). Given Aotearoa New Zealand's neoliberal immigration system (Namoori-Sinclair, 2020), community members who desire safety from environmental or socio-cultural challenges have limited options to safeguard their livelihoods. Some sought protection through recognised immigration schemes, like *Kalapu\** (Tuvalu, women's *sautalaga*; see Table) below:

*So dangerous to stay there, so scary, .... because the island is so small, no mountains to go, no high buildings to go. So we make a plan to get a better life, and lucky we have a chance to come under this Tuvalu PAC.*

*Kalapu\** recognised that extreme weather events were threatening Tuvaluan lives and livelihoods, so tried her luck within the PAC ballot. Like *Kalapu\**, most community members had arrived through the PAC or the Skilled Worker visa. These highly bureaucratic, employment-dependent and ballot-based immigration avenues exclude climate risk when determining eligibility (see Immigration New Zealand, n.d.). Hurdles within these schemes tend to prioritise host 'citizenship privileges' (Skillington, 2015) over the safety of those on the frontlines, leaving many I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans to rely upon good fortune rather than merit to enter Aotearoa New Zealand.

Faced with convoluted immigration systems and non-existent climate mobility policies, ineligible but determined migrants carved out their own pathways around the mandate for visa recognition. Some aspiring migrants arrived on short-term visas and stayed on as irregular migrants; others fought for permanent residency (PR) while living undocumented. *Solofa* (Tuvalu, elders' *sautalaga*; Table 1) continues to seek PR on climate grounds,



saying, 'It's over three years now that we've been here. And we're vying for some recognition of being here, based on climate change...but the mind would be more settled if indeed we are given PR status'. Although migrating provides Solofa with 'some relief' from his climate fears, his unrecognised status and the risk of deportation leaves him in limbo (cf. Malua, 2014; Nguyen & Kenkel, 2021). His story highlights how the absence of protection for climate migrants creates structural violence (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012) by recreating precarity in the host nation (Bates-Eamer, 2019). Irregular migrants like Solofa come to inhabit a space of invisibility while waiting for PR, vulnerable to exploitation, stress and anxiety, and trapped in a purgatorial state of 'deportability' (Menjívar & Abrego, 2012).

In the excerpt above, Solofa alludes to climate change being one among many interrelated obstacles (Figure 1, phase 1B). Negotiating resettlement barriers (cf. Yates et al., 2021), extractive immigration policies and unfamiliar systems often takes precedence over future-oriented climate change concerns. Kalapu\* (Tuvalu, women's sautalaga; Table 1) regretted having been absent from her growing family, but justified that:

*Kalapu\*: I can go from home like seven in the morning and get back to home eleven at night, like 11:30, because I can pick up two shifts aye. ...*

*Lilipeti\*: Because you need that, aye.*

*Kalapu\*: But yeah, at the time I really need some money for you know, the family in Tuvalu, and we are here renting a place as well, of our own. It's really expensive as well, the rent as well, I think that's why.*

In their exchange, Lilipeti\* and Kalapu\* understand that no matter how tirelessly they worked, low wages, high living costs and tenuous housing arrangements can disrupt their dreams for their families, compounding the stress of migration. This is heightened by the rules of the workplace, as Emeri (Kiribati, women's maroro; Table 1) points out:

*Back home, it's our own time... But here, fifteen-minute break is fifteen minutes. Not fifteen minutes and one second. Yeah. And we call it the palagi time aye? [laughter] But we don't have a choice. We have to obey and abide by those because we don't want to lose our jobs or get in trouble... and we can't really explain why we are a bit slack, maybe we are sick or unwell, but ... we have to, you know, work hard. No matter what.*

Here, Emeri compares the balanced work lifestyles on her home islands with the neoliberal expectations of working within Aotearoa New Zealand, where employers can have little grace for sickness, language barriers or te mama (shyness). The restructuring of work lives in Aotearoa New Zealand towards a neoliberal, market-oriented economy has placed profitability before people and the environment, increasing insecure employment (Ongley, 2013). Precarity in the workplace combined with the regional labour market further commodifies and dehumanises Pacific bodies (Enoka, 2019). Many migrants are trapped in low-wage, insecure labour because their right to remain in Aotearoa New Zealand can rely upon keeping their jobs, 'no matter what'.

Alongside systemic economic insecurity, Kiribati and Tuvaluan navigators were confronted with cultural precarity, the creation of cultural unbelonging through institutional non-recognition and identity loss (Bertram, 2012; Nowicka, 2018). This is evidenced in Rui's\* story (Kiribati, youth maroro; Table 1):

*Yeah, I remember this one time, this guy from the island, back in Ōtāhuhu, they um, went fishing, um out in the creek... They thought it was just like an ocean...And the police, they had to like, chase them out of the creek because you're not allowed to fish in the creek. ... They were caught though but didn't catch anything! [laughter].*

Rui\* portrays how Kiribati fishing customs can be criminalised in Aotearoa New Zealand. Such cultural practices, grounded in balanced relationships with sacred, abundant oceans and one another, compete with the extractive and hierarchical view of the environment within Aotearoa New Zealand (Winter, 2019). To pursue their aspirations for 'better lives,' many community members are pressed to 'float with the current' (see Figure 1, phase 1C) and adapt their lived cultures to their new environments, or else 'they just deport you back' (Solofoa, elders' sautalaga; Table 1). Toma\* (Tuvalu, men's sautalaga; Table 1) explained that the Tuvaluan community must adapt because '[i]f you are 101% Tuvaluan, good, but you can't find a job here in New Zealand, can't survive'. In this, Toma\* identifies how 'successful' resettlement is predicated upon assimilating to the neoliberal and individualised lifestyles of Aotearoa New Zealand (cf. Bertram, 2012). These conflict with the social values of reciprocity and togetherness which guide economic and social relationships in Kiribati and Tuvalu (Dixon, 2017; Malua, 2014).

In the face of adversity, communities become the 'strong winds' (Figure 1, phase 1D) that guide Kiribati and Tuvaluan wayfinders through cultural and institutional non-recognition. Family, church and community groups fill gaps in resettlement support (Namoori-Sinclair, 2020) by offering assistance with immigration, housing or employment. Support extends to spiritual well-being, wherein churches and gatherings create spaces for spiritual encouragement and the transmission of religious values. Communities also act as social support, providing childcare, food parcels, financial assistance, and emotional support (see also Gillard & Dyson, 2012; Siose, 2017), as Emeri\* (Kiribati, women's maroro; Table 1) describes:... *living in a community way really helps us to, you know, to be I-Kiribati...We have our own programmes, like we dance, we host, just sitting together, we don't talk, we feel, you know like, relief and healed. But mainly the language and the practices like dancing and proper etiquette.*

Coming together in community, speaking the language and engaging in cultural practices gives Kiribati women strength, healing, and respite from the pressures of resettlement. Strong social ties can be invaluable during climate crises, as migrants can lean on their communities to alleviate the mental health and material burdens of resettlement (Torres & Casey, 2017).

In this regard, all community members are more than just passive recipients of care (Figure 1, phase 1E; cf. Groot et al., 2011). Contrary to the rhetoric which devalues Pacific peoples and the climate-displaced as vulnerable 'welfare burdens' (Allwood, 2013; p. 55.; Shea et al., 2020), community members work hard to elevate collective well-being and prosperity. Nui (Tuvalu, youth sautalaga; Table 1) conceptualises the role of the community through the fatele, a Tuvaluan group dance:

*And like, even the fatele, like our cultural dance, you can't do that alone. Like, it's a collective. Like that's our traditional dance. And that just speaks to me volumes of who we are as community, like you can't do a fatele by yourself like you can't do a solo. That doesn't exist [laughter].*

Similar to the fatele, everybody in the Tuvaluan community works together to uplift the peace, harmony and well-being of the collective. On top of countless hours of unpaid work and volunteering to care for their families, communities and islands, Kiribati and Tuvaluan community members work doggedly in paid labour to pave the way for future generations to prosper. However, many feel that their hard work and determination goes unacknowledged. Not only is the economic value of Pacific peoples' unpaid work underestimated (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2021), but the roles of irregular migrants ('overstayers') are erased, as Uelese and Toma\* (Tuvalu, men's sautalaga; Table 1) explain below.

*Uelese: It's their second home, no matter if they're overstayers.*

*Toma\*: ... But the sad thing, too, they've been contributing to the economy of New Zealand since way, way back, they were here like 30 years back. They've been the backbone of the economy... And now we just ignore them.*

These men point out how irregular migrants' informal status often overshadows their social and economic contributions to their communities, echoing the Dawn Raids era (Anae, 2020). Capitalistic and populist rhetoric makes social acceptance conditional upon legality and economic productivity (Nowicka, 2018; Stanley, 2021), translating the lives of irregular migrants into social and economic threats. Toma\* and Uelese counter that irregular migrants merit the same dignity and humanity as community members who carry formal visas.

### 3.2 | Regrowing roots

In the same way that early Pacific navigators transported root crops on their canoes for cultivation at their new landfall (Pollock, 2009), Kiribati and Tuvaluan wayfinders carry their roots—identities, cultures, languages and livelihoods and ties to place—on their wa or vaka to cultivate and (re)build a sense of belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand (Figure 1, phase 2; cf. Falefou, 2018). Elders are core knowledge holders who 'sow the seeds' (Figure 1, phase 2A; Agee & Culbertson, 2013) of their faiths, languages and cultural heritages for their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Toma\* and Uelese (Tuvalu, men's sautalaga; Table 1) depict grandparents as puka trees who shelter roosting sea birds, the family, in their branches (Figure 1, phase 2A).

*Toma\*: In our culture we call it like a big tree, like a puka, a puka is like a big tree in Tuvalu. And all the birds, they come and they live there in the different branches. Once the puka tree fell (sic) down, then they start flying away. So, in our words, if the old grandparent is not anymore in the house, then there's no more coming back because they're flying away. ... we call it, Uelese? Oh, 'ka siga te puka.'*

*Uelese: Ka siga te puka.*

In this Tuvaluan saying, Toma\* and Uelese depict that having elders re-join their families in Aotearoa New Zealand can bring a sense of wholeness as families can stay connected and grandchildren can be taught to live harmonious lives. However, Aotearoa New Zealand's residency pathways devalue eldership by preferencing age and productive capacity (cf. Immigration New Zealand, 2021). Some elders were highly respected on their home islands but were unable to get PR because of their age. Nonetheless, they remain valuable members of their communities 'even though we know they're overstayers' (Lilipeti\*, Tuvalu, women's sautalaga; Table 1) because of their roles in uplifting family and community well-being.

Other community relationships provide 'fertile soil' for connecting people to their roots and regrowing a sense of belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand (Figure 1, phase 2B). Although most community members long to return to their fenua or te aba (either to visit or long-term), for first-generation migrants, community acts as a transnational 'home-away-from-home', like Naomi, Charles and Dr Janet (Kiribati, West Auckland maroro; Table 1) outline:

*Naomi: We leave all our families in the islands. And so, when we come to the community, I feel that, I belong, you know?*

*Charles: Sense of belonging.*

*Naomi: Yeah, it is very nice that I have friends. Well, friends become families, in the community.... It's just not that, I come from a different island...*

*Dr Janet: We become one family.... So it's like a home.*

For Dr Janet, Charles and Naomi, their community is a home built upon shared bonds to Kiribati and the reordering of their identities into te kainga (extended family). In community, I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans can live out te katei ni Kiribati (the Kiribati way) or faka Tuvalu (in the style of Tuvalu, Yoshida, 2015) and (re)build ties to their lands and identities.

In community, community members can also speak Kiribati or Tuvaluan languages and strengthen ties to their roots (Figure 1, phase 2C). Below, Emeri\* (Kiribati, women's maroro; Table 1) explains the power of hearing te taetae ni Kiribati (the Kiribati language):

*Straight away, [the women] appreciate you, because you, you talk to them in our ... language. You use the, the most powerful word. Mauri, ko rabwa, thank you. So mauri is like knowing and accepting that this is a Kiribati person.*

In this excerpt, the women relate how speaking their language affirms and respects their dignity as I-Kiribati. The Kiribati and Tuvaluan languages embody the interconnectedness of identity, people, culture, and land. For instance, in Tuvalu, the fanua (placenta) is planted in the fenua (land) (Falefou, 2018); in Kiribati, te aba (Kiribati) signifies both people and land (Teaiwa, 2014). When community members speak in the Kiribati or Tuvaluan languages, they uphold their ways-of-being, knowledges, genealogical ties, and connections to land. However, climate change complicates ties between language and identity, as Nui (Tuvalu, youth sautalaga; Table 1) identifies

*If we don't continue to speak about our culture and how things are or continue to teach the younger generation the language, then, what is going to happen to Tuvalu and the culture itself? Like, yes I'm Tuvaluan, and me not being able to speak Tuvaluan fluently doesn't make me any less Tuvaluan. But, if we don't have a home to go back to, if we don't have our elders to teach us the ways...then where does Tuvalu sit in like 50 years?*

Although Nui and the other Tuvaluan youth did not see fluency as contingent to their authenticity as Tuvaluan, they understood the importance of language investment in light of the existential threat of climate change (Suliman et al., 2019). Many Pacific youth are apprehensive about the loss of their Pacific languages, which battle for their existence within monolingual structures (Samu et al., 2019; p. 131). For many I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans, the climate crisis heightens this struggle, as speaking their language is understood as a critical component of their resistance against the degradation of their lands and identities. Moreover, being a 'minority in a minority' (Figure 1, phase 2D) can hinder the growth of language, culture and identity. Nui went on to explain:

*You are Tuvaluan... but you're also part of the Westernised culture. Like, you have to fit into that. And then, you, you're not the default... And within, we're a minority, within the minority, like within the Pacific, like, Pacific group, Tuvalu, like cause we're also Tokelauan. So it's like a little dot trying to find your way through. There's a lot of noise.*

She references how Eurocentric social systems in Aotearoa New Zealand can limit New Zealand-born or -raised Tuvaluans from growing in their identities and cultures. Not only excluded from Palagi spaces, which were 'not built for you', I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans can feel crowded out by larger Pacific communities. Matika (Kiribati, youth maroro) felt she needed to shift her identity to facilitate acceptance: "[My friends] always say, 'Where you from?' I always say, 'I'm from Sāmoa.' Cause I always want to be cool with them. But now I'm proud to say I'm Kiribati." Matika expressed having felt invisible as I-Kiribati but eventually coming to resist perspectives of smallness (Hau'ofa, 1994) of Kiribati and embrace her roots.

Navigating belonging is not straightforward for many Pacific youth. Like Matika above, many contend with complex socio-cultural environments and political structures which can marginalise smaller Pacific communities

(Mila, 2012; Samu et al., 2019). Yet through relationships with the migrant generation, they can “reconnect with their stories” (Lilipeti\*, women's sautalaga; Table 1) and develop pride in their unique identities.

### 3.3 | Charting a course for future generations

Once Kiribati and Tuvaluan community members have established roots in Aotearoa New Zealand, they begin to chart courses forward for future I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans to flourish (see Figure 1, phase 3). Their aspirations for the next phase of their mobility journeys are interlaced with a plurality of climate change beliefs (Figure 1, phase 1A), as they held diverse frameworks for responding to observed environmental degradation. The Kiribati women below (women's maroro; Table 1) combined Western and Indigenous ontologies.

*Teima\*: [Kiribati] won't sink.*

*Emeri\*: It won't. It won't. It's not like the titanic. [laughter]. Yeah. Because – and maybe because it's a superstitious thing, you know, compared to the knowledge of science and the study, but we strongly believe that...it will always be there. And our culture won't disappear.*

They attribute sea-level rise to greenhouse gases and hydrological modifications, alongside believing accounts of Kiribati's permanence inherited from their ancestors. But, ‘no matter how much it is destroyed’, they remain optimistic about Kiribati's adaptive capacity and hopeful about future return (cf. Roman, 2013).

For others, first- or second-hand observations of extreme weather events corroborated “what the science says” (Vaeluaga, Tuvalu, elders' sautalaga; Table 1). The majority of community members regard climate change as a severe and irreversible threat, leading some to believe that climate migration was inevitable, although they expect many people, especially elders, to choose to remain (cf. Farbotko & McMichael, 2019). Tito migrated after witnessing his ancestors' ‘bones [be] literally tossed about by the typhoon’ which ‘was the last straw that broke the camel's back’. Vaeluaga stressed that ‘[Tito's] still crying out for amnesty. Such an issue, this is the main obstacle in terms of settling down here in New Zealand’. Tito's experiences of climate change and living undocumented in Aotearoa New Zealand guide his conviction that climate mobility is a present reality, believing that Aotearoa New Zealand must open avenues to climate-related residency.

Nonetheless, most community members feel that they lack sufficient knowledge to determine whether their islands would remain habitable, producing uncertain boundaries of the future (Figure 1, phase 3B). Different imagined futures weigh heavily upon their hearts as they worry about their loved ones' safety, question the possibility of return, are unsure about the future of their place-based identities and cultural heritages, and doubt the political will to protect their continued existence. Nui (Tuvalu, youth sautalaga; Table 1) reflected upon the future of Tuvalu, saying:

*I am like preparing myself to, like, be ready to know that it's not going to be the way that it was, different areas are going to be beautiful, because they're going to be developed, but also the areas that I loved as a child playing, that's non-existent.*

Nui was deeply saddened by the prospects for beloved places, people and land, but was encouraged by Tuvalu's potential to evolve, adapt and rise. Although fear, anger and despair are common responses to anticipated loss (Yates et al., 2021), many Kiribati and Tuvaluan community members did not feel helpless. Nia\* (Tuvalu, youth sautalaga; Table 1) maintained that ‘[w]e can do all we can do in preparation, so that on our end, so that if they do decide to come, if our people do decide to come, that they can do it and not have that baggage.’ Like Nia\*, the

communities see these uncertainties as windows to prepare their hearts, homes and national policies so that people can migrate without shame and with dignity.

Looking ahead, most community members are certain that they will carry their islands with them (Figure 1, phase 3C). Amid the dual threats of assimilation and climate change, some I-Kiribati and Tuvaluan elders are concerned that their place-based knowledges, languages and cultures would fade into dominant (Palagi) lifeways (cf. Orafa, 2019). Some researchers speculate that climate mobility will sever ties to Pacific peoples' homelands and eventually their intangible cultural heritage (e.g., McNamara et al., 2021; Pearson et al., 2021). But as Emeri\* explained on behalf of the Kiribati women (women's maroro; Table 1):

*Some people feared that if they are relocated to another country, maybe our ways as I-Kiribati will be ... no, overturned, overcome[d sic] by the country we, we transferred to, or relocated to aye. But, it is important for our language and culture to remain. And it's us to do that.*

Emeri\* asserted that cultural loss is not a given, as long the Kiribati communities remain collectively committed to keeping their language and culture afloat. Young and old alike share a sense of responsibility to carry on their legacies. As if speaking to her elders in Tuvalu, Nui (Tuvalu, youth sautalaga; Table 1) insisted that:

*If you leave, you take Tuvalu with you. Like, you take that in your blood, you take that through next generations that are going to come. ... Like, yes, our homeland is going to be gone. But, we as Tuvaluans will carry our culture with us.*

Drawing upon their experiences of acculturation, many youth like Nui believe that successive generations—rather than land itself—will become the vessels that carry ties to their lands and cultures, wherever the winds blow them. Often, imagined futures of climate catastrophe and loss can obscure communities' capacities for resilience and adaptation (Barnett & McMichael, 2018; Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012). However, as Campbell (2010) reminds us, “venturing on routes does not suggest the loss of roots” (p. 63), despite being separated from fenua or te aba. The Kiribati and Tuvaluan communities are currently using a range of adaptive strategies to reinforce their cultural identities while in Aotearoa New Zealand (cf. Yoshida, 2015). Alongside a commitment to participating in community, they are developing resources such as bilingual children's books and online communities to promote and cultivate pride in their diverse languages and cultures.

Furthermore, the communities are (re)asserting their dignity (Figure 1, phase 3D). For the Tuvaluan community, this entails extending their reach: unlocking spaces for young Tuvaluans to succeed in education and employment, showcasing their strength, humility, and resilience, and calling for (climate) mobility justice grounded in dignity rather than pity. Meli\* and Nia\* (Tuvalu, youth sautalaga; Table 1) express this below in their visions for migration.

*Meli\*: And I would hope that if the time comes my, like, our people are welcomed ... And they treat it like they have their dignity, and yeah, not being pitied, and being like, 'Oh, yeah, we're helping you.'*

*Nia\*: ...'Cause really, like, our people are more than capable of helping themselves.*

The Kiribati communities are embracing their growing visibility in Aotearoa New Zealand (see Stats New Zealand, 2018), rejecting climate-related precarity, and stressing their tenacity, independence and the richness of their language and culture. As Kiata\* and Mateata portray:

*Kiata\*: 'Cause when we go to other places and they say, 'Where are you from?' And we say, 'Kiribati,' and they don't know where that places is. And now they're slowly knowing, like, 'Oh so you're the sinking island!' And we go, 'No, not the sinking island!'*

*Mateata: There's so much more to that sinking island [laughter]. Get your facts right!*

For these Kiribati youth (youth maroro; Table 1), migrating with dignity involves being seen—but on their terms. More than symbolic recognition of their right to belong, the Kiribati communities want tangible pathways to residency coupled with financial support for language and cultural maintenance. As such, reasserting dignity disrupts vulnerabilising tropes of pity (Head, 2020), smallness (Hau'ofa, 1994) and sinking islands (Farbotko, 2010) which tend to render Pacific lands, peoples—and histories of structural injustice—invisible.

## 4 | CONCLUSION

The gap between present migration indignities and migration *with* dignity provides an opportunity to restory climate mobility. When climate mobility is seen as a dynamic *wa* or *vaka* journey, migration with dignity (Tong, 2014) is understood as a circular movement between wayfinders' ancestral lands and their physical homes which affirms and sustains their ways-of-being. Kiribati and Tuvaluan migrants uproot their lives to test the waters in another country, wondering if they will be able to regrow their roots abroad and hoping that they will be able to return. Immigration, assimilation and climate-related obstacles can move community members into economic and cultural precarity, undermining their well-being, future hopes, and identities, cultures and languages. However, the communities collectively provided shelter from waves of adversity. Anchored in community, I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans could carry their identities with them to cultivate a transnational sense of rootedness and resist the 'absolute loss' of dignity-sustaining relationships to land (cf. Johnson et al., 2021; Pearson et al., 2021; Suliman et al., 2019).

Nonetheless, the Kiribati and Tuvaluan communities' journeys exemplify how borders can amplify climate-related precarity (Bates-Eamer, 2019). By dichotomising the deserving, legal migrant and the undeserving, illegal 'overstay', wayfinders pursuing climate protection can 'fall through the cracks' (C. Enoka, personal communication, March 29, 2021) of neoliberal economic and immigration systems. Their rights to residency, social support and cultural continuity become defined not by their climate exposure but by their productive capacity. This narcissistic humanitarianism devolves the state of responsibility for supporting the climate-displaced while perpetuating the colonial exploitation and commodification of Pacific bodies (cf. Enoka, 2019; Tabe, 2019). Without visas or compassion to support their resettlement burdens, wayfinders can land in precarious employment, illegality or social marginalisation and be denied full community participation (cf. Bates-Eamer, 2019; Offner & Marlowe, 2021; Stanley, 2021). Considering how visa issues and minoritisation compound the indignities of resettlement, it is unsurprising that many I-Kiribati and Tuvaluans want to remain in their homelands (e.g., Corcoran, 2016; Falefou, 2018).

However, centring I-Kiribati and Tuvaluan views of mobility reveals that indignity is not a given. Linkages between land and people, *te aba* and *te aba*, *fenua* and *fanua*, persist even when separated from land (cf. Haili'ōpua Baker et al., 2016; Suliman et al., 2019). Consequently, the Kiribati and Tuvaluan communities can respond to affronts to their dignity by drawing strength from their roots and reclaiming and embracing the fullness of their cultural values and practices (cf. Barlo, 2016; Daly & May, 2019). The communities are already acting to dismantle immigration obstacles and secure the material, cultural and spiritual well-being of current and future generations that climate breakdown, migration and precarity threaten to erode (cf. Johnson et al., 2021). They are also challenging shame and victimhood to determine for themselves who deserves dignity and what it means to live with well-being, *te maiu raoi* (The Kiribati Working Group, 2015) or *te ola lei* (Panapa, 2012) as communities of worth (cf. Daly & May, 2019). Affirming their dignity within policy could further support their efforts to uplift collective harmony and well-being. Migration with dignity would equip communities to steer their own *wa* or *vaka* through future climate uncertainties. It would value all lives—including those of elders and irregular migrants—and the preservation of ancestral knowledges and languages over employability. And more than symbolic recognition of their worth, it would include amnesty for irregular migrants, wraparound resettlement support



(cf. Farbotko et al., 2022; McClain et al., 2022), funding for community initiatives, and legal options for accessing permanent residency (e.g., Farbotko et al., 2022; Heyward & Ödalen, 2016; Matias, 2020; McCarney & Kent, 2020).

Acknowledging the inherent worth of Pacific wayfinders invites states to reimagine their plans for climate mobility. Through listening to its multilateral partners, the New Zealand Government has redirected its focus from forced migration towards supporting in situ climate adaptation, resilience and disaster preparedness in the Pacific (e.g., Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2021; Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2020; IOM, 2019; UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement, 2021). Nonetheless, it recognises climate mobility as a "potential, future phenomenon" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2021; p. 5) and considers existing schemes, like the permanent PAC and temporary RSE, as 'sufficiently flexible' (p. 6) to respond to the issue. However, top-down approaches which disregard existing climate mobility, overlook prevailing social and immigration issues and exclude Pacific voices risk being maladaptive (cf. Johnson et al., 2021). As we have identified, some Tuvaluans and I-Kiribati are already migrating in part because of current or future climate risks. Situating climate mobility in the future (see also Ioane Teitiota v New Zealand, 2020) denies protection to such migrants who are pre-emptively moving in anticipation of intensifying ecological and economic challenges (cf. Barnett & McMichael, 2018). Moreover, expanding defective immigration frameworks could repeat the mistakes of exploitative colonial relocations (see Tabe, 2019), magnifying the power imbalances which marginalise frontline communities while compounding climate-related precarity. Alternatively, states, regional actors and Pacific communities can circumvent obstacles to well-being by co-planning for mobility. In this, Pacific knowledge systems can guide the development of culturally-specific, whole-of-community protection for climate migrants.

Critically, when climate mobility is viewed through the lenses of those on the frontlines of the climate crisis, the value and urgency of emissions reductions becomes self-evident. Inherent in *te wa or te vaka*-centred response to mobility is the recognition that the journey is circular, that the communities will always be oriented towards home. A focus on resettling climate migrants without climate action deems migration as inevitable and ties to land as inconsequential. Yet, the continued existence of *te aba* and *te fenua* reminds the Kiribati and Tuvaluan diasporas of the power in their identities and the inviolability of their dignity. It remains to be seen how climate migrants will relate to their motherland as climate change intensifies, but as long as she is still there, the land will always call them home.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to acknowledge the Kiribati and Tuvaluan community elders whose knowledge and wisdom guided this article. We also thank our Pacific Advisory Board, the Tuvalu Auckland Community Trust, the New Zealand Kiribati National Council, West Auckland Kiribati Association, and the Auckland Kiribati Society Incorporated for their input and support. We thank Samantha Yates for her design assistance, and Pita King who provided advice and suggestions. This study was partially funded by the New Zealand Psychological Society. Open access publishing facilitated by The University of Auckland, as part of the Wiley - The University of Auckland agreement via the Council of Australian University Librarians.

## CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

## DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Due to the nature of this study, participants of this study requested their data not to be shared publicly, so supporting data is not available.

## ORCID

Olivia E. T. Yates  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6025-6911>

Shiloh Groot  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4416-0674>

## PEER REVIEW STATEMENT

The peer review history for this article is available at <https://publons.com/publon/10.1002/jcop.22928>

## REFERENCES

- Aselu, B. (n.d.) A Tuvaluan concept of well-being: Reflection on national planning-Te Kakeega II. [Master's Thesis]. Auckland University of Technology.
- Agee, M. N., & Culbertson, P. (2013). Sowing the seeds: Parents' and grandparents' influences in the identity development of 'Afakasi young people. In M. Agee, T. McIntosh, P. Culbertson, & C. Makasiale (Eds.), *Pacific identities and well-being: Cross-cultural perspectives*. Otago University Press.
- Allwood, J. (2013). How climate change displaces Pacific Island settlements and the public's perception of large scale migration. [Master's Thesis]. The University of Waikato.
- Anae, M. (2004). From kava to coffee: The 'browning of Auckland'. In I. Carter, D. Craig, & S. Matthewman (Eds.), *Almighty Auckland* (pp. 1–20). Dunmore Press.
- Anae, M. (2010). Research for better pacific schooling in New Zealand: Teu le va - a Samoan perspective. *MAI Review*, 1(1), 25.
- Anae, M. (2020, October 18). The Terror of the Dawn Raids. E Tangata. <https://e-tangata.co.nz/history/the-terror-of-the-dawn-raids/>
- Arcidiacono, C., & Di Martino, S. (2016). A critical analysis of happiness and well-being. Where we stand now, where we need to go. *Community Psychology in Global Perspective*, 2(1), <https://doi.org/10.1285/i24212113v2i1p6>
- Auckland Council. (n.d.). Auckland's population. <https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/plans-projects-policies-reports-bylaws/our-plans-strategies/auckland-plan/about-the-auckland-plan/Pages/aucklands-population.aspx>
- Barlo, S. (2016). Can the impacts of colonisation on the dignity of Aboriginal men be reversed? [Doctoral thesis]. Southern Cross University. <https://researchportal.scu.edu.au/esploro/outputs/doctoral/Can-the-impacts-of-colonisation-on/991012821543002368>
- Barnett, J., & McMichael, C. (2018). The effects of climate change on the geography and timing of human mobility. *Population and Environment*, 39(4), 339–356. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11111-018-0295-5>
- Bates-Eamer, N. (2019). Border and migration controls and migrant precarity in the context of climate change. *Social Sciences*, 8(7), 198. <https://doi.org/10.3390/SOCSCI8070198>
- Bertram, G. (2012). Trade and exchange. Economic links between the Pacific and New Zealand in the twentieth century, *Tangata o le Moana: New Zealand and the people of the pacific* (pp. 201–220). Te Papa Press.
- Bishop, R. (Ed.). (2011). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial dominance in research: A Kaupapa Māori approach to creating knowledge, *Freeing ourselves* (pp. 1–30). Sense Publishers.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2019). Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis. *Qualitative Research in Sport*, 11(4), 589–597. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1628806>
- Brinkmann, S. (2014). Doing without Q4 data. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 20(6), 720–725. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414530254>
- Campbell, J. (2010). Climate-induced community relocation in the Pacific: The meaning and importance of land. In J. McAdam (Ed.), *Climate change and displacement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (56–79). Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Chung-Do, J. J., Look, M. A., Mabellos, T., Trask-Batti, M., Burke, K., & Mala Mau, M. K. L. (2016). Engaging Pacific Islanders in research: Community recommendations. *Progress in Community Health Partnerships: Research, Education, and Action*, 10(1), 63–71. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cpr.2016.0002>
- Clifford, J. (2001). Indigenous articulations. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13(2), 468–490. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23717600>
- Colucci, E. (2008). On the use of focus groups in cross-cultural research. In P. Liamputtong (Ed.), *Doing cross-cultural research* (pp. 233–252). Springer Science + Business Media B.V.
- Connell, J. (2012). Population resettlement in the Pacific: Lessons from a hazardous history. *Australian Geographer*, 43(2), 127–142. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2012.682292>
- Corcoran, J. (2016). Implications of climate change for the livelihoods of urban dwellers in Kiribati. [PhD thesis]. University of Waikato.
- Daly, E., & May, J. R. (2019). Exploring environmental justice through the lens of human dignity. *Widener Law Review*, 25(2), 177–194.
- Dei, G. J. S., Karanja, W., & Erger, G. (2022). Land as indigenous epistemology, *Elders' cultural knowledges and the question of Black/African indigeneity in education* (pp. 113–126). [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-84201-7\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-84201-7_5)
- Dixon, K. (2017). Circumstances of a Pacific atoll people in diaspora: A retrospective analysis of I-Nikunau. [Paper presentation] Experiencing Pacific Environments: 11th Conference of the European Society for Oceanists, Munich.
- Enoka, A. J. (2019). Under the gaze: A study of the portrayal by the New Zealand print media of Pacific Island workers in the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme, 2007–2012.[Doctoral Thesis]. Massey University.

- Evans, S. D., Duckett, P., Lawthom, R., & Kivell, N. (2017). Positioning the critical in community psychology. In M. Bond, I. Serrano-Garcia, C. Keys, & M. Shinn (Eds.), *APA handbook of community psychology: Theoretical foundations, core concepts, and emerging challenges* (pp. 107–127). American Psychological Association. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14953-005>
- Falefou, T. (2018). Toku Tia: Tuvalu and the impacts of climate change. [Doctoral thesis]. The University of Waikato.
- Farbotko, C. (2010). Wishful sinking: Disappearing islands, climate refugees and cosmopolitan experimentation. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 51(1), 47–60. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8373.2010.001413.x>
- Farbotko, C., Kitara, T., Dun, O., & Evans, C. (2022). A climate justice perspective on international labour migration and climate change adaptation among Tuvaluan workers. *Oxford Open Climate Change*, 2(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfclm/kgac002>
- Farbotko, C., & McMichael, C. (2019). Voluntary immobility and existential security in a changing climate in the Pacific. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 60(2), 148–162. <https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.12231>
- Farbotko, C., McMichael, C., Dun, O., Ransan-Cooper, H., McNamara, K. E., & Thornton, F. (2018). Transformative mobilities in the Pacific: Promoting adaptation and development in a changing climate. *Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies*, 5(3), 393–407. <https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.254>
- Farrelly, T., & Nabobo-Baba, U. (2014). Talanoa as empathic apprenticeship. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 55(3), 319–330. <https://doi.org/10.1111/APV.12060>
- Fernandes-Jesus, M., Barnes, B. R., Farias Diniz, R., & Barnes, B. (2020). Communities reclaiming power and social justice in the face of climate change. *Community Psychology in Global Perspective*, 6(2), 1–21.
- Finney, B. R. (2003). *Sailing in the wake of the ancestors: Reviving Polynesian voyaging*. Bishop Museum.
- Fletcher, J., Parkhill, F., Fa'afai, A., & Morton, M. (2006). Poto he anga: Collaboration and consultation in Pasifika research. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 6(1), 36–50. <https://doi.org/10.1108/14439883200600003>
- Gillard, M., & Dyson, L. (2012). *Kiribati migration to New Zealand: Experience, needs and aspirations*. Impact Research. [http://presbyterian.org.nz/sites/default/files/gmo/kiribati/-Kiribati\\_migration\\_to\\_New\\_Zealand.pdf](http://presbyterian.org.nz/sites/default/files/gmo/kiribati/-Kiribati_migration_to_New_Zealand.pdf)
- Groot, S., Hodgetts, D., Nikora, L. W., & Leggat-Cook, C. (2011). A Māori homeless woman. *Ethnography*, 12(3), 375–397. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138110393794>
- Haili'ōpua Baker, T., Mazer, S., & Looser, D. (2016). 'The Vessel will Embrace us': Contemporary Pacific voyaging in Oceanic theatre. *Performance Research*, 21(2), 40–49. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13528165.2016.1162518>
- Hau'ofa, E. (1994). Our sea of islands. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 6(1), 148–161. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23701593>
- Hau'ofa, E. (2008). *We are the Ocean: Selected works*. *We are the Ocean*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Havea, J. (2007). The vanua is fo'ohake [the land is lying on its back]. In J. Webb, & K. Nandan (Eds.), *Writing the Pacific: An anthology* (pp. 49–54). Pacific Writing Forum. <https://researchoutput.csu.edu.au/en/publications/the-vanua-is-foohake-the-land-is-lying-on-its-back>
- Head, N. (2020). Sentimental politics or structural injustice? The ambivalence of emotions for political responsibility. *International Theory*, 12(3), 337–357.
- Heyward, C., & Ödalen, J. (2016). A free movement passport for the territorially dispossessed. In C. Heyward & D. Roser (Eds.), *Climate justice in a non-ideal world* (pp. 208–226). <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198744047.003.0011>
- Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Tankel, Y., & Groot, S. (2014). Looking within and beyond the community: Lessons learned by researching, theorising and acting to address urban poverty and health. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 19(1), 97–102. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105313500250>
- Hodgetts, D., Rua, M., Groot, S., Hopner, V., Drew, N., King, P., & Blake, D. (2021). Relational ethics meets principled practice in community research engagements to understand and address homelessness. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 50, 1980–1992. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22586>
- Howe, K. R. (2007). *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the ancestors: The discovery and settlement of the Pacific*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Human Rights Measurement Initiative. (2021a). Kiribati. *The Rights Tracker*. <https://rightstracker.org/en/country/KIR>
- Human Rights Measurement Initiative. (2021b). Tuvalu. *The Rights Tracker*. <https://rightstracker.org/en/country/TUV>
- Immigration New Zealand. (2011). *New Zealand visas*. Immigration New Zealand. <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/new-zealand-visas>
- International Organisation for Migration (IOM). (2019). *Enhancing protection and empowerment of migrants and communities affected by climate change and disasters in the Pacific region* (PCCMHS). <https://environmentalmigration.iom.int/pccmhs-enhancing-protection-and-empowerment-migrants-and-communities-affected-climate-change-and-disasters-pacific-region>
- Ioane Teitiota v New Zealand (2020). UNHRC CCPR/C/127/D/2728/2016.

- Johnson, D., Parsons, M., & Fisher, K. (2021). Engaging Indigenous perspectives on health, wellbeing and climate change. A new research agenda for holistic climate action in Aotearoa and beyond. *Local Environment*, 26(4), 477–503. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2021.1901266>
- Jolly, M. (2001). On the edge? Deserts, oceans, islands. *Contemporary Pacific*, 13(2), 417–466. <https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2001.0055>
- Kupferberg, J. S. (2021). Migration and dignity—Relocation and adaptation in the face of climate change displacement in the Pacific—A human rights perspective. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 25, 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2021.1889515>
- Lala, J. M. (2015). A phenomenological exploration of the psychological impacts of climate change: A focus on Funafuti, Tuvalu. [PhD. thesis]. University of the South Pacific.
- Māhina, H. O. (2008). From Vale (ignorance) to 'ilo (knowledge) to Poto (skill) the Tongan theory of Ako (education): Theorising old problems anew. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 4(1), 67–96. <https://doi.org/10.1177/117718010800400108>
- Malua, S. (2014). *The Tuvalu community in Auckland: A focus on health and migration*. The Transnational Pacific Health through the Lens of Tuberculosis Research Group. <https://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/arts/subjects/anthropology/Malua>.
- Manuela, S., & Anae, M. (2017). Pacific youth, acculturation and identity: the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being. *Journal of Interdisciplinary*, 1(1), 129–147. <https://doi.org/10.26021/896>
- Matias, D. M. S. (2020). Climate humanitarian visa: International migration opportunities as post-disaster humanitarian intervention. *Climatic Change*, 160(1), 143–156. <https://doi.org/10.1007/S10584-020-02691-9>
- McAdam, J. (2020). Protecting people displaced by the impacts of climate change: The UN human rights committee and the principle of non-refoulement. *American Journal of International Law*, 114(4), 708–725. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ajil.2020.31>
- McCarney, R., & Kent, J. (2020). Forced displacement and climate change: Time for global governance. *International Journal*, 75(4), 652–661. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020702020968944>
- McClain, S. N., Bruch, C., Daly, E., May, J., Hamada, Y., Maekawa, M., Shiiba, N., Nakayama, M., & Tsiokanou, G. (2022). Migration with dignity: A legal and policy framework. *Journal of Disaster Research*, 17(3), 292–300. <https://doi.org/10.20965/jdr.2022.p0292>
- McCrudden, C. (2008). Human dignity and judicial interpretation of human rights. *European Journal of International Law*, 19(4), 655–724. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chn043>
- McMichael, C., Farbotko, C., Piggott-McKellar, A., Powell, T., & Kitara, M. (2021). Rising seas, immobilities, and translocality in small island states: Case studies from Fiji and Tuvalu. *Population and Environment*, 43, 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11111-021-00378-6>
- McNamara, K. E., & Farbotko, C. (2017). Resisting a 'doomed' fate: An analysis of the Pacific climate warriors. *Resisting a 'Doomed' Fate: An Analysis of the Pacific Climate Warriors*, 48(1), 17–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00049182.2016.1266631>
- McNamara, K. E., Westoby, R., & Chandra, A. (2021). Exploring climate-driven non-economic loss and damage in the Pacific Islands. *Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability*, 50, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.COSUST.2020.07.004>
- Menjívar, C., & Abrego, L. J. (2012). Legal violence: Immigration law and the lives of Central American immigrants. *American Journal of Sociology*, 117(5), 1380–1421. <https://doi.org/10.1086/663575>
- Mila, K. (2012). Not another New Zealand-born identity crisis: Well-being and the politics of belonging. In M. Agee, T. McIntosh, P. Culbertson, & C. Ofa (Eds.), *Pacific identities and well-being: Cross-cultural perspectives*. Routledge.
- Ministry for Pacific Peoples. (2021). Pacific economy research report on unpaid work and volunteering in Aotearoa. <https://www.mpp.govt.nz/assets/Reports/Pacific-Economy-Research-Report-on-Unpaid-Work-and-Volunteering-in-Aotearoa.pdf>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2021). *Climate migration bundle for OIAs* (OIA 27038).
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Trade, Tourism, Environment and Labour. (2011). Te Kaniva: Tuvalu national climate change policy 2012–2021. <https://reliefweb.int/report/tuvalu/te-kaniva-tuvalu-national-climate-change-policy-2012-2021>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Trade, Tourism, Environment and Labour. (2014). Tuvalu national labour migration policy. <https://www.unescap.org/resources/tuvalu-national-labour-migration-policy>
- Namoori-Sinclair, R. (2020). The impact of PAC policy on Pacific women's health and wellbeing: The experiences of Kiribati migrants. [PhD thesis]. Victoria University of Wellington.
- Neef, A., & Bengel, L. (2022). Shifting responsibility and denying justice: New Zealand's contentious approach to Pacific climate mobilities. *Regional Environmental Change*, 22(3), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10113-022-01951-x>
- Nguyen, H., & Kenkel, D. (2021). Taleni seki atagina: Te akasakiga o kaaga Tuvalu seki nofo tumau iluga i Aotearoa Niusila/ Hidden gems: Lived experiences of Tuvaluan hope seekers and their families in Aotearoa New Zealand. Unitec.

<https://www.unitec.ac.nz/sites/default/files/public/documents/Tuvalu%20project%20report%20FINAL-13.12.2021.pdf>

- Nowicka, M. (2018). Cultural precarity: Migrants' positionalities in the light of current anti-immigrant populism in Europe. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 39(5), 527–542. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2018.1508006>
- Offner, S., & Marlowe, J. (2021). Reconceptualising climate-induced displacement in the context of terminological uncertainty. *Environmental Hazards*, 20, 477–492. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17477891.2020.1867492>
- Ongley, P. (2013). Work and inequality in neoliberal New Zealand. *Sociology*, 28(3), 136–163. <https://doi.org/10.3316/INFORMIT.829505170021762>
- Orafa, S. (2019). *Climate refugees' desire to stay put* [Master's Thesis]. Universiteit Leiden. <https://studenttheses.universiteitleiden.nl/access/item%3A2626950/view>
- Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat. (2020). *Annual report 2020* (2309-3463). <https://www.forumsec.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Annual-Report-2020.pdf>
- Panapa, T. (2012). Ethnographic research on meanings and practices of health in Tuvalu: A community report to the Tuvaluan Ministries of Health and Education. The University of Auckland. <http://www.arts.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/social-research-on-tb-and-health>
- Pearson, J., Jackson, G., & McNamara, K. E. (2021). Climate-driven losses to indigenous and local knowledge and cultural heritage. *The Anthropocene Review*, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20530196211005482>
- Pollock, N. (2009). Food and transnationalism: Reassertions of Pacific identity. In H. Lee, & S. T. Francis (Eds.), *Migration and transnationalism pacific perspectives*. ANU E Press. [http://epress.anu.edu.au/migration\\_citation.html](http://epress.anu.edu.au/migration_citation.html)
- Ponton, V. (2018). Utilizing Pacific methodologies as inclusive practice. *SAGE Open*, 8(3), 215824401879296. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244018792962>
- Reynolds, M. (2019). Walking the Palagi/Pasifika edge: The va of mediated dialogic research. *Waikato Journal of Education*, 24(1), 33–42. <https://doi.org/10.15663/wje.v24i1.537>
- Roman, M. T. (2013). *Migration, transnationality, and climate change in the Republic of Kiribati*. [Doctoral Thesis]. University of Pittsburgh.
- Rua, M., Groot, S., Hodgetts, D., Nikora, L. W., Masters-Awatere, B., King, P., Karapu, R., & Robertson, N. (2021). Decoloniality in being Māori and community psychologists: Advancing an evolving and culturally-situated approach, In G. Stevens & C. C. Sonn (Eds.), *Decoloniality and epistemic justice in contemporary Community Psychology* (pp. 177–191). Springer.
- Samu, L.-J. V., Moewaka Barnes, H., Asiasiga, L., & McCreanor, T. (2019). "We are not privileged enough to have that foundation of language": Pasifika young adults share their deep concerns about the decline of their ancestral/heritage languages in Aotearoa New Zealand. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 15(2), 131–139. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1177180119835228>
- Shea, M. M., Painter, J., & Osaka, S. (2020). Representations of Pacific Islands and climate change in US, UK, and Australian newspaper reporting. *Climatic Change*, 161(1), 89–108. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-020-02674-w>
- Siose, L. (2017). Community perception on migration as an adaptation strategy to the impact of climate change in Tuvalu: The case of communities in Tuvalu and migrated communities in New Zealand. [Doctoral Thesis]. University of the South Pacific.
- Skillington, T. (2015). Climate justice without freedom: Assessing legal and political responses to climate change and forced migration. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 18(3), 288–307. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431015579967>
- Smith, R. (2013). Should they stay or should they go? A discourse analysis of factors influencing relocation decisions among the outer islands of Kiribati and Tuvalu. *Journal of New Zealand & Pacific Studies*, 1(1), 23–39. [https://doi.org/10.1386/nzps.1.1.23\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/nzps.1.1.23_1)
- Stanley, E. (2021). Climate crises and the creation of 'undeserving' victims. *Social Sciences*, 10(4), 144. <https://doi.org/10.3390/SOCS10040144>
- Stats New Zealand. (2018). Ethnic group summaries. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-ethnic-group-summaries>
- Suaalii-Sauni, T., & Fulu-Aiolupotea, S. M. (2014). Decolonising Pacific research, building Pacific research communities and developing Pacific research tools: The case of the talanoa and the faafaletui in Samoa. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 55(3), 331–344. <https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.12061>
- Suliman, S., Farbotko, C., Ransan-Cooper, H., Elizabeth McNamara, K., Thornton, F., McMichael, C., & Kitara, T. (2019). Indigenous (im)mobilities in the anthropocene. *Mobilities*, 14(3), 298–318. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2019.1601828>
- Tabe, T. (2019). Climate change migration and displacement: Learning from past relocations in the Pacific. *Social Sciences*, 8(7), 218. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci8070218>
- Teaiwa, K. M. (2014). *Consuming Ocean Island: Stories of people and phosphate from Banaba*. Indiana University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223344.2017.1281404>

- Teaiwa, T., & Launiuvao, J. (2015). Te wa, the canoe or the hokule'a of Kiribati. Amota Ataneka Merang. <https://kiribatidaily.wordpress.com/2015/04/02/te-wa-the-canoe-or-the-hokulea-of-kiribati/>
- The Kiribati Working Group. (2015). Boutokaan te mweeraoi: A Conceptual Framework for enhancing I-Kiribati wellbeing Guide on the use of the Kiribati Conceptual Framework La Tapu (Sacred Sail). <https://www.pasefikaproud.co.nz/assets/Resources-for-download/PasefikaProudResource-Nga-Vaka-o-Kaiga-Tapu-Pacific-Framework-Kiribati.pdf>
- Thornton, F., McNamara, K., Dun, O., Farbotko, C., McMichael, C., Yee, M., Coelho, S., Westbury, T., James, S., & Namoumou, F. (2020). Multiple mobilities in Pacific Islands communities. *Forced Migration Review*, 64, 32–35. <https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/issue64/Pacific-mobilities.pdf>
- Titz, A., Cannon, T., & Krüger, F. (2018). Uncovering 'community': challenging an elusive concept in development and disaster related work. *Societies*, 8(3), 71. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc8030071>
- Tong, A. (2014). Statement by H.E. President Anote Tong, 69th UNGA, 26th September 2014, 1–9. [https://www.un.org/en/ga/69/meetings/gadebate/pdf/KI\\_en.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/ga/69/meetings/gadebate/pdf/KI_en.pdf)
- Torres, J. M., & Casey, J. A. (2017). The centrality of social ties to climate migration and mental health. *BMC Public Health*, 17(1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-017-4508-0>
- Tualalelei, E., & McFall-McCaffery, J. (2019). The Pacific research paradigm: Opportunities and challenges. *MAI Journal*, 8(2), 188–204. <https://doi.org/10.20507/MAIJournal.2019.8.2.7>
- UN General Assembly. (1948). Universal declaration of human rights. *UN General Assembly*, 302(2), 14–25. <https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/udhr.pdf>
- UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement. (2021). Pacific regional consultation on internal displacement: Pacific perspectives and practices on climate change and disaster displacement. United Nations. [https://www.un.org/internal-displacement-panel/sites/www.un.org.internal-displacement-panel/files/record\\_of\\_discussions\\_hlp\\_internal\\_displacement\\_pacific\\_consultation\\_final.pdf](https://www.un.org/internal-displacement-panel/sites/www.un.org.internal-displacement-panel/files/record_of_discussions_hlp_internal_displacement_pacific_consultation_final.pdf)
- Uriam, K. K. (1983). *Te mau, te raoi ao te tabomoa: In search of a people's identity* [Doctoral thesis]. Pacific Theological College.
- Vaioleti, T. M. (2006). Talanoa research methodology: A developing position on Pacific research. *Waikato Journal of Education*, 12(1), 21–34. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Winter, C. J. (2019). Decolonising dignity for inclusive democracy. *Environmental Values*, 28(1), 9–30. <https://doi.org/10.3197/096327119X15445433913550>
- Yates, O. E. T., Manuela, S., Neef, A., & Groot, S. (2021). Reshaping ties to land: A systematic review of the psychosocial and cultural impacts of Pacific climate-related mobility. *Climate and Development*, 14, 250–267. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17565529.2021.1911775>
- Yoshida, M. (2015). Pacific diaspora: Mobility, transnationalism, and identity of Tuvalu. [Discussion Paper]. The Nansen Initiative.
- Zann, L. P. (1980). Survey of small fishing craft fisheries and effects of energy crisis in the South Pacific: Canoes of Tuvalu, Report 3. <http://digilib.library.usp.ac.fj/gsd/collect/moanare1/index/assoc/HASHfe26.dir/doc.pdf>

**How to cite this article:** Yates, O. E. T., Groot, S., Manuela, S., & Neef, A. (2023). "There's so much more to that sinking island!"—Restoring migration from Kiribati and Tuvalu to Aotearoa New Zealand. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 51, 924–944. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22928>