

1 **Towards a unified understanding of human-nature interactions**

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15 **Preface**

16 Interest in the direct interactions between individual people and nature has grown rapidly. This
17 attention encompasses multiple academic disciplines and practical perspectives. A central challenge
18 thus lies in creating a rich cross-disciplinary understanding of these interactions rather than one that
19 might become characterised by little conceptual, terminological and methodological unity. Here, to
20 facilitate the former outcome, we bring together concepts and theories about direct human-nature
21 interactions drawn from across diverse disciplines within a unified conceptual framework. Using this
22 framework, we discuss the linkages among key concepts and theories, identify important knowledge
23 gaps, and suggest directions for future research.

25 The past decade has seen an explosion of interest in the direct interactions between individual people
26 and nature (hereafter ‘human-nature interactions’). This interest has spanned a range of academic
27 disciplines, including ecology (*1–3*), conservation science (*4, 5*), public health (*6–10*), immunology
28 (*11, 12*), urban planning (*13*), leisure (*14*), psychology (*15*), and education (*16*). It has also manifested
29 in the development of policy and practice (e.g., *17*). The reasons, some linked, for this increased
30 attention are arguably fourfold. First, it reflects growing recognition of the human health benefits of
31 direct interactions with nature (*6, 8–12*), and in interventions by which these benefits might be
32 enhanced (*17*). Second, there has been increased concern about widespread loss of positive direct
33 interactions of people with nature, particularly that associated with urbanisation, and the consequences
34 this may have for their attitudes and behaviour towards nature (*5*). Third, there has been a recent rise in
35 the occurrence of some negative direct interactions with nature (e.g., attacks by large vertebrates) (*18,*
36 *19*), perhaps in part because of a decline in people’s knowledge of how to behave appropriately.
37 Finally, there has been a broad shift in conservation science and policy towards a ‘people and nature’
38 paradigm of two-way, dynamic relations (*4*).

39 The diversity of academic and non-academic contexts in which recent growth of interest in
40 direct human-nature interactions has occurred poses both challenges and opportunities. The challenges
41 include the potential for the development of different terminologies, conceptualisations and approaches
42 to addressing the same or closely related issues. The opportunities include the potential for a far richer
43 cross-disciplinary understanding to be quickly developed around a topic that so many would seem to
44 agree is of fundamental significance in the face of a biodiversity crisis (e.g., *5, 20*). To encourage
45 development of these opportunities, here we bring together concepts and theories related to direct
46 human-nature interactions within the context of a unified conceptual framework. In so doing we
47 provide a common terminology for these concepts and theories (used in a broad sense to include any
48 set of testable ideas, hypotheses and assumptions with more or less empirical support), discuss their
49 linkages, identify important knowledge gaps, and suggest key directions for future research. Although
50 many conceptual frameworks have previously been developed to deepen understanding of human-
51 nature interactions, most of them focus on a particular disciplinary area (e.g., *5, 6, 8, 10, 21*). With this
52 in mind, we think that this paper may provide a useful guide for researchers (both those new to the field
53 of human-nature interactions and those with previous expertise) as well as policy makers, enabling
54 them quickly to grasp a broad view of the field and develop more holistic thinking about the ecology
55 and management of these interactions.

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58

59 **Conceptual framework**

60 Our framework consists of four major components: (i) *personalised ecology*, the set of direct sensory
61 interactions that an individual person has with nature (**1, 2**) (see Fig. 1 for more details on its
62 definition); (ii) its *drivers*, (iii) its *consequences*, and (iv) the *feedback loops* from the consequences to
63 the drivers (Fig. 2). Adopting the COM-B model developed by Michie et al. (22), we considered
64 personalised ecology to be driven by three major factors: *capability*, *opportunity* and *motivation* (Fig.
65 2). We also classified the consequences of personalised ecology into five broad categories, from both
66 human and nature perspectives, as well as considering beneficial and adverse outcomes (note that
67 *attitudes towards nature* could be seen as both *drivers* and *consequences* as these are closely linked to
68 *motivation*; Fig. 2).

69

70 **Literature review**

71 We conducted a broad literature review with a structured search to identify concepts and theories that
72 are useful to understand the four major components of the framework (Fig. 2). To achieve this, we
73 developed a structured search query for the Web of Science database (1/3/2021) and explored literature
74 from across diverse disciplines related to human-nature interactions, including ecology, conservation
75 science, public health, immunology, urban planning, leisure, psychology and education. The search
76 query included six phrases that are commonly used to refer to human-nature interactions in the above-
77 mentioned fields ('human-nature interaction*' OR 'human-nature connection*' OR 'nature
78 interaction*' OR 'nature connection*' OR 'nature experience' OR 'nature exposure*'). We limited
79 consideration to those concepts and theories that were (i) developed to investigate specific topics
80 focusing on human-nature interactions at the level of individual people, (ii) developed mainly to study
81 topics focusing directly on interactions between people and nature, and (iii) more or less supported by
82 empirical and/or anecdotal evidence. To avoid repetition, we did not include concepts and theories that
83 were subsets of more general ones. Concepts and theories that are widely recognised but have not been
84 formally named were included.

85 Our structured literature review identified 39 relevant concepts and theories (Table 1). To make
86 it easier to understand how the selected concepts and theories relate to each other, we placed them in
87 our conceptual framework (Fig. 2). In the subsequent sections, we briefly discuss these concepts and
88 theories and how each contributes to understanding the structure and dynamics of human-nature
89 interactions. For convenience we start with the *drivers*, then move on to *personalised ecology* and
90 *consequences*. For easier readability, we discuss the *feedback loops* in the *consequences* section.

91

92 **Drivers**

93 *Opportunity*

94 *Opportunity* is defined as all of the factors in a person's environment that make behaviour possible. It is
95 divided into physical opportunity (e.g., the amount of wildlife and natural environments that a person
96 can interact with) and social opportunity (e.g., family values and social norms, public safety) (22). In
97 the field of environmental science, several concepts and theories attempt to explain the spatial and
98 temporal dynamics of physical opportunity. For example, it is well-known that, at least in higher
99 income societies, socio-economically advantaged groups of people tend to have more opportunities to
100 obtain positive nature interactions (3). The positive relationship between wealth and the quantity and
101 quality of neighbourhood nature is known as the **luxury effect**, which can occur either because
102 wealthier individuals are better able to maintain greater amounts of vegetation in their neighbourhoods
103 and/or because they can better afford to live in greener neighbourhoods (3). There is, however, a less
104 well documented situation in which the quantity and quality of nature is greater in areas where poorer
105 groups live (i.e., a **poverty effect**) (23). This can occur when being wealthier is associated with moving
106 to less green environments (e.g., city centres). Luxury and poverty effects help explain why within
107 populations the opportunity for positive nature interactions is typically spatially biased towards some
108 groups of people (2).

109 Not only does opportunity vary spatially, it does so temporally. In much of the world, people's
110 opportunities directly to interact with nature in their daily lives have been declining over the past
111 several decades and may now be at low levels (24). This progressive loss of opportunity, referred to
112 here as **nature scarcity**, is likely to be driven by several different but interrelated factors, such as loss
113 of natural environments and their associated wildlife (especially common species), increase in the
114 number and proportion of the global human population living in urban areas, and the overscheduling
115 and micromanagement of children's lives (5).

116 In the field of conservation science, it has been suggested that, given the ongoing deterioration
117 of ecosystems across the world, contemporary people are increasingly accustomed to a situation where
118 the natural environment is impoverished (25). This gradual change in the accepted norms for the
119 condition of the natural environment, the so-called **shifting baseline syndrome** (25, 26), is considered
120 as one of the fundamental reasons behind nature scarcity because it can result in a progressive erosion
121 of people's motivation to support pro-nature policies and management actions (25). Of course, shifting
122 baseline syndrome can in some cases also occur in a positive direction, such as when the condition of
123 the natural environment is improving through conservation or restoration strategies (e.g., urban
124 greening, wildlife reintroduction, endangered species recovery).

127 *Motivation* is all of the brain processes that energise and direct behaviour (it is often referred to as
128 *orientation*; **5**). It is divided into automatic motivation (e.g., emotional reactions) and reflective
129 motivation (e.g., intentions) (**22**). It is widely accepted that an individual's emotional affinity to nature
130 is one of the key motivational factors shaping people's personalised ecologies, and researchers in
131 environmental psychology have developed diverse concepts and theories to measure it and understand
132 its formation process. For example, **nature relatedness** is a psychological construct that describes how
133 close is an individual's relationship with nature (**15**). This construct is multi-dimensional and often
134 includes cognitive and affective strands, including empathy towards the natural world, as well as
135 experiential and behavioural aspects. In the field of evolutionary psychology it has long been argued
136 that people's emotional affinity towards nature is, at least partly, an innate trait, that is a genetically
137 based evolutionary heritage, and this is the so-called **biophilia hypothesis** (**27**). This notion is based on
138 the assumption that humans have evolved with the natural environment over millennia and thus are still
139 innately attuned to nature. The biophilia hypothesis is closely related to the **savannah hypothesis**,
140 which suggests that humans intrinsically prefer environments that contain key features of the savannah
141 (e.g., grasslands with low vegetation, dispersed round-shaped trees) that were most likely to have aided
142 their ancestors' survival (**28**).

143 People also often show strong avoidance responses to certain natural stimuli, settings or
144 situations that are potentially harmful to them, so-called **biophobia** (**29, 30**). This takes various forms,
145 such as apiphobia (fear of bees), arachnophobia (fear of spiders), ophidiophobia (fear of snakes), and
146 entomophobia (fear of insects), and is thought to entail innate physiological responses to the perceived
147 danger from non-human threats (**30**).

148 It is widely held that in urbanised regions, younger generations are losing emotional affinity to
149 nature (e.g., **31, 32**), referred to here as **nature apathy**, and this is largely due to a shift in preferences
150 for electronic entertainment, such as television, computer games, and the internet (the **videophilia**
151 **hypothesis**) (**31**). In addition, and perhaps more importantly, it has also been suggested that, not only
152 does urbanisation decrease people's positive attitudes towards nature, but it can also increase negative
153 ones (**30, 33**). The **urbanisation-disgust hypothesis**, developed within evolutionary psychology,
154 suggests that shifts in the space where people encounter wildlife from outdoor natural settings to
155 indoors due to urbanisation likely increases their biophobia because humans have evolved to avoid
156 objects with a high risk of disease transmission (i.e., animals they encounter within their living spaces)
157 (**30**).

160 *Capability*

161 *Capability* is an individual's capacity to engage in interactions with nature. It can be divided into
162 physical capability (e.g., physical ability to climb mountains, the ear's ability to hear bird song) and
163 psychological capability (e.g., skills to recognise species, orientation skills) (22). The discussion of
164 human-nature interactions has to date largely focused on *opportunity* and *motivation* (1, 2, 5, 21, 34),
165 and thus understanding of the role of *capability* in determining personalised ecologies remains
166 relatively poor.

167 In the fields of environmental science and psychology, it has often been suggested that
168 psychological capability plays an important role in shaping personalised ecologies. For example, it is
169 well-known that people generally have limited ability accurately to perceive the biodiversity
170 surrounding them, and thus there are significant differences between the direct interactions between
171 people and nature that actually occur and those that the people concerned perceive to do so (35) (c.f.,
172 **people-biodiversity paradox**). Whilst such a tendency not to notice species, which we here term
173 **nature blindness**, could be seen with regard to various taxa (e.g., insects, birds), it is considered to be
174 more evident for plants compared to animals (so-called '**plant blindness**') (36). Plant blindness can be
175 explained by a general lack of people's interest in and knowledge about plants, the visual homogeneity
176 of these organisms, or the lack of visual cues such as movement (36).

177 Especially in higher income societies, there has been a recent gradual decline in the average
178 level of both zoological and botanical natural-history knowledge among the general public, particularly
179 children (37). Explanations for this loss of knowledge, referred to here as **nature ignorance**, include
180 the decline in exposure to natural history through formal education systems, loss of overall interest in
181 nature itself due to the rise in screen-based entertainment (see *Motivation* section), and the ongoing loss
182 of biodiversity worldwide (see *Opportunity* section). Ironically, nature ignorance whilst foremost
183 decreasing personalised ecologies may in some cases increase them. For example, it is suggested that
184 the recent rise in some negative interactions of people with nature (e.g., attacks by large vertebrates) is,
185 at least partly, a result of inappropriate and risk-enhancing human behaviours (e.g., walking an
186 unleashed dog, closely approaching dangerous animals) (19).

187

188 *Interrelated drivers*

189 The three sets of drivers do not shape personalised ecologies independently, but rather are interrelated
190 in many ways. For example, community values towards nature (*opportunity*) and levels of ecological
191 knowledge (*capability*) are both likely to affect an individual's *motivation* to interact with nature, and

192 vice versa (30, 34, 38). Understanding the relationships among the drivers of personalised ecologies is
193 a key challenge that has received relatively little attention.

194

195 **Personalised ecology**

196 There is growing interest in understanding how people's personalised ecologies vary spatially and
197 temporally and determining how best to maximise the positive outcomes for both humans and nature
198 (1, 2). In this context, there has been concern over the progressive, widespread decline in positive
199 direct interactions of people with nature, the **extinction of experience** (5, 39). This is considered to be
200 caused by two major sets of factors. The first is the loss of *opportunity* to interact with nature (i.e.,
201 nature scarcity). The second factor is the reduced inclination to engage with nature (i.e., nature apathy),
202 which is likely associated with the rise in screen-based entertainment (i.e., videophilia). Although
203 discussion of the extinction of experience has thus far largely centered on the importance of the loss of
204 *opportunity* and *motivation* (5), it is also important to understand how the ongoing loss of *capability*
205 (e.g., nature ignorance) contributes to the development of this phenomenon.

206 In contrast to the extinction of experience, there is an emerging growth trend in some kinds of
207 negative direct interactions with nature (7, 18, 19). These include snake bites (7), shark bites (18) and
208 attacks by large carnivores (19). This expansion of negative nature interactions (a component of the
209 counterpoint to extinction of experience, the **expansion of experience**) is likely to be induced by
210 environmental and social factors that increase the *opportunity* to experience negative nature
211 interactions, such as increases in numbers of ecotourism opportunities, reductions in available natural
212 undisturbed habitat due to urban and agricultural developments, increases in ecotourism to previously
213 remote and undisturbed locations, growing familiarity of wild animals with people, and the decline in
214 people's knowledge of how to behave appropriately when they encounter wildlife (i.e., nature
215 ignorance) (2).

216

217 **Consequences**

218 *Attitudes towards nature*

219 Direct interactions with nature change people's attitudes towards nature (5) (Fig. 2). Indeed, it has been
220 well demonstrated that nature interactions, especially during childhood, can play an important role in
221 forging and strengthening an individual's positive emotions and attitudes towards nature (e.g., 27, 40),
222 which we here term the **early nature experience hypothesis**. This idea is consistent with the biophilia
223 hypothesis, which suggests that while biophilia is an innate human attribute, to be expressed it must be
224 triggered through actual experiences of nature (41). Importantly, the early nature experience hypothesis

225 implies that the widespread loss of positive interactions with nature among young people can lead to
226 large-scale erosion of people's favourable attitudes towards nature (5). This idea is widely shared
227 amongst scientists, and thus the ongoing extinction of experience is increasingly viewed as one of the
228 major threats to global environmental protection (5, 20).

229 Importantly, it is argued that increased positive attitudes towards nature through enhanced
230 personalised ecologies can improve human wellbeing (e.g., 42), which we term here the **nature and**
231 **happiness hypothesis**. Indeed, there is considerable evidence that an individual's levels of emotional
232 affinity to nature are strongly associated with those of subjective health and wellbeing (e.g., 42),
233 although the causal mechanisms involved are still under investigation. The nature and happiness
234 hypothesis suggests that reinforcing the connection between people and nature could simultaneously
235 contribute to increasing human happiness and pro-environmental attitudes.

236 Of course, *attitudes towards nature* could be seen as the driver of personalised ecologies, as
237 these are closely linked to *motivation* towards engaging with nature. This implies that there exists a
238 bidirectional relationship between *motivation* and *personalised ecology* (Fig. 2). Moreover, an
239 individual's attitudes towards nature may influence other individuals' *motivation* to interact with
240 nature, especially those in younger generations (5). For example, it is well-known that parental
241 attitudes towards nature exert strong impacts on their children's attitudes (e.g., 33, 38), which we term
242 the **nature inheritance hypothesis**. *Attitudes towards nature* can also often shape *opportunity* and
243 *capability* (Fig. 2). For example, people who have greater pro-nature attitudes are more likely to reside
244 in areas with greater opportunities (e.g., greener neighbourhoods) (43) and are more motivated to
245 acquire knowledge about nature (44), which we term the **nature demand hypothesis**.

246

247 *Benefits for humans*

248 People obtain a wide array of health and wellbeing benefits from their personal interactions with nature
249 (6, 8–12) (Fig. 2). These can be broken into three major categories: physical, psychological and social
250 benefits (see below) (6). The health benefits of nature interactions could be viewed as **cultural**
251 **ecosystem services** (or sometimes called 'psychological ecosystem services'; 9), although relatively
252 limited attention has been focused on them in the current ecosystem services framework (9). Below we
253 briefly summarise the major concepts and theories associated with each of the three types of benefits
254 from direct nature interactions. We will not describe in detail the mechanisms through which these
255 benefits are produced as several recent reviews cover the topic (see 6, 8–10).

256

257

258 Physical benefits

259 In the field of public health, it has long been considered that nature interactions promote physical
260 activity, which can have a wide range of physical health benefits, including enhanced physiological
261 functioning such as muscular strength and the reduction of risk factors associated with chronic diseases
262 (6, 8, 10). Indeed, natural/naturalised surroundings such as vegetated streetscapes and urban parks are
263 generally associated with higher levels of physical activity in children and adults, including the elderly
264 (6). However, the **green exercise hypothesis** proposes that physical activity in natural settings provides
265 greater health and wellbeing benefits than equivalent exertion in indoor settings (45).

266 Along with benefits derived from physical activity, in the field of immunology it has been
267 suggested that direct interactions with nature (albeit essentially non-sensory ones) improve human
268 immune function, which can contribute to the prevention of non-communicable diseases, such as
269 asthma, allergies, and cardiovascular diseases (11, 12). The well-established **hygiene hypothesis**
270 suggests that contact with microbial communities in natural settings during particular developmental
271 periods can improve immune function over the lifespan (46). This hypothesis has subsequently been
272 refined and replaced by the **biodiversity hypothesis** and **old-friends hypothesis**, both of which
273 suggest that exposure to diverse microbiomes (e.g., bacteria, fungi, protozoans) helps increase the
274 ability of the immune system accurately to distinguish detrimental from beneficial bacteria, and that
275 immune modulation of this kind can shape a wide variety of health outcomes (11, 12). As the role of
276 environmental microbiomes in regulating the immune system has become more apparent, it is
277 increasingly recognised that ‘rewilding’ environmental microbiomes in ecologically impoverished
278 areas (e.g., cities) through ecological restoration can benefit public health (the **microbiome rewilding**
279 **hypothesis**) (47).

280

281 Psychological benefits

282 In the field of environmental psychology, two complementary theories have been developed to explore
283 the link between direct nature interactions and improved psychological health. First, the **stress**
284 **recovery theory** is a psycho-evolutionary theory that views non-threatening natural scenes as
285 restorative because they lead to a more positively-toned emotional state and decreased levels of
286 physiological arousal (48). Second, the **attention restoration theory** suggests that excessive
287 concentration can lead to ‘directed attention fatigue,’ and that interactions with nature engage a less
288 taxing, indirect form of attention, thereby facilitating recovery of directed attention capacity (49).
289 Importantly, there is some evidence that natural environments with higher biodiversity or greater
290 abundance of species that people are likely to encounter provide greater psychological benefits to
291 humans (50), which we here term the **biodiversity-wellbeing hypothesis** (c.f., people-biodiversity

292 paradox; 35). This hypothesis, as well as the microbiome rewilding hypothesis, has important
293 implications for conservation, as it suggests that opportunities exist jointly to conserve biodiversity and
294 improve human health.

295

296 Social benefits

297 In the field of public health, it has been suggested that nature interactions promote social interaction
298 within neighbourhoods, which may in turn contribute to improved social health (6), which we term
299 here the **nature and social cohesion hypothesis**. Indeed, natural environments often provide people
300 with opportunities to interact with other members of local communities, and this is likely to increase
301 community ties and minimise social isolation (6).

302

303 As the various health-related benefits derived from nature interactions become more apparent, it is
304 increasingly accepted among policy makers and practitioners that a regular ‘dose’ of nature is a
305 necessary ingredient for maintaining a healthy life (9). Indeed, there have been extensive efforts to
306 develop strategies and programmes aimed at promoting people’s *opportunity* and *motivation* directly to
307 interact with nature (i.e., **nature-based health interventions**) (17). This suggests that positive
308 feedback loops exist in which the consequences of personalised ecologies accelerate further
309 interactions with nature (Fig. 2). Of course, improvements of physical and psychological health
310 conditions as a result of nature interactions are also likely to increase people’s personalised ecologies,
311 as they contribute to increased *capability* to participate in these interactions.

312

313 *Costs for humans*

314 It has often been suggested that rising incidences of several major health and developmental problems
315 in children are, at least partly, due to ongoing loss of positive interactions with nature (i.e., the
316 extinction of experience) (51). These negative health consequences due to disconnection from nature
317 have been called a **nature-deficit disorder** (52). Although not a formal diagnosis, this notion is
318 supported by abundant evidence demonstrating that lower levels of exposure to nature during
319 childhood are associated with increased risk of poor health outcomes, such as depression, behavioural
320 problems, and attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (53).

321 As discussed earlier, direct interactions with nature have not only positive consequences for
322 humans but also negative ones (Fig. 2), often referred to as components of **human-wildlife conflict**
323 (54) or **ecosystem disservices** (55). These negative nature interactions vary in intensity from typically

324 minor (e.g., perceiving noise nuisance) to severe (e.g., being attacked by large carnivores) and vary in
325 frequency from rare to common (2). Importantly, at least in some lower income countries, socio-
326 economically disadvantaged people may experience these negative nature interactions more frequently,
327 because they tend to live in regions where there are more potentially harmful wildlife species (e.g.,
328 venomous snakes) and undertake activities that place them at higher risk (e.g., agricultural activities)
329 (2). In other words, poor people have more *opportunity* to experience negative interactions with nature,
330 which could be viewed as a part of the poverty effect (see *Opportunity* section). Reducing wealth-
331 related inequalities in the frequency and intensity of negative interactions with nature is recognised as a
332 key challenge for public health.

333 While a great deal of effort has been made to develop concepts and theories regarding the
334 benefits of interacting with nature, far less has been concentrated on those concerning the costs for
335 humans (Fig. 2). This dearth of research effort on the negative aspects of personalised ecologies is
336 potentially problematic, given the recent rise in some negative interactions of people with nature, and
337 their associated social costs, worldwide (i.e., the expansion of experience) (7, 18, 19). In addition, in
338 urbanised societies there has been growing concern over ‘novel’ negative interactions with wildlife that
339 lie beyond those that have traditionally been addressed in the context of human-wildlife conflict (e.g.,
340 being stung by invasive wasps, hearing sounds of animals that cause anxiety) (55). Further theoretical
341 work in this area will be crucial to advancing understanding of what kinds of negative consequences
342 direct interactions with nature have for humans, how they are derived, and how they can be minimised.

343

344 *Benefits for nature*

345 Direct human interactions with nature can confer benefits for nature, both directly and indirectly (2)
346 (Fig. 2). For instance, some types of nature interactions, such as wildlife gardening and feeding
347 squirrels by hand, can be viewed as a benefit in terms of resource gain by wild organisms (21); benefits
348 to parts of nature may not, of course, necessarily translate into benefits to nature at large (e.g., growing
349 the food fed to squirrels, and any increases in squirrel numbers, may have larger negative effects).
350 Importantly, such gains are often particularly large in areas in which affluent people live and use, and
351 this is one of the core drivers of the luxury effect (see *Opportunity* section). Likewise, natural
352 environments with higher human presence (e.g., urban parks, popular ecotourism sites) can reduce
353 predation risk for some prey species because predators avoid these environments (**human shield**
354 **effect**) (56). Human shield effects could be seen as benefits to prey species, as they can offer a
355 relatively safe area, which enables them to be less watchful and to allocate time to other fitness-
356 enhancing activities (e.g., foraging, finding a mate, parental care) (56). These effects often make
357 individuals of prey species bolder towards humans, as well as predators, due to lower overall

358 fearfulness towards potential threats (56). Such behavioural changes will increase people's *opportunity*
359 to encounter animals, resulting in more frequent and intense interactions with them, which we name
360 **human-wildlife feedback** (Fig. 2).

361 On a longer-term scale, there is a widely held assumption that improving people's personalised
362 ecologies can increase their support for conservation policies and actions, which may in turn have a
363 wide range of positive consequences for nature such as the recovery of endangered species and
364 restoration of wildlife habitats (5, 57). This assumption, which we call the **nature benefit hypothesis**,
365 stems from the idea that direct interactions with nature can contribute to development of pro-
366 environmental attitudes and behaviour both directly (i.e., the early nature experience hypothesis) and
367 indirectly through reducing levels of the shifting baseline syndrome (5, 25). It is also in accordance
368 with the idea that exposure to nature reduces impulsive and selfish decision-making in humans, which
369 may promote environmentally sustainable behaviour and decision-making (58, 59), which we term here
370 the **nature and sustainability hypothesis**. The nature benefit hypothesis has important implications
371 for conservation because it suggests that a well-designed policy and strategy for improving people's
372 personalised ecologies, particularly in urban areas, can yield beneficial results for both humans and
373 nature. Of course, the resultant improvement of the natural environment through enhanced personalised
374 ecologies will further facilitate people's nature interactions as it directly increases their *opportunity* to
375 engage with nature (Fig. 2).

376

377 *Costs for nature*

378 Many types of human interactions obviously have negative consequences for nature (Fig. 2). These
379 impacts range from the potentially minor, such as increased levels of stress induced by human
380 recreational use of greenspace, to the severe, such as greater mortality risk due to roadkill. Not
381 surprisingly, situations often arise in which humans obtain benefits from interactions with nature but
382 bring costs to nature (e.g., overuse of protected areas for recreational purposes). In such cases,
383 increases in direct interactions with nature may lead to subsequent decreases in personalised ecologies
384 because such costs often result in a reduction in people's *opportunity* to interact with nature (e.g.,
385 decline in wildlife populations), negative human-wildlife feedback (Fig. 2). This raises a significant
386 challenge for policy-makers in wildlife conservation as to how best to maximise the positive outcomes
387 for humans while minimising the negative impacts for nature. It is important to note that these negative
388 impacts can be reduced to some extent by mitigating nature ignorance rather than just by reducing
389 people's interactions with nature (e.g., the number of greenspace users) themselves. Indeed, if people
390 obtain knowledge about how to behave in nature, they may use it in a way that does less harm to it (e.g.,
391 maintaining appropriate distances from wildlife).

392 Of course, some types of human interactions with nature can cause costs for both humans and
393 nature, human-wildlife conflict (60). Such a phenomenon, to a greater or lesser extent, occurs across all
394 countries and regions, and takes a wide variety of forms, including accidentally hitting a deer while
395 driving a car and being killed by an elephant disturbed in a protected area which is subsequently
396 relocated or culled. Human-wildlife conflict is increasing in both frequency and severity worldwide and
397 is expected to continue to escalate due to the ongoing growth of human populations and the associated
398 increase in demand for natural resources (i.e., the expansion of experience; 60).

399

400 **Challenges ahead**

401 Despite remarkable progress in understanding direct human-nature interactions, several challenges lie
402 ahead. First, there is a paucity of theoretical principles with regard to some domains within the field.
403 Indeed, we found that while considerable effort has been made to develop concepts and theories
404 regarding the *Motivations* and *Benefits for humans* domains, far less effort has been concentrated on
405 others (especially the *Capability*, *Costs for humans* and *Costs for nature*) (Fig. 2). Given the crucial
406 role that the latter components, as well as the former, play in shaping the dynamics of direct human-
407 nature interactions, this unbalanced research effort is clearly a major barrier to the growth of this field.

408 The second, and perhaps most important, challenge is how best to advance further integration of
409 knowledge from the different disciplines addressing human-nature interactions. Many studies,
410 particularly those arising from social sciences and public health, are ‘human-oriented’, foremost
411 concerned with the implications of personalised ecologies for people, and often addressing the nature
412 component in quite generic terms. Many others, particularly arising from the environmental sciences,
413 are ‘nature-oriented’, focused on the implications for the abundance and distribution of wildlife, and
414 often treating the human causes and consequences of personalised ecologies quite superficially.
415 Obviously, the two approaches are complementary, and much will be gained by improving the dialogue
416 between them. For example, there are many sophisticated tools available within ecology for evaluating
417 biological characteristics of the ecosystem or landscape, such as species richness and vegetation
418 structure, and they could provide valuable insight when using the human-oriented approach. Similarly,
419 social sciences have developed a substantial body of theory related to human beliefs, attitudes and
420 behaviour, and researchers adopting the nature-oriented approach can gain many useful insights from
421 them.

422

423

424

425 **Caveats**

426 Our analysis inevitably has inherent limitations. First, there are doubtless highly relevant studies of
427 direct human-nature interactions in the English-language literature that we did not find, although we
428 used a broad search strategy and cover a broad range of disciplines. Second, it is quite possible that
429 some valuable studies were not taken into account because they have been published in languages other
430 than English. Given that the form and implications of human-nature interactions can vary substantially
431 across societies with different cultural backgrounds, exploring such non-English language publications
432 might add valuable insight to the field. Third, for the purpose of the present study we only considered
433 the concepts and theories that focused on human-nature interactions at the level of individual people.
434 However, it would be also beneficial to consider those focusing on interactions at the level of society
435 (i.e., society's collective interactions with nature). Indeed, these two levels of interactions with nature
436 are likely to be influenced by each other, and thus considering the key social, cultural and historical
437 factors shaping the latter type of interactions with nature may help understand the former.

438

439 **Implications**

440 Our proposed framework may provide several contributions to the field, as it (i) provides a common
441 platform for better communication among researchers with different disciplinary perspectives; (ii)
442 offers greater theoretical clarity, which will aid in synthesis of past work and hypothesis generation for
443 future work; and (iii) covers a wide breadth of inter-related issues concerning human-nature
444 interactions, thereby encouraging holistic thinking about these interactions. More importantly, our
445 framework also has several important practical implications: it (i) provides policy-makers with
446 theoretical grounds for their decision-making, which may in turn help guide evidence-based policy
447 formulation; and (ii) shows that the various issues and challenges related to these interactions, that have
448 traditionally been handled by different policy fields, are closely related to each other, thereby
449 potentially facilitating the development of cross-sectoral policies that can lead to improved outcomes
450 across multiple domains.

451

452 **Conclusion**

453 Our paper suggests that theoretical and empirical advances in understanding of direct human-nature
454 interactions have generated the potential to transform this field into a robust, more holistic science.
455 Given the current emphasis on, and trend towards, cross-disciplinary initiatives within much of the
456 scientific community, it is timely to advance that science. More importantly, such a unified science
457 would contribute greatly to enhancing the sustainability of human-nature relationships. Indeed, our

458 conceptual framework clearly shows that a well-planned policy for improving people's personalised
459 ecologies can yield beneficial consequences for both humans and nature. In other words, a proper
460 management of personalised ecologies will be key to ensuring the healthy and sustainable future of
461 people and the planet. It is now time to begin a new era of the interdisciplinary science of human-
462 nature interactions, and its future holds enormous promise.

463

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589

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597

598 **Author contributions**

599 Both authors conceived the work, drafted the manuscript, edited and approved the final version.

600

601 **Competing interests**

602 The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

603

604 **Figure legends**

605 **Figure 1. The definition of personalised ecology.** In this paper we define personalised ecology as the set
606 of direct sensory interactions that an individual person has with nature (see Table 1). These interactions are
607 generated through multiple sensory channels such as sight, hearing, touch and smell (2). Our definition of
608 personalised ecology thus includes a wide diversity of human interactions with nature, such as (a) walking a dog
609 in an urban greenspace; (b) viewing trees through a window; (c) feeding a bird by hand; (d) watching a whale;
610 (e) being bitten by a mosquito; and (f) hitting a deer whilst driving a vehicle. Following previous studies (1, 2),
611 we exclude ‘interactions’ with organisms that are not self-sustaining (e.g., playing with domestic pets, viewing
612 crops on agricultural land) and those through the media (e.g., viewing nature documentaries, viewing nature
613 scenes through virtual reality). Photos are from Pixabay (<https://pixabay.com/ja>) (a, b, c, e) and iStock
614 (<https://www.istockphoto.com/jp>) (d, f).

615

616 **Figure 2. A unified conceptual framework for understanding the dynamics of direct human-**
617 **nature interactions.** This consists of four major components: (i) *personalised ecology* (the green-
618 coloured domain), (ii) its *drivers* (*capability*, *opportunity* and *motivation*) (the blue-coloured domain),
619 (iii) its *consequences* (benefits and costs for both humans and nature) (the red-coloured domain), and
620 (iv) the *feedback loops* from the consequences to the drivers (the grey-coloured domain). *Attitudes*
621 *towards nature*, which is one of the five major consequences of personalised ecologies, is closely
622 linked to *motivation*, so these two variables were integrated into the single ‘Motivation’ box (the purple
623 domain) (note: this box belongs to both the *Drivers* and *Consequences* domains). Since *motivation* and
624 *personalised ecology* are influenced by each other, a bidirectional arrow connects them (see *Attitudes*
625 *towards nature* section). The numbers shown in each component indicate the ID of each concept/theory
626 in Table 1 (the concepts and theories were placed in the domains that are most related to them).

627

628 **Table 1. Concepts and theories concerning human-nature interactions.** Each one is defined, the discipline with which it is closely related
 629 is listed, and one or more key references provided. For each of the concepts and theories we also provide the major component of our
 630 conceptual framework with which it is most closely related (see **Fig. 2**).

631

No.	Theory/concept	Definition	Related discipline	Key reference	Related component
1	Personalised ecology	The set of direct sensory interactions that an individual person has with nature	Ecology		1 Personalised ecology
2	Luxury effect	Higher number of species and their abundance in the areas where wealthier groups of people live and which they use	Ecology		3 Drivers (opportunity)
3	Poverty effect	Higher number of species and their abundance in the areas where poorer groups of people live and which they use	Ecology		23 Drivers (opportunity)
4	Nature scarcity	Progressive decline in people's opportunities to experience interactions with nature	Conservation science		24 Drivers (opportunity)
5	Shifting baselines	Long-term changes to an environment go unrecognised because what is perceived as natural shifts with succeeding generations of scientists and other observers	Conservation science		25, 26 Drivers (opportunity)
6	Nature relatedness	Subjective sense of connection people have with the natural world	Psychology		15 Drivers (motivation)
7	Biophilia hypothesis	People are innately attracted to animals and other living things	Evolutionary psychology		27 Drivers (motivation)
8	Savannah hypothesis	Humans prefer open, savannah-like landscapes as they would have favoured survival by our early ancestors	Evolutionary psychology		28 Drivers (motivation)
9	Biophobia	A partly genetic predisposition to retain feelings of strong negative responses to certain natural stimuli, which have been threats during human evolution	Evolutionary psychology		29 Drivers (motivation)
10	Nature apathy	Progressive decline in people's interest in nature	Education; Psychology		32 Drivers (motivation)

11	Videophilia hypothesis	Younger generations are losing inclination towards nature largely due to a shift in preferences for electronic entertainment	Leisure	31	Drivers (motivation)
12	Urbanisation-disgust hypothesis	Living in urban areas increases the intensity of feelings of disgust towards animals	Evolutionary psychology	30	Drivers (motivation)
13	People-biodiversity paradox	Although people tend to prefer biodiverse environments, and obtain greater wellbeing benefits from these, they generally have limited ability accurately to perceive the biodiversity surrounding them	Conservation science	35	Drivers (capability)
14	Nature blindness	Tendency of people not to see or notice certain groups of animals and plants in their environment	Conservation science	36	Drivers (capability)
15	Nature ignorance	Progressive decline in the average level of natural-history knowledge among the general public	Education	37	Drivers (capability)
16	Extinction of experience	Progressive loss of daily interactions between people and nature	Conservation science	5, 39	Personalised ecology
17	Expansion of experience	Progressive increase in some kinds of interactions of people with nature	Ecology; Public health	18, 19	Personalised ecology
18	Early nature experience hypothesis	Direct nature experiences during childhood promote pro-environmental attitudes and behaviour	Conservation science; Psychology	40	Consequences (attitudes towards nature)
19	Nature and happiness hypothesis	Increased emotional connection to nature promotes psychological health	Psychology	42	Consequences (attitudes towards nature)
20	Nature inheritance hypothesis	Resemblance in beliefs and attitudes towards nature between parents and their children	Psychology	33, 38	Feedback loops
21	Nature demand hypothesis	People who have greater positive attitudes towards nature are more likely to seek opportunities, and develop capabilities, that allow them to interact with nature	Psychology	44	Feedback loops
22	Cultural ecosystem services	Nonmaterial benefits people obtain from ecosystems through spiritual enrichment, cognitive development, reflection, recreation, and aesthetic experiences	Conservation science	9	Consequences (benefits for humans)
23	Green exercise hypothesis	Physical activity in natural settings provides greater health and wellbeing benefits than equivalent exertion in indoor settings	Public health	45	Consequences (benefits for humans)

24	Hygiene hypothesis	Early childhood exposure to particular microorganisms protects against allergic diseases by contributing to the development of the immune system	Immunology	46	Consequences (benefits for humans)
25	Old-friends hypothesis	Humans co-evolved with pathogens and other microorganisms to the point that exposure to these symbionts is used in the development and regulation of immune systems	Immunology	12	Consequences (benefits for humans)
26	Biodiversity hypothesis	Contact with natural environments and biodiversity (especially microbes) enriches the human microbiome, promotes immune balance and protects from allergy and inflammatory disorders	Immunology	11	Consequences (benefits for humans)
27	Microbiome rewilding hypothesis	Restoring biodiverse habitats can rewild the environmental microbiome to a state that enhances primary prevention of human disease	Immunology	47	Consequences (benefits for humans)
28	Stress reduction theory	Nature has a stress-reducing and restorative influence on people	Psychology	48	Consequences (benefits for humans)
29	Attention restoration theory	People can concentrate better after experiencing nature	Psychology	49	Consequences (benefits for humans)
30	Biodiversity-wellbeing hypothesis	Natural environments with higher biodiversity provide greater psychological benefits to humans	Conservation science	50	Consequences (benefits for humans)
31	Nature and social cohesion hypothesis	Nature interactions promote social interaction within neighbourhoods, which in turn contributes to increased social cohesion	Public health	6	Consequences (benefits for humans)
32	Nature-based health intervention	Any programme, activity or strategy that aims to engage people in nature-based experiences with the specific goal of achieving improved health and wellbeing	Public health	17	Feedback loops
33	Nature-deficit disorder	People, especially children, are spending less time outdoors, resulting in a wide range of health and developmental problems	Public health	52	Consequences (costs for humans)

34	Human-wildlife conflict	Any interaction between humans and wildlife with negative consequences for both parties	Conservation science	54	Consequences (costs for humans; costs for nature)
35	Ecosystem disservices	Ecosystem-generated functions, processes and attributes that result in negative consequences for people	Conservation science	55	Consequences (costs for humans)
36	Human shield effect	Prey species use humans as a shield from natural predation	Ecology	56	Consequences (benefits for nature)
37	Human-wildlife feedback	Direct human interactions with nature alter the behaviour, abundance and distribution of wildlife, which can in turn either increase or decrease the frequency and intensity of these interactions	Ecology	21	Feedback loops
38	Nature benefit hypothesis	Nature benefits, through increased support for conservation policies and action, when people increase their level of direct interactions with nature	Conservation science	57	Consequences (benefits for nature)
39	Nature and sustainability hypothesis	Exposure to nature reduces impulsive and selfish decision-making in humans, which may promote environmentally sustainable behaviour and decision-making	Psychology	58, 59	Consequences (benefits for nature)

Figure 1. The definition of personalised ecology. In this paper we define personalised ecology as the set of direct sensory interactions that an individual person has with nature (see Table 1). These interactions are generated through multiple sensory channels such as sight, hearing, touch and smell (2). Our definition of personalised ecology thus includes a wide diversity of human interactions with nature, such as (a) walking a dog in an urban greenspace; (b) viewing trees through a window; (c) feeding a bird by hand; (d) watching a whale; (e) being bitten by a mosquito; and (f) hitting a deer whilst driving a vehicle. Following previous studies (1, 2), we exclude ‘interactions’ with organisms that are not self-sustaining (e.g., playing with domestic pets, viewing crops on agricultural land) and those through the media (e.g., viewing nature documentaries, viewing nature scenes through virtual reality). Photos are from Pixabay (<https://pixabay.com/ja>) (a, b, c, e) and iStock (<https://www.istockphoto.com/jp>) (d, f).

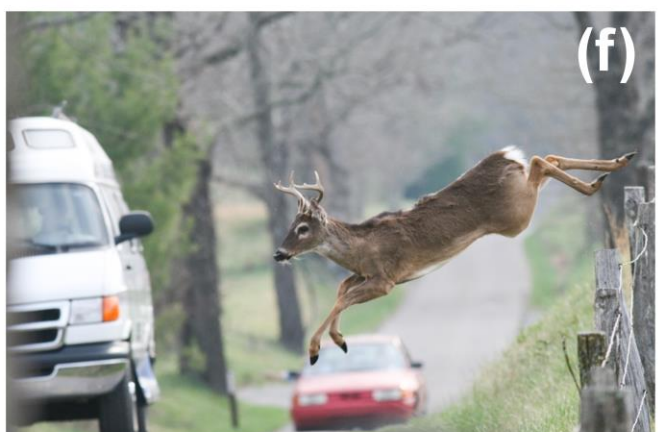


Figure 2. A unified conceptual framework for understanding the dynamics of direct human-nature interactions. This consists of four major components: (i) *personalised ecology* (the green-coloured domain), (ii) its *drivers* (*capability*, *opportunity* and *motivation*) (the blue-coloured domain), (iii) its *consequences* (benefits and costs for both humans and nature) (the red-coloured domain), and (iv) the *feedback loops* from the consequences to the drivers (the grey-coloured domain). *Attitudes towards nature*, which is one of the five major consequences of personalised ecologies, is closely linked to *motivation*, so these two variables were integrated into the single ‘Motivation’ box (the purple domain) (note: this box belongs to both the *Drivers* and *Consequences* domains). Since *motivation* and *personalised ecology* are influenced by each other, a bidirectional arrow connects them (see *Attitudes towards nature* section). The numbers shown in each component indicate the ID of each concept/theory in Table 1 (the concepts and theories were placed in the domains that are most related to them).

