



The CLEAN PAPER

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Yara kanana ba masu son kai kawai ba ne da farko: shawararsu ta sauri ta fi kyautata wa wasu

A binciken yara 537 masu magana da Italiyanci, masu shekaru 3 zuwa 10, masu bincike sun sa yara su yanke shawara ta zamantakewa a karkashin matsin lokaci ko bayan ɗan jira. Amsoshin gaggawa na yara mafi kankanta sun fi nuna haɗin kai, gaskiya da yarda da kananan tayin fiye da amsoshinsu na jinkiri. Yayin da yaran suka girma, wannan halin farko na kyautata wa wasu bai bace ba; maimakon haka, kyautatawa bayan nazari ta karu har ta kai matsayinsa. Fassarar da ta dace da hankali ita ce wannan ba hujjar cewa yara a ko'ina nagari ne tun daga haihuwa ba. Hujja ce daga samfurin Arewacin Italiya guda ɗaya da wasannin ɗakin gwaji cewa halin farko na kyautata wa wasu zai iya kasancewa yayin da tunani mai zurfi game da kyautatawa yake kaiwa matakinsa.

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Hanyar jinkiri zuwa ga kyautatawa

Idan ka sa yaro mai shekara uku ya yanke shawara cikin sauri ko zai raba abu, ya ba da haɗin kai ko ya faɗi gaskiya, me kake tsammanin zai faru?

Labari mafi sauƙi shi ne cewa abin da mutum ya fara yi bisa motsin zuciyar son kai ne, sai tunani mai zurfi ya kawo dabi'a mai kyau. Yaro ya kwace alawa; yaron da ya fi girma kuma ya fi yin tunani ya koyi kame kansa. Wannan bincike ya nuna cewa labarin bai yi sauƙi haka ba. A cikin babban samfurin yara masu magana da Italiyanci, yara mafi fankanta sun fi nuna halin kyautatawa wasu lokacin da suka amsa cikin sauri fiye da lokacin da aka sa su jira. Yara da suka fi girma ba su rage kyautatawa wasu a yanayin amsa cikin sauri ba. Abin da ya canja shi ne bangaren shawara mai jinkiri: kyautatawa wasu bayan yin nazari ya karu da shekaru har ya kai matsayin amsar gaggawa.

Wannan sigar sakamakon ita ce muhimmiya. Ba wai “ana haifar yara nagari” ba ne. Ba kuma wai “tunani yana sa yara su zama masu son kai” ba ne. Da'awa ce game da bunkasa: a farkon shekaru, amsoshin kyautatawa wasu sun bayyana a cikin shawara mai sauri kuma suka kasance kusan daya, yayin da irin shawarar da aka yi bayan dan jira ta kara karfi a tsawon yarinta.

Abin da marubutan suka yi

Tawagar ta gwada yara 537 masu shekaru 3 zuwa 10 a Milan, Italiya. An sanya kowane yaro cikin daya daga yanayi biyu na yanke shawara ta hanyar bazuwar rabawa:

- **Matsin lokaci:** a ba da amsa cikin dakika 10.
- **Jinkirin lokaci:** a jira akalla dakika 10 kafin a ba da amsa.

Sai kowane yaro ya yi wasu ayyukan yanke shawara na zamantakewa da aka shirya domin yara, ta amfani da alawa, abokan hula na kirkira da saukafan yanayin dabi'a. Gaba daya, kowane yaro ya yanke shawara 19.

Ayyukan sun kunshi nau'o'in halayen zamantakewa da dama:

- **Wasan Dukiya Jama'a (Public Goods Game),** inda yara suka yanke shawarar adadin alawar da za su saka cikin asusun tarayya, wanda za a ninka sau biyu sannan a raba.
- **Wasan Mai Mulki (Dictator Game),** inda suka yanke shawarar adadin alawar da za su ba wani yaro.
- **Wasan Ultimatum (Ultimatum Game),** inda suka amince ko suka fi tayin raba alawa ba daidai ba.
- **Wasan Yaudara (Deception Game),** inda yin karya ya ba yaron alawa da yawa, ya rage wa abokin hulfarsa.
- **Matsalolin dabi'a guda biyu** da aka saukafa domin yara, inda za a iya cutar da yaro daya domin ceton wasu biyar.

Marubutan ba su dauki waɗannan a matsayin wasanni biyar marasa alaƙa ba. Sun yi amfani da nazarin ma'aunai domin su tambayi ko zaɓuɓɓukan sun taru a cikin manyan siffofi. An sami siffofi uku:

- **Kyautatawa wasu (Prosociality):** haɗin kai, bayarwa, gaskiya da koƙarin guje wa cutar da ribar wani ɗan wasa a hulɗar sau daya.
- **Kyakkyawan zato game da jama'a (Social Optimism):** imanin cewa sauran yara za su ba da haɗin kai.

- **Saurin amincewa (Acquiescence):** halin amincewa da tayi gaba daya, ko da tayin bai yi adalci ba.

Wannan yana da muhimmanci saboda babban sakamakon ba ya magana ne game da gwajin raba alawa guda daya kawai. Yana magana ne game da tsarin da ya bayyana a shawara iri-iri.

Ma'anar "amsa ta farko" da "nazari" a nan

"Amsa ta farko" a wannan binciken ba tana nufin wani sirrin azancin dabi'a da ke cikin mutum ba. Tana nufin shawarar da aka yanke a farkashin matsin lokaci: dole ne yaro ya amsa cikin dakika 10.

"Nazari" kuwa yana nufin kishiyar tsarin gwajin: dole ne yaro ya jira akalla dakika 10 kafin ya amsa.

Ana yawan amfani da wannan dabara a binciken hanyoyi biyu na tunani, amma har yanzu wakili ne kawai na abubuwan da ake son aunawa. Amsa mai sauri ba tsantsar ilhami ba ce, kuma amsar da aka jinkirta ba tsantsar hankali ba ce. Saboda haka, da'awar binciken ta fi kunci kuma ta fi tsabta: a farkashin wadannan yanayin matsin lokaci da jinkirin lokaci, halin kyautata wa wasu ya bi hanyoyin bunkasa daban-daban.

Abin da suka gano

Babban sakamakon shi ne sauyin yadda shawara mai sauri da mai jinkiri ta bunkasa wajen kyautata wa wasu.

A **shekara 3**, yaran da ke yanayin amsa da sauri sun sami maki mafi yawa a ma'aunin Kyautata wa Wasu fiye da yaran da ke yanayin jinkiri. Girman tasirin da aka ruwaito shi ne **beta = 0.66**, tare da **tazarar amincewa ta 95% daga 0.35 zuwa 0.97** (jagora). A saukake: a tsakanin yara mafi kankanta, yanayin amsa da sauri yana da alaƙa da ƙarin halin kyautata wa wasu.

Wannan kyautatawar a yanayin sauri **ba ta nuna** hujja bayyananniya cewa tana ƙaruwa ko raguwa da shekaru ba. Marubutan ba su sami kwaƙƙwarar hujjar cewa Kyautata wa Wasu a yanayin sauri tana bin wani sauyi na shekaru ba.

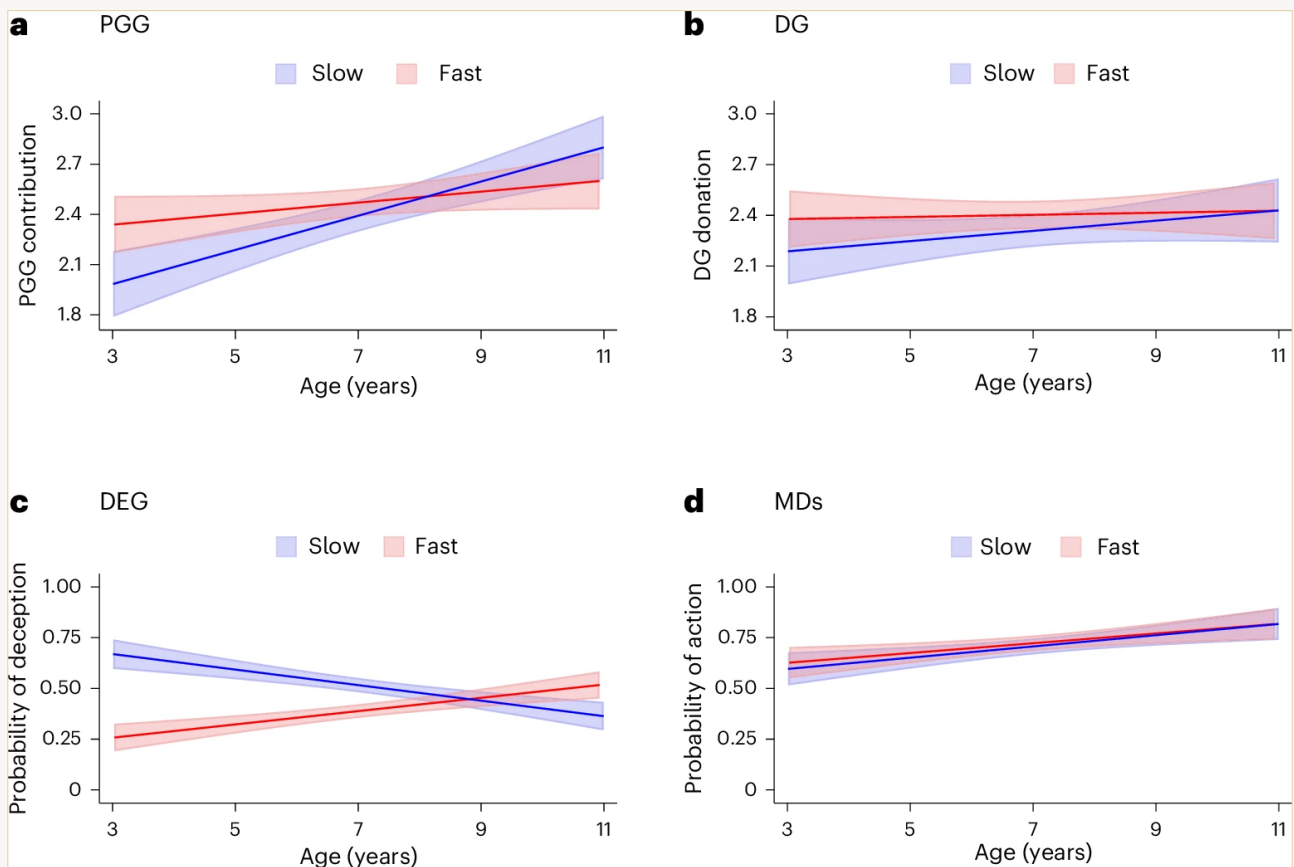
Yanayin jinkiri ya bambanta. **Kyautata wa wasu bayan nazari ta ƙaru da shekaru (beta = 0.09**, tazarar amincewa ta 95% daga 0.04 zuwa 0.13). Yayin da yara suka girma, tazarar da ke tsakanin shawara mai sauri da mai jinkiri ta ragu. Zuwa **shekaru 9 zuwa 10**, binciken bai sami bambanci mai muhimmancin kididdiga tsakanin yanayin shawarar biyu ba.

Sauran siffofi biyun sun nuna wani tsari daban:

- **Kyakkyawan zato game da jama'a** bai nuna hujjar sauyawa da shekaru ko yanayin yanke shawara ba.
- **Saurin amincewa** ya ragu da shekaru, musamman a yanayin jinkiri: yara da suka fi girma sun fi iya ƙin tayin wasu maimakon amincewa da komai.

Sakamakon kowane aiki ya ƙara bayani. A tsakanin yara mafi kankanta, yanayin amsa da sauri yana da alaƙa da ƙarin haɗin kai a Wasan Dukiya Jama'a da ƙarin gaskiya a Wasan Yaudara. Amma bai nuna a sarari cewa ya sa yaran su fi kyauta a Wasan Mai Mulki ba. Saboda haka, binciken ba ya cewa "amsa ta farko tana ƙarfafa kowane irin halin kyautata wa wasu." Yana cewa babban ma'aunin Kyautata wa Wasu, wanda aka haɗa daga ayyuka da dama, ya fi yawa a farkashin matsin lokaci a farkon yarinta, yayin da kyautata wa wasu bayan nazari ta ƙaru da

shekaru.



Hoto na 3 daga makalar ya rarraba sakamakon bisa ga kowane aiki. PGG yana nufin Public Goods Game, aikin haɗin kai inda yara ke saka alawa cikin asusun tarayya. DG yana nufin Dictator Game, aikin bayarwa. DEG yana nufin Deception Game, inda gaskiya ke gogayya da samun riba mafi yawa ga yaro. MDs yana nufin Moral Dilemmas, inda yaro yake zaɓar ko za a iya cutar da mutum ɗaya domin ceton biyar. Kowane ɓangare yana nuna yadda hali ya canja da shekaru bayan an daidaita tasirin yanayin yanke shawara. Layukan suna nuna kimomin ordinary least squares da aka hango; wuraren da aka yi wa inuwa su ne tazarar amincewa ta 95% da aka tara bisa mahalarta. Babban abin lura ga mai karatu shi ne cewa cikakken sakamakon Kyautata wa Wasu ya fito daga wasanni da dama, kuma layukan kowane aiki ba su yi daidai gaba ɗaya ba.

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Sakamakon ba taken talla ba ne

Akwai take biyu masu sauƙin jan hankali, kuma duka sun wuce gona da iri wajen sauƙaƙawa.

Na farko shi ne: **yara nagari ne tun daga haihuwa**. Makalar ba ta tabbatar da haka ba. Samfurin yara ne masu magana da Italiyanci daga Arewacin Italiya, waɗanda aka samo ta makarantu da makarantun kananan yara na jama'ar matsakaicin kuɗin shiga. Marubutan sun yi gargadi a fili kada a faɗaɗa sakamakon zuwa kowace al'ada.

Na biyu shi ne: **tunani yana sa mutane su zama masu son kai**. Binciken bai nuna haka ba. A tsakanin yaran da suka fi girma, shawara mai jinkiri da ke kyautata wa wasu ta kara karfi. Labarin bunkasar ba labarin fadowa

daga tsarkin yara ba ne. Ya fi kama da canja wuri: abin da ya fara bayyana a cikin shawara mai sauri yana kara kasancewa a cikin shawara bayan tunani.

Wannan bambancin shi ne ainihin batu. Binciken bai tambayi ko yara nagari ne ko miyagu ba. Ya tambayi yadda hanyoyi daban na yanke shawara—mai sauri da mai jinkiri—suke da alaƙa da halin kyautata wa wasu yayin da yara suke girma.

Yaya karfin hujjar yake?

Ga babban tsarin, hujjar tana da karfi mai kyau. Samfurin ya yi girma ga irin wannan gwajin bunkasar yara: **yara 537**, daga shekaru 3 zuwa 10. Tsarin binciken ya raba yara ta hanyar bazuwar rabawa zuwa yanayin sauri ko jinkiri. Marubutan ba su dogara da wasa guda ɗaya ba; sun haɗa ayyukan zamantakewa da dama, sannan suka gwada ko tsarin ya tsaya a binciken tabbatar da sakamako iri-iri.

Makarar ta kuma ruwaito gwaje-gwajen da ba su da armashi amma suke da muhimmanci. Sakamakon ya tsaya lokacin da aka kasa shekaru zuwa rukuni maimakon ɗaukar su a matsayin layi mai ci gaba; lokacin da aka cire yara mafi kanƙanta; lokacin da aka haɗa yaran da suka kasa gwajin fahimta; lokacin da aka cire yaran da ba su bi umarnin yanayin sauri ba; da lokacin da aka kiyasta tsarin ma'aunai daban ga yara kanana da manya.

Amma iyakokin binciken na gaske ne.

Na farko, **babu yanayin tsaka-tsaki na lokaci**. Ko dai an matsa wa yara su amsa da sauri ko an ce su jira. Wannan yana nufin makalar ta kwatanta shawara mai sauri da shawara da aka jinkirta, ba kowannensu da shawara marar takura ba.

Na biyu, abokan huldar **na kirkira ne**, ko da yake an sa yara su yi imanin cewa na gaske ne. Wannan abu ne na yau da kullum a wasannin ɗakin gwaji da ake sarrafawa, amma ba daidai yake da kallon yara suna tattaunawa da abokan ajinsu a halin zamantakewa na gaske ba.

Na uku, **ba a yi wa binciken rajista tun kafin a fara ba**. Ana iya samun bayanai da kayan bincike ta OSF, amma ba a kulle shirin nazarin wannan bincike kafin fara shi ba.

Na huɗu, samfurin ya taƙaita ga al'ada ɗaya. Arewacin Italiya ba ya wakiltar “yarinta” gaba ɗaya. Bunkasar halin kyautata wa wasu na iya bambanta da dokokin zamantakewa, makaranta, yanayin iyali da tattalin arziki.

Saboda haka, matakin amincewa mafi aminci shi ne: akwai babban dalilin amincewa cewa wannan samfurin, a karkashin waɗannan ayyuka da yanayin lokaci, ya nuna tsarin da aka ruwaito. Amincewar ta ragu idan ana cewa wannan tsarin zai bayyana ba tare da canji ba a wasu al'adu, ayyuka ko huldar rayuwa ta gaske.

Dalilin da ya sa yake da muhimmanci

Muhawarar manya game da ɗabi'a sau da yawa tana ɓoye wani sauƙaƙan ra'ayi: motsin farko shi ne ɓangaren dabba, nazari kuma shi ne ɓangaren wayewa. Ilimin halayyar bunkasa yara yana sa wannan ra'ayi ya zama da wuya a rife.

A wannan binciken, shawarar gaggawa ta yara mafi kankanta ba ita ce tushen son kai da hankali ya kamata ya gyara ba. Halin kyautata wa wasu a shawara mai sauri ya riga ya kasance. Sauyin bunkasar shi ne cewa shawara mai jinkiri da tunani ta kara kyautata wa wasu da shekaru.

Wannan yana ba da wata fahimta mai amfani. Bunkasar dabi'a mai kyau watakila ba danne munanan motsin rai kadai ba ne. Watakila kuma hanya ce da yara ke koyon daukar amsoshin haɗin kai, gaskiya da kula da wasu da suka bayyana da wuri zuwa cikin tunani mai jinkiri da zurfi.

Wannan labari ya fi natsuwa kuma ya fi cewa “yara tsarkaka ne.” Yana cewa kyautata wa wasu na iya fara ne a matsayin abin da yara ke yi da sauri, sannan ya zama abin da za su iya yi bayan sun yi tunani.

Takaitaccen bayani

Masu bincike sun gwada yara 537 masu magana da Italiyanci, masu shekaru 3 zuwa 10, a ayyukan yanke shawara na zamantakewa da suka haɗa da haɗin kai, bayarwa, gaskiya, amincewa da tayi marar adalci da matsalolin dabi'a. An raba yaran ta hanyar bazuwar rabawa zuwa amsa da sauri, cikin dakika 10, ko jira akalla dakika 10 kafin amsa. Nazarin ma'aunai ya gano manyan siffofi uku: Kyautata wa Wasu, Kyakkyawan Zato game da Jama'a da Saurin Amincewa. Babban sakamakon ya shafi bunkasa: a tsakanin yara mafi kankanta, shawara mai sauri ta fi kyautata wa wasu fiye da shawara da aka jinkirta; kyautatawar a yanayin sauri ta kasance kusan ɗaya da shekaru; kyautata wa wasu bayan nazari kuma ta karu har tazazar ta rufe a kusan shekaru 9 zuwa 10. Binciken bai tabbatar da cewa duk yara nagari ne tun daga haihuwa ba. Ya nuna, a samfurin Arewacin Italiya guda ɗaya da wasu wasannin ɗakin gwaji, cewa motsin farko na kyautata wa wasu na iya kasancewa yayin da tunani mai zurfi game da kyautatawa yake kaiwa matakinsa.

Binciken hana karin gishiri

Abin da makalar ta nuna: A samfurin yara 537 masu magana da Italiyanci, matsin lokaci yana da alaƙa da karin Kyautata wa Wasu a tsakanin yara mafi kankanta, yayin da kyautata wa wasu bayan nazari ta karu da shekaru kuma ta kai matakin farko zuwa ƙarshen yarinta.

Abin da zai yiwu amma ba a tabbatar ba: Cewa halin farko na kyautata wa wasu yana kafa tushen da yara daga baya suke koyon bayyanawa ta hanyar tunani. Tsarin ya dace da wannan fassara, amma tsarin binciken ba zai iya ware dabi'ar da aka haifa da ita daga koyon zamantakewa na farkon rayuwa ba.

Abin da bai nuna ba: Cewa dukan yara nagari ne tun daga haihuwa; cewa tunani yana sa yara su zama masu son kai; cewa wannan tsarin bunkasa yana aiki iri ɗaya a duk al'adu; ko kuma cewa kowane irin halin kyautata wa wasu yana bin hanya ɗaya.

Manyan iyakoki: Babu yanayin lokaci na tsaka-tsaki; abokan hulɗa na ƙirƙira ne; samfurin makarantu ne na Arewacin Italiya; ba a yi rajistar binciken tun farko ba; kuma wasannin ɗakin gwaji suna saukaƙa hulɗar zamantakewa ta gaske.

Yaya ƙarfin amincewar mai karatu ya kamata ya kasance? Mai kyau sosai ga tsarin da aka ruwaito a cikin

wannan bincike. Matsakaici ga fassarar bunkasa mai fadi. Kasa ga duk wata babbar da'awa game da dabi'ar dan Adam.

Majiyoyi

Margoni et al., Stable intuition and the rise of deliberative prosociality in childhood, Nature Human Behaviour (2026)

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Open Science Framework repository for study data and materials

<https://osf.io/xpsqe/overview>