

1 ***The perception of palaeontology in commercial off-the-shelf video games and an***
2 ***assessment of their potential as educational tools.***

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14 *Video games now comprise the largest sector of the media entertainment industry. Hundreds of*
15 *video games, spanning a huge variety of genres and platforms, use extinct animals and/or*
16 *palaeontological themes as a basis for their gameplay. Because of this, many players, especially*
17 *children, spend long periods of time engaging with, and immersed in, palaeontological concepts*
18 *and themes. Video games may be the first medium of implicit or tangential science communication*
19 *they engage with, especially with regards to palaeontology. However, commercial off-the-shelf*
20 *video games are not primarily designed to be educational tools, and the proliferation of some*
21 *common tropes can disseminate harmful and/or unethical (mis)information regarding*
22 *palaeontology. This paper introduces the major types of palaeontological video games and*
23 *discusses their educational potential. We highlight the most common palaeontological tropes*
24 *observed in video games, both positive and negative, to better equip science communicators*
25 *about the perception of palaeontology (and ancient animals) in this massively influential medium*
26 *that they may encounter when undertaking scientific engagement. Furthermore, by highlighting*
27 *common misconceptions and harmful tropes we aim to bring awareness to game developers who*
28 *may be unaware that they could be propagating negative tropes about palaeontological science.*

29

30 ***1. Introduction***

31 Video games are the largest and fastest growing sector of the media entertainment industry. In
32 2020, approximately 2.7 billion users generated an estimated \$159.3 billion in revenue; more
33 revenue than the movie and music industry combined (Newzoo Global Games Market Report,
34 2020). The rise of games playable on mobile devices has massively increased the accessibility

35 of video games to a broad range of demographics, mainly because they do not require specialist
36 hardware, are often free-to-play, and have huge diversity in regard to subject matter and
37 necessary skill level. Furthermore, gaming related entertainment, such as live-streaming services
38 like the websites Mixer, Twitch, YouTube etc., are hugely popular, with over 12.4 billion hours of
39 gaming live-streams consumed in the first two quarters of 2020 (Stream Hatchet Video Game
40 Streaming Trends Report, 2020). Combined, this indicates that not only are video games
41 increasing in popularity but that, when not playing, many users will still engage with video games
42 by watching others play online via streaming services. Those working palaeontological science
43 communicators should appreciate the size of the captive audience, and how influential the
44 medium of video games is as a resource for engagement practices.

45 Broadly speaking, video games can be separated into two categories: educational and
46 commercial games. Educational games actively promote learning by introducing information and
47 engaging the user with specific content, known as 'Digital Game Based Learning' (DGBL; see
48 Habgood & Ainsworth, 2011). Video games that focus on specific STEM subjects have been
49 shown to be beneficial to both non-students and students by positively aiding learning outcomes
50 (e.g. Shute *et al.* 2013; Mani *et al.* 2016; Pringle *et al.* 2017; etc.), especially for students who
51 struggle with traditional teaching practices (Mayo, 2009). However, studies also indicate that
52 some users can find educational games patronising (Klopfer & Osterweil, 2013), or lose interest
53 rapidly and disengage, decreasing the likelihood of positive learning outcomes (Kerawalla &
54 Crook, 2005; Habgood & Ainsworth 2011). Furthermore, educational video games are typically
55 niche in their subject matter, difficult to programme (e.g. Pringle *et al.* 2017), difficult to implement
56 (e.g. Mani *et al.* 2016; Mozelius *et. al.*, 2017), and require extensive funding to develop (Annetta,
57 2008; Mayo, 2009). These games are often made in association with specific outreach projects
58 with limited funding (e.g. Mani *et al.* 2016; Pringle *et al.* 2017), making protracted development
59 an impossibility (Mayo, 2009). It should also be noted that it can be difficult to monitor the
60 educational effectiveness of these educational video games (e.g. Mani *et al.* 2016) especially if
61 they are released to the public. Ultimately, educational video games are viable learning aids, but
62 they do not appeal to the wider public.

63 The second type of video games are commercial-off-the-shelf (COTS) games. These
64 games make up the overwhelming majority of the gaming ecosystem and are incredibly diverse
65 in their genres and themes. Typically, COTS games are developed to a much higher standard of
66 graphics and gameplay mechanics than educational video games (Mozelius *et. al.*, 2017) and are
67 designed specifically to capture the attention of the user by motivating and challenging them in
68 an interactive environment, often reinforcing this through repetition and reward (Brown *et al.*

69 2014). Despite the dated perception that video games are nothing more than a trivial time sink,
70 evidence suggests that video games can have positive benefits to cognition, motivation, and
71 social skills in players (e.g. Granic *et al.* 2014). Furthermore, COTS games can effortlessly provide
72 early exposure to educational themes and concepts, even if the specific COTS game is not
73 primarily designed for this purpose. Because of the huge variety in genres, engaging gameplay,
74 ability to play online with friends, and high production quality, it has been proposed that COTS
75 games are a resource that could be incorporated into teaching environments (Van Eck, 2006),
76 with multiple studies undertaking utilising COTS in teaching environments (e.g. Charsky and
77 Mims, 2008; Mohanty & Cantu, 2011; Sun *et al.* 2015; Cadwell *et al.* 2017; etc.). Recently, some
78 COTS games have included specific sections of the game that are focused on education: for
79 example, *Assassin's Creed: Origins* (2017, Ubisoft Montreal) and later instalments in the
80 *Assassin's Creed* franchise contain a 'Discovery Tour' mode that removes combat and quests in
81 the game to allow players to explore the games' historical settings accompanied with factual
82 information and quizzes. Generally speaking, however, whilst educational video games often
83 sacrifice entertainment for accuracy, many COTS video games do the opposite (Van Ecy; 2006
84 Mozelius et. al., 2017; McGowan & Scarlett, 2021), and therefore must be carefully vetted prior
85 to integration into curricula, often leading to increased workload for educators (e.g. Sun *et al.*
86 2015; Cadwell *et al.* 2017 etc.).

87 One important and often overlooked aspect of computer gaming is the potential for implicit
88 and tangential learning (Mozelius et. al., 2017; Crowley *et al.* 2021; McGowan & Scarlett, 2021).
89 Implicit (or unconscious) learning occurs when learning takes place in an incidental manner
90 without the awareness of the person engaging in an activity (e.g. Frensch and Runger, 2003).
91 Conversely, tangential learning is the semi-conscious process of self-education via exposure to
92 a topic in an already enjoyable, non-educational format (Brown *et al.* 2014). Many COTS games
93 impart complex scientific and historical content to their audiences by presenting the topic within
94 fun and engaging game mechanics in a non-scholastic format (see Herrero *et al.* 2014; Crowley
95 *et al.* 2021) and can be used as a tool within a wider educational framework (Herrero *et al.* 2014).
96 However, it is also possible that any implicit and tangential learning from a COTS game may be
97 a completely unintended or entirely accidental element of game design. Consequently, because
98 COTS games are not primarily designed with educational purposes in mind, inaccuracies either
99 intentional (disinformation), or unintentional (misinformation), could be incredibly impactful to less
100 informed players, and could mislead audiences about key concepts and even reinforce harmful
101 stereotypes.

102 This is particularly pertinent to the science communication community, and especially so
103 for palaeontology. For over 150 years, ancient organisms have inspired a plethora of popular
104 books, films, cartoons and toys. It should therefore be of no surprise that ancient life is a popular
105 topic for the video game industry. In fact, one of the first 3D games for the home computer was
106 *3D Monster Maze* (1982, J. K. Greye Software), a maze game where the player was chased and,
107 unless they could successfully escape, eaten by a *Tyrannosaurus rex* (Figure 1). Since then, the
108 diversity of palaeontological video game genres has greatly increased and is currently a popular
109 theme for COTS games (see Figure 2). This means that a considerable number of people,
110 particularly children, will be introduced to the field of palaeontology through the medium of video
111 games. Because players repeatedly engage with a single video game and new games that
112 contain palaeontological themes are being released all the time, COTS games have a much
113 greater reach than traditional outreach events.

114 The aim of this paper is twofold: 1) to familiarise science communicators with the types of
115 palaeontological COTS video games; 2) to identify and discuss common tropes and
116 misconceptions that often arise where scientific accuracy is compromised for entertainment value.
117 This paper seeks to raise awareness to science communicators of the perception of
118 palaeontology (and ancient animals) that the video game-playing public are exposed to, especially
119 those that have been introduced to the subject via these games. Here, we highlight harmful tropes
120 (i.e. unethical behaviour, misogyny, racism etc.) to inform science communicators of the
121 perception of palaeontology that is disseminated by COTS videogames. Furthermore, this review
122 may be of interest to COTS game writers, developers, and video game artists who may be
123 unaware that they are propagating damaging tropes pertaining to palaeontological science.

124

125 **2. General introduction to palaeontological video games**

126 In this review, we focus on COTS video games that incorporate fossils and/or ancient animals as
127 one of the playable or interactive aspects of the game, which we term 'palaeo-video games'. This
128 review does not include games based on human remains or artefacts (archaeology).

129 Currently, there is a huge diversity of video games that contain palaeontological content. As of
130 2021, there are over 270 palaeo-themed COTS games available on Steam, the largest digital
131 video game distribution service (PC games only) (Figure 2). It is important to note that this number
132 does not include games that have been released for games consoles (such as the SNES,
133 PlayStation, Xbox etc.) and so the number of palaeo-themed COTS games is much greater. Many
134 of the games available on Steam are made by small development teams and will not sell in large
135 quantities, however, mainstream titles can often sell large numbers of games. For example, by

136 2020 *Jurassic World Evolution* (2018, Frontier Developments) has sold over 3 million copies (Kerr,
137 2020). Due to the vast quantity of palaeo-themed COTS games there are titles that may not be
138 directly discussed herein.

139 In this review we do not discuss COTS games that only incorporate ancient animals as
140 'set dressing'. Examples include games such as *The Last Of Us Part II* (2020, Naughty Dog),
141 *Batman: Arkham City* (2011, Rocksteady Studios), and *BioShock* (2007, 2K Boston) that feature
142 levels in museums containing skeletons or animatronic replicas of extinct animals, or *Battlefield*
143 4 (2013, DICE), which features a hidden 'easter egg' that allows the players to summon a giant
144 *Otodus megalodon* during live multiplayer matches. While some of these games, such as *The*
145 *Last Of Us Part II*, do have playable museum levels that allows players to interact with fossils,
146 typically the palaeo-content of many of these games is purely aesthetic and, therefore, would be
147 of limited use to science communicators. Another common use of ancient animals is purely
148 cosmetic; many multiplayer games feature 'skins' that the players can unlock to customise their
149 characters, and these often resemble ancient animals e.g. dinosaur outfits in *Fortnite* (2017, Epic
150 Games), and dinosaur themed armoured suits in *Destiny 2* (2017, Bungie Inc.) (Figure 2). These
151 'skins' are purely aesthetic changes that do not alter the core gameplay and will not be discussed
152 further.

153 In order to understand the tropes commonly seen in palaeo-video games, it is important
154 to identify the major categories of palaeo-video games that are available on the market. Despite
155 the diversity of game types and styles (Figure 2), most games align with one of the following
156 categories (though some span multiple): 1) ancient animals as adversaries (Figure 3a); 2) ancient
157 animals as tools (Figure 3b); 3) fossils as collectibles (Figure 3c); 4) ancient animal management
158 simulators (Figure 3d); and 5) ancient animal simulators (Figure 3e).

159

160 2.1 Ancient animals as adversaries

161 This category is, by far, the most common type of palaeontological video game (65% of palaeo-
162 game titles on Steam Figure 2d). Many video games use ancient animals (typically dinosaurs and
163 pterosaurs) as adversaries that must be defeated (i.e., killed) for the player to proceed and
164 continue the game. In this type of game, the ancient animals are programmed to be hostile if
165 approached and/or will actively hunt the player. Examples include *The Legend of Zelda* (1986,
166 Nintendo EAD), *Turok: Dinosaur Hunter* (1997, Iguana Entertainment; Figure 3a), *Trespasser*
167 (1998, DreamWorks Interactive), *Dino Crisis* (1999, CAPCOM), *Tomb Raider* (1996, Core
168 Design), *Peter Jackson's King Kong: The Official Game of the Movie* (2005, Ubisoft Montpellier).

169

170 Another type of palaeo-video game that falls within this category is the ‘wave shooter’, in
171 which the player fights off waves of hostile enemies with a suite of exotic weapons in order to
172 progress. The enemies in these games are presented as cannon fodder that exhibit little or no
173 natural behaviour, swarming enmasse to overwhelm the player. Examples include *Dino Stalker*
174 (2002, CAPCOM), *Dino D-Day* (2011, Digital Ranch), *Dinosaur Hunt* (2015, Racing Bros),
175 *Carnivores: Dinosaur Hunter (Reborn)* (2015, Digital Dreams Entertainment LLC), *Wrath of the*
176 *Goliaths: Dinosaurs* (2018, Ascendence Studios), *Hunt: Primal Reptiles* (2020, HugeLittleStudio),
177 *Prehistoric Hunt* (2020, Antiproto Studios), and *Second Extinction* (2020, Systemic Reaction).
178 Some games subvert this category and allow the option to play as the ancient animals in order to
179 hunt and kill humans, such as *Primal Carnage* (2012, Lukewarm Media) and *Orion Prelude* (2012,
180 DANKIE).

181 Generally, category 1 games offer very limited educational content. At best, the player can
182 access a glossary of the hostile units which may contain some scientific information, however,
183 many of these games rely heavily on tropes such as monsterification (see below) to make the
184 enemies appear and behave more frightening or lethal. In fact, in most category 1 games, the
185 ancient animals could be replaced by any other generic adversaries (i.e. aliens or zombies) with
186 little impact to the core gameplay.

187

188 2.2 Ancient animals as tools

189 Another common use of ancient animals in COTS games is as a tool to help the player progress
190 through the game. One of the most famous and recognisable examples is Yoshi, a fictional
191 omnivorous theropod dinosaur who first appeared in *Super Mario World* (1990, Nintendo EAD;
192 Figure 3b). Yoshi was a mount for the Mario brothers, who rode Yoshi in their adventures to
193 rescue Princess Peach, but Yoshi’s popularity promoted him to full sidekick status and has
194 spawned several dedicated sequels (e.g. *Yoshi’s Story*, 1997, Nintendo EAD). A variety of other
195 games allow tamed ancient animals to be utilised as mounts, such as *Far Cry Primal* (2016,
196 Ubisoft Montreal), *Ark: Survival Evolved* (2017, Studio Wildcard), *Total War: Warhammer I and II*
197 (2016, 2017, Creative Assembly), and *World of Warcraft: Battle for Azeroth* (2018, Blizzard
198 Entertainment), with some games even going so far as to mount weapons such as machine guns
199 and cannons, to ancient animals e.g. *Nanosaur* (1998, Ideas From the Deep), *Dino D-Day*, and
200 *Total War: Warhammer II*.

201 Ancient animals as tools are also featured in the video game sub-genre of role-playing
202 games (RPGs). In the context of palaeontology, the most famous examples are the *Pokémon*
203 games, in which a diverse group of Pokémon are based on or inspired by ancient animals. In

204 these games the player can catch, train, and fight the creatures in sanctioned competitions in
205 order to become the best trainer in their respective worlds. Pokémon fossils can be found, revived,
206 and used to battle other trainers as the player progresses through the game (e.g. *Pokémon*
207 *Red/Blue*, 1999, Game Freak). Similarly, the *Fossil Fighters* series (2008, Nintendo EAD) allows
208 players to take part in detailed fossil excavations, revive the discovered dinosaurs (referred to as
209 vivosaurs), and train them to fight in order to complete the main story.

210 Similar to category 1 games, category 2 games have very limited educational content but
211 may have some information about the ancient animals in databases or glossaries.

212

213 2.3 Fossils as collectibles

214 Collectibles are a common aspect of COTS games: items found throughout the game setting that
215 the player can collect as they progress and explore through the game. These collectibles are often
216 an optional side quest separate to the main storyline, that provide additional worldbuilding or
217 upgrades, but which in some games are used as resources to craft tools and materials.

218 Fossils are frequently a form of collectible seen in COTS games (Figure 4). For example,
219 *Red Dead Redemption 2* (2018, Rockstar Games; Figure 4e), features a side quest where the
220 player is tasked to locate 30 fossil specimens across the game world in order to assist an aspiring
221 palaeontologist. Another example is in the Pokémon franchise; as mentioned above, fossils can
222 be found and resurrected by the player in order to complete the secondary objective of the game
223 (Figure 4o) – filling the digital Pokémon encyclopaedia, or Pokédex, with every type of Pokémon
224 that can be found in the game world (e.g. *Pokémon Red/Blue*).

225 Most other games use fossils as a natural resource, alongside crystals, ore, geodes etc.
226 that can be used to collect, sell, or build other objects. In *Minecraft* (2011, Mojang; Figure 4n),
227 *The Sims 4* (2014, Maxis; Figure 4f-h), *Starbound* (2016, Chucklefish; Figure 4i-m), *Stardew*
228 *Valley* (2016, ConcernedApe; Figure b-d), and *Animal Crossing: New Horizons* (2020, Nintendo
229 EAD; Figure 3c, Figure 4p-t) players can collect fossils for a variety of reasons — from displaying
230 in virtual museums or in their own personal collections, to being used as fertiliser. However, in
231 the majority of category 3 games, fossils are also used as (or associated with) in-game financial
232 resources as a tradable commodity. This has implications for the public perception of fossil
233 collecting (see *Representing ethics in palaeontology*).

234 Virtual fossil collectibles are almost always based on real organisms and often include
235 database entries or facts pertaining to the items that can be collected. This has enormous
236 potential for educating the player, provided the information is well researched (see supplementary

237 table 2). However, category 3 games can easily impart misinformation or even disinformation
238 especially when presented in an otherwise informative context.

239

240 *2.4 Ancient animal management simulators*

241 'Construction and management simulations', sometimes referred to as park management
242 simulators (or park sims) are games where the goal is to construct a financially viable park or zoo
243 by managing the construction, park layout, guest management, animal welfare, and breeding
244 programmes with often very limited resources. Ancient animals tend to be a common focus for
245 park sim games, and they often have a diverse variety of organisms that are modelled realistically
246 and tend to exhibit 'naturalistic' behaviours (although some games are heavily stylized and/or
247 simplistic for aesthetic reasons) for the player to engage with. There have been several park sim
248 games based on the Jurassic Park franchise, e.g. *Jurassic Park III: Park Builder* (2001, Konami),
249 *Jurassic Park: Operation Genesis* (2003, Blue Tongue Entertainment), *Jurassic Park Builder*,
250 (2012 Ludia) and *Jurassic World: Evolution* (Figure 3d), but independent franchises based on
251 ancient animals are also popular e.g. *DinoPark Tycoon* (1993, Manley & Associates), *Zoo Tycoon:*
252 *Dinosaur Digs* (2002, Blue Fang Games), *Parkasaurus* (2020, Washbear Studio) and *Prehistoric*
253 *Kingdom* (2022, Blue Meridian).

254 Category 4 games often contain the most detailed compendiums on ancient organisms,
255 allowing the player to find information regarding their required virtual living conditions and about
256 the relevant science and/or discovery of the organism. They can also contain detailed information
257 about fossil sites, fossilisation processes, phylogenetic relationships, and evolutionary processes.
258 As with previous categories, this information can yield useful educational content if accurate, but
259 be misleading if incorrect or disinformation is presented.

260

261 *2.5 Ancient animal simulators*

262 The last decade has seen the emergence of 'survival simulators' — games where the player can
263 control an individual animal through an entire life cycle in a natural, open world, environment.
264 While many COTS games allow the player to play as an ancient animal e.g. *Yoshi's Story*, *Project*
265 *Bolan (Dinosaur Game)* (2014, Google), *DinoRun DX* (2015, PixelJAM Games) etc. within such
266 games, the player's avatar could be replaced by any other organism without altering the gameplay
267 experience and are not the focus of this category.

268 In survival simulators, the player's ancient animal avatar must survive by finding water and
269 food (by hunting A.I. controlled animals or potentially other players) while avoiding natural hazards
270 and being predated themselves. Typically these games have focused on dinosaurs e.g. *Saurian*

271 (2017, Urvogel Games, LLC; Figure 3e), *The Archotek Project* (2017, The Archotek Project
272 Team), *Beasts of Bermuda* (2018, Sastrei Studios, LLC), *Dinosaurs: Prehistoric Survivors* (2018,
273 Arcupion Art), *The Beasts of 9500* (2020, Dragons), and *Path Of Titans* (2020, Alderon Games)
274 etc., however, some games do focus on non-dinosaurian animals groups such as early hominids
275 e.g. *Ancestors: The Humankind Odyssey* (2019, Panache Digital Games). Survival simulators
276 tend to market themselves as being as scientifically accurate as possible in both their palaeo-
277 environmental and animal reconstructions (e.g. *Saurian*).

278 Another genre of game that fits within this category allows the player to visit ancient
279 ecosystems as a passive observer. Video games such as *Abzû* (2016, Giant Squid Studios), allow
280 the player to swim through ocean environments inhabited by a plethora of ancient aquatic
281 organisms from throughout geological time. *Robinson: The Journey* (2016, Crytek) utilises virtual
282 reality headset technology to create an immersive experience for the player who must journey
283 through a world inhabited by dinosaurs. This genre of game introduces the player to a diverse
284 range of flora and fauna from the ancient past but is relatively uncommon.

285

286 **3. Common palaeontological video game tropes**

287 Within the context of this paper, a ‘trope’ is a recurring theme or motif that occurs across video
288 games. Although many tropes are considered clichés, they are still commonly used throughout
289 popular entertainment as recognisable touchstones to provide familiarity to the audience (see
290 García-Sánchez, 2021). Many tropes seen in COTS video games are shared across the
291 entertainment industry (especially in television and film), however, due to the interactive medium
292 of video games, some tropes are unique to the format. Here we identify some of the most common
293 tropes that appear in video games, to highlight how palaeontological science is represented in
294 pop-culture and the entertainment industry, and to demonstrate that some tropes propagated by
295 the video game industry may be scientifically misleading and/or perpetuate harmful stereotypes.

296

297 **3.1 Ancient death machines: monsterification**

298 The most frequent use of ancient animals in video games is as enemies for players to combat.
299 Typically, these animals are designed to appear vicious, frightening, and brutish and this is known
300 as ‘monsterification’. This is often achieved by ‘shrink wrapping’ (reducing the organisms’ soft
301 tissue until they are just skin and bone. See Conway *et al.* 2012), increasing the animals body
302 size to exaggerated proportions, and grotesquely exaggerating features like claws, teeth, and
303 horns. However, monsterification is not limited to an organism's appearance — it can also include
304 behaviour such as being unrealistically aggressive, erratic and, most often, mindlessly and noisily

305 torpedoing towards their prey. By consciously combining these aspects, ancient animals are
306 made to appear more terrifying while also physically dissociated from real animals, meaning that
307 players have a guilt-free experience slaughtering them. Interestingly, Jański (2016) found that
308 when extant animals were used as background assets or companions for the player in video
309 games, they were more likely to be accurately represented, whereas when animals were depicted
310 as enemies or tools, their appearance and behaviour was more likely to be inaccurate,
311 exaggerated, objectified and even monsterified. Indeed, some games actively task the player to
312 'monsterify' ancient animals: *Jurassic World: Evolution* encourages the player to breed dinosaurs
313 to create hyper aggressive monsters in order to have them fight each other for the entertainment
314 of park guests.

315 Monsterification is not a novel concept nor is it unknown to science communicators. From
316 as early as the 19th Century, palaeo-reconstructions have liberally and creatively portrayed
317 ancient life provocatively as monsters to stir the imagination and these images have permeated
318 into modern popular culture. However, for science communicators there are some important
319 aspects of monsterification that are not normally considered: 1) monsterification is not restricted
320 to carnivorous animals in video games. Examples such as *Orion Prelude*, *Dinosaur Hunt* and
321 *Second Extinction* etc. utilise hyper aggressive herbivores such as stegosaurs, ceratopsians, and
322 ankylosaurs as opponents for the player to dispatch; 2) monsterification is not limited to dinosaurs.
323 For example, *ARK: Survival Evolved* applies some degree of monsterification to almost every
324 animal in the game - several taxa are much larger than their fossil remains indicate (e.g.
325 *Diplocaulus*, *Paraceratherium* etc.), while the giant fish taxon, *Leedsichthys*, is coated in jagged
326 spikes and scutes, and is depicted as highly aggressive despite fossil evidence suggesting they
327 were filter feeding organisms. Similarly, *Far Cry: Primal* depicts 'ice age' (Pleistocene) mammals
328 as colossal, aggressive monsters, and in the case of some animals, such as mammoths, twice
329 the size of their largest fossil remains; 3) extreme monsterification can lead to a situation where
330 ancient animals are indistinguishable from and/or confused with mythical creatures. In *ARK:*
331 *Survival Evolved* a wide variety of ancient animals live alongside fictional animals such as
332 wyverns, basilisks and gryphons that the player can also interact with and tame. In-game
333 information and even achievements do not differentiate between the mythical and real animals
334 which could lead to confusion for some players.

335 Monsterification of ancient animals is not the same trope as video game monster designs
336 being heavily based on the appearance of ancient life. This is a very common in video games,
337 with examples including *Monster Hunter Rise* (2021, CAPCOM), where many of the monsters
338 clearly resemble theropod dinosaurs, and *Horizon Zero Dawn* (2017, Guerrilla Games) where a

339 post-apocalyptic world is populated by an ecosystem of mechanical creatures loosely based upon
340 extinct megafauna, including sauropod and theropod dinosaurs, as well as terror birds, giant
341 crocodyliforms and cave hyenas.

342

343 3.2 Fossil = dinosaur = *Tyrannosaurus rex*: lack of palaeodiversity

344 Since their discovery in the 1800's, dinosaurs have captured the public imagination. Today, that
345 popularity has continued, as dinosaurs dominate popular culture — so much so that they have
346 become almost synonymous with ancient life in the entertainment industry. The video game
347 industry is no different, with the vast majority of video games that incorporate ancient animals
348 featuring only dinosaurs (Figure 2c). The perpetuation of this trope poses a challenge to science
349 communicators, as it presents a false impression to the audience of the lack of complexity to
350 ancient ecosystems, as well as diminishing ancient diversity and species distribution through
351 geological time and space.

352 Yet, even within this trope, the representation of dinosaur diversity is typically limited to a
353 handful of 'iconic' dinosaur species that are perpetually recycled by the entertainment industry
354 (Figure 5). Many of these species are well documented from North American fossil sites like the
355 Morrison or Hell Creek Formation (see Dodson *et al.* 1980; White *et al.* 1998), such as
356 *Tyrannosaurus*, *Stegosaurus*, *Triceratops*, *Brachiosaurus* etc., while other species that are
357 commonly used are typically predatory (e.g. *Velociraptor*, *Spinosaurus* etc.). Within the video
358 game industry, this recycling of dinosaurs serves a practical purpose: for smaller game
359 developers, building new digital assets can be highly labour intensive and costly. It makes
360 commercial sense to use pre-made, often free, resources (e.g. 3D models, animations, sound
361 effects and reference material) to recreate popular and recognisable dinosaurs, despite this
362 further oversaturating their prevalence in the video game market place. Another group of ancient
363 animals that falls within the overused trope are the 'ice-age' (Pleistocene) animal pair of the woolly
364 mammoth (*Mammuthus primigenius*) and the sabre-toothed cat (*Smilodon* sp.). As charismatic
365 mega-mammals often used in media, they are recognisable to the public and often used as more
366 relatable monsters than dinosaurs in some video games (e.g. *Far Cry: Primal*; *The Elder Scrolls*
367 *V: Skyrim*, 2011, Bethesda Game Studios; *Syberia*, 2002, Microïds.).

368 However, in recent years, there is a growing number of games that use a greater diversity
369 of dinosaur species as an active selling point to market the game. Park building games such as
370 *Jurassic World: Evolution* allows the player to send teams of scientists to real world fossil sites to
371 collect DNA from a host of lesser-known dinosaur species such as *Baryonyx*, *Huayangosaurus*,
372 *Proceratosaurus*, *Carcharodontosaurus*, *Tsintaosaurus* etc.. Dinosaur simulator games such as

373 *Saurian* often feature lesser-known dinosaurs, while *Ark: Survival Evolved* features an abundance
374 of relatively obscure dinosaurs (e.g. *Yutyranus*) but also Permian therapsids (e.g. *Moschops* and
375 *Lystrosaurus*), Mesozoic birds (e.g. *Ichthyornis* and *Hesperornis*) and Cenozoic mammals (e.g.
376 *Chalicotherium* and *Phiomia*). Although, many of these animals are still 'monsterificated', and the
377 game proves the point of this section by referring to every ancient animal in the game as a
378 dinosaur in the in-game information.

379 As new games seek to find a niche within the gaming ecosystem, there are a number of
380 popular video games that feature and draw attention to even more obscure palaeo-taxa and time
381 periods. The hugely popular game, *Animal Crossing: New Horizons* tasked players with finding
382 fossils for display within a local museum and in so doing introduced players to a variety of
383 relatively niche groups such as *Anomalocaris* (a stem arthropod), *Eusthenopteron* (a
384 sarcopterygian fish), *Acanthostega* (a basal tetrapod) and *Mylokunmingia* (a stem chordate).
385 Interestingly, these fossils (and others found by the player) are displayed in a large phylogeny
386 demonstrating evolutionary patterns in a simple but highly informative manner. Another game,
387 *Abzû*, features a large number of obscure aquatic ancient animals such as ammonoids,
388 *Anomalocaris*, *Arandaspis* (a jawless fish), *Diplocaulus* (amphibian), *Archelon* (giant sea turtle)
389 etc., although there is no context or distinction of where/when these organisms lived for the player.
390 *Ancestors: The Humankind Odyssey* avoids this trope entirely by being specifically set in Miocene
391 Africa, including a suite of time-specific organisms such as *Stegotetrabelodon* (a stem elephant),
392 *Machairodus* (sabre-toothed cat) and *Enhydriodon* (giant otter). All these games introduce the
393 player to organisms and concepts that they would have had limited (if any) exposure to in other
394 types of media.

395

396 3.3 "Did you know...?": palaeotrivia and palaeodatabases.

397 In order to help the player understand complex topics or to introduce elements of story, many
398 video games feature in-built encyclopaedias or glossaries containing fact-files about characters,
399 objects and locations integral to the game's setting. In games that feature palaeontological
400 themes, fact files, databases, and bonus trivia provide the ideal opportunity for optional, longer-
401 form, educational content that have the potential to inform and provoke further investigation from
402 players, especially those who were not necessarily attracted to the game for the science.

403 In-game encyclopaedias can be extremely informative. This is particularly common in park
404 management games such as *Jurassic World: Evolution* and the *Zoo Tycoon* series (Blue Fang
405 Games, 2001-2017) that feature highly detailed databases about each ancient animal that can be
406 found in game, often incorporating facts pertaining to the organism such as where and when the

407 animal was discovered as well as general information. This information is not necessary to play
408 the game, but because such databases are detailed and well researched, they often add to the
409 'scientific' aesthetic of these types of games and are useful educational tools.

410 More typically encountered is the usage of 'palaeo-facts' within different elements of the
411 game. One excellent example is *Animal Crossing: New Horizons*, where Blathers, the strigiform
412 (owl) museum curator, will regale the player with light-hearted but informative trivia about each
413 fossil that is presented to the museum (See supplementary table 2). Another example that is
414 commonly employed is the use of 'palaeo-facts' to entertain the player on loading screens (i.e. a
415 picture the player must watch while the game is initialising). *LEGO Jurassic World* (2015, TT
416 Fusion) uses this tactic to deliver bite-sized informative facts about many of the dinosaur species
417 encountered in the game.

418 Generally speaking, the inclusion of palaeo-facts and databases in video games are good
419 science communication, if they are well researched. However, if factual information is presented
420 alongside misinformation, it can be difficult for some players to discern the difference. For
421 example, in *The Sims 4* various fossils can be found throughout the game world - including trace
422 fossils, trilobites, plants, and raptor dinosaur claws. However, other fossils items, ranging from
423 the ridiculous (fossilised cow udders) to the bizarre ('perfectly preserved moustaches') are
424 presented as genuine fossil remains. While clearly light-hearted and for comedic effect, the
425 indiscriminate mixing of real and fake fossils presents a challenge for science communicators..

426 Tangentially, many of the games mentioned in this section have large, dedicated player
427 fan-bases who often form distinct online communities. In order to assist with completing aspects
428 of the games, many players create, edit and maintain sizable publicly editable online 'wikis' (an
429 online database resource). These online encyclopaedias not only provide game specific
430 information but often contain further reading and palaeo-trivia for interested players making them
431 a useful educational resource, however, the degree of moderation and fact checking varies wildly.

432

433 *3.4 The depiction of palaeontological science*

434 The perception of palaeontology as a scientific discipline is difficult to gauge in computer games.
435 Most palaeo-video games convey good palaeontological communication by explicitly integrating
436 physical and biological processes into gameplay and world-building that will, either directly or
437 indirectly, increase the knowledge of the player. However, most games typically focus on very
438 specific aspects of palaeontology (e.g. fossil collection, genetics, evolution) and can take creative
439 liberties in order to make engaging gameplay mechanics. This can mean that the player may get

440 an inaccurate or misleading representation of palaeontological science. We discuss some of
441 these below.

442

443 3.4.1 *Geological processes*

444 Though it is often taken for granted, many open world video games heavily rely on aspects of
445 climate, topography, biomes and even natural disasters to create realistic settings, the exploration
446 of which can subtly communicate basic earth science to the player. Enormous effort is taken to
447 accurately capture the surface geology, flora and fauna, and variable ecosystems in open world
448 games such as *Red Dead Redemption 2*, allowing players to learn tangentially (see Crowley *et*
449 *al.* 2021). Other games, such as *American Truck Simulator* (2016, SCS Software) allow players
450 to take virtual road trips across hyper realistic (albeit scaled down) sections of the United States
451 including many famous North American fossil localities (e.g. Dinosaur National Monument,
452 Colorado, USA). Other games incorporate geological processes to build the gameworld for the
453 player to explore. *Subnautica* (2018, Unknown Worlds Entertainment) is an underwater
454 survival/horror game based in the crater of a guyot (a submerged volcanic seamount) on an alien
455 planet. The explorable map is separated into distinct biomes, some of which contain large
456 fossilised remains that have been preserved because of the specific environmental conditions of
457 that area. The processes of how these fossils form (e.g. taphonomy) is explained to the player by
458 scanning the fossils with scientific equipment in their inventory.

459 As computing power increases, greater graphical fidelity allows more accurate geological
460 features to become standard in computer gaming and as a tangential effect this can be used by
461 science communicators in engagement activities. During the recent COVID-19 pandemic, where
462 travel was restricted, some academic institutions created virtual field trips for their students using
463 technology commonly utilised by video gamers (e.g. VR headsets; Klippel *et al.* 2019).
464 Furthermore, video game engines allow complex geological features to be explored in ways that
465 would be difficult for actual students in the field (e.g. utilising aerial imagery; Klippel *et al.* 2020).
466 This demonstrates that video games have great potential for geological engagement, especially
467 for players who are unable to access key sites due to travel restrictions or accessibility issues,
468 not to mention the reduced environmental cost associated with virtual fieldwork.

469

470 3.4.2 *Depicting evolution*

471 'Evolution' is a common theme in video games, but while video games are potentially a
472 great way to introduce players to the complex process of evolution, it should be remembered that
473 COTS games must prioritise delivering engaging gameplay far above educational content. It

474 should also be noted that the term 'evolution' is commonly used in video games to encompass a
475 host of different game mechanics that do not accurately represent the biological process,
476 potentially skewing the player's understanding of the phenomenon. One example of the term
477 'evolution' being misused is as a levelling up mechanic. In the *Pokémon* franchise, the Pokémon
478 'evolve' into larger, more powerful forms as they gain more experience and level up, despite the
479 process actually being a type of metamorphosis.

480 Another common misuse of the term evolution applies to games where novel
481 morphological traits are acquired via predation. In *Spore* (2008, Maxis) players must guide the
482 'evolution' of their own custom creatures from microscopic organisms to an interstellar empire by
483 acquiring new evolutionary traits by scavenging them from the creatures they ingest (see Poli *et*
484 *al.* 2012; Herrero *et al.* 2014). This depiction of 'evolution' is also seen in *E.V.O.: Search for Eden*
485 (1992, Enix) where the main character begins as a generic fish, and must acquire teeth, jaws,
486 limbs, and other features by eating prey items as they advance through levels inspired by different
487 geological eras. This gameplay mechanic re-enforces the trope that evolutionary changes are a
488 result of a conscious decision by an organism as opposed to random traits that are coincidentally
489 beneficial (to better survival in the environment, for example) and thus are more likely to be
490 passed to the next generation via natural selection.

491 Other games tackle evolution as a gradual process with greater nuance, however many
492 of these games are limited by the need for fun game mechanics. In *Cell to Singularity: Evolution*
493 *Never Ends* (2018, Computer Lunch) the player clicks or taps the screen to acquire currency,
494 which is spent to advance Earth history in short steps. The game is presented as a branching tree
495 with each node representing a new species or event, however the order in which evolutionary
496 milestones are achieved is entirely arbitrary, presenting evolution as a simplified linear checklist
497 of sequential events. Even games that accurately depict ancient organisms and past
498 environments often portray the processes of evolution poorly. *Ancestors: The Humankind*
499 *Odyssey* depicts the evolution of early humans as distinct leaps from one species to next as
500 opposed to multiple species coexisting at the same time (see Snyder, 2022). Similarly, the game
501 also refers to the levelling up mechanic of learning new skills and abilities, such as being able to
502 use tools, as 'evolution'. By presenting evolution as an oversimplified, linear process, it also re-
503 enforces the outdated notion that humans are the pinnacle product of evolution.

504 Conversely, some games approach evolution from a palaeontologist's perspective - using
505 fossils to infer evolutionary patterns. In the puzzle game *Fossil Corner* (2021, Overfull Games),
506 the player is given a box of procedurally generated fossils and is tasked with resolving their family
507 tree by observing morphological character changes through each generation. This introduces the

508 player to the concepts underlying maximum parsimony, a method to generate phylogenetic trees
509 for extinct organisms commonly used by palaeontologists. As such, *Fossil Corner* is a good
510 example of Digital Game Based Learning (DGBL).

511

512 3.4.3 Cloning and resurrecting extinct animals

513 One aspect of palaeontological science that consistently arises in video games is cloning/de-
514 extinction. The *Jurassic Park* (Crichton, 1990) franchise popularised the concept of extracting
515 genetic information from fossiliferous material in order to clone ancient animals (for a review of
516 this topic see Jones, 2018). This concept pervades video games based on the franchise such as
517 *Jurassic World: Evolution* but is also prevalent in many other video games. For example, in
518 *Terraria* (2011, Re-Logic), ancient amber is one of many natural resources that can be collected
519 by the player and each piece has a tiny chance of containing a fossil mosquito. The player can
520 then process the fossiliferous amber using an ‘extractinator’ to resurrect a pet baby dinosaur. In
521 *Pokémon Red/Blue* the player receives a fossil as a reward and can take it to a laboratory on
522 Cinnabar Island, where a scientist will resurrect the extinct Pokémon. This is taken to the extreme
523 in *Pokémon Sword and Pokémon Shield* (2019, Game Freak), where the palaeontologists take
524 the player’s fossils, splice them together, and resurrect them into horrific, often unviable,
525 chimaeras.

526 Because the trope of DNA extraction from fossiliferous material is so prevalent in media,
527 video game players may not be aware that, currently, we are not able to extract viable genetic
528 material from fossilised remains to ‘resurrect’ extinct animals (although fragmentary fossil DNA
529 can be extracted from some more recent fossils and has allowed important scientific advances in
530 identifying these fossils and placing them in the tree of life: e.g. Buckley and Collins, 2011;
531 Orlando *et al.*, 2013; Perri *et al.* 2021; etc.). Generally, there is very little nuance in video games
532 regarding the depiction of the growing field of palaeo-proteomics (i.e., the study of ancient
533 proteins) and the recent advances that have been made in the last decade (see Buckley *et al.*
534 2018). Furthermore, there is very little discussion in any video games about the ethical
535 considerations of de-extinction (bioethics; see Attwood 2021) and this should be considered by
536 science communicators when discussing this popular and exciting field of science.

537

538 3.4.4 Keeping up with science

539 Most media is dated by the science it is based on. A classic example is the *Jurassic Park*
540 franchise, which was lauded for its exciting and scientifically accurate dinosaurs when the first
541 film was released in 1993. However, as the series has progressed, it has chosen to maintain a

542 distinct aesthetic rather than keeping up-to-date with the current scientific understanding (Polo,
543 2015). Similarly, while video games can be limited by graphical constraints (due to the computing
544 power of the consoles or graphics cards they are designed for; see Figure 5), many games choose
545 to be scientifically inaccurate because of the need for recycled assets or because they have a
546 specific aesthetic (e.g. *Jurassic World: Evolution*). However, unlike other traditional media, PC
547 and (most) game consoles are connected to the internet, meaning game developers (and even
548 fan communities) can issue updates and ‘mods’ (modifications) that update gameplay, graphics,
549 or visual assets indefinitely after the games are released. Therefore, new fossil discoveries can
550 be incorporated into game updates to keep games scientifically up-to-date. However, this relies
551 on the game developer issuing updates, which may not be viable due to financial or time
552 constraints. One example of this is *Animal Crossing: New Horizons*, which was released in March
553 2020. The game contains a skeleton of *Spinosaurus* that the player can find, accession, and
554 mount in their museum (similar to Fig. 4 t). Three weeks after the games release however, Ibrahim
555 *et al.* (2020) was published, which detailed a new *Spinosaurus* specimen from Morocco that had
556 a previously unknown tail section that was of significant scientific and public interest. This hype
557 caused considerable media interest in whether Nintendo Entertainment Analysis & Development
558 Division (EAD), the game developers of *Animal Crossing*, would update the visual asset in line
559 with this new discovery (Watts, 2020; Rochlin, 2020). As of publication, the *Spinosaurus* model in
560 *Animal crossing* has not been updated despite multiple updates to the game.

561 Inevitably, any released COTS video game will be overtaken by palaeontological
562 advances and rendered out-dated, especially if developers are no longer working on updates for
563 the game. From a science communication perspective, outdated game design can still be used
564 to engage with the public, allowing science communicators to communicate up-to-date science,
565 but also the history of scientific thought, and to explore the ever-shifting process of scientific
566 discovery.

567

568 3.4.5 Depicting palaeontological fieldwork

569 Collecting raw materials is an extremely common game mechanic, and often games use fossils
570 as a resource. In most of these games, fossils are acquired by approaching specific types of rock
571 and breaking them with a tool (e.g. *The Sims 4*; *Stardew Valley*, *No Man’s Sky*, *etc.*) or by digging
572 holes in specific locations (e.g. *Animal Crossing: New Horizons*; see Figure 3c). In *Red Dead*
573 *Redemption 2*, fossils can just be collected off the ground (albeit often in hidden or difficult to
574 reach locations) while fossils can be found in *Stardew Valley* by fishing in streams in fossiliferous
575 areas. Because fossil extraction is so common, and often simple, in video games, it can give the

576 impression to players that fossil extraction is effortless, unmethodical, and skill-less – quite the
577 opposite of the time-consuming, laborious, and often hazardous excavations that are often
578 required to extract fossils.

579 Video games can also create the incorrect perception that fossils are a common
580 occurrence in all types of rocks and that a destructive approach is required to extract fossil
581 material. This can be problematic as it may not be obvious to amateur fossils hunters that using
582 hammers on fossiliferous rock faces may cause irreparable damage, be potentially dangerous,
583 and in some areas illegal. Recently, local government organisations have started to introduce
584 ethical rock collection policies (see Scottish Geodiversity Forum 2017) which can be disseminated
585 to the public by science communicators.

586 Some games do take a more nuanced approach to fossil collection. In *Starbound*, fossils
587 can only be uncovered with specialised tools, such as brushes and rock hammers, and failure to
588 carefully extract the fossil bearing rock permanently destroys the fossil. Once collected, fossils
589 can be placed in customisable display cabinets at the player's base, which features a placard with
590 basic trivia. *Tap! Dig! My Museum!* (2019, Oridio) is a mobile game where the player manages a
591 museum, but also takes part in prospecting and excavating dinosaur skeletons. By tapping the
592 screen, the player can remove layers of rocks piece by piece to find individual bone elements.
593 Although simplified and highly stylised, the game does represent the processes of uncovering
594 and transporting fossils in a fieldwork setting.

595 Another aspect of palaeontological fieldwork which is not commonly addressed in video
596 games is ethical issues, which are highlighted below.

597

598 3.4.6 *Representation of ethics in palaeontological video games*

599 Palaeontology has a long colonial history with deep rooted extractive and exploitative practises
600 (Monarrez *et al.* 2021). Because many harmful practises (e.g. the erasure of indigenous
601 contributions, the illegal acquisition/removal of fossil material from their country of origin by higher
602 income countries, the refusal to repatriate fossil material, etc. — see Monarrez *et al.* 2021, Raja
603 *et al.* 2021; Cisneros *et al.* 2022) are so ingrained within palaeontological science, they often
604 appear within video games unchallenged with little objective analysis. For example, to clone more
605 dinosaurs and expand your park in *Jurassic World: Evolution*, the player must send dig teams to
606 sites across the globe to extract more fossil genetic material. These dig sites are based on real-
607 world localities, which is a good educational tool. However, many of these sites have strict laws
608 governing the removal and sale of fossils, for example Mongolia, where it has been illegal to

609 remove fossils from the country for almost 100 years. This is ignored in gameplay, obscuring a
610 complex legal and ethical situation which players could learn from.

611 While finding and collecting fossils is an integral part of the enjoyment of palaeontology
612 and is important scientifically, one of the most contentious ethical issues facing palaeontology is
613 the buying and selling of fossils (Shimada *et al.* 2014). The commercialisation of fossil material,
614 especially over the internet and in high-profile public auctions (Shimada *et al.* 2014), directly leads
615 to a myriad of issues including the destruction of fossiliferous sites by illegal fossil hunters
616 (DeMiguel *et al.* 2021; Murphy, 2007), samples being lost to science (Shimada *et al.* 2014), and
617 in the worst case, the illegal exportation and smuggling of fossil material (e.g., Pérez Ortega,
618 2021) have dire real world consequences e.g. fuelling humanitarian crises, such as in Myanmar
619 (Dunne *et al.* 2021; Raja *et al.* 2021). There is increasing awareness of the problems of fossil
620 commercialisation, yet, in virtually every game featuring fossils as collectibles, excess fossils exist
621 purely to be sold for profit. For example, in *Jurassic World: Evolution*, the game is designed so
622 that any non-dinosaur fossil found by the player must be sold instantly to raise funds. In the space
623 exploration game *No Man's Sky* (2016, Hello Games), the players can journey between planets
624 and can find fossils on the worlds they visit, however, these fossils serve no function other than
625 to be sold for in-game currency. Even in games that otherwise represent museum curation and
626 fossil finding in a positive and educational manner such as *Animal Crossing: New Horizons*, fossils
627 are among the most financially valuable natural resources available. Once a fossil has been
628 donated to the museum by the player, any duplicates found can be sold at the local market for in-
629 game currency. These games do little to challenge unethical practises and normalise the
630 commercialisation of fossiliferous material as a standard procedure within the palaeontological
631 community. We therefore suggest that it is vital that science communicators are aware of the
632 impact of the illegal trade in fossils and incorporate issues such as ethical fossil extraction and
633 fossil ownership into public engagement to counter this narrative where possible.

634

635 *3.5 Male, pale and stale: the depiction of palaeontologists in video games*

636 COTS video games introduce the public to palaeontologists and allied workers, however, the
637 diversity of and representation of palaeontologists in video games is very limited.

638 Often scientists and/or palaeontologists are portrayed in video games as old, white men
639 often resembling Charles Darwin (e.g. Professor Snail in *Stardew Valley* etc.). Another common
640 trope is the perpetuation of the 'Indiana Jones stereotype' (Fitzpatrick, 2020). For example,
641 *Dinosaur Fossil Hunter* (Demo released 2020, Pyramid Games) is a 'palaeontologist simulator'
642 which aims to simulate fossil discovery, digging, and extraction (even tasking players with

643 jacketing fossils in plaster). However, at the time of publication, the game uses only a white male
644 character model to market the game — complete with stereotypical fedora. Not only does the
645 reliance on these characters re-enforce the perception of palaeontology as a white male
646 dominated science (Panciroli, 2017), but they also propagate the ‘brilliant lone scientist’ trope
647 (Black, 2019), failing to showcase the collaborative work that is actual palaeontological science
648 and fieldwork.

649 Some palaeo-video games do have more diverse casts. However, these characters are
650 always able bodied, often poorly fleshed out characters, and are typically plagued with
651 questionable motives and ethics. For example, in *Jurassic World: Evolution* the player must liaise
652 with Dr Kajal Dua, the head of the science division. However, her character has almost no
653 backstory and often undermines her position as a scientist by tasking the player to undertake
654 ethically dubious missions such as cloning dinosaurs specifically bred to be hyper aggressive
655 when fighting other dinosaurs. Likewise, the cowboy simulator *Red Dead Redemption 2* has the
656 player meet Deborah MacGuiness, an older white woman, digging up fossils on the American
657 frontier of 1899. The player learns that she, like many women in the nineteenth century, has been
658 rejected from several universities and that no other academics take her scientific ideas seriously.
659 She resembles and is most likely inspired by Mary Anning, the most famous of the multitude of
660 female palaeontologists overlooked by their male peers. After the player collects a number of
661 fossils from across the game world to help her with her research, she assembles a biologically
662 impossible chimaera, and reveals herself to have been a terrible scientist all along – the game
663 falling for the classic trope of the unethical genius (see Weingart *et al.* 2003). The game could
664 have included some genuine information about the infamous ‘Bone Wars’ of early American
665 palaeontology, and about women fighting for their place in science but, by including a female
666 character who validates every rejection she was served, a potentially interesting characterisation
667 and story (and the potential to educate players on such) was lost.

668 Historically and stereotypically, non-disabled white men have dominated the narrative of
669 palaeontology, and this in turn has shaped the depiction of palaeontologists in media, especially
670 video games. The systematic lack of diversity in the earth sciences, especially palaeontology, is
671 well known (Bernard & Cooperdock, 2018; Warnock *et al.* 2020). One potential aspect that
672 contributes to the lack of diversity (amongst many) in palaeontology, is the lack of minority role
673 models (Panciroli, 2017). The poor representation seen in COTS video games fails to counteract
674 this — if minority players, who may be prospective students and future scientists, do not see role
675 models represented in games and only see white male faces, they may be discouraged from

676 pursuing their interest in earth science. This is especially relevant to games that are marketed as
677 'palaeontologist simulators' but only contain white, non-disabled, male characters.

678

679 *3.6 Perpetuation of harmful, misogynistic, and racist tropes in palaeo-games.*

680 Video games have a history of perpetuating problematic tropes, especially ableism, sexism,
681 misogyny, and racism (Nakamura, 2019). Although these tropes are not specific to palaeo-video
682 games, they do warrant attention from science communicators as they can have an impact on
683 how palaeontology may be perceived by players.

684 A common problematic video gaming trope is the hypersexualisation of women (Beasley
685 & Standley, 2002). Evidence shows that the negative representation of women in video games
686 can have severe negative effects for female gamers including self-objectification and low levels
687 of self-efficacy (see Gestos *et al.* 2018). One of the most egregious examples of casual
688 hypersexualisation seen in a palaeo-video game is found in *Trespasser* (1998, DreamWorks
689 Interactive), where the player's character, Anne, is stranded on a dinosaur infested island. The
690 game does not feature any visual cues for the player (i.e. health or ammunition counters) and so
691 in order to check the health of the character, the player must actively look down to check a heart
692 shaped tattoo on her breast that fades as the player is closer to death. Analysis has shown that
693 hypersexualisation of women video game characters has decreased since the 1990s (Lynch *et*
694 *al.* 2016) with a notable example being the de-sexualisation of Lara Croft, the protagonist of the
695 *Tomb Raider* franchise, in recent games. While female lead characters are becoming more
696 commonplace (e.g. Aloy, the lead character in *Horizon Zero Dawn*), it should be noted that Lynch
697 *et al.* (2016) found COTS video games still typically depict female characters in secondary roles
698 and that these characters are more sexualised than their male counterparts. Furthermore, within
699 palaeontological video games, sexist and misogynistic tropes can also be coupled with racism
700 often thanks in part to the perpetuation of the "lost world" fantasy genre which pervades palaeo-
701 adjacent culture. Based on the Arthur Conan Doyle book *The Lost World* (1912), where an ancient
702 ecosystem is found in the Amazon basin by white explorers, this genre combines palaeontology,
703 colonialism, and the mystification and exotification of indigenous cultures (see Harrer 2018). Many
704 aspects of this sub-genre are harmful – propagating damaging stereotypes, economic oppression,
705 and cultural appropriation. Care should be taken by scientific communicators to not disseminate
706 these damaging tropes if using video games as part of their engagement, and also take further
707 action by actively highlighting and challenging these practises within palaeontology themed
708 media.

709

710 **4. Conclusion**

711 Video games are culturally prolific, and this sector is rapidly becoming one of the largest
712 entertainment markets in the world. Palaeontological themed video games are extremely popular,
713 and because of this, increasing numbers of the public are being exposed to ancient animals and
714 palaeontological science — far eclipsing engagement efforts that can be undertaken by scientists
715 and allied palaeo-workers. Many COTS video games contain elements of good science
716 communication — and some games, especially dinosaur simulators, strive for scientific accuracy.
717 Indeed, aspects of palaeontological themed COTS video games can be used by science
718 communicators to highlight, engage, and educate the public regarding core concepts of
719 palaeontological science. However, as with most types of media, palaeontological video games
720 can contain a suite of negative and potentially damaging tropes. Many of these tropes are
721 widespread issues in the gaming industry (e.g. poor representation, monsterification,
722 hypersexualisation, etc.), but their presence in palaeontological video games specifically impacts
723 their use as science communication tools. Science communicators, therefore, should undertake
724 careful examination of COTS video games before using them as educational tools. Furthermore,
725 because palaeontological themed video games are so popular, science communicators should
726 be aware of and challenge harmful tropes in their engagement and outreach efforts to the public
727 and, if possible, to COTS video game developers. By raising awareness of these damaging
728 tropes, we can relegate them into extinction.

729

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752

753 ***Competing interests.***

754 The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

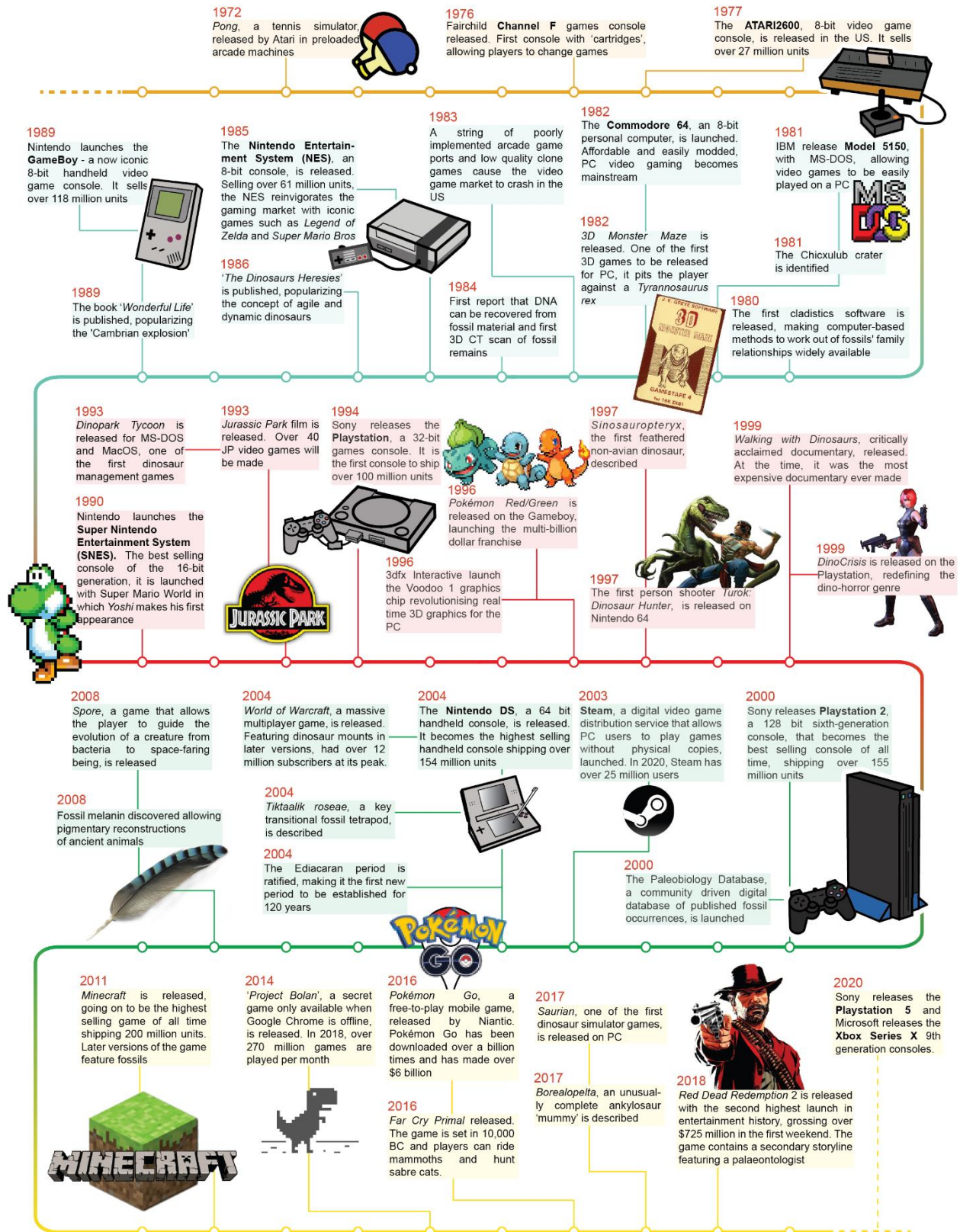
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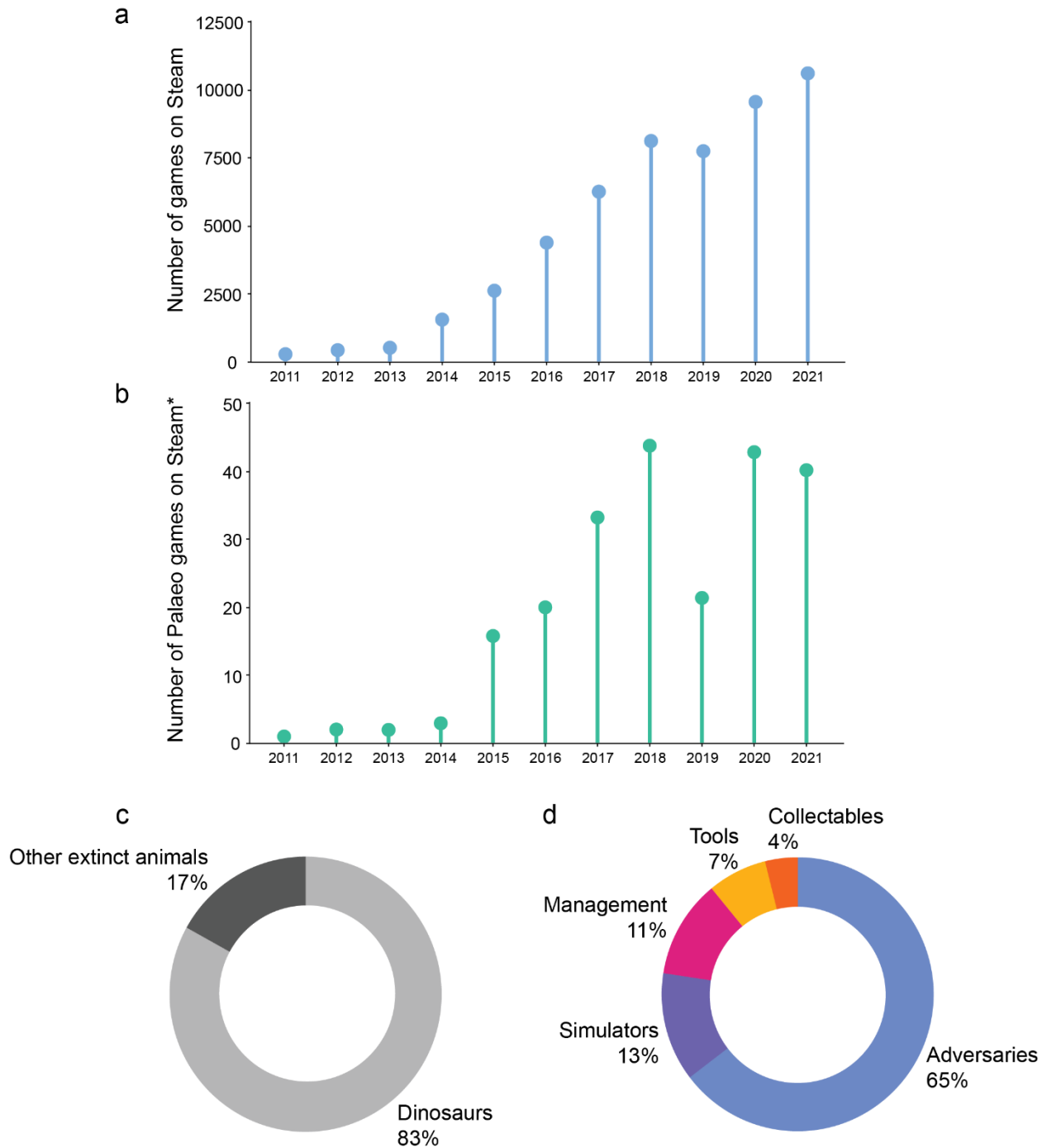
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761 Figure 1. A timeline of major events in palaeontology, video games, and palaeontological video
762 games between 1970 - 2020.

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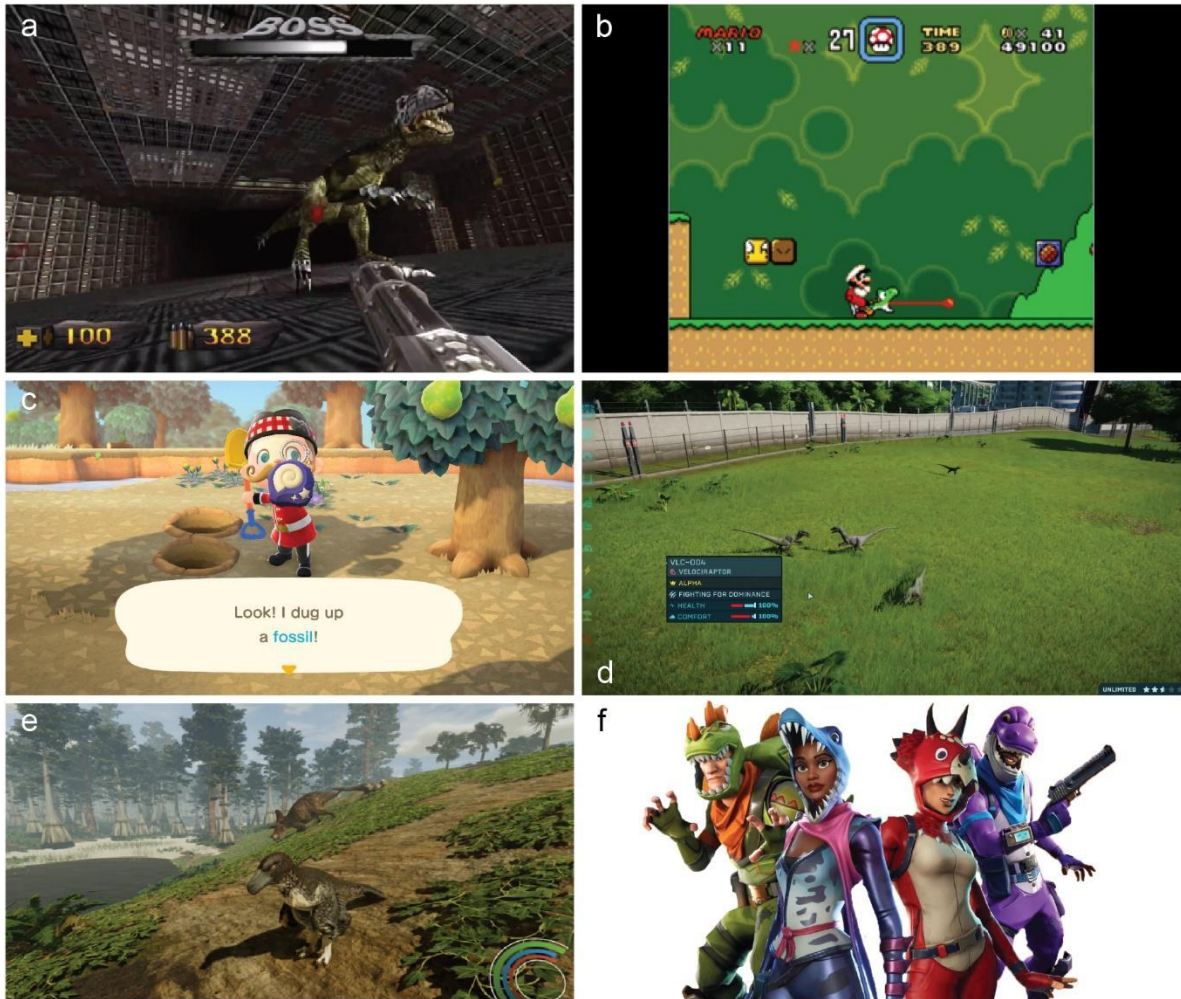
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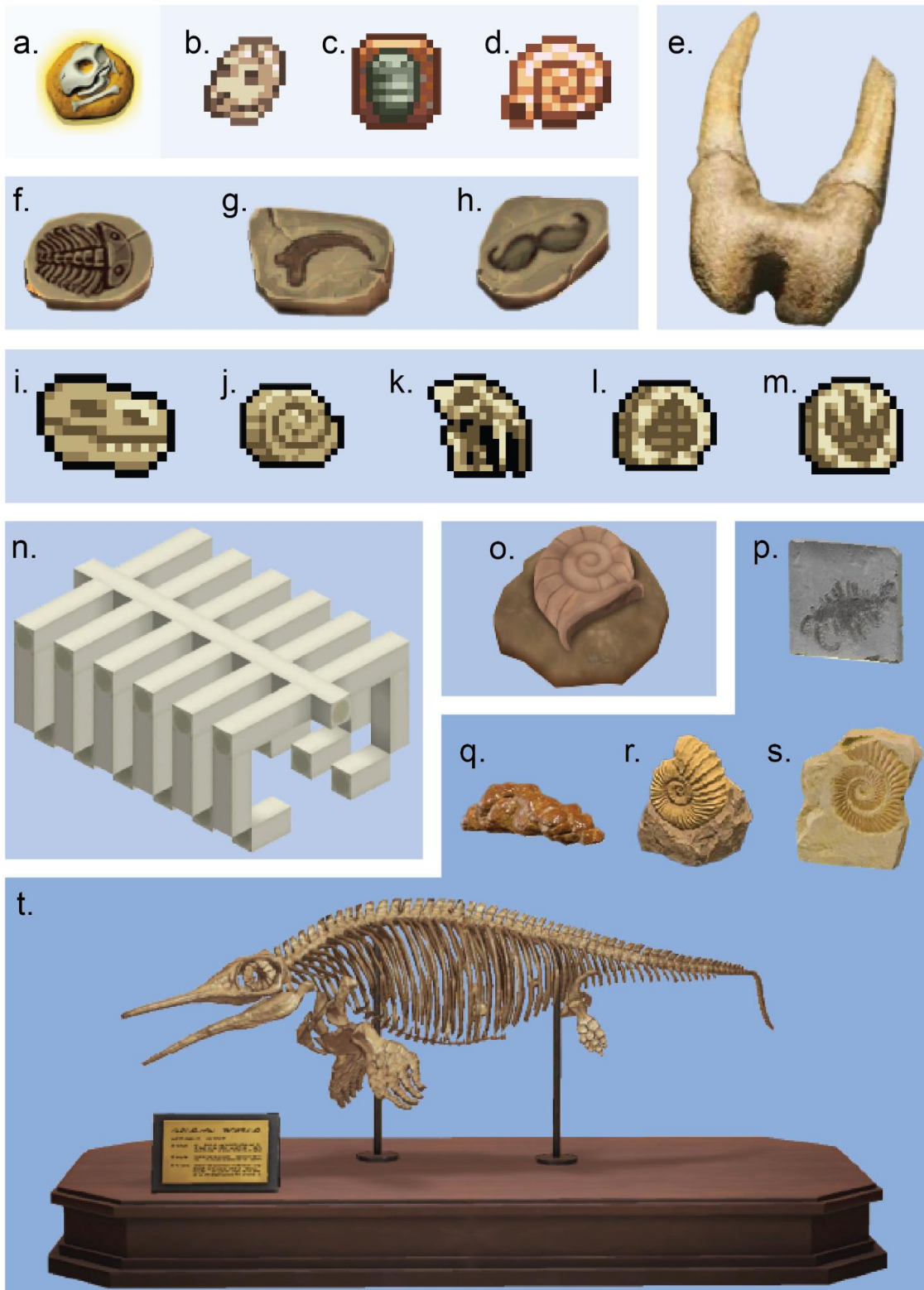
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766 Figure 2. a) Number of PC games released per year on Steam, the largest video game digital
767 distribution service. b) Number of games released per year that utilise palaeontological keyword

768 'tags' on Steam. c) Percentage of palaeontological COTS video games on Steam that contain
769 dinosaurs versus those that only contain non-dinosaurian ancient animals (excluding crown group
770 birds). d) Breakdown of palaeontological COTS video games on Steam by categories identified
771 in this paper. Source a: <https://steamdb.info/> (accessed March 2022). Source b, c, d:
772 <https://statista.com> (accessed March 2022). A full list of the palaeontological COTS video games
773 on Steam and 'tags' searched can be found in the supplementary material.
774



775 Figure 3. Screenshots of COTS video games that represent the 5 categories of palaeontological
 776 video games outlined in this paper. a) Ancient animals as adversaries. The player is fighting a
 777 cybernetically enhanced *Tyrannosaurus* armed with laser shooting ocular augments and fire
 778 breath in *Turok: Dinosaur Hunter* (1997, Iguana Entertainment). b) Ancient animals as tools. Mario
 779 riding Yoshi in *Super Mario World* (1990, Nintendo EAD). c) Fossils as collectibles. The player
 780 discovers a fossil in *Animal Crossing: New Horizons* (2020, Nintendo EAD). d) Ancient animal
 781 management simulators. A paddock of velociraptors exhibiting modelled in-game behaviours (the
 782 alpha is fighting for dominance of the pack). *Jurassic World: Evolution* (2018, Frontier
 783 Developments). e) Ancient animal simulators. The player's avatar, a *Dakotaraptor*, sits near a
 784 water body while *Triceratops* and *Pachycephalosaurus* graze in the background. *Saurian*, (2017,
 785 Urvogel Games, LLC). f) Examples of cosmetic items that are based on ancient animals from
 786 *Fortnite* (2017, Epic Games) - often these only change the players character models (and not
 787 core gameplay mechanics) and are known as 'skins'.
 788



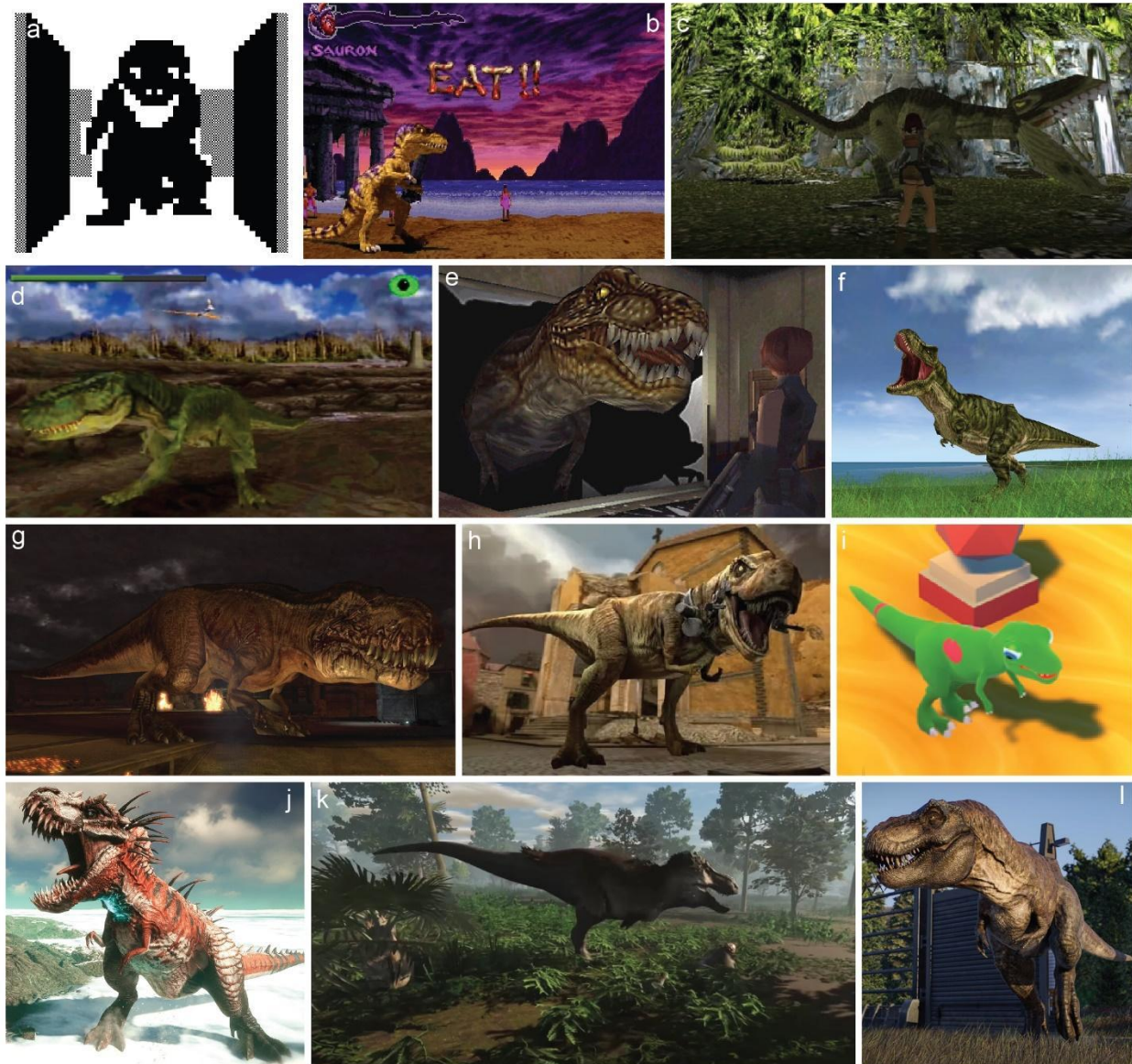
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791

Figure 4. Examples of fossil collectibles in COTS video games. a) 'Generic fossil'. b) Prehistoric skull (described in game as a ground sloth skull). c) Trilobite. d) Nautilus Fossil. e) Dinosaur bone

792 (note: this is a walrus skull). f) 'Enormous Trilobite'. g) Raptor Claw. h) 'Perfectly Preserved
793 Moustache'. i) *T. rex* skull. j) Ammonite. k) Sabretooth skull. l) Fossil Fern. m) Footprint Fossil. n)
794 Fossil Rib Cage. o) Helix fossil. p) *Anomalocaris*. q) Coprolite. r) Ammonite s) Shark-tooth pattern
795 (note: this is a *Helicoprion* tooth 'whorl') t) completed *Ophthalmosaurus* skeleton consisting of two
796 collectibles – *Ophthalmosaurus* skull (which includes the front flippers and anterior section of the
797 ribcage) and the *Ophthalmosaurus* torso (consisting of posterior ribs, hind flippers, and tail
798 section). Video games: a: *No Man's Sky* (2016, Hello Games). b - d: *Stardew Valley* (2016,
799 ConcernedApe). e: *Red Dead Redemption 2* (2018, Rockstar Games). f - h: *The Sims 4* (2014,
800 Maxis). i - m: *Starbound* (2016, Chucklefish). n: *Minecraft* (2011, Mojang). o: *Pokémon* series
801 (1999, Gamefreak). p - t: *Animal Crossing: New Horizons* (2020, Nintendo EAD). Virtual fossil
802 collectibles often include database entries – the accompanying facts for these fossil collectibles
803 can be seen in supplementary table 2.
804



805
 806 Figure 5. The representation of *Tyrannosaurus rex* in COTS video games through time. a) *3D*
 807 *Monster Maze* (1982, J. K. Greye Software). PC. b) *Primal Rage* (1994, Midway Games West
 808 Inc) Super Nintendo Entertainment System. c) *Tomb Raider* (1996, Core Design). Playstation. d)
 809 *The Lost World: Jurassic Park* (1997, DreamWorks Interactive). Playstation. e) *Dino Crisis* (1999,
 810 CAPCOM). Playstation. f) *Jurassic Park: Operation Genesis* (2003, Blue Tongue Entertainment).
 811 PC. g) *Turok* (2008, Propaganda Games). PC. h) *Dino D-Day* (2011, Digital Ranch). PC. i)
 812 *Parkasaurus* (2020, Washbear Studio). PC. j) *Second Extinction* (2020, Systemic Reaction). PC.
 813 k) *Saurian* (2017, Urvogel Games, LLC). PC. l) *Jurassic World: Evolution* (2018, Frontier
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