Fig 2. Three Likert statements as components of each of three different motivations behind garden bird feeding; a) psychological well-being benefits, b) a concern about avian welfare and c) nature orientation. For each statement we plotted the respondent's score (strongly disagree to strongly agree) against how regularly they fed birds, because across statements this was the most consist predictor of motivation (* Statements 6-9 were only completed by people who fed birds). Testing for welfare concerns, we found that the perception that there is not enough natural food available for birds increased with the levels of bird feeding and in respondents >60 years of age (Table 1d, Fig 2b). The sentiment that there are enough people in my neighbourhood who feed birds decreased with the frequency of bird feeding (Table 1d-e, Fig 2b). Overall, people who fed birds regularly and people over 40 years were more likely to invest time taking preventative measures against disease transmission by washing their feeders regularly (Table 1f, Fig 2b). Finally, testing for orientation towards interacting with nature, we found that most people, but in particular those who put out food regularly, did so to try and attract birds to their garden, putting out food whether birds were present or not (Table 1g-h, Figs 2c). People who fed birds regularly were less likely to stop putting out food if they could attract the same number of birds with bird-friendly plants (Table 1i, Fig 2c). We did not find gender or income to be a significant predictor of any statement. A mixed effects ordinal regression of adjusted statement score against motivation, suggested that based on the statements, the psychological benefits were the strongest driver of bird feeding (Table 2, Fig 3). Nature orientation and a concern about avian welfare were equally strong motivations (Table 2, Fig 3).

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Table 2. A mixed effects ordinal regression of statement score against motivation, while controlling for feeding activities. We included the respondent's unique ID as a random effect. Coefficients show difference in motivation score relative to welfare, and bird feeding against those people who don't feed birds. Significant factor levels are shown as: ***P < 0.001.

Factor level	Coefficient (CI)	t-value
Psychological	0.35 (±0.08)	4.4***
Orientation	0.06 (±0.09)	0.5
Irregular feeding	0.81 (±0.19)	4.2***
Regular feeding	1.86 (±0.17)	10.8***

Fig 3. Likert plots for each of the three motivations behind garden bird feeding. Where necessary we reversed statement scores, so that a high score always indicates support for bird feeding and/or welfare. We then pooled

Of the 56 people who never put out food for birds, 78% either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement 'I am not interested in feeding birds' (average score = 1.9 \pm 1.2 (SE)). People who fed birds regularly (estimate = -1.4 \pm 0.3 (SE), p <0.0001) or were over 60 (estimate = -0.8 \pm 0.4 (SE), p = 0.02) were less likely to forget to put out food.

Discussion

statements by motivation.

In an increasingly urbanized world the on-going separation of people from nature, 'the extinction of experience', is considered by many both a major public heath risk [7,3] and a fundamental obstacle to halting and reversing the global biodiversity crisis [6,8]. It is a consequence of a behavioural shift towards people spending a greater proportion of time indoors or engaged in non-nature based activities [47,48]. This is also a period when the simple act of providing food for garden birds is increasing in popularity (e.g. [27]). Garden bird feeding has wider implications than supporting populations of often-common species, instead it is

increasingly being recognised as an important component of many people's daily nature interactions [7,15,23-26]. If so, bird feeders may make excellent 'ambassadors' for engaging people with nature and halting the extinction of experience. A small number of qualitative studies have started to explore the possible motivations behind the rapid increase in bird feeding [21,25-26,49], citing reasons such as feelings of pleasure [21,27] or deriving well-being by adopting a warden-like role to their wildlife [26]. However, despite the undoubted financial implications (see [27]) and impacts on avian welfare [22], it is still unclear why so many invest their time and money feeding birds. Here, we found that there were a variety of strong motivations, with evidence that the associated self-reported psychological benefits were the strongest driver (acknowledging that it is not possible to draw broader conclusions about these motivations beyond those from the individual statements; although we have mitigated much of the inherent bias within self-reported behaviour through large sample sizes and an ordinal regression analytical approach, a degree of caution must be exercised when interpreting self-reported motivations). Understanding how different components of nature give rise to psychological benefits is a key question in environmental psychology. The majority of respondents agreed positively with the statements that: watching birds in their garden made them feel relaxed and connected to nature. These feelings increased in people who noticed birds around them for a greater proportion of the day and who fed birds regularly. Stress is a major contributor towards mental health issues such as depression and anxiety [50]. Here we show that the act of maintaining and watching a bird feeder increased self-reported feeling of relaxation, so contributing towards reduced levels of stress. Although we do not show causation, we do not believe that it is too great a leap to conclude that people who feed birds more regularly and feel connected to nature from doing so, feel a deeper connection to nature. Watching birds at feeders and listening to their song provide opportunities to reinforce this connection within one's own garden [51-52]. Estimates have been made of how much people pay to receive these and other benefits: for example, £240-290 million is spent annually on bird seed in the UK, whilst the bird food industry in the US is estimated to be worth

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\$4.5 billion [23]. As future research explores and quantifies the mental health benefits of engaging with different aspects of nature, these values may be seen as cost efficient investments.

We found that the perception that there is insufficient food available in the natural environment increased with the frequency of bird feeding. While there are doubtless complex relationships between people's perceptions and actions, this would suggest that these participants believe that birds benefit from supplementary food. Although the casual relationships are not easy to disentangle, at face value this would imply that a concern about bird welfare is a strong motivation behind bird feeding. Indeed, many people feel passionately about the welfare of their garden birds [27], shown here by their willingness also to invest time in offsetting associated risks, such as by following best practise guides (e.g. [37]) to reduce the risk of the spread of disease. Encouragingly we found that 58% of people agreed with the statement that they regularly wash their feeders. However, this figure decreased in younger people and those that only fed birds irregularly, suggesting that people's willingness to invest in improving avian hygiene may be related to their availability of leisure time.

There is increasing evidence that the greater a person's orientation towards nature the more they are motivated towards experiencing it, and that this can be a stronger motivation than their opportunity for doing so [38]. Although we did not measure orientation and opportunity directly, we show that people who fed birds regularly would be willing to do so even if there were none currently in the garden, and were less willing to lose the closer and more reliable human-wildlife interaction a bird feeder provides such as by planting bird friendly plants. These feelings decreased with levels of bird feeding, suggesting that people who fed birds regularly were more orientated towards seeking this nature interaction even when there was less immediate opportunity for doing so. Although we show that bird feeding is an expression of nature orientation it is important to acknowledge that it is only one of many different forms of connection to nature.

If feeding birds provides psychological benefits to so many people, then an obvious question remains: why don't more people do it? Of the people in this study that never provided food only 22% stated that they were not interested in so doing. The strongest indicator that we found of a failure to feed birds was simply that people didn't remember to do so, especially in respondents under 40 years who are likely to spend less of their leisure time around the home than older respondents [53]. In line with other studies we found that the regularity of bird feeding increased with age (e.g. [20-21]), with respondent's over 40 years feeling more relaxed when watching birds in their garden than younger counterparts. Older participants' preference for low arousal (e.g. relaxation) over high arousal (e.g. excitement) emotions may increase in later life [54], suggesting that the benefits of watching birds, and people's relationship to nature in general, may vary across a person's life [55]. We did not find gender or income to be significant predictors of motivation in any model, suggesting that amongst people who feed birds such disparities are not important drivers. In a world where people live increasingly urbanized lifestyles, the nature around where they live and work forms a critical component of their daily nature interaction. A major challenge in harnessing people's interest in local and broader conservation issues is that many people simply do not notice the nature that is around them [40]. A bird feeder has the potential to be a powerful tool for people to make this connection, because it provides a focal location where people both expect to and are able to observe birds and their behaviours. However, the avian community level impacts of bird feeding vary geographically [56-57] and as a consequence the activity is either supported or discouraged by relevant national conservation organisations (reviewed [27]). Whatever the position, the large number of people engaged in providing food for wild birds suggests that there is a general desire within the wider population to engage with the wildlife around them. Understanding people's motivations behind bird feeding can open the door to public conversations about conservation management strategies at the local, national and interational levels. Further, if conservation organisations and city planners can maximise the benefits that

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454	engaging with wildlife brings then the nature where people live has the potential
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457	Supporting information captions
458	S1 File. Test of whether two methods of data collection were comparable
459	(Appendix A). Birds and you (Table A). Birds in your garden (Table B). Why
460	you don't feed birds (Table C). Birds at your feeder (Table D). About you (Table
461	E) . Demographic breakdown of the respondents, with comparative nationwide
462	data from UK Census 2011 (Table Fa), nature awareness of respondents (Table
463	Fb).

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