

Scientist engagement and the knowledge-action gap

Léonard Dupont, Staffan Jacob, Hervé Philippe

▶ To cite this version:

Léonard Dupont, Staffan Jacob, Hervé Philippe. Scientist engagement and the knowledge-action gap. Nature Ecology & Evolution, 2024, 10.1038/s41559-024-02535-0. hal-04730178

HAL Id: hal-04730178 https://hal.science/hal-04730178v1

Submitted on 10 Oct 2024

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers. L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

1 Scientist engagement and the knowledge-action gap

2 Léonard Dupont^{1†}, Staffan Jacob¹, Hervé Philippe¹

3

4 1: Station d'Ecologie Théorique et Expérimentale, UAR2029, CNRS, 09200, Moulis, France

5 †: Corresponding author

6 Email : leonard.dupont@sete.cnrs.fr

7

8 Abstract

9 The combined gravity of biodiversity loss and climate change keeps increasing. As the approaching 10 catastrophe has never looked so alarming, the amount of scientific knowledge about the bioclimatic 11 crisis is still rising exponentially. Here, we reflect on how researchers in ecology or climate science 12 behave amid this crisis. In face of the disproportionality between how much more scientists know and 13 how little more they engage, we discuss four barriers which may underlie the decoupling of scientific 14 awareness from concrete action. We then reflect on the potency of rational thinking to trigger 15 engagement on its own, and question whether more scientific knowledge can be the tipping point 16 towards radical changes within society. Our observations challenge the tenet that a better 17 understanding of what surrounds us is necessary to protect it efficiently. With the environmental cost of scientific research itself as an additional factor that must be considered, we suggest there is an urgent 18 19 need for researchers to collectively reflect on their situation and find how to redirect their actions.

20

21 Keywords: ecology; climate change; knowledge; action

22 Aside from being the hottest ever recorded¹, 2023 looked like all previous years, with global CO₂ emissions increasing again by more than 1.1% compared to 2022²⁻⁴. 45 years after Charney's 23 24 "Carbon Dioxide and Climate" report⁵, 28 Conferences of the Parties (COP) have taken place, while 25 one global report from the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem 26 Services (IPBES) and six from the International Panel for Climate Change (IPCC) have been published 27 ^{6.7}. Yet, six of the nine planetary boundaries have been crossed⁸, a sign that the Earth system has never 28 been so unstable for supporting human life durably⁹. While exceeding the 1.5°C warming mark could trigger a series of irreversible tipping points with grave consequences¹⁰, the odds of succeeding to stay 29 30 below this threshold are quickly narrowing¹¹ and this goal now appears almost unachievable before 31 2030^{3,12}. Climate is not the only source of worry however, since close to one half of Earth's animal 32 populations are declining¹³, one of the latest indications of the ongoing mass extinction^{14–16}. Each year, springtime is more silent still¹⁷, as the buzz of insects^{18,19} and birdsongs^{20,21} have been smothered with 33 34 anthropogenic disruptions.

35

36 Meanwhile, scientists (see Box 1; Glossary) have been taken up in a frenzied quest for more 37 knowledge^{22,23}. In particular, the number of research articles related to climate change has increased 38 exponentially in the last decades^{24,25}, at a rate four to five times higher than in other scientific fields²⁶. 39 Justifying this trend often calls upon a key argument: that better protecting what surrounds us absolutely 40 demands a better scientific understanding^{24,25} (Fig. 1). This knowledge hypothesis is relayed at a diversity of scales, from the UNESCO²⁷ or the European Union in funding calls²⁸, to research institutes²⁹, 41 42 publishers designing dedicated stickers (Fig. 1b-d), or scientists themselves in articles or grant 43 proposals (e.g.,³⁰). Likewise, we are told that raising scientific awareness is crucial to promote 44 bioclimate action³¹, as teachers or NGOs have been busy popularising knowledge and drawing 45 biodiversity or climate frescoes (e.g., ^{32,33}). The underlying postulate of these discourses is that a high 46 scientific understanding of the crisis should translate into proportionally-adequate behaviours³⁴ (e.g., 47 pro-environmental policies by decisionmakers, sober lifestyle choices by citizens; Fig. 1a). As a 48 consequence, some researchers have invested a lot of energy into the functioning of the IPCC or the 49 IPBES in hope of transforming people through rational knowledge.





52 Figure 1: The knowledge hypothesis implies a correlation between scientific knowledge and the 53 likelihood of pro-environmental behaviours. (a) Schematics of the knowledge hypothesis (black line), the 54 expected positive correlation between the amount or precision of scientific knowledge and the likelihood of pro-55 environmental actions. Such trend may be traced across scales, from citizens (scientifically aware vs not aware) 56 to decision-makers within governments or nations. However, this hypothesis is rarely questioned in natural sciences 57 (but see e.g., ⁸⁸), leaving substantial room for uncertainty (gradient of greys). (b-d) Set of stickers handed out by a 58 publisher at the 2023 British Ecological Society conference (Belfast, UK). These graphics are relatively explicit 59 regarding the potency of a better scientific knowledge to trigger positive bioclimate action.

60

61 The relative failure of this endeavour³ urges to reconsider the principles underpinning the 62 knowledge hypothesis and to question its validity²³. To do so, looking at the behaviour of researchers 63 in ecology and climate science may be informative. Most ecology researchers believe that nature is 64 intrinsically valuable³⁵, appreciate its beauty and believe that we are morally obligated to preserve it³⁶. 65 Their scientific education and occupation provide them with tools and figures to grasp the gravity of human-caused disruptions, which they often handle on a daily basis^{37,38}. This awareness is reflected 66 by how concerned they claim to be about the future^{39,40}, as six in ten climate experts expect at least a 67 3°C warming by the end of the century⁴⁰. Hence, researchers in ecology and climate science are at the 68 69 apex of rational awareness regarding the gravity of the ongoing bioclimatic crisis. According to the 70 knowledge hypothesis, one would expect them to display the highest level of pro-environmental behaviours: the increase in their engagement⁴¹ should be proportional to how much more they know, 71 72 thus be radical⁴². In other words, climate and ecology researchers comprise a cohort allowing to 73 question if acute scientific knowledge is key to ignite concrete behavioural changes. In recent years, a 74 body of studies has looked at how scientists behave in this context, which we summarise in Box 2.

Despite growing discussions regarding the societal position of researchers and more scientists speaking up, current evidence suggests that the engagement of ecology and climate researchers is not proportional to how much more aware they are of the crisis' gravity (Box 2). From means of transport or lifestyle choices, climate protests to activism, the behaviour of most scientists seems to challenge the knowledge hypothesis.

80

81 Why then, is the most scientifically-aware social group not at the forefront of bioclimate action? 82 More importantly, what does this remind us about the power of knowing? In this perspective, we build 83 upon existing literature in ecology, climate and human sciences to formulate an answer to these 84 questions. We unfold our argument throughout three sections. First, we go beyond what scientists self-85 declare as obstacles to their engagement by detailing a series of levers which could impede more 86 radical pro-environmental behaviours. Second, since the most acute awareness can be decoupled from 87 behavioural changes, we dispute the capacity of rational facts to ignite engagement. We discuss what 88 more knowledge may or may not allow on its own, which questions the meaning of current research. 89 Finally, we bring forward a series of proposals to redirect energy towards efficient action. As ecology 90 researchers ourselves, we must specify that our goal is not to condemn scientists for their (or our) lack 91 of engagement; rather, to encourage discussions and actions on this topic. Our references reflect the 92 available literature and are biased towards climate-change engagement rather than biodiversity, but we 93 believe that the mechanisms discussed below apply equally to both contexts.

95 Situated hurdles impeding the engagement of researchers

96 It has been a decade or so since psychology, social and behavioural sciences have started 97 looking at why inaction persists in spite of climate emergency^{43,44}. For example, Gifford devised a 98 taxonomy of barriers that impede climate change mitigation (see Table 1 in ⁴⁴). The specific question of 99 scientists' engagement is a more recent topic, apart from a few mentions in the late 2000s (e.g., ^{45–47}). Most studies discuss the ethics and implications of public engagement as scientists^{48–52}, debating if 100 101 scientists ought to engage or not, and why^{37,50,53–56}. Scientists have also been surveyed to assess what prevents aspects of their engagement in their view^{39,45,57–60}. Yet, a majority of these approaches do not 102 explicitly discuss the sociological and epistemological factors shaping academical researchers -103 104 although these could likely be classified in a more general framework such as Gifford's⁴⁴. In this first 105 part, we detail four barriers, some of which may be specific to ecology and climate scientists (Fig 2). 106 We illustrate how these situated hurdles may impede engagement and question their validity in hope of 107 collectively debunking them.

- 108
- 109

Barrier 1: axiological neutrality

As polls show (e.g., ³⁹), scientists are imprinted by an ideal of axiological neutrality (Box 1) 110 111 preventing them from engaging. Aiming to be objective is an undisputable keystone of the scientific 112 method. Yet, shared misconceptions can turn this ideal into a stranglehold and hinder action. Indeed, 113 scientific objectivity is often taken or taught as a duty to produce results without ever going beyond a cold interpretation of what figures say⁶¹, while being faithful to supposedly-neutral facts⁶². As such, the 114 115 quest for absolute objectivity may put scientists in a position of political apathy regarding their subject 116 of study, which could favour inaction⁶³. Yet, axiological neutrality as originally introduced by Max Weber 117 acknowledged that scientific facts could never be entirely value-free⁶⁴. For many, objectivity as claimed 118 by ecologists or climate scientists is thus elusive^{65–67}. A nameworthy milestone is Donna Haraway's 119 famous concept of "situated knowledge" to emphasize the social construction of science⁶⁸. Haraway 120 showed how biases arising from a "male gaze" in primatology had long overshadowed the role of female 121 primates⁶⁹. She downgraded what was claimed as neutral scientific facts to situated, partial male vision. 122 In Haraway or Weber's mind, only by being conscious of our stance (see Positionality Statement), by 123 seeing from whence knowledge is created and by seeking diverging viewpoints can we achieve greater objectivity as scientists - yet without ever reaching it^{64,68,70-72}. Unfortunately, we often lack these trans-124

disciplinary debates and the divide between epistemology and natural sciences has kept growing. As a consequence, taking a public stance on scientific findings is often feared to come into conflict with the ability to "remain neutral", or with scientific credibility in a social group (Fig. 2). However, several studies have addressed the credibility issue and sometimes showed that citizens were supporting climate advocacy by scientists^{50,73–75}. Aiming for scientific objectivity should not be incompatible with acting according to one's values. We claim that engaging will not make scientists more impure than they are, for objectivity is learnt rather than innate.

- 132
- 133

Barrier 2: doing one's share of work

134 The second barrier impeding the engagement of scientists is their excessive belief in the 135 goodness and power of knowledge (Fig. 1). Embracing the knowledge hypothesis may lead to the firm 136 conviction that being a climate or an ecology researcher comprises a great share of the necessary fight. 137 In a rebound effect dynamics, some scientists may explain that becoming activists or cycling to work is 138 not their fight, for they already produce knowledge related to the bioclimatic crisis. Indisputably, climate 139 science and ecology have played a pivotal role in explaining and asserting the links between human 140 activities and the bioclimatic crisis (e.g., ^{19,76–81}). Such history may fuel the desire to keep investing in more scientific knowledge at all costs. Yet, we argue that the gravity of the situation should incite 141 142 scientists to adopt a more critical stance towards their activity. First, why should being ecology or climate 143 researchers consume any other form of engagement? Second, should more scientific knowledge 144 always prevail at all costs? Researchers flying thousands of kilometres to a congress may claim that the benefits of sharing their work will ultimately offset their environmental footprint^{82,83} (Box 3). But these 145 146 assertions can hardly be quantified and verified, making them more of a belief to withstand cognitive 147 dissonance than a proven scientific fact. These concerns should weigh all the more in face of the steady 148 rise in habitat destruction (or species extinction, or CO₂ emissions^{2,11}) despite the exponential increase in the number of research papers^{24,37}. Incidentally, it has been proposed in some fields (e.g., 149 150 conservation biology) that more scientific knowledge could be a lesser priority than implementing the 151 existing one^{84–88}, so to fill the knowledge-implementation gap⁸⁹. Scientists could go as far as to guestion the increased need for complex research on trophic networks or species interactions⁹⁰ in face of 152 153 successful conservation cases relying on more traditional knowledge, which had been sustained for centuries before being rejected in a neo-colonial fashion⁹¹⁻⁹⁴. Finally, a more extreme belief in 154

knowledge is the solving of the bioclimatic crisis through innovation and technology³ (e.g., CO₂ capture, or robotic bees for pollination). We must remind that most of these technologies do not exist yet and raise a number of environmental, ethical, legal and equity issues^{95–97}. The Promethean belief⁹⁸ in the power of technique and scientific knowledge to master nature calls upon human *hybris*⁹⁹ and the naturalist ontology of occidental societies, which should be questioned so to favour engagement (Fig. 2).



161 Figure 2: Four scientist-specific hurdles may impede engagement. The four hurdles add to those 162 shared by all citizens, which are further developed in other studies^{43,44}. To picture how these barriers may affect behaviour, we embed them within a simplified version of the theory of planned behaviour^{45,113}, as an example 163 164 among other models. In this classical psychology theory, the impact of the barriers may occur through changes of 165 one's attitude (the appreciation of the act of engaging more : it believed good or bad, enjoyable or not, pointless or 166 useful?), of the group's social norms (informal rules governing behaviour: do my colleagues engage; will they 167 approve of my behaviour if I do?) and of perceived behavioural control (do I feel capable of engaging?). For 168 instance, the myth of axiological neutrality reinforces fears of discredit and judgment from scientific peers (social 169 norms). It also modifies attitude, as it would seem against scientific ethics to engage and go beyond fact reporting. 170 Such analysis also implies that building a critical mass among researchers may act as a tipping point towards a 171 new equilibrium, whereby engaged scientists would be socially valued instead of marginalised.

173 Barrier 3: scientific reductionism

A third hurdle may be reductionism¹⁰⁰: the fact that science segments systems into nested 174 175 subparts (e.g., species into populations, individuals, organs, cells) to study them independently and 176 reassemble knowledge later on¹⁰¹. Despite the success of this method, the decomposition of complexity 177 into isolated problems may complicate seeing the bigger picture or feeling legitimate (e.g., working on 178 mesoscale eddies under climate change scenarios does not make you aware of planetary boundaries), 179 which relates to the issue of scientific overspecialisation¹⁰². However, reductionism may impede action 180 by other means. In ecology for instance, studying an organism, a population or an ecosystem requires 181 to reduce its complexity. This may be achieved by studying one or two dimensions (e.g., temperature, 182 salt) within simplified and controlled environments (e.g., microcosms, models), which pulls researchers 183 away from natural settings. In addition, animals or cell cultures are seldom called by their vernacular or 184 Latin name but often using alphanumerical codes. Quantitative measurements are increasingly done 185 through wireless loggers, mass sequencing methods, automated video recording or cell counting. In 186 other words, reductionist and quantitative natural sciences probably do not bring researchers closer to 187 their "objects" of study, to their "model" organisms; rather, it turns these into abstract entities and fosters 188 emotional detachment. Combined with the myth of neutrality and the amount of published results 189 growing exponentially, scientific reductionism may increase emotional numbness⁴⁴ and thus change 190 one's attitude towards engagement (Fig. 2).

- 191
- 192

Barrier 4: the socialisation of researchers

193 A final lever decoupling acute rational knowledge from engagement may be the social trajectory 194 of scientists in the academic system. Initially, researchers are mostly good students who succeed in 195 academia following a long curriculum in higher education, which tends to positively correlate with a high 196 socio-economic status¹⁰³. Their curriculum is punctuated with rewards (grades, public recognition 197 through symbolic ceremonies, citations) distributed by higher-authorities (teachers, supervisors, peers) 198 on account of regular evaluations (exams, article reviews, defence, activity reports). Academia trades 199 self-esteem and acknowledgements of one's intellectual faculties in exchange for abnegation, 200 obedience and performativity¹⁰⁴. This positive reinforcement can be a source of powerful operant conditioning, as it moulds normalised people through "disciplinary power"¹⁰⁵. As such, questioning a 201 202 system that granted you recognition at the expense of sacrifices is likely to be difficult. This social 203 trajectory can thus be expected to hinder engagement in several ways (Fig. 2). First, by producing 204 agents that lack political awareness: because of their chosen dedication to knowledge leaving little time 205 in a hypercompetitive academic world; because some may have initially picked "pure research" as a 206 way to hopefully escape profit-oriented jobs (and politics, see Barrier 1). Second, by selecting for 207 individualistic and obedient personalities with large egos¹⁰⁶, who show high degrees of social 208 conformism³⁷, whereas engagement rather calls upon anti-conformism and collective action against the 209 standing system³⁹. Last, because most senior scientists have a high socio-economic status and benefit 210 from its associated prerogatives. Waiving one's right to take the plane, to live in a spacious place or 211 drive to work - in short, living a more sober life - may be a difficult ask for those blessed with privileges.

212 The behaviour of scientists discredits the existence of a purely rational awakening

In the previous section, we detailed and questioned a series of hurdles which impede the engagement of climate and ecology researchers. In this second part, we draw conclusions regarding the capacity of rational knowledge to ignite radical change. We argue that debates about these questions have been oddly scarce in the scientific community due to overspecialisation.

217

218 The fact that scientists do not display more radical forms of engagement results from a complex 219 combination of factors (Fig. 2). We must now take a step back. Ecology and climate researchers, the 220 cohort with the highest scientific awareness of the bioclimatic crisis, have not managed to overcome their social and psychological barriers^{23,53,107}. If the most aware group within society has not taken 221 222 drastic action to engage, if the individuals who can best say, read and grasp the gravity of the crisis 223 have not been moved into action, then what? Then the acuteness of rational thinking will never 224 overcome the social or psychological barriers of anyone. Climate and ecology researchers are the 225 social group illustrating that knowing is not sufficient. If these experts have not felt the urge to act, 226 should decisionmakers skimming through IPBES or IPCC reports be expected to have a rational 227 epiphany and suddenly become bioclimate activists? Should hopes be placed onto the next generation 228 just because they now attend compulsory lectures dedicated to raising awareness about the sixth mass 229 extinction? The empirical answer is: no, this is at least insufficient. This observation undermines the 230 knowledge hypothesis (Fig. 1a). Such a statement debunks that producing more knowledge and sharing 231 it downstream will be lifesaving on its own. Knowing, albeit perhaps necessary, is certainly not enough.

232

233 To some degree, this flagrant need to remind that rational knowledge is not enough for societal 234 change illustrates how partitioned modern research is. Indeed, studies have recurrently shown that 235 humans do not behave rationally and that a knowledge-action gap often remains (e.g., 34,44,108-114). 236 Arguably, anyone in western societies knew it before Kant's "Sapere aude!" ("Dare to know!") paved the 237 way for a politics of reason¹¹⁵. It may hence be symptomatic of overspecialised scientists to think that raising awareness could be the tipping point²³ (Fig. 1a), or that ignorance is the prime cause for 238 inaction¹¹⁶. Besides, embracing an unproven hypothesis to justify research could be seen as contrary 239 240 to the scientific method. Beyond this knowledge-action gap, sociologist J.B. Comby has argued that the 241 obstinate popularisation of scientific facts about global change (the "popularisation doxa"¹¹⁷) could lead

242 to a depoliticisation of the climate problem. In his view, overconcentrating on the science of climate 243 change may conceal its structural causes (e.g., extractivism and capitalism) and focuses too much on 244 individual actions¹¹⁷ (Box 2). Journalists and researchers may sometimes prefer popularising scientific 245 facts without going any further: it could contribute to making themselves feel indispensable, yet without 246 questioning the privileges of their social class which depend on the system's upholding¹¹⁷. Science has 247 reached a state of such specialisation that few researchers have debated or heard of these studies. As 248 said above, rational knowledge may not be sufficient to ignite engagement. But just as challenging is 249 that decoupling scientific results from politics may have impoverished their usefulness in the fight 250 against the causes of the crisis. Added to the environmental costs of modern research that are 251 incompatible with Paris' agreement (Box 3), these observations are strong incentives to pause and 252 ponder on where science is at. As stated by Longuet-Higgins in 1984: "(...) every scientist should ask 253 him[/her]self, at every level from the most particular to the most general, exactly why he[/she] is doing 254 what he[/she] is doing, and whether he[/she] would not be better advised to do it differently, or even something entirely different."118 255

256 Changing policies: from continuous knowledge accumulation towards reflexive action

We showed how the behaviour of ecology and climate researchers self-questions one of the claimed reasons to keep accumulating knowledge. Considering the costs associated to modern science (Box 3) and the gravity of the bioclimatic situation, it is high time to collectively rethink ecology and climate research before they become satirical. In this last section, we confront activism for more "research as usual" by thinking about how ecology and climate science could follow a different path (Fig. 3), without excluding a degrowth of research activities¹¹⁹.

263

264 Scientific research occupies an ambivalent position. On one hand, it has been a pivotal player 265 to shed light on how grave both climate change and biodiversity loss are. Without it, we would not have 266 gathered such robust descriptions of the impact humans have had on the Earth's climate and biosphere. On the other, modern science has largely contributed to providing the tools that our societies use to 267 268 plunder the Earth's resources^{120,121} and is a big CO_2 emitter by itself (Box 3). That is: the science that 269 characterised the bioclimatic issue can hardly be decoupled from the trajectory of technical progress 270 which itself lead to the crisis. This report can be painful for many of us, as it shakes a substantial part 271 of our internal tales of life. After devoting an entire career to scientific research, reassessing and 272 admitting to have kidded ourselves with preconceptions which do not hold can feel sore. Sore also, is 273 the event that this dynamic may have partly been orchestrated by decisionmakers. To some degree, 274 could scientists have been beguiled with an insatiable need for more knowledge, more scenarios, more 275 certainty before any political action could take place? Nowadays, is more research in ecology or climate 276 science a sign of resistance, or obedient conformism¹²²? We have had fifty years of intensive research 277 on climate change and the biodiversity crisis. Never has humanity known so much about what is to 278 come if it does not alter its course. We thus join colleagues claiming that time has come to change 279 tactics¹²² and redirect some, or even all of our energy towards other goals than a sheer increase in knowledge^{37,52,123,124}. 280

281

We anticipate that the previous sections may seem provocative. Cognitive dissonance¹²⁵ shall be more comfortable; rejecting these interrogations far less costly. To some extent, the fact that scientists have embraced the knowledge hypothesis may be an attempt to solve a crisis of meaning impacting academia amid the crisis. Unfortunately, there is little time left to act. For researchers to have

286 a positive impact, they must use their energy to revise their mode of action and collectively question how to be efficient in their fight for societal change^{38,48,122,123} (Fig. 3). How then, to change tactics? We 287 288 do not pretend to know what is the single best thing to do. Evolutionary studies have shown how there 289 may be a multitude of answers to a single problem¹²⁶, and other authors have previously provided 290 reflexions upon the various ways to engage^{122,123,127}. We propose that three interconnected goals be 291 pursued : (i) reducing the environmental footprint of research¹¹⁹, (ii) engaging into actions that 292 encourage or provoke systemic change and (iii) considering a degrowth of research activities while 293 aiming at more democratic, meaningful science. To do so, radical changes may be implemented both 294 within professional and personal spheres^{128,129} (Fig. 3). As trusted individuals¹³⁰ who know how grave 295 the situation is, it may be the duty of ecology and climate researchers to embody change as citizens 296 and scientists¹⁵.

297

298 For professional aspects, concrete action plans will likely depend on institutions (e.g., urban vs 299 rural settings regarding e.g., mobility aspects) or career stage. A general, immediate small step could 300 be to stop acquiring new datasets and focus on analysing the available ones, from previous experiments 301 or within meta-analyses. In the short to mid-term, scientists could re-anchor their research locally and 302 involve non-scientific actors⁸⁷. The first outcomes would be a decreased reliance on fossil fuels (e.g., 303 no remote field work, which would also limit colonial approaches in conservation biology^{92,93}) and more 304 tangible meaning surrounding the addressed scientific questions. In particular, movements such as 305 action-research aimed at co-building knowledge with local actors around a circumscribed, practical 306 problem may be a promising breach in the right direction^{131,132}. Coupling this constraint with *e.g.*, a 307 minimum amount of digital technology to acquire simple data (population inventories, photographs) 308 would also reduce the footprint of research¹³³. This decrease in tool complexity could facilitate the 309 involvement of non-scientists (e.g., local schools) and compel researchers to reclaim skills lost through 310 technique and specialisation (e.g., naturalist abilities). Another option could be to work on the 311 knowledge-action gap issue^{116,134}. Are nature connectedness¹³⁵, changes in social norms^{108,110} or 312 collective imaginaries of alternative worlds needed to ignite engagement? In this guest, building bridges 313 with historians, psychologists, social scientists and non-academics will be pivotal¹³⁶. Again, sketching 314 the diversity of what research could be in times of crisis has yet to be done. Seeing it as an exciting 315 endeavour more than renunciation will be key to succeed.

3) may help us inhabit a liveable Earth for a little longer.



317 Figure 3: Leads for transformative engagement as scientists and citizens. This plane summarises a 318 series of examples to engage in accordance with one's knowledge of the crisis' gravity. Some of these points were 319 taken based on their estimated CO₂ mitigation potential, both for research (e.g., ^{138,139}) and personal lives (e.g., 320 ¹⁴⁰). Others do not directly impact carbon emissions, but relate more to changes in how research is done, or why 321 and what being a researcher could be in such times of crisis. Decoupling the citizen from the scientist self is not 322 entirely possible, but we refer to the public stance taken by researchers in either of the two poles¹⁴¹. For example, 323 mixing with other professions as citizens (e.g., when getting into local politics) may favour more horizontal 324 discussions by suppressing the verticality of the expert stance. These primers are not representative of all the 325 existing strategies: many more ought to be devised collectively, adapted to the local context while maximising 326 social, gender or ethnic diversity so to increase objectivity. Individual actions may be easier to implement for 327 academics with a position, but should not be presented as the core of anyone's engagement (Box 2). The option 328 of "forsaking research" deserves to be mentioned as a potential political path, rather than as individual failure.

329 Concluding remarks

330 "Understanding better to protect better" is a recurrent verse in the scientific community and beyond (Fig. 331 1). Without further information, it suggests that a better knowledge is sufficient to increase the likelihood 332 of pro-environmental behaviours. In this article, we highlighted the lack of proportionality in the 333 engagement of the most scientifically-aware social group: ecology and climate researchers. Several 334 levers may prevent the emergence of more radicality in their behaviours (Fig. 2). But blaming a minority 335 of individuals is anything but interesting, even if the social impact of a mass radicalisation of scientists 336 would likely be great. The point of discussing these hurdles is only to free space for reflexivity upon how 337 scientists are shaped. Rather, our main goal is to question the validity of the knowledge hypothesis and 338 its ensuing arguments. At the very most, knowledge may be necessary, but not sufficient to provoke 339 profound behavioural changes: there is no such thing as rational epiphany or purely rational free-will. 340 Instead, perhaps we should build upon Morel Darleux's words: "We only defend what we have learnt to 341 *love*^{"137}. Taking these statements into account is necessary if scientists want to have a positive impact. 342 It entails deep, uneasy questionings about their profession, about internal tales regarding the costs 343 (Box 3), the benefits and the need for more research. We barely touched upon these complex subjects, 344 but hope that collectively discussing them more thoroughly and dedicating time to concrete action (Fig.

346 Box 1. Glossary

347

Axiological neutrality: (from the Greek "axios"=value) is the epistemological aim of minimising the
impact of one's values onto one's scientific discourse and practices. How to achieve neutrality on a
topic, or if it is achievable at all has long been subject to debate.

351

• **Bioclimatic crisis:** refers to the combined crises of climate change and biodiversity loss. These two crises caused by human activities are intertwined with feedback loops (*e.g.*, climate change impacting ecosystem functioning, or land use and biodiversity loss leading to greenhouse-gas emissions), making them inseparable.

356

• **Climate scientists:** refers to experts of the Earth's climate, studying its behaviour and the impact of climate changes upon abiotic systems (atmosphere and hydrosphere).

359

• **Cognitive dissonance**: psychological discomfort caused by an internal conflict between one's representations (values, beliefs, knowledge) and behaviours (*e.g.*, knowing that taking the plane is highemitting, yet taking it). The subsequent response is a change of representations (*e.g.*, I have no choice but to fly to this congress) or actions (*e.g.*, I will not fly there) so to minimise dissonance.

364

• Ecology scientists: refers to scientists studying ecosystems in the widest sense, from applied conservation science to more theoretical approaches looking at *e.g.*, species interactions or the biodiversity-function relationship.

368

• Engagement: in general, describes a trajectory of consistent behavioural choices committed towards one particular goal. In this case, we specifically refer to engagement to describe to a set of concrete, pro-environmental behaviours aimed at having a positive impact on the bioclimatic situation. This includes influencing policies (formal policy work, campaigning or activism), public advocacy and reducing one's environmental footprint in both personal and professional spheres.

374

Knowledge-action gap: refers to the decoupling between research outputs and concrete actions
taken by individuals. Explaining this gap may call on issues in the transfer of existing knowledge (*e.g.*,
to the public, to policy-makers) or on psychological and cognitive levers impeding behavioural changes.

• **Knowledge hypothesis:** the prevailing hypothesis according to which an increased scientific understanding of a system should lead to an increase in its protection. Also relates to a belief in the *"goodness of more knowledge"*, implying that more scientific knowledge is always beneficial (and at worse, something neutral), but never detrimental. The underlying postulate of the knowledge hypothesis is that agents (*e.g.*, citizens, decisionmakers) mostly have rational behaviours. As such, the hypothesis places the rational free will of agents at the core of bioclimate action and overshadows social norms, collective dynamics or power imbalances between individuals.

386

Naturalist ontology: an ontology is a formal, explicit specification of a shared representation of the
world. According to Philippe Descola, the naturalist ontology is the belief that "nature" is a separate set
of entities which are not a produce of human will, in contrast to "culture". Hence, the naturalist ontology
tends to place humans in a dominating position towards non-human entities. It comprises some of the
groundwork which allowed modern science.

392

Radical: (from the Latin *"radix*"=root) refers to behaviours, stances or remarks targeted at the roots
of a problem.

395

Situated: which takes into account the subjectivity of the agent by considering their social, cultural
and material context (*e.g.*, situated knowledge, situated engagement).

398

Scientists: in this paper, we refer to researchers in all fields of science, from non-human "hard"
sciences (*e.g.*, biology, geosciences, mathematics, physics, chemistry) to human sciences (*e.g.*,
sociology, philosophy, psychology). However, our arguments regarding the knowledge hypothesis and
the intimate relationship with facts describing the gravity of the bioclimatic crisis may be more specific
to ecology and climate scientists.

404 Box 2. Acute rational knowledge does not translate into acute engagement for scientists

405 Accurately describing the bioclimate engagement of scientists is a tough task. Things have 406 been slowly moving in the last few years, with more researchers speaking up in academical and political 407 arenas (e.g., ¹⁴²) or the rise of Scientist Rebellion^{48,143}. In a recent large-scale poll, climate experts self-408 reported higher degrees of engagement than their non-expert scientist fellows^{39,57}. However, what 409 people report can significantly differ from what they actually do (e.g., ¹⁴⁴). In particular, mismatches between what scientists feel they should do and what they actually take part in have previously been 410 highlighted^{45,58}. Transport-wise, cars are still the go-to option for commuting in French academia ¹⁴⁵ and 411 412 most scientists extensively rely on flights to travel worldwide^{53,54,145–147}. Evidence was even brought for 413 climate scientists taking the plane more often that non-climate expert researchers⁸². A recent study showed that discourses of climate delay are found within scientific communities⁵⁹, as in less-aware 414 415 social groups⁴³. At a more collective scale, only a minority of climate scientists join climate protests 416 (25% of 200 top-climate experts in 2021⁴⁰), and even fewer partake in activism (e.g., civil 417 disobedience^{37,48}). This all suggests that while experts of the bioclimatic crisis report a greater desire to 418 engage, the actual process is slow and disproportionately low compared to their rational perception of 419 the crisis' gravity and rapidity. Graphically, the slope in Fig. 1a seems -at best- far shallower than what 420 is ubiquitously claimed (or the response is non-linear). More gualitatively, ecology and climate 421 researchers are not straightforwardly renowned for comprising a radicalised faction in society. The mere 422 fact that there is room for doubt around their engagement is sufficient to question it. This knowledge vs. action paradox points at a "double reality"^{58,123} in the cognition of scientist, whereby they manage to 423 424 isolate their sharp awareness of the gravity from their decision-making processes¹⁴⁸.

425 We must add that the engagement of individuals should not be presented as the single lever 426 for pro-environmental actions, since the room for manoeuvre is not absolute^{140,149}. Our collective fate 427 strongly depends on structural changes in the hands of higher authorities (industries, governments, 428 institutions)^{150–154}. In addition, overfocusing on individual actions mimics the flaws of meritocratic 429 discourses by overshadowing the social context: it implies that people are all equal in their capability to 430 act^{155,156}. Still, people with a higher social status (*e.g.*, academics) could be expected to engage more, 431 as they encounter fewer economic hurdles to changing their behaviour¹⁵⁷ and are responsible for a 432 greater share of CO₂ emissions (*e.g.*, ¹⁵⁸). Scientists should be all the more interested in being engaged

- 433 since their credibility regarding climate policies was shown to be negatively correlated to their carbon
- 434 footprint^{129,159}.

435 Box 3: The environmental and social costs of modern research

436 For researchers who did not choose climate science or ecology in hope of positively impacting 437 the crisis, the previous questions about how rational awareness affects behaviour may seem of 438 secondary importance. Some may argue that "pure research" is what should be defended; that wishing 439 for a political impact as scientists was a mistake in the first place¹⁶⁰. Aside from the epistemological 440 questions raised by such discourses (e.g., about neutrality), another broader issue relates to all 441 scientists, regardless of their stance: the environmental footprint of research. The carbon footprint of 442 academia has been extensively documented in recent years; yet strong action from scientists and 443 institutions is still mostly lacking^{53,107,161}. In France for instance, a 2019 survey estimated that members 444 of the National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) emitted an average of 14tCO₂ per year just 445 through their research activity, in a country where electricity is decarbonised¹⁴⁵. Despite the huge variance between fields (e.g., average per capita emissions are much higher for astronomers¹⁶²), such 446 447 figures are unsettling. First, because they show once again that knowing and quantifying are insufficient 448 to trigger change. Second, because this carbon footprint questions the sustainability of modern 449 research and of its future developments. And yet, looking solely at carbon emissions does not even 450 account for other dimensions of the problem, such as chemical pollutions, or the social and biodiversity 451 cost of precious metals used in the devices upon which scientists rely to gather or analyse data¹³³. If 452 carbon emissions or environmental destruction cannot even be justified with the knowledge hypothesis 453 anymore, the tension between the benefits and costs of knowing more is again emphasised. More 454 concealed perhaps are costs relative to the societal dependencies of institutionalised science and full-455 time researchers. The fact that some may devote the entirety of their time to experimenting and 456 searching is only possible through a highly partitioned society, with other social groups catering for 457 scientists by producing their energy, base materials or everyday food. That is: the freedom to think 458 claimed by scientists relies on overshadowed layers of necessity insured by non-academics. Added to 459 the financial dependency of academia towards society, this aspect may have favoured the adoption of 460 the knowledge hypothesis to justify a need for more research and create more purpose amid the crisis. 461 All of these environmental and social considerations constitute a "price for curiosity", exacerbated by 462 the current crisis. Acknowledging this price increases the need for more collective discussions about 463 the "why", the "how" and "what" scientists are doing day to day, whatever their stance towards the knowledge hypothesis^{53,118,119}. 464

465 **Competing interests**

466 The authors declare no competing interests.

467

468 Acknowledgements

- 469 This work was supported by the TULIP Laboratory of Excellence (ANR-10-LABX-41) and Staffan Jacob
- 470 was supported by the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR-19-CE02-0016). We warmly thank all
- 471 who have accepted to read and discuss this paper in the months preceding its publication.

472 **Positionality statement**

473 Léonard Dupont is a 27yo PhD student in ecology and evolution and intends to depart from academia 474 afterwards. Staffan Jacob is a 36yo permanent CNRS researcher in ecology and evolution, specialised 475 in phenotypic plasticity and dispersal. Hervé Philippe is a 59yo permanent CNRS researcher in the field 476 of phylogenomics, but has been working on the topic of scientific degrowth for 15 years. Both Staffan 477 and Hervé have children. All three of them identify as males, live in France and do not belong to a 478 racialised minority. They regularly take part in activism, but do not feel sufficiently engaged. All three of 479 them deem that tackling the bioclimatic crisis is of greater importance than accumulating more 480 knowledge. Their research has been funded by public agencies for the last 10 years at least.

481 **References**

482 1. 2023 on track to be the hottest year ever. What's next? | Copernicus.

483 https://climate.copernicus.eu/2023-track-be-hottest-year-ever-whats-next.

- 484 2. Friedlingstein, P. et al. Global Carbon Budget 2023. Earth System Science Data 15, 5301-
- 485 5369 (2023).
- 486 3. Stoddard, I. *et al.* Three Decades of Climate Mitigation: Why Haven't We Bent the Global

487 Emissions Curve? *Annual Review of Environment and Resources* **46**, 653–689 (2021).

488 4. Minière, A., von Schuckmann, K., Sallée, J.-B. & Vogt, L. Robust acceleration of Earth

489 system heating observed over the past six decades. *Sci Rep* **13**, 22975 (2023).

- 490 5. Carbon Dioxide and Climate: A Scientific Assessment. (National Academies Press,
- 491 Washington, D.C., 1979). doi:10.17226/12181.
- 492 6. Rich, N. Losing Earth: The Decade We Almost Stopped Climate Change. *The New York*493 *Times* (2018).
- 494 7. IPBES. Global Assessment Report on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services of the
- 495 Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services.

496 https://zenodo.org/records/6417333 (2019) doi:10.5281/zenodo.6417333.

- 497 8. Richardson, K. *et al.* Earth beyond six of nine planetary boundaries. *Science Advances* 9,
 498 eadh2458 (2023).
- 499 9. Rockström, J. *et al.* A safe operating space for humanity. *Nature* **461**, 472–475 (2009).
- 500 10. Armstrong McKay, D. I. *et al.* Exceeding 1.5°C global warming could trigger multiple

501 climate tipping points. *Science* **377**, eabn7950 (2022).

502 11. Lamboll, R. D. *et al.* Assessing the size and uncertainty of remaining carbon budgets. *Nat.*

503 *Clim. Chang.* **13**, 1360–1367 (2023).

- 504 12. Jones, N. When will global warming actually hit the landmark 1.5 °C limit? *Nature* 618,
 505 20–20 (2023).
- 506 13. Finn, C., Grattarola, F. & Pincheira-Donoso, D. More losers than winners: investigating
- 507 Anthropocene defaunation through the diversity of population trends. *Biol Rev Camb*
- 508 *Philos Soc* **98**, 1732–1748 (2023).
- 509 14. Cowie, R. H., Bouchet, P. & Fontaine, B. The Sixth Mass Extinction: fact, fiction or
- 510 speculation? *Biol Rev Camb Philos Soc* **97**, 640–663 (2022).
- 511 15. Díaz, S. et al. Pervasive human-driven decline of life on Earth points to the need for
- 512 transformative change. *Science* **366**, eaax3100 (2019).
- 513 16. Jaureguiberry, P. *et al.* The direct drivers of recent global anthropogenic biodiversity loss.
- 514 Science Advances **8**, eabm9982 (2022).
- 515 17. Carson, R. *Silent Spring*. (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1962).
- 516 18. Wagner, D. L., Grames, E. M., Forister, M. L., Berenbaum, M. R. & Stopak, D. Insect
- 517 decline in the Anthropocene: Death by a thousand cuts. *Proceedings of the National*
- 518 Academy of Sciences **118**, e2023989118 (2021).
- 519 19. Hallmann, C. A. *et al.* More than 75 percent decline over 27 years in total flying insect
 520 biomass in protected areas. *PLOS ONE* 12, e0185809 (2017).
- 521 20. Rigal, S. *et al.* Farmland practices are driving bird population decline across Europe.
- 522 *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **120**, e2216573120 (2023).
- 523 21. Rosenberg, K. V. *et al.* Decline of the North American avifauna. *Science* **366**, 120–124
- 524 (2019).
- 525 22. Lynas, M., Houlton, B. Z. & Perry, S. Greater than 99% consensus on human caused
- 526 climate change in the peer-reviewed scientific literature. *Environ. Res. Lett.* **16**, 114005
- 527 (2021).

- 528 23. Knutti, R. Closing the Knowledge-Action Gap in Climate Change. *One Earth* 1, 21–23
 529 (2019).
- 530 24. Haunschild, R., Bornmann, L. & Marx, W. Climate Change Research in View of
- 531 Bibliometrics. *PLOS ONE* **11**, e0160393 (2016).
- 532 25. Grieneisen, M. L. & Zhang, M. The current status of climate change research. *Nature*
- 533 *Clim Change* **1**, 72–73 (2011).
- 534 26. Bornmann, L., Haunschild, R. & Mutz, R. Growth rates of modern science: a latent
- 535 piecewise growth curve approach to model publication numbers from established and
- new literature databases. *Humanit Soc Sci Commun* **8**, 1–15 (2021).
- 537 27. International Year of Basic Sciences for Sustainable Development 2022. International
- 538 *Science Council* https://council.science/annual-report-2019/basic-sciences-year-2022/.
- 539 28. Nature protection: Better methods and knowledge to improve the conservation status of
- 540 EU-protected species and habitats. *Horizon-europe.gouv.fr* https://www.horizon-
- 541 europe.gouv.fr/nature-protection-better-methods-and-knowledge-improve-
- 542 conservation-status-eu-protected-species-and.
- 543 29. Comprendre les pôles et les glaciers pour mieux les protéger | CNRS.
- 544 https://www.cnrs.fr/fr/cnrsinfo/comprendre-les-poles-et-les-glaciers-pour-mieux-les-

545 proteger (2023).

- 546 30. Theissinger, K. et al. How genomics can help biodiversity conservation. Trends in
- 547 *Genetics* **39**, 545–559 (2023).
- 548 31. Miller, J. D. Scientific Literacy: A Conceptual and Empirical Review. *Daedalus* 112, 29–48
 549 (1983).

- 32. Lee, T. M., Markowitz, E. M., Howe, P. D., Ko, C.-Y. & Leiserowitz, A. A. Predictors of public
- 551 climate change awareness and risk perception around the world. *Nature Clim Change*

552 **5**, 1014–1020 (2015).

- 33. Douenne, T. & Fabre, A. French attitudes on climate change, carbon taxation and other
 climate policies. *Ecological Economics* 169, 106496 (2020).
- 34. Sarewitz, D. Does climate change knowledge really matter? *WIREs Climate Change* 2,
 475–481 (2011).
- 35. Descola, P. Beyond Nature and Culture. in *Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume 139, 2005 Lectures* 137–155 (2006).
- 36. Reiners, W. A., Reiners, D. S. & Lockwood, J. A. Traits of a good ecologist: What do

560 ecologists think? *Ecosphere* **4**, art86 (2013).

- 37. Racimo, F. *et al.* The biospheric emergency calls for scientists to change tactics. *eLife* 11,
 e83292 (2022).
- 38. Urai, A. E. & Kelly, C. Rethinking academia in a time of climate crisis. *eLife* 12, e84991
 (2023).
- 565 39. Dablander, F. et al. Climate Change Engagement of Scientists. (2023), preprint at
- 566 doi:10.31234/osf.io/73w4s.
- 567 40. Tollefson, J. Top climate scientists are sceptical that nations will rein in global warming.
 568 *Nature* 599, 22–24 (2021).
- 569 41. Becker, H. S. Notes on the Concept of Commitment. *American Journal of Sociology* 66,
 570 32–40 (1960).
- 571 42. Morrison, T. H. et al. Radical interventions for climate-impacted systems. Nat. Clim.
- 572 *Chang.* **12**, 1100–1106 (2022).
- 43. Lamb, W. F. et al. Discourses of climate delay. Glob. Sustain. 3, e17 (2020).

- 574 44. Gifford, R. The dragons of inaction: Psychological barriers that limit climate change
- 575 mitigation and adaptation. *American Psychologist* **66**, 290–302 (2011).
- 576 45. Poliakoff, E. & Webb, T. L. What Factors Predict Scientists' Intentions to Participate in
- 577 Public Engagement of Science Activities? *Science Communication* **29**, 242–263 (2007).
- 578 46. Philippe, H. Less is more: decreasing the number of scientific conferences to promote
- economic degrowth. *Trends in Genetics* **24**, 265–267 (2008).
- 580 47. Rappaport, A. & Creighton, S. *Degrees That Matter: Climate Change and the University*.
- 581 (The MIT Press, 2007). doi:10.7551/mitpress/2322.001.0001.
- 582 48. Artico, D. et al. "Beyond being analysts of doom": scientists on the frontlines of climate
- 583 action. *Frontiers in Sustainability* **4**, (2023).
- 49. Isopp, B. Scientists who become activists: are they crossing a line? *Journal of Science Communication* 14, (2015).
- 586 50. Boykoff, M. & Oonk, D. Evaluating the perils and promises of academic climate advocacy.
- 587 *Climatic Change* **163**, 27–41 (2020).
- 588 51. Entradas, M., Marcelino, J., Bauer, M. W. & Lewenstein, B. Public communication by
- 589 climate scientists: what, with whom and why? *Climatic Change* **154**, 69–85 (2019).
- 590 52. Gardner, C. J., Thierry, A., Rowlandson, W. & Steinberger, J. K. From Publications to Public
- 591 Actions: The Role of Universities in Facilitating Academic Advocacy and Activism in the
- 592 Climate and Ecological Emergency. *Frontiers in Sustainability* **2**, (2021).
- 593 53. Borgermann, N., Schmidt, A. & Dobbelaere, J. Preaching water while drinking wine: Why
- 594 universities must boost climate action now. *One Earth* **5**, 18–21 (2022).
- 595 54. Gardner, C. J. & Wordley, C. F. R. Scientists must act on our own warnings to humanity.
- 596 *Nat Ecol Evol* **3**, 1271–1272 (2019).

- 55. Green, J. F. Less Talk, More Walk: Why Climate Change Demands Activism in the
- 598 Academy. *Daedalus* **149**, 151–162 (2020).
- 599 56. Oreskes, N. What Is the Social Responsibility of Climate Scientists? *Daedalus* 149, 33–45
 600 (2020).
- 57. Dablander, F., Sachisthal, M. S. M. & Haslbeck, J. Going Beyond Research: Climate
- 602 Actions by Climate and Non-Climate Researchers. (2024), preprint at
- 603 doi:10.31234/osf.io/5fqtr.
- 58. Singh, G. G. et al. A more social science: barriers and incentives for scientists engaging in
- 605 policy. *Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment* **12**, 161–166 (2014).
- 59. Carbou, G. & Sébastien, L. Les discours d'inaction climatique dans la communauté
- 607 scientifique. *Écologie & politique* **67**, 71–91 (2023).
- 608 60. Besley, J. C., Dudo, A., Yuan, S. & Lawrence, F. Understanding Scientists' Willingness to
 609 Engage. *Science Communication* 40, 559–590 (2018).
- 610 61. Pidgeon, N. & Fischhoff, B. The role of social and decision sciences in communicating
- 611 uncertain climate risks. *Nature Clim Change* **1**, 35–41 (2011).
- 612 62. Stamenkovic, P. Facts and objectivity in science. Interdisciplinary Science Reviews 48,
- 613 277–298 (2023).
- 614 63. Whitney, K. Tangled up in knots: An emotional ecology of field science. *Emotion, Space*
- 615 and Society **6**, 100–107 (2013).
- 616 64. Weber, M. Politics as a Vocation. (1946).
- 617 65. Stengers, I. Another Look: Relearning to Laugh. *Hypatia* **15**, 41–54 (2000).
- 618 66. Reiss, J. & Sprenger, J. Scientific Objectivity. in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*
- 619 (ed. Zalta, E. N.) (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2020).

- 620 67. Graves, J. L., Kearney, M., Barabino, G. & Malcom, S. Inequality in science and the case
- for a new agenda. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **119**, e2117831119
 (2022).
- 623 68. Haraway, D. Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of
- 624 Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies* **14**, 575–599 (1988).
- 625 69. Haraway, D. J. *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern*626 *Science*. (Routledge, New York, 1989).
- 627 70. Longino, H. E. Science as Social Knowledge: Values and Objectivity in Scientific Inquiry.
- 628 (Princeton University Press, 1990). doi:10.2307/j.ctvx5wbfz.
- 629 71. Ruphy, S. Rôle des valeurs en science : contributions de la philosophie féministe des

630 sciences. *Écologie & politique* **51**, 41–54 (2015).

- 631 72. D'Ignazio, C. & Klein, L. Introduction: Why Data Science Needs Feminism. *Data Feminism*632 (2020).
- 633 73. Kotcher, J. E., Myers, T. A., Vraga, E. K., Stenhouse, N. & Maibach, E. W. Does Engagement
- 634 in Advocacy Hurt the Credibility of Scientists? Results from a Randomized National
- 635 Survey Experiment. *Environmental Communication* **11**, 415–429 (2017).
- 636 74. Beall, L., Myers, T. A., Kotcher, J. E., Vraga, E. K. & Maibach, E. W. Controversy matters:
- 637 Impacts of topic and solution controversy on the perceived credibility of a scientist who
 638 advocates. *PLOS ONE* 12, e0187511 (2017).
- 639 75. Cologna, V., Knutti, R., Oreskes, N. & Siegrist, M. Majority of German citizens, US citizens
- and climate scientists support policy advocacy by climate researchers and expect
- 641 greater political engagement. *Environmental Research Letters* **16**, 024011 (2021).
- 642 76. Foote, E. Circumstances Affecting the Heat of the Sun's Rays. *The American Journal of*
- 643 Science and Arts **22**, 383–384 (1856).

- 644 77. Arrhenius, S. XXXI. On the influence of carbonic acid in the air upon the temperature of
- 645 the ground. *The London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazine and Journal of*

646 Science **41**, 237–276 (1896).

- 647 78. Manabe, S. & Wetherald, R. T. Thermal Equilibrium of the Atmosphere with a Given
- 648 Distribution of Relative Humidity. *Journal of the Atmospheric Sciences* 24, 241–259
 649 (1967).
- 650 79. Keeling, C. D. *et al.* Atmospheric carbon dioxide variations at Mauna Loa Observatory,
 651 Hawaii. *Tellus* 28, 538–551 (1976).
- 80. Parmesan, C. & Yohe, G. A globally coherent fingerprint of climate change impacts across
- 653 natural systems. *Nature* **421**, 37–42 (2003).
- 654 81. Thomas, C. D. et al. Extinction risk from climate change. Nature 427, 145–148 (2004).
- 655 82. Whitmarsh, L., Capstick, S., Moore, I., Köhler, J. & Le Quéré, C. Use of aviation by climate
- 656 change researchers: Structural influences, personal attitudes, and information
- 657 provision. *Global Environmental Change* **65**, 102184 (2020).
- 658 83. Higham, J. & Font, X. Decarbonising academia: confronting our climate hypocrisy. *Journal*
- 659 *of Sustainable Tourism* **28**, 1–9 (2020).
- 660 84. Kadykalo, A. N. et al. Bridging research and practice in conservation. Conservation
- 661 *Biology* **35**, 1725–1737 (2021).
- 662 85. Gardner, C. J. & Bullock, J. M. In the Climate Emergency, Conservation Must Become
- 663 Survival Ecology. *Frontiers in Conservation Science* **2**, (2021).
- 664 86. Cvitanovic, C., Hobday, A. J., van Kerkhoff, L. & Marshall, N. A. Overcoming barriers to
- 665 knowledge exchange for adaptive resource management; the perspectives of Australian
- 666 marine scientists. *Marine Policy* **52**, 38–44 (2015).

- 87. Toomey, A. H. Why facts don't change minds: Insights from cognitive science for the
 improved communication of conservation research. *Biological Conservation* 278,
 109886 (2023).
- 670 88. Toomey, A. H., Knight, A. T. & Barlow, J. Navigating the Space between Research and
- 671 Implementation in Conservation. *Conservation Letters* **10**, 619–625 (2017).
- 89. Robinson, J. G. Conservation Biology and Real-World Conservation. *Conservation Biology*20, 658–669 (2006).
- 674 90. Tree, I. *Wilding*. (Picador, London, 2019).
- 675 91. Molnár, Z. et al. Social justice for traditional knowledge holders will help conserve
- 676 Europe's nature. *Biological Conservation* **285**, 110190 (2023).
- 92. Blanc, G. & Morisson, H. (translated by). *The Invention of Green Colonialism*. (Polity,
 2022).
- 679 93. Miriti, M. N., Rawson, A. J. & Mansfield, B. The history of natural history and race:
- 680 Decolonizing human dimensions of ecology. *Ecological Applications* **33**, e2748 (2023).
- 681 94. Trisos, C. H., Auerbach, J. & Katti, M. Decoloniality and anti-oppressive practices for a
- 682 more ethical ecology. *Nat Ecol Evol* **5**, 1205–1212 (2021).
- 683 95. Kauppi, P. & Sedjo, R. Technological and Economic Potential of Options to Enhance,
- 684 Maintain, and Manage Biological Carbon Reservoirs and Geo-engineering. *Kauppi, P.E.*
- 685 and Sedjo, R. 2001. Technological and Economic Potential of Options to Enhance,
- 686 Maintain, and Manage Biological Carbon Reservoirs and Geo-engineering. Climate
- 687 *Change 2001 (Mitigation): 301-343.* (2001).
- 688 96. Fournier, T. & Lepiller, O. Se nourrir de promesses. Socio. La nouvelle revue des sciences

689 *sociales* 73–95 (2019) doi:10.4000/socio.4529.

- 690 97. Hickel, J. & Kallis, G. Is Green Growth Possible? *New Political Economy* 25, 469–486
 691 (2020).
- 692 98. Dillet, B. & Hatzisavvidou, S. Beyond technofix: Thinking with Epimetheus in the
 693 anthropocene. *Contemp Polit Theory* 21, 351–372 (2022).
- 694 99. Sadler-Smith, E. & Akstinaite, V. Human Hubris, Anthropogenic Climate Change, and an
- 695 Environmental Ethic of Humility. *Organization & Environment* **35**, 446–467 (2022).
- 696 100. Brigandt, I. & Love, A. Reductionism in Biology. in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of*
- 697 *Philosophy* (eds. Zalta, E. N. & Nodelman, U.) (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford
 698 University, 2023).
- 699 101. Weinberg, R. A. Coming Full Circle—From Endless Complexity to Simplicity and Back
 700 Again. *Cell* 157, 267–271 (2014).
- 701 102. Casadevall, A. & Fang, F. C. Specialized Science. *Infection and Immunity* 82, 1355–1360
 702 (2014).
- 103. Rodríguez-Hernández, C. F., Cascallar, E. & Kyndt, E. Socio-economic status and
- academic performance in higher education: A systematic review. *Educational Research Review* 29, 100305 (2020).
- 104. Gendron, Y. Constituting the Academic Performer: The Spectre of Superficiality and
- 707 Stagnation in Academia. European Accounting Review 17, 97–127 (2008).
- 105. Vitales, H. M. M. Foucault and Beyond: From Sovereignty Power to Contemporary
- 709 Biopolitics. *Mabini Review* **9**, 161–178 (2020).
- 106. Lemaitre, B. Science, narcissism and the quest for visibility. *The FEBS Journal* 284, 875–
 882 (2017).

/12	107. Blanchard, M., Bouchet-Valat, M., Cartron, D., Greffion, J. & Gros, J. Concerned yet
713	polluting: A survey on French research personnel and climate change. PLOS Climate 1,
714	e0000070 (2022).
715	108. Verplanken, B. & Whitmarsh, L. Habit and climate change. Current Opinion in
716	Behavioral Sciences 42 , 42–46 (2021).
717	109. Masson, T. & Fritsche, I. We need climate change mitigation and climate change

- 718 mitigation needs the 'We': a state-of-the-art review of social identity effects motivating
- climate change action. *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences* **42**, 89–96 (2021).
- 720 110. Cialdini, R. B. & Jacobson, R. P. Influences of social norms on climate change-related
- behaviors. *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences* **42**, 1–8 (2021).
- 111. Venghaus, S., Henseleit, M. & Belka, M. The impact of climate change awareness on
- behavioral changes in Germany: changing minds or changing behavior? *Energ Sustain Soc* **12**, 8 (2022).
- 112. Chang, E. H. et al. The mixed effects of online diversity training. Proceedings of the
- 726 *National Academy of Sciences* **116**, 7778–7783 (2019).
- 113. Ajzen, I. The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 50, 179–211 (1991).
- 114. Ecker, U. K. H. *et al.* The psychological drivers of misinformation belief and its resistance
 to correction. *Nat Rev Psychol* 1, 13–29 (2022).
- 115. Bristow, W. Enlightenment. in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (eds. Zalta, E. N.
- 732 & Nodelman, U.) (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2023).
- 733 116. Hornsey, M. J., Harris, E. A., Bain, P. G. & Fielding, K. S. Meta-analyses of the
- determinants and outcomes of belief in climate change. *Nature Clim Change* 6, 622–
- 735 626 (2016).

- 736 117. Comby, J.-B. Dépolitisation du problème climatique: Réformisme et rapports de classe.
- 737 Idées économiques et sociales N° 190, 20–27 (2017).
- 738 118. Longuet-Higgins, C. For goodness sake. *Nature* **312**, 204–204 (1984).
- 739 119. Philippe, H. Une décroissance de la recherche scientifique pour rendre la science
- 740 durable. in Décroissance versus développement durable. Débats pour la suite du monde
- 741 166–186 (Écosociété (Paris), 2011).
- 742 120. Merchant, C. The Death of Nature : Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution.
- 743 (1980).
- 121. Raffoul, A. W. Listen to the science! Which science? Regenerative research for times of
- planetary crises. *Frontiers in Sustainability* **4**, (2023).
- 746 122. Ureta, S., Barandiaran, J., Salazar, M. & Torralbo, C. Strength out of weakness:
- 747 Rethinking scientific engagement with the ecological crisis as strategic action.

748 Elementa: Science of the Anthropocene **11**, (2023).

- 749 123. Thierry, A., Horn, L., von Hellermann, P. & Gardner, C. J. "No research on a dead
- planet": preserving the socio-ecological conditions for academia. *Frontiers in Education*8, (2023).
- 752 124. Glavovic, B. C., Smith, T. F. & White, I. The tragedy of climate change science. *Climate*
- 753 and Development **14**, 829–833 (2022).
- 125. Festinger, L. Cognitive Dissonance. *Scientific American* **207**, 93–106 (1962).
- 755 126. Jacob, F. Evolution and Tinkering. *Science* **196**, 1161–1166 (1977).
- 127. Capstick, S. *et al.* Civil disobedience by scientists helps press for urgent climate action.
- 757 Nat. Clim. Chang. **12**, 773–774 (2022).

759		and credibility: balancing tensions across professional, personal, and public domains.
760		Climatic Change 125 , 149–162 (2014).
761	129.	Attari, S. Z., Krantz, D. H. & Weber, E. U. Statements about climate researchers' carbon
762		footprints affect their credibility and the impact of their advice. CLIM. CHANGE 138,
763		325–338 (2016).
764	130.	Cologna, V. et al. Trust in scientists and their role in society across 67 countries. (2024)
765		doi:10.31219/osf.io/6ay7s.
766	131.	Cornish, F. et al. Participatory action research. Nat Rev Methods Primers 3 , 1–14 (2023).
767	132.	Barnaud, C. & Van Paassen, A. Equity, Power Games, and Legitimacy: Dilemmas of
768		Participatory Natural Resource Management. Ecology and Society 18, (2013).
769	133.	Richards, J. "Precious" metals: The case for treating metals as irreplaceable. Journal of
770		Cleaner Production 14, 324–333 (2006).
771	134.	Vlasceanu, M. et al. Addressing climate change with behavioral science: A global
772		intervention tournament in 63 countries. Science Advances 10, eadj5778 (2024).
773	135.	Barragan-Jason, G., Loreau, M., de Mazancourt, C., Singer, M. C. & Parmesan, C.
774		Psychological and physical connections with nature improve both human well-being
775		and nature conservation: A systematic review of meta-analyses. Biological Conservation
776		277 , 109842 (2023).
777	136.	Nielsen, K. S. et al. Realizing the full potential of behavioural science for climate change
778		mitigation. Nat. Clim. Chang. 1–9 (2024) doi:10.1038/s41558-024-01951-1.
779	137.	Morel Darleux, C. Là où le feu et l'ours. (Libertalia, 2021).
780	138.	Ben-Ari, T. How research can steer academia towards a low-carbon future. Nat Rev Phys
781		5 , 551–552 (2023).

128. Nordhagen, S., Calverley, D., Foulds, C., O'Keefe, L. & Wang, X. Climate change research

782	139. Macfarlane, A. R	. et al. A call for funding	g bodies to influence the reduction of
-----	-----------------------	-----------------------------	--

- 783 environmental impacts in remote scientific fieldwork. *Frontiers in Sustainability* 5,
 784 (2024).
- 140. Ivanova, D. et al. Quantifying the potential for climate change mitigation of
- 786 consumption options. *Environ. Res. Lett.* **15**, 093001 (2020).
- 787 141. Rae, C. L., Farley, M., Jeffery, K. J. & Urai, A. E. Climate crisis and ecological emergency:
- 788 Why they concern (neuro)scientists, and what we can do. *Brain and Neuroscience*
- 789 *Advances* **6**, 23982128221075430 (2022).
- 790 142. Vidal Valero, M. Outcry as scientists sanctioned for climate protest. Nature 614, 604–

791 605 (2023).

- 792 143. Grossman, D. Scientists under arrest: the researchers taking action over climate
- 793 change. *Nature* **626**, 710–712 (2024).
- 794 144. Zacharakis, A. L. & Meyer, G. D. A lack of insight: do venture capitalists really
- 795 understand their own decision process? *Journal of Business Venturing* **13**, 57–76
- 796 (1998).
- 145. Transition bas carbone : un plan ambitieux pour le CNRS | CNRS.
- 798 https://www.cnrs.fr/fr/cnrsinfo/transition-bas-carbone-un-plan-ambitieux-pour-le-cnrs799 (2022).
- 800 146. Sarabipour, S. *et al.* Changing scientific meetings for the better. *Nat Hum Behav* 5, 296–
 801 300 (2021).
- 802 147. Wynes, S., Donner, S. D., Tannason, S. & Nabors, N. Academic air travel has a limited
- influence on professional success. *Journal of Cleaner Production* **226**, 959–967 (2019).
- 148. Le Quéré, C. *et al.* Towards a culture of low-carbon research for the 21st Century.
- 805 Towards a culture of low-carbon research for the 21st Century (2015).

- 806 149. Moran, D. et al. Quantifying the potential for consumer-oriented policy to reduce
- 807 European and foreign carbon emissions. *Climate Policy* **20**, S28–S38 (2020).
- 150. Moran, D. et al. Carbon footprints of 13 000 cities. Environ. Res. Lett. 13, 064041
- 809 (2018).
- 810 151. Heede, R. Tracing anthropogenic carbon dioxide and methane emissions to fossil fuel
- and cement producers, 1854–2010. *Climatic Change* **122**, 229–241 (2014).
- 812 152. Garnett, E. E. & Balmford, A. The vital role of organizations in protecting climate and
 813 nature. *Nat Hum Behav* 6, 319–321 (2022).
- 814 153. Swain, D. Climate researchers need support to become scientist-communicators.
- 815 *Nature* **624**, 9–9 (2023).
- 816 154. Glover, A., Strengers, Y. & Lewis, T. The unsustainability of academic aeromobility in
- 817 Australian universities. *Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy* **13**, 1–12 (2017).
- 818 155. Bonnéry, S. LAHIRE Bernard (dir.). Enfances de classe. De l'inégalité parmi les enfants.
- 819 Paris : Éd. du Seuil, 2019, 1232 p. *Revue française de pédagogie* **205**, 122–124 (2018).
- 820 156. Lenton, T. M. et al. Operationalising positive tipping points towards global
- sustainability. *Global Sustainability* **5**, e1 (2022).
- 157. Nielsen, K. S., Nicholas, K. A., Creutzig, F., Dietz, T. & Stern, P. C. The role of high-
- socioeconomic-status people in locking in or rapidly reducing energy-driven
- greenhouse gas emissions. *Nat Energy* **6**, 1011–1016 (2021).
- 158. Barros, B. & Wilk, R. The outsized carbon footprints of the super-rich. *Sustainability:*
- 826 *Science, Practice and Policy* **17**, 316–322 (2021).
- 827 159. Attari, S. Z., Krantz, D. H. & Weber, E. U. Climate change communicators' carbon
- footprints affect their audience's policy support. *Climatic Change* **154**, 529–545 (2019).

- 829 160. Brown, M. B. Review of Roger S. Pielke, Jr., The Honest Broker: Making Sense of Science
- 830 in Policy and Politics. *Minerva* **46**, 485–489 (2008).
- 831 161. Latter, B. & Capstick, S. Climate Emergency: UK Universities' Declarations and Their Role
- in Responding to Climate Change. *Frontiers in Sustainability* **2**, (2021).
- 833 162. Knödlseder, J. et al. Estimate of the carbon footprint of astronomical research
- 834 infrastructures. *Nat Astron* **6**, 503–513 (2022).