

## Editorial: The shadowlands of (geo)science communication in academia — definitions, problems, and possible solutions

Shahzad Gani<sup>1,2</sup>, Louise Arnal<sup>3\*</sup>, Lucy Beattie<sup>4</sup>, John Hillier<sup>5</sup>, Sam Illingworth<sup>6</sup>, Tiziana Lanza<sup>7</sup>, Solmaz Mohadjer<sup>8</sup>, Karoliina Pulkkinen<sup>9</sup>, Heidi Roop<sup>10</sup>, Iain Stewart<sup>11</sup>, Kirsten von Elverfeldt<sup>12</sup>, Stephanie Zihms<sup>13</sup>

5 <sup>1</sup>Centre for Atmospheric Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Delhi, New Delhi, India

<sup>2</sup>Institute for Atmospheric and Earth System Research/Physics, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

<sup>3</sup>Centre for Hydrology, University of Saskatchewan, Canmore, Alberta, Canada

<sup>4</sup>School of Education and Social Sciences, University of the West of Scotland, Scotland

<sup>5</sup>Department of Geography and Environment, Loughborough University, Loughborough, UK

10 <sup>6</sup>Department of Learning and Teaching Enhancement, Edinburgh Napier University, Edinburgh, Scotland

<sup>7</sup>Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia, Rome, Italy

<sup>8</sup>Global Awareness Education, University of Tübingen, Tübingen, Germany

<sup>9</sup>Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

<sup>10</sup>University of Minnesota Climate Adaptation Partnership, St Paul, Minnesota, USA

15 <sup>11</sup>Royal Scientific Society, Amman, Jordan

<sup>12</sup>Department of Geography and Regional Studies, Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt, Klagenfurt, Austria

<sup>13</sup>Academic Writing Centre and Graduate School, Glasgow Caledonian University

\*Now at Ouranos, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

20 *Correspondence to:* Shahzad Gani ([shahzadgani@iitd.ac.in](mailto:shahzadgani@iitd.ac.in))

### Abstract.

25 Science communication is an important part of research, including in the geosciences, as it can benefit society, science, and make science more publicly accountable. However, much of this work takes place in “shadowlands” that are neither fully seen nor understood. These shadowlands are spaces, aspects, and practices of science communication that are not clearly defined and may be harmful with respect to the science being communicated or for the science communicators themselves. With the increasing expectation in academia that researchers should participate in science communication, there is a need to address some of the major issues that lurk in these shadowlands. Here the editorial team of *Geoscience Communication* seeks to shine a light on the shadowlands of geoscience communication by geoscientists in academia and suggest some solutions and examples of effective practice. The issues broadly fall under three categories: 1) harmful or unclear objectives; 2) poor quality and lack of rigor; and 3) exploitation of science communicators working within academia. Ameliorating these will require: 30 1) clarifying objectives and audiences; 2) adequately training science communicators; and 3) giving science communication equivalent recognition to other professional activities. In this editorial, our aim is to cultivate a more transparent and responsible landscape for geoscience communication—a transformation that will ultimately benefit the progress of science, the welfare of scientists, and more broadly society at large.

40

## 1 Introduction: Science communication and geosciences

45 Science communication is a broad field that has been growing and evolving over the last few decades. At the start of this century, its remit and scope had expanded, with Burns et al. (2003, p. 183) framing it as “the use of appropriate skills, media, activities, and dialogue to produce one or more of the following personal responses to science: Awareness, Enjoyment, Interest, Opinion-forming, and Understanding.” Since then, over the following two decades, the theory and practice of science communication has continued to broaden, drawing in an ever-wider set of different actors and disciplines. As a result, this definition appears limited and outdated now.

50 In the 1980s, the initial motivation behind the Public Understanding of Science (PUS) movements was the "deficit model," which assumed that the public's skepticism towards modern science was caused by a lack of scientific knowledge, implying that the public received information passively. The belief was that scientists should convey more information to the public to change opinions and develop a positive attitude towards science. However, it is now understood that public communication of science is far more complex than the knowledge deficit model suggests. Despite the persistence of the discredited deficit model in scientific circles (Cortassa, 2016; Simis et al., 2016), even its core practitioners recognize the need to reconsider science communication in light of a deeper understanding of contemporary society. While most practitioners agree with Fischhoff and Scheufele (2013) that communication is a two-way process, wherein scientists must both listen and speak, Fischhoff and Scheufele argue this process should adhere to the same rigorous standards of evidence as science itself. They advocate for science communication grounded in existing research and subjected to empirical evaluation, rather than relying on intuition. In contrast, others, such as Bucchi and Trench (2021), prefer to view science communication as a social conversation, expanding the concept of quality beyond mere impact or effectiveness and encouraging a multifaceted understanding where the evaluation should not be based solely on the assessment of one participating party.

65 These contrasting viewpoints are important because science communication is a crucial component of research as it can benefit society, advance scientific understanding, and make science more publicly accountable. Oreskes (2020) argues that scientists have a moral obligation to inform society about threats that non-experts cannot identify on their own. However, she also cautions that expertise is specific, so scientists must respect the expertise of others, implying an obligation both to speak and to listen. Scientists need to communicate within their domains of expertise and respect the knowledge of professionals in other areas (Oreskes, 2020, p. 43). This is particularly the case within the field of geosciences, where geoscientists are working on many topics directly relevant to human and environmental well-being. Cross and Congreve (2021) assert that to address "wicked problems" like climate change and those related to disaster risk management, academics must possess strong communication skills in addition to their technical expertise. They believe it is the duty of Geoscience educators to help undergraduate students and young people, more broadly, develop these skills.

75 Surveys indicate a high level of public trust in scientists, especially those in universities (Krause et al., 2019; Goldenberg, 2023). This trust places scientists in a unique position as communicators. Because people listen to and trust scientists, they expect them to disclose important information (Thompson et al., 2023). Scientists, aware of their unique position, feel responsible for sharing sensitive information with the public. Given the diverse communication channels between academics and the public, academics must handle these channels carefully, clearly acknowledging and explaining uncertainties. The public often expects academics to have all the answers

and not make mistakes, as seen during the COVID-19 pandemic. This requires scientists to be clear, effective, and thoughtful communicators, as well as kind, empathetic, and humble.

85 Furthermore, the range of channels employed for communication is diverse, spanning from science journalism and  
institutional communication through social media to public relations and marketing. It extends further to encompass  
90 museum exhibitions, science events organised by cities and countries in collaboration with marketing and event  
management firms, science centers, science cafés, science slams, science blogs, and more. Weingart and Guenther  
(2016) add that even the traditional role of providing scientific advice to policymakers has been rebranded as  
95 science communication. Weingart and Guenther (2016) highlight that science communication has evolved into an  
industry over the past few decades. It is no longer solely undertaken by a few dedicated scientists, science  
journalists, or popularizers with the intention of informing an interested public about the latest research  
advancements and their broader societal implications. Instead, science communication has become a battleground  
where various stakeholders compete for attention, power, and influence due to financial interests, job opportunities,  
and professional identities. Consequently, even the definition of science communication itself is subject to debate  
and contention. Given this plurality in definitions and practices, it is important to acknowledge the spectrum of  
science communication and communicators.

For the purpose of this editorial and the *Geoscience Communication (GC)* journal, we refer to Hillier et al. (2021,  
100 p-494) for a working definition of science communication: “We use the term “geoscience communication” to refer  
to the range of activities included in *GC*; these fall within a spectrum. At one end is activity-led work that might  
variously be known as education, outreach, communication, or engagement (e.g., science theatre as a medium for  
effective dialogue), and at the other end is curiosity-led research (e.g., how video games tangentially communicate  
geoscientific concepts) into how people engage with geoscience.”

105 *GC* engages with geoscience communication and communicators in five broad areas (Illingworth et al., 2018),  
illustrated by recent *GC* articles that embody these areas:

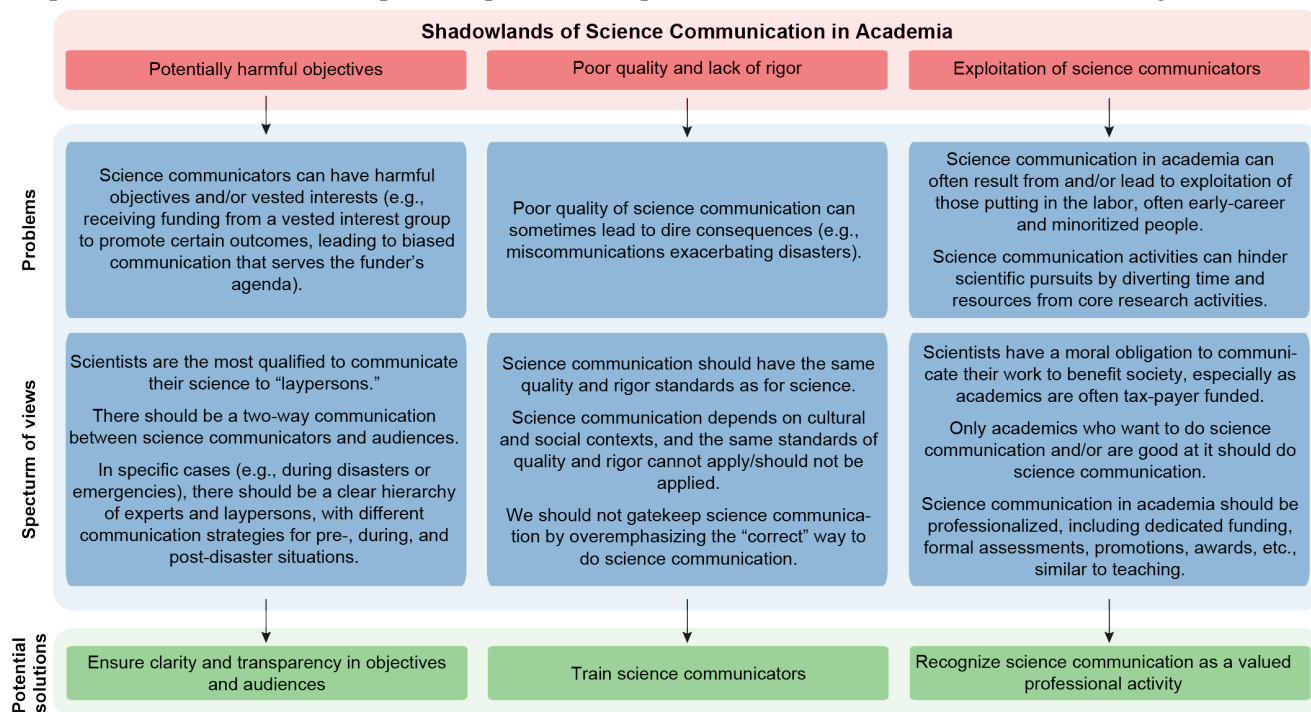
- *Geoscience education*: McGowan et al. (2022) explore the potential for using video games as a tool for  
teaching geoscience, specifically the geology and geomorphology of Hokkaido, Japan.
- 110 - *Geoscience engagement*: Fonseca et al. (2022) focus on the way physical concepts like the jet stream are  
represented in the press
- *Geoscience policy*: Brimicombe et al. (2022) investigate the bias of reporting various climate risks in  
English-language news articles.
- *History and philosophy of geosciences*: Rogers et al. (2022) examine the need for decolonizing the  
115 curriculum for geologists.
- *Open geosciences*: Watson et al. (2023) evaluated the dissemination of satellite-based ground deformation  
measurements through Twitter.

Together, these recent *GC* articles demonstrate the diverse and multifaceted nature of geoscience communication.  
120 *GC* provides a supportive platform for geoscientists, educators, and communicators to share their innovative  
communication approaches. The core purpose of *GC* is 2-fold (Illingworth et al., 2018): (1) to provide wider and  
more formal recognition for existing and future geoscience communication initiatives, and (2) to better formalise  
the discipline of geoscience communication. In line with the core purpose of *GC*, in this editorial we highlight  
systemic issues ingrained in science communication, especially as it relates to the geosciences and geoscientists in  
125 academia. We refer to these issues as “shadowlands” hereafter. We also discuss the divergent perspectives and the

spectrum of viewpoints among the authors of this editorial to mirror to some extent the spectrum of perspectives within the wider community. Finally, we propose potential solutions for the identified problems, and establish the journal's guiding principles.

## 130 2 The shadowlands of science communication

In academia, a lot of science communication, including geoscience communication, in academia happens in “shadowlands”, i.e., spaces, aspects, and practices which are not clearly defined and may be harmful with respect to the science being communicated or for the science communicators themselves. While we discuss these issues primarily in the context of geosciences, it is important to note that these are relevant problems that could apply to other scientific fields as well. We outline three such shadowlands of science communication in academia in this article: 1) potentially harmful objectives, 2) poor quality and lack of rigor, and 3) exploitation of science communicators. We would like to point out that, as the authors of this editorial, we do not share the same views on all topics discussed herein. Our opinions span a broad spectrum, some of which are illustrated in Figure 1.



140 **Figure 1:** The shadowlands of science communication in academia — problems, spectrum of views, and  
150 potential solutions. The issues are discussed in detail in Section 2, with potential solutions addressed in Section 3.

### 2.1 Potentially harmful objectives of science communication

145 While science communication is generally regarded as a morally good endeavor, valid concerns exist regarding its objectives, particularly in relation to the motivations of science communicators. A significant concern is the influence of funders—when present—on science communication, potentially driven by vested interests. Beyond the ethical dimensions, fundamental questions arise: What is the primary purpose of the science communicator? On what terms is science “made and sold”? How should we navigate the powerful persuasive tool of storytelling in science? Is success measured by our ability to influence, persuade, and change perceptions and behaviors?  
150 Although there may not be a single “correct” answer to these questions, reflecting on them can help us recognize both unintentional internal biases and hidden external influences that could lead to harmful science communication.

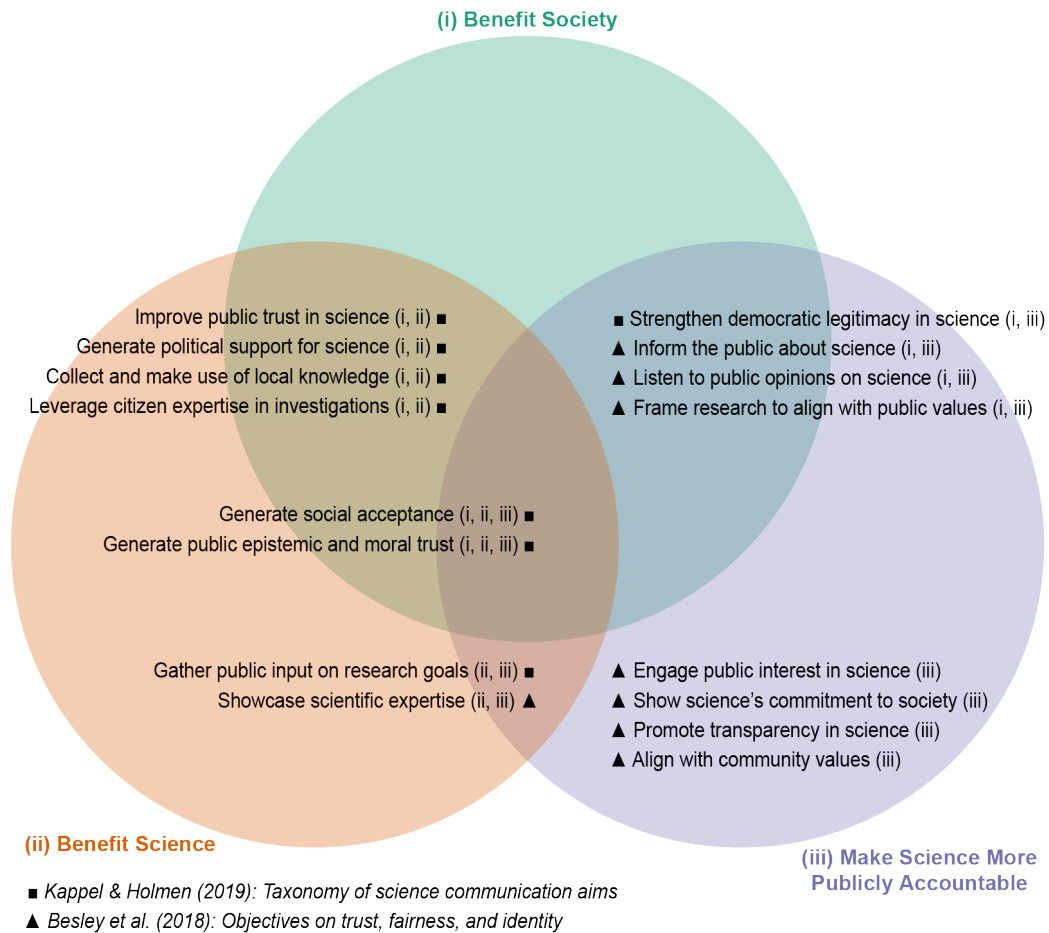
155 The multiple goals of science communication (Besley et al., 2018; Kappel and Holmen, 2019) (Figure 2) raise the  
concern of potential tension between different aims. This could be the case when the concerns raised by the public  
differ from scientists' own evaluation of what is best for society's well-being. Resolving such tensions can be  
difficult; the public's views can be based on serious misconceptions, but prioritising scientists' own conceptions  
(positionality) of societal well-being can risk being paternalistic. Aside from the issue of tension between many  
160 or norms of the relevant scientific disciplines. For example, most scientific disciplines draw especially careful  
conclusions on the basis of their data, but such nuances might not lend themselves for "punchy" storytelling  
preferred in the media. This concern raises its head especially when professionalization of science communication  
means that "there is money in the game, there are jobs to be captured, and there are professional identities at stake."  
(Weingart and Guenther, 2016, p-2). Another instance of tension between goals of science communication and the  
165 core disciplinary goals relates to "marketing-led" science communication, in which academics through  
disseminating their research stories become part of the commercial promotional machine for their universities and  
research institutions (Stewart and Hurth, 2021).

170 Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that another significant aim of science communication can be to scrutinize  
science itself and hold scientists or scientific practices morally and socially accountable to the public. Science has  
also had, and continues to have, negative or socially harmful effects on society (Jones, 2008). In these cases, the  
goal of science communication may not be to enhance public trust in science but rather to critically examine and  
ensure that science is held accountable for its actions. This introduces a potential tension between the goals of  
benefiting society and benefiting science, where science communication may need to balance promoting scientific  
175 knowledge with critiquing and holding it accountable.

Aside from such instances of potential tension, there is also the question of due process — especially regarding the  
model of communication and valuable attributes of communication. A major challenge with the broader goal of  
"informing the public" concerns the deficit model, where the public is viewed as having insufficient knowledge of  
180 science which is remedied by scientists' successful communication. Although issues related to the deficit model of  
science communication are well known (see e.g., Sturgis and Allum 2004) it is still regarded a viable model for  
influencing science policy (Cortassa, 2016; Simis et al., 2016) and there is evidence that scientists endorse it (Besley  
and Nisbet 2013). With respect to communicative virtues, openness, honesty, and transparency in science  
communication are usually recommended (e.g., Wilsdon and Willis, 2004; Keohane et al., 2014). However, there  
185 have been some concerns raised that exercising these virtues in science communication can undermine public trust  
in science (John, 2018). The notion of the deficit model is important to note, but equally we should acknowledge  
that one-way awareness raising mechanisms occasionally have their place, e.g. in emergency risk communication  
situations where actionable risk messaging is required. In such situations, the emphasis should perhaps be on  
ensuring that the messages are effective (i.e., received as intended). However in general, both the scientist and the  
190 target of the communication must listen, understand, as well as speak.

Many academics find solace in science communication as an antidote to the challenges of higher education,  
relishing the opportunity to step outside the confines of the ivory tower. As Dooley (2017) notes, when scientists  
engage in science communication, they should embrace their humanity and use emotions to communicate scientific  
195 concepts. This suggests that conversely, inside the ivory tower, academics may feel dehumanised (Wheaton, 2020).  
For example, academics report a sense of trepidation or fear around the completion of impact statements or when  
tick-box efficiency takes primacy over effectiveness (Chubb and Watermeyer, 2017; Chubb et al., 2021). Engaging  
with socio-economic and socio-cultural topics within science can help academics to get involved with new topics

200 by developing an aspect of inspirational, or activating communication that can be regarded as a form of scholars' engagement (Jünger and Fähnrich, 2020). Our aim here is not to "police" the "right" objectives for academic science communications. As we highlight in the subsequent sections, where we focus specifically on geoscience communication, our intention is to make geoscience communicators and their (potential) funders reflect on the shadowlands of geoscience communication. While there is nothing inherently wrong in pursuing science communication as an antidote to higher education, we believe that it should not come at the cost of quality and rigor of the communication or the exploitation of communicators.



210 **Figure 2:** Taxonomy and goals of science communication based on literature. Each goal is connected to broader values, including (i) benefit society, (ii) benefit science, and (iii) make science more publicly accountable. This is a rough categorization, as each of the goals may link to each of the three values.

## 2.2 Poor quality and lack of rigor

215 Oftentimes, science communication strategies do not work, and their failure can lead to enhanced disasters and loss of more lives (e.g., when miscommunicating about extreme weather events). In this section, we provide examples illustrating instances of poor quality and lack of rigor in science communication, with a focus on risk

communication — a form of high-stakes science communication that occurs when a threat is anticipated but not necessarily imminent. While this editorial primarily targets academia and academics, some examples are drawn from science communication outside academia, intentionally so, since communication from government agencies (e.g., extreme weather and earthquake communication) often involves collaboration with university scientists.

For risk communication to be effective, it needs to capture and incorporate information about the local context in which the communication work is undertaken. Factors such as population characteristics (e.g., language, ethnicity, and race), socioeconomic status, experience and exposure to a range of hazards, and access to and use of information and communications technologies influence the development and uptake of safety messages, and therefore, should be taken into consideration when designing communication outputs for decision making and advocacy in specific contexts. For example, the “Drop, Cover and Hold On” earthquake drills and campaigns considered how Californians behaved in past shakings (i.e., running outside, taking shelter in doorways, etc.), and focused on the much greater likelihood of injury from non-structural hazards (i.e., falling or moving objects) rather than structural damage. To ensure its uptake, earthquake scientists and emergency managers worked closely with sociologists, artists and community participants to capture the regional context in the development and dissemination of disaster risk reduction messages.

For risk communication to be effective, it needs to capture and incorporate information about the local context in which the communication work is undertaken. Factors such as population characteristics (e.g., language, ethnicity, and race), socioeconomic status, experience and exposure to a range of hazards, and access to and use of information and communications technologies influence the development and uptake of safety messages, and therefore, should be taken into consideration when designing communication outputs for decision making and advocacy in specific contexts. For example, the “Drop, Cover and Hold On” earthquake drills and the ShakeOut campaigns (ShakeOut, 2024) considered how Californians behaved in past shakings (i.e., running outside, taking shelter in doorways, etc.), and focused on the much greater likelihood of injury from non-structural hazards (i.e., falling or moving objects) rather than structural damage. To ensure its uptake, earthquake scientists and emergency managers worked closely with sociologists, artists and community participants to capture the regional context in the development and dissemination of disaster risk reduction messages (Jones, 2009).

Since 2008, the ShakeOut campaign has gone global, with over 40 million participants registered worldwide for 2022. While there are good reasons to celebrate this, there are also reasons to be concerned. “Drop, Cover and Hold-on” may not be the safest actions to take in highly vulnerable buildings that are small enough to exist safely (such as many of the buildings that collapsed during the 2005 Kashmir earthquake). Therefore, it is important to recognize that there is no single perfect safety message for any nation as each nation has its own customs, beliefs, building, geology and capacities. A scientist who is not aware of local customs and deeply embedded beliefs should exercise caution when communicating safety messages with the public (Geohazards, 2018; Gill et al., 2021).

Hazard maps (in print and online) are another example of unidirectional communication output used by governmental and non-governmental agencies to communicate geohazard risks with the public. Despite their widespread acceptance and use in hazard awareness campaigns and in decision making, their effectiveness in hazard communication has not been rigorously investigated. Setin et al. (2012) give examples of highly destructive earthquakes that occurred in areas shown by earthquake hazard maps to be relatively safe and call for rigorous and objective testing of hazard maps, and evaluation and clear communication of uncertainties with the users. Lack of basic elements of map reading skills is also identified as one of the key barriers to understanding earthquake-related concepts amongst school students in Tajikistan (Mohadjer et al., 2021). While there are a few hazard map studies (e.g., Crozier et al., 2006; Bell and Tobin, 2007; Nave et al., 2010) exploring variables that influence people’s map



265 comprehension such as viewer perceptions of risk, risk area accuracy, preferences for map features, and  
misconceptions about visualizations, MacPherson-Krutzky et al. (2020) call for more research on assessing the  
degree to which different factors contribute to high map comprehension levels. Taken together, scientists as creators  
of hazard maps need to engage in dialogue with a wide range of potential users to rigorously test and improve their  
communication products.

270 Good data visualization is a crucial means of communicating complex information in a clear and effective manner.  
Data visualization alongwith the representation of uncertainty plays a pivotal role in science communication,  
particularly when communicating complex information such as natural hazards or human-induced disasters. Poor  
data visualization can contribute to ineffective or subpar science communication, as highlighted by Padilla (2022),  
who discusses the challenges of conveying uncertainty through maps and emphasizes the need for effective  
275 visualization strategies to enhance comprehension of these uncertainties. Clear and accurate representation of  
uncertainty is relevant for many geoscientific challenges such as aftershock forecast maps (Schneider et al., 2022).  
The incorrect use of color in data visualization, as highlighted in Cramer et al. (2020), can also lead to  
misinterpretation of information.

280 Science communication can often be monodisciplinary. However, as pointed out above, collaboration between  
scientific disciplines (e.g., scientists studying specific hazards) and those assessing societal risk understanding (e.g.,  
social or behavioral scientists) is essential for effective communication (Fischhoff and Scheufele, 2013). A recent  
example highlighting the lack of collaboration across relevant fields and science communicators, resulting in  
avoidable deaths, is related to the COVID-19 pandemic. In the early stages of the pandemic, debates arose regarding  
the modes of transmission of SARS-CoV-2, the virus that causes COVID-19. Morawska and Cao (2020), along  
285 with many aerosol scientists, argued that airborne transmission of the virus was a reality that should be  
acknowledged and addressed. They contended that the lack of attention to this primary mode of transmission in  
public health messaging led to a failure to implement adequate control measures, such as masking and improved  
indoor ventilation. Randall et al. (2021) provide a historical perspective on the transmission of respiratory infectious  
diseases and discuss how the lack of understanding of droplets and aerosols led to the undervaluation of the risk of  
290 airborne transmission for many respiratory infectious diseases, including COVID-19. The failure to recognize the  
role of airborne transmission in the spread of these diseases and the communication of incorrect science, including  
by the World Health Organization in the initial days of the pandemic, led to preventable illnesses and deaths.

295 These examples demonstrate how poor science communication and inadequate science communication systems  
(including absence of such systems) can have serious consequences and highlights the importance of accurate and  
clear communication of scientific information. Additionally, there have also been some public discussion of people  
conflating public discussions on science and its results with discussions within science (e.g., climate change,  
COVID-19 vaccinations). Whilst scientists publish in scientific journals and on social media (e.g., Twitter, now  
known as X), “pseudo-scientists” only do the latter but appear to be scientists to many people due to their loud  
300 presence on social media and other platforms. The public often cannot distinguish scientists and “pseudo-  
scientists”, leading to the misconception that there is no scientific consensus where one exists and that legitimate  
critics are being silenced. This issue also persists within the scientific community, partly due to the belief that  
uncertainties cannot be understood by decision-makers and the public, and therefore cannot be incorporated into a  
binary yes/no decision-making process (Pappenberger and van Beven, 2006). As a result, information is often  
305 simplified to remove 'unwanted' uncertainties. However, many decision-makers (e.g., those involved in flood early  
warning) are well-versed in handling uncertainties, as these are present in many other components of the forecast-  
based decision-making chain (Arnal et al., 2020; Budimir et al., 2020). Additionally, public audiences can also  
engage with uncertainties when communicated effectively (van der Bles et al., 2020).

310

Despite communication being often at the heart of improved response throughout the disaster cycle (Golding et al., 2019), little attention has been given to the systematic evaluation of communication tools used or developed by scientists to inform and engage in dialogue with the public. These evaluations are important because effective communication, especially related to crises, has been shown to lead to more appropriate responses and the acceptance of more flexible hazard management strategies (Steelman and McCaffrey, 2013).

As discussed in the context of risk communication, a linear, unidirectional approach for increasing public awareness does not always lead to action (Neil 1989; Tierney 1993; Fischhoff 1995; Sellnow et al., 2008). An effective communication strategy takes into account the different ways people view risk, as well as their cultural and socioeconomic context, all of which may affect how the risk is understood (Hooker and Capon, 2017; Cormick, 2019). Therefore, interaction and dialogue with those facing the risks can shed light on their risk perceptions and how these relate to taking action (or the lack thereof) and provide essential insights into adapted and effective communication strategies. These factors render the evaluation and comparison of communication difficult, as one approach may be successful in a specific context and ineffective in other situations. While we focus on risk communication in this section, the problems and discussions are relevant to many other forms of science communication.

## 2.3 Exploitation of science communicators

### 2.3.1 *The labor issue and exploitation of Early Career Scientists and minoritized groups*

There is general widespread pressure on all university-based scientists to communicate their research. This applies a workload pressure to everybody, but impact differs according to time pressure, direction from funding bodies and the provenance of academics (Martinez-Conde, 2016; Hillier et al., 2019). Anecdotally, at more senior levels, mental health issues leading to breakdowns, marriage failure, and long-term stress are common symptoms which can arise from emotional exhaustion and overwork (Hillier et al., 2019; Guidetti et al., 2020; Wheaton, 2020). The hyper-competitive funding landscape for senior academics, according to Chubb and Watermeyer (2017), can rely on the “research grants culture”, or “game-playing” linked to inflated accounts of impact. There may also be a tendency for more senior academics to displace the task of public engagement onto early career scientists (ECS), or administrative staff – whether funded explicitly, or not, to do this (Pownall et al., 2021; Watermeyer and Rowe, 2022). Despite these increased responsibilities for public outreach, ECS continue to have less established influence or agency compared to their more senior colleagues. The tenure of ECS is predominated by short-term contracts leading to reduced resilience, burnout or depression associated with academic precarity (Fowler, 2015; Hillier et al., 2019; Wheaton, 2020). Consequently, exploitation might have a different pathway and greater impact due to perceived insecurities that are commensurate with the commencement of a career (Pownall et al., 2021).

ECS typically are encouraged to be involved with science communication as an activity crucial to developing the next generation of scientists by improving scientific literacy within the public domain outside of academia (Kompella et al., 2020; Kerr, 2021). The motivations to engage with these activities can conversely be ascribed as constraints as they are associated with the provision of public engagement activity that is identified as low-cost, or a lesser value, and in many cases the mentoring of ECS by mid-career scientists is devalued (Barrow and Grant, 2019; Hillier et al., 2019; Kompella et al., 2020). The potential for exploitation of their labor merits discussion and

can be contextualized within the broader concepts of pedagogic frailty, particularly as ECS constitute the most numerous proportion of researchers in higher education (Kinchin and Francis, 2017; Lahiri-Roy et al., 2021; Pownall et al., 2021). The impact of overwork as structural inequality endemic in academia arguably has repercussions on the mental health of science communicators, indicating a clear link between the mental wellbeing of academics and their perceptions of work demands. The prominence of research and public engagement demands is recognized, which suggests the approach to these aspects of academia in terms of the potentially negative consequences of exploitation and over-work, with evidence that these effects are most pronounced amongst marginalized (minoritized) groups (Barrow and Grant, 2019; Guidetti et al., 2020; Hernandez et al., 2020; Wheaton, 2020; Caltagirone et al., 2021).

The spectrum of marginalization occurs at an intersection of gender, race, caste, sexuality, physical ability, Global North vs Global South, and other identities and lived experiences which also influence how we see and study science and society (Canfield et al., 2020; Finlay et al., 2021; Lahiri-Roy et al., 2021). Geoscience, amongst all STEM disciplines, has the lowest percentage of minoritized students and professionals which underlines this equity gap. The field is predominantly White, carrying substantial privilege (Berhe et al., 2022; Dutt, 2020). The visibility of minoritized groups through public engagement is crucially important to breaking down stereotypes (Weingart and Guenther, 2016; Guertin et al., 2022). However, the assumption that minoritized groups must hold key responsibility to counter these affects through active, open and visible engagement pre-disposes marginalized groups to exploitation as communicators who are expected to provide institutionally-led public engagement activity to counter prejudice and be equity-active (Barrow and Grant, 2019). Equity of marginalized groups in higher education is problematic and global discourse signifies a range of perspectives that can be adapted to fit cultural and social priorities. This needs to be tempered with the consideration of the ethics of equity in science communication, which undoubtedly shoulders a greater burden of responsibility to promote visibility of marginalized groups to marginalized science communicators (Barrow and Grant, 2019; Caltagirone et al., 2021; Lahiri-Roy et al., 2021).

The “invisible” work of academia is highlighted by the Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group (2017) as being a significant time drain on academics looking to develop their tenure and promotion. This invisible work can often be assigned to public engagement professionals, contributing to disproportionate demands on different roles that support science communication (Watermeyer and Rowe, 2022). The notion of invisible work is accepted as a norm within academia, particularly for women, which may lead to the exploitation of public groups by relying on their “free” labor, revealing unpalatable aspects of exploitation derived from in-kind contributions from unpaid co-producers (Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group, 2017; Carter, 2020; Williams et al., 2020; Vohland et al., 2021). Support in the form of mentoring for women in STEM returning to work following a career break can be beneficial; conversely, it can also reinforce gender stereotyping when females are assigned mentoring roles under the misapprehension that they are perceived as more “motherly,” caring, administrative, or outreach orientated (Kompella et al., 2020; McKinnon and O’Connell, 2020). This dynamic underscores the interplay of male privilege, particularly White male privilege, which shields many geoscientists from the pressures and obligations of invisible labor, while minoritized women are burdened with additional and invisible work (Hernandez et al., 2020; Caltagirone et al., 2021).

### 2.3.2 *Science communication activities can hinder scientific pursuits*

The "Sagan Effect" refers to the risk that a science communicator may lose their scientific reputation among their peers by simplifying concepts for a broader audience or being too visible (Chen et al., 2023). However, a survey

of highly cited U.S. nano-scientists suggests that public communication, such as interactions with reporters and being mentioned on Twitter, can contribute to a scholar's scientific impact (Liang et al., 2014). Martinez-Conde (2016) argues that although most individuals who disseminate science to the public face no significant negative consequences and may even experience some benefits, there is a lack of recognition or rewards for their communication efforts within institutional structures. Nevertheless, there are isolated cases where science communicators have experienced severe consequences. Furthermore, certain scientists from underrepresented groups may be at a higher risk of facing such negative consequences.

The impact of scientific research on society is frequently emphasized in academic job descriptions and promotion criteria. According to Hillier et al. (2019), academic researchers may perceive engaging in knowledge exchange with industry as potentially detrimental to their career prospects due to time constraints. The study analyzes promotion criteria and job advert specifications, suggesting that for researchers to thrive, their impact work must align with other demands on their time, such as research and teaching, which are currently deemed more crucial in academia. The relationship between impact work, research, and teaching might be more of an aspirational goal to meet policy and funder expectations (Williams et al., 2020). Notably, higher-tier higher education institutions appear to have an advantage in securing research grants compared to lower-tier ones, highlighting an equity gap (Papatsiba and Cohen, 2020). Furthermore, while institutional policies often stress the importance of equity, it does not emerge as a significant factor in the promotion process for most academics (Barrow and Grant, 2019).

There are also some interesting parallels between our critique of the shadowlands of science communication to ongoing debates on collaboration and coproduction. For example, Oliver et al. (2019) discuss the concept of coproduction in health research, which involves collaborating with stakeholders in the research process. They identify the costs associated with coproduced research and argue for a cautious approach to coproduction until more evidence is available on its impact and costs. Williams et al. (2020, p-1) respond “Oliver et al. stray too close to ‘the problem’ of ‘co-production’ seeing only the dark side rather than what is casting the shadows. We warn against such a restricted view and argue for greater scrutiny of the structural factors that largely explain academia’s failure to accommodate and promote the egalitarian and utilitarian potential of co-produced research.” Similarly, in the case of science communication, even as we cast light on the shadowlands of science communication, we hope to also highlight the structural issues that cast these shadows.

### **3 Recommendations for (geo)science communication**

The discussion in the previous section highlights the primary barriers for academics to carry out science communication sustainably and fairly, rather than reasons why they should not engage in science communication. The reasons to do science communication are still relevant even if institutional barriers make it hard to do so. In this section we discuss the specific recommendations for problems highlighted in Section 2 along with some best practices.

#### **3.1 Ensure clarity and transparency in objectives and audience**

Clarity in science communication pertains to the accurate and straightforward transmission of information, ensuring that the intended message is effectively conveyed and understood by the audience without confusion. Transparency, meanwhile, involves being forthright about the goals, context, and any underlying biases or constraints influencing the communication. Together, clarity and transparency are essential for fostering trust and understanding between

440 scientists and their audiences. Clarity and transparency are critical components of effective science communication. Hutchins (2020) proposes the following protocol to pursue effective science communication:

1. Audience: Who will receive the communication and in what setting?
2. Purpose: What is the purpose of the communication?
- 445 3. Format: Will the communication product be oral, written, visual (or some combination), and what constraints does this format impose?
4. Significance: What is the significance of the research for this audience?
5. Get feedback and revise

450 Understanding the audience and the purpose of the science communication is paramount when tailoring messages to ensure effective engagement. The success of communication is ultimately gauged by the audience's response, making it a critical metric for assessing whether the communication achieves its intended objective. Clarity is context-dependent and involves more than simply simplifying complex information; it requires careful consideration of language, tone, and framing to align the message with the audience's needs. For example, in a  
455 technical report aimed at experts, clarity may be achieved through precision and specificity, whereas in public outreach, clarity may necessitate simplicity and engagement.

Going a step further, Stewart and Hurth (2021) argue in favor of the more reflexive, participatory, and interdisciplinary “guide-and-co-create mode.” From the perspective of this editorial, science communicators  
460 clarifying and being transparent about the objectives and audience of their science communication is also an effective way of countering the harmful and unclear objectives of science communication (Section 2.1).

To tailor communications to specific audiences, it is necessary to create a profile of the audience, including their knowledge level and motivation for engaging in the communication. Additionally, it is important to consider the  
465 audience's cultural and social background, as these factors can impact how they receive and interpret information. Similarly, the chosen language of science communication can also be a political question, as academia often incentivizes the use of English, but local communities would benefit from local language(s). As Márquez and Porras (2020, p-5) note, “There is a language bias in the current global scientific landscape that leaves non-English  
470 speakers at a disadvantage and prevents them from actively participating in the scientific process both as scientists and citizens. Science's language bias extends beyond words printed in elite English-only journals. It manifests in how science is reported in mass and social media outlets, in the researchers represented in the media, and often in the lack of contact between communities and their local scientists.”

Achieving effective science communication necessitates clarity and transparency in both objectives and audience  
475 engagement. By articulating the purpose of communication and grasping the characteristics and motivations of the audience, one can craft tailored communication products that effectively engage and inform. Moreover, highlighting the significance of research and fostering collaboration across diverse communities and languages can contribute to building a more inclusive and impactful scientific community. There is no singular approach to achieving this; rather, it requires the cultivation of expertise and competence within a community of practice—an  
480 objective at the core of *GC* for the geosciences community.

### 3.2 Train science communicators

485 While the importance of science communication is increasingly recognized and emphasized, many scientists do not receive any formal science communication training to develop the necessary skill sets. Science communication

is often times done by scientists who are not adequately (or at all) trained in science communication (e.g., in visualization, social science, etc.), where ad hoc solutions are treated as substitutes for expertise in the sciences of communication (Fischhoff and Scheufele, 2013). While there are increasing amounts of informal training opportunities (e.g., academic conferences, talking to peers), to be effective, however, science communication must  
490 be part of an academic's formal training (Brownell et al., 2013). However, the opportunities at universities are very often irregular and informal. Examples include participation in community events on campus, science festivals (e.g., Pint of Science), presentation platforms (e.g., Three-Minute Thesis and TEDx), and media interviews.

Researchers training and development needs are summarised well in the Vitae Researcher Development Framework (RDF 2011). *Domain D* of the framework — Engagement, Influence, and Impact — covers the skills and knowledge needed for researchers to work with others and increase impact of the research. *Subdomain D2* Communication and dissemination and *Subdomain D3* Engagement and impact highlight the skills needed to excel  
495 in this area of research. Metcalfe (2019) reiterates that there is a divide between science communication models and theories used by science communication researchers and what happens in practice. There are three models described by Metcalfe (2019) — the Deficit model, the Dialogue model, and the Participatory model. Each comes with its own theories and set of necessary skills. However, their analysis of Australian science communication or engagement activities in 2012 discovered that most activities did not align their activity objectives with the underlying theory. More recently, Science Europe (2022) framework discusses a values based approach for organization of research, including for communication and dissemination of research, to facilitate 1)  
500 autonomy/freedom, 2) care and collegiality, 3) collaboration, 4) equality, diversity, and inclusion, 5) integrity and ethics, and 6) openness and transparency.

Communication skills form an integral part of researcher activities; however, these are often focused on dissemination of knowledge through outputs like research papers. It is important to identify which skills can be transferred to science communication from researcher development in general and which skills are specific to  
510 science communication. Kelp and Hubbard (2020) suggest that communication skills should be part of undergraduate education to establish a solid skills base. The Horizon 2020 project QUality and Effectiveness in Science and Technology communication (QUEST) developed tools, recommendations and guidelines for communicators and practitioners (Costa et al., 2019). The QUEST WP4 summary report provides a comprehensive overview of science communication education across Europe. They recommend four key areas for science  
515 communication training: scientific knowledge, educational studies, social studies of science and communication studies. Offering a basic science communication training to all scientist as part of their development programme or studies is a key recommendation, with an element of broader societal context of the research, rather than skills development alone.

Some of the tools and approaches for science communication that should be taught are: conducting interviews, designing surveys, qualitatively/quantitatively analyzing interview/survey outputs, a basic understanding of ethics, designing serious games, storytelling, taking part in public debates, and working with artists, art curators, and art spaces. These tools should also target online communication and interaction (including on social media) and digital  
520 content creation (Bubela et al., 2009). Furthermore, training scientists in communication methods based on social science research and techniques that involve the community in scientific issues will help challenge the deficit model and make science communication more effective (Simis et al., 2016).

More broadly speaking, we define the following three types of training needs:

- 530 1. One-way communication: Training for one-way dissemination of science and scientific work focuses on the skills used by journalists and media professionals to present science in a compelling narrative form.

For example, writing a news article about a recent scientific discovery or creating a documentary that explains complex scientific concepts to a general audience.

- 535 2. Two-way communication: When the communication aims to inform the public about socially contested ideas and issues (e.g., climate change, vaccination, genetically modified organisms), understanding the 'science of the public'—such as audience analysis and cognitive and social psychology—becomes crucial. This type of training helps scientists engage in dialogues that allow for more targeted and effective messaging.
- 540 3. Three-way communication: The goal here is to contribute scientific input to broader "social conversations about science," such as those in deliberative forums like citizen juries, assemblies, or community-centered engagements. This approach empowers individuals to use scientific knowledge for their own purposes, requiring training in participatory and facilitative skills.

545 To improve science communication, Fährnich et al. (2021) recommend that science communication programs and trainers focus on developing students' mental models and perceptions of the changing societal framework in which science communication takes place. This can be achieved by offering new insights, encouraging the adoption of new perspectives, supporting observations and reflection, and challenging existing worldviews. Incorporating science communication training for geoscience students into their study programs at an early stage (e.g., undergraduate level) can foster a better communication culture between scientific disciplines and different public audiences (Brownell et al., 2013).

550

As with scientific publishing, there is also a case to be made for “slow science communication” – prioritizing high quality over rapidness and quantity (Frith, 2020). Outcomes and impacts of science communication can also take time to bloom and hence may be hard to measure and demonstrate within the lifetime of most scientific projects.

### 555 **3.3 Recognize science communication as a valued professional activity**

A large part of geoscience research is funded through government agencies around the world. These agencies are often funded by taxpayers, and as such, researchers have a responsibility to communicate their findings to the public. Unfortunately, few scientists around the world receive training in science communication aimed at the broader public. It should be noted that, in most parts of the world, scientists in academia do not receive training in teaching, even though they are expected to teach as part of their job responsibilities. In light of this, it is essential that clear criteria for science communication be included as part of job requirements, with room for performance review and compensation. Science communication should also be incentivized for academic promotions. This would be similar to how teaching is incentivized for promotions.

560

565

We need to emphasize the importance of giving science communication greater recognition, funding, and job opportunities. Additionally, Mulder et al. (2008) identified several steps for bringing order and appropriate recognition to the discipline of science communication: 1) Formation of a Register of Science Communication Programs; 2) Recognition of a Core Framework; 3) Establishment of a Database of Resources for Teaching; 4) Establishment of a Major Prize for Science Communication. The American Geophysical Union reorganized in 2018 and elevated a marginal group (officially a “Focus Group”), “Science and Society,” to “Section” status, making members of this section eligible for society-wide awards. There was pushback on whether excellent communicators should become AGU Fellows, which led to the creation of a new Fellow-level award: the Ambassador Award. Similarly, the European Geosciences Union (EGU) has the Katia and Maurice Krafft Award, which recognizes researchers who have developed and implemented innovative and inclusive methods for engaging with and communicating a geoscience topic or event to a diverse audience. Since 2015, EGU has also awarded

570

575

Public Engagement Grants to celebrate and recognize excellent science communication in the Earth, planetary, and space sciences. In addition, the Geoscience Communication journal was partly established to recognize researchers and their science communication and public engagement research activities in the geosciences.

There is also a case made that not everyone can or should do science communication. Instead, we should support those who are good at it without making them suffer in the domain of their specialization. Irrespective of the stand of “scientists must participate in science communication” or “those who want to / are good at it should be supported”, we must be cautious not to fall into the trap of forcing minoritized groups to selectively carry out this invisible work. The Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group (2017) argues that in order to address the issue of invisible labor, we need to quantify and recognize the impact of this work, which is often overlooked or undervalued. We need to make the invisible visible in the case of science communication as well and give recognition to those who contribute their energies towards it.

In addition to scientists, some universities nowadays also employ public engagement professionals, science writers, events organizers, and outreach coordinators who support and facilitate communication from scientists. These professionals play a crucial role in easing the communication burden on scientists and ensuring effective public engagement. Their contributions should also be recognized and supported within the academic structure. However, it is important to restate that our focus in this article remains on geoscientists engaging in geoscience communication.

In some countries, science communication is mandatory for scientists to ensure career progress. For example, in Italy, science communication is referred to as the “third mission.” At some institutions in the U.S., faculty receive positive annual salary review “points” for outreach activities. Some faculty members have even adjusted their appointment percentages to include outreach as part of their paid job, partly because of accessible venues (e.g., “Dinosaurs and Disasters Day” at the adjacent natural history museum) and partly due to the way grants are structured in the U.S. The National Science Foundation requires outreach or another clearly defined “Broader Impact” on grant proposals. Principal Investigators can carry out “impact” activities themselves or hire education specialists or communication professionals to assist them. In Canada, where faculty performance is assessed based on annual reports, outreach (such as media interviews) is a subsection in these reports, but it is unclear to what extent it is valued compared to other contributions, such as graduating students or writing scientific papers.

While efforts by some national funding agencies to promote science communication is welcome, science communication should also be considered a discipline in itself which requires efforts, as in any other field of research. Quite often, scientists believe that participating in events for the public is enough to assure good institutional science communication. However, there are good reasons to not have all scientists participate in science communication. Incentivizing and training those scientists who are motivated to do so by a genuine interest may be a better approach. The scientific institution could take advantage of research groups in the field of science communication that are genuinely interested in identifying the most effective ways to involve the public in science.

Improving the assessment of scientific research output by funding agencies, academic institutions, and other entities has become an urgent necessity. In response, a group of scholarly journal editors and publishers convened at The American Society for Cell Biology's Annual Meeting in San Francisco in December 2012. Their objective was to create a set of recommendations, which is called the San Francisco Declaration on Research Assessment (DORA). DORA is now a global initiative that encompasses all academic disciplines (ASCB, 2012). It recognizes that scholarly output extends beyond published journal articles and encompasses other items such as preprints, datasets, software, protocols, well-trained researchers, societal outcomes, and policy changes that result from research. In



625 Canada, the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC), in collaboration with four other Canadian research funding agencies, has endorsed this declaration.

630 In line with other scientific realms, science communication should establish clear norms regarding funders and partners to enhance transparency concerning potential vested interests of science communicators. This step ensures that the audience is informed of any external influences that may shape the narrative. Additionally, science  
635 communicators should clearly communicate their objectives with their audiences and obtain ethical clearances when relevant. Considering these aspects could help prevent deceptive campaigns, such as those with significant environmental impacts. Furthermore, incorporating these dimensions into the practice of science communication fosters a more transparent and ethically sound landscape, thereby enhancing the credibility and integrity of the field.

#### 635 **4 Final thoughts**

640 Science communication is a vital aspect of the scientific enterprise, and it is our responsibility to communicate scientific concepts and discoveries to non-specialist audiences. However, as we shed light on the shadowlands of science communication, we also want to clarify that we do not want to discourage scientists from talking to kids, to teachers, to the public, and especially to legislators. There is a spectrum of science communication and science communicators within and outside of academia (Illingworth, 2023), and all of it plays an important role — even if not “professionalized”. However, we must make clear criteria for science communication as part of job  
645 requirements, incentivize science communication for academic promotions, and support those who are good at it without making them suffer in the domain of their specialization. We must also ensure that the impact of science communication is visible and valued.

To make the broader goals discussed in this editorial more actionable for those not in direct positions of power, readers can take several initial steps:

- 650 1. Advocate for inclusive training opportunities: Encourage the integration of science communication training into professional development and academic curricula. Ensure that such training addresses diverse perspectives and includes underrepresented groups to promote equity in science communication.
- 655 2. Promote and share best practices: Share and implement effective science communication strategies within your institution and professional network. Prioritize practices that respect and value the contributions of all communicators, and address any systemic biases that might affect their involvement.
- 660 3. Support and mentor colleagues: Provide resources, constructive feedback, and mentorship to early-career colleagues interested in science communication, while recognizing that mentoring is valuable at all career stages. Foster a collaborative environment where early-career scientists can receive guidance and where more experienced colleagues can benefit from fresh perspectives and feedback. Additionally, nominate collaborators, colleagues, or employees who demonstrate excellent work in geoscience communication for recognition, awards, and prizes within their institutes or at national and international levels (e.g., conferences).
- 665 4. Engage in equitable dialogue: Initiate and participate in discussions about the importance and value of science communication. Advocate for fair recognition and compensation for science communicators, and work to build broader support within your community while being mindful of the different challenges faced by underrepresented groups.

While the case in favor of science communication has garnered significant attention in recent years, it is also essential to contemplate why not all academics should be compelled to engage in science communication. This

670 consideration becomes especially pertinent within the context of an already exploitative environment, namely  
academia. Science communication, when undertaken indiscriminately, may not adhere to the same standards of  
honesty and rigor expected from either scientists or journalists. Additionally, it is impractical and inefficient to  
expect every academic to excel in all sub-specializations, encompassing research, teaching, enterprise,  
communication, and more.

675 Instead, a more equitable approach entails recognizing the intrinsic value of specialized expertise in the field of  
science communication and providing unwavering support to dedicated professionals in this domain, while  
safeguarding against exploitation and potential detriment to their long-term careers. By adopting this approach, we  
can contribute to a more transparent and responsible landscape within the realm of geoscience communication,  
680 effectively addressing concerns related to exploitation and the invisibilization of the invaluable contributions made  
by science communicators. Such efforts will ultimately preserve the credibility and efficacy of science  
communication, facilitating the public's enhanced understanding of scientific concepts, and thereby benefiting  
science, scientists, and society as a whole.

685 This editorial is based on a review of the literature and our own experiences, with a focus on geoscience  
communication. It is not a comprehensive review of the entire field of science communication. The challenges  
discussed are primarily informed by contexts in the Global North; however, similar shadowlands of science  
communication likely exist in other regions, influenced by factors such as race, gender, ethnicity, religion,  
language, and caste. An in-depth analysis through surveys or additional research could reveal more pervasive issues  
690 and highlight new challenges. We hope the insights shared here inspire and inform efforts to enhance fair science  
communication across diverse contexts and disciplines.

**Data availability.** No primary data sets were used in producing this article.

695 **Author contributions.** Conceptualization and methodology: All authors; Project administration: SG; Writing –  
original draft: IS, JH, KP, KvE, LA, LB, SG, SM, TL; Writing – review & editing: All authors.

**Competing interests.** HR, IS, LA, SG, TL are editors of *GC*; JH, KvE, SM are executive editors of *GC*; SI is the  
chief-executive editor of *GC*.

700 **Ethical statement.** This editorial reflects the authors' views and does not involve sensitive data or human  
participants; as a result, no ethics approval or informed consent was sought.

**Acknowledgements.** We would like *GC* editors Leslie Almberg, Mary Anne Holmes, Mathew Stiller-Reeve, and  
705 Katharine Welsh for participating in initial discussions about this article. We would also like to thank Raymond  
Spiteri for his intellectual guidance. We would also like to express our gratitude for the numerous informal  
discussions we have had with scientist and science communicator colleagues over the years. These exchanges have  
not only served as a source of inspiration but have also significantly contributed to the content of this editorial. In  
addition to Dr. Robyn Pickering and the anonymous reviewer for reviewing this manuscript, we would also like to  
710 thank Dr. David Crookall and Dr. Heather Doran for their community comments. Their feedback, along with other  
communications we received on the preprint, helped us improve the final article.

## References

- American Society for Cell Biology: San Francisco declaration on research assessment. <https://sfdora.org/>. Accessed 1 December 2023, 2012.
- 715 Arnal, L., Anspoks, L., Manson, S., Neumann, J., Norton, T., Stephens, E., Wolfenden, L., and Cloke, H. L.: “Are we talking just a bit of water out of bank? Or is it Armageddon?” Front line perspectives on transitioning to probabilistic fluvial flood forecasts in England, *Geoscience Communication*, 3, 203–232, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-3-203-2020>, 2020.
- 720 Barrow, M. and Grant, B.: The uneasy place of equity in higher education: tracing its (in)significance in academic promotions, *High Educ*, 78, 133–147, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-018-0334-2>, 2019.
- 725 Bell, H. M. and Tobin, G. A.: Efficient and effective? The 100-year flood in the communication and perception of flood risk, *Environmental Hazards*, 7, 302–311, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envhaz.2007.08.004>, 2007.
- 730 Berhe, A. A., Barnes, R. T., Hastings, M. G., Mattheis, A., Schneider, B., Williams, B. M., and Marín-Spiotta, E.: Scientists from historically excluded groups face a hostile obstacle course, *Nat. Geosci.*, 15, 2–4, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41561-021-00868-0>, 2022.
- Besley, J. C. and Nisbet, M.: How scientists view the public, the media and the political process, *Public Underst Sci*, 22, 644–659, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662511418743>, 2013.
- 735 Besley, J. C., Dudo, A., and Yuan, S.: Scientists’ views about communication objectives, *Public Underst Sci*, 27, 708–730, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662517728478>, 2018.
- Brimicombe, C.: Is there a climate change reporting bias? A case study of English-language news articles, 2017–2022, *Geoscience Communication*, 5, 281–287, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-5-281-2022>, 2022.
- 740 Brownell, S. E., Price, J. V., and Steinman, L.: Science Communication to the General Public: Why We Need to Teach Undergraduate and Graduate Students this Skill as Part of Their Formal Scientific Training, *J Undergrad Neurosci Educ*, 12, E6–E10, 2013.
- 745 Bubela, T., Nisbet, M. C., Borchelt, R., Brunger, F., Critchley, C., Einsiedel, E., Geller, G., Gupta, A., Hampel, J., Hyde-Lay, R., Jandciu, E. W., Jones, S. A., Kolopack, P., Lane, S., Lougheed, T., Nerlich, B., Ogbogu, U., O’Riordan, K., Ouellette, C., Spear, M., Strauss, S., Thavaratnam, T., Willemse, L., and Caulfield, T.: Science communication reconsidered, *Nat Biotechnol*, 27, 514–518, <https://doi.org/10.1038/nbt0609-514>, 2009.
- 750 Bucchi, M. and Trench, B.: Rethinking science communication as the social conversation around science, *JCOM*, 20, Y01, <https://doi.org/10.22323/2.20030401>, 2021.
- 755 Budimir, M., Donovan, A., Brown, S., Shakya, P., Gautam, D., Uprety, M., Cranston, M., Sneddon, A., Smith, P., and Dugar, S.: Communicating complex forecasts: an analysis of the approach in Nepal’s flood early warning system, *Geoscience Communication*, 3, 49–70, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-3-49-2020>, 2020.

- Burns, T. W., O'Connor, D. J., and Stockmayer, S. M.: Science Communication: A Contemporary Definition, *Public Underst Sci*, 12, 183–202, <https://doi.org/10.1177/09636625030122004>, 2003.
- 760 Caltagirone, C., Draper, E. R., Hardie, M. J., Haynes, C. J. E., Hiscock, J. R., Jolliffe, K. A., Kieffer, M.,  
McConnell, A. J., and Leigh, J. S.: An Area-Specific, International Community-Led Approach to Understanding  
and Addressing Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion Issues within Supramolecular Chemistry, *Angewandte Chemie*  
*International Edition*, 60, 11572–11579, <https://doi.org/10.1002/anie.202015297>, 2021.
- 765 Canfield, K. N., Menezes, S., Matsuda, S. B., Moore, A., Mosley Austin, A. N., Dewsbury, B. M., Feliú-Mójer,  
M. I., McDuffie, K. W. B., Moore, K., Reich, C. A., Smith, H. M., and Taylor, C.: Science Communication  
Demands a Critical Approach That Centers Inclusion, Equity, and Intersectionality, *Frontiers in Communication*,  
5, 2020.
- 770 Carter, S.: *Academic Identity and the Place of Stories: The Personal in the Professional*, Springer International  
Publishing, Cham, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-43601-8>, 2020.
- 775 Chen, A., Zhang, X., and Jin, J.: The Sagan Effect and Scientists' Public Outreach Participation in China:  
Multilayered Roles of Social Norms and Rewards, *Science Communication*, 45, 12–38,  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/10755470221143077>, 2023.
- Chubb, J. and Watermeyer, R.: Artifice or integrity in the marketization of research impact? Investigating the  
moral economy of (pathways to) impact statements within research funding proposals in the UK and Australia,  
*Studies in Higher Education*, 42, 2360–2372, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2016.1144182>, 2017.
- 780 Chubb, L. A., Fouché, C. B., and Sadeh Kengah, K.: Co-researching complexities: Learning strategies for edge  
walking in community–university research partnerships, *Research for All*, 5, 157–173,  
<https://doi.org/10.14324/RFA.05.1.12>, 2021.
- 785 Cormick, C.: *The science of communicating science: The ultimate guide*. CSIRO publishing, 2019.
- Cortassa, C.: In science communication, why does the idea of a public deficit always return? The eternal  
recurrence of the public deficit, *Public Underst Sci*, 25, 447–459, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662516629745>,  
2016.
- 790 Costa, E., Davies, S.R., Franks, S., Jensen, A., Villa, R., Wells, R., Woods, R., D4.1: Science communication  
education and training across Europe. Ref. Ares(2019)6766814 - 31/10/2019, 2019.
- 795 Crameri, F., Shephard, G. E., and Heron, P. J.: The misuse of colour in science communication, *Nat Commun*,  
11, 5444, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-020-19160-7>, 2020.
- Cross, I. D. and Congreve, A.: Teaching (super) wicked problems: authentic learning about climate change,  
*Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 45, 491–516, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03098265.2020.1849066>, 2021.
- 800 Crozier, M., McClure, J., Vercoe, J., and Wilson, M.: The effects of hazard zone information on judgements about  
earthquake damage, *Area*, 38, 143–152, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2006.00686.x>, 2006.

- Dooley, P.: Why we need to stop explaining science, *Biophys Rev*, 9, 69–71, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12551-017-0251-0>, 2017.
- 805 Dutt, K.: Race and racism in the geosciences, *Nat. Geosci.*, 13, 2–3, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41561-019-0519-z>, 2020.
- Fährnich, B., Wilkinson, C., Weitkamp, E., Heintz, L., Ridgway, A., and Milani, E.: RETHINKING Science Communication Education and Training: Towards a Competence Model for Science Communication, *Frontiers in Communication*, 6, 2021.
- 810 Finlay, S. M., Raman, S., Rasekoala, E., Mignan, V., Dawson, E., Neeley, L., and Orthia, L. A.: From the margins to the mainstream: deconstructing science communication as a white, Western paradigm, *JCOM*, 20, C02, <https://doi.org/10.22323/2.20010302>, 2021.
- 815 Fischhoff, B.: Risk perception and communication unplugged: twenty years of process. *Risk Anal* 15(2):137–146, 1995.
- Fischhoff, B. and Scheufele, D. A.: The science of science communication, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 110, 14031–14032, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1312080110>, 2013.
- 820 Fonseca, X., Miguez-Macho, G., Cortes-Vazquez, J. A., and Vaamonde, A.: A physical concept in the press: the case of the jet stream, *Geoscience Communication*, 5, 177–188, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-5-177-2022>, 2022.
- 825 Fowler, S.: Burnout and depression in academia: A look at the discourse of the university, *Empedocles: European Journal for the Philosophy of Communication*, 6, 155–167, [https://doi.org/10.1386/ejpc.6.2.155\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/ejpc.6.2.155_1), 2015.
- Frith, U.: Fast Lane to Slow Science, *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 24, 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2019.10.007>, 2020.
- 830 GeoHazards International, Developing Messages for Protective Actionsto Take During Earthquake Shaking, [https://4649393f-bdef-4011-b1b6-9925d550a425.filesusr.com/ugd/08dab1\\_49df199bcf44453f939c5777fa75c18a.pdf](https://4649393f-bdef-4011-b1b6-9925d550a425.filesusr.com/ugd/08dab1_49df199bcf44453f939c5777fa75c18a.pdf), 2018.
- 835 Gill, J. C., Taylor, F. E., Duncan, M. J., Mohadjer, S., Budimir, M., Mdala, H., and Bukachi, V.: Invited perspectives: Building sustainable and resilient communities – recommended actions for natural hazard scientists, *Natural Hazards and Earth System Sciences*, 21, 187–202, <https://doi.org/10.5194/nhess-21-187-2021>, 2021.
- 840 Goldenberg, M. J.: Public trust in science, *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews*, 48, 366–378, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03080188.2022.2152243>, 2023.
- 845 Golding, B., Mittermaier, M., Ross, C., Ebert, B., Panchuk, S., Scolobig, A., and Johnston, D.: A value chain approach to optimizing early warning systems, *Global Assessment Report on Disaster Risk Reduction (GAR 2019). Contributing Paper*, ETH Zurich, 2019.

- Guertin, L., Johnson, B. A., and van der Hoeven Kraft, K. J.: The role two-year colleges play in unlearning racism in the geosciences (URGE), *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 2022, 189–200, <https://doi.org/10.1002/cc.20533>, 2022.
- 850 Guidetti, G., Viotti, S., and Converso, D.: The interplay between work engagement, workaholism, emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction in academics: A person-centred approach to the study of occupational well-being and its relations with job hindrances and job challenges in an Italian university, *Higher Education Quarterly*, 74, 224–239, <https://doi.org/10.1111/hequ.12239>, 2020.
- 855 Hernandez, P. R., Adams, A. S., Barnes, R. T., Bloodhart, B., Burt, M., Clinton, S. M., Du, W., Henderson, H., Pollack, I., and Fischer, E. V.: Inspiration, inoculation, and introductions are all critical to successful mentorship for undergraduate women pursuing geoscience careers, *Commun Earth Environ*, 1, 1–9, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s43247-020-0005-y>, 2020.
- 860 Hillier, J. K., Saville, G. R., Smith, M. J., Scott, A. J., Raven, E. K., Gascoigne, J., Slater, L. J., Quinn, N., Tsanakas, A., Souch, C., Leckebusch, G. C., Macdonald, N., Milner, A. M., Loxton, J., Wilebore, R., Collins, A., MacKechnie, C., Tweddle, J., Moller, S., Dove, M., Langford, H., and Craig, J.: Demystifying academics to enhance university–business collaborations in environmental science, *Geoscience Communication*, 2, 1–23, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-2-1-2019>, 2019.
- 865 Hillier, J. K., Welsh, K. E., Stiller-Reeve, M., Priestley, R. K., Roop, H. A., Lanza, T., and Illingworth, S.: Editorial: Geoscience communication – planning to make it publishable, *Geoscience Communication*, 4, 493–506, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-4-493-2021>, 2021.
- 870 Hooker, C., Capon, A., Leask, J.: Communicating about risk: strategies for situations where public concern is high but the risk is low. *Public Health Research Practice* 27(1), e2711709, 2017.
- Hutchins, J. A.: Tailoring Scientific Communications for Audience and Research Narrative, *Current Protocols Essential Laboratory Techniques*, 20, e40, <https://doi.org/10.1002/cpet.40>, 2020.
- 875 Illingworth, S.: A spectrum of geoscience communication: from dissemination to participation, *Geoscience Communication*, 6, 131–139, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-6-131-2023>, 2023.
- Illingworth, S., Stewart, I., Tennant, J., and von Elverfeldt, K.: Editorial: *Geoscience Communication* – Building bridges, not walls, *Geoscience Communication*, 1, 1–7, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-1-1-2018>, 2018.
- 880 John, S.: Epistemic trust and the ethics of science communication: against transparency, openness, sincerity and honesty, *Social Epistemology*, 32, 75–87, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02691728.2017.1410864>, 2018.
- 885 Jones, J. H.: The Tuskegee syphilis experiment, in: *The Oxford Textbook of Clinical Research Ethics*, edited by: Emanuel, E. J., Crouch, R. A., Arras, J. D., Moreno, J. D., and Grady, C., Oxford University Press, New York, NY, USA, 86–96, 2008.
- 890 Jones, L.M.: Preparing a population for an earthquake like Chi-Chi: The Great Southern California ShakeOut. In: *US-Iran Seismic Workshop*, 1-14, 2009.

- Jünger, J. and Fähnrich, B.: Does really no one care? Analyzing the public engagement of communication scientists on Twitter, *New Media & Society*, 22, 387–408, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819863413>, 2020.
- 895 Kappel, K. and Holmen, S. J.: Why Science Communication, and Does It Work? A Taxonomy of Science Communication Aims and a Survey of the Empirical Evidence, *Frontiers in Communication*, 4, 2019.
- Kelp, N.C. & Hubbard, M.: Scaffolded Curriculum for Developing Science Communication Skills in Life Science Undergraduates, *Journal of Microbiology & Biology Education*, 22 (1), 1-8,  
 900 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1128/jmbe.v22i1.2255>, 2020.
- Keohane, R. O., Lane, M., and Oppenheimer, M.: The ethics of scientific communication under uncertainty, *Politics, Philosophy & Economics*, 13, 343–368, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470594X14538570>, 2014.
- 905 Kerr, G. W.: FameLab, cultural relations and ‘going virtual’ at the time of a pandemic, London: British Council, 2021.
- Kinchin, I. M. and Francis, R. A.: Mapping pedagogic frailty in geography education: a framed autoethnographic case study, *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 41, 56–74,  
 910 <https://doi.org/10.1080/03098265.2016.1241988>, 2017.
- Kompella, P., Gracia, B., LeBlanc, L., Engelman, S., Kulkarni, C., Desai, N., June, V., March, S., Pattengale, S., Rodriguez-Rivera, G., Ryu, S. W., Strohkendl, I., Mandke, P., and Clark, G.: Interactive youth science workshops benefit student participants and graduate student mentors, *PLOS Biology*, 18, e3000668,  
 915 <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pbio.3000668>, 2020.
- Krause, N. M., Brossard, D., Scheufele, D. A., Xenos, M. A., and Franke, K.: Trends—Americans’ Trust in Science and Scientists, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 83, 817–836, <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfz041>, 2019.
- 920 Lahiri-Roy, R., Belford, N., and Sum, N.: Transnational women academics of colour enacting ‘pedagogy of discomfort’: positionality against a ‘pedagogy of rupture,’ *Pedagogy, Culture & Society*, 0, 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681366.2021.1900345>, 2021.
- Liang, X., Su, L. Y.-F., Yeo, S. K., Scheufele, D. A., Brossard, D., Xenos, M., Nealey, P., and Corley, E. A.:  
 925 Building Buzz: (Scientists) Communicating Science in New Media Environments, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 91, 772–791, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699014550092>, 2014.
- MacPherson-Krutzky, C. C., Brand, B. D., and Lindell, M. K.: Does updating natural hazard maps to reflect best practices increase viewer comprehension of risk?, *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 46, 101487,  
 930 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdr.2020.101487>, 2020.
- Márquez, M. C. and Porras, A. M.: Science Communication in Multiple Languages Is Critical to Its Effectiveness, *Frontiers in Communication*, 5, 2020.
- 935 Martinez-Conde, S.: Has Contemporary Academia Outgrown the Carl Sagan Effect?, *J. Neurosci.*, 36, 2077–2082, <https://doi.org/10.1523/JNEUROSCI.0086-16.2016>, 2016.

- 940 McGowan, E. G. and Alcott, L. J.: The potential for using video games to teach geoscience: learning about the geology and geomorphology of Hokkaido (Japan) from playing Pokémon Legends: Arceus, *Geoscience Communication*, 5, 325–337, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-5-325-2022>, 2022.
- McKinnon, M. and O’Connell, C.: Perceptions of stereotypes applied to women who publicly communicate their STEM work, *Humanit Soc Sci Commun*, 7, 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-020-00654-0>, 2020.
- 945 Metcalfe, J.: Comparing science communication theory with practice: An assessment and critique using Australian data. *Public Understanding of Science*. 28(4) 382-400. 2019.
- Mohadjer, S., Mutz, S. G., Kemp, M., Gill, S. J., Ischuk, A., and Ehlers, T. A.: Using paired teaching for earthquake education in schools, *Geosci. Commun.*, 4, 281–295, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-4-281-2021>, 2021.
- 950 Morawska, L. and Cao, J.: Airborne transmission of SARS-CoV-2: The world should face the reality, *Environ Int*, 139, 105730, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envint.2020.105730>, 2020.
- Mulder, H. A. J., Longnecker, N., and Davis, L. S.: The State of Science Communication Programs at Universities Around the World, *Science Communication*, 30, 277–287, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1075547008324878>, 2008.
- 955 Nave, R., Isaia, R., Vilardo, G., and Barclay, J.: Re-assessing volcanic hazard maps for improving volcanic risk communication: application to Stromboli Island, Italy, *Journal of Maps*, 6, 260–269, <https://doi.org/10.4113/jom.2010.1061>, 2010.
- 960 Neil, R.B.: Community attitudes to natural hazard insurance: what are the salient issues? In: Oliver J, Britton NR (eds) *Natural hazards and reinsurance*. Lilyfield, Regents Park, NSW, 107–121, 1989.
- 965 Oliver, K., Kothari, A., and Mays, N.: The dark side of coproduction: do the costs outweigh the benefits for health research?, *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 17, 33, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12961-019-0432-3>, 2019.
- Oreskes, N.: What Is the Social Responsibility of Climate Scientists?, *Daedalus*, 149, 33–45, [https://doi.org/10.1162/daed\\_a\\_01815](https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_01815), 2020.
- 970 Padilla, L.: Understanding uncertainty on a map is harder than you think, *interactions*, 29, 19–21, <https://doi.org/10.1145/3530048>, 2022.
- Papatsiba, V. and Cohen, E.: Institutional hierarchies and research impact: new academic currencies, capital and position-taking in UK higher education, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 41, 178–196, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2019.1676700>, 2020.
- 975 Pappenberger, F. and Beven, K. J.: Ignorance is bliss: Or seven reasons not to use uncertainty analysis, *Water Resources Research*, 42, <https://doi.org/10.1029/2005WR004820>, 2006.
- 980 Pownall, M., Talbot, C. V., Henschel, A., Lautarescu, A., Lloyd, K. E., Hartmann, H., Darda, K. M., Tang, K. T. Y., Carmichael-Murphy, P., and Siegel, J. A.: Navigating Open Science as Early Career Feminist Researchers, *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 45, 526–539, <https://doi.org/10.1177/03616843211029255>, 2021.



- 985 Randall, K., Ewing, E. T., Marr, L. C., Jimenez, J. L., and Bourouiba, L.: How did we get here: what are droplets and aerosols and how far do they go? A historical perspective on the transmission of respiratory infectious diseases, *Interface Focus*, 11, 20210049, <https://doi.org/10.1098/rsfs.2021.0049>, 2021.
- RDF, Vitae Researcher Development Framework, <https://www.vitae.ac.uk/vitae-publications/rdf-related/researcher-development-framework-rdf-vitae.pdf/view>, 2011.
- 990
- Rogers, S. L., Lau, L., Dowey, N., Sheikh, H., and Williams, R.: Geology uprooted! Decolonising the curriculum for geologists, *Geoscience Communication*, 5, 189–204, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-5-189-2022>, 2022.
- 995 Schneider, M., McDowell, M., Guttorp, P., Steel, E. A., and Fleischhut, N.: Effective uncertainty visualization for aftershock forecast maps, *Natural Hazards and Earth System Sciences*, 22, 1499–1518, <https://doi.org/10.5194/nhess-22-1499-2022>, 2022.
- Science Europe, A Values Framework for the Organisation of Research, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6637847>, 2022
- 1000
- Sellnow, T. L., Ulmer, R. R., Seeger, M. W., and Littlefield, R.: *Effective risk communication: A message-centered approach*. Springer Science & Business Media, 2008.
- 1005 ShakeOut, 2024. Great ShakeOut Earthquake Drills: <https://www.shakeout.org/>, last access: 21 August 2024.
- Simis, M. J., Madden, H., Cacciatore, M. A., and Yeo, S. K.: The lure of rationality: Why does the deficit model persist in science communication?, *Public Underst Sci*, 25, 400–414, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662516629749>, 2016.
- 1010
- Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group: The Burden of Invisible Work in Academia: Social Inequalities and Time Use in Five University Departments, *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 39, 228–245, 2017.
- 1015 Steelman, T. A. and McCaffrey, S.: Best practices in risk and crisis communication: Implications for natural hazards management, *Nat Hazards*, 65, 683–705, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11069-012-0386-z>, 2013.
- Stewart, I. S. and Hurth, V.: Selling planet Earth: re-purposing geoscience communications, Geological Society, London, Special Publications, 508, 265–283, <https://doi.org/10.1144/SP508-2020-101>, 2021.
- 1020 Trench, B. and Bucchi, M.: Science communication, an emerging discipline, *JCOM*, 9, C03, <https://doi.org/10.22323/2.09030303>, 2010.
- Sturgis, P. and Allum, N.: Science in Society: Re-Evaluating the Deficit Model of Public Attitudes, *Public Underst Sci*, 13, 55–74, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662504042690>, 2004.
- 1025
- Thompson, J. J., Wilby, R. L., Hillier, J. K., Connell, R., and Saville, G. R.: Climate Gentrification: Valuing Perceived Climate Risks in Property Prices, *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 113, 1092–1111, <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2022.2156318>, 2023.

- 1030 Tierney, K.J.: Socio-economic aspects of hazard mitigation. Disaster Research Center, University of Delaware, 1993.
- van der Bles, A. M., van der Linden, S., Freeman, A. L. J., and Spiegelhalter, D. J.: The effects of communicating uncertainty on public trust in facts and numbers, *Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA*, 117, 7672–7683, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1913678117>, 2020.
- 1035 Vohland, K., Land-Zandstra, A., Ceccaroni, L., Lemmens, R., Perelló, J., Ponti, M., Samson, R., and Wagenknecht, K. (Eds.): *The Science of Citizen Science*, Springer International Publishing, Cham, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-58278-4>, 2021.
- 1040 Watermeyer, R. and Rowe, G.: Public engagement professionals in a prestige economy: Ghosts in the machine, *Studies in Higher Education*, 47, 1297–1310, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2021.1888078>, 2022.
- 1045 Watson, C. S., Elliott, J. R., Ebmeier, S. K., Biggs, J., Albino, F., Brown, S. K., Burns, H., Hooper, A., Lazecky, M., Maghsoudi, Y., Rigby, R., and Wright, T. J.: Strategies for improving the communication of satellite-derived InSAR data for geohazards through the analysis of Twitter and online data portals, *Geoscience Communication*, 6, 75–96, <https://doi.org/10.5194/gc-6-75-2023>, 2023.
- 1050 Weingart, P. and Guenther, L.: Science communication and the issue of trust | *JCOM*, *JCOM*, 15, C01, <https://doi.org/10.22323/2.15050301>, 2016.
- Wheaton, A.: Shift happens; moving from the ivory tower to the mushroom factory, *Higher Education Research & Development*, 39, 67–80, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07294360.2019.1670145>, 2020.
- 1055 Williams, O., Sarre, S., Papoulias, S. C., Knowles, S., Robert, G., Beresford, P., Rose, D., Carr, S., Kaur, M., and Palmer, V. J.: Lost in the shadows: reflections on the dark side of co-production, *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 18, 43, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12961-020-00558-0>, 2020.
- 1060 Wilsdon, J. and Willis, R.: See-through Science: Why public engagement needs to move upstream, *Demos*, <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.1.3844.3681>, 2004.