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1 The sustainability assessment of Indigenous and local knowledge-based climate adaptation
2 responses in agricultural and aquatic food systems

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9
10 **Highlights**

- 11 • ILK-based adaptation has high potential for social and environmental sustainability
- 12 • Local institutions foster social sustainability through co-management and social networks
- 13 • ILK-based conservation and low-input agriculture increase environmental sustainability
- 14 • Both risks and benefits are reported for the economic sustainability dimension
- 15 • The weakening of ILK systems has the potential to fail sustainable climate adaptation

16
17 **Abstract**

18 We examine common Indigenous and local knowledge-based adaptive responses to climate
19 change from the sustainability perspective among Indigenous and local communities globally.
20 We draw upon an assessment of 98 peer-reviewed articles to assess how local-level responses
21 interact with the broader sustainability dimensions of social, economic, and environmental. We
22 focus on five adaptive responses: 1) community-based adaptation, 2) diversification, 3) local
23 governance and conflict resolution schemes, 4) land, soil, and water management, and 5)
24 traditional weather forecast. Using sustainability framing, we illustrate how these adaptive
25 responses can be both resilient and vulnerable. We argue that long-term successful adaptation to
26 climate change should aim to avoid any increase in, and instead should decrease, vulnerability
27 related to the social (e.g., loss of social bonds and mutual support), economic (e.g., insecure
28 income), and environmental (e.g., soil contamination) dimensions. There is an urgent need to
29 discuss successful adaptation to climate change from a holistic approach that includes long-term
30 social, economic, and environmental sustainability aspects.

31
32 **Keywords:** Indigenous and local knowledge, feasibility, agriculture, fisheries, resilience,
33 sustainability, vulnerability

34
35
36
37 **1 Introduction**

38 Climate change is creating an unprecedented challenge for humanity, undermining progress
39 toward achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and exacerbating ongoing
40 difficulties facing the world's most disadvantaged communities [1,2]. In particular, climate
41 change poses a high risk for Indigenous and local peoples (ILPs) [3,4**]. This reflects the
42 interaction of a combination of factors, including colonization, discrimination, and social
43 exclusion, and directly results in conditions such as a high burden of food insecurity, ill health,
44 and poverty [5–7]. Many of the risks that climate change poses stem from interactions with food
45 systems [8]. Indigenous and local communities typically have “mixed” food systems, deriving
46 significant nutrition from subsistence-based agriculture, hunting, fishing, and foraging, alongside
47 small-scale farming, while also engaging in market activities to sell and obtain food [9,10**].
48 While these food systems have historically been resilient, the compounding nature of climate
49 risks and, in many cases, government policies has created significant vulnerabilities. At the same
50 time, Indigenous communities are not “agent-less” and helpless; they display a certain resilience
51 to climate change, derived from their profound local and contextualized knowledge and their
52 capacity to adapt to the climate variabilities they have faced over generations [4**].

53 Indigenous and local knowledge (ILK) is an explicit characteristic of ILPs' adaptive responses
54 associated with their food systems. We understand ILK as an integrated body of knowledge
55 transmitted orally and derived from the accumulation of long-term observations, experiences,
56 and history in the collective memory with communal understanding [11]. Some threads of these
57 knowledge systems are woven into various aspects of the lives of ILPs, whose diverse cultures
58 and traditions helped develop the knowledge required to adapt to a remote environment [12].
59 ILK is considered a process rather than content, as it co-evolves through an adaptive process and
60 is handed down by cultural transmission from one generation to the next [13]. This knowledge
61 system also faces the serious threat of weakening, as it either has been lost, is not learned by the
62 current generation, or remains undocumented [13]. In this context, this body of knowledge has
63 been fundamental to the environmental, cultural, and livelihood sustainability of ILPs [11].

64 Previous studies have emphasized the intertwined nature of social-ecological systems and the
65 dependency of economic and social well-being on an entire biosphere [14] as well as the
66 importance of better understanding the nexus between effective adaptation, resilience, and
67 sustainable development [2,15**]. Eriksen et al. [16] identify the integration of local knowledge
68 as one of four key principles for sustainable adaptation, which, per definition, heightens social
69 justice and environmental integrity across spatial and temporal scales while increasing resilience
70 to climate change.

71 From this perspective, through the sustainability perspective, we identify and examine common
72 ILK-based adaptive responses to climate change among ILPs globally. We draw upon an
73 assessment of 98 peer-reviewed articles published over the last three years (2019-2021) to assess
74 how local-level responses interact with the broader sustainability dimensions (e.g., social,
75 economic, environmental). In structuring our analysis by using sustainability framing, we also

76 illustrate how ILK-based adaptations can be both resilient and vulnerable. We define resilience
77 as the capacity of individuals, communities, and systems to survive, adapt, and self-organize in
78 the face of stress and shocks and even transform when conditions require it [17]. Vulnerability is
79 susceptibility to harm [18]. In writing this paper, we acknowledge that we are non-Indigenous
80 academics who work within the epistemic community of global-change research. This
81 positionality affects our analysis and interpretation of the literature.

82 **2 Methods**

83 **2.1 Semi-systematic literature review**

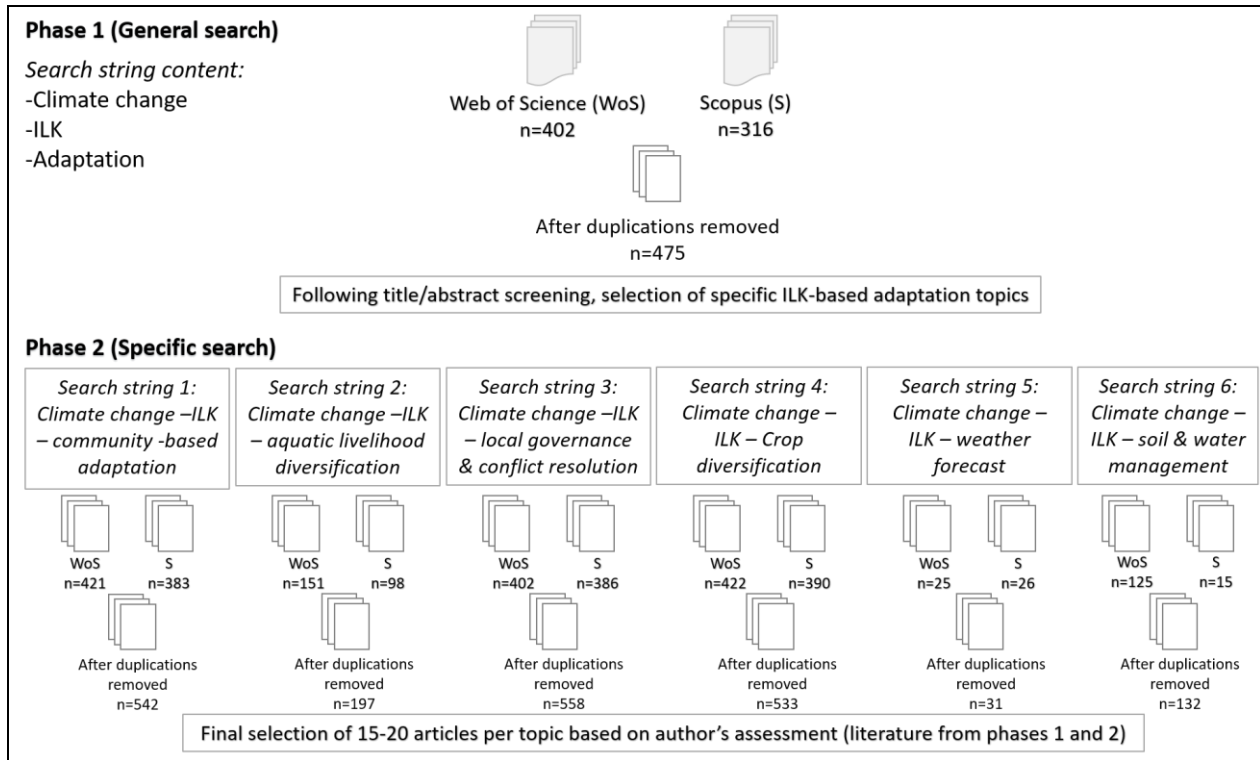
84 This article presents results from a semi-systematic literature review [19], conducted in June
85 2021, to detect common patterns of ILK-based adaptation to climate change in small-scale
86 agricultural and fishery communities. The underlying work contributed to chapter 5, “Food
87 systems,” in the Sixth Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report (IPCC, AR6,
88 WG II, chapter 5, 2022) [20] and focused on scientific literature published between 2019 and
89 June 2021 to capture the most recent research evidence in line with the journal’s publication
90 guidelines.

91 We applied a two-phase search approach by using the web-based databases Web of Science and
92 Scopus to identify English peer-reviewed publications (Figure 1). In the first phase, we used key
93 search strings based on three sub-topics: 1) Indigenous and local knowledge, 2) climate change,
94 and 3) adaptation (see Table SM1 for specific search terms). This resulted in a list of 402 articles
95 in Web of Science and 316 articles in Scopus. Duplicated articles (n=243) that appeared in both
96 databases were removed. The remaining 475 articles were screened for titles and abstracts. The
97 purpose of this initial screening was to identify major ILK-based adaptation topics for the second
98 phase. The themes were selected based on the number of articles published under each theme,
99 and the depth and breadth of each study. The major adaptation themes were identified for small-
100 scale fisheries (i.e., community-based adaptation, livelihood diversification, and local
101 governance and conflict resolution) and smallholder farmers (i.e., crop diversification, traditional
102 weather forecast, and soil and water management).

103 In the second phase, we repeated the search with specific key terms corresponding to each of the
104 identified major ILK-based adaptation strategies to find the most study-relevant articles (see
105 Table SM1 for specific search terms). From the total list of articles derived from phases 1 and 2,
106 we selected approximately 15 articles per theme (or adaptation strategy) that best met the
107 following criteria based on the authors’ assessment of: 1) topic relevance, 2) quality criteria, 3)
108 level of details of results, and 4) diversity in the geographic distribution of case studies.

109 We also added nine articles that subject experts recommended but that did not appear in our
110 search list. For the included articles and each adaptation theme, we conducted a qualitative
111 analysis by assessing common patterns of benefits, costs, and trade-offs regarding the three
112 sustainability dimensions (social, economic, and environmental), in line with social, economic,

113 and environmental feasibility indicators developed by Singh et al. [29]. The supplementary
 114 materials contain a list of documents reviewed and a data sheet.



115
 116 Figure 1: The two-phase search approach.

117 **2.2_Adaptive responses and sustainability**

118 We focus specifically on five adaptive responses in the context of Indigenous and local
 119 knowledge: 1) community-based adaptation, 2) diversification, 3) local governance and conflict
 120 resolution schemes, 4) land, soil, and water management, and 5) traditional weather forecast.
 121 Community-based adaptation refers to adaptive responses emerging from the local level
 122 (individual, household, community) to address climate-related risk [21]. Diversification can take
 123 various forms including diversification of livelihood activities and assets such as crop species
 124 and varieties and fisheries to minimize climate vulnerability by increasing the range of options
 125 available [22]. Local governance and conflict resolution schemes refer to community-level
 126 resource governance partnerships occurring at multiple levels (community to government) in
 127 managing food systems to deal with climate risk. This can include community-based
 128 management and co-management approaches for natural resources [23]. Soil management
 129 includes (no-)tillage, plowing, mulching, ridge and furrow, and terrace cultivation with the
 130 general goal of increasing soil quality and water retention capacity [24*]. Water management
 131 refers to different types of irrigation and water conservation practices. Traditional weather
 132 forecasts use the ILK of biophysical indicators such as animals, plants, weather phenomena, and

133 celestial bodies to predict upcoming weather and thereby plan daily and seasonal livelihood
 134 activities (e.g., [25]).

135 Adaptive responses are key to the sustainability of Indigenous and local food systems. We
 136 understand sustainability in a climate change adaptation context as the combined result of the
 137 long-term dynamics of the resilience and vulnerability of human-environmental systems [16,26].
 138 Social, economic, and environmental dimensions are various archetypical pathways of
 139 sustainability shaped by various adaptive responses. Specifically, the social dimension of
 140 sustainability refers to social equality and justice, including food, health, education, and gender
 141 aspects; the economic dimension to economic equality, including decent work, economic growth,
 142 and responsible production; and the environmental dimension to the integrity of terrestrial and
 143 aquatic systems, including the climate [14]. Adaptive responses can generate mixed positive and
 144 negative impacts along the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of sustainability.
 145 When adaptive responses show evidence of generating more resilience than vulnerability (along
 146 the three dimensions of sustainability), they are identified as having a positive impact. On the
 147 other hand, high economic, social, or environmental costs constitute maladaptation [27,28].

148 Table 1: Three dimensions and indicators of sustainability to assess adaptation in Indigenous and local contexts
 149 (adopted from [29])

Sustainability dimensions	Indicators	Questions asked with adaptation indicators	References
Social	Social benefits	Does the option offer health and education benefits? Does the option minimize negative trade-offs with other development policy goals and identify positive synergies with other policy goals?	[30]
	Sociocultural acceptability	Is there public resistance to the option? Does the option typically find acceptance within existing sociocultural norms and utilize diverse knowledge systems including Indigenous and local knowledge?	[31–33]
	Social and regional inclusiveness	Does the option include different social groups and remote regions? Does the adaptation option adversely affect vulnerable groups or other areas?	[34–36]
Economic	Microeconomic and macroeconomic viability, including employment and productivity enhancement potential	What are the economic costs and trade-offs of the option? (high costs correspond to low feasibility) Would the option lead to higher economic productivity? Does the option employ many people or does the system’s productivity increase under the option?	[37,38]

Environmental	Adaptive capacity/ resilience-building potential	Does the option enhance the ability of ecosystems or relevant decision-makers to adjust to potential damage to the environment, take advantage of opportunities, or respond to consequences, or does the option contribute to building resilience (the environment's ability to cope with stressors and reorganize to maintain structures and functions and retain the capacity to transform)?	[39]
	Ecological capacity	Does the option enhance supporting, regulating, or provisioning ecosystem services in any way?	[39]

150

151 3. Results

152 3.1_Social sustainability

153 We found records of diverse ILK-based adaptive responses leading to social sustainability.
 154 Community-based adaptation has a widely documented ability to positively impact social
 155 sustainability. For example, based on two case studies from the Solomon Islands, Basel et al.
 156 [40] found that the community-based adaptation approach could address key climate change
 157 vulnerabilities (e.g., climate variability, extreme events), additional drivers of social vulnerability
 158 (e.g., limited equity and inclusion, education), and adaptive capacity (e.g., leadership, youth
 159 capacity building). However, from the same islands, Van der Ploeg et al. [41*] found that several
 160 other interconnected social and political problems such as youth unemployment, poor healthcare
 161 and education, gender-based violence, land tenure disputes, corruption, alcoholism, urbanization,
 162 and expectations of modernity could lead to food insecurity and health problems.

163 Local governance and co-management arrangements are recorded among the Indigenous
 164 fisheries systems of northern Canada and Sri Lanka as a way of building the resilience of social-
 165 ecological systems and fostering adaptation to climate change. For example, both the DFO
 166 (Department of Fisheries and Oceans) and the HTA (Hunters and Trappers Association), along
 167 with the NWMB (Nunavut Wildlife Management Board) and other designated Inuit
 168 organizations, are co-managers of the fisheries in Nunavut, Canada as outlined in the Nunavut
 169 Agreement Article 5 [42]. Some community fisheries such as Cambridge Bay and Pangnirtung
 170 have been using co-management for the last three decades [43]. These co-managers use the best
 171 available ILK and science for decision-making related to annual fish quotas and fishing places.
 172 For instance, transformative changes such as food system changes (e.g., from land-based to
 173 ocean-based) recorded in Pangnirtung were fostered by the local perception of environmental
 174 change, sustained monitoring programs, shared narratives, and the interaction between
 175 knowledge systems, facilitated by a bridging organization within a broader process of
 176 governance transformation [43]. Similar co-management characteristics have been documented
 177 in Sri Lankan Coastal-Vedda culture-based fisheries [44]. Co-management is not an easy

178 adaptive response but is the best available collaborative management solution for Indigenous and
179 local resource systems [45].

180 Across the globe, Indigenous and local crops and varieties are an integral part of local cultures
181 and therefore play an important role in customary traditions and local diets; they are often
182 associated with a better taste and, consequently, are culturally highly accepted [46*–51]. A
183 mixed cropping system and the complementation of cultivated crops with medicinal plants has
184 additional social benefits for health such as the potential to diversify the food and nutritional
185 intake of ILPs and the supply of low-cost medical treatments [46*,47**,52–55]. Social structures
186 such as traditional seed networks and communal labor are important factors in preserving local
187 seeds, crop diversity, and crop quality [50,51], pooling labor in times of intensive farming
188 activities, and supporting each other in times of climate emergency, as practiced by the Lun
189 Bawang, Sa’ban, and Penan peoples on the island of Borneo [56].

190 The strong link between ILK-based adaptive strategies and customary institutions is also evident
191 in the context of traditional weather forecasts. Information and knowledge sharing through
192 customary institutions are crucial for the collection and interpretation of weather indicators and
193 the evaluation, correction, and dissemination of the final forecasts [57–59]. Similar to Indigenous
194 crops, traditional weather forecasts have been transmitted through generations and therefore
195 display high cultural acceptance and trust (e.g., [59–61]).

196 Indigenous institutions are also crucial for controlling, regulating, and guaranteeing the balanced,
197 equal, and sustainable use of water, an often limited good [62]. Additionally, social capital in the
198 form of collective actions is visible in work-intensive soil and water management practices such
199 as community-based pasture management in the Andes [63] and chena cultivation and large-
200 scale water tank systems in Sri Lanka [64].

201 However, evidence indicates that local culture and customary institutions are weakening, which
202 threatens social cohesion and resilience to climate change. For example, studies report declines
203 in the cultivation of Indigenous and local crop varieties [46*,48], the application of Indigenous
204 cropping systems, seed exchange between farmers [48], and the application of customary water
205 control systems and governance [64].

206 **3.2_Economic sustainability**

207 The economic dimension of sustainability addresses uncertainties associated with Indigenous and
208 local food systems. This includes various diversification responses as well as the application of
209 traditional weather forecasts. Crop diversification is documented for microeconomic viability. A
210 shift from subsistence to market integration is highly correlated with a shift toward cash crops
211 (e.g., fruits, vegetables, wheat, and coffee) and improved and hybrid varieties [46*,47**,50,65].
212 This trend is strongly driven by certain economic benefits such as higher yields, shorter growing
213 cycles, lower labor demand, and higher market values, which potentially increase income and

214 food security [46*–48,51,52,66]; the exception is [67]. The economic trade-offs of improved and
215 hybrid varieties are often neglected. For example, direct costs arise because hybrid varieties
216 cannot be self-saved but must be purchased for each season [47**,48,50,55]. Indirect costs arise
217 because improved varieties and cash crops often require more chemical fertilizer and pesticides
218 as well as a cost-intensive irrigation infrastructure [47**,48,50]. These economic downsides
219 imply two consequences: 1) Indigenous crops have a higher energy use efficiency ratio as shown
220 in a case study involving Nepalese and Bangladeshi farmers [46*] and 2) Indigenous crops imply
221 lower economic risks in a high-climate-risk year, due mainly to their lower investment costs
222 [47**,68]. Furthermore, Indigenous cropping practices like intercropping or relay cropping have
223 the potential to increase yield per area compared to mono-cropping systems [54,66,68].
224 Economic value also arises through the incorporation of Indigenous medicinal plants and the
225 generally better straw quality of Indigenous crops [47**,50,52,55].

226

227 Livelihood diversification is recorded in different forms as an adaptive response allowing rural
228 populations to be involved in a range of activities that reduce their economic vulnerability. For
229 example, Inuit of the Canadian Arctic are involved in co-existing fisheries (commercial and
230 subsistence; Arctic Char—*Salvelinus alpinus* and Turbot—*Reinhardtius hippoglossoides*) that
231 create more economic opportunities [42]. In the Global South, Sri Lankan Coastal-Vedda are
232 involved in multiple casual livelihood activities allowing them to shift between different
233 livelihood options (e.g., culture-based fisheries, rice farming, home gardening) [44]. However, in
234 the context of economic diversification (as a main adaptive strategy), a peri-urban lake system in
235 Zimbabwe records that males dominate the leadership of fishing cooperatives and that women
236 (who are often low-paid or unpaid, with an unofficial status) are not recognized for their roles
237 (e.g., net making, fish gutting, cleaning, and gleaning) [69].

238 Adequate weather forecasts are crucial for stabilizing yields, avoiding yield losses, and
239 maximizing crop revenues. Compared to state-led weather forecasts, traditional weather forecasts
240 display certain economic and technological advantages, i.e., they are low-cost and low-tech,
241 though additional costs and required technological infrastructure and understanding of state
242 institutional weather forecasts are significant access impediments, especially for remote
243 communities [25,53,55,59,61,70,71]. For example, based on evidence from studies in Zimbabwe,
244 Mexico, Uganda, and Botswana, the scarcity of weather stations in remote regions, which results
245 in a low spatial resolution of institutional weather forecasts, often presented at the regional level
246 or even state level, is criticized as being too broad in its application and use at the local level and
247 misaligned with farmers' needs [58,60,61,70]. Additionally, temporal delays in state forecast
248 dissemination place a burden on its local applicability [59,70].

249 **3.3 Environmental sustainability and climate resilience**

250 Many Indigenous crops such as millet, buckwheat, quinoa and qañawa, yam and cocoyam, and
251 cassava, and their wild relatives, have adapted to harsh environmental conditions, including

252 extreme cold droughts and floods [46*,48,49,55,68,72], and are less susceptible to pests and
253 diseases [47**,48,55,68]. Therefore, the general demand for external inputs, such as pesticides,
254 fertilizer, and irrigation, and, consequently, the environmental impacts, especially on soil and
255 water, is generally lower for Indigenous crops [47**,53]. Instead, traditional crop cultivation
256 depends on natural fertilizers and pesticides [48,55,65] or dung from (free-range) livestock
257 [47**]. An example from Sri Lanka shows that chena cultivation systems use less artificial
258 fertilizer and pesticides, depending instead on natural soil fertility [64]. We therefore argue that
259 many Indigenous and local crops and varieties combine general climate resilience and
260 environmental sustainability. However, the short maturation cycles of crops such as maize,
261 groundnut, and cowpea and the improved short-cycle varieties increase their drought resistance
262 by advancing their flowering and harvest dates compared to those of Indigenous crop varieties
263 such as guinea corn and late millet; this results in a decline in the cultivation of Indigenous crops
264 [53,66]. On the other hand, traditional mixed cropping systems decrease the risk of complete
265 crop failure and contribute to agrobiodiversity and increased soil quality [24*,49,51,53,65].
266 Similarly, soil conservation based on Indigenous and local knowledge is generally
267 environmentally sustainable because of its low demand for energy and chemical products with
268 the aim of increasing soil fertility and water retention capacity in an environmentally sustainable
269 manner.

270 Local governance involves community-based efforts to face common challenges using collective
271 action and local institutions, sometimes with the support of the government. Records from Sri
272 Lanka show how small-scale shrimp farmers collectively use their local knowledge of shrimp
273 disease spreading patterns across the interconnected lagoon waterbody to implement a zonal crop
274 calendar system by managing water withdrawal and discharge [42]. Also in the Pacific Islands,
275 [73**] recorded how local governance of iTaukei (Indigenous Fijian) communities sustainably
276 managed mangrove ecosystems over time and how this knowledge and these experiences can
277 produce more sustainable and effective ecosystem-based adaptation options in the future. iTaukei
278 indicates that mangrove plantations can prevent soil from washing away and can act as natural
279 barriers to protect the coastline from sea-level rise, storm surges, and coral damage. However,
280 there is not enough scientific data to facilitate sustainable environment management practices,
281 for example, in the context of Arctic fisheries experiencing rapid environmental and climate
282 change [74].

283 Traditional weather forecast methods are used to determine seasonal activities such as the timing
284 of crop planting and harvesting and the seasonal selection of crop species and varieties (e.g.,
285 [58,68,71,75]) and livestock activities [59] to prepare for expected climate emergencies such as
286 drought and flooding [25,60,70,71,75] as well as for adapting to long-term changes in local
287 climates [60,71]. However, nowadays, traditional weather forecast practices are threatened not
288 only by cultural loss but also by the unprecedented speed of anthropogenic climate change itself,
289 as shown in case studies from Malaysian Borneo [56] and Ethiopia [25]. Several communities
290 lament a decrease in the reliability and accuracy of traditional weather forecasts, as weather is

291 more variable and rainfall more erratic nowadays and the relationships between biophysical
 292 indicators and weather phenomena are weakening [56,61]. Nonetheless, the question of whether
 293 relying on institutional or traditional weather forecast methods is more accurate and implies
 294 fewer risks of error is not a trivial one, as [76] exemplified in a case study in Nigeria.

295 Table 2: Examples of Indigenous and local knowledge-based adaptation responses and their impacts on
 296 sustainability

Adaptive responses	Examples	(+/-) Impacts on sustainability	Sustainability dimensions	References
Community-based adaptation	Participatory adaptation planning (Langalanga people from the Solomon Islands)	(+) Support community cohesion, local resource management (forest, water, and fisheries), and disaster risk reduction (-) Increased settlement along the coast leads to conflicts over access to fishing grounds	Social, Environmental	[40,41*]
	Inclusion of women in fisheries (Alaskan native people, United States)	(+) Inclusion of women's knowledge in fisheries decision-making (Alaskan native people, United States) (-) Limited research considering the knowledge and perspectives of fisherwomen in Alaska (Alaskan native people, United States)	Social	[77**]
Diversification	Livelihood diversification (Indigenous peoples in the Asia Pacific region)	(+) Diverse skills give them opportunities to maximize the flexible use of all available capital to sustain their livelihood and reduce climate risks and vulnerability (-) Limited specialization in one livelihood activity (expert knowledge and learning)	Economic, Social	[3,44]

	Crop diversification (Bangladesh; Milpa farmers in Mexico; various ethnic groups in northern Vietnam; Yi people in China)	(+) Contribution to agrobiodiversity, improved soil quality, reduced pest infestation, health and nutritional intake diversity (-) Although mixed cropping increases yield, indigenous crops generally display lower yields and lower market prices, resulting in generally lower income generation potential compared to improved varieties	Environmental, Economic, Social	[51,54,55,67]
Local governance and conflict resolutions schemes	Co-management (small-scale fishers in Timor-Leste and Bangladesh)	(+) Empowered communities are more likely to meet both socio-economic and biological goals being involved in decision-making (-) Inequities reinforced by the customary power hierarchies reduce incomes and access rights of poor fishers	Social, Economic, Environmental	[78,79]
	Community-based management (Laos PDR, Resex Pirajubaé fishers of Brazil)	(+) Foster capacity building (-) Degradation of coastal-marine ecosystems and a severe impact on traditional fishery did not prevent due to urban growth over the reserve	Social, Environmental	[80,81]
Land, soil, and water management	Soil management (Thai farmers in Vietnam; smallholder farmers in Northern Ghana; Khasi and Jaintia people in Northern India)	(+) Improves soil quality, including soil fertility and water retention potential (-) Labor work-intensive, which is addressed through collective actions and a culture of reciprocity	Environmental, Economic, Social	[82,83]

	Water management (Sri Lanka; Peruvian Andean Indigenous pastoralists; Northern Pakistan)	(+) a good water management systems guarantees sustainable and fair water use among community members (-) Excessive water usage in the dry season might exhaust natural water sources	Social, Economic, Environmental	[62–64]
Traditional weather observation and forecast	Traditional weather forecast (Alfa pastoralists in Ethiopia; Mayan milpa farmers in Mexico)	(+) High cultural acceptance, Information sharing to inform all community members (-) The higher unpredictability especially of rainfall, makes traditional weather forecast less reliable and decision-making more difficult	Social, Economic	[57,61]

297 4_Discussion

298 We have investigated the most recently recorded evidence covering diverse regions and peoples
299 to understand how these ILK-based adaptive responses can generate mixed positive and negative
300 impacts along the social, economic, and environmental dimensions of sustainability. Across the
301 examples we review, Indigenous and local knowledge provide the context for adaptive responses
302 to foster the resilience and sustainability of agricultural and aquatic food systems. However, we
303 have also seen that performance in the different domains of sustainability varies. While the
304 reviewed strategies show specifically high potential to increase social and environmental
305 sustainability, there are reported trade-offs in the economic sustainability domain. Therefore,
306 strengthening ILK-based adaptation can enrich climate change resilience while contributing to
307 the social and environmental SDG, for which low achievements have been reported thus far
308 [84,85].

309 We find numerous records of adaptation in Indigenous food systems across diverse regions that
310 are resilient to climate change and sustainable in many aspects. For example, the zaï cultivation
311 system improves soil qualities, increases yields, and reduces climate impacts [86]. However, we
312 also find examples of sustainable trade-offs, especially regarding the economic domain, and
313 argue that populations can be both resilient and vulnerable. For example, the high landrace
314 diversity of buckwheat of the Yi people in China makes them resilient to climate variability but
315 vulnerable to market conditions [51]. Furthermore, some of the adaptive responses that we
316 document are being undermined or challenged to varying degrees, differing by (and within)

317 populations; an example is the lack of capacity among Indigenous peoples on the Cook Islands to
318 practically integrate and apply ILK in climate change adaptation planning [87].

319 We argue that long-term successful adaptation to climate change should aim to avoid any
320 increase in, and instead should reduce, social (e.g., loss of social bonds and mutual support),
321 economic (e.g., food insecurity due to poverty), and environmental (e.g., soil contamination)
322 vulnerability [27,28,88]. However, due to the complexity of climate change and adaptation in a
323 sociopolitical context, trade-offs and maladaptive outcomes are omnipresent, even when the best
324 intentions exist [89,90]. There is consequently an urgent need to discuss successful adaptation to
325 climate change through a holistic approach that includes, inter alia, long-term social, economic,
326 and environmental sustainability aspects and to consider ILK [88]. This is especially important
327 because 1) Indigenous and local food systems are undergoing rapid change due to environmental
328 and climate change [4**] and 2) these changes are not experienced in isolation but in a context
329 of various socio-economic, cultural, and political stressors [9]. In other words, these various
330 place-based conditions shape the way people respond to climate change impacts and determine
331 the long-term and system-wide efficiency and sustainability of adaptation and, thus, the
332 resilience and vulnerability of human-environmental systems [4**].

333 Many ILK systems are rooted in a deep understanding and represent a process of social-
334 ecological memory accumulated over several generations [91]. Also, these ILK systems are
335 connected to specific environments (e.g., food systems) and social processes (e.g., livelihood)
336 shaped by shocks and stressors over the long term [4**]. Additionally, as shown in our and other
337 studies, ILPs are characterized by the high importance of social capital through the practice of
338 collective action and collaboration (e.g., food sharing), local institutions (e.g., farmers
339 associations), human agency (e.g., assets), and learning (e.g., learning-by-doing) [4**,10**,42].
340 These characteristics can shape adaptive responses in the ILK setting and provide evidence for
341 building the resilience and sustainability of food systems. Furthermore, culture, beliefs, and a
342 high connection with and respect for nature foster sustainable resource use and impede any other
343 harm to the natural environment, implemented and controlled through customary institutions and
344 codes of ethics [92].

345 In our study, we find that some ILK systems are experiencing a weakening of knowledge
346 systems and that this has the potential to result in the failure of sustainable adaptive capacity or
347 increase exposure and sensitivity to climate impacts and other impacts [10**,31]. The weakening
348 of ILK could stem from distractions in a process of social-ecological memory accumulation, for
349 example, the loss of language and cultural and livelihood practices (e.g., toward off-farm
350 activities), relocation, and increasing external influences, such as extension services and
351 schooling (Sri Lankan Coastal-Vedda believe that aspects of their ILK system are weakening,
352 due partly to three decades of ethnic conflict and social modernization) [10**,44]. In the
353 Canadian Arctic, some aspects of Inuit knowledge systems are weakening, as many elders
354 possess knowledge but do not practice it themselves. For example, some young Inuit have not

355 had to use survival skills on the ice, nor have they handled dog teams, read the sky, or sewn seal
356 skin [10**,42]. Thus, while ILK systems could result in resilience, their weakening could lead to
357 vulnerability. Such weakening could lead to, for example, more environmental degradation (e.g.,
358 through the increased application of chemical fertilizers and pesticides as promoted by many
359 extension services, a loss of local resources, and unconstrained overexploitation of water
360 resources for the irrigation of cash crops) [47**] and a decrease in social bounds and the ethics
361 of reciprocity. Therefore, several studies support the application of hybrid knowledge that
362 combines ILK and scientific knowledge [93]. This can be a promising tool based on the premise
363 of a decolonized and respectful exchange with a common understanding that both knowledge
364 systems are equally valid, without any temptation to outperform each other, and guaranteeing the
365 preservation of local culture and beliefs. Some examples of the successful application of such
366 “hybrid knowledge” are reported for natural resource management including water, fisheries, and
367 mountainous ecosystems (e.g., [51,53,93]).

368 Given the multiple policy challenges demanding joint solutions that seek to bring together
369 sustainable development, climate change action, and disaster risk reduction, this assessment is
370 conceptualized as an initial step toward building a broad understanding of sustainable climate
371 adaptation responses in the context of ILK and their food systems. The five ILK-based adaptive
372 responses are: community-based adaptation; diversification; local governance and conflict
373 resolution schemes; land, soil, and water management; and traditional weather forecast. These
374 adaptive responses have significant potential for social and environmental sustainability but ILK
375 remains challenged and disadvantaged under economic aspects. ILK-based adaptive strategies
376 can show trade-offs in fostering resilience regarding one dimension of sustainability while
377 increasing vulnerability regarding another. The weakening of ILK systems can potentially fail
378 and be maladaptive in terms of sustainable climate adaptation. The policy focusing on successful
379 adaptation should aim at sustainability's social, economic, and environmental dimensions. Our
380 assessment serves as a learning platform to anticipate urgent adaptation policies and envisions
381 sustainable solutions to a wide range of fast-warming, small-scale agricultural and aquatic food
382 systems worldwide.

383

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435 experience and respond to climate change impacts. Two key adaptive strategies emerged in
436 common across the two communities – diversification and adaptive co-management. Eight
437 sources of resilience that underpin adaptive capacity: i) use of diverse kinds of knowledge; ii)
438 practice of different ways of learning; iii) use of community-based institutions; iv) efforts to
439 improve human agency; v) unique worldviews; vi) specific cultural attributes that keep up with
440 adaptation; vii) effective social networks; and viii) a high level of flexibility. Definitive
441 characteristics that need to promote successful community adaptation: continuous learning
442 through knowledge co-production; capacity-building to improve human agency; a place-specific
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682 **revealed that women’s knowledge might be critical in fisheries management decisions,**
683 **community resilience, and socio-ecological sustainability in a region facing increased threats**
684 **from climate change. Women shoulder major roles by contributing to the preservation of salmon**
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