

# Strings attached

## New Zealand's climate aid in the South Pacific

**Commentary:** Throughout New Zealand's history, the nation has maintained a close and privileged relationship with its island neighbours in the South Pacific, exemplified by centuries of trade and migration. As the effects of climate change encroach on South Pacific nations such as the Cook Islands, Fiji, Samoa and Tonga, New Zealand has implemented an aid programme via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in order to mitigate the effects of the changing climate on these countries economically and socially. However, research depicts an aid programme that may do harm alongside good—by prioritising climate change mitigation over more sustainable and community-centred strategies, New Zealand has created a situation in which these countries become dependent on our solutions to their problems. By researching the controversial record of climate adaptation and mitigation strategies funded by developed nations across the South Pacific, it becomes evident that New Zealand's programme of climate aid in the region is neocolonial and unsustainable.

**Keywords:** adaptation, climate change, Fiji, foreign aid, global warming, MFAT, mitigation, New Zealand, neocolonialism, non-government organisations, Pacific, sea level rise, sustainability

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**T**HE BEACH is vanishing, one day at a time. The sea approaches the coastal village. It will not be negotiated with. With seawater flooding the water table, crops that have fed the islanders for centuries are losing viability. The problem is invisible, under the people's feet. But it demands change (Scott, 2021).

Each year, the cyclones have seemed to get more volatile and less predictable. What used to be a cycle of weathering the storm and rebuilding has become a frenetic game of wits with the elements.

In 2012, 3.8 percent of the total GDP of the Pacific Islands region was spent on the rebuilding efforts needed after natural disasters. In 2016, that number had risen to 15.6 percent.

The effects of climate change are increasing the volatility and unpredictability of tropical cyclones in the Pacific. That number has nowhere to go but up.

This story is playing out all over the Pacific, where economically vulnerable

nations are some of the first to become victims to the encroaching climate crisis. Countries like Kiribati and Tuvalu, which have contributed least to the carbon emissions driving climate change, are on the brink of becoming its first casualties.

The way that climate change looks set to affect these countries will affect generations, both in terms of economic stability and personal safety. New Zealand set out with the visible intention of safeguarding these vulnerable populations through the adoption of a comprehensive aid programme targeting climate change mitigation in the region. However, on closer inspection, we find that the climate aid programme of the New Zealand government is not beyond reproach.

The New Zealand Aid Programme sends 70.7 percent of its assistance to countries in the Pacific (MFAT Annual Report, 2020a, p. 31). This is a higher proportion of foreign aid budget than in any other world region. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) reports their main goals in this area as helping to see:

- 1.1 Pacific Island countries make meaningful progress towards achieving the SDGs in areas that New Zealand is supporting
- 1.2 Gender equality and women's empowerment is improved in Pacific countries
- 1.3 Unemployment among young people is reduced
- 1.4 Two-way trade between New Zealand and the Pacific is increased
- 1.5 Mutual benefits from labour mobility are increased
- 1.6 The implementation of PACER Plus supports the Pacific's wider regional and global economic integration. (MFAT Annual Report, 2020a, p. 3)

The extent to which New Zealand ties its own economic fate to countries in the Pacific and seeks to build a close relationship with them reveals a strong bond that goes back to the shared history between New Zealand and the region. As such, the approach of the New Zealand government is inextricably entwined with funding and encouraging processes of climate adaptation and mitigation in the region.

The second set of outcomes established by MFAT focus on building a more stable, secure, resilient and well-governed Pacific. One of the goals set forth in this section is to ensure 'Pacific countries have an increased resilience to natural hazards and the impacts of climate change' (MFAT Annual Report, 2020, p. 32). This proves that New Zealand has an obvious interest in attempting to help nations in the South Pacific ready themselves for the ever-worsening effects of the climate crisis.

However, recent findings from the studies of professor Patrick Nunn of the University of the Sunshine Coast suggest that the most common forms of climate aid to Pacific nations breeds economic dependency and fails to help

them create a sustainable and self-reliant future. On the surface, these climate aid policies seem like a life preserver to New Zealand's drowning neighbours. But when the programme is considered in the long term, does that life preserver come with a dog collar?

Ruined sea walls line the beaches of the South Pacific, a visual reminder to the people of Oceania that the promise of help is sometimes broken.

### **New Zealand as a member of the South Pacific**

New Zealand has long played a custodial role in the Pacific. A shared colonial history and geographical location have created a familial bond between New Zealand and countries such as the Cook Islands, Samoa and Tonga.

Employment opportunities stimulated immigration to New Zealand after World War Two, when the New Zealand government opened its doors to the Pacific to fill labour shortages. Soon, the industrial areas of New Zealand's cities were centres of the Pacific diaspora. Today, Auckland is the second-largest Pasifika city in the world (behind Port Moresby by Pacific Islander population).

However, there was always a two-faced element to New Zealand's treatment of the Pacific. The New Zealand government welcomed Pacific migrants in on one hand, but then punished them and sent them away with the other. Norman Kirk's Labour government introduced the Dawn Raids in 1973, when crack police squads stormed homes and workplaces looking for overstayers—countless migrants from the Pacific were separated from their families, lives and livelihoods.

Between 2015 and 2019, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade provided \$200 million in climate aid to the Pacific.

Does the same flavour of double-dealing hang over New Zealand's climate aid programme?

'People argue that aid is buying influence,' says Nunn. 'I don't think they are far off the mark.'

The motivations for climate aid in the Pacific are murky when we look at communication within the government bodies responsible. 'The region is also that part of the world where our foreign policy "brand" as a constructive and principled state must most obviously play out,' wrote MFAT in its October 2017 Briefing to an Incoming Minister.

This suggests an ulterior motive to New Zealand's offer of a helping hand. The MFAT website argues that strengthening the national 'brand' is in order to promote New Zealand as a 'safe, sustainable and stable location to operate a business and to invest'. A self-interested approach by the New Zealand government to climate aid in the South Pacific runs counter to the messaging it delivers, talking about a safer and more resilient South Pacific as the main goal.

As a capitalist nation operating on free market values, such self-interest is unsurprising. The aid programme being motivated by New Zealand's ability to

profit or maintain a place of economic supremacy and power in the region fits with the neoliberal system of values New Zealand has adopted in an ongoing process since the economic reforms of Roger Douglas in the late 1980s.

MFAT says in its 2020 annual report that New Zealand is ‘committed to Pacific regionalism and continues to support key regional institutions as essential delivery partners for New Zealand investment in the region,’ (MFAT, 2020a, p. 144). Is investment the operative word in this declaration?

The behaviour of governmental institutions certainly suggests so when one looks at the short-term nature of New Zealand’s climate mitigation and adaptation strategies.

### **Where is the money going?**

That does not mean that climate aid in the Pacific cannot have altruistic effects. Surely it is the outcome rather than the intention that ultimately matters.

The questions of where the money is actually going still needs to be answered. Nunn and Luetz (2020) cast doubt on whether current modes of climate adaptation can effectively promote long-term solutions for the islands. Nunn has argued:

It’s unhelpful in the sense that it’s implicitly encouraged that Pacific Island countries don’t build their own culturally-based resilience. It’s encouraged that they adopt global solutions that aren’t readily transferable to a Pacific Island context. (Nunn, 2020)

One of the more visible examples is the ubiquitous sea wall. Sea walls protect coastal communities from rising sea levels throughout New Zealand, so it seems obvious that they could do the same job for the country’s Pacific neighbours. However, developed nations can invest in building walls to stand for the long-term, and with access to the capital and human resources needed to maintain them, they can be expected to be an effective solution to the problems of flooding and rising sea levels for generations. This is not always the case in the developing countries of the South Pacific, as Nunn has noted.

Usually there’s not enough data to inform the optimal design of sea walls. So the sea wall collapses after two years. Then the community struggles to find funds to fix it because they are not part of the cash economy. (Nunn, 2020)

Nunn blames this recurring issue on the short-sightedness of foreign aid programmes from the governments of developed countries in the region. ‘You can’t uncritically transfer solutions from a developed to a developing country context—however obvious they seem.’

Pacific media journalist professor David Robie regards New Zealand’s relation-

ship with the Pacific as neocolonial. ‘We build sea walls where they would plant mangroves,’ he notes. Mangroves, of course, don’t require upkeep, and they are a solution that people in the Pacific have used for centuries (Robie, 2020)

Of course, such solutions might not always fulfil the urgent interventions required during the climate crisis. Mangroves take time to grow and for their roots to sink down into the soil and anchor the plant in place.

The question is, to what extent has the government of countries like New Zealand examined the pros and cons of ‘their’ solutions and ‘our’ solutions? As New Zealand seeks to advance its ‘brand’ in the Pacific, does it give these alternative solutions due consideration, or is there a tendency to fall back on previously used Western strategies by default?

‘It would have been better to not have had such a neocolonial approach,’ said Robie. ‘We could have encouraged the Pacific countries to be a lot more self-reliant.’

### **Short-term solutions for long-term problems**

According to an MFAT *Official Information Act* release on climate change strategy, climate aid consists of 190 different activities across the Pacific. Of these activities, the largest focus is put on agriculture (25 percent), followed by energy generation and supply (20 percent) and disaster risk reduction (12 percent).

The latest Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Report, released in August, 2021 stated that many of the changes observed in the climate are unprecedented in thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of years, and some of the changes such as rising sea level are irreversible over hundreds to thousands of years. According to the report,

Coastal areas will see continued sea level rise throughout the 21st century, contributing to more frequent and severe coastal flooding in low-lying areas and coastal erosion. Extreme sea level events that previously occurred once in 100 years could happen every year by the end of this century. (IPCC press release, p. 2)

With long-term projections of sea levels rising, are these areas enough to safeguard New Zealand’s Pacific whānau long into the future? Nunn has spoken about plans by Japanese foreign aid to divert the mouth of the Nadi River in order to stop the increasingly frequent flooding of Nadi town (Nunn, 2020, personal communication).

It would be far more useful for the Japanese government to develop a site for the relocation of Nadi town. Somewhere inland, somewhere in the hinterland. Put in utilities and incentivise relocation of key services—because the situation is not going to improve. In 10-15 years, large parts of Nadi town are going to be underwater. (Nunn, 2020)

Similar situations can be seen across the islands of the Pacific. Strategies that focus on capacity building and disaster management are quick and efficient ways to solve the effects of the broader problem—but in effect they may be a case of treating the symptom, rather than the disease. Climate change is an epoch-defining force that is going to irrevocably change life across the globe. The sixth IPCC report put it bluntly that humans are unequivocally the driving force behind climate change.

Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern characterised allegations that the New Zealand government had not done enough to combat the growing threat of climate change as unjust, saying ‘it would be unfair to judge New Zealand based on what essentially were targets that were set some time ago when we are now undertaking an incredibly heavy piece of work to lift our ambition and lift our emissions reductions’ (Palmer, 2021).

However, the results of the report are clear—the effect of the anthropogenic carbon emissions have led to increased climate change markers, in New Zealand as well as across the South Pacific. The New Zealand government can fund short-term adaptation to these issues and New Zealanders may feel better about themselves and their Pacific ‘brand’, but the real solutions lie in establishing humane systems of relocation around the Pacific. Some of this comes in the form of increasing the New Zealand government’s quota for climate migrants seeking asylum in New Zealand. For countries that consist of primarily low-lying atolls such as Kiribati, leaving their ancestral homeland will one day sadly be the only option.

Other nations such as Fiji and Samoa have the capacity to weather the storm if development is focused in the right direction—the gradual relocation of population centres inland, away from the risks of increasing flood frequency and rising tides.

In MFAT’s 2019-2020 report into the year’s proceedings, they outlined sustained goals to focus on the effect of climate change in the Pacific region, giving some examples of climate aid that was developed.

Achievements in 2019-20 that will increase Pacific countries’ resilience to the impacts of climate change included a pilot technology solution to assess water tank levels, and supporting work with Fiji communities to prevent and manage conflicts due to climate change-related internal relocation. (MFAT, 2020a, pp. 32-33)

MFAT have stated in an *Official Information Act* release of July 2019 that three quarters of their investment into climate aid ‘will go towards supporting communities to adapt in situ to the effects of climate change, which will enable them to avert and delay relocation’. Here we can see that although MFAT is willing to extinguish the fires of conflict as they arise due to relocation within Fiji, it seems it is unwilling to

help fund the relocation themselves, instead relying on in situ solutions.

This is a short-sighted approach—procrastination on an international scale. The effects of climate change are no longer just theories, or nightmares that may or may not come true. There is a clear road map to a future in which many areas in the Pacific are in peril. It follows that a country like New Zealand—with its Pacific location and developed economy—has a moral duty to make sure that the effect of its aid helps, not just the current members of Pacific whanau, but also the generations to come.

### **Examining New Zealand's aid**

In July, 2019, an inquiry was launched by the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee into Aotearoa's Pacific aid. The committee examined every facet of how the lion's share of the New Zealand government's foreign aid budget is spent. With Pacific aid, this means a discussion of climate change is inevitable. Their findings were released in August 2021.

Overall, the committee paints a picture of a considered approach to foreign aid, with New Zealand making an effort to take responsibility as the most developed economic power in the geopolitical bloc to bring about a world in which people have social mobility and human rights are protected. Much of the report, however, centred around the committee's recommendations as to how MFAT should proceed.

Some of these recommendations shine a light on the potential problems inherent to New Zealand's regime of climate aid. They recommended that the aid programme take steps to 'more deeply engage with local communities, ensuring all voices within those communities are heard, and their viewpoints respected.' This suggests a certain level of overhanded detachment coming from New Zealand's aid programme. They also suggested that MFAT places a heightened emphasis on social inclusion step up efforts to make sure development is centred around locally-owned industry.

The committee also asked for public submissions. Some of these provided perspectives that the committee themselves may have glanced over.

'Pushing New Zealand values into the Pacific—particularly when tied to monetary support—could be viewed as a renewed form of colonialism, submitted one anonymous member of the public. Another raised the point that 'greater engagement is needed with local communities to ascertain both their values and needs, and for aid to be appropriately tailored.'

These criticisms are not definitive proof of missteps on the part of the ministry. However, they are talking points that the ministry themselves seem unwilling to address. When questions of neo-colonialism and unsustainable aid programmes were raised to the ministry, a spokesperson provided answers that glossed over the criticisms.

‘Four principles underpin New Zealand’s international development cooperation: effectiveness, inclusiveness, resilience and sustainability,’ said an MFAT spokesperson when asked if there is a risk of breeding economic dependency via New Zealand’s forms of aid.

Their purpose is to guide us and those we work with in our shared aim to contribute to a more peaceful world, in which all people live in dignity and safety, all countries can prosper, and our shared environment is protected. (MFAT, September, 2021)

It sounds admirable, and it places the government approach of New Zealand on the right side of history. But it doesn’t answer the specific concerns that have been levelled at the New Zealand Government’s aid programme—the fact that deliberately or not, New Zealand may be guilty of building a relationship of dependency with countries in the Pacific.

Are answers like these just a further attempt to bolster the ‘brand’ that New Zealand is trying to sell to the Pacific, and indeed the rest of the world?

An alternative to mitigation in the South Pacific is opening migration pathways into New Zealand, as suggested by New Zealand’s Minister for Pacific Peoples, ‘Aupito Tofae Su’a, William Sio, at the Second Pacific Climate Change conference in Wellington in February 2018 (Sio, 2018).

In his analysis of what policies would need to be put in place to allow such migration to happen, independent researcher Philip Cass suggests there are three groups that would play a crucial role (Cass, 2018).

The first of these are legislators and legal experts who ‘must work to create a legal framework within which such migration can take place.’

Next are churches—‘central to Islander identity and culture... identified as playing a vital role.’

The third player in this arrangement are the New Zealand and Pacific media, who he predicts would have a ‘major role in preparing the public for climate change migration, albeit in a way that may require the New Zealand media to adopt a developmental function and operate as a conduit for the necessary social change.’ (p. 141)

Sio’s work in this area points to the inevitability of widespread climate migration in the Pacific— however, it also underlines the existence of other solutions to climate issues in the area. It follows that New Zealand’s climate aid policy is just one of many strategies that could be followed, such as increasing climate migration quotas.

### **Pouring money into the problem**

When New Zealand signed the Paris Agreement in 2016, New Zealand was putting itself forward as one of the countries committed to strengthening the



**Table 1: NZ-supported climate projects in the Pacific, 2019**

- Solar generation plant in Nauru (\$4m)
- Electricity Roadmap to decarbonise the sector in the Marshall Islands (\$1m)
- Pacific Climate Change Centre in Samoa (\$3.5m)
- Pacific voice amplification to showcase climate action (\$4m)
- Climate hazard mapping and risk planning across the Pacific (\$5m)
- Increasing renewable energy generation in Niue (from 13 percent to 40 percent currently)

Source: Beehive. govt.nz, August 2019

global response to the burgeoning climate crisis. By signing this agreement, New Zealand made a commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 30 percent below 2005 levels by 2030.

John Key pledged to provide up to \$200 million in climate aid over the next four years. Most of this would be focused on the Pacific.

The Paris Agreement recognised that the Pacific was indeed one of the world's most vulnerable regions when it comes to the effects of climate change—this is for a multitude of reasons. There are the obvious, such as the fact that countries consisting of low-lying atolls such as Kiribati and the Marshall Islands are the most at risk from rising sea levels, although there are a range of other reasons.

For example, small populations reliant on a narrow array of staple crops and food sources put the people of the Pacific in a particularly precarious position. The effects of colonisation have left these countries socio-economically deprived and in thrall to developed countries like Australia, France, New Zealand, the United States and China.

The reasons why the Pacific is so vulnerable to the crisis are complex and various. It therefore follows that the solutions to the crisis are as well.

Chief among these is shifting from expensive answers to the problem to those that do not cost anything at all. Cashless adaptation could come in the form of education or placing a greater emphasis on indigenous solutions to climate change.

Steering the ship towards cashless adaptation would reduce vulnerable countries' reliance on their wealthier neighbours.

Another solution is the slow relocation of coastal cities into the hinterlands of the countries, such as Fiji's Nadi, where flooding in the central business district is becoming more and more frequent.

Yeo, Blong & McAneney's analysis of flooding frequency in Ba Town, an area 62 kilometres from Nadi, found an inadequate level of planning for flood

management (p. 1013). Although they found levels of flooding have not recently increased with the severity that some state, they acknowledged the planning difficulties inherent to having a city in an area prone to flooding.

They noted cyclones are often the cause of these floods. 'However, floods not associated with tropical cyclones have also occurred with sufficient frequency and severity to warrant greater attention from forecasters and emergency managers.'

The question is, who are these forecasters and emergency managers?

Foreign aid can play a part in encouraging and funding such projects, but at the end of the day, it is the governments of these countries themselves that hold the reins. The city of Nadi will not be moved without the constant efforts of the Fijian government over the course of generations.

In their 2019 paper 'Foreign aid and climate change policy', Kono and Montinola claim that while foreign aid for climate adaptation and mitigation is on the rise, the manner in which it is employed may render it toothless and unable to make changes for the people of the Pacific in the long term, concluding that there has been little to no evidence that foreign climate aid in Pacific nations can be correlated with Pacific governments enacting policies addressing the crisis.

They point out that 'we have little evidence that climate aid actually encourages recipients to adopt climate legislation' (Kono & Montinola, 2019, p. 1).

It is arguable whether the New Zealand government expects foreign aid to affect the policies of recipient governments. However, it is undeniable that solutions to climate change require synchronised action from both suppliers and recipients of this aid.

This must be qualified, however, with the fact that they also pointed out issues with measurement with regard to how scientists are able to track climate aid—while it is a relatively recent phenomenon as a part of the structures of international aid, its rising levels are difficult to measure effectively and accurately.

Kono and Montinola say although 'mitigation and adaptation has risen dramatically in recent years... climate aid measured with Rio markers appears to lack both validity and reliability' (Kono & Montinola, 2019, p. 12). This suggests further developments into the measurement of climate data may be needed before full conclusions on this issue can be drawn.

Wahyuni, Fitrah, Handayani and Robie (2018) make the point that the ability to adapt to flooding and sea level rise must come from the level of local government as well as communities on the ground, claiming 'the ability to adapt to disaster at all levels in society is required not only in affected communities, but also in local governments and even external parties' (p. 32).

If New Zealand's aid programme is focused primarily on the construction of sea walls and other specifically-targeted development projects, it will neglect the opportunity to empower the decision-makers of Pacific nations, allowing the nations themselves to develop an autonomous approach to climate change and reduce reliance on more economically-advantaged nations in the region.

## Help comes on New Zealand's terms

In order to plant the seeds for long-term viable responses to climate aid, the approach of the New Zealand government must consider the worldview of people in the Pacific. Nunn sees this as another form of developed countries employing neocolonial tactics in order to build relationships of dependency with countries in need. 'You cannot take your worldviews and impose them on people who have different worldviews and expect those people to accept them,' he said.

On many of the islands of the Pacific, the scientific worldview does not hold automatic precedence over spiritual and mythological views, as it does in the secular West.

Low science literacy and a stronger connection to nature through cultural tradition and ritual such as religion mean that if the sea level rises, people in the Pacific often tend to consider it a divine act. Janif, Nunn, et al. (2016) speak about the importance of preserving local approaches to environmental challenges rather than attempting to supplant them with Western approaches.

There is no doubt that traditional ecological and environmental knowledge is valued highly by the older generation of rural dwelling Fijians who also consider that storytelling and oral instruction are the most culturally valid methods for communicating this knowledge. (Janif, Nunn, et al., 2016, p. 7)

Practitioners of foreign aid need to show cultural competency if their approach is going to be picked up by the people of the Pacific.

'You've got to understand why your interventions are failing,' said Nunn. 'You go in there and argue on the basis of science. Nobody in rural Pacific Island communities gives a stuff about science. What they understand is God. To ignore that and pretend that it's not important is just going to result in a continuation of failed interventions' (Nunn, 2020).

Understanding is the route to developing a system of long-term and sustainable examples of climate change adaptation and mitigation in the Pacific. 'Empowering Pacific Island communities means understanding them,' said Nunn. 'Not just what their priorities are, but also how they've reached those priorities.'

## With crisis comes opportunity

Prior to 2020, climate change was on its way to being a top-priority issue to governments all over the world—particularly those in highly-affected regions like the Pacific. Then 2020 happened. COVID-19 has dominated public talk for months and there are no signs of this changing any time soon. Big ticket issues like social inequality and climate change found themselves on the backburner during the 2020 New Zealand election, and the same could be said in many societies around the world.

The virus has brought global tourism to a standstill and threatened the safety of many already vulnerable indigenous populations. Both impoverished and

tourism-reliant nations in the Pacific have been placed in drastically uncertain financial straits. Although the rates of infection have been fortunately low across the Pacific, apart from Fiji, French Polynesia and Papua New Guinea, countries like Fiji and the Cook Islands have lost one their main sources of income—holidaymakers on the seek for a sun-soaked patch of white-sand beach.

The beaches are there waiting, but the planes haven't begun to land in their pre-COVID numbers yet. With the threat of economic ruin hanging over their heads, Pacific nations' climate change options have been reduced even further. However, from the perspective of analysing the problematic elements of New Zealand's climate aid programme, there is a silver lining.

In April 2020, MFAT reported that almost two-thirds of its development programmes had been affected by COVID-19 in some way. In the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee's Inquiry into New Zealand's aid to the Pacific report, it is said that recovery from this would require a range of responses, including stopping, reassessing and adapting, or re-phasing projects on an individual basis.

Herein lies the opportunity. The effects of the global pandemic have forced aid agencies and foreign departments to re-examine their approaches to foreign aid. Not least of these include New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Trade and Affairs, which must analyse the best foot to put forward in the 'new world' called home since the global spread of COVID-19.

It follows that now that reassessment of New Zealand's position in international relations is being forced upon the country by external circumstances, it is also an appropriate time for New Zealand to reconsider its role as an aid donor in the South Pacific—brooking dependence from developing nations.

The committee's report went on to say 'the ministry pointed out that travel restrictions due to COVID-19 mean that it will need to rely more heavily on local staff and expertise to provide aid. The ministry also hopes to move to a more adaptive and locally-empowered model' (MFAT, 2020a).

It may be the virus that forces the hand of the New Zealand government and has the end result of more of the authority placed locally across the Pacific. If New Zealand is indeed guilty of perpetuating a neocolonial system of foreign aid, this could certainly be part of the remedy.

The country is being given a nudge, if not a shove—an impetus to change. New Zealand can resist that or take the opportunity in its own hands.

Now is the time for the people of New Zealand to ask their elected officials for more equitable and sustainable forms of climate assistance in the Pacific.

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