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**How climate change displaces Pacific Island settlements and the
public's perception of large scale migration**

A thesis

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James Allwood



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Abstract

Low lying Pacific Island countries are coming under threat from climate change. Island nations are suffering from the impacts of inundation, severe storms, droughts and shortages in fresh water. Climate change impacts are affecting daily life activities and are prompting Island nations to plan for the possibility of relocation. With climate change inducing human migration, this study has investigated how host nation people respond to possibly accommodating large Pacific Island communities.

A literature review was carried out to research climate change impacts in the Pacific islands, migration theories and cultural interaction. To support this, Semi structured interviews were conducted to gain insight from the host population. Upon conducting interviews, three major themes were found.

- 1) Host population want the migrant population to integrate with them and be part of their communities. They do not want migrants to isolate and segregate themselves and create cultural factions.
- 2) With facing the possibility of large numbers of migrants relocating they could create a welfare burden on New Zealand economy. This is because migrants could be unskilled or the New Zealand economy may struggle to find sufficient employment. Migrants may also group together in an area to create support networks and host population are apprehensive that this could create ethnic enclaves amongst communities.
- 3) Migrants should be treated like everyone else and should relocate to wherever they can find work. The maintenance of cultural traditions and identity for migrant groups would be difficult to keep from disintegrating when migrant communities are dispersed around New Zealand and relocated away from coastal environments.

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Chapter 1

Thesis Introduction

This thesis focuses on how New Zealand people receive the idea of migrants who could potentially be forced to move due to climate change impacts and reside in New Zealand; in particular, how willing the New Zealand public is to accept climate change migrants. Climate change may potentially result in forced migration from the Pacific Islands to various destinations in New Zealand in the future. I chose to focus on this topic because of the debates over the negative environmental impacts which can possibly be caused by climate change and how host nations might respond to incoming climate change migrants. Small Pacific Island nations such as Kiribati and Tuvalu are examples which have been highlighted in climate change literature as a result of increasing environmental pressures that are prompting consideration of measures to be taken. Measures such as partial or complete evacuation of whole Pacific Island communities are among adaptive methods which are being considered with coastal inundation being perceived as a major threat for small islands with large coastlines and low lying landscapes.

Purpose of research

This section states and describes the research questions that are being followed up in this thesis and the reasons for analysing the different points of focus. Firstly, what does the New Zealand public know about climate change in the Pacific Islands and what are the impacts that create migration? The purpose of this question is to seek answers on the impacts of climate change which can cause damage and can disrupt eco and human systems temporarily or permanently. The impacts of climate change are important to discuss because they reveal how multiple factors such as social, religion, ethnicity, economy, culture and environment are intertwined and can induce partial or whole community displacement.

Secondly, what are the notions surrounding ‘climate refugees’ and what are the push and pull factors that create induced or forced migration from the Pacific Islands? The purpose of this is to illustrate how being considered a climate change migrant (especially a climate

‘refugee’) is a contentious issue because it is not deemed to be a legally binding term in a migration asylum seeking context. This could have significant repercussions for those who have been or will be displaced by climate change in the future. Considering that climate change is being viewed as a major factor likely to induce migration in the future, other aspects should also be visited to give a wider scope as to what induces migration and should be included in the criteria for defining a climate change migrant. Push and pull factors are focussed on to indicate the variances in motivations to move between point of origin and destination. Push factors are deemed as a lack of economic opportunities, religious or political persecution and precarious environmental situations. Pull factors are considered opportunities such as employment, political and religious and a perceived safer environment.

Thirdly, what does it mean to be categorised as a climate change migrant trying to integrate into a host country and how will the host community respond? This will focus on the attitudes of the host environment and how the host nation communities perceive people who have been displaced from climate change impacts. People who have been displaced because of environmental damages do not qualify under current international refugee regulations and are thus marginalised and denied asylum to a new destination. This entails focussing on interviewing New Zealand citizens to gain their perspective on what they think will be positive or negative impacts from the arrival of Pacific Island immigrants. This section will analyse possible cultural and social differences that could occur from foreign people moving into a new cultural environment.

Research method

Data has been collected for this thesis through using the semi structured interview method. This is a qualitative method that focusses on obtaining data through interviews with participants that have responded to flyers, emails or snowball sampling. The data is not numerical statistics but rich, in- depth discussions about peoples first hand experiences with the topic being discussed.

How environmental impacts cause migration

Climate change is an ever growing issue which is causing natural systems to change and is causing impacts on social, economic and environmental sectors. Humans can be held responsible for the rising global temperature due primarily to the burning of fossil fuels

producing carbon dioxide, deforestation and methane production from some agricultural practices. The rising global temperature has gradually been affecting environmental systems which are in turn causing problems for various communities, particularly the poor, people in marginal or remote environments and developing nations. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reports from 2001 that global mean surface temperature has increased by 0.6-0.2C throughout the 20th century. The increasing greenhouse gases are causing a rise in global surface temperatures which is causing changes to the climate. The study conducted by the IPCC reveals that the main aspects of climate change are rising global temperature, changes in cloud cover and rainfall over land, melting polar ice caps, reduced snow cover, rising sea levels and acidity levels. These environmental changes are having a diverse range of impacts which are affecting people in different ways and at different magnitudes. Predominantly, those affected are generally those who have low incomes with limited means of resisting climate change and are forced to implement adaptive measures to mitigate impacts or to migrate to a safer location.

The combination of climate change and increasing sea levels is impacting coastal areas around the world and in particular low elevation Pacific Islands such as atolls and are creating environmental issues. Current pre-existing environmental problems like flood plain exposure to overflows, deforestation and intensity of tropical cyclones which are already affecting populations are likely to be exacerbated by climate change impacts. An example of this in the Pacific Islands is indicated by the Republic of Kiribati National Adaption Program of Action (Teroroko, Reema, Rimon, & Abeta, 2007, p. 2) reveals that:

Inundation and erosion destroy key areas of land, and storm surges contaminate the fresh groundwater lens which is vital for survival. An economic evaluation of the costs of climate change related risks has been estimated to be 35% of Kiribati GDP. The estimate takes into account only the potential impacts of climate change on coastal zone (US\$7-\$13 million a year) and water resources (US\$1-\$3 million a year). In 1998 the GDP was US\$47 million.

Growing environmental issues and increasing economic costs to alleviate damages are leaving few options for those who reside in some of the Pacific Islands. Environmental degradation is likely to increase because greenhouse gas emissions continue and even if they were to cease immediately there is a commitment to further atmospheric warming for some time (IPCC, 2007). Climate change impacts can possibly affect social, environmental and economic aspects of an individual's life. Those people who may be affected by climate change impacts and are forced to leave because their environment has

been degraded and is no longer safe to inhabit can be categorised as climate change migrants .

Those who inhabit low lying atoll areas in the Pacific Islands are susceptible to climate change effects and are more likely to contemplate the extreme response of migration as a response to the impacts of climate change. Burson (2010, p. 32) indicates an example in Fiji of the damages of climate change and the long term impacts that are produced:

For those that inhabit deltas, such as the Rewa in Fiji, tropical cyclones that are marked by increased rainfall and storm surge, as well as extreme winds, may have particularly severe impacts on food production and settlement security. Climate change in Pacific Island countries, then may affect a wide variety of environments and communities that inhabit them.

Climate changes in Pacific Island countries will disrupt social, economic and natural environments and will cause damages to the islands which are likely to result in a wide variety of losses which may require the implementation of adaptive measures or in extreme cases induce or force migration. Rising sea level is projected as an impact produced through climate change and is also considered to be a threat for Pacific Island nations because they have high coastline to land area ratios and in the case of atolls, very little if any high land at all. Most Pacific Island countries are characterised by high coastal population densities and have high levels of urbanisation on coastlines. Climate change and associated sea level rise are likely to impact on large numbers of people and disrupt towns and cities in which people depend upon for employment and income. Campbell (2010, p. 323) gives examples of the urbanisation issues that exist in Pacific Island nations:

Moreover, atoll countries all have high rates of urbanisation with the result that very high densities are found in just a few atoll locations such as south Tarawa (Kiribati), Majuro and Ebeye (Marshall Islands) and to a lesser extent Funafuti (Tuvalu). It is perhaps at these sites that the greatest stresses from climate change are likely to be experienced. The high level of exposure to climate change, coupled with high levels of population pressure on a narrow resource base adds to the high level of risk faced by atoll communities.

Small atolls with high population density in coastal areas are thus most likely to be exposed to the impacts which are caused by climate change. The dependency of island nation people on natural resources will be magnified by the impacts caused from climate change which will make completing everyday tasks more stressful. Those residing on islands are susceptible to an increased frequency of cyclones, rising tides, inundation and flooding rivers. This is dangerous considering the linear patterns of township

development on Islands which dominate the shoreline. This results in an increased vulnerability to climate change damages and exposes people who will struggle to find safety inland because of the lack of safe physical space inland and high population density.

The case of the climate change migrant is likely to continue to become a more pressing issue in the future given estimates of further environmental degradation from climate change which may create an increase in population displacement. Shamsuddoha and Chowdhury (2009, p. 3) explain the climate change impacts upon affected populations:

Climate change will significantly affect migration in three distinct ways. First, the effects of warming and drying in some regions will reduce agriculture potentials and undermine 'ecosystem services' such as clean water and fertile soil. Second, the increase in extreme weather events-in particular, heavy precipitation and resulting flash or river floods in tropical regions. Finally, sea level rise will permanently destroy extensive and highly productive low-laying coastal areas that are home to millions of people who will have to relocate permanently.

The Intergovernmental panel on Climate Change have estimated that up to 150 million people could be displaced by the year 2050 (Shamsuddoha & Chowdhury 2009). This is a significant enough threat to gain the attention of the IPCC in order to adequately respond to the potential environmental threats. There will be significant consequences for those who are located in marginal locations which are vulnerable to natural hazards, have limited means and those who inhabit low lying atolls. Many people in the Pacific Islands are situated in landscapes in which they are dependent on their environment for economic and cultural values. The greater the extent of dependency on the environment, the more susceptible Pacific Island people are likely to be to climate change impacts. This makes those in vulnerable locations more likely to have their coping capacity tested by the impacts of climate change.

The push and pull factors of migration

This section focuses on how climate change has impacted the island nations of the Pacific and how low lying atolls will be exposed to coastal inundation, flash floods and salinization etc. which could induce population displacement. Future predictions by the IPCC have indicated that there will be large scale forced migration movements and this will be a possibility for Pacific Island nations which may have to migrate to surrounding

nations. Campbell (2007, p. 38) indicates the extent of the problems that currently exist in Pacific Island communities:

As well, much of the urban growth is accommodated by an increase in squatter settlements where infrastructure is inadequate, houses are insufficiently tropical cyclone resistant, water supply is low in quantity and quality, and many settlements are on low-lying flood-prone lands or unstable slopes. People migrating to urban areas to help offset climate change impacts through employment and remittances may be placing themselves at even greater risk than they were exposed to in their villages of origin.

These issues described by Campbell reveal that there are pre-existing environmental, economic and social vulnerabilities that are contributing to inducing climate change migration. These existing pressures will be exacerbated by the impacts of climate change and will need effective policy responses in order to reduce the vulnerability of exposed communities or to implement policies in host destinations to cope with the influx of migrants. Adaptation is an approach which can be strongly considered for those who wish to stay in their homeland of origin but significant changes will have to be implemented in order to live without being impacted from climate change impacts. Campbell (2007, p.38)

Policy responses to internal climate-induced migration are most likely to be needed then in terms of urban planning, infrastructure development, and housing and employment opportunities for migrants. Several issues need to be overcome for this to be achieved, given the difficulties experienced to date.

Preparation and planning will be required in order to effectively adapt to the possibility of climate change impacts affecting Pacific Island communities. Effective planning will be required in order to deal with possible climate change issues in the future and to have sufficient infrastructure in communities where climate change migrants will be in order to make sure destination communities will continue to run efficiently.

People who are forced to migrate from environments affected by climate change are faced with the problem of being internally displaced or, if the condition of the environment is irreversible, people could migrate internationally. Environmental degradation is not the sole factor contributing to induced or forced migration, but it is interlinked with other push and pull factors that play a role in causing migration. Morton, Boncour and Laczko (2008, p. 5)

Poverty, failing ecosystems, vulnerability to natural hazards and gradual climate-driven environmental changes are all linked to environmental migration. The degradation of ecosystems, and/or demand for resources in excess of available

supply, can lead to chronic poverty and hunger, high levels of communicable diseases, conflict and adaptation, or to coping strategies that include temporary or permanent migration.

Social, environmental and economic sectors all play a significant role in displacing people from their homes. Poverty creates economic stress which forces people to be dependent on certain lines of work such as agriculture which is common in the Pacific Islands. A heavy dependency on the environmental sector can result in environmental changes such as desertification, deforestation and water pollution. Impoverished people who have limited means to adapt to climate change problems are vulnerable and are marginalised and pushed out of their environment in order to seek safer and more prosperous places to reside in.

Migrant and host population interaction and settlement

The Pacific Island nations are countries which in the future could face the problem of being affected by climate change impacts with some citizens being forced into migrating. New Zealand is a common destination for the likes of Pacific Island people to migrate to and with possible climate change impacts occurring in the future there may be an increase in migration from the Pacific Islands. New Zealand has historical ties with Pacific Islands and over time has provided employment and residence to Pacific Islanders so it could be expected of New Zealand to do so in the future. Collins (2009, p. 8) reveals the importance of the position that New Zealand has in the relationships with the Pacific Island nations:

Studies of this nature are of particular importance to New Zealand socially, economically and humanitarily. New Zealand maintains a position of prominence in the Pacific as both a leader and as a stable democratic state, providing assistance and many services to the region's smaller and less developed states.

New Zealand has been a prominent destination for Pacific Island nations in which the country is a stable provider of economic employment opportunities and as an influential political force which has donated aid and assistance to promote economic development. New Zealand has strong connections with Pacific countries with a strong component of

the New Zealand population being represented by Pacific countries. Bedford, Masgoret, Tausi and Merwood (2008, p. 3) illustrate that that the Pacific Island component of the New Zealand population is the largest non-European component:

At the last Census of Population and Dwellings in March 2006, there were 270,000 people identifying with at least one of the Pacific Island ethnic groups resident in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand (2007). They comprised 6 percent of the population, and 60 percent of them had been born in New Zealand. Until very recently they were by far the largest non-European, non-Maori component in the New Zealand population.

Bedford et al. (2008) reveal that even without people being induced into migrating that New Zealand has a strong Pacific population the members of which are working and contributing to the economy. These pre-existing ties between the Pacific Islands and New Zealand will again be tested with the possibility in the future of more people migrating because of climate change impacting economic and human systems.

Community relocation is an idea that could be given serious consideration in the future if climate change impacts degrade Pacific Islands to the extent that the natural environments are no longer inhabitable. Campbell et al. (2005, p. 18) define community relocation as:

The sense of loss [associated with among other things relocation from traditional lands] is especially pronounced in the wake of environmental disasters that damage local lands and resources, including oil spills, exposure to nuclear radiation, deforestation and the toxic impacts of mining.

Campbell et al. indicate the issues entailed with communities' loss of connection to an environment and how natural or anthropogenic natural disasters are responsible for population displacement. Population displacement may be an issue in the Pacific Islands and needs to be considered because Pacific Island people may have to permanently move to New Zealand. Campbell et al. draw on the work of Perry and Lindell to identify five guiding principles also describe five guiding principles which are used as a framework to ensure that migrant communities that are induced into moving are resettled and have positive outcomes. Firstly, the community that is to be relocated should be organised. Secondly, all relocated people moving should be involved with the decision making process to ensure that their needs are met. Thirdly, the citizens must comprehend that the relocation process is a multi-organisational context that needs the input of many parties. Fourthly, there should be special attention focussed on the on the social and personal

requirements of the migrants. Fifthly, social networks need to be maintained. Campbell et al. (2005, p.18).

Host community attitudes towards migrants are important for social cohesiveness and will be focussed on in this thesis because they reveal how easily or not migrants will feel accepted into New Zealand society and develop new social networks. With climate change possibly causing large numbers of people being socially displaced and having to move to a new community, there is the possibility of immigrants imposing upon host communities. Inhospitable attitudes indicate pending negative attitudes towards immigrants which are manifested through xenophobia and prejudice. Immigrant- host community relationships will have a greater chance of developing in a positive fashion if social cohesion and inclusion are the dominant principles used to construct successful immigrant-host relationships. Spoonley, Peace, Butcher, and Neil (2005, p. 86) discuss the problems entailed with new migrants moving into a country and the concerns and conditions which are involved with relocating to a foreign country:

On the one hand, government has an interest in policies that enable new settlers to develop a sense of belonging to the wider community, participate in all aspects of social, cultural and economic life, and be confident that they are coming in to a country that is able to accept their difference and value their contribution. On the other hand, there is a policy interest in the responsiveness of immigrant groups to the institutions, organisations and people who have already made their lives in New Zealand, and who need to have confidence that their ways of life will not be compromised or jeopardised by the arrival of new settlers.

Spoonley, et al. (2005) discusses two parts which are involved in immigrants moving to a new country. The first part discusses immigrants who are trying to settle into a new culture and how they face the dilemma of whether or not to embrace the current cultures values. The second part is where migrants who can do this while not trying to change the current population's lifestyle and culture will most likely integrate better with the host population. This is the dilemma which migrants are faced with when they bring their values and beliefs in to an alien environment. They are faced with the predicament of trying to embrace and integrate with the host community lifestyles while not losing their own culture. The integration of one cultural group into a new environment can be an issue because those who do not embrace cultural, social and economic facets of their new host community culture then run the risk of being marginalised and excluded from gaining acceptance from the host community.

This introduction chapter has discussed the purpose of this thesis which is to analyse how the New Zealand host population respond to having climate change migrants relocating in New Zealand communities. Background information on the impacts of climate change described why Pacific Island nations are contemplating relocation. How push and pull factors influence migrant relocation and the relationship New Zealand and the Pacific has and how this will influence interaction and migrant resettlement.

Chapter 2

The relationship between New Zealand and Pacific Islands

New Zealand and many of the Pacific Islands have a long lasting historical relationship which was established through New Zealand colonising Pacific Islands such as Samoa, Cook Islands and Niue. This section focusses on the context of New Zealand and these Pacific Islands and the relationships which have developed and become a part of both groups' make up. Bisley (2008, p. 2) stated that New Zealand and the Pacific Islands have a long relationship which has been maintained through continuous migration:

The point of departure for this project, however, is the shift in the nature of our relationship with Pasifika that more than 50 years of immigration has brought about. At the end of the Second World War the Pacific community in New Zealand was around 2,000. By the 2006 census, it numbered just under 266,000, or around 7% of the population – large enough to be significant in our economy, our politics and our culture. Pacific New Zealanders have a younger demographic profile than the country as a whole and a higher birth rate. More than 60% of the Pacific community in New Zealand was born here, and intermarriage with other New Zealanders is on the increase.

Bisley (2008) reiterates the point that New Zealand and the Pacific Islands are connected and have continued to have a relationship since the end of the Second World War. Since that first period of migration a number of people from colonised Pacific Island countries have continued to migrate from the Pacific islands and have become embedded into New Zealand society and economy. People of the Pacific have become part of New Zealand culture by using their opportunities resulting from migration and sending remittances back to the Islands. People from colonised Pacific Islands have established lives in New Zealand by being part of different parts of New Zealand communities and representing Pacific Island people in the workplace, education, sport, art and culture which has resulted in the Pacific Island culture continuing to grow in new Zealand.

Pacific Island people have been migrating to New Zealand since European settlers sought to gain control over island nations and have thus formed transnational linkages. Barnett and Campbell (2010, p. 34) indicate that colonization of Pacific island countries was initially carried out for imperial purposes. This has resulted in some Pacific Islands being transferred amongst colonizing powers and thus changing the governing power:

By the middle of the 19th century through to the early 20th century France, Germany, the United States and the United Kingdom began to expand their empires into the region. Japan, Australia and New Zealand took over German colonies after the First World War and the United States took over Japan's control over most of Micronesia (with the exception of Kiribati and Nauru which were British colonies) after the Second World War. Niue and the Cook Islands were also transferred from the United Kingdom to New Zealand in the early part of the 20th century.

Pacific Island countries linkages were established with Europe and more importantly, New Zealand, back in the middle of the 19th century and have continued into the future. These linkages have been continued even after Pacific nations have looked to gain autonomy and their right to govern with independence. The transnational links between the Pacific and New Zealand have created opportunities for trade and migration, to gain employment, education, and cultural experiences. The historical connections that New Zealand has with the Pacific should make New Zealand feel like they should help out people that they have had a close relationship with and should assist Pacific nations with climate change impacts. With predicted climate change impacts for Pacific Islands in the future, mitigation, adaptation and aid could be required from New Zealand because of historical links and enabling Pacific people to stay in their homelands.

Climate change impacts upon Pacific Islands

Pacific Island nations are especially vulnerable to the climate change impact of rising sea levels, especially the smaller and low lying island nations of Tokelau, Kiribati and Tuvalu. It is these types of low elevation atoll nations which are located in an exposed and open ocean environment that are likely to experience major impacts on social, economic and environmental systems. Nicholls and Mimura (1998, p. 6) indicate the most severe ocean impacts for small and low lying Pacific Island nations are:

Inundation and displacement of wetlands and lowlands; (2) coastal erosion; (3) increased coastal storm flooding; and (4) salinization. The impacts would vary from place to place and depend on the magnitude of relative sea-level rise, coastal morphology/topography and human modifications. The most threatened areas are deltas, low-lying coastal plains, coral islands, beaches, barrier islands, coastal wetlands, and estuaries.

Small Island Pacific nations are likely to be significantly impacted by rising sea levels because they have a larger coastline to land area ratios that can potentially result in greater vulnerability and exposure to coastal inundation, coastal erosion and coastal flooding. Mimura and Nicholls have identified multiple ocean related threats from climate change that will drastically test small, low lying Pacific nations' resilience and coping capacity. This can result in impacting areas that communities reside in and depend on for social and economic reasons. Barnett (2001, p. 4) stresses the danger that can possibly result from climate change and how this can create natural hazards for people residing on Pacific Islands:

Nevertheless, in so far as Pacific Islands have a high ratio of shoreline to land area they are highly susceptible to damage from rising sea levels. Furthermore, in that Pacific Islands Countries (PICs) generally have a narrow economic base focused on primary production, are located in a highly dynamic ocean-atmosphere interface, have limited ecological carrying capacity, are scattered over a vast ocean area, and have rapid rural urban migration to centres situated on the coastal margin, then PICs would indeed seem to be physically vulnerable to climate change and accelerated sea level rise.

Barnett reiterates the threat of ocean based impacts upon Pacific Islands because of their topography, remote locations, low lying coastal landscapes and economic vulnerability. As well as ocean related impacts upon the Pacific Islands, there are other impacts caused by climate change. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (2009, p. 1) published a report which explains climate change impacts upon agricultural, water quality and ecosystems:

Pacific Island agricultural sectors will be impacted by ocean warming, flooding and cyclones. This will create strain on the agriculture industries because the majority of the Pacific nations still rely on subsistence farming for food production. Cash crops such as Banana crops and sugar cane will be threatened and output of foreign exports will decline and decrease revenue. Climate change will affect Island ecosystems through cyclones diminishing biodiversity of forests, increased in temperatures will reduce mangrove cover which act as food sources and habitats for animal and plant species. Finally, water resources will be tested because by climate change possibly influencing the quantity and the variability of rainfall.

It has been reported that widespread impacts are likely to result from climate change which will affect social, economic and environmental sectors of impacted Pacific nations. The impacts of rising sea levels, coastal inundation, depleted biodiversity and variable water resource quality will have flow on effects that can affect communities in different forms. The magnitude of the impacts can be increased by people still living in vulnerable conditions that also exacerbate the impacts of climate change. This is because climate

change impacts disrupt everyday life patterns and can force people to consume resources that are already being over exhausted. This is because climate change has impacted the ability of people to use the resources they had before climate change impacts. This can result in environmental degradation in other areas (e.g. over fishing and deforestation). In order to combat further environmental degradation, there have been various response methods used against climate change in order to prevent and reduce significant, irreversible impacts to Pacific Islands such as mitigation and adaptation.

Amongst the climate change literature there have been two approaches that have been suggested as effective forms of responding to climate change: Mitigation seeks to reduce greenhouse gas pollution and to prevent climate change impacts and adaptation measures are designed to help people cope with impacts. These two approaches are necessary but there are limitations as to their long term effectiveness because there have already been significant greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere. Gas emissions that have already been emitted will reduce the effectiveness of adaptation techniques because environments would have already been damaged by the effects of climate change. Ford and Berrang-Ford (2011, p. 4) illustrate the pre-existing problems that are diminishing the effectiveness of adaptation:

Formidable challenges to climate change adaptation exist. First, given the scale of projected impacts and experience of climate change already, the window for adaptation is narrow. Second, social, environmental, economic, institutional and economic stresses are likely to further exacerbate impacts and constrain adaptive responses to vulnerable people and regions. Third, despite the changes in the weather extremes and increasing awareness (although not universal) of climate change risks, adaptation activities are still poorly embedded in planning systems. Finally, as Adger and Barnett (2009) caution, maladaptation abounds where adaptations being undertaken today are not sustainable in the long term.

Adaptation is the approach which is applied to areas that have been disrupted by climate change and is implemented to prevent further damage and allow affected communities a greater ability to cope. Adaptation is defined by Huq (2003, p. 17) as:

The term adaptation means any adjustment, whether passive, reactive or anticipatory, that is proposed as a means for ameliorating the anticipated adverse consequences associated with climate change.

Huq identifies the different types of adaptation that are considered as possible approaches to reducing climate change impacts. The responses to climate change can differ in scale

where it can be in small, concentrated local areas or that it can be in larger, widespread areas. Adaptation can also be conducted on an individual level or by a government or institution for the general public

Adaptation is described by Ford and Berrang-Ford (2011) as having limitations based several factors including the small window of opportunity to implement adaptation policies, existing dynamic social, economic and environmental processes which may restrict adaptation effectiveness, lack of awareness and utilisation of planning systems. This is because adaptation approaches are not considered to be a long term solutions for climate change impacts. This discussion exposes how limitations are likely to constrain and reduce the effectiveness of adaptation approaches for people in developing nations and landscapes that are particularly vulnerable to climate change.

Adaptation is a heterogeneous approach where adaptive strategies need to be unique for each area that is impacted. Certain adaptive approaches can also create externalities which impact other parts of an area not affected by climate change. Implementing the same adaptive method in each area impacted by climate change will not have the same results because of the topography of the area, and financial, social and economic constraints. Adaptation is designed to create sustainable development while minimising present and future climate change impacts. Adaptation in a Pacific Island context is important, especially for low lying atolls nations with long, exposed coastlines which are vulnerable to climate change impacts. Leary et al. (2008, p. 265) states that:

Several adaptation options have been implemented in the Pacific Islands through the actions of individuals, national governments and externally funded climate change projects. The most common step being taken is the construction of sea walls to protect settlements against coastal erosion and storm surges.

Adaptive measures have been implemented with varying levels of success in the Pacific Islands but there are methods such as sea walls, artificial reefs and dams which do not successfully reduce the impacts of climate change or prevent the adverse effects from spreading elsewhere. The results of this can contribute to causing social deprivation, community disruption and in some cases eventually population displacement. Adaptive measures are considered for areas that have been affected by climate change through addressing the particular characteristics of the local impacts. Nelson, Lamboll and Arendse (2008, p. 3) identify five elements of adaptation planning:

- a) Scope & design adaptation project, integrate into national policy/planning, develop implementation plan.
- b) Assess current vulnerability (to climate risks, factors determining vulnerability, effectiveness of current adaptation efforts?)
- c) Assess future climate risks (development of scenarios of future climate,

vulnerability, and socio-economic and environmental trends to assess future climate risks); d) Formulate an adaptation strategy (to current vulnerability and future climate risks – identify and select set of adaptation policy options/measures, and formulate of these into a cohesive integrated strategy); e) Continue the adaptation process – implementing, monitoring, evaluating, improving, sustaining the initiatives launched by the adaptation project.

These five categories are used as criteria to evaluate the magnitude, duration and the ideal adaptive responses to climate change. These criteria are common in addressing and constructing strategies to deal with climate change. Adapting to climate change can be conducted through proactively stockpiling capital before the impacts of climate change are felt. Reactive adaptation is dealing with the now and is about immediately neutralizing impacts once they are experienced. These two approaches, however, do not refer to the idea of migration being considered in a positive adaptive capacity when seeking to neutralise the impacts of climate change.

The idea of migration as a form of adaptation is debated as being both a failure to adapt and an adaptive measure. Migration can be considered as an adaptive measure because other strategies and adaptive measures may not reduce the rate of climate change impacts and may fail to effectively manipulate natural environmental systems to reduce losses. In such cases, the possibility of migration as a form of adaptation may be considered.

However, there is no guarantee that migrants' new destinations will not be without new sets of social, cultural and economic constraints. People who go overseas and work and send remittances back home are contributing to alleviating economic stress and reducing the demand on resources. This is important because resources can become scarce due to communities' social patterns being disrupted. Barnett and Webber (2009, p. 22) point out:

Remittances have many positive effects, including that they: smooth consumption of basic needs such as food across seasons; sustain access to basic needs in times of livelihood shocks such as drought; finance the acquisition of human, social, physical and natural capital; and increase demand and so stimulate local production. Families with labour migrants who remit incomes fare better during livelihood crises than those that do not.

The remittances from people act as a tool to alleviate the economic impacts of climate change because they are an effective measure for Pacific Island people to try and cope with environmental changes. Migration as an adaptive measure creates the opportunity

for remittances to be sent back to the origin country. This is because people who migrate are able to increase the income earned individually and provide additional income for Pacific Island communities trying to cope with climate change impacts. People that migrate for long periods of time are able to set up roots in different countries where they can set up transnational links that cross over to multiple countries and create broad social networks. These connections make it easier to establish a stable source of income in which they can send home to help build adaptive measures to cope with climate change and to rebuild and construct new buildings.

Migration across transnational boundaries helps reduce strain on an environment impacted by climate change through a reduction of numbers living in an affected area and remittances from overseas helping increase families' incomes. International migration is not the sole form of migration available to migrants who are seeking to avoid being impacted by climate change. In the future, internal migration from within Pacific Island countries, particularly to the urban centres along the coastlines may be used as an approach to escaping climate change (although the destinations may also be at risk from climate change). This form of migration can be partly responsible for urbanisation taking place and making large population groups in cities vulnerable and forming slums which is contradictory to reducing vulnerability by moving originally from impacted areas. Tacoli (2009, p. 514) indicates how migration to urban areas can exacerbate the impacts upon people from changes to the environment:

Environmental factors affect patterns of migration and mobility within a broader context of important changes in population distribution. Perhaps the most widely acknowledged such transformation is urbanization: since 2008, half of the world's population is estimated to live in urban centres and over 90 per cent of the world's population growth in coming decades is expected to be in urban areas. This, of course, does not mean that all regions have similar levels or rates of urbanization. Moreover, while there is a strong statistical association between urbanization and economic growth the scale of urban poverty in many low-income countries is growing rapidly, while in many middle-income ones it now exceeds rural poverty.

Those that move to urban areas are often susceptible to poor living conditions and further deteriorating the quality of their new destinations environment. This can result in deteriorating the condition of the host environment as well and further spreading vulnerability and environmental degradation. Migration of people from places that are deemed by inhabitants as unsuitable to live in is not a measure that is unheard of. People that are mobile are able either to temporarily move to different locations and/or they are able to move away on a long term basis to prevent further damage to the environment or

the migrants themselves. Brown (2007, p. 14) is an advocate for the idea of migration as a positive adaptive measure to deal with climate change events like droughts:

Migration is (and always has been) an important mechanism to deal with climate stress. Pastoralist societies have of course habitually migrated, with their animals, from water source to grazing lands in response to drought as well as part of their normal mode of life. But it is becoming apparent that migration as a response to environmental change is not limited to nomadic societies.

Brown explains how migration has been incorporated into people's lives as a response mechanism to environmental stress. Those that are forced into migration do so to adapt to the changes in the environment and utilise other resources in different areas. Resource abundance and community wellbeing are closely connected. A decline in resources does not always result in an increase in vulnerability, but can also result in an increase in resilience and more effective adaptive measures. This can indicate that regardless of the variety of adaptive measures being implemented there needs to be effective mitigation in addition to adaptive responses to climate change. For there to be significant positive changes produced by adaptation approaches, mitigation of greenhouse gases needs to be rigorously implemented in order to reduce the gas emissions which are contributing to climate change. Bosello, Carraro, and De Cian (2000, p. 22) indicate the distinction between the utilisation of benefits from adaptation and mitigation:

The main strategic difference between mitigation and adaptation responses to global warming can be summarized as follows. Mitigation provides a public good that can be enjoyed globally, while adaptation provides private or club goods. Mitigation is thus affected by the well-known "free riding" curse, while this is much less of an issue for adaptation.

Mitigation is considered in economic terms as a public good which is available to public consumption. This is because mitigation is designed to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions on a global scale for the benefit of the general public. This is the opposite of adaptation which is implemented by a group for the specific benefit of the group that apply the adaptive measure. Bosello, Carraro and De Cian (2000) touch on the underlying issue of free riding. Mitigation is a key approach to reducing climate change impacts. This is because mitigation is the approach which is designed to get large greenhouse gas emitters to cut back on gas emissions in order to prevent potential widespread environmental damage in the future. The IPCC (2007 chapter 3.3.6, para 2 & 5) discusses issues of how developed nations in Europe and the U.S.A are looking to create stricter

emission caps and how developing nations such as India and China are focussing on restructuring their socioeconomic growth rates in the future:

A number of scenario studies have been conducted for various countries within Europe. These studies explore a wide range of emission caps, taking into account local circumstances and potentials for technology implementation. Many of these studies have used specific burden-sharing allocation schemes, such as the contraction and convergence (C&C) approach (GCI, 2005) for calculating the allocation of worldwide emissions to estimate national emissions ceilings... National scenarios pertaining to developing countries such as China and India mainly analyse future emission trajectories under various scenarios that include considerations such as economic growth, technology development, structure changes, globalization of world markets, and impacts of mitigation options. Unlike the scenarios developed for the European countries, most of the developing-country scenarios do not specify limits on emissions.

The IPCC assessment reports indicate that there will be two different approaches to mitigation for developing and developed nations. Developed nations will be focussing on reducing their emissions caps overall to reduce climate change. Developing nations are focussing on restructuring society and the economy in order to enable climate change mitigation in the future.

The varying impacts of damage from climate change can induce or force people to migrate away from vulnerable environments. People who are directly impacted by natural hazards such as coastal inundation and cyclones may feel inclined to migrate to avoid further stress. People who feel the impacts of climate change and believe that staying in a vulnerable environment is likely to further impact on their standard of living may consider migrating. Milan (2011, p. 7) explains that:

Sea-level rise, drought, desertification and other environmental stressors are directly identifiable as the main reason behind the migration decision. These environmental stressors are often caused or exacerbated by climate change and increased climate variability

Forced migration is carried out because of environmental impacts that have disrupted people's ways of life. Environmental issues such as coastal inundation will create spill over effects which will impact other environmental areas e.g. salinization of soil used for agriculture. These types of impacts are exacerbated by climate change causing 'unnatural' variations in weather patterns.

Induced migration is different because the migrant chooses to move to a new destination because they believe their environment is vulnerable to but not rendered inhabitable by, change. This is different compared from forced migration because the environment has been severely impacted and has become unable to provide resources and homes for people. This distinction is important because it indicates the difference in impacts that can be felt by people affected by climate change in the Pacific Islands and how they can respond to them. Induced population movement can result in people moving away temporarily but also having the option of being able to return and rebuild. Pacific Island nations that are impacted to the point of evacuation are going to face greater challenges because they may face the possibility of whole community relocation. This distinction is important because it identifies the possibility of New Zealand having to address the issue of accommodating large scale migration from the Pacific Islands. The accelerated changes to the climate are causing sufficient concern for some governments and people to contemplate migrating from the Pacific Islands. It might be suggested that the depletion and deterioration of resources can be one of the factors which are considered responsible for out migration of people from impacted areas. The idea of forced migration will also have implications for host countries. This is because they will be faced with the possibility of having an influx of people which could place stress on physical infrastructure such as roads and places of residence. Forced migration will be difficult for both climate change affected communities and the host nation. This is because forced migration might unexpectedly displace people and make it difficult to manage for both the migrants and the host country. This is different from induced migration which is likely to be along existing pathways and would have greater planning and control over how migrants may leave and where their new destinations would be. Martin (2010, p. 399) elaborates on the distinction between induced and forced migration and the implications that arise:

The negative impacts stem particularly from emergency mass movements, generally those related to rapid on-set natural disasters and to competition for resources which may create conflict. These most closely resemble refugee movements and require large scale humanitarian assistance. The negative impacts may be more extreme if the receiving communities, particularly urban areas, are unprepared to absorb large numbers of spontaneous migrants. The more positive impacts occur when migration is a voluntary coping strategy that allows people time to weigh alternatives and use migration as a way to reduce household risk.

Martin has identified how forced migration has negative connotations because of the sudden and abrupt nature of migration forced upon people affected by extreme events. People would ideally use adaptation to reduce the impacts of climate change and reduce

the root causes of the problems before they are forced into moving. This is because people that leave their affected community by choice are more likely to have time to get some form of their belongings and money which will help them integrate into a new society. If people effectively have an evacuation plan for the possibility of a natural disaster then it will be easier to migrate and possibly integrate into a new country. If areas that are likely to be impacted by climate change don't have effective plans this it could be difficult for migrants to successfully migrate. This is because they will be living more in refugee camp conditions possibly when they first arrive than what they would do if they were induced into migration. If they were induced into migration they would have a greater chance to organise social welfare, housing, land use rights and employment.

This chapter has discussed how the Pacific Islands are impacted by inundation, flooding, salinization and coastal erosion. Adaptation and mitigation are two approaches which are used against climate change. Adaptation focusses on putting in measures to physically stop the impacts and mitigation targets reducing greenhouse gases that create climate change impacts. Migration is perceived as an approach to climate change. Migrants that are displaced are considered to be forced or induced. Forced migrants are those that are involuntarily moved to a new location because of impacts and induced migrants relocate because of pending climate change threats to their environment.

Chapter 3

Qualitative methodology

This chapter outlines the research methodology used in this thesis. Semi-structured interviews are the method used to gain primary data. This is because semi-structured interviews engage the participants' knowledge and understanding on climate change, climate change migrants and attitudes towards potential incoming migrants in an in-depth and flexible fashion.

Semi Structured Interviews

Semi structured interviews is a method used in social science research for the purpose of qualitative interviews which seek to obtain data on human experiences in social, cultural, economic or environmental contexts. Participants are recruited through flyers, emails, telephone calls or word of mouth in order to draw knowledge from their experiences and to allow a platform for them to voice their opinions of possible intergroup interaction with migrants from the Pacific Islands in the future. The purpose of the qualitative method is to engage participants' lay knowledge in a topic in which they are stakeholders and gain detailed, in depth opinions from people who are sharing their life experiences in a direct and personal fashion. This will provide some indications of New Zealand residents' attitudes towards potential Pacific Island migrants. The rationale behind conducting a semi structured interview is that it is based on obtaining descriptive data and interpreting links and themes as opposed to quantifying data which is the basis of quantitative research. A key aspect to be considered in a qualitative interview is that there is no guarantee for the researcher to obtain in-depth and insightful data, but depth of information is determined on the interview skills, social background and rapport developed within the interviewer-interviewee relationship. A variety of in depth and insightful information is something which can be expected and taken for granted when using the qualitative approach. Cloke et al. (2004, p. 149) identify how the interviewer plays an significant role in obtaining information:

The interview thus becomes less rather than more rigorous because it assumes that a constant set of truths is available to be garnered from the interviewee regardless of the social and cultural conditions in which the interview is constructed and carried out. Instead, we argue strongly that the interviewers are themselves implicated in the construction of the meanings with their interviewees. Such inter-subjectivity is unavoidable, and the data which result are essentially collaborative.

Cloke, et al. (2004) discuss the possible negative aspects associated with semi-structured interviews. The quality of the information extracted from the participant is dependent

upon the interactive relationship between interviewer and interviewee. The information the interviewer is granted is determined by the circumstances relating to the question being asked and how the interviewee produces an answer. The answers produced will be distinguishable for each interviewee and will not be replicated by other participants because each participant will have their own unique experiences. In a sense, the qualitative method's main strength of rich, elaborate responses from participants can also be its weakness. This depends on the connection established and rapport with the participant which is critical in order to generate sufficient answers to interview questions. Qualitative methodologies will be specifically used instead of quantitative methods because my thesis is concentrating on human interactions and their human experiences with the environment. Qualitative methodology takes into consideration the participants' social conditions and characteristics when analysing the data produced by the participants. Hay (2005, p. 5) indicates that qualitative methodologies use social structures and individual experiences to obtain in depth, detailed data when interviewing participants':

The two fundamental questions tackled by qualitative researchers are concerned either with social structures or with individual experiences. This dualism is one that in practice may be hard to disentangle, but is of fundamental importance in explanation. The behaviour and experiences of an individual may be determined not so much by their personal characteristics but by their position in social structure, together with their associated resources, constraints or rules.

Qualitative research aims to analyse how structures of life impact and affect the interactive processes an individual will have in everyday life. An example of this is with immigrants seeking to gain asylum in a foreign country and being denied entrance by gate keeping structures. It is important to note that the interrelated relationship between structure and individual is not homogenous in outcomes of impacts and well-being. This is why it is important in qualitative research to consider the circumstances of participants when trying to understand and interpret the data being produced into themes. Each participant will be impacted and influenced by social structures in different manners which will produce different and even opposing individual experiences.

In a qualitative research sense, using semi structured interviews as a method of obtaining data is important for not just gaining a greater understanding of participants' experiences but also for seeking to clarify the meaning of the dialogue being shared. Elliot (2005, p. 24) indicates the benefit of conducting interviews in regards to understanding participants' responses to the interviewer's questions:

However, other researchers emphasize that narratives do not transparently reflect experience, rather they give meaning to it. In order to provide the details of life

experiences in the form of a story, individuals are forced to reflect on those experiences, to select salient aspects, and to order them into a coherent whole. It is this process of reflection and 'making sense' out of experience that makes telling stories a meaning making activity.

In conducting a qualitative interview there is a benefit which does not exist in quantitative approaches. This is where the interviewee can be prompted to clarify and elaborate on a given meaning which allows for the interviewee to gain control in discussing the meaning of the information being conveyed in a more accurate style and allows the interviewer to understand the interviewee's perspective.

Benefits of Semi Structured Interviews

This section focusses on the strengths of using semi structured interviews in a research project which indicates the rationale for using this method. Yates (2003, p. 165) has identified three prominent strengths which constitute the semi structure interview approach:

Flexibility is a good way of exploring participants' subjective meanings. This can tailor questions to the on-going concerns and questions of the participant which allows them to talk about these things you might not thought of yourself at the onset of the project. It allows exploration of complexity, ambiguity, contradictions and processes. It can consider subtly of social situations which is impossible within the restrictions of a structured interview or questionnaire. It can explore and negotiate potential meanings of questions and answers as you explore the perspective of the respondent.

Flexibility is an aspect of the semi structured interview which is integral to the makeup of conducting an interview. This allows the interviewer to explore in greater depth the meanings of the experiences shared by the participant. The flexibility of the semi structured interview method enables the participant and interviewer to change the direction of the interview and to gain a greater variety of relevant information. Yates also comments on the possibility of looking into social situations which entail the interactive relationship between people and places. The semi structured interview is not rigorous in approach when conducting an interview. Interviews are facilitated by the interviewer who has an interview schedule with certain questions which are there to prompt in depth responses while allowing the interviewee the chance to digress from the set questions if the information being conveyed is relevant to the topic (See appendix 1). The semi

structured interview is an approach which like everything else has strengths along with weaknesses. Reliability of data produced is an issue where giving participants a non-standardised schedule will cause problems of reproducing consistent data.

The semi structured interview will be used because it is a flexible approach which can directly engage with the participant and collect relevant information on multiple occasions. Hay (2000, p.52) points out that semi structured interviews are a "...form of interviewing that has some degree of predetermined order but still ensures flexibility in the ways issues are addressed by the informant". Hay's description of the semi structured interview focuses on the key aspect of flexibility. Flexibility of the semi structured interview provides a mode for allowing rapport, personal connection and the chance for the participant to convey information relating to their life experiences to the researcher.

Qualitative Methodology Theoretical Foundations

The primary theoretical foundations which constitute qualitative methodology are constructionism, individual and collective generation of meanings and interpretivism. These concepts are the theoretical building blocks which have been considered to explain the qualitative method approach. Constructionism is based on the idea that reality is understood via the interpretation of the individual. Sarantakos (2005, p. 38) illustrates the ideas which make up constructionism:

Constructionism focuses on the firm belief that that there is in practice neither objective reality nor objective truth. On the contrary, reality is constructed. Although, physical reality exists, it is not accessible to human endeavour. Constructionism is about realities and relationships.

Sarantakos (2005) reveals that constructionists are concerned with how reality is constructed through the individual and considered that there is no single truth or meaning that can be assigned to an object or idea. The principle of constructionism is about the inter-subjectivity between the individual and the environment. How the individual identifies meanings and notions about physical objects is determined through the cultural and historical context in which the individual is situated. People construct their own meanings based upon social influences which determine how they see an event happen and then reconstruct the meaning of the event through their own interpretation.

The individual and collective generation of meanings is the theoretical idea that when people interact with objects different people see different meanings and have different understandings. Sarantakos (2005, p. 39) reveals that meanings of objects or notions are impacted by socialising with other individuals whose own ideas and understandings can be transferred to someone else:

More popular is the notion that the assignment of meanings is assisted by cultural mechanism such as socialisation where people learn to recognise meanings in subjects. Here the construction of meanings is based on culturally defined and historically situated interpretations and personal experiences.

Sarantakos (2005) discusses how the collective and individual generation of meanings are socially constructed. The meanings which have been socially constructed are determined by how an individual's cultural environment and historical past influence his or her interpretation of meanings which have been produced and maintained through social interaction and over time have been embedded in cultural subjects. The processes involved within social interaction are responsible for conveying and distributing the meanings of objects and discourses throughout the world. This is important because discourses and ideas have universal meanings for the benefit of easier communication and understanding amongst different cultures. These meanings are considered to be constructed and transferred to each generation which can have the effect that any knowledge and understanding an individual has is predetermined and imposed upon people. This can ultimately impact qualitative studies because people do not think of their own meanings and values because the cultural environment they are situated in imposes pre conceived notions upon people without them realising, this can even restrict knowledge learnt and future life opportunities.

The discourses which have been produced by powerful groups or organisations and have been maintained throughout time are considered hegemonic discourses. These discourses are considered superior ideas because they dominate other discourses. Castree (2005, p. 19) discussed that hegemony in discourses was created through powerful organisations that can exert their ideas and notions and gain influence through being in powerful position in society:

For Gramsci, hegemony described a process whereby dominant factions of a society portrayed their beliefs and values as those good for a society as a whole. Over time, these hegemonic ideas take hold not just by being repeated endlessly [in the media, in schools, in political speeches etc..] but also by being embodied in policies and institutions.

Castree (2005) refers to how hegemonic ideas are constructed by powerful factions and maintain the hegemonic discourse through embedding them into institutions such as the media and education systems. These institutions are responsible for oversaturating and normalising a discourse until it is considered a standard way of thinking and a part of common knowledge. Hegemonic discourses gain credibility through dominant factions conducting research studies which reinforce the reputation of the discourse to make it normal and common knowledge.

Interpretivism is the third and final theoretical idea which informs qualitative methodology. This idea is based on assessing representations of meanings which have been socially constructed. Sarantakos (2005, p. 40) indicates that:

The key process that facilitates construction and reconstruction is interpretation. This involves reflective assessment of the reconstructed impressions of the world, and integration of action processes in a general context, which will constitute a new unit. Interpretivism, as the framework within which qualitative research is conducted, looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life world.

Interpretivism is about how someone focuses on the opinions and expressions of people and how they analyse meanings. How people analyse subjective meanings reflects upon how they understand their cultural systems to work and how they assign meanings. The process of how people assign meanings to subjects is important for qualitative research because it reveals how social situations and social structures like communities and schooling influence how people interpret the meaning of objects or events that exist in their lives. Interpretivism is important in qualitative research because it focusses on how social structures and social conditions will impact people in different ways and at different magnitudes which will in turn influence perception at different scales.

The Purpose of Triangulation

The semi structured interviews will provide a means for obtaining information on this subject with a more flexible structure compared to other methods. This is opposite to other surveys or interviews which are more constricted and have close ended response categories. In order to eliminate flaws in my methodical approach to collecting data the use of other methods is important to eliminate weaknesses in semi structure interview. This process is known as triangulation which is an important concept in social science research because it provides more than one type of data collecting method for one single object. Berg and Lune (2012, p. 6) describe triangulation as “Every method is a different line of sight directed toward the same point, observing particular aspects of the social and symbolic reality. By combining several lines of sight, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality; a richer, more complete array of symbols and theoretical concepts...” Triangulation allows for an intertwined approach to collecting data because of the broad umbrella of using multiple theories, multiple researchers and different technologies. Opperman (2000, p. 143) suggests triangulation is a key approach because it is designed “... to overcome problems of bias and validity. It has been argued that the deficiencies of anyone method can be overcome by combining methods and thus capitalizing on their individual strengths”. Using the triangulation approach will identify any bias in conducting research that could potentially exist when only using one form of method or data analysis tools. The purpose of triangulation as stated previously indicates that it is designed to increase the quantity of research data, to allow comparisons of data collected and to overcome deficiencies that exist in anyone method. Although, there have been issues with the idea that triangulation is designed to eliminate flaws in research projects, triangulation also has deficiencies. Sarantakos (2005, p.146) reveals the complexities of using different approaches in research and the problems that are produced:

...it is argued that there is no evidence to suggest that studies based on triangulation necessarily produce more valid results. Even if all the diverse methods support each other's findings, they might all be invalid. In simple terms, the findings of a study based on several methods are not necessarily better than the findings of a single method study.

Triangulation has been discussed by Sarantakos (2005) in which the point of using multiple approaches is illustrated as being flawed and not fool proof for eliminating research errors. If all methods support each other, but are wrong, then they are producing invalid data. So, regardless of the diversity of the approaches and the available greater

spectrum of using multiple approaches on different subjects, it does not necessarily generate valid data.

Participants in the research ranged from rural and urban locations. The ages ranged from 24 -70 years old. The participants were a selection of male and female with 8 males and 7 females. I will be looking to interview up to 20 participants which will fulfil the requirements of my research. Participants were all put through an interview which consisted of 15 questions (see appendix 2) .I will seek out a couple of key informants from my community and then through snowball sampling I will gain other participants for interviews. I had permission to conduct this research by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee (see appendix 1).

Once the participants agreed to the interview they were be given information which indicated the purpose of the research and background information to familiarise them with the research topic. Participants provided written consent to be involved in the interview by signing a consent form prior to the interview (see Appendix 1). Interviews were recorded by audio tape in order to accurately record all information conveyed by the participant. I conversed with the participants prior to the interview in order to let them familiarise themselves with the process and create a comfortable climate with me by asking general background history including simple background questions such as what is your occupation? What are your hobbies? Where are you from? etc.. Interviews were designed with in a semi structured framework with a set of 16 questions with prompts in order to get the participants to elaborate further on answers given (See Appendix 1). Questions were ordered from being easy and general in the beginning in order to get the participant familiar with the topic and the background information. Then as the questions progressed they became more probing and precise in order to get in-depth, detailed responses. The questions were open ended and broad which allowed the participants to express their opinions without being constrained to choose a predetermined close-ended answer.

Limitations

The data obtained for this thesis was obtained in the most unbiased manner possible. Although, upon reflecting on collecting data there were some limitations that occurred. Using the snowballing technique resulted in the participants being linked together and sharing similar ideas and perceptions in interviews. The similarity in perception resulted in similar answers which produced a tendency for the same type of themes to continue to dominate the results produced. The participants selected were not a broad selection from across New Zealand and therefore cannot be considered a representative cross section of the New Zealand population. Kumar (2005, p. 179) reveals that participant selection is important for data representation. “[t]he choice of the entire sample rests upon the choice of individuals at the first stage. If they belong to a particular faction or have strong biases, the study may be biased.” In order to reduce this limitation I tried to recruit people who reside in different parts of the country such as Auckland and Tauranga as opposed to selecting participants all from my community in the Waikato.

This chapter has discussed how semi structured interview method is used to collect data. This method has data that is rich and in-depth and engages the participant’s knowledge and experience. The theoretical foundations of this method are based on constructionism, individual and collective generation of meanings and interpretivism. Triangulation is used in order to eliminate flaws and bias when collecting data. The limitations were snowballing because the participants find other people who have similar perspectives and can create similar data.

Chapter 4

General Migration Theories

Migration is a process which has been practiced by humans throughout time for reasons from colonisation to exploration. Migration has often been associated with the explanation that people are looking to better enhance their economic, social and cultural wellbeing. One of the earliest people to theorize an understanding of migration was Ernest Ravenstein. Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts and Whatmore, 2009, p. 462) in *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (2009, p. 462) reveal:

For example, he stated that: the tendency for migration varies inversely with the distance between source and destination (i.e. there are far more short-distance moves than long-distance ones); the majority of migrants move in order to improve their economic circumstances; therefore migration is mainly directed to places of concentrated economic opportunity, particularly cities; migration accelerates when movement becomes easier.

Heibert's discussion of Ravenstein's theoretical approach to migration suggests that migration would originally be carried out by people who were travelling short distances due to limitations in technology and transport. The potential of improved social and economic opportunities is the basis for Ravenstein's migration model. Migration is a broad concept which has different classifications such as national verses international, temporary verses permanent, forced verses voluntary and legal verses illegal. The phenomenon of internal migration is a process which is influenced by social and physical elements which prompt migrants to leave their current location for another area with greater resources and opportunities to fulfil their desires. Poston and Bouvier (2010, p. 174) indicate that the:

Human organism tends to remain at rest [that is, in the same residential location] until impelled to action by some unsatisfied need or by the threat of discomfort. ...Migration [theories thus begun] with the premise that every departure for a new community, i.e. migratory movement, is either a response to some impelling need that the person believes cannot be satisfied in his/her present residence or is a flight from a situation that for some reason has become undesirable, unpleasant, or intolerable.

Internal migration is a step which is initially taken in order to meet migrants' unfulfilled requirement that they have not achieved in their current area of residence. Internal migration is a more realistic process for migrants than international migration because it is financially and physically more feasible to move due to shorter migration movements and lower costs. The distance and the costs of migration are a couple of components

which are important in understanding the structure of internal migration. Poston and Bouvier (2010, p. 175) state: “The main theoretical models seek to explain internal migration in terms of 1) the effects of distance, 2) income, 3) the physical cost of migration, 4) information, 5) personal characteristics, 6) individual expectations, and 7) community kinship ties”. These are fundamental components of migration models which are the basis of push and pull factors. These are factors which a person may use in decision making about whether the process of migration is feasible and beneficial in the long term. Those who move short distances are those who have lower stocks of human capital in regards to university education, less ambition and have more constraints. Migrants who cross international borders are likely to have higher forms of education, be more ambitious and have fewer financial and physical constraints.

Migration has often been associated with the explanation that people are looking to better enhance their economic circumstances. Well educated people from less developed countries who live in an economic climate where they are not reaching their financial potential may migrate to developed nations to gain greater employment options and increase their standard of living. Poston, Luo and Zhang (2006, p. 9) illustrate “the neoclassical economic model posits that migration results from individual cost-benefit decisions to maximize expected incomes by moving. Workers are attracted from low-wage countries with adequate labour, to a high-wage country with limited labour”. Migrants from less developed nations are pulled by economic incentives to developed nations which can create a brain drain on the migrant’s country of origin because of the movement of the skilled labour force. Slums and ghettos can be formed in developed nations due to transnational linkages based on the idea of greater work opportunities but can result in limited opportunities to match migrant skills and may result in employment with little chance of upward mobility. Transportation was a key factor in increasing the accessibility of foreign lands to new migrants because of the advances in technologies. With advancements in technology came an increased frequency of migration for those who seek out greater economic opportunities. Migration would originally be carried out by people who were traveling short distances due to limitations in technology and transport. The potential of improved social and economic opportunities and close proximity of new cities is the basis for the migration model.

World systems analysis is defined by Martinez Vela’s (2001, p. 4) discussion of world systems theory; based on Wallenstein’s definition he states that:

A world-system is a multicultural territorial division of labour in which the production and exchange of basic goods and raw materials is necessary for the

everyday life of its inhabitants. This division of labour refers to the forces and relations of production of the world economy as a whole and it leads to the existence of two interdependent regions: core and periphery.

This theory was developed by Immanuel Wallerstein who observed that the world system theory reveals the migratory movements of low skilled workers to areas with large sources of industrial capital. Horevitz (2009, p. 751) describes world systems theory as follows:

That it is housed within the Marxist political economy perspective and views migration in the context of a global market system. It conceptualizes inequalities resulting from the “internationalization of the proletariat... World systems theory has been used to understand movements of people and products across borders, particularly in the context of movement from “under-developed” countries to developed countries. It is understood to be less of a willing “choice” on the part of the individual and more of a forced extraction by the global capitalist market system.”

As Horevitz (2009) indicated, world systems theory is categorised within the political economy perspective because there are inequalities which are exemplified by the struggling power relations between developed and developing countries and the power relationship between the rich and the poor. Capitalism pulls in labour and materials from developing nations which have minimal opportunities for those of low skilled labour who will earn low incomes. This is seen as the movement of labour and raw materials from the undeveloped or periphery countries to the core countries which have the attraction of metropolitan areas for employment.

Migration movements can be attributed to world market globalisation which is crossing over national borders to pull resources and workers into the capitalist system. Migration is a concept which is positioned in multiple fields of research because it is influenced by subjects such as politics, economics, anthropology, geography and history. World systems theory is a macro sociological concept which explains the dynamics of world economy as a whole and the interactions between developed and developing nations. World systems theory is relevant to this thesis because of the explanations of push and pull factors on migration from origin to destination location. Wallerstein's (1976) theory focusses on unequal distribution of capital development and opportunities as causes of the migration of labour and capital between the periphery or developing nations and the core or developed nations. Wallerstein's understanding of world systems theory is based upon dependency between the core and periphery nations and the interdependent relationship that are key in maintaining the power hierarchy that exists between core and periphery. Wallerstein discusses how technology is an important factor in creating unbalanced power relations. The core will have advanced technology in physical capital

and infrastructure which is a factor which will absorb the surplus of resources and materials from the periphery. Capital accumulation in core countries is the starting block for determining the economic power of each country in the world economy and divides who in the capitalist system category is bourgeois or proletariat. The world system theory identifies a division of labour through accumulation of capital which is an explanation of why core countries, mainly western European nations, have greater human and physical capital than periphery nations. Wallerstein (1976, p. 230) stated:

The division of a world-economy involves a hierarchy of occupational tasks, in which tasks requiring higher levels of skill and greater capitalization are reserved for higher-ranking areas. Since a capitalist world-economy essentially rewards accumulated capital, including human capital, at a higher rate than "raw" labour power, the geographical maldistribution of these occupational skills involves a strong trend toward self-maintenance.

Wallerstein's literature contributes to the idea of migration from developing countries to developed countries. His theory contributes theoretical reasoning as to potential reasons for migration from developing nations. Even though Wallerstein has focussed on the role of capitalism in migration, his work reveals how economic inequalities can cause negative externalities which impact on environmental, social and cultural factors due to existing financial constraints which have contributed to the degradation of developing nations' social and physical environments. The political economy approach can indicate a starting point for understanding how global concentration of capitalist industries could be a key part in producing excess greenhouse gas emissions because capitalism was a powerful part of the economy which attracted labourers.

Environmentally Induced Migration

Environmental impacts caused by climate change are an on-going issue in mainly developing nations due to the lack of ability to cope with environmental pressures which are potentially a contributing factor to forced migration. The pressures of famine, disease, political insecurity and poverty are being exacerbated by human induced processes which are degrading the supporting capacity of developing nations' environments. Along with the rising threat of climate change, developing nations are impacted by climate change to the extent where the ability to cope is being reduced and indicates why under pressure populations are faced with the possibility of migrating. Immigrants whose homelands have become uninhabitable could be forced to seek shelter in other countries where there are regulations put in place to strictly control immigrants. Migrants who are from

developing nations are more exposed to the impacts of climate change due to their lack of infrastructure to deal with environmental impacts and to deal with the process of migrating from affected areas. Barrett (2012, p. 3) explains the difficulties of migration:

Developing countries will be particularly affected for two reasons: they lack the infrastructure and resources to cope with climate-related changes, and they often are already contending with pre-existing public health challenges such as malnutrition, lack of medical care, and inadequate infrastructure for water and sanitation.

Barrett indicates that it is predominately the poor who are the most vulnerable to suffering the most from the impacts of environmental degradation. In order to reduce the necessity of migration from developing to developed countries, measures would need to be taken in order to address its causes which are triggered and exacerbated by the negative effects of climate. Jäger (2009, p. 6) suggests that a reduction in the vulnerability of the poor to natural hazards will alleviate dynamic pressures on communities and reduce population displacement:

The decision to migrate arises from complex interactions among economic, social, political, cultural, and environmental factors. A key recommendation from almost all the case studies is that sustainable development is essential for the migrants' areas of origin. This includes development policies that support the protection of natural resources and investment in traditional regional industries, traditional agricultural practices, activities that generate jobs without destroying ecosystems, and programs that reduce vulnerability and improve the capacity of local communities to adapt.

Investment in developing nations will provide vulnerable people with the tools to prepare for environmental hazards and to develop adaptive mechanisms to cope with the impacts which create economic pressure and disrupt social networks. Without significant changes to the governance of developing nations there may be large numbers of population displaced and potentially increased numbers of refugees who do not have the financial means to cope or the mobility to move internally or internationally. This could potentially raise issues of culpability regarding who is responsible for the wellbeing of migrants that have been displaced through a combination of social, economic and environmental factors. It is important to illustrate the importance of other factors such as social and economic as contributing to the displacement of people from their homes because environmental changes caused by climate change cannot solely explain the reasons for people to want to migrate. Black, et al. (2011, p. 33) constructed a diagram to illustrate intertwined drivers of migration (Figure 1)

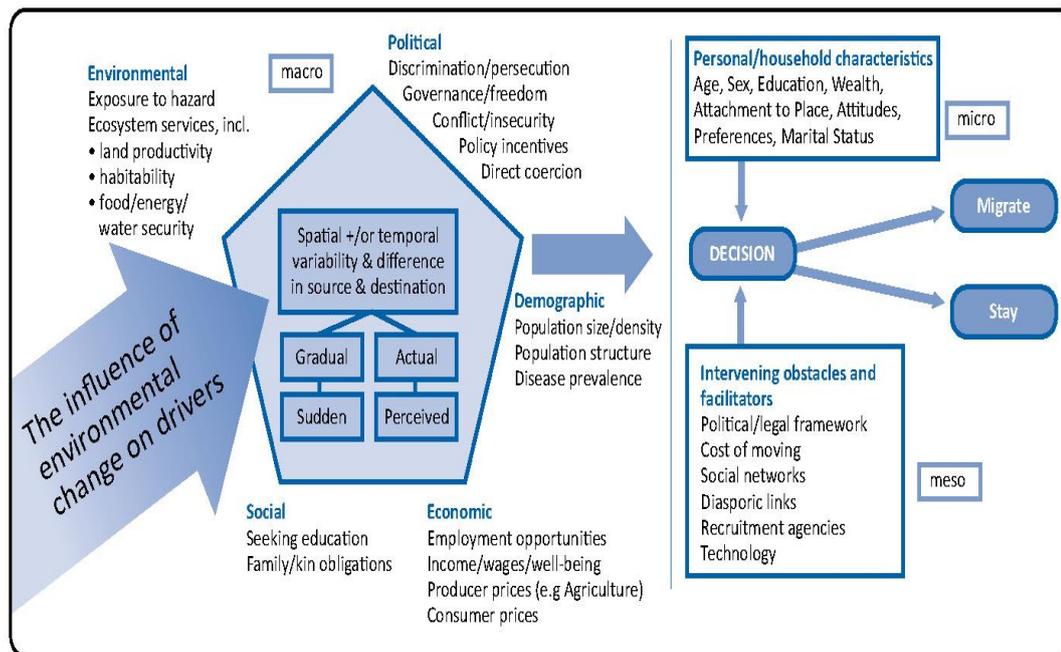


Figure 1 Conceptual framework for the ‘drivers’ of migration (Black et al.)

Climate change induced environmental impacts as illustrated above are not the sole factor driving people from their homes and potentially forcing them to migrate. As Figure 1 shows, Black, et al.. have constructed five categories of migration drivers. The political category reveals how government insecurity and corruption create stressful conditions to live in which can see them lose the trust of the population and does not indicate that the government has a priority for looking after the wellbeing of the population, especially the poor who are the most susceptible to stressful conditions and being marginalised from receiving sufficient aid. An article from Centre for the Study of Traumatic Stress (2012, p. 2) illustrates that:

Political instability in many poor countries can hamper the ability to organize a coordinated disaster response. Limited resources can also expose intra-community schisms—sometimes along racial, ethnic, or religious lines—that further complicates necessary community coordination. Disasters open these fault lines of a society composed of differences in economic privilege, race and religion. Immigration out of disaster areas by those able to do so can be dramatic after a disaster. At times this further exacerbates the economic disparities as the wealthy are able to leave and the poor are not. The poor may also use illegal and risky means of immigration (e.g. “boat people”) in order to find safety, nutrition, health and work for themselves and their families.

Political discrimination is a problem usually for social groups which have been marginalised and persecuted for their religious beliefs, ethnicity or a weak, unstable government which is not proactive in enforcing social equality. This is how an unstable government may exacerbate the impacts of a natural disaster or climate change induced

environmental change. This is because those that are the most in need of aid are probably the poorest and are more likely to be marginalised and suffer from a lack of social capital which means they have fewer social connections to utilise. This results in an increased likelihood of people being forced to migrate from locations which are dangerous and unequal in the distribution of aid.

Social influences are factors which may contribute to the decision of people to migrate from their country of origin because of the limited opportunities provided by individuals' social networks which can influence their social mobility. Collinson (2011, p. 16) indicates:

People's relative or differential access or exposure to particular institutions will be affected by class, ethnicity, gender and other social structures in society. This, in turn, will affect their relative vulnerability to or protection from environmental or other change processes or events; and it will affect their relative agency to opt for migration or avoid displacement in the face of particular environmental or other processes or events.

Social inequalities which are produced by dominant groups in society often based on differences around ethnicity, religion and gender etc. are partly responsible for making discriminated groups more vulnerable to the impacts of natural disasters. Social differences which are created through poor governance and policies are an important factor to analyse in environmentally forced displacement because social discrimination, political structures and institutions leave certain social groups worse off than others. Political, economic and environmental contexts of society contribute to maintaining and reproducing unequal power relationships between the rich and the poor. Natural disasters such as floods and hurricanes can exacerbate pre-existing pressures like population growth, famine and urbanisation which is more likely to impact those who are discriminated against and denied equal rights.

The poor who have been marginalised and denied equal opportunities in the political context are pushed into the idea of migration and are more inclined to do so than the rich because they have fewer means to resist the damages caused by disasters and other environmental problems. Those who have been marginalised and have received unequal opportunities will have diminished agency to cope with environmental impacts and social discrimination. The social context is important in understanding push and pull reasons for migration because it shows how power differences are produced and maintained from social inequalities constructed by governments and institutions which benefit the rich and the privileged and maintain the gap between rich and poor. This gulf between rich and poor becomes apparent in situations such as natural disasters where the rich have had access to social opportunities and are more likely to receive better aid and attention than

in comparison with those who have been persecuted because they have had fewer opportunities and access to aid because of social differences. Political instability, discrimination and social differences are combining factors that are causing social displacement and coercing people to migrate. This can create social pressures on those who have limited means to cope with political and environmental pressures that can make migrating to a new location even potentially worse from where migrants have come from due to pre-existing political conditions. Black, et al. (2009, p.13) reinforce the notion of vulnerability through political instability and unequal distribution of life opportunities:

Many studies in a wide range of countries have shown that migration is positively associated with wealth and social capital, while vulnerability to environmental change is negatively correlated with wealth and social capital. Those with lower wealth or capital face a double set of risks from future environmental change: their reduced level of capital means that they are unable to move away from situations of increasing environmental threats; yet, at the same time, this very lack of capital makes them even more vulnerable to environmental change. These populations are likely to become trapped in places where they are vulnerable to environmental change.

Insufficient preparation from developing nation governments from creates a vulnerable situation for those who are financially insecure and is triggered by changes to the environment. Black, et al. suggests that there is a direct correlation between wealth (or lack of) and the extent of impacts from environment change. The wealthy will have greater financial resources to utilise for purchasing necessities in a time of crisis. They will be able to move away from affected areas and not be trapped due to being impoverished. By being wealthy, there is also the possibility of having greater social capital and entitlements to aid. Those who are poor are more likely to migrate illegally to areas which are unsafe or vulnerable to future climate change effects or from rural to urban areas where migrant slum camps develop which may have poorer environmental conditions than from where they came. Black et al. reveal intertwined ideas which explain the difficulty of the predicament of migrants whose community and environment is disrupted through external forces over which they have no control. The vulnerability of migrants is illustrated to show how a combination of reasons ranging from poverty to environmental hazards will leave people in unsafe situations with little support or other options but to migrate. Those which can migrate are able to avoid being trapped in an area which restrains improved wellbeing. Migrants who have social capital and social network connections will find it easier to migrate due to the support of friends, money and an established destination to go to.

The social factors such as social differences, social network connections, education and family obligations are responsible for adding to the thought decision processes of people to migrate when their environment is exposed to environmental changes. The improvements in technology to social networks allow greater access for young people to see and communicate experiences with people who have gone before them. This can help initiate migration because people have seen and talked to those who have left their place of origin and want to gain their own independence and experiences. Kainth (2009, p. 86) indicates that “Sometimes family conflicts, the quest for independence also cause migration especially, of those in the younger generation. Improved communication facilities, such as, transportation, impact of television, the cinema, urban orientated education, resultant changes in attitudes and values also promote migration.” Migration can be seen as a rite of passage into adulthood by emigrating to a new country for independence, experiences and non-material factors. People are drawn to other countries through connections in social networks which expose people to cultural diversity that exists in new countries and the opportunities that are available to those looking to emigrate because of the speed of technology. The advancements in technology make emigrating an easier process than say 100 years ago because of the connections that can be easily established which make starting a new life in a different place easier. This is because of social connections can assist with gaining employment and accommodation. Having established social networks in a country an individual has a greater chance of preventing isolation and alienation from their new surroundings. Ruback et al. (2004, p. 816) note the importance of the use of social networks in the role they play initiating the possibility of an individual wanting to emigrate and how beneficial it is for departing to a new country.

These social networks of individuals at the receiving location are important because they can lower the direct costs of migration (e.g., by providing a place to stay), the opportunity costs of migration (e.g., by reducing the amount of time before the migrant finds employment), and the psychic costs of migration (e.g., reducing the migrant’s sense of dislocation and vulnerability)

The social connections people have are pull factors that contribute to emigrating from an area being impacted by environmental changes. Having a broad social network is important for making the decision to move because in times of danger such as sudden onset natural disaster or the gradual impacts of climate change individuals have somewhere safe to move to and re-establish their disrupted social routines. Moving abroad can be beneficial because of new found opportunities such as the potential for improved job options which can increase social mobility. It is the desires of people that motivate them to migrate and to try and increase their longevity and standard of living.

Economic factors for migration are important drivers for people who may feel compelled to move in order to enhance their economic situation. Cherunilam (2008, p. 582) suggests that:

Migration flows are generally pronounced from economically backwards or stagnating to prosperous or dynamic areas. In the absence of administrative or other barriers that prevent or restrict migration, it tends to be large from comparatively less developed countries to developed countries like the United States and oil rich Middle East countries.

Economic pull factors are often discussed as being the primary factor in turning a non-migrant into a migrant. Those who migrate from their country of origin to a new location are commonly from less developed nations in order to escape a deteriorating economy. Migrants that are moving from a low socioeconomic area to developed capital intensive countries are doing so due to wage differentials. This can be seen as a good move financially for migrants but with more people migrating to developing nations the barriers to entry become more rigorous. This makes the economic factor for a driver of migration less effective to alleviate financial strain and can create greater financial pressures on those who need employment to support themselves and their families. However, Massey discusses that the social group of people contributing to the migration flow is families. It is families as opposed to individuals that are exposed to the pressures of climate change induced natural disasters which create collective reasons for migration to thriving economies. Massey (1990, p. 60) observes that:

Although a large wage differential is clearly an incentive to movement, it is neither a necessary or a sufficient condition... Migration decisions in developing countries are typically made by families, not individuals, and families migrate not only to maximize earnings but also to minimize risks. Economic conditions in developing countries are volatile, and families face serious risks to their well-being from many sources —natural disasters, political upheavals, economic recessions. Sending different family members to geographically distinct labour markets represents a strategy to diversify and reduce risks to household income.

Massey (1990) discusses a different approach to the economic theory behind one of the factors that induce migration. He indicates that a large wage differential is a plausible incentive for an individual to migrate in order to improve standard of living in a vulnerable environment but is not the primary reason. I have referred to Massey because he indicates that migration is not solely an individual's decision but a collective household decision. People from households that are located in volatile environments who migrate to developed nations have a greater capacity to cope with environmental issues due to working in multiple locations to diversify sources of income. This is familiar to the situation with climate change affecting Pacific nations and pushing people to migrate to less vulnerable locations in order to diversify their sources of income and

not solely relying on their country of origin to earn funds. The economic incentive for an individual to migrate can be enhanced through demographic issues which create population growth pressures and are a contributing factor to potentially inducing migration from environmentally vulnerable locations.

Demography is an important factor when analysing the theory behind the motivational reasons for migrants to be forced to move internally or internationally. This is more specific to developing countries where population growth is considered a contributing factor to cause migration. Population growth has varying impacts upon social and environmental contexts. With issues such as increasing population growth in developing countries and the environmental degradation from poor resource management, to large numbers of people living in marginal lands, this is producing vulnerable scenarios for people to be exposed to natural hazards. A policy and issue report from Population Action International (2010, p. 1) reveals that population growth pressures are exacerbated by the occurrences of gradual and sudden onset climate change events and is partly responsible for displacing people.

Climate change is considered a “threat multiplier” by experts in the security community, and climate-induced mass migration can contribute to heightened tension in the world. Impaired access to food and water and severe weather are challenges that have historically led to tension and conflict. As more and more people are displaced or compelled to migrate in the face of these challenges, political, ethnic and religious tensions may result. A recent report by the National Intelligence Council (NIC) predicts that many people who migrate for economic reasons will perceive additional reasons to migrate due to harsh climates, both within countries and from developing to industrialized countries. “Many receiving nations,” the NIC warns, “will have neither the resources nor interest to host these climate migrants.

Climate change is described as a threat multiplier because of how climate change impacts may have the potential to increase the pressures of pre-existing political, social, environmental and economic conditions. Climate change events can be the trigger to induce migration because of the damages suffered by communities which can expose their inability to cope. It is those who live below the poverty line which are most likely to suffer the greatest because of their inability to gain entitlements to basic resources such as food, water and shelter. Being deprived of basic needs can have a flow on affect which can cause tensions in other areas and can be described as the final factor in prompting people to migrate. Auclair (1999, p. 5) indicates that

Extreme climatic events act to trigger ‘politically’ forced migration in countries already under resource, economic, political, racial, religious and/or ethnic tension. Many countries of the developing world are marked by limited resources and internal tension. A sever climate event can act as the ‘final straw’ that precipitates conditions forcing migration. The colloray is that severe climate can be an

important predictor of forced displacement and migration episodes in developing countries.

With on-going political, economic and environmental pressures existing in developing countries, the impacts of climate change may compound the existing negative impacts. This can create stress and tension amongst people in developing nations who may be forced into migrating. People who are living in developing countries are thus involuntarily forced into migrating from their homes to safer destinations which are less volatile and where there are greater opportunities available for migrants.

It is not sufficient enough to state that changes to the environment are the sole reasons for the displacement of people from their homes. It is a combination of pre-existing conditions which have been constructed through social and economic process including poor management of resources. Political instability, population growth, economic incentives and social influences all act as multipliers in the case of impacts felt from environmental changes. Although, it can be considered that the environment is an important aspect to acknowledge when contemplating migration, it is the stresses of the previous stated groups which are more latent and compound the more obvious impacts of environmental change such as natural disasters.

Environment and Migration

Climate change is likely to have varying impacts around the world but people in developing countries located in vulnerable areas will be affected the most due to the fragility of the inhabited environment and the limited adaptive capacities the population has at its disposal. People who reside in the Pacific Islands are going to come under the possible threat of rising sea levels. Firstly, this section will discuss the debate between the environmental migration policies and the meaning of 'environmental refugee' and how climate change has induced environmental migration. Secondly, I will discuss the other side of the debate on how environmental change does not have a significant enough impact upon people in order to displace them and that they are migrating for different reasons. Finally, I will discuss single and whole community migration and the varying problems that are entailed with these groups when migrating.

Environmental pressures from natural disasters and climate changes can possibly result in forced migration to a new location domestically or internationally. Those people who are displaced are the foundations of a contentious debate. This is whether or not those who are considered climate change migrants fall into the same category as a refugee being displaced for political, violent or religious persecution and whether or not climate change

caused involuntary environmental migration. This is because climate change migrants do not meet the criteria of refugee asylum policies. Brown (2008, p.13) describes the issue between climate change migrant and refugee as important due to the connotations associated with the terms refugee and migrant. The term climate change refugee carries the implication of being pushed, forced or running from a force which they cannot prevent. This resonates well with the general public because people who are under duress from climate change impacts will more likely earn their sympathy. Climate change migrant has different meanings where migrants are perceived to be pulled to a new country to increase their wellbeing and standard of living. A climate change migrant also has international policy implications because it does not fall into the criteria of international asylum seeking. So under the current state of affairs, climate change migrants will fall through the cracks of international policies and no institution is obligated to offer assistance. This debate is important to resolving the problem of allocating new homes for people displaced from climate change because those who cannot find new homes will be left stranded in hazardous areas.

The discussion over the terminology used for ‘environmental refugees’ which currently does not warrant the same treatment as a conventional migrant is an important aspect of environmentally displaced migrants. This is because powerful nations will most likely receive a large portion of potential migrants which could be perceived as national security risk or have an impact on the economy. Kolmannskog (2008, p. 10) describes that policies on climate change migrants are there to prevent possible ‘flooding’ of climate change migrants.

A fundamental critique is found in the context of north-south discourse where “environmental security” is seen as a colonisation of the environmental problems, suggesting that the underdeveloped south poses a physical threat to the prosperous north by population explosions, resource scarcity, violent conflict and mass migration.

In the future there could be even greater numbers of migrants induced to move due to climate change impacts. This is where developed nations can refuse migrants entry due to the interpretation of the meaning of climate change migrants and how in current policy settings they do not qualify for asylum. Migrants from developing countries are granted asylum if they are affected by environmental degradation, population growth and religious and ethnic persecution. Bates (2002, p. 467) defines conventional refugees as “...people with a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion”. This definition indicates that someone who has been induced to move from their home from environmental causes does not fall into the category of a conventional refugee. This

suggests that current migration policies are ineffective for those who have been displaced by natural disaster and gradual environment deterioration. I feel that those who have been displaced through external forces which are out of their control should be categorised as conventional refugees. It is important to note that those people that migrate either voluntarily choose to move themselves or their families or there are large communities which are forced to leave on a permanent basis. Clark (2007, p. 1) explains induced migration as: "Families and individuals that move to escape stressful situations and to seek better opportunities in new locations". Induced migration indicates that it is predominantly individual and small groups who leave because of the deteriorating quality of life and leave to find a new location to live with the possibility of later returning. This category allows for migrants to earn greater incomes elsewhere while sending remittances back home to help cope with climate change impacts. Forced migration is a product of climate change and is more severe than induced migration. Campbell (2007, P.33)

The second category is migration from communities where continued habitation becomes impossible. Such a situation would require entire communities to relocate. In this case, the migration may be considered forced, rather than induced, climate migration, and may lead to community fragmentation, social disintegration, and the loss of culture.

Forced migration illustrates the distinct difference between forced and induced migration. Forced migration is a more drastic response to climate change impacts and is the result of environmental damages which make continuing to live in a hazardous environment dangerous and are therefore forced to move. This then results in individuals and communities being forced to migrate and are thus displaced and are considered as climate change migrants.

Environmental Refugee in a Political Context

There are also contrasting opinions to the debate about granting asylum to migrants displaced by climate change where various literatures suggest that climate change is not inducing migration and that is why migrants may be rejected. Environmental changes are not considered a significant enough factor for migrants to be granted permission to migrate to another country. Due to the legal parameters of what classifies a conventional refugee, as stated previously, the environment is not considered as a significant factor for inducing migration but something which exacerbates pre-existing social, economic and political problems in a community. Beniston and Hay (2001, p. 12) explain how

environmental impacts from climatic changes are a result of human interactions with environment which can possibly result in inducing migration:

While sea-level rise is an obvious environmental driver which may significantly impact many low-lying coastal regions and island states around the world, it is necessary to bear in mind that sea-level rise is a consequence of a warming world, which is in part the consequence of economic and industrial policies that lead to growing greenhouse-gas emissions. Environmental issues are, therefore, often an expression of underlying economic and political factors.

Beniston and Hay (2001) indicate reasoning as to why people who have been displaced by climate change impacts cannot be considered to be conventional refugees. They explain that environmental migration is the product of anthropogenic processes which indirectly result in environmental impacts which can potentially force people to migrate and that environmental migration is not direct result from conflict or persecution. Raleigh, Jordan & Salehyan (p. v) state that migration of environmental refugees is induced by a combination of vulnerabilities such as economic and political and diminishes the eligibility of environmental issues when analysing migrants seeking asylum.

While it is important to highlight environmental pressures and their association with migration, the term 'environmental refugee' conflates the idea of disaster victim with refugee and reduces the complexity of real situations. We emphasize the linkage between the economic and political vulnerabilities of households and communities with the extent of migrations practiced. We consider how governments and external organizations affected those migrations, and design policy matrices to compare policies designed to address environmental migration.

The term 'environmental refugee' is considered politically meaningless because it is not binding with international asylum seeking requirements. Raleigh, Jordan and Salehyan have deconstructed the concept where environmental migration is a complex combination of factors which are linked together and produce or exacerbate environmental impacts. It is understandable as to why there are people who dismiss the concept of environmental refugee because of the economic, social and political issues which contribute to result in forced migration. A conventional refugee can be granted asylum because they are persecuted and threatened and are considered more unlikely to be able to return home. This is contrasting to the perception of an environmental refugee who is deemed capable of returning and being able to attempt to rebuild and restart again providing that their environment they were displaced from is still habitable.

The complexity of the issue of environmentally induced migration is important to this thesis because of the understanding of climate change being a possible global threat and the possibility of people whose natural environments are deteriorating from climate change impacts and may need to be accommodated in another country. Those who are displaced directly or indirectly by climate change from their country are stuck in a tricky

political position. This is because environmental refugees do not have any legal mechanisms to adequately support them to gain asylum in foreign countries and are left in limbo where they are sent to refugee camps. As a result they resort to illegal migration or have to return to their vulnerable environments. Boano, Zetter and Morris (2008, p. 9) indicate there is opposition to creating environmental refugees as a legitimate category for forced migration:

although environmental degradation and catastrophe may be important factors in the decision to migrate, and issues of concern in their own right, their conceptualisation as a primary cause of forced displacement is unhelpful and unsound intellectually, and unnecessary in practical terms... the linkages between environmental change, conflict and refugees remain to be proven ... rather, migration is... perhaps better seen as a customary coping strategy.

The main theme which is being produced and maintained through literature opposing the concept of environmental refugee is that the environment itself is not considered a significant enough factor to displace people. To consider the environment as a primary source of inducing population displacement has been considered inadequate in understanding the theory of environmental refugees and how they should be handled. The combination of economic, social and political factors are all linked together with the environment but the environment itself is described as something which does not persecute or create conflict for those forced to migrate. I feel that this is why the concept of environmental refugee is not considered legitimate on an international basis because of the complexity of the contributing factors which do not allow a single damaging factor to be pinpointed. The Council of Europe released an article about the problem of environmental refugees (2007, p. 141). This article describes how there are multiple cause and effects of climate change migration and that changes to the environment are not considered to be a form of persecution which is how climate change migration has been viewed by some:

Given the current climate of restrictive immigration policies for entry into Europe, the vast majority of migrants are refused entry under asylum procedures as economic migrants or, worse still, illegal or irregular immigrants. As far as environmental refugees are concerned, the risk is therefore that they will be refused asylum and other forms of protection on the grounds that there is no risk of persecution, despite the fact that their reasons for fleeing may have been and continue to be life-threatening. If this is the case, environmental refugees will fall into the residual category of migrants whose protection is dependent on temporary and episodic and charitable international aid responses.

Environmental migrants can be mistaken for, or misplaced into the category of economic migrant which often refers to people looking to enhance their standard of living via entrance to a new country. Environmental refugees are liable to be included with other forms of migrants eg illegal, temporary etc. Environmental refugees face the risk of being

lumped together with other migrants because of current statutory migration regulations which do not register the environment as a significant factor to induce population displacement. Current migration regulations fail to acknowledge the possibility of environmental drivers of migration and accommodate for the case of environmental refugees. Migration regulations need to be redefined in order to cope with the current and future displacement of small or large groups through climate change.

Small and large groups of displaced people are issues which in the future will create problems for both countries of origin and the destination countries. In current circumstances, small groups and households of migrants that feel that there have been significant, irreversible changes to their environment will go through the process of gaining asylum while being labelled an environmental refugee which has no legislative power. This currently is inadequate in dealing with environmental migration issues where those who are rejected asylum are forced to return home or try illegal migration.

Allocating places to live for large groups of migrants could be difficult but smaller groups could be easier to accommodate. New Zealand and the Pacific Islands have established temporary visas which have created a migration category for small groups of people specifically for those affected by environmental change. Mcadam (2011, p. 45) describes New Zealand's approach to environmental migration policy:

Though New Zealand does not formally have any humanitarian visas relating to climate change and displacement, it is developing a general policy on environmental migration. It has expressed its commitment to 'respond to climatic disasters in the Pacific and manage changes as they arise.' In addition to complementary protection grounds, the New Zealand Immigration Act provides that a person may be permitted to remain in New Zealand if 'there are exceptional circumstances of a humanitarian nature that would make it unjust or unduly harsh for the person to be deported from New Zealand', and it would not be contrary to the public interest to permit the person to remain.

With island nations and areas bordering on the coast being initially the most susceptible to rising sea levels, temporary resettlement options are a good starting point in implementing the need for addressing the issue of large scale population displacement. McAdam (2011) discusses how humanitarian principles should be incorporated within political migration frameworks and not just assessing climate change migrants as being people who are young, able bodied, working and able to send remittances back to their homeland. If small groups are initially granted asylum then it will set a precedent for the future cases where larger groups may be displaced and it will be easier to gain an understanding of how to deal with the situation and accommodate displaced climate change migrants. It would be easier to grant entrance to small groups because this would create relatively less stress on social, economic and environmental infrastructures when

compared to large scale population movement. Brown (2007, p. 23) discusses the hindrances entailed with population displacement and relocation where “Forced migration hinders development in at least four ways; by increasing pressure on urban infrastructure and services, undermining economic growth, increasing the risk of conflict and leading to worse health, educational and social indicators among migrants themselves”. With global predictions of up to 250 million people displaced by the year 2050 these potential population movement issues need to be given consideration. A current method to adapt to climate change impacts is through temporary visas for people to work and send remittances back to their families in order to reduce the impacts of environmental change so large scale population movement will not be necessary in the future. At present, this is an adequate method to adapt to climate change and avoid population displacement but more and more people will be looking to migrate which could result in pressure in urban areas and significant social and economic problems in the future when people need places to live and work. The quantity of people that enter each host country needs to be planned because of the issues of urbanisation and implications of urban welfare and access to services. It is important that the New Zealand Government considers these issues given the cultural and other connections New Zealand has with the Pacific nations and the possible threat of rising sea levels and other climate impacts in those countries.

Transnational Linkages: Pacific Migration to New Zealand

The notion of transnational linkages is an important perspective in this thesis because it addresses how social networks have transnational links over international borders and how these links act as a tool for people to firstly embed the idea of moving to a different nation and secondly, to make the migration process easier to complete. Many of the social links have been established by people moving from the Pacific to New Zealand contribute to the strong connection between New Zealand and a number of Pacific Island countries. Muanamohaa, et al. (2010, p.887) “define social networks as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants at places of origin and destination through reciprocal ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community of origin”. It is the interpersonal ties that plant the notion of migration into the thoughts of those who are living in their country of origin. Through the use of contemporary social networks it has made it easier for migrants to identify locations and communities of people with similar cultural background to their own. This allows for migrants to maintain their identities in host countries and establish areas of familiarity in foreign lands where transnational links can reconnect and maintain relationships with the country of origin. Graham and Poku (2000, p. 111) indicate that:

What common people have done in response to the process of globalisation is to create communities that sit astride political borders that, in a very real sense, are neither here nor there but in both places simultaneously. These...are metasocieties which are formed to encompass highly dynamic systems of free movement of people, ideas and practices between various locations.

Transnational communities are an integral reason for the migration of people because of the social and cultural links that exist in the migrant's place of origin and new communities abroad. There are benefits from developing social networks and ties with other migrants in foreign lands because this will reduce problems of income, insecurity and provide a sense of comfort and belonging because people are heading to a destination where they know they have people they can interact with. This can result in previous migrants using their knowledge and experiences to help new migrants settle in with accommodation, employment agencies and greater social networks and develop a bond which can develop into tight ethnic communities to protect against prejudice and xenophobia.

Pacific migration the New Zealand is an example of groups who have adapted to globalisation and have used migration as a tool to capitalise on greater economic opportunities elsewhere and to send remittances back to the Pacific. The possibility of Pacific Island people doing this on a permanent basis may increase in the future due to rising sea levels and other environmental impacts on island nations.

The process of community migration to a host nation will differ in the host population's reception of foreigners. The host nation's attitude towards migrants is important for the social cohesion of the community migrants are moving to. Pacific migration originally became prominent in the 1950's when there was a shortage of supply in manual labour in the industrial sector expansion post war. In this point of time there was a shortage of supply of labour, but as economic conditions change for the worst so do the host nation's attitudes where migrants are in competition with host people and are stigmatised as forming the lower underclass for employment or finding themselves unemployed. Pacific Island people are moving into a new social and cultural environment and will possibly find themselves in conflict with the dominant ethnic groups of New Zealand: Pakeha and Maori. Earle (1995, p. 16) suggests that there is a pre-existing hierarchy between cultures where there are dominants and subordinates in a cultural paradigm:

The dominant existing paradigm is to treat Pacific Islands peoples as a minority ethnic group. The term "minority" places Pacific Islands people in a subordinate position to the "majority", generally seen as Pākehā. It assumes that social norms are set by the majority and that minorities have the choice of joining the majority (assimilation), or partially retaining their identity, so long as it doesn't conflict with majority requirements (integration).

Earle's (1995) work indicates the importance of different cultures operating in varying fashions and that those who belong to the minority cultures are in a position where they can integrate with the dominant culture or reject it. This will be an important factor for planning for Pacific Island climate change migrants and how their cultural values will be tested against dominant culture values. Those who do not wish to conform to learning the dominant ideals, norms or assimilating with the culture, face being marginalised by the dominant groups in society and may find social mobility more difficult when trying to develop social networks and employment opportunities. It is likely that those people who do migrate will intend to work in manufacturing and primary sectors if they have low levels of education or skills. Working in these employment sectors can be associated with low skill requirements and can be perceived by the dominant groups as including bunder/lower class people of the socioeconomic ladder. This is a common perception that is associated with migrants from the Pacific Islands. Clydesdale (2008, p. 9) indicates Pacific Island people represent the less specialised and skilled occupational classes and this has created a negative identity which is generalised by some people in host countries.

Economically, Pacific people have always faced considerable difficulties in NZ. Their skills are not always suited to the demands of the New Zealand labour market and they have been over-represented in the unemployed, lower skilled workers and low income earners”.

The Pacific Island people that have occupied low skilled jobs have been identified as being a major ethnicity that has represented this type of work and generalisations have been drawn about Pacific Island people as being lower class and not part of the dominant Pakeha/European group many whose members are involved, more likely, at a higher socioeconomic level. This can be a possible indication of the perception and attitude of host people where potential host nations will critically evaluate the benefits of granting asylum to climate change migrants from the Pacific Islands based on skills.

The perception of Pacific Island people as fuelling the underclass of New Zealand is unjust and not a true reflection of the Pacific Island contribution to New Zealand but may, nevertheless, be a problem for migrants induced or forced to move to New Zealand by climate change. Negative stereotypes which can be socially constructed and applied to the general Pacific Island population can contribute to making it difficult for migrants to settle, find employment and not be identified as economic deadweight on the New Zealand economy Bedford (2009, p. 42) discusses how in the 1960s and 1970s Pacific Island peoples' workforce participation has increased over time:

The results demonstrated three trends. Firstly, as expected, in all four ethnic groups there were improvements in labour-force participation for the three cohorts as they aged. Thus when each cohort reached 25–29 years, there were higher

proportions in the labour force than there had been when they were aged 20–24 years. This pattern continued for the two cohorts that reached 30–34 years between 1996 and 2001, and the oldest of the three, born between 1962 and 1966, when they were 35–39 years at the time of the 2001 census.

Bedford has illustrated that Pacific Island, specifically Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa, Tonga and Fiji people are a contributing factor to the development and growth of the New Zealand economy and are not stagnating economic growth. This is indicated by census statistics which have tracked cohorts which show that Pacific Island participation in the workforce is increasing the longer they live in New Zealand. With greater time spent in New Zealand comes greater social, cultural and economic benefits to people and this can create a positive image around Pacific Island people. Although, not all people share the same perception as is the case with Clydesdale's (2008) paper which reinforced notions of Pacific Island people as members of lower socioeconomic groups of New Zealand society. Bedford has illustrated factors which have contributed to negative images associated with Pacific Island People. Bedford states that there were four factors which disadvantaged Pacific Island people. Firstly, the content and organisation of the education system in the 1950s and 60s were ineffective for new migrants. Secondly, the nature of the New Zealand labour market in the 1950s and 1960s which was declining in manufacturing labour jobs. Thirdly, Pacific Islanders were subjected to ethnic discrimination in the labour market, especially in immigration gatekeeping sectors. Fourthly, linkages that Pacific peoples in New Zealand have with kinfolk in the Pacific Islands (Bedford, 2009, p.41). These factors are the foundations of explaining the lack of social and economic mobility of the Pacific people and how their image in New Zealand is associated with being a burden on the economy by some host people. These four factors have contributed to inequalities in economic wellbeing which have been produced and maintained by New Zealand institutions and explains the inability for migrants to meet the labour market skills requirements.

The way migrants from the Pacific Islands interact and connect with people from their host community is an important factor in developing a positive or negative relationship. Acculturation is a term which is associated with migration literature because it describes the various dynamics of ethnic groups interacting with one another. Lee & Funk (2011, p. 2) indicate that:

Acculturation may be defined as culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors.

Acculturation is an important term when discussing the issues involved with people migrating to a new environment. Migrants are involved in a difficult situation where they have to decide to be part of the host culture and possibly lose their identity or reject the host nation culture and feel disconnected from their new environment. Lee and Funk (2011, p.2) state that there are four possible outcomes from acculturation which will influence the host community attitude to migrants and how well migrants adjust to their new environment:

The identified outcomes include (a) assimilation, defined as the state when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures; (b) separation, defined as the state when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others; (c) integration, defined as the state when there is an interest in maintaining one's original culture, while simultaneously engaging in daily interactions with other groups; and (d) marginalisation, defined as the state when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination).

These are important outcomes from interacting with their host community for Pacific Island people because it will determine how migrants are perceived by members of the host society. If migrants assimilate and absorb different aspects of host culture such as learn the language, try new foods and embrace the host nation way of life then they will have more in common with locals and will interact more while building a positive relationship and a positive attitude towards migration. But this may come at costs such as loss of cultural values and identity among others. Members of the host nation population maybe more likely to have negative attitude towards migrants if they hold onto their original culture and separate themselves from cultural and social opportunities. It has to be considered difficult to change an individual's culture because of their previous upbringing in another country which has been ingrained into their conscious which makes the individual who they are and thus problematic to decide whether to assimilate, separate, integrate or marginalise.

The perception of the host nation population towards immigrant groups can be based on a number of aspects. Host nation populations see migrants as further competition over tangible resources and may be concerned that large numbers of migrants may change the New Zealand social structure. This can make social and economic opportunities such as education, employment and income more competitive. Intergroup contact is a method to create a positive form of interaction if it is done in an environment which allows for equal status and is done voluntarily in order to develop positive attitudes between members of migrant and host communities. Masgoret and Ward (2008, p. 230) state: "Decades of research have established a link between intergroup contact and attitudes. Contact in

friendship, work and neighbourhood domains has beneficial effects in reducing prejudices, particularly when contact occurs under equal status, voluntary, and cooperative conditions.”

The intergroup interaction in spaces which provides equal rights will encourage positive relationships between different groups which will contribute to alleviating preconceived attitudes towards people with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

This chapter has discussed how migrating is weighed up by the effects of distance, income, cost of migration, information, personal characteristics and kinship ties. People will migrate because they want to enhance their economic well-being and will go to where they can prosper. Environment induced migration is caused by climate change impacts along with pre-existing economic, social, cultural and political factors. These contribute to deteriorating the quality of life for people and results in migration. Those who are forced to migrate because of environmental reason are considered as environmental refugees. This concept is not considered as a legitimate concept in a political context. Transnational linkages are prove connections across countries that promotes migration.

Chapter 5

Findings: How people respond to the idea of climate change migrants in New Zealand

From conducting interviews with people from different ages and backgrounds it has become apparent that there are mutual themes that have occurred when people talk about the idea of climate change migrants moving to New Zealand from the Pacific. Most of the interviewees considered that the application of mitigation techniques is perhaps too late now to make any significant impact upon reducing the impacts of climate change. From conducting the interviews, migration is seen as a form of adaptation because climate change will gradually start making Pacific Island countries vulnerable to physical changes to their environment. The consequence of this is that they may have to seriously start thinking about the possibility of seeking somewhere else to live. This chapter will address the research question of climate change and population movement: How climate change might displace Pacific Island settlements and the New Zealand public's perception of large scale migration. Then I go onto discuss themes which were frequently reoccurring in responses amongst interview participants. Participants tended to indicate the importance for Pacific Island interaction and integration with the host population, a moral responsibility of New Zealand people to help out their Pacific Neighbours, discuss community and population reformation in New Zealand in specific areas for climate change migrants from the Pacific, the ideal or most practical locations for climate change migrants to relocate to and how an influx of foreign people will possibly cause strain on the social structure in New Zealand.

This thesis has discussed the issue of climate change and specifically the climate change impacts upon Pacific Island countries. Climate change has varying impacts across the globe such as polar ice caps and glacier melting, rising sea levels, coastal inundation, extreme weather patterns, desertification, erosion and salinization. These climate change induced impacts can create the possibility of displacing millions of people in the future who will then need to be relocated if the damage inflicted upon their homelands is irreversible. I conducted the semi structured interviews with questions designed to target the participant's thoughts on climate change impacts, population displacement and relocation and migrant integration into host communities.

Using semi structured interviews allowed personal insights from the participants' experiences with migrating to different countries, their challenges with living in a foreign culture with language barriers and different cultural customs and the importance of being open minded and flexible when seeking employment and planning a future. Participants interviewed had similar responses in regards to the question of the possibility of having displaced communities being able to reform their whole community in a specific location, where migrants should be relocated and how migrants should look to establish themselves within the host nation. The prominent discourses that I identified from responses given by participants were assimilation, concerns about a possible welfare burden and the necessity for migrant employment. When discussing assimilation with participants they expressed that they did not mind having climate change migrants from the Pacific Islands, just as long as they made an effort to integrate into New Zealand culture. If migrants failed to integrate with the host population then they would be less responsive to wanting migrants to live in New Zealand. The data collected on assimilation indicated there were preferences and conditions for cultural, spatial and power relations within the discourse assimilation when discussing Pacific Island migrants living in New Zealand.

Pacific Island cultural and spatial assimilation into New Zealand society

The research data I collected in semi structured interviews revealed that the participants in my research do not mind having New Zealand acting as a safe haven for climate change displaced migrants but only on the condition that Pacific Island migrants integrate into host communities' lifestyles and cultures. The participants expressed their desire for New Zealand to accommodate climate change migrants. However, a common point was expressed that there was a fear of migrants not interacting effectively with the host population and this could disrupt community cohesion. Community cohesion could be disrupted in the form of having climate change migrants with undesirable backgrounds moving into the country. Participant one expressed that in order to deter this from occurring then there should be a screening process on the climate change migrants to check if they will cause issues with the law:

If you apply for any job in New Zealand then you are very much scrutinised...that you have a clean background. If someone has done a burglary once a month then they are not really the desirable people that you want or any country wants.

The perception of individuals from the New Zealand public is a motif in literature focussing on migration and integration into host communities. Earle (p.2,1995) suggests that the host population has an established culture and an understanding of what social norms are and are therefore in a position of power to include or exclude new migrants based upon their commitment to interaction within a new culture and community:

The dominant existing paradigm is to treat Pacific Islands' peoples as a minority ethnic group. The term "minority" places Pacific Islands' people in a subordinate position to the "majority", generally seen as Pākehā. It assumes that social norms are set by the majority and that minorities have the choice of joining the majority (assimilation), or partially retaining their identity, so long as it doesn't conflict with majority requirements (integration).

Earle (1995) stated that there is a power difference between the host group and migrants. In this case, the migrant is subordinate to the host group. The host is the dominant group in society and migrants are faced with embracing the host cultures social practices or they can create their own enclave amongst the host communities. Participant two stated that:

Well I think... it depends on how much land they are allocated because there is the danger of creating isolated communities. You want any migrant to integrate with the existing community and not only just integrate with their own kind... I guess there are some requirements for maybe there community halls and church but to have a large area of designated land it would restrict natural integration with the local people.

Participant two expressed how Pacific island immigration to New Zealand is important for both immigrants and the host country population to be exposed to each other. This participant articulated how allowing climate change migrant communities to fully reform will create isolation and possibly segregate themselves from the host community. This isolation of climate change migrants from the host community can have indirect repercussions later on in the future. Participant two was drawing on knowledge from previous experiences of trying to develop a bicultural community where people of similar backgrounds gel together and prevents social boundaries. Having social boundaries can create isolation and limit interaction amongst people within a community and have long lasting consequences.

Participant three discussed how not being in the dominant majority group of society creates the subtle necessity for migrants to integrate or assimilate and this illustrates these cultural differences:

In New Zealand where you have the freedom to live the way you want you should still realise that the country you are in has a culture and though you are free to practice your own culture with in it...you shouldn't expect the majority of the people around you to assimilate to what you are if you are the minority...minorities should assimilate to the majorities that's the way it has been and that's the way it will probably always be... If you have people that come over to a foreign country and set up their own localised community within a wider area, but I think it should be like...if they come over to our country and completely change it, I would never allow that personally. If they want to bring in their culture to make the culture that is already there richer, that is ok, but they should not try to destroy what is already there and replace it with their own because that is unacceptable.

The thoughts of participant three illustrate the perspective where the host nation is the group which dominates others and other cultural groups are subordinate in terms of influence. Participant three explained how, when an individual moves to a new location, he or she tries to understand and carry out new notions about culture. Participant three commented on how there is a unique culture that is created in each environment. From this perspective, culture is shaped and influenced by the environment and the people that are within it. This is where the dilemma for migrants can occur where they may either act or behave in the way they did in their previous environment or they change their behaviour inventory to fit in and adapt to their new social settings. Participant three's comments on migration and integration indicated that the migrant is not part of the majority and is expected to assimilate in order to become included within the social, cultural, economic and spatial boundaries of the dominant social group. Participant three feels that this is because they are the minority and the majority should not be expected to assimilate to the minority group culture, which can create a power difference

Participant four commented on how it would be easier to integrate to a new culture through interaction amongst schools in order to help promote understanding between people with different social backgrounds from a much earlier age:

Schooling... by all cultures going to a common school they learn how to get along and accept one another... foreign people do not have to exclude themselves from the host community in order to maintain their culture because it is detrimental to the well-being of the community. Their culture can be maintained through other ways which do not need be blocked off from the rest of society.

From these comments, participant four indicated that they would welcome climate change migrants from the Pacific Islands as long as they integrate in some fashion with the host

community. This was similar to participant three who also welcomed the idea of accommodating climate change migrants but, again, as long as they integrated with the host population. It may also be easier for children to assimilate to a new culture because they may have fewer ties with their previous homeland than their parents. Participant four was alluding to how young children are perhaps more open and understanding to being exposed to different experiences. Participant four indicated that this would depend on how young the children are because they would have had a limited time exposed to their parents' culture. This is because the longer that a migrant has stayed in their homeland, the greater the influence on their existing behaviour and cultural notions as an adult.

The impression that I got from conducting interviews was that host people expressed a desire for immigrants to be able to effectively integrate and interact within their community. I understood that this was desired because it would be beneficial at a collective level for both the host and migrant groups and would promote diversity and social cohesion. This was expressed amongst participants as a preference because they feel that they are the dominant cultural group in the position of power because they are not the people that are being displaced from their homeland. The participants want climate change migrants to be able to bring their families; culture and lifestyle to New Zealand but not at the cost of having this influx of people change the host nation's cultural structure in a negative manner. The participants have fear and apprehension of the unknown factors that exist when dealing with a new group of people. They have a fear that the arrival of foreign people may create a negative backlash upon the host population when they move into a new community. Participants want migrants to interact more with the host community through dominant language, food, education and religion etc. as a good start point for assimilating new migrants. Paradoxically some have also expressed concerns that coercing migrants into adopting new perceptions, values and ideas could be over bearing and may cause migrants to feel that they are having their integrity and identity stripped from them. Participants expressed how there is also a possibility that having migrants maintain their individual cultures can mean that migrants reduce their integration and create an enclave which may grow into a substantial foreign community that may change the New Zealand social structure.

How an influx of people could create a welfare burden and cause changes to New Zealand social structure

There is a fear, evident from the comments made by participants that the influx of migrants will change the national identity of New Zealand. This fear of change is generated through the apprehension of having a large number of people with different backgrounds coming into New Zealand and possibly changing the pre-existing social and political structures. Participants have discussed how having increased numbers of migrants can be considered a 'double edged blade'. Increased migration can be perceived as a double edged blade because it was considered to have both positive and negative impacts upon the host country. There is the benefit of an increased work force or replacement workers for those who choose to emigrate to a new destination. Then there is the apprehension felt by some of those participants interviewed that a large influx of people will change what they consider to be the national identity of New Zealand and the "Kiwi" culture. Participant three went on to discuss the increase in Muslim people in Great Britain as an example which could possibly be similar to Pacific Island people coming to New Zealand:

Great Britain for example, they had a huge influx of Muslim population and that is changing their social and political structure completely. The thing what I have found about foreign people in general and in this case the Muslim people, they do not integrate as well as they should. They have very strong ties back to the Middle East. This can be because of their lifestyle which is so contrasting to the host nation lifestyle. From what I have read and seen, they have strong beliefs and don't take criticism well and in a nation where you can have the freedom of speech and have any opinion you want they don't get along with other kids if we can use that as an analogy. They take great offence to anyone that critiques their lifestyle or religion.

The example of the Muslim community population illustrates social differences that can exist between foreign and host people. Participant three has expressed concerns over the influx of Muslim people into Britain as a comparison to what might be in store for New Zealand in the future with Pacific Island migrants being displaced from their homelands. This view homogenises all Muslim people into one group even though they have a variety of cultural backgrounds. In similar fashion this also tends to be the case in the representation of Pacific people, where significant cultural differences among the likely climate migrants are overlooked. The host nation people feel that certain parts of their communities could turn into zones which are exclusive to migrants and could change the local landscape. People who move to a foreign place can set up their own environment

which will remind them of home and re-establish their culture. The beliefs and values of one culture can be strongly attached to migrants and can also be a contrasting difference to the host nation culture which can create conflict when trying to integrate. When a migrant is moving to a new destination they are moving into a new culture and way of life which is different. When interviewing participants they indicated that People who move are to a certain extent expected to try and integrate with the host population and partake in the local culture and do as they do.

Participant five commented on how living in Auckland people are exposed to the cultural diversity that exists in the city and that having more Pacific Island people moving to New Zealand would be acceptable as long as it was sustainable and they were “sociable”. From this participant’s perspective, if people move to New Zealand then they are being welcomed into a new country and need to make an effort to embrace the New Zealand culture. Otherwise, it could make both the host and migrant people isolated in their own communities and ultimately reduce cultural diversity and change the social structures:

If you have no desire to interact with the countries culture that you have moved to I don’t really think that you should move there. If you are not open to some level of integration then it could be a bad move. Then you might have a country full of cultural factions and then it is really properly segregated. Then it would not be multi-cultural it would create a divide amongst people.

Participant five discussed how it is wrong to move to another country and not try to interact and embrace the new culture. Participant five believed that if you have been displaced and forced to move or are open to migrating you need to have a mentality that is open to embracing new things. Even though being forced to leave could have traumatic psychological effects upon people that have moved, it is up to them to interact with the local population and not create segregated cultural factions.

If a the population of small island nation was to move to New Zealand then its members would most likely wish to maintain their cultural values and integrity and would like the possibility of being able to govern themselves in a capacity separate from New Zealand government so they can maintain political, cultural and social structures and sovereignty. The participants interviewed did not want this to happen and asserted that they should be a part of the New Zealand culture and not recreate their country within New Zealand. Participants expressed that they welcomed new culture and ideas and they also did not reject the idea of migrants maintaining their cultural identity just as long as they tried to learn about host nation culture and get involved with. From the participants’ points of

view, assimilating to New Zealand culture would sustain their perception of New Zealand as a homogenous cultural set up and could reduce cultural distinctions amongst the New Zealand population. The participants expressed concerns over the volume of climate change migrants that could possibly be moving to New Zealand. Participant one commented on the negatives of an influx of people on New Zealand communities and the economy in general:

The negatives would be the volume of incoming people that would put pressure on the New Zealand people and it will put pressure on the economy through social benefits for those who cannot find employment...If collectively you could put them in a given area...having suffered cyclones and having that community spirit of building they could integrate quite well... in that form of work ethic. They can work hard.

Participant one expressed the opinion, which was a common theme amongst people interviewed, that having a potentially a quantity of climate change refugees could be a financial burden initially on the economy because of the lack of employment opportunities, the time it takes to find jobs, the social benefit payments required to sustain their livelihood and trying to match migrants skills to available jobs. The quantity of climate change migrants from the Pacific Islands was not specified in interviews by participants. However, they did state that it would be considered too many migrants when the quantity made the economic costs of having them live here unsustainable and becoming a welfare burden on the New Zealand tax payer. Initially, if a country or neighbouring country is in need of help then other countries should assist them. This being said, it could be an unsustainable move for the New Zealand economy because of the influx of migrants who have been induced or forced to leave. If their arrival is unsustainable for the New Zealand economy, then they could be perceived as being economic deadweight if they are not able to find employment. The arrival of the migrants could also increase competition for employment which could create resentment from some local people and result in the feeling that climate change migrants are changing the New Zealand social structure. In contrast to the negative apprehensions about the impacts caused by the influx of climate change migrants, there was a positive connection through the work ethic that people have who have from surviving hardships. New Zealand has had a long relationship with the Pacific Islands and has assisted them in their moment of need.

Participant one indicated that a strong work ethic is something that New Zealand people appreciate and would have respect for anyone that shares such similar qualities. The similarity in characteristics between host and migrant populations will serve to enhance

the way people interact and get along with people with different backgrounds and not disrupt social structures. This indicates that even though there may be an influx of migrants coming into New Zealand, it can be a positive outcome for the economy if migrants are hardworking and willing and able to contribute to the care of their families and communities. In order to be able to look after their families, participants explained that migrants should be willing to work and relocate where ever they can find employment instead of staying on social welfare benefits for long periods of time.

Climate change migrants relocation in New Zealand

The question of where the relocation of climate change migrants should be located within New Zealand was answered by participants in a familiar fashion. The climate change migrants that could be migrating to New Zealand would be coming from island nations. Ideally, if they have been forced to move from their homeland then they would like to relocate to an environment which is similar to where they have just come from. The general consensus amongst participants interviewed was that climate change migrants should be relocated to where ever they could find work, where ever their skills were needed and they should integrate into New Zealand communities to live and work alongside New Zealand citizens. With the possibility of climate change migrants being forced to move to countries such as New Zealand, they are faced with the problem of also being forced to relocate where ever the host nation can place them. Having climate change migrants being told where they are supposed to go as opposed to where they may want to go indicates a power difference between host and incoming migrants. This is illustrated through the way participants have responded to the question of where they believe migrants should go. Participant two explained that:

Where ever they are needed. Like if they have particular skills they should go to where those skills are required. I think it is immaterial to where they can go, I think they should go to wherever there is work available...where ever the job opportunities are. It doesn't matter where they have come from, they have to be useful and earn money to look after their families... As long as they are constructive and are willing to contribute to our society. Being productive in a positive way and adding value to the community, adding their own culture while doing the existing cultural practices and adding to the work force.

Participant two indicates that the relocation of climate change migrants from the Pacific Islands should be determined by the availability of work. Participant two believed that the economic factor is the main principle to be considered when integrating and relocating

migrants. This indicates that participant two thinks that contributing financially to the New Zealand economy is more important for migrants than moving them to areas where they would feel comfortable. Participant two feels that there could be a possibility that climate change migrants may not have enough skills to contribute effectively to the New Zealand workforce. Getting climate change migrants into areas of employment reduces the possibility of resorting to social welfare benefits and gives them an opportunity to earn a sustainable income while they live here. This would also make the integration process smoother because the migrants would be working like everyone else and contributing to society.

With the destruction suffered by the South Island city of Christchurch, there is much need for rebuilding. With large numbers of people migrating away from the Canterbury region because of fear of further earthquakes, there is a need for skills, knowledge and wealth to re-stimulate the growth of Christchurch. Participant three clarifies how if New Zealand is to receive an influx of migrants then they should go to the areas where they are most needed, mainly Christchurch:

I think the South Island...Christchurch. Well...Christchurch has a huge need of an influx of people and wealth and potentially useful skills and knowledge... and money to that part of the New Zealand economy... and there is space for it and need for it. So I guess provide for them where ever they can go. I think because they are refugees they should have to adapt to new surroundings.

Participant three has indicated that once again that climate change migrants should be located in areas of New Zealand where they are required for employment reasons. Also, participant three indicated that skill training should be done in advance if they are not educated in areas of employment that need filling in Christchurch. This is because it will make the transition phase into the work force quicker and will mean that migrants are able to support themselves and not depend on social welfare. Participant three also reflects the idea of how migrants are in a new country they should adapt to their new circumstances and are less likely to choose where they are able to go.

When I proposed the idea to participant six of having a lot of land for displaced climate change migrants to relocate on, they stated that it would be impractical and it would create issues with people because it would seem like they are getting special treatment. Participant six also stated that to create the possibility of relocating climate change migrants from Pacific Islands on coastlines or in close proximity could be difficult and that migrants communities may have to be dispersed around New Zealand. Participant six expressed that:

I can see the problems out there, there would be people out there that would not like having a new culture coming in. It would be like insider outsider we were here first and you are not welcome. And when someone comes up and sets up in a big group it is very obvious they are there and might be target for cultural abuse and discrimination. They would need jobs to earn their own living, unless we assume they are on benefits. There would have to be some sort of system...if there coming over they need to be living their own lifestyles and not be living on benefits. They need to go places where they can get work which is normally urban areas...should be urban so they don't have to travel and that they have close access to food, all services and jobs...and all that sort of carry on.

Participant six expressed that to have a whole community relocated somewhere in New Zealand may create the perception that these migrants are getting special attention compared to the rest of the population. This is because it may upset the local population and leave migrant people exposed to abuse and discrimination. This would create isolated communities where people would not interact as much as they would if migrants and locals were dispersed amongst the same community. People from the Pacific Islands would be better relocated in urban centres around New Zealand. This is because participant six believes that living in a city means that migrants will find getting basic amenities more accessible than compared to living in rural locations. This is because migrants will be able to rely on public transport which will increase their mobility as opposed to living in the country or on the edge of the city centre which could reduce mobility. There is a strong demand by interview participants for climate change migrants to be able to start working once they arrive or actively seeking employment while they are living in New Zealand.

This chapter has discussed the three main findings from analysing data from interviews. Cultural assimilation of the migrants to the host group was the first major finding. There was apprehension that migrants would isolate themselves from the host community and not interact outside their own cultural group. Second finding was how the migrant group could be a social welfare burden on the New Zealand economy and absorb to social welfare taxes. The third finding was the relocation of migrants around New Zealand. The data indicated that they should go to wherever they can find work. This could result in cultural disintegration as community groups are split up and relocated around the country.

Chapter 6

Discussion

How people respond to the idea of climate change migrants in New Zealand

The importance of Pacific Island people interacting and integrating with New Zealand communities was the theme that was the strongest and this was evident in the amount of time that each of the participants interviewed spoke about the subject. It became apparent that from this theme that “Kiwi” people would like migrants to partake in the “Kiwi culture” and interact with local people. Having people migrate from the Pacific Islands to New Zealand is nothing new to ‘Kiwi’ people because of the colonial and other ties with the Pacific Islands. This migration has developed broad social and transnational networks over the years. Transnational links draw people to New Zealand because of the pre-existing Pacific Island communities that have already been established to help support new migrants. This being said, it would appear that there is a not a strong reflection of Pacific Island culture in the world views of at least some of the members of the host country who have their own dominant cultures and lifestyles in which they have been raised. Participants have expressed a strong connection to this culture and do not want people to disrupt their lifestyles and change their social milieu or the dynamics of the communities that they live in. When participants commented on questions relating to taking in migrants from Pacific Island countries that could be impacted by climate change impacts in the future, they were very receptive to this idea and all indicated that they would gladly help out a neighbouring country if it was in distress. When participants were asked if migrants could relocate their whole community all in the same place and where in New Zealand they should live they intended to have the attitude that you are welcome as long as they do not change the social and cultural dynamics in a negative way.

Migrant and host culture interaction

Cultural assimilation and integration was a theme which was prominent in the interviews. The perception of the comments from the New Zealand people was that they were comfortable with climate change migrants coming to New Zealand, but there was apprehension about how migrants might interact and possibly cause changes to the New Zealand way of life. Participants expressed in the interviews that from their social and

cultural experiences there have been negative repercussions that have been created by people not being exposed to migrants' cultural differences when living in a multicultural situation. The attitude of the dominant host population towards the migrant community is important for the settling in process of migrants. Participants were fearful that a lack of integration could create prejudice or intolerance to people who have different values and beliefs. I feel that it is important for the host population to let the migrant population settle into their new environment and not be forced to integrate. Stress in intergroup relations may arise where migrant groups that are perceived by the host population to be challenging the dominant discourses. Dandy (2009, p. 225) points out the importance of the role the host population has in integrating migrants:

But most importantly, the dialogue is critical because research demonstrates that the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of this group have a significant influence on the experiences of refugees and immigrants as they settle and adapt in their new communities.

Dandy(2009) highlights how the dominant social group can play a key role in whether migrants have seamless transition into the so-called New Zealand way of life or whether they are ignored and not incorporated into local communities. This is an important point of which some participants appear unaware. This is because there is a strong theme for the migrant population to integrate as quickly as they can and be part of New Zealand society.

Participant two in particular commented on how isolated migrant communities would be detrimental and could create isolation amongst cultural groups. The level of interaction between host and migrant groups is an important issue to address because it can determine how well different cultures interact and tolerate each other. Dandy (2009, p.226) highlights the distinctions that exist when cultures are exposed to each other and the levels of integration that migrant and host groups are willing to do:

Identified two independent but related dimensions of acculturation: the extent to which persons in cultural transition wish to maintain the values, customs and norms of their culture/s of origin (sometimes referred to as 'heritage' or ancestral culture), and the extent to which they desire interaction with other cultural groups, including the host or dominant culture. This results in four acculturation strategies or orientations: 1) integration, in which both dimensions are endorsed, also described as biculturalism; 2) assimilation, in which the culture of origin is not maintained and individuals 'blend in' with the host community; 3) separation, in which the culture of origin is maintained and interaction with other groups is minimal; and 4) marginalization; in which there is little original culture maintenance as well as a distancing from other groups.

Dandy (2009) has indicated the outcomes that are possible when different cultural groups are exposed to each. Interaction between New Zealand and Pacific Island people is something that has been happening since Pacific Island people first moved to New Zealand. Participants indicated that they would welcome migrants moving to, and living in, New Zealand. From my interpretation of their comments, it appeared that there was a strong preference for migrants to both integrate and assimilate. My understanding was that people were welcome here but there were conditions required for climate change migrants to follow.

Those people that live within a multicultural society and do not want to learn about and accept different cultures may create a dysfunctional social environment. This can make migrant and host populations intolerant to accommodating each other's cultures which can exacerbate social differences amongst ethnic groups within a community. Intolerance of religion, beliefs, values or lifestyle choice can result in migrants feeling like they have been alienated from the social majority, but from my interpretation of participant comments, I felt that the host population felt the most threatened by climate change migrants somehow changing their (the host community's) lifestyles. It is the majority which are the dominant group in a society and they will create notions of what constitutes culture and will not want this changed in a manner that they consider to be negative. If migrants are perceived by the dominant group to respect and show an interest to embrace new (i.e. the dominant) cultures then they will more likely be accepted better for doing so. This is where the way immigrants and the host groups interact with each other can determine whether groups integrate, assimilate, separate, or marginalise. People who have been displaced and move to New Zealand are going to a country where the Pacific Islands have a long relationship. Because of this relationship I feel that there would be not as much negative impacts on the cultural and social make ups of New Zealand communities as my participants may think. This is because there has been Pacific Island People living in New Zealand for a long time before people of the Pacific have been induced or forced into moving from their homes due to changes in the climate. There were mixed views shared by participants about the topic of integration into New Zealand culture. Integration as a discourse implies that when migrants move to a new country then they maintain their cultural values of religion, ethnicity and also take up the beliefs of the host country's cultural values. When reflecting on interviews conducted, I consider that none of the participants expressed any views towards migrants having to change their ethnic, racial or religious backgrounds. The data reflected that the host population does not want the migrant people to lose their cultural identity or distinct cultural characteristics because

cultural diversity is a good idea that increases tolerance to different ethnic groups. Instead, participants tended to believe that migrants should partake in cultural arts, schooling, social life and entertainment so that the migrant population has similarities in behaviour which can make interacting and adjusting to a new country easier. Mostly, it would appear participants were concerned that having numerous and different cultural groups could create isolated communities because the distinct social differences would create cultural factions and divide the wider community as opposed to uniting it together.

The participants expressed that they want migrants to interact with and partake in the different aspects of a community as opposed to removing their cultural group from the rest of the community or trying to change the culture that exists in New Zealand. When participant three explained how a person or a group living in a foreign environment should try and assimilate with the cultural characteristics of the host nation, I reflected that this is not necessary a requirement but a view point generated through apprehension about unknown factors on foreign people. Participant three is expressing a common viewpoint from the host nation population in regards to culture. People that move to a different country will likely be expected to interact and partake in the host culture rather than change and overtake the host culture. This would most likely not occur because it would take significant numbers of migrants to impact the host country culture. As indicated in the previous chapter, participant three explained how the migrant group is likely to be subordinate to the host and it is the majority who are the dominant group and are likely to have the subordinate group assimilate with them. If the notion of assimilation is forced upon the migrant group by the host group and the migrant group rejects this because of cultural differences, discrimination or conflicting values then they could be separated or marginalised. Separation and marginalisation can become evident in daily activities where migrants may be made to feel that there are boundaries which restrict where they can go and make them feel uncomfortable. This can evolve to the stage where migrants feel that they are not included in host environments and feel unwanted and out of place.

However, the migrant groups from the Pacific Islands do not have to assimilate as participant three explained. This is because there are numerous Pacific Island communities throughout New Zealand and especially in Auckland city. Even though they are residing in New Zealand it does not mean that they are required to change their cultural background and how they identify themselves. I refer to Taumoefolau (2013, p. 4)

with the example of how people from Tonga have moved to New Zealand and can maintain their heritage while still picking up characteristics from New Zealand to make a type of hybrid culture:

The first are those who have been raised in anga faka-Tonga (the Tongan way), and still maintain their language. The second are those who were born in New Zealand and have decreasing knowledge of the language and anga faka-Tonga. Interestingly, many New Zealand-born Tongans understand the language but cannot speak it. They acquire sufficient Tongan to incorporate values of anga faka-Tonga, but are not able to transmit the language to the next generation. However, very few have become wholly assimilated to a non-Tongan way of life. When people are asked to state their ethnicity, the vast majority call themselves Tongan. The third type of Tongans are those who have identified themselves with all Pacific Islanders. When young Polynesians – including Tongans, Samoans and other Pacific Islanders – do not speak the same language, they tend to turn to a distinctive brand of English, often mixed with smatterings of their mother tongue.

Taumoeofolau (2013) indicates that Pacific Island people have developed a hybrid language that takes parts of Pacific Island languages and the host country language. The fact that Pacific Island people have maintained their culture and remained a prominent cultural group within New Zealand culture indicates that integration is possible with the host population and separation and marginalisation is not required to produce a functioning, multicultural community.

If climate change migrants do not have sufficient time to plan an organised way to move to a foreign country then they may have to evacuate without much notice. This could be a traumatic and stressful experience in which people have lost their homeland and their way of life and are moving to a foreign environment with a different culture. The differences in culture may be quite an abrupt change which could make integrating difficult. This forced migration could result in negative repercussions upon the migrant community who may feel that to fit in they may need to adapt to foreign ways of life.

Not all people will embrace or reject a new culture in the same way, but they will choose how far they will assimilate with the host population. Climate change migrants may feel like they are being put into a cultural melting pot where their identity and cultural values are being replaced or blended into another. Comments from the participants interviewed have indicated that they would desire migrants to integrate into the host community and add to the pre-existing culture but not produce a whole new entity as such. This would indicate that New Zealand people would prefer migrants to blend into the host culture and not make an original hybrid culture where there is no dominant group in the cultural

group make up. Gloor (2006, p. 30) explains how a host country will be the dominant group which never really 'melts' which is contrasting to the migrant culture which 'dissolves' into the dominant group:

This criticism that the melting pot produces a society that primarily rejects the dominant culture instead of fusing into a completely new entity is reiterated by other sociologists, anthropologists, and cultural geographers as Anglo-conformity. This type of assimilation was seen as working like a one-way street and it was viewed as something that depended primarily on the cooperativeness of immigrants to be reoriented towards the dominant culture.

Gloor (2006) elaborates on the understanding of the dominant culture and how it is the dominant factor that rejects the idea of merging cultures together completely to create a new, single culture. This can have negative repercussions because wanting and expecting the immigrant cultures to merge with the host culture can reduce individual cultures and the importance of individualism because the minority cultures can be homogenised with the dominant host society. If immigrants are expected or coerced into having their culture merged into another then it may make people less tolerant in the future to different cultures.

Power relations between host and migrant communities

Integrating with New Zealand communities and finding employment was a strong requirement expressed by participants interviewed. It became apparent from the data that migrants were welcome to come and live in New Zealand but only if they assimilated with New Zealand culture. The participants were not concerned with the citizenship of the Pacific Island people but more so with the attitude of the migrants towards interacting on a daily basis with other cultural groups. Earle (1995, p.2) explains the notion of power relationships and power differences that exist between the majority and the minority, which in this case is exemplified by New Zealand residents and the displaced migrants from the Pacific Islands:

The dominant existing paradigm is to treat Pacific Islands peoples as a minority ethnic group. The term "minority" places Pacific Islands people in a subordinate position to the "majority", generally seen as Pākehā. It assumes that social norms are set by the majority and that minorities have the choice of joining the majority (assimilation), or partially retaining their identity, so long as it doesn't conflict with majority requirements (integration).

Earle (1995) indicates that the dominant existing paradigm is that the host nation is the majority and the climate change migrants are the minority. The power differences that

Earle has discussed are similar to the mind sets of the participants towards migrants from the Pacific Islands. The participants saw themselves as members of the majority because they were the established group and do not want people to change the way of life they (or their forebears) have created. The Pacific Island people are considered the minority and are seen to be in the subordinate position and are in the role of following social norms because they are moving into an environment with a pre-existing culture. The majority while the majority are setting the social norms for others to follow. From the comments obtained from participants, I interpreted that there was a strong sense of wanting migrants to become part of the New Zealand culture. It was not in a complete fashion where climate change migrants are expected to erase their cultural values but are required by the dominant group to socialise and interact with local people. Host nation people come across with an ambivalent attitude towards climate change migrants because they want to welcome them to their country but there is a fear of them challenging social and cultural hegemony.

Climate change migrants that are forced into migrating and do not want to leave their homeland could find themselves forced into integrating with the host population and possibly changing the social structures of New Zealand communities. People that are forced into migrating because they have been displaced and consequently have their lives disrupted might be vulnerable to being exposed to increased social stresses. Those who have been forced to migrate and find themselves living in New Zealand on a temporary basis might feel obliged to integrate in order to fit in with New Zealand society and perhaps obtain permanent residence. The power differences between the different cultural groups may result in the migrants having their cultural values and religious customs challenged by the host population. This can have negative consequences because they may not wish to change in order to preserve their sense of self and identity as opposed to assimilating completely to a new culture. At the same time as being faced with the predicament of involuntary displacement, this can create cultural rejection and induce climate change migrants into segregating themselves and creating their own isolated groups amidst the local population. This isolation may occur because of the power difference between climate change migrants who could be forced to migrate and are located in an alien environment because their homeland is no longer habitable.

Social networks are often utilised by incoming migrants to establish connections and a sense of cultural familiarity in a foreign landscape. Having Pacific Island groups live together by forming up small communities amongst the New Zealand population may lead to them potentially being alienated and exposed to prejudice and discrimination.

Masgoret and Ward (2008, p.230) refer to how intergroup contact amongst different ethnic groups promotes social equality and social structure. A greater interactive relationship and familiarity between among groups will help reduce prejudice and marginalisation. They want people from migrant communities to interact and be a part of the host community as opposed to segregation. People of the dominant social group are threatened by the expansion of other ethnic groups because they feel that they will change and impact their current way of life. Immigrants are perceived as people who will increase the competition for education, employment and income amongst the host population. The arrival of migrants brings new culture and values which is what creates distinction between groups.

How migrants could be a welfare burden on the New Zealand economy

Finding employment, housing and education are important factors for the integration and development of migrants. Having some form of employment skill and the ability to speak and write English will often be a requirement set out by employers. Migrants that have left their homeland and had jobs may find that their economic wellbeing may diminish along with their general standard of living because of difficulties in gaining employment. Immigrants that leave a dire situation and have little money and few social connections may find that they have gone from a bad situation to an even greater predicament. This can occur for migrants because they have been forced or induced to leave a stable setting (environmental degradation notwithstanding) and now face the challenge of creating a new existence. The Department for International Development (2007, p. 4) published a report explaining how migrants in a new country are more prone than the host population to discrimination and facing difficulty in gaining entitlements to humanitarian needs:

The lack of access to rights that men and women may experience when they migrate can determine whether migration is a positive or negative experience for those involved. Migrants often have difficulty accessing their rights and entitlements, compared with people who are not migrants. The impact of this is negative and may be particularly severe for female migrants. As a result of being both female and foreign, migrant women can face discrimination and limited access to formal employment, social security and health programmes.

Migrants could have problems trying to gain access to things such as social assistance, education assistance and skills training simply because of language barriers or that they

are simply in a foreign environment and do not know how to go about getting the help that they need. Those migrants that do find integrating into New Zealand society difficult because they find it difficult to gain employment and need to rely on social benefits for financial assistance will cause New Zealand people to voice concerns that foreign people are coming into their country and “getting their tax dollars”. This is the sort of underlying concerns that were within the quote given by participant six who was alluding to the fact that they felt that if climate migrants were going to live here it would be somewhere they can gain employment and are not just here to survive of social benefits.

The difficulties of relocating whole Pacific Island communities:

Climate change migrants who have been induced into migrating may have a better chance of creating a living for themselves compared to migrants that have been forced into migrating. Induced migrants would be able to migrate in a more prepared fashion with have more time to prepare their finances, skill training and housing, and establish linkages in the destination country before they leave. Ultimately, this would make the relocation process smoother and more beneficial for both the host and the migrant groups. It would be easier for the host to accommodate incoming migrants if they have relocation plans in place for those that have migrated from the Pacific Islands.

Those who have had their homeland damaged or have left due to impending threats may find it difficult to integrate because they may arrive as more of a refugee with few belongings and other assets compared to a migrant who has finances and belongings. Those who have belongings and money are likely to find it easier to integrate into New Zealand culture. If there is a lack of relocation planning by Pacific Island nations and host countries (in this case New Zealand) then climate change migrants could find it difficult to integrate into their new surroundings.

Forced migration is likely to have greater social implications than induced migration an issue that was not considered when discussing with the participants where climate change migrants relocate to. Trying to relocate a whole community is not a simple act to carry out because there are greater factors to consider than the availability of housing areas to reside in or the availability of employment. Campbell (2010, p. 33) states that there will be significant problems that could occur for whole communities that have been forced into moving and could also force people from single communities into being to be split up and relocated to different parts of New Zealand:

The second category is migration from communities where continued habitation becomes impossible. Such a situation would require entire communities to relocate. In this case, the migration may be considered forced, rather than induced, climate migration, and may lead to community fragmentation, social disintegration, and the loss of culture.

Campbell (2010) has indicated how forced climate change migration of whole Pacific Island communities may cause fragmentation and disintegration of their previous lifestyles and culture. The cultural practices that the Pacific Island communities may have carried out would be disrupted because of the difficulty that will eventuate of trying to relocate a community in New Zealand. Campbell discusses that community fragmentation, social disintegration and the loss of culture will occur. These factors are not considered by the host population participants that I interviewed. Their perception of where climate change migrants should be relocated was predominantly based on where in the country they could be accommodated, where there was adequate employment and where they would best benefit the New Zealand. Participants expressed that they should be treated the same as everyone else and if they wanted to keep in touch with their families and friends then they should do it the same way as everyone else and communicate through modern technology. Under such conditions it would be difficult to sustain previous lifestyles and community interactions away from their communal lands and being physically separated from one another.

When participants were asked about whether they thought it was possible for migrants from the Pacific Islands to have their communities relocated intact and in a familiar area such as near the coastline they expressed that realistically this would be difficult to achieve. I proposed this question to participants because I felt that if there was sufficient area to relocate people and it was environmentally sustainable then it would be beneficial for community cohesion and maintenance of cultural values. It would also provide a climate and area that they would be at least a little familiar with and could carry out agricultural practices that, if not the same, would be somewhat of a counterpart to what they would have practiced in the Pacific Islands. Participants, though, had contrasting opinions where they felt this was not realistically possible and that somewhere like Christchurch was a more ideal location for migrant resettlement. This, they considered, could be beneficial for the New Zealand economy because there would be an increase of people coming into stimulate the recovery of Christchurch city (although the extent to which Christchurch might have recovered by the time climate migration is necessary is unknown). This would have the type of repercussions of social disintegration,

fragmentation and loss of cultural values because Pacific Island communities may be split up and not all members would be going to live in the same area. With migrants seeking work they would no longer have their community population all in the same place. This could be difficult for migrants to maintain cultural connections within a community that has been displaced and moved to New Zealand.

How relocation of migrants can cause a loss of culture

With the people of the Pacific facing the possibility of being impacted by climate change impacts like coastal inundation they will have to contemplate internal migration and if impacts are too dangerous to continue living in their own country they may migrate internationally. People that do migrate internationally will most likely at some time go through changes to their cultural identity. As to how much people change their cultural identity will be dependent on contact with people of similar cultural background. Without living together with their original community they will find it difficult to sustain community lifestyles as they once had in the Pacific Islands. Bhugra (2004, p. 133) indicates that when individuals migrate they will be isolated from their previous culture and will either gain, maintain or reject new cultural characteristics:

When individuals migrate from one nation state or culture to another, be it for temporary or permanent residence or for economic, political or educational purposes, there is every likelihood that aspects of that individual's cultural and ethnic identity will change. The degree of alteration will be determined by a number of factors—individual, kinship and societal. The changes may be transient, semi-permanent or permanent; some individuals may not undergo any changes in identity at all.

Bhugra (2004) points out that the degree of cultural change will be influenced by individual personality where their ability to adapt and level of ambition will determine their level of cultural change. Family kinship and social aspects of community interaction are also important in maintaining, producing and changing cultural characteristics of an individual who has migrated. Having pre-existing social communities located in the destination a migrant is bound to will provide migrants with an area that they are familiar with and can reside in. Having contacts in foreign countries is a useful tool for migrants to establish an area that feels like home. This allows for a sense of identity to be maintained within an environment which is foreign to them. The maintenance of identity and culture are important for self-worth and representing where an individual is from.

Participant six stated that it would be a difficult task to relocate a whole community, intact and all in the same place and would illuminate social differences amongst cultures:

I can see the problems out there, there would be people out there that would not like having a new culture coming in. It would be like insider outsider we were here first and you are not welcome. And when someone comes up and sets up in a big group it is very obvious they are there and might be target for cultural abuse and discrimination. They would need jobs to earn their own living, unless we assume they are on benefits. There would have to be some sort of system...if there coming over they need to be living their own lifestyles and not be living on benefits. They need to go places where they can get work which is normally urban areas...should be urban so they don't have to travel and that they have close access to food, all services and jobs...and all that sort of carry on.

Participant six points out problems that could occur when trying to accommodate large Pacific Island communities in New Zealand. It is indeed possible that large numbers of the “general public” will disapprove of large scale resettlement where an area is made available solely dedicated to displaced Pacific Island people. However, it is important for the dominant society to acknowledge that there will be some Pacific Island people that may be forced into moving and will have to uproot their lifestyles, families and communities. This can cause traumatic stress and cultural bereavement for being uprooted and forced to leave their homeland. Moreover, members of the dominant group have been complicit in the processes giving rise to climate change Bhugra & Becker (2005, p. 19) define cultural bereavement as something that “involves the loss of the familiar including language (especially colloquial and dialect), attitudes, values, social structures and support networks”. Bhugra and Becker (2005) point out the cultural losses when taken away from something familiar. If there is not a specific area set up for the relocation of climate change migrants from the Pacific Islands then cultural disintegration and cultural bereavement might indeed occur and could result in migrants losing their identity. Smaller populations will be in contact with larger dominant groups which may result in migrants being absorbed into a new culture and increasingly removed from their own. By sending migrants all around the country to where ever they can get work could cause a loss of culture in the migrant community.

In order to maintain their culture, the relocation process is an important part for both host and migrant wellbeing. Campbell (2010, p.36) points out that for migrants forced to relocate there will need to be significant planning for resettlement to prevent disrupting host and migrant groups. Ideally, relatively large areas of land would be required, preferably close to coastal areas, which are warm and allow for agricultural practices and

a degree of self-sufficiency or subsistence farming. Planning for forced migration needs to be considered for the benefit of maintaining cultural identity and integrity of the migrants otherwise they will be swallowed up into a larger culture and lose their previous identity. Planning by the host nation is important for the continual wellbeing of the host population so their everyday structures are not interrupted by the possible unplanned arrival of migrants.

This chapter has discussed how host nation people want migrants to interact with the host culture. There is a fear that a lack of interaction between cultures will create cultural factions. Both of these groups to an extent have to 'shed' their culture in order to be able to adapt and accept groups with new cultural values. There is a power relation between the host and migrant cultures. This is where the host culture is the dominant and the migrant is the subordinate culture coming into their country. A loss of culture can occur of different environment, culture, language, food and dress.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

This thesis is based on the subject of climate change and population movement from the Pacific Islands. It specifically focuses on: How climate change may displace communities from their Pacific Island settlements and the New Zealand public's perception of large scale migration to New Zealand. Upon conducting semi structured interviews there were several themes that were reoccurring amongst all the responses from the participants. The themes that participants discussed were the importance of Pacific Island interaction and integration with the host population, a moral responsibility of Kiwi people to help out their Pacific Neighbours, issues relating to community and population reformation in New Zealand in specific areas for climate change migrants from the Pacific, the ideal or most practical locations for climate change migrants to relocate to and how an influx of foreign people may possibly place strain on the social structure in New Zealand.

Cultural assimilation

The first main theme was the integration of climate change migrants from Pacific Islands into New Zealand. This theme was the most prominent in comparison to other findings and this was because there was apprehension expressed by participants that the migrants would not want to integrate and thus isolate themselves from New Zealand communities. Apprehension and fear of the unknown were words expressed by participants when discussing what they thought about the idea of having large scale population resettlement in New Zealand. This is because they felt there was limited knowledge and understanding of the backgrounds of the migrants coming from the Pacific Islands and having people with criminal backgrounds could have negative changes.

My findings indicated that the theme of integration was important and will be important in the future if people migrate from the Pacific in the future. The participants interviewed gave the impression that integration will be important and that New Zealand cultural groups are the dominant group and the migrant groups are the subordinate. I felt that this implied that the host nation group was on the inside and climate change migrants from the Pacific were on the outside. Participants expressed that in general they were apprehensive that migrants would isolate and segregate themselves. Participants also expressed that this would more likely materialize if migrants were to have a whole community relocated into

the same area. I felt that participants didn't want migrants to change the makeup of their communities through creating areas that are heavily concentrated with people of the same cultural background that kept to themselves and did not promote integration with other cultural groups. The integration of climate change migrants into New Zealand indicated that there was a power relationship between the host population and the migrants. They thought that with large numbers of climate change migrants relocating whole new communities of over 2000 people would change the social and cultural dynamics of existing communities. Participants alluded to the point that they wanted large scale migration but they did not want negative outcomes to ensue through there being cultural segregation and not having their way of life as they know it impacted.

Participants expressed how establishing integration with the migrant community can be achieved through modes such as sending children from the migrant communities to schools. Putting children in the same school with different cultural backgrounds will increase the contact between different groups, increase understanding about cultural differences and bring families of different cultures together to a familiar space. Culture can be maintained and celebrated through various practices while living in New Zealand but new residents do not need to seclude themselves of from the rest of society because that will be detrimental to the cultural expansion of New Zealand.

The participants expressed views about integration with foreign people which would be similar to viewpoints expressed in other countries. Anybody that has been living somewhere for a long enough period of time will develop an attachment to the land and community that they are part of. Participants have expressed how they welcome new people into their community but they do not want migrant people usurping their way of life and replacing it but rather enriching it and diversifying it.

Immigrant influx, welfare burden and changes to the New Zealand social structure

The participants feel that certain parts of their communities could turn into zones which are exclusive to migrants and could change the local landscape. People who move to a foreign place can set up their own community within a foreign country so that it will remind them of home and can act as an area that represents their culture. The beliefs and values of one culture can be strongly attached to migrants and can also be a contrasting difference to the host nation culture which can create conflict when cultures interact with one another and are unfamiliar with other cultures values.

Participants expressed how an influx of people that do not wish to integrate with the host population would create cultural factions which could alienate groups from each other. This could also be the driving reason behind changing the social organisation and characteristics of a community and is something that participants felt might be detrimental to the long term development of New Zealand communities. Participants discussed the point of having a whole country of people possibly being forced to migrate could mean that they will want to maintain their cultural identity and possibly their capacity to govern their own people. This was perceived as not being possible there would be two ruling governments for two different groups of people which would mean that there could be isolation and segregation amongst people that are living together in the same country.

With low lying Island nations such as Tuvalu and Kiribati with populations of approximately 10,000 and 100,000 respectively, there could be a large number of climate migrants coming to New Zealand and maybe Auckland city specifically because of the high Pacific Island numbers residing there already. Trying to accommodate thousands of people who could possibly be unskilled may create a financial burden for the New Zealand economy and on tax payers. Although, if migrants were prepared for the possible relocation with job skills and some finances to rely on then they would be able to contribute to the New Zealand economy. Day(2013, p. p.A7) interviewed the president of Kiribati, Anote Tong and discussed how the people of Kiribati are preparing for the future by specifically training people for vacant job roles in destination countries:

In collaboration with relocation partners, Kiribati is filling skill shortages in potential host nations. Short on nurses, Australia is training Kiribati nurses to work in Australia. The strategy we have adopted is to deliberately target those areas that we can contribute at the same time while addressing are own issues.

The President of Kiribati has stated how they will make the migration process a seamless transition because migrants will be up skilled and prepared for work. This will reduce the social welfare burden and the anxiety of the host nation people about making the migration of climate change migrants a sustainable move.

Climate change migrants' relocation in New Zealand

People from the Pacific Islands have strong cultural and economic ties with the land which is an important aspect of everyday life. Migrants could face the possibility of being relocated into an area that is far away and unfamiliar to them. Participants expressed how

their relocation should be based on economic decision making and that they should move to areas where there is employment and residential areas that accommodate the influx of people into the area. This relocation process is important because firstly; it will determine how quickly migrants integrate into society and prevent being a refugee and more of a citizen. Secondly, it will determine how quickly they can obtain employment and limit the time that migrants depend on social welfare and lastly, it could play an important role in the happiness of migrants which may be forced to places which separates them from familiar cultural surroundings and creates isolation. Participants expressed that migrants should be expected to adapt to the circumstances of a new country because they are in a foreign country and should try and maintain their culture but interact with their surroundings. If migrants maintain their culture but relocate within host nation communities compared to their own designated space of land they will be able to interact and learn about New Zealand people. Participants feared that a lack of interaction would disrupt community cohesion, create prejudice and create long term social problems. Participants did not appear to consider that migrants could be left to make their own decisions about where they might relate, especially those with existing transnational networks into New Zealand.

Thoughts about climate change migration from the Pacific to New Zealand

My research intended to answer what New Zealand people thought about having people displaced from the Pacific Islands migrating to New Zealand to live. Upon conducting semi structured interviews, participants answered questions in which three themes became prominent. These themes of cultural assimilation, migrant influx and social welfare burden and the relocation of climate change migrants were always topics that were discussed in detail by interviewees. The data I obtained from interviewees indicated that they wanted migrants to take in the New Zealand culture of its food, language, clothes, dance etc. They did not want to coerce migrants into absorbing cultural characteristics and force them to act as New Zealand people do but to feel comfortable in a community where they could understand and respect the host culture and have the host reciprocate the same feelings towards the migrant population. From my understanding, I felt that participants would welcome the idea of having Pacific Island migrants come to New Zealand because they are from countries in need of assistance and New Zealand has a history of aiding Pacific Island nations, particularly those in Fiji and Polynesia in need. Participants wanted there to be an equal balance of having migrants keep their identity

and culture and trying to include their families into community life and culture. Participants did not expect migrants to forget characteristics of their culture like food, language or dress codes in order to fit into New Zealand society. The findings nevertheless indicated that host nation people were intimidated by the potential number of people migrating and how they might segregate themselves off from the surrounding community. This is why integration was frequently expressed by participants in order to prevent there being cultural factions materialising in New Zealand landscapes.

Many New Zealanders have issues with people on social welfare and this discontent would be magnified with the arrival of climate change migrants who were unable to find work. The findings illustrated that participants would not be comfortable with receiving migrants that would not be working because it would not be economically sustainable. This would result in solving the relocation problem of people from the Pacific and creating a financial one possibly in New Zealand. The data revealed that migrants should be willing to work in order to contribute to their community and society in general.

The relocation process of climate change migrants could be distributed throughout the country. The data revealed that whole community relocation in an area designated to would be an idea that would be challenged by the host population. This is because if there were large numbers (in the thousands) then it would be unrealistic and difficult to achieve. Instead, participants indicated that they thought migrants should be distributed into urban areas along with everyone else. The migrants should also be relocated into regions where there is available work for them. The data indicated that this would solve the economic welfare problem to a certain extent but it could lead to the disintegration of migrants' culture. The disintegration of culture could eventuate because people who have been in contact on a daily basis with their culture will abruptly be immersed into new social surroundings.

The data revealed issues that have been expressed by participants in regards to the perception of the host nation population towards the migrant population. The data revealed that people overreact and think of the worst case scenario when they were faced with large scale migration to New Zealand. The data revealed that the host population were happy to accommodate migrants but only with conditions. These conditions entailed that the arrival of migrants but only if they did not exclude themselves from the rest of the cultural groups that constitute a community. People are scared of things that they have not encountered before and are unfamiliar with. This is the case with the results of the data

where if migrants from the Pacific were to arrive there would need to be sufficient planning to make sure that interaction and understanding was promoted instead of being apprehensive about the unknown and having cultural groups isolating and separating away from each other

Contribution to climate change and migration literature

I decided to do my thesis on the perception of New Zealand people to the migration from the Pacific Islands to new Zealand because I felt there was not sufficient literature which has focussed on the responses of New Zealand citizens to the possibility of climate change migration. There has been literature which has analysed adaptation, mitigation and relocation but I found nothing that concentrated on host population responses. The responses of the individuals from the New Zealand population interviewed as part of this study indicated that they, firstly, welcomed the idea of having migrants come live in New Zealand. Secondly, there was discussion about migrant populations integrating, assimilating, separating and completely separating themselves from the host population. The participants expressed that if there were people that were moving to New Zealand with a foreign culture then they would prefer it if they were in contact with each other in order to understand cultural values and ideas. They revealed that if there is intergroup contact then there is greater tolerance for cultural differences and integration. If there was not effective integration of cultural groups then there was a fear of the migrant population negatively changing the community they were living in. The data specified that migrants would be welcomed more if they were skilled and willing to work wherever they could and fill vacant employment positions. Host nation people's perception of migrants would diminish more if they became isolated from the host population, were unskilled, unable to find employment and were a financial burden on the economy. Day (2013, A7) from the New Zealand Herald, interviewed the president of Kiribati, Anote Tong who discussed the preparation for evacuation in the future and maintaining integrity:

He does not want the people of Kiribati to become refugees in their new countries and his government is training its people to migrate with the skills needed to contribute to their new homes. He felt Kiribati has time to prepare its people as migrants, and hopefully not as refugees. He stated "We have already lost our home, the last thing we should lose is our dignity".

He also stated the viewpoint of one of the countries that may be forced into migrating in the future. This is a viewpoint that the participants I interviewed did not take into consideration when discussing the importance of migrating to New Zealand and trying to integrate and find employment. Finally, I also don't think the participants interviewed

took into consideration the psychological impact on migrants who have been forced to migrate and face losing their culture within a new country. An article from Cook Island News by commonwealth secretariat (2012, p. 10) highlighted:

But in relocating to foreign shores, how can you show your children and grandchildren their heritage, the customs, traditions, beliefs and rituals of island life? The languages of the islands will languish when oral traditions are lost as the language and culture of adopted lands is embraced.

Participants did not promote the idea of having migrants living in a designated space for the rebuilding of a displaced community because they feared that this would create isolation, intolerance and cultural factions within a community. This fear of isolation from the host population could result in the cultural disintegration of migrant cultures and will cause adverse effects that could result in migrant groups isolating themselves from the dominant host culture in order to preserve their cultural integrity.

The New Zealand population needs to accept the point that Pacific Island people could have their islands inundated and be forced to relocate to New Zealand. In order for this process of relocation and integration to run smoothly, it needs to be openly and freely pursued by the migrant culture and not coerced by the host group. Both groups have to be prepared to change their way of life and create an inclusive social environment which aims to reduce discrimination and promote cultural understanding. Both host and migrant culture groups need to make psychological adjustments where the hosts need to acculturate to the migrants' culture and the migrant group has to do the same thing. By both groups changing their behaviour and embracing the values of new cultures they will create an ideal environment for both host and migrant groups.

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Appendix

Appendix 1:

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

CLIMATE CHANGE AND MIGRATION: HOW THE NEW ZEALAND PUBLIC MAY
RESPOND TO FORCED MIGRATION FROM THE PACIFIC ISLANDS TO NEW
ZEALAND

Applicants are advised to read the University's *Ethical Conduct in Human Research and Related Activities Regulations*

<http://calendar.waikato.ac.nz/assessment/ethicalConduct.html> before completing and submitting this application to the appropriate authority.

This application is to be completed by the person or persons identified under the *Ethical Conduct in Human Research and Related Activities Regulations* as the 'researcher'.

1. **NAME OF RESEARCHER(S)** James Allwood
2. **PROGRAMME OF RESEARCHER(S)** Geography,
3. **RESEARCHER(S) FROM OFF CAMPUS**
If a researcher who is not a staff member or student of the University is involved, provide details of that person's status and role, and confirm that he or she has been provided with a copy of the University's *Ethical Conduct in Human Research and Related Activities Regulations*. N/A
4. **TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT: Climate change and population movement: How climate change displaces Pacific Island settlements and the public's perception of large scale migration**

5. **STATUS OF RESEARCH PROJECT (e.g. PhD, academic research, contract research, etc) : MSocSci Geog**

6. **FUNDING SOURCE, if applicable : N/A**

7. **NAME OF SUPERVISOR(S), if applicable : John Campbell**

8. **DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH PROJECT**

Describe the project in plain language under the following headings:

a) Justification in academic terms.

This thesis will focus on how in the future, the effects of climate change may displace people from Pacific Island settlements. The thesis will particularly focus on the possibility of large numbers of Pacific Island migrants coming to reside in New Zealand and whether the New Zealand public have a receptive or negative attitude to this idea. This topic has been chosen because of the pressing matter of climate change which has the potential to displace people residing in Pacific Island states. These island nations are likely to be impacted by environmental change and in the future may have to contemplate the idea of having to evacuate some or all of their population. It is important to focus on not only the displacement of Pacific Island people but what may happen when Pacific Island communities may have to move and how the people in New Zealand would respond to the idea of potentially large settlements of climate change “refugees” residing in New Zealand. Climate change migrants will need to reside somewhere if their homes become uninhabitable and a key question is where they will go because of the tight regulations on immigration around the globe.

In addition to semi structured interviews I will be focussing on aspects of general migration literature to set some general context for the background of migration. I will then focus specifically on Pacific migration and the push and pull factors which cause migration. Those who may be most impacted by climate change will be from developing countries. It is likely that some communities will lack ability to cope with environmental pressures which is potentially a contributing factor to forced migration. Climate change is likely to be a push factor because it may make volatile environments more vulnerable through creating more intense natural disasters and gradually deteriorating the quality of inhabited environments. I will then focus on how such responses as adaption and mitigation are both used by affected groups in order to get greenhouse gas emissions reduced or micro level approaches to reduce impacts of changes to environments

b) Objectives.

The objective of the thesis is to explore and gain greater understanding of the relationship between climate change and potential migration to New Zealand. I will inform my research using general migration theories, background on Pacific Island migration to New Zealand, environmental change and migration and current and future responses to climate change issues. I will analyse how climate change is creating, and reducing the security of, vulnerable environments. This may induce people to respond with large scale migration movements with particular focus on the possibility of migration to New Zealand.

c) Method(s) of information collection and analysis.

This research will be based on a collection of qualitative primary data from semi structured interviews which will be utilised to obtain opinions and perspectives of individuals regarding climate change, its affects and the possibility of climate change migrants. I will also use academic literature focussing on migration, climate change and host nation receptiveness to large scale population resettlement. In order to gain personal insights from host nation people I will be conducting semi structured interviews. Hay (2000 p.52) points out that semi structured interviews as a "...form of interviewing have some degree of predetermined order but still ensure flexibility in the ways issues are addressed by the informant". Data will be audio recorded. Hopefully, the recorded data will provide me with a wide range of ideas and opinions which will provide me with insight to public attitudes about the issue of climate change and migration while providing points for discussion. The interviews will be approximately 30minutes long but can be altered to suit participants' needs. Due to there being 20 interviews conducted it will difficult to transcribe all interviews that are conducted because transcribing is time consuming. Participants that will be involved in interviews will be people that are known to me personally and will trust me more to protect their integrity and this should persuade them to not require a transcript of the interview compared to interviewing a stranger that I am not familiar with.

d) Procedure for recruiting participants and obtaining informed consent (attach copies of information given to prospective participants and consent forms if applicable – see Guidelines on Information Sheet Content and Format below)

I will use my personal networks to recruit people that I am familiar with so that there will be less people giving shocking or offensive responses to questions in interviews. This is because they are familiar with me and will involve fewer risks to participants. I will enquire if participants believe in climate change which will indicate that they are interested in participating in an interview. If they do not believe in climate change then they will struggle to provide sufficient information for interview questions and will not be interviewed. I will look to recruit up to 20 people for interviews in order to gain a variety of ideas and opinions from the age bracket of 18+ years. I will approach people face to face and through email. The opinions expressed by participants will be respected and welcomed. Participants will not be judged on their responses even if shocking or offensive. This is because they are responding openly and honestly to questions directed at them which were designed to make them give their opinion.

d) Procedures in which participants will be involved.

The semi structured interviews will follow an interview schedule in which I will ask specific questions but will allow for discussion. Each interview will be audio recorded unless the participant declines being recorded (see appendix 1). A time and space will be organised for interviews to take place where participants will be given an information sheet and a consent form to read and sign. Participants will be informed that they have the right to decline being recorded and that they are able to decline answering any of the questions.

f) Provide a copy of any research instruments to be used for, or any guidelines relating to, the collection of information from or about people, e.g., questionnaires, interview schedules, structured observation schedules, topics of

questions to be covered in qualitative interviews, lists of types of behaviour to be observed in participant observation. See appendices 1,2.

9. PROCEDURES AND TIME FRAME FOR STORING PERSONAL INFORMATION AND OTHER DATA AND MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIALITY OF PERSONAL INFORMATION

(Researchers are in many cases expected to store non-identifying data for 5 years or even longer, unless good reason is given for doing otherwise.)

The data that I collect from my interviews will be safely secured in a location that can be locked. I will be solely responsible for the safety of the data and I will be the only person handling the data collected. All data that is stored on computer will be protected by password which is solely known to me. All audio recordings will be destroyed after five years and once they are no longer useful for my research topic. Participants will have the option of pseudonyms so that their identity is secret in the thesis unless they otherwise specify that revealing their identity is allowed. Participants from the interviews are able to withdraw, change or add to the information that they have given me up to four weeks from the interview. All of this information will be included in consent forms.

10. ETHICAL AND LEGAL ISSUES

Outline any ethical and legal issues together with proposed solutions under the following headings, as applicable:

a) Access to participants.

Those who are interested in participating will be given information sheets about my research topic and then I will arrange a time and a meeting space. I will then ask if they know other people that may be interested in doing an interview. I will also put out posters or advertisements in Hamilton newspapers to get people from the general public who may be interested to participate in the semi structured interviews.

b) Informed consent.

All those who participate will be given an information sheet explaining the purpose of the research, a consent form, and their rights as participants and an outline of the interview schedule. Two copies of the consent form will be made so both the participant and I will have a copy. Written consent will be obtained through the participant signing the consent form. Contact details of me and my supervisor will be provided to the participants. (See appendix 1)

c) Potential risk to participants.

The nature of my research is not intended to be offensive but if people are offended or feel uncomfortable in the semi-structured interviews then they have the opportunity to withdraw their shared information up to a month after the interview. All information given by participants will be treated with confidentiality to ensure the integrity of the participant is maintained.

d) Publication of findings.

The purpose of this thesis is to meet the requirements of Master of Social Sciences at Waikato University. Two copies of this will be published for the requirements of the university degree and information could also be shared in a presentation of my findings. There will also be an electronic copy which can be

accessed through the Waikato University library. This information will be included on the consent form.

- e) Conflict of interest.

I do not see there being any conflict. I do not have any particular institutional position.

- f) Intellectual and other property rights.

Participants have up to a month after the interview to change, add comments to the information given or remove any information given. I have copyright over the thesis but the participants' own their interview responses and recordings used in the research. Any information given by participants is used through their consent. (See sections a, b, c)

- g) Intention to pay participants.

I have no intention to pay my participants.

- h) Any other ethical or legal issue.

The purpose of this thesis is to focus on how people receive the idea of migrants who could potentially be forced to move due to climate change impacts and reside in New Zealand and how willing the New Zealand public are to accept migrants. It is not the purpose of the thesis to judge or discriminate against participants.

- i) The Treaty of Waitangi/Cultural Sensitivity.

Depending on my participants' thoughts, the Treaty of Waitangi may come up if there are Maori concerns about migrants and land claims and how these conflict with the principles of the Treaty. If I do have issues I will seek advice from my supervisor.

11. ETHICAL STATEMENT

- a) This study will comply with the ethical requirements outlined in the University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee Procedures and General Principles.
- b) Signature of applicant/s, and chief supervisor required.

12. WEBSITE

This document may be found at www.waikato.ac.nz/wfass/research/ethics.shtml where there is other information relevant to applying for the ethical approval of research.

.....
.....
Signature of Applicant #1

Date

.....
.....
Signature of **Chief Supervisor, John Campbell**

Date

Appendix 2:

1. What do you know about climate change? Prompt: What is the first thing comes to your mind?

2. What do you think are the effects of climate change? Prompt: deteriorating environment, natural disasters, and damaged communities? What do you think the impacts are in the Pacific Islands?

3. What do you know about climate change migrants? Will inform the participant what they are if they do not understand

4. Do you think migration is a good way of dealing with climate change impacts? Prompt: or should there be more done in mitigation and adaptive policies?

5. Who should take responsibility for the impacts suffered by people affected by climate change? Prompt: Developing countries governments, large industry polluters’.

6. Should affected nations’ neighbouring countries be responsible for accommodating displaced climate change migrants? Why?

- 6a. If not, what countries should be responsible?

7. Do you think displaced communities should be allowed to reform their whole community in a designated space to live in? eg a purchased lot of land.

8. If migrants were allowed to live in New Zealand where do you think would be a suitable location? Prompt: Rural or urban areas, north or south island, inland or coast?

9. What is your attitude towards accepting climate change migrants from Pacific Island countries? Prompt: what are the positives/negatives.

10. What do you think about small numbers of Pacific people to live in New Zealand?
11. What do you think about having whole communities move to New Zealand?
12. Does it matter to you were in New Zealand they live? Have you ever migrated to another country to live for an extensive period of time? Prompt: 6months 1 year. Can you tell me about your experiences? Did you interact more with people from New Zealand?
13. Was it easy to establish a lifestyle and connect with your surrounding community? Prompt: any difficulties with employment, adequate housing, and language barrier.
14. Are you more receptive to the idea of educated migrants, climate change migrants, persecuted migrants (eg war, religion, ethnicity etc), entrepreneurs and foreign investors moving to NZ as opposed to uneducated, low skilled migrants? Prompt: Should immigration barriers be loosened to let in more educated people or uneducated people? What about People who have nowhere else to go?
15. What do you think will be the benefits of migration for NZ? Prompt: such as bigger work force, greater variety of culture.

Images

Figure 1:

Black, R. (2011). *Migration and global environment change: Future challenges and opportunities* (Final project report). London, England: Government Office for Science. Retrieved from <http://www.bis.gov.uk/assets/foresight/docs/migration/11-1116-migration-and-global-environmental-change.pdf>