# Cambridge Prisms: Extinction

## www.cambridge.org/ext

## **Review**

Cite this article: Gaston KJ, Phillips BB and Soga M (2023). Personalised ecology and the future of biodiversity. *Cambridge Prisms: Extinction*, **1**, e18, 1–11 https://doi.org/10.1017/ext.2023.15

Received: 06 December 2022 Revised: 12 May 2023 Accepted: 05 June 2023

#### Keywords

behaviour; biophilia; biophobia; extinction of experience; shifting baselines

#### **Corresponding author:**

Kevin J. Gaston; Email: k.j.gaston@exeter.ac.uk

# Personalised ecology and the future of biodiversity

Kevin J. Gaston<sup>1</sup>, Benjamin B. Phillips<sup>1</sup> and Masashi Soga<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Environment and Sustainability Institute, University of Exeter, Penryn, UK and <sup>2</sup>Graduate School of Agricultural and Life Sciences, The University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan

#### Abstract

The future of biodiversity lies not just in the strategies and mechanisms by which ecosystems and species are practically best protected from anthropogenic pressures. It lies also, and perhaps foremost, in the many billions of decisions that people make that, intentionally or otherwise, shape their impact on nature and the conservation policies and interventions that are implemented. Personalised ecology – the set of direct sensory interactions that each of us has with nature – is one important consideration in understanding the decisions that people make. Indeed, it has long been argued that people's personalised ecologies have powerful implications, as captured in such concepts as biophilia, extinction of experience and shifting baselines. In this paper, we briefly review the connections between personalised ecology and the future of biodiversity, and the ways in which personalised ecologies might usefully be enhanced to improve that future.

## Impact statement

Protecting and restoring nature depend on understanding the billions of decisions that people make. Such decisions range from simple acts like caring for wildlife in one's garden to more complex decisions like what products to buy or which political candidate to support. These decisions are determined in part by direct experiences of, and relationships with, nature. These may affect nature directly (e.g., determining how much an individual disrupts wildlife habitats) or indirectly (e.g., affecting one's thoughts and attitudes toward nature). Understanding how people's relationships with nature differ, how they are changing and how they relate to people's pro-nature attitudes and behaviours can help to reveal strategies that can benefit biodiversity. For example, people who feel more connected to nature are more likely to take action to help protect it. People's relationships with nature might be improved, for example, by increasing the availability and accessibility of natural environments, and people's inclination, ability and confidence to engage with nature. Such efforts have the potential to create a virtuous cycle of human—nature interactions, whereby increased engagement with nature leads to greater appreciation, enjoyment and desire to protect it. This is particularly important at a time when people's relationships with nature are often declining.

## Introduction

Scientific discussion of how to slow and reverse global biodiversity loss has concentrated far more on ecological solutions than on social change. This has been exemplified by papers published in the run-up to the Fifteenth Conference of the Parties (COP-15) to the UN Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), where research focused strongly on how best to set targets and measure progress for conservation (e.g., Watson et al., 2020; Obura et al., 2021; Allan et al., 2022; Leadley et al., 2022), the importance and maintenance of wilderness areas (e.g., Aycrigg et al., 2022; Pérez-Hämmerle et al., 2022), identifying priority areas for biodiversity conservation, and for expanding, and increasing the effectiveness of, protected area systems (e.g., Hanson et al., 2020; Ward et al., 2020; Allan et al., 2022; Brennan et al., 2022; Wauchope et al., 2022) and understanding the threats to, and recovery of, individual species (e.g., Grace et al., 2021; Mair et al., 2021; Bolam et al., 2022). There is no doubt that these are all vitally important issues. However, the loss of biodiversity has been an outcome of many billions of decisions (with varying degrees of independence) by individual people. Such decisions, intentional and otherwise, include how people use and manage any natural resources that they have direct influence over (from domestic gardens and backyards to larger land and sea holdings), what resources and items they purchase as consumers, what organisations they encourage and assist (e.g., conservation NGOs), and which local, regional and national governmental policies and management interventions they support. These pathways, and how they can best be influenced, have long been

© The Author(s), 2023. Published by Cambridge University Press. This is an Open Access article, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution licence (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0), which permits unrestricted re-use, distribution and reproduction, provided the original article is properly cited.





studied within environmental sustainability. They have, however, attracted far less attention from the biodiversity conservation community.

This is not to say that behavioural decision making and social change have received no attention in the context of biodiversity conservation (Thomas-Walters et al., 2023). Interest has included such issues as managing demand for wildlife products (MacFarlane et al., 2022), the promotion of farmers' pro-environmental practices (Mastrangelo et al., 2014), the application of 'nudge theory' (Nelson et al., 2019), conservation messaging (Kidd et al., 2019), the effectiveness of social marketing campaigns (Green et al., 2019) and the influence of visual media on human-nature interactions (Silk et al., 2021). Nonetheless, it does seem remarkable that, despite being raised at least a decade ago (e.g., St John et al., 2010), it continues to be necessary for recent papers (including in high profile journals) to champion and highlight the role that the behavioural sciences, for example, could play in biodiversity conservation (e.g., Maynard et al., 2020; Balmford et al., 2021; Nielsen et al., 2021).

A range of different viewpoints can help to understand how individual decisions are determined, the negative impacts on biodiversity and ways of reducing these (Clayton et al., 2013; Amel et al., 2017; Reddy et al., 2017; Ives et al., 2018). One is that of personalised ecology, which describes the set of direct interactions that each of us has with nature (Gaston et al., 2018; Gaston, 2020; Soga and Gaston, 2022). Whilst the significance of such interactions, which are likely unique to each person in their composition, has long been recognised (e.g., Wilson, 1984; Kellert and Wilson, 1993; Pyle, 1993; Stokes, 2006; Samways, 2007), it has particularly come to the fore of recent (Clayton et al., 2017; Soga and Gaston, 2022). This paper describes why personalised ecology provides a pertinent perspective by exploring the links with, and implications for, the future of biodiversity. Some of the issues discussed (e.g., biophilia, connection to nature, extinction of experience, shifting baselines) have been argued to be amongst the most vital for that future (e.g., Ehrlich and Kennedy, 2005; Kareiva, 2008; Simaika and Samways, 2010). Given strong biases in the relevant research literature toward studies of culturally westernised societies, our considerations are similarly biased, although many may generalise more widely.

## Personalised ecology

In the most fundamental sense, an individual's personalised ecology describes all of their direct interactions with nature. This includes those with both micro- and macro-organisms. However, a narrower sense conception of personalised ecology, which is of more relevance in the present context, is the direct sensory interactions a person has with nature, predominantly through sight, sound, smell and touch. This is largely with macro-organisms. It is the focus on direct interactions which differentiates personalised ecology from broader considerations of ecosystem services (from which individual people frequently benefit without their necessarily interacting directly with the organisms providing such benefits; Gaston et al., 2018).

Personalised ecology is concerned with interactions with nature. There has long been debate as to where the limits to what constitutes nature should lie and definitions can differ markedly, particularly across cultures and disciplines (e.g., Wohlwill, 1983; Proctor, 1998; Wickson, 2008; Bratman et al., 2012; Hartig et al., 2014; CBD, 2022). We use the same definition here as we have employed in other recent studies about human–nature interactions

(e.g., Soga and Gaston, 2020, 2022), in which nature encompasses individual living organisms through to ecosystems, excluding those that are not self-sustaining. This enables a focus on essentially 'wild' organisms.

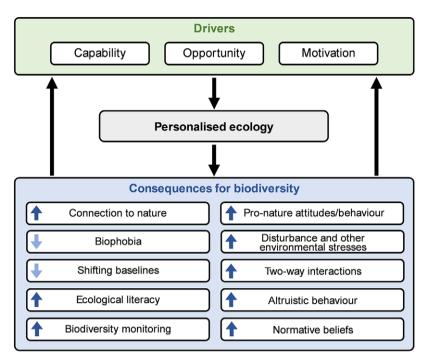
People's direct interactions with some species and taxonomic groups have received much attention (e.g., sharks, snakes, bears; Chippaux, 2017; Bombieri et al., 2018; Gibbs, 2021), often due to the perceived, potential or realised negative threat that they pose to people. On the whole, however, personalised ecologies remain poorly documented, and have been studied in relatively crude terms, for example, measuring the extent of greenspace in the vicinity of a person's home or workplace, or the kind, frequency and duration of outdoor visits that they make (e.g., Shanahan et al., 2016; Cox et al., 2017b; White et al., 2019; Colley et al., 2022). Studies of human interactions with other species have almost invariably focused on the numbers and types of species that occur where an individual person lives or visits, rather than considering which ones, and in what numbers, an individual person actually encounters and experiences them (e.g., Fuller et al., 2007; Dallimer et al., 2012; Methorst et al., 2021).

Notwithstanding, it is apparent that personalised ecologies vary greatly amongst individual people, both within and between populations. On average, personalised ecologies will relate to the spatial variation of those components of biodiversity of which people tend to be more aware (e.g., larger organisms). In urbanised societies, and probably more widely, personalised ecologies can be very poor for many people. They are often also highly skewed such that the majority of nature interactions that do occur are experienced by only a small proportion of people (Cox et al., 2017a). In general, personalised ecologies are dependent on opportunity (e.g., the local presence and abundance of species), motivation (e.g., emotional affinity with nature) and capability (e.g., ability to see or hear particular species) (Dallimer et al., 2014; Soga and Gaston, 2022). These are in turn often related to socioeconomic circumstances. We return to these issues in more detail later.

Not only do personalised ecologies vary greatly between people, but an individual's personalised ecology also varies across multiple time scales (Soga and Gaston, 2022). It changes through the day (often peaking when people are moving outdoors; Derks et al., 2020), through the week (often peaking at weekends when people engage more in outdoor recreation; Veitch et al., 2015), and through a person's life course (often peaking both during childhood and during earlier periods of retirement; Hughes et al., 2019). In much of the western world, personalised ecologies, especially those experienced by children, have also become progressively more limited across recent generations, a phenomenon referred to as extinction of experience (Pyle, 1993; Miller, 2005; Soga and Gaston, 2016, 2023). On the other hand, international, and particularly intercontinental, travel has broadened (though not necessarily deepened) the personalised ecologies of a (typically small) minority of many human populations, allowing people to interact with species and ecosystems that are very different from those they would otherwise encounter. This is reflected most strongly through ecotourism.

## Consequences for the future of biodiversity

People's personalised ecologies have a wide array of consequences for the future of biodiversity. Most attention to positive direct interactions with nature has focused on the wellbeing benefits for people, with evidence of impacts on physical, psychological and social health (e.g., Keniger et al., 2013; Hartig et al.,



**Figure 1.** A conceptual diagram for understanding the drivers of personalised ecology and its consequences for biodiversity. There is likely a feedback loop in which the consequences of personalised ecology affect its drivers. In the consequences domain of Figure 1, each box contains an up or down arrow that denotes the direction of change in each factor or process caused by increased personalised ecology. For instance, the up arrow in the connection to nature box indicates that direct interactions with nature enhance one's connection to nature.

2014; Bratman et al., 2019; Marselle et al., 2021; Oh et al., 2022). This has led to the development of a diversity of interventions to increase these benefits, focusing largely either on changing the environments in which people spend their time, or on changing their behaviour (Shanahan et al., 2019). The promotion of people—nature interactions for the purpose of improving human wellbeing does, of course, have the potential to benefit biodiversity directly (especially wild plants and animals living in urban areas), including through the creation and maintenance of accessible greenspaces that enable such interactions. However, there are a variety of other consequences of personalised ecologies, both positive and negative, that may have much greater importance for the future of biodiversity (Figure 1).

## (i) Connection to nature

People have a subjective, and perhaps innate, sense of connection with the natural world, sometimes known as biophilia (Wilson, 1984). Such nature connectedness varies dramatically amongst people and societies (Richardson et al., 2022). It is increasingly seen as a core issue in human-nature relationships (Richardson et al., 2020a), and meta-analyses have found that individuals with greater connection to nature have more pro-nature behaviours (Whitburn et al., 2019; Barragan-Jason et al., 2022). The strength of this connection to nature is thought to be enhanced in individuals with a richer and deeper personalised ecology and, conversely, to be weakened in those whose personalised ecology is poorer (Richardson et al., 2020b; Mikołajczak et al., 2021; Li et al., 2022; Lim et al., 2022). Indeed, whilst Wilson (1984) defined biophilia as 'the innate tendency to focus on life and lifelike processes', in subsequent writings he emphasised that it is a complex set of learned behaviours, that is, a disposition that is reinforced, amplified and expressed through human culture (Wilson, 1993). This is now supported by empirical evidence (Figure 2A; Collado et al., 2013; Vanderstock et al., 2022; Wu et al., 2023). Connection to nature has also been found to mediate the link between personalised ecologies and pro-nature behaviours (Liu et al., 2022).

## (ii) Pro-nature attitudes and behaviours

A key question relating to personalised ecologies is whether they influence a person's pro-nature attitudes and behaviours, which has recently been termed the nature benefit hypothesis (Soga and Gaston, 2022). Several studies have documented positive relationships between levels of nature experience and pro-environmental attitudes and behaviours (Figure 2B; e.g., Wells and Lekies, 2006; Zelenski et al., 2015; Broom, 2017; Rosa et al., 2018; Dean et al., 2019; Alcock et al., 2020; Martin et al., 2020; Liu and Chen, 2021; Ngo et al., 2022). A smaller number have tested for and documented positive relationships for more explicitly pro-nature (a subset of proenvironmental) attitudes and behaviours (Cooper et al., 2015; Soga et al., 2016; Prévot et al., 2018).

## (iii) Biophobia

Whilst reduced positive interactions with nature may weaken support for biodiversity conservation, there is an additional concern that these reductions may strengthen antagonism toward such interactions, that is, a negative feedback loop whereby the less that people interact with nature the less they want to do so. This could occur if the loss of positive nature interactions resulted in an increase in wariness or phobia toward nature, that is, biophobia (Ulrich, 1993). Indeed, there is evidence that extinction of experience is associated with an increase in biophobia, including due to its

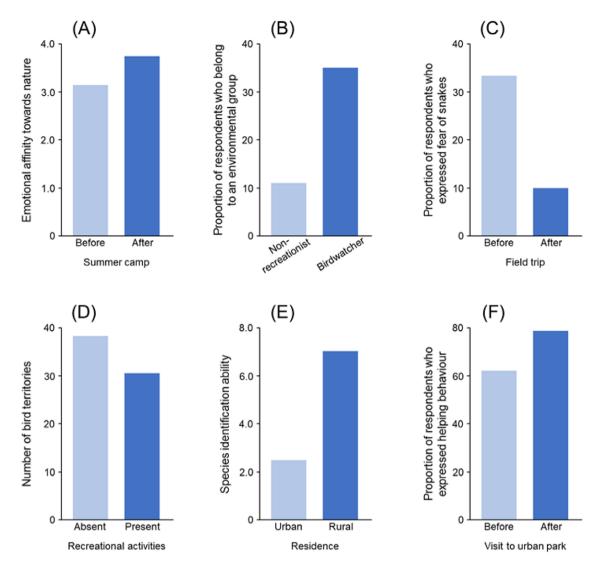


Figure 2. Empirical evidence suggesting several possible impacts of increased personalised ecology on biodiversity (A: connection to nature; B: pro-nature attitudes/behaviour; C: biophobia; D: disturbance of wildlife; E: ecological literacy; F: altruistic behaviour). Plots show: (A) changes in emotional connection to nature (measured by the Emotional Affinity toward Nature scale) before and after participating in a nature-based recreational program (summer camps) (Collado et al., 2013); (B) differences in the likelihood of engaging in a pro-nature behaviour between birdwatchers and those who do not use nature for recreational purposes (non-recreationist) (Cooper et al., 2015); (C) changes in the proportion of people exhibiting fear of snakes before and after participating in a field trip (Ballouard et al., 2012); (D) differences in the number of bird territories between sites with and without recreational activities (Bötsch et al., 2017); (E) differences in species identification ability between people who live in urban versus rural areas (Bashan et al., 2021); and (F) changes in the proportion of people exhibiting helping behaviour before and after experience of an urban green park (Guéguen and Stefan, 2014).

associated loss of knowledge about nature (e.g., ability to identify species; Figure 2C; Ballouard et al., 2012; Silva and Minor, 2017; Ngo et al., 2019; Soga et al., 2020; Fukano and Soga, 2021; Sugiyama et al., 2021).

Elevated biophobia can have a wide range of detrimental impacts on the future of biodiversity. Fear emotions impose a significant psychological cost for humans, and thus, increased biophobia can reduce the willingness of local people to coexist with wild animals, particularly, those regarded as dangerous or harmful (e.g., wolves, bears, large cats). Biophobia can therefore decrease public acceptance of certain policies and actions to conserve and restore these organisms (e.g., reintroduction). Biophobia also often results in an increase in persecution of wild organisms, which can negatively impact biodiversity more directly (Pandey et al., 2016; Rocha et al., 2021). If increasing

urbanisation of the human population, and general decline of biodiversity, result in increased biophobia, the impacts on the future of biodiversity could be severe.

## (iv) Negative impacts of nature engagement on biodiversity

Increased human—nature interactions may lead to negative impacts on biodiversity in several ways. This includes, for example, disturbance of wildlife during recreational activities (Figure 2D; Larson et al., 2016; Bötsch et al., 2017), loss of predator avoidance behaviour (Geffroy et al., 2015), the unintentional transport of organisms between sites (including both native and non-native species) (Hodkinson and Thompson, 1997), changes to understorey vegetation (Erfanian et al., 2021), increased chemical pollutants (e.g., negative impacts of sunscreen use on coral reefs; Danovaro et al.,

2008), increased litter and more frequent fires. Better connection to nature might therefore have negative consequences if it means that more people are going out and disturbing or damaging flora and fauna in sensitive areas.

## (v) Two-way interactions

There is evidence of an asymmetry in people's beliefs, whereby they commonly hold that human impacts on the natural environment are greater than the impacts of the natural environment on people (e.g., Coley et al., 2021). This can weaken the role of self, family or human benefits in support for pro-nature behaviours, and is clearly at odds with the utter dependence of humanity on ecosystem services (IPBES, 2019).

## (vi) Shifting baselines

The personalised ecologies that people experience, particularly earlier in life, can have a profound impact on what one regards as 'normal' and 'sound'. Faced with declines in the state of nature, this can result in a progressive 'ratcheting down' or shifting of baselines (Pauly, 1995; Soga and Gaston, 2018). People may, therefore, become more accepting of a much-depleted biodiversity, because the extent of the departure from a natural situation is poorly understood (Jones et al., 2020). Shifting baselines can have many negative impacts on biodiversity conservation as they may lead to an increased tolerance for the progressive degradation of ecosystems, changes in people's expectations as to the state of nature that is worth protecting or restoring, and subsequently the establishment of less ambitious targets and goals for nature conservation (Soga and Gaston, 2018).

## (vii) Ecological literacy

Reduced positive interactions with nature can weaken people's knowledge about local ecosystems (Figure 2E; Bashan et al., 2021). This is often called ecological literacy, or eco-literacy (Pilgrim et al., 2007). It includes, for example, identification skills of local fauna and flora (Bashan et al., 2021), ethnobotanical knowledge (e.g., traditional use of edible/medicinal plants; Okui et al., 2021), and traditional management practices of local ecosystems (Tsuchiya et al., 2014). Maintenance of such knowledge is fundamental for the continued support of local conservation efforts and the capacity of local communities to self-manage natural resources sustainably. Declines in local ecological knowledge can therefore have negative impacts on the conservation of biodiversity.

## (viii) Altruistic behaviour

There is evidence that exposure to nature (e.g., viewing greenery) can contribute to enhancing altruism in humans, which has recently been termed the nature and sustainability hypothesis (Soga and Gaston, 2022). This includes various behaviours, including the reduction of impulsive and selfish decision making and the promotion of sustainable, cooperative and helping behaviour (Figure 2F; Van der Wal et al., 2013; Zelenski et al., 2015; Guéguen and Stefan, 2016). Increased altruistic decision making and behaviour can have a wide range of positive outcomes for biodiversity as those actions can contribute, either directly or indirectly, to the conservation and restoration of wild plants and animals.

## (ix) Biodiversity data collection

Increased nature interactions may, in some cases, contribute to an increased amount of biodiversity data coming from citizens (Schuttler et al., 2018). For example, it has been suggested that increased use of urban greenspaces during the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in increased numbers of wildlife observations submitted to citizen science projects (e.g., Hochachka et al., 2021). Citizen science data can offer a valuable source of species occurrence records and be used to generate species-level information for broad-scale biodiversity mapping and monitoring.

#### (x) Normative beliefs

Normative beliefs are the perceptions of what are socially typical or acceptable attitudes and behaviours. For a particular person, both their personalised ecology, and the actual and perceived personalised ecologies of those around them, will shape their normative beliefs. Normative beliefs are often a strong predictor of people's attitudes and behaviours (Armitage and Conner, 2010), including those relating to biodiversity (van Riper et al., 2019). Social norms and normative beliefs may influence attitudes and connection to nature (Oh et al., 2021), or influence behaviour directly in the form of cultural taboos toward the exploitation of particular species, areas and natural resources (Jones et al., 2008), or more subtly through a person's propensity to engage in pro-nature behaviours, such as participation in urban greenspace management (Marshall et al., 2020).

## **Acting in combination**

Of course, these 10 consequences of personalised ecologies do not act independently, but likely generate a synergistic effect on biodiversity conservation. For example, if people obtain eco-literacy through enhanced personalised ecologies, they may use natural environments in a way that does less harm to those environments (e.g., maintaining appropriate distances from wildlife). Likewise, those with greater species identification ability can provide more accurate and reliable data on biodiversity. Further, increased connection to nature is known to act as a protective factor against biophobia (Zsido et al., 2022). However, there may equally be negative synergies between some of these consequences. For example, shifting baselines are likely to interact with normative beliefs because social norms (perceived or actual) provide a selfsustaining mechanism for maintaining poor personalised ecologies. This may result in a negative, self-reinforcing feedback loop, making it difficult to reverse historic declines in people's personalised ecologies.

## Strengthening personalised ecologies

If better developed personalised ecologies generate positive outcomes for biodiversity conservation, as described above, then strengthening those ecologies may be critically important for the future of biodiversity. People's personalised ecologies can usefully be regarded as being shaped by three broad sets of factors: capability, opportunity and motivation (as distinguished by the COM-B model; Michie et al., 2011). Each of these provides a unique set of opportunities and approaches that could be targeted to strengthen personalised ecologies.

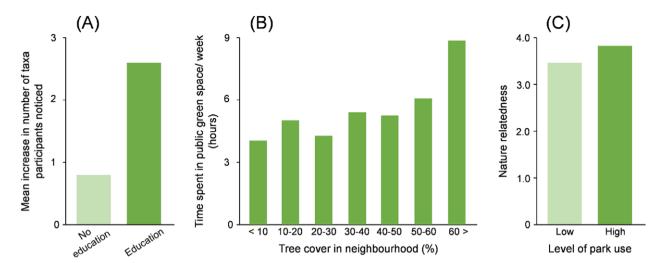


Figure 3. Empirical evidence demonstrating the role of (A) capability, (B) opportunity and (C) motivation in determining personalised ecology. Plots show: (A) effects of an educational program aimed at increasing children's species identification ability on the number of animal and plant taxa children noticed on the way to school (Lindemann-Matthies, 2002); (B) association between neighbourhood tree cover and time spent in public greenspace (Shanahan et al., 2017); and (C) differences between park users (based on time spent in parks) in terms of their emotional connection to nature (measured by the Nature Relatedness scale; Lin et al., 2014).

## (i) Capability

Capability is an individual's capacity to engage in interactions with nature. It has two components, physical capability and psychological capability. Physical capability includes the ease with which one can move around and the extent to which one has sufficient sensory abilities to detect particular species, for example, being able to see birds or hear birdsong. Psychological capability includes knowledge, skills, stamina and confidence. The component that has attracted the most attention is skills such as the ability to recognise particular species (Figure 3A; Lindemann-Matthies, 2002).

Arguably, biodiversity conservation has been heavily fixated on improving a rather narrow conception of capability – assuming that education about the nature around you will improve your ability to access it, and willingness to protect it (Thomas-Walters et al., 2023). This is despite various studies finding that education and knowledge, by themselves, are relatively poor predictors of connection to nature (e.g., Barragan-Jason et al., 2022) and pro-nature behaviours (e.g., Knapp et al., 2021).

Capability might be improved by (i) improving ways for less physically able people to interact with nature (e.g., via views from windows, improved access to greenspaces); (ii) equipment that enables people to overcome or reduce sensory limitations in interacting with nature (e.g., vision and acoustic systems); (iii) accessible tools and learning that help improve psychological capability; and (iv) guides (particularly people rather than signage) who can facilitate and explain nature interactions to visitors to sites.

## (ii) Opportunity

Opportunity is all of the factors in a person's environment that make interactions with nature possible. It has two components, physical opportunity and social opportunity. Physical opportunity includes the availability of nature in a person's environment with which they can interact (Figure 3B; Shanahan et al., 2017). Social opportunity includes family values, social norms and public safety. Attention has particularly focused on the role of physical opportunity in personalised ecology, and the extent to which people have adequate or appropriate access to nature in their immediate

neighbourhood or more widely. Indeed, some organisations have established targets for the availability of local greenspace, such as at least 0.5 ha within 200 m, 2 ha within 300 m and 10 ha within 1 km, all within a 15 min walk from home (Natural England, 2022). Social opportunity, on the other hand, has received much less attention in discussions on how to promote people's use of nature, except for some particular cases such as children's use of local nature (Button et al., 2020). However, recent studies suggest that the influence of social opportunity on personalised ecologies is comparable to – and sometimes stronger than – that of physical opportunity (e.g., Soga et al., 2018; Van Truong et al., 2022).

Opportunity might be improved by: (i) improving the availability and accessibility of local nature, including in the vicinity of both home and work places; (ii) improving the ability of nature to move amongst greenspaces, influencing both species' population sizes and the potential for human-nature interactions; (iii) physically 'greening' buildings and their immediate surroundings, through green roofs and walls, gardens, etc.; (iv) improving transport systems to enable better access to nature sites; (v) changing and challenging values, social norms and normative beliefs around nature interactions (e.g., through community engagement, community champions and role models); (vi) improving safety of the local environment (e.g., improving road safety, reducing crime, controlling the abundance of wild animals that can have severe negative health impacts on people); and (vii) providing more dedicated time for nature interactions (e.g., built into work/school schedules).

## (iii) Motivation

This is the set of brain processes that energise and direct behaviour. Its two components are: automatic motivation and reflective motivation. Automatic motivations are unconscious responses, such as emotional reactions, whilst reflective motivations are more cognitive and purposeful, such as intentions (Figure 3C; Lin et al., 2014). In the field of human–nature interactions, the importance of motivation (particularly automatic motivation) in promoting personalised ecologies has long been recognised, and indeed studies show that it is often the most impactful factor in predicting the

quantity and quality of those interactions (e.g., Lin et al., 2014; Soga and Akasaka, 2019). Of course, motivation is likely to be improved by enhanced personalised ecologies (see earlier discussion on biophilia), implying that there exists a bidirectional relationship between motivation and personalised ecology.

Motivation might be improved by: (i) green social prescribing, which can provide an incentive for reflective motivation and intentions to interact with nature; (ii) nature-based educational programs in educational institutions (e.g., schools, museums) that can help to increase connection to nature, and therefore automatic motivation; and (iii) nature-oriented television and internet programs (e.g., nature documentaries), and social media that promote people's desire to experience nature.

Strategies to improve opportunity, motivation and capability do not work independently but are interrelated in many ways. For example, providing nature-based education in schools can help to increase all of the three drivers (capability: ability to notice wildlife; opportunity: ensuring time to interact with nature; motivation: nature connectedness). Improving emotional connection to nature, through recreational and educational programs, is also known to be closely related to enhanced psychological wellbeing (Pirchio et al., 2021), suggesting that it may help to increase psychological capability.

## **Conclusions**

Many factors shape people's behavioural decisions, small or large, which collectively determine the future of biodiversity. People's personalised ecologies are a central factor that may act directly (impacting nature during people's interactions) or indirectly (influencing mediating factors such as attitudes, nature connectedness and normative beliefs). This raises the potential of a virtuous cycle whereby improving personalised ecologies encourages demand for improved biodiversity, at a time when a high proportion of the global population's interactions with nature are extremely constrained, and becoming poorer.

**Open peer review.** To view the open peer review materials for this article, please visit http://doi.org/10.1017/ext.2023.15.

**Data availability statement.** Data availability is not applicable to this article as no new data were created or analysed in this study.

**Acknowledgements.** We are grateful to three anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful comments.

**Author contribution.** Conception and design of work: K.J.G., B.B.P. and M.S.; Drafting and revising: K.J.G., B.B.P. and M.S.

**Financial support.** K.J.G. and B.B.P. were supported by the Natural Environment Research Council funded 'Renewing biodiversity through a people-innature approach (RENEW)' project (NE/W004941/1). M.S. was supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (Grant Nos. 20H04375 and 23H03583).

**Competing interest.** The authors declare no competing interest exists.

## References

Alcock I, White MP, Pahl S, Duarte-Davidson R and Fleming LE (2020) Associations between pro-environmental behaviour and neighbourhood nature, nature visit frequency and nature appreciation: Evidence from a nationally representative survey in England. *Environment International* 136, 105441.

- Allan JR, Possingham HP, Atkinson SC, Waldron A, Di Marco M, Butchart SHM, Adams VM, Kissling WD, Worsdell T, Sandbrook C, Gibbon G, Kumar K, Mehta P, Maron M, Williams BA, Jones KR, Wintle BA, Reside AE and Watson JEM (2022) The minimum land area requiring conservation attention to safeguard biodiversity. *Science* 376, 1094–1101.
- Amel E, Manning C, Scott B and Koger S (2017) Beyond the roots of human inaction: Fostering collective effort toward ecosystem conservation. *Science* 356, 275–279.
- **Armitage CJ and Conner M** (2010) Efficacy of the theory of planned behaviour: A meta-analytic review. *British Journal of Social Psychology* **40**, 471–499.
- Aycrigg JL, Mccarley TR, Belote RT and Martinuzzi S (2022) Wilderness areas in a changing landscape: Changes in land use, land cover and climate. *Ecological Applications* 32, e02471.
- Ballouard JM, Provost G, Barré D and Bonnet X (2012) Influence of a field trip on the attitude of schoolchildren toward unpopular organisms: An experience with snakes. *Journal of Herpetology* **46**, 423–428.
- Balmford A, Bradbury RB, Bauer JM, Broad S, Burgess G, Burgman M, Byerly H, Clayton S, Espelosin D, Ferraro PJ, Fisherj B, Garnett EE, Jones JPG, Marteau TM, Otieno M, Polasky S, Ricketts TH, Sandbrook C, Sullivan-Wiley K, Trevelyan R, van der Linden S, Veríssimo D and Nielsen KS (2021) Making more effective use of human behavioural science in conservation interventions. *Biological Conservation* 261, 109256.
- Barragan-Jason G, de Mazancourt C, Parmesan C, Singer MC and Loreau M (2022) Human-nature connectedness as a pathway to sustainability: A global meta-analysis. *Conservation Letters* 15, e12852.
- Bashan D, Colléony A and Shwartz A (2021) Urban versus rural? The effects of residential status on species identification skills and connection to nature. *People and Nature* 3, 347–358.
- Bolam FC, Ahumada J, Akçakaya HR, Brooks TM, Elliott W, Hoban S, Mair L, Mallon D, McGowan PJ, Raimondo D, Rodríguez JP, Roe D, Seddon MB, Shen X, Stuart SN, Watson JE and Butchart SH (2022) Over half of threatened species require targeted recovery actions to avert human-induced extinction. Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment 21, 64–70.
- Bombieri G, Delgado MDM, Russo LF, Garrote PJ, López-Bao JV, Fedriani JM and Penteriani V (2018) Patterns of wild carnivore attacks on humans in urban areas. *Scientific Reports* 8, 1–9.
- Bötsch Y, Tablado Z and Jenni L (2017) Experimental evidence of human recreational disturbance effects on bird-territory establishment. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B* **284**, 20170846.
- Bratman GN, Anderson CB, Berman MG, Cochran B, Vries S de, Flanders J, Folke C, Frumkin H, Gross JJ, Hartig T, Kahn PH, Kuo M, Lawler JJ, Levin PS, Lindahl T, Meyer-Lindenberg A, Mitchell R, Ouyang Z, Roe J, Scarlett L, Smith JR, van den BM, Wheeler BW, White MP, Zheng H and Daily GC (2019) Nature and mental health: An ecosystem service perspective. Science Advances 5, eaax0903.
- Bratman GN, Hamilton JP and Daily GC (2012) The impacts of nature experience on human cognitive function and mental health. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1249, 118–136.
- Brennan A, Naidoo R, Greenstreet L, Mehrabi Z, Ramankutty N and Kremen C (2022) Functional connectivity of the world's protected areas. *Science* **376**, 1101–1104.
- **Broom C** (2017) Exploring the relations between childhood experiences in nature and young adults' environmental attitudes and behaviours. *Australian Journal of Environmental Education* **33**, 34–47.
- Button BL, Tillmann S and Gilliland J (2020) Exploring children's perceptions of barriers and facilitators to physical activity in rural northwestern Ontario, Canada. *Rural and Remote Health* **20**, 5791.
- CBD (2022) Biodiversity and nature, close but not quite the same. Available at https://www.cbd.int/idb/activities/difference-biodiversity-nature.pdf (accessed 22 September 2022).
- Chippaux JP (2017) Incidence and mortality due to snakebite in the Americas. PLoS Neglected Tropical Diseases 11, e0005662.
- Clayton S, Colléony A, Conversy P, Maclouf E, Martin L, Torres AC, Truong MX and Prévot AC (2017) Transformation of experience: Toward a new relationship with nature. Conservation Letters 10, 645–651.
- Clayton S, Litchfield C and Geller ES (2013) Psychological sciences, conservation, and environmental sustainability. Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment 11, 377–382.

Coley JD, Betz N, Helmuth B, Ellenbogen K, Scyphers SB and Adams D (2021) Beliefs about human-nature relationships and implications for investment and stewardship surrounding land-water system conservation. *Land* 10, 1293.

- Collado S, Staats H and Corraliza JA (2013) Experiencing nature in children's summer camps: Affective, cognitive and behavioural consequences. *Journal* of Environmental Psychology 33, 37–44.
- Colley K, Irvine KN and Currie M (2022) Who benefits from nature? A quantitative intersectional perspective on inequalities in contact with nature and the gender gap outdoors. *Landscape and Urban Planning* **223**, 104420.
- Cooper C, Larson L, Dayer A, Stedman R and Decker D (2015) Are wildlife recreationists conservationists? Linking hunting, birdwatching, and proenvironmental behavior. *Journal of Wildlife Management* 79, 446–457.
- Cox DTC, Hudson HL, Shanahan DF, Fuller RA and Gaston KJ (2017a) The rarity of direct experiences of nature in an urban population. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 160, 79–84.
- Cox DTC, Plummer KE, Shanahan DF, Siriwardena GM, Fuller RA, Anderson K, Hancock S and Gaston KJ (2017b) Doses of neighborhood nature: The benefits for mental health of living with nature. *Bioscience* **67**, 147–155.
- Dallimer M, Davies ZG, Irvine KN, Maltby L, Warren PH, Gaston KJ and Armsworth PR (2014) What personal and environmental factors determine frequency of urban greenspace use? *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 11, 7977–7992.
- Dallimer M, Irvine KN, Skinner AMJ, Davies ZG, Rouquette JR, Armsworth PR, Maltby L, Warren PH and Gaston KJ (2012) Biodiversity and the feelgood factor: Understanding associations between self-reported human wellbeing and species richness. *Bioscience* 62, 46–55.
- Danovaro R, Bongiorni L, Corinaldesi C, Giovannelli D, Damiani E, Astolfi P, Grec L and Pusceddu A (2008) Sunscreens cause coral bleaching by promoting viral infections. Environmental Health Perspectives 116, 441–447.
- Dean AJ, Barnett AG, Wilson KA and Turrell G (2019) Beyond the 'extinction of experience' – Novel pathways between nature experience and support for nature conservation. Global Environmental Change 55, 48–57.
- Derks J, Giessen L and Winkel G (2020) COVID-19-induced visitor boom reveals the importance of forests as critical infrastructure. Forest Policy and Economics 118, 102253.
- **Ehrlich PR and Kennedy D** (2005) Millennium assessment of human behavior. *Science* **309**, 562–563.
- Erfanian MB, Alatalo JM and Ejtehadi H (2021) Severe vegetation degradation associated with different disturbance types in a poorly managed urban recreation destination in Iran. *Scientific Reports* 11, 19695.
- Fukano Y and Soga M (2021) Why do so many modern people hate insects? The urbanization-disgust hypothesis. *Science of the Total Environment* 777, 146229
- Fuller RA, Irvine KN, Devine-Wright P, Warren PH and Gaston KJ (2007) Psychological benefits of greenspace increase with biodiversity. *Biology Letters* 3, 390–394.
- Gaston KJ (2020) Personalised ecology and detection functions. People and Nature 2, 575–581.
- Gaston KJ, Soga M, Duffy JP, Garrett JK, Gaston S and Cox DTC (2018) Personalised ecology. *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* **33**, 916–925.
- **Geffroy B, Samia DSM, Bessa E and Blumstein DT** (2015) How nature-based tourism might increase prey vulnerability to predators. *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* **30**, 755–765.
- Gibbs L (2021) Agency in human-shark encounter. Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space 4, 645–666.
- Grace MK, Akçakaya HR, Bennett EL, Brooks TM, Heath A, Hedges S, Hilton-Taylor C, Hoffmann M, Hochkirch A, Jenkins R, Keith DA, Long B, Mallon DP, Meijaard E, Milner-Gulland EJ, Rodriguez JP, Stephenson PJ, Stuart SN, Young RP, Acebes P, Alfaro-Shigueto J, Alvarez-Clare S, Andriantsimanarilafy RR, Arbetman M, Azat C, Bacchetta G, Badola R, Barcelos LMD, Barreiros JP, Basak S, Berger DJ, Bhattacharyya S, Bino G, Borges PAV, Boughton RK, Brockmann HJ, Buckley HL, Burfield IJ, Burton J, Camacho-Badani T, Cano-Alonso LS, Carmichael RH, Carrero C, Carroll JP, Catsadorakis G, Chapple DG, Chapron G, Chowdhury GW, Claassens L, Cogoni D, Constantine R, Craig CA, Cunningham AA, Dahal N, Daltry JC, Das GC, Dasgupta N, Davey A, Davies K, Develey P, Elangovan V, Fairclough D, Febbraro MD, Fenu G, Fernandes FM,

- Fernandez EP, Finucci B, Földesi R, Foley CM, Ford M, Forstner MRJ, García N, Garcia-Sandoval R, Gardner PC, Garibay-Orijel R, Gatan-Balbas M, Gauto I, Ghazi MGU, Godfrey SS, Gollock M, González BA, Grant TD, Gray T, Gregory AJ, Grunsven RHA, Gryzenhout M, Guernsey NC, Gupta G, Hagen C, Hagen CA, Hall MB, Hallerman E, Hare K, Hart T, Hartdegen R, Harvey-Brown Y, Hatfield R, Hawke T, Hermes C, Hitchmough R, Hoffmann PM, Howarth C, Hudson MA, Hussain SA, Huveneers C, Jacques H, Jorgensen D, Katdare S, Katsis LKD, Kaul R, Kaunda-Arara B, Keith-Diagne L, Kraus DT, Lima TM, Lindeman K, Linsky J, Louis E, Loy A, Lughadha EN, Mangel JC, Marinari PE, Martin GM, Martinelli G, McGowan PJK, McInnes A, Mendes ETB, Millard MJ, Mirande C, Money D, Monks JM, Morales CL, Mumu NN, Negrao R, Nguyen AH, Niloy MdNH, Norbury GL, Nordmeyer C, Norris D, O'Brien M, Oda GA, Orsenigo S, Outerbridge ME, Pasachnik S, Pérez-Jiménez JC, Pike C, Pilkington F, Plumb G, Portela R de CQ, Prohaska A, Quintana MG, Rakotondrasoa EF, Ranglack DH, Rankou H, Rawat AP, Reardon JT, Rheingantz ML, Richter SC, Rivers MC, Rogers LR, Rosa P da, Rose P, Royer E, Ryan C, Mitcheson YJS, Salmon L, Salvador CH, Samways MJ, Sanjuan T, Santos AS dos, Sasaki H, Schutz E, Scott HA, Scott RM, Serena F, Sharma SP, Shuey JA, Silva CJP, Simaika JP, Smith DR, Spaet JLY, Sultana S, Talukdar BK, Tatayah V, Thomas P, Tringali A, Trinh-Dinh H, Tuboi C, Usmani AA, Vasco-Palacios AM, Vié J, Virens J, Walker A, Wallace B, Waller LJ, Wang H, Wearn OR, Weerd M, Weigmann S, Willcox D, Woinarski J, Yong JWH and Young S (2021) Testing a global standard for quantifying species recovery and assessing conservation impact. Conservation Biology 35, 1833-1849.
- Green KM, Crawford BA, Williamson KA and DeWan AA (2019) A metaanalysis of social marketing campaigns to improve global conservation outcomes. Social Marketing Quarterly 25, 69–87.
- Guéguen N and Stefan J (2016) "Green altruism" short immersion in natural green environments and helping behavior. Environment and Behavior 48, 324–342.
- Hanson JO, Rhodes JR, Butchart SHM, Buchanan GM, Rondinini C, Ficetola GF and Fuller RA (2020) Global conservation of species' niches. *Nature* **580**, 232–234.
- Hartig T, Mitchell R, de Vries S and Frumkin H (2014) Nature and health. Annual Review of Public Health 35, 207–228.
- Hochachka WM, Alonso H, Gutiérrez-Expósito C, Miller E and Johnston A (2021) Regional variation in the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on the quantity and quality of data collected by the project eBird. Biological Conservation 254, 108974.
- Hodkinson DJ and Thompson K (1997) Plant dispersal: The role of man. Journal of Applied Ecology 34, 1484–1496.
- Hughes J, Rogerson M, Barton J and Bragg R (2019) Age and connection to nature: When is engagement critical? Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment 17, 265–269.
- IPBES (2019) Global Assessment Report on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services of the Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services. Brondizio ES, Settele J, Díaz S and Ngo HT (eds). Bonn: IPBES Secretariat.
- Ives CD, Abson DJ, von Wehrden H, Dorninger C, Klaniecki K and Fischer J (2018) Reconnecting with nature for sustainability. Sustainability Science 13, 1389–1397.
- Jones JPG, Andriamarovololona MM and Hockley MM (2008) The importance of taboos and social norms to conservation in Madagascar. Conservation Biology 22, 976–986.
- Jones LP, Turvey ST, Massimino D and Papworth SK (2020) Investigating the implications of shifting baseline syndrome on conservation. *People and Nature* 2, 1131–1144.
- Kareiva P (2008) Ominous trends in nature recreation. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences U.S.A. 105, 2757–2758.
- Kellert SR and Wilson EO (eds) (1993) The Biophilia Hypothesis. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Keniger LE, Gaston KJ, Irvine KN and Fuller RA (2013) What are the benefits of interacting with nature? *International Journal of Environmental Research* and Public Health 10, 913–935.
- Kidd LR, Garrard GE, Bekessy SA, Mills M, Camilleri AR, Fidler F, Fielding KS, Gordon A, Gregg EA, Kusmanoff AM, Louis W, Moon K, Robinson

- JA, Selinske MJ, Shanahan D and Adams VM (2019) Messaging matters: A systematic review of the conservation messaging literature. *Biological Conservation* **236**, 92–99.
- Knapp JL, Phillips BB, Clements J, Shaw RF and Osborne JL (2021) Sociopsychological factors, beyond knowledge, predict people's engagement in pollinator conservation. *People and Nature* 3, 204–220.
- Larson CL, Reed SE, Merenlender AM and Crooks KR (2016) Effects of recreation on animals revealed as widespread through a global systematic review. PLoS One 11, 1–21.
- Leadley P, Gonzalez A, Obura D, Krug CB, Londoño-Murcia MC, Millette KL, Radulovici A, Rankovic A, Shannon LJ, Archer E, Armah FA, Bax N, Chaudhari K, Costello MJ, Dávalos LM, Roque F de O, DeClerck F, Dee LE, Essl F, Ferrier S, Genovesi P, Guariguata MR, Hashimoto S, Speranza CI, Isbell F, Kok M, Lavery SD, Leclère D, Loyola R, Lwasa S, McGeoch M, Mori AS, Nicholson E, Ochoa JM, Öllerer K, Polasky S, Rondinini C, Schroer S, Selomane O, Shen X, Strassburg B, Sumaila UR, Tittensor DP, Turak E, Urbina L, Vallejos M, Vázquez-Domínguez E, Verburg PH, Visconti P, Woodley S and Xu J (2022) Achieving global biodiversity goals by 2050 requires urgent and integrated actions. One Earth 5, 597–603.
- Li D, Zhai Y, Chang P-J, Merrill J, Browning MHEM and Sullivan WC (2022) Nature deficit and senses: Relationships among childhood nature exposure and adulthood sensory profiles, creativity, and nature relatedness. *Landscape* and Urban Planning 226, 104489.
- Lim VC, Sing KW, Chong KY, Jaturas N, Dong H, Lee PS, Tao NT, Le DT, Bonebrake TC, Tsang TPN, Chu L, Brandon-Mong GJ, Kong WL, Soga M and Wilson JJ (2022) Familiarity with, perceptions of and attitudes toward butterflies of urban park users in megacities across east and Southeast Asia. Royal Society Open Science 9, 220161.
- Liu W and Chen J (2021) Green spaces in Chinese schools enhance children's environmental attitudes and pro-environmental behavior. *Children, Youth and Environments* 31, 55–87.
- Lin BB, Fuller RA, Bush R, Gaston KJ and Shanahan DF (2014) Opportunity or orientation? Who uses urban parks and why. *PLoS One* **9**, e87422.
- **Lindemann-Matthies P** (2002) The influence of an educational program on children's perception of biodiversity. *Journal of Environmental Education* **33**, 22–31
- Liu Y, Cleary A, Fielding KS, Murray Z and Roiko A (2022) Nature connection, pro-environmental behaviours and wellbeing: Understanding the mediating role of nature contact. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 228, 104550.
- MacFarlane D, Hurlstone MJ, Ecker UKH, Ferraro PJ, van der Linden S, Wan AKY, Veríssimo D, Burgess G, Chen F, Hall W, Hollands GJ and Sutherland WJ (2022) Reducing demand for overexploited wildlife products: Lessons from systematic reviews from outside conservation science. Conservation Science and Practice 4, e627.
- Mair L, Bennun LA, Brooks TM, Butchart SHM, Bolam FC, Burgess ND, Ekstrom JMM, Milner-Gulland EJ, Hoffmann M, Ma K, Macfarlane NBW, Raimondo DC, Rodrigues ASL, Shen X, Strassburg BBN, Beatty CR, Mez-Creutzberg CG, Iribarrem A, Irmadhiany M, Lacerda E, Mattos BC, Parakkasi K, Tognelli MF, Bennett EL, Bryan C, Carbone G, Chaudhary A, Eiselin M, Fonseca GAB, Galt R, Geschke A, Glew L, Goedicke R, Green JMH, Gregory RD, Hill SLL, Hole DG, Hughes J, Hutton J, Keijzer MPW, Navarro LM, Lughadha EN, Plumptre AJ, Puydarrieux P, Possingham HP, Rankovic A, Regan EC, Rondinini C, Schneck JD, Siikamäki J, Sendashonga C, Seutin G, Sinclair S, Skowno AL, Soto-Navarro CA, Stuart SN, Temple HJ, Vallier A, Verones F, Viana LR, Watson J, Bezeng S, Hm MB, Burfield IJ, Clausnitzer V, Clubbe C, Cox NA, Freyhof J, Gerber LR, Hilton-Taylor C, Jenkins R, Joolia A, Joppa LN, Koh LP, Lacher TE, Langhammer PF, Long B, Mallon D, Pacifici M, Polidoro BA, Pollock CM, Rivers MC, Roach NS, Rodríguez JP, Smart J, Young BE, Hawkins F and McGowan PJK (2021) A metric for spatially explicit contributions to science-based species targets. Nature Ecology and Evolution 5, 836-844.
- Marselle MR, Hartig T, Cox DTC, Bell S de, Knapp S, Lindley S, Triguero-Mas M, Böhning-Gaese K, Braubach M, Cook PA, Vries S de, Heintz-Buschart A, Hofmann M, Irvine KN, Kabisch N, Kolek F, Kraemer R, Markevych I, Martens D, Müller R, Nieuwenhuijsen M, Potts JM, Stadler J, Walton S, Warber SL and Bonn A (2021) Pathways linking biodiversity to human health: A conceptual framework. *Environment International* 150, 106420.

- Marshall AJ, Grose MJ and Williams NSG (2020) Of mowers and growers: Perceived social norms strongly influence verge gardening, a distinctive civic greening practice. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 198, 103795.
- Martin L, White MP, Hunt A, Richardson M, Pahl S and Burt J (2020) Nature contact, nature connectedness and associations with health, wellbeing and pro-environmental behaviours. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 68, 101389.
- Mastrangelo ME, Gavin MC, Laterra P, Linklater WL and Milfont TL (2014)Psycho-social factors influencing forest conservation intentions on the agricultural frontier. *Conservation Letters* 7, 103–110.
- Maynard L, Monroe MC, Jacobson SK and Savage A (2020) Maximizing biodiversity conservation through behavior change strategies. *Conservation Science and Practice* 2, e193.
- Methorst J, Bonn A, Marselle M, Böhning-Gaese K and Rehdanz K (2021) Species richness is positively related to mental health—A study for Germany. *Landscape and Urban Planning* **211**, 104084.
- Michie S, Van Stralen MM and West R (2011) The behaviour change wheel: A new method for characterizing and designing behaviour change interventions. *Implementation Science* 6, 42.
- Miller JR (2005) Biodiversity conservation and the extinction of experience. Trends in Ecology and Evolution 20, 430–434.
- Mikołajczak K, Lees AC, Barlow J, Sinclair F, Trindade de Almeida O, Souza AC and Parry L (2021) Who knows, who cares? Untangling ecological knowledge and nature connection among Amazonian colonist farmers. *People and Nature* 3, 431–445.
- Natural England (2022) How Natural England's Green Infrastructure Framework can help create better places to live. Available at https://naturalengland.blog.gov.uk/2021/12/07/how-natural-englands-green-infrastructure-framework-can-help-create-better-places-to-live/ (accessed 4 November 2022).
- Nelson KM, Partelow S and Schlüter A (2019) Nudging tourists to donate for conservation: Experimental evidence on soliciting voluntary contributions for coastal management. *Journal of Environmental Management* 237, 30–43.
- Ngo KM, Hosaka T and Numata S (2019) The influence of childhood nature experience on attitudes and tolerance towards problem-causing animals in Singapore. *Urban Forestry and Urban Greening* 41, 150–157.
- **Ngo KM**, **Hosaka T and Numata S** (2022) Attitudes and preferences of wildlife and their relationship with childhood nature experience amongst residents in a tropical urban city. *Urban Ecosystem* **25**, 1939–1948.
- Nielsen KS, Marteau TM, Bauer JM, Bradbury RB, Broad S, Burgess G, Burgman M, Byerly H, Clayton S, Espelosin D, Ferraro PJ, Fisher B, Garnett EE, Jones JPG, Otieno M, Polasky S, Ricketts TH, Trevelyan R, Linden S van der, Veríssimo D and Balmford A (2021) Biodiversity conservation as a promising frontier for behavioural science. Nature Human Behaviour 5, 550–556.
- Obura DO, Katerere Y, Mayet M, Kaelo D, Msweli S, Mather K, Harris J, Louis M, Kramer R, Teferi T, Samoilys M, Lewis L, Bennie A, Kumah F, Isaacs M and Nantongo P (2021) Integrate biodiversity targets from local to global levels. *Science* 373, 746–748.
- Oh RRY, Fielding KS, Nghiem LTP, Chang CC, Carrasco LR and Fuller RA (2021) Connection to nature is predicted by family values, social norms and personal experiences of nature. Global Ecology and Conservation 28, e01632.
- Oh RRY, Zhang Y, Nghiem LTP, Chang C-C, Tan CLY, Quazi SA, Shanahan DF, Lin BB, Gaston KJ, Fuller RA and Carrasco RL (2022) Connection to nature and time spent in gardens predicts social cohesion. *Urban Forestry and Urban Greening* 74, 127655.
- Okui K, Sawada Y and Yoshida T (2021) "Wisdom of the elders" or "loss of experience" as a mechanism to explain the decline in traditional ecological knowledge: A case study on Awaji Island, Japan. *Human Ecology* **49**, 353–362.
- Pandey DP, Subedi Pandey G, Devkota K and Goode M (2016) Public perceptions of snakes and snakebite management: Implications for conservation and human health in southern Nepal. *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 12, 1–25.
- Pauly D (1995) Anecdotes and the shifting baseline syndrome of fisheries. Trends in Ecology and Evolution 10, 430.
- Pérez-Hämmerle K, Moon K, Venegas-Li R, Maxwell S, Simmonds JS, Venter O, Garnett ST, Possingham HP and Watson JEM (2022) Wilderness forms and their implications for global environmental policy and conservation. *Conservation Biology* **36**, e13875.

Pilgrim S, Smith D and Pretty J (2007) A cross-regional assessment of the factors affecting ecoliteracy: Implications for policy and practice. *Ecological Applications* 17, 1742–1751.

- Pirchio S, Passiatore Y, Panno A, Cipparone M and Carrus G (2021) The effects of contact with nature during outdoor environmental education on students' wellbeing connectedness to nature and pro-sociality. Frontiers in Psychology 12, 648458.
- Prévot AC, Cheval H, Raymond R and Cosquer A (2018) Routine experiences of nature in cities can increase personal commitment toward biodiversity conservation. *Biological Conservation* 226, 1–8.
- Proctor JD (1998) The social construction of nature: Relativist accusations, pragmatist and critical realist responses. Annals of the Association of American Geographers 88, 352–376.
- Pyle RM (1993) The Thunder Tree: Lessons from an Urban Wildland. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Reddy SM, Montambault J, Masuda YJ, Keenan E, Butler W, Fisher JR, Stanley TA and Gneezy A (2017) Advancing conservation by understanding and influencing human behavior. Conservation Letters 10, 248–256.
- Richardson M, Dobson J, Abson DJ, Lumber R, Hunt A, Young R and Moorhouse B (2020a) Applying the pathways to nature connectedness at a societal scale: A leverage points perspective. *Ecosystems and People* 16, 387–401.
- Richardson M, Hamlin I, Elliott LR and White MP (2022) Country-level factors in a failing relationship with nature: Nature connectedness as a key metric for a sustainable future. Ambio 51, 2201–2213.
- Richardson M, Passmore H-A, Barbett L, Lumber R, Thomas R and Hunt A (2020b) The green care code: How nature connectedness and simple activities help explain pro-nature conservation behaviours. *People and Nature* 2, 821–839.
- Rocha R, Aziz SA, Brook CE, Carvalho WD, Cooper-Bohannon R, Frick WF, Huang JC-C, Kingston T, López-Baucells A, Maas B, Mathews F, Medellin RA, Olival KJ, Peel AJ, Plowright RK, Razgour O, Rebelo H, Rodrigues L, Rossiter SJ, Russo D, Straka TM, Teeling EC, Treuer T, Voigt CC and Webala PW (2021) Bat conservation and zoonotic disease risk: A research agenda to prevent misguided persecution in the aftermath of COVID-19. Animal Conservation 24, 303–307.
- Rosa CD, Profice CC and Collado S (2018) Nature experiences and adults' self-reported pro-environmental behaviors: The role of connectedness to nature and childhood nature experiences. Frontiers in Psychology 9, 1055.
- Samways MJ (2007) Rescuing the extinction of experience. *Biodiversity and Conservation* 16, 1995–1997.
- Schuttler SG, Sorensen AE, Jordan RC, Cooper C and Shwartz A (2018)
  Bridging the nature gap: Can citizen science reverse the extinction of experience? Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment 16, 405–411.
- Shanahan DF, Astell-Burt T, Barber EA, Brymer E, Cox DTC, Dean J, Depledge M, Fuller RA, Hartig T, Irvine KN, Jones A, Kikilus H, Lovell R, Mitchell R, Niemelä J, Nieuwenhuijsen M, Pretty J, Townsend M, van Heezik Y, Warber S and Gaston KJ (2019) Nature-based interventions for improving health and wellbeing: The purpose, the people and the outcomes. *Sports* 7, 141.
- Shanahan DF, Bush R, Gaston KJ, Lin BB, Dean J, Barber E and Fuller RA (2016) Health benefits from nature experiences depend on dose. Scientific Reports 6, 28551.
- Shanahan DF, Cox DTC, Fuller RA, Hancock S, Lin BB, Anderson K, Bush R and Gaston KJ (2017) Variation in experiences of nature across gradients of tree cover in compact and sprawling cities. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 157, 231–238.
- Silk M, Correia R, Veríssimo D, Verma A and Crowley SL (2021) The implications of digital visual media for human-nature relationships. *People* and Nature 3, 1130–1137.
- **Silva A and Minor ES** (2017) Adolescents' experience and knowledge of, and attitudes toward, bees: Implications and recommendations for conservation. *Anthrozoös* **30**, 19–32.
- Simaika JP and Samways MJ (2010) Biophilia as a universal ethic for conserving biodiversity. Conservation Biology 24, 903–906.
- Soga M and Akasaka M (2019) Multiple landscape-management and socialpolicy approaches are essential to mitigate the extinction of experience. *Landscape and Urban Planning* 191, 103634.

- Soga M, Evans MJ, Yamanoi T, Fukano Y, Tsuchiya K, Koyanagi TF and Kanai T (2020) How can we mitigate against increasing biophobia among children during the extinction of experience? *Biological Conservation* **242**, 108420
- Soga M and Gaston KJ (2016) Extinction of experience: The loss of humannature interactions. Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment 14, 94–101.
- Soga M and Gaston KJ (2018) Shifting baseline syndrome: Causes, consequences, and implications. Frontiers in Ecology and the Environment 16, 222–230.
- Soga M and Gaston KJ (2020) The ecology of human–nature interactions. Proceedings of the Royal Society B 287, 20191882.
- **Soga M and Gaston KJ** (2022) Towards a unified understanding of humannature interactions. *Nature Sustainability* 5, 374–383.
- Soga M and Gaston KJ (2023) Global synthesis reveals heterogeneous changes in connection of humans to nature. One Earth 6, 131–138.
- Soga M, Gaston KJ, Yamaura Y, Kurisu K and Hanaki K (2016) Both direct and vicarious experiences of nature affect children's willingness to conserve biodiversity. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 13, 529.
- Soga M, Yamanoi T, Tsuchiya K, Koyanagi TF and Kanai T (2018) What are the drivers of and barriers to children's direct experiences of nature? *Land-scape and Urban Planning* 180, 114–120.
- St John FAV, Edwards-Jones G and Jones JPG (2010) Conservation and human behaviour: Lessons from social psychology. *Wildlife Research* 37, 658–667
- Stokes DL (2006) Conservators of experience. Bioscience 56, 6-7.
- Sugiyama N, Hosaka T, Takagi E and Numata S (2021) How do childhood nature experiences and negative emotions towards nature influence preferences for outdoor activity among young adults? *Landscape and Urban Planning* 205, 103971.
- Thomas-Walters L, McCallum J, Montgomery R, Petros C, Wan AKY and Veríssimo D (2023) Systematic review of conservation interventions to promote voluntary behavior change. *Conservation Biology* 37, e14000.
- Tsuchiya K, Aoyagi M, Okuro T and Takeuchi K (2014) The potential of, and threat to, the transfer of ecological knowledge in urban areas: The case of community-based woodland management in Tokyo, Japan. *Ecology and Society* 19, 25.
- Ulrich RS (1993) Biophilia, biophobia, and natural landscapes. In Kellert SR and Wilson EO (eds), *The Biophilia Hypothesis*. Washington, DC: Island Press, pp. 73–137.
- Van der Wal AJ, Schade HM, Krabbendam L and Van Vugt M (2013) Do natural landscapes reduce future discounting in humans? *Proceedings of the Royal Society B* **280**, 20132295.
- Vanderstock A, Grandi-Nagashiro C, Kudo G, Latty T, Nakamura S, White TE and Soga M (2022) For the love of insects: Gardening grows positive emotions (biophilia) towards invertebrates. *Journal of Insect Conservation* 26, 751–762.
- Van Riper CJ, Browning MHEM, Becker D, Stewart W, Suski CD, Browning L and Golebie E (2019) Human-nature relationships and normative beliefs influence behaviors that reduce the spread of aquatic invasive species. *Environmental Management* 63, 69–79.
- Van Truong M, Nakabayashi M and Hosaka T (2022) How to encourage parents to let children play in nature: Factors affecting parental perception of children's nature play. Urban Forestry and Urban Greening 69, 127497.
- Veitch J, Carver A, Abbott G, Giles-Corti B, Timperio A and Salmon J (2015) How active are people in metropolitan parks? An observational study of park visitation in Australia. BMC Public Health 15, 1–8.
- Ward M, Saura S, Williams B, Ramírez-Delgado JP, Arafeh-Dalmau N, Allan JR, Venter O, Dubois G and Watson JEM (2020) Just ten percent of the global terrestrial protected area network is structurally connected via intact land. Nature Communications 11, 4563.
- Watson JEM, Keith DA, Strassburg BBN, Venter O, Williams B and Nicholson E (2020) Set a global target for ecosystems. *Nature* 578, 360–362.
- Wauchope HS, Jones JPG, Geldmann J, Simmons BI, Amano T, Blanco DE, Fuller RA, Johnston A, Langendoen T, Mundkur T, Nagy S and Sutherland WJ (2022) Protected areas have a mixed impact on waterbirds, but management helps. *Nature* 605, 103–107.

- Wells NM and Lekies KS (2006) Nature and the life course: Pathways from childhood nature experiences to adult environmentalism. *Children Youth and Environments* 16, 1–24.
- Whitburn J, Linklater W and Abrahamse W (2019) Meta-analysis of human connection to nature and proenvironmental behavior. *Conservation Biology* 34, 180–193.
- White MP, Alcock I, Grellier J, Wheeler BW, Hartig T, Warber SL, Bone A, Depledge MH and Fleming LE (2019) Spending at least 120 minutes a week in nature is associated with good health and wellbeing. *Scientific Reports* 9, 7730.
- **Wickson F** (2008) What is nature, if it's more than just a place without people? *Nature* **456**, 29.
- Wilson EO (1984) Biophilia. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
  Wohlwill JF (1983) The concept of nature. In JF Wohlwill (ed.), Behavior and the Natural Environment. Boston, MA: Springer, pp. 5–37.
- Wu H, Ji R and Jin H (2023) Parental factors affecting children's nature connectedness. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 87, 101977.
- Zelenski JM, Dopko RL and Capaldi CA (2015) Cooperation is in our nature: Nature exposure may promote cooperative and environmentally sustainable behavior. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* **42**, 24–31.
- Zsido AN, Coelho CM and Polák J (2022) Nature relatedness: A protective factor for snake and spider fears and phobias. *People and Nature* 4, 669–682