



Ecological Active learning

Across development

Trajectories, Mechanisms, and Opportunities for Intervention

Prof. Dr. Dr. Azzurra Ruggeri
Technical University Munich
Central European University, Vienna

University of Gothenburg, 9.12.2025



Expected
observation



Actual
observation



Wait, what?



search, learn, test, explore, change, reorganize, adapt

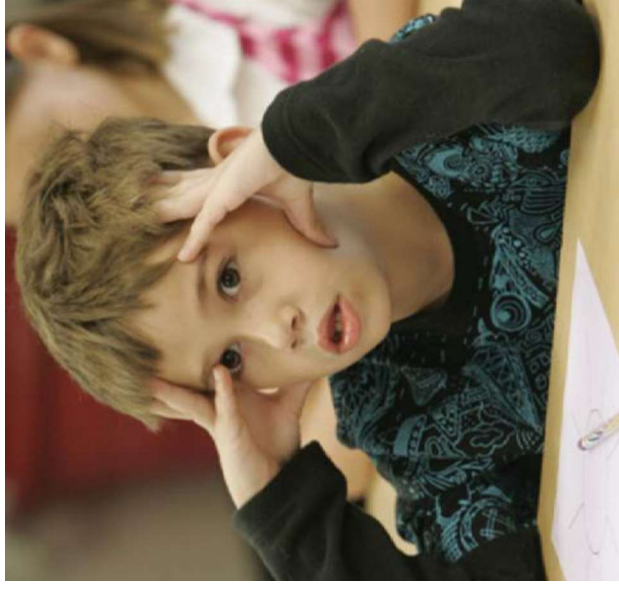
Child as scientist

- Infants prefer informative and **knowledgeable social partners** (see Bazhydai et al., 2020; Csibra & Gergely, 2009) and are more likely to attend, explore, and solicit information when their **expectations are violated** (e.g., Dunn & Bremner, 2017; Stahl & Feigenson, 2015)
- Preschoolers are more likely to explore when presented with **confounded evidence** (e.g., Bonawitz et al., 2012; Schulz & Bonawitz, 2007)
- The **ability to make informative interventions** become more sophisticated in the preschool years (Cook et al., 2011; McCormack et al., 2016)
- Toddlers prefer to query and **trust the most reliable** and knowledgeable sources of information (see Mills, 2013)
- Preschoolers ask questions that are **domain appropriate and informative** (see Greif et al., 2006; Legare et al., 2013).



Child as (bad) scientist

- Children do not demonstrate robust adult-like inquiry patterns until closer to age 10 (see Ruggeri & Feufel, 2015)
- Children's predecisional information search is exhaustive, unfocused, and unsystematic until age 10 (see Davidson, 1991; Betsch, 2014)
- Even 12-years-olds often fail to demonstrate mastery of the most basic scientific inquiry skills (e.g., Klahr et al., 1993)



Ecological Active Learning

Ruggeri, *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 2022
Stanciu, Török, & Ruggeri, *Child Development Perspectives*, 2024

How children explore and learn by:

- Recognizing the potentially ever-changing characteristics of their **environments**,
- Monitoring their **own competences**
- Considering internal/external **goals**
- Maximize effectiveness





Uniform distribution



He woke
up late



He could not find
his jacket



He could not
find one sock

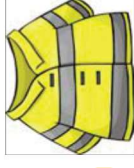


His bike was
broken

Skewed distribution



He woke
up late



He could not find
his jacket



He could not
find one sock



His bike was
broken

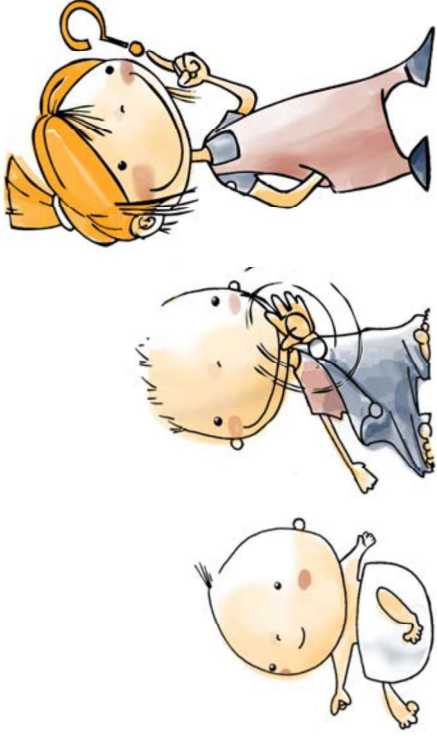
CONSTRAINT SEEKING

“Is it because he couldn't find something?”

HYPOTHESIS SCANNING

“Is it because he woke up late?”

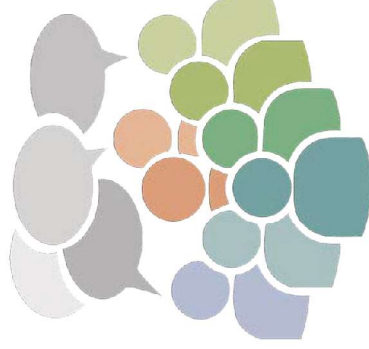
- Different kinds of questions are **differently** informative depending on the likelihood distribution across the given hypotheses



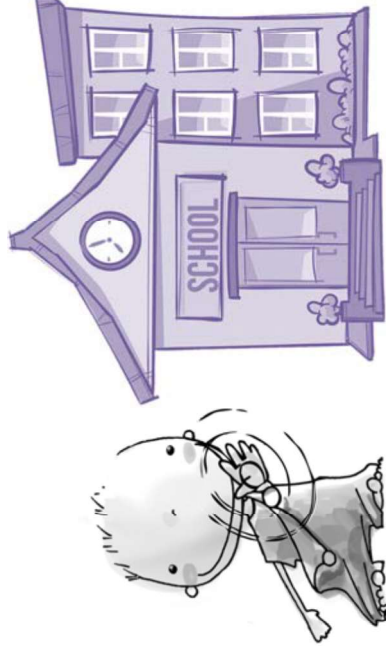
Developmental trajectory



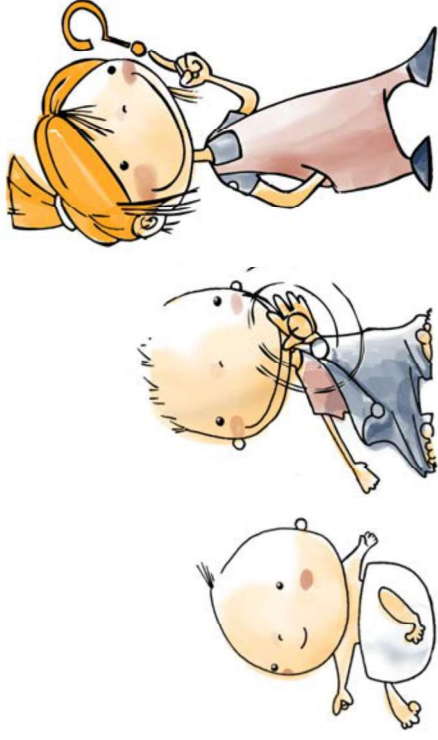
Underlying Dynamics of Exploration



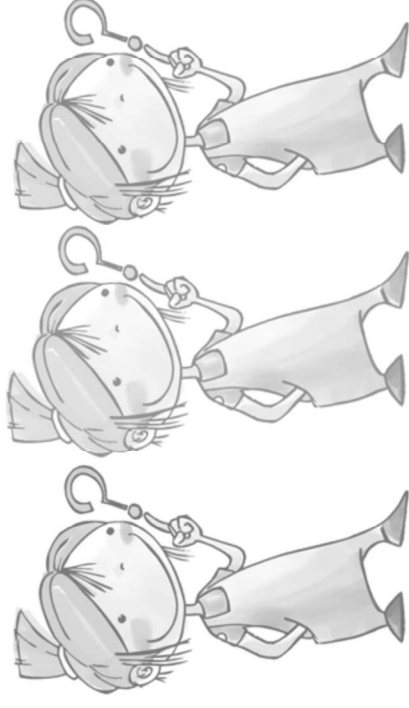
Navigating the social world



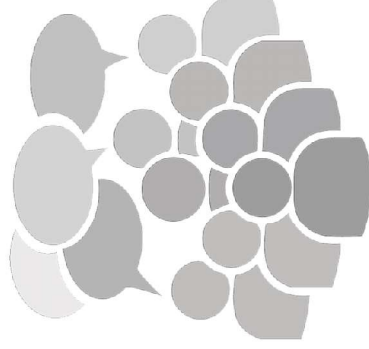
Interventions to support learning



Developmental trajectory



Underlying Dynamics of Exploration



Navigating the social world



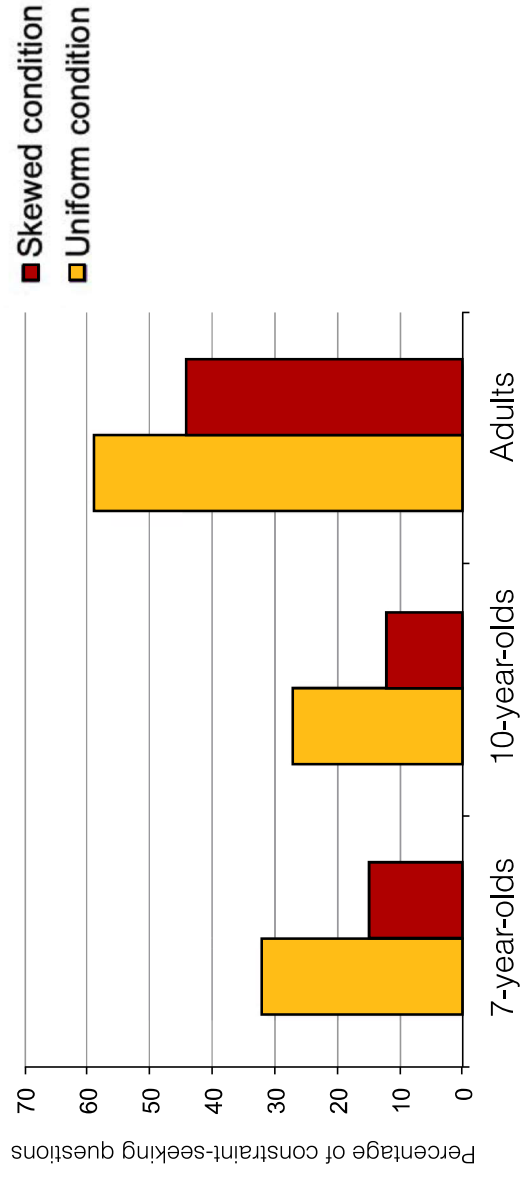
Interventions to support learning

Children are adaptive learners

Ruggeri & Lombrozo, *Cognition*, 2015

Uniform		Skewed	
He forgot something at home and had to return for it		High	He forgot something at home and had to return for it
His alarm went off late so he overslept	High	High	His alarm went off late so he overslept
His alarm did not go off so he overslept	Medium	Medium	He had to drop off his children at school that morning
He forgot something in his car and had to go get it	Medium	Medium	He had to drop his wife at work that morning
He could not find the keys to the car and had to search for them	Medium	Medium	The main street leading to his office was closed
He could not find his wallet and had to search for it	Medium	Medium	The police stopped his car for a control
He had an errand to run on the way to work	Low	Low	He got robbed on the street on the way to the bus
He had a phone call to make before work	Low	Low	He got robbed on the bus
He was not feeling well when he woke up	Low	Low	A dog bit him in his front yard
He was not feeling well during the night	Low	Low	A dog was chasing him on the street

Children are adaptive learners



- Children are ecological active learners by age 7: they dynamically adapt the types of questions asked to improve efficiency.

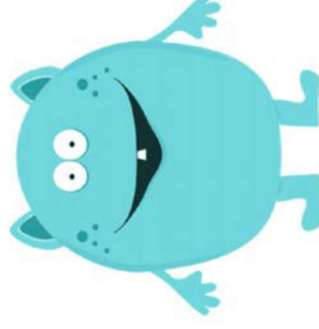
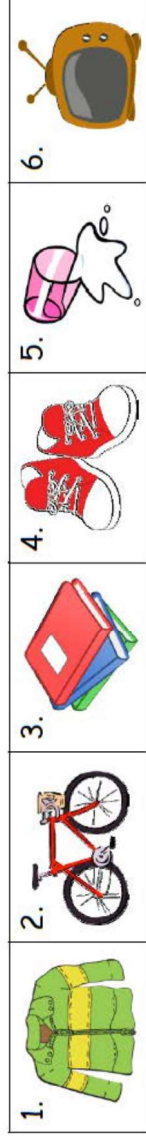
Preschoolers identify the most informative questions



Zi Lin Sim

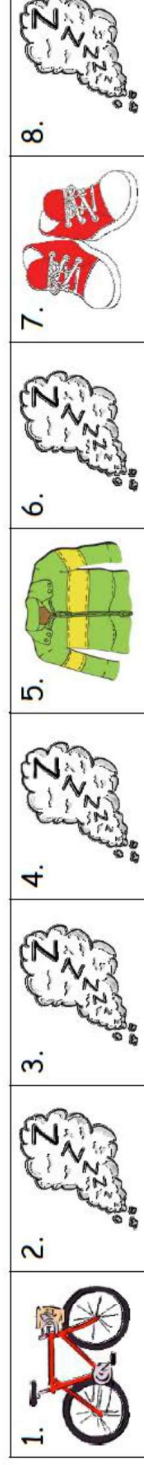
Ruggeri, Sim, & Xu, *Developmental Psychology*, 2017

Uniform condition



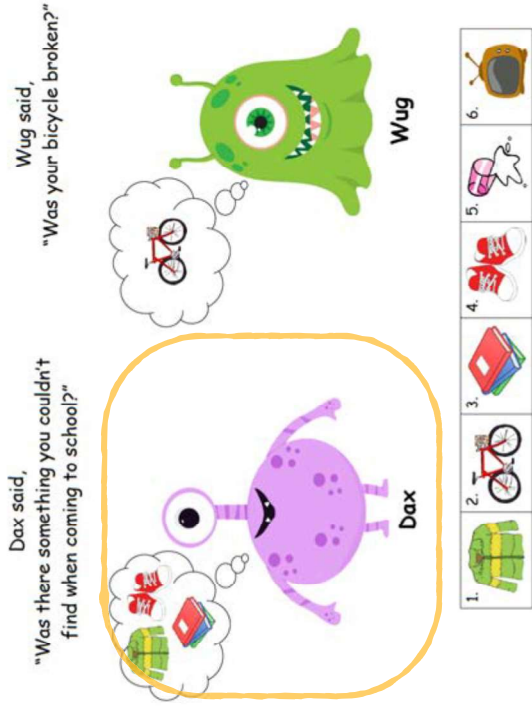
Toma

Skewed condition

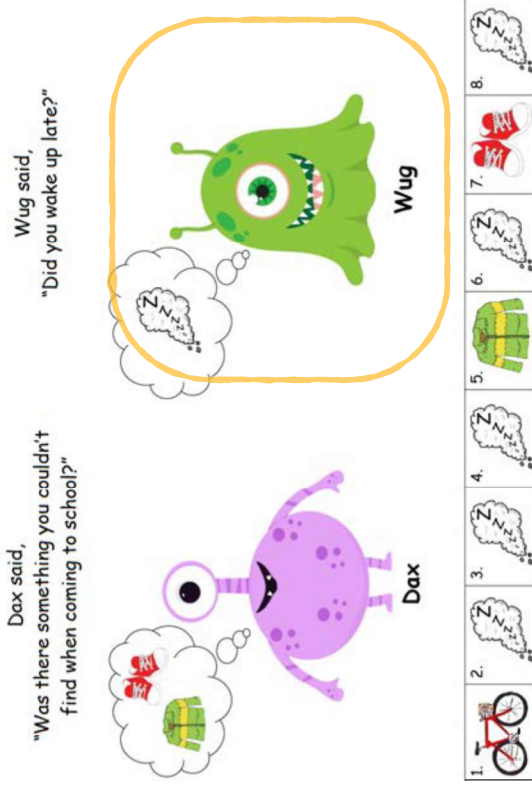


Preschoolers identify the most informative questions

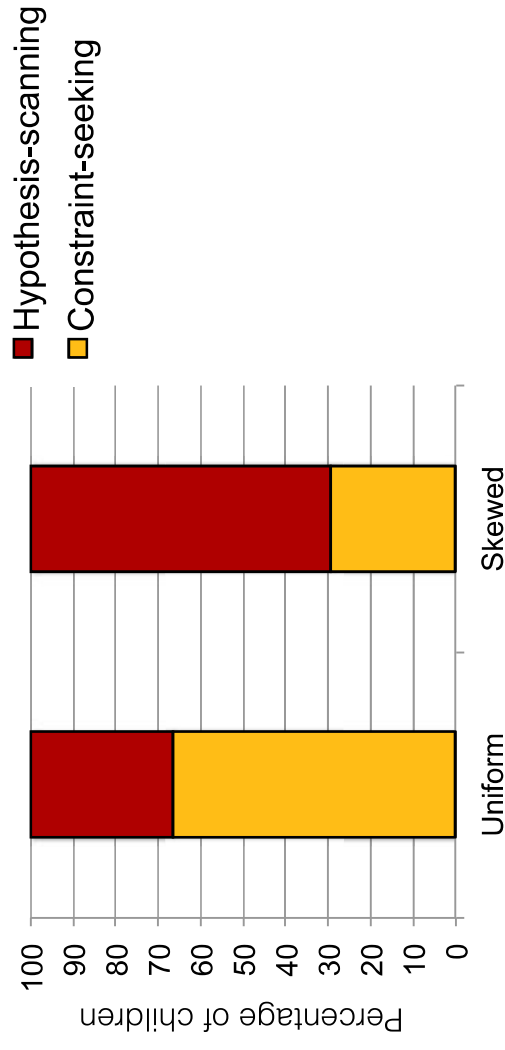
Uniform condition



Skewed condition



Preschoolers identify the most informative questions



- Five-year-olds are ecological learners: They **adapt** their reliance on different kinds of questions based on the situation at hand.

Shake it baby, but only when needed



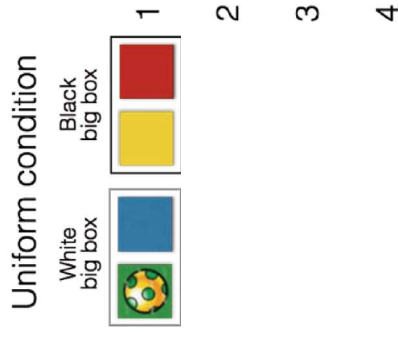
Ruggeri, Swaboda, Sim, & Gopnik, *Cognition*, 2019

Nora Swaboda



Shake it baby, but only when needed

Distribution training



Actions training



Shake

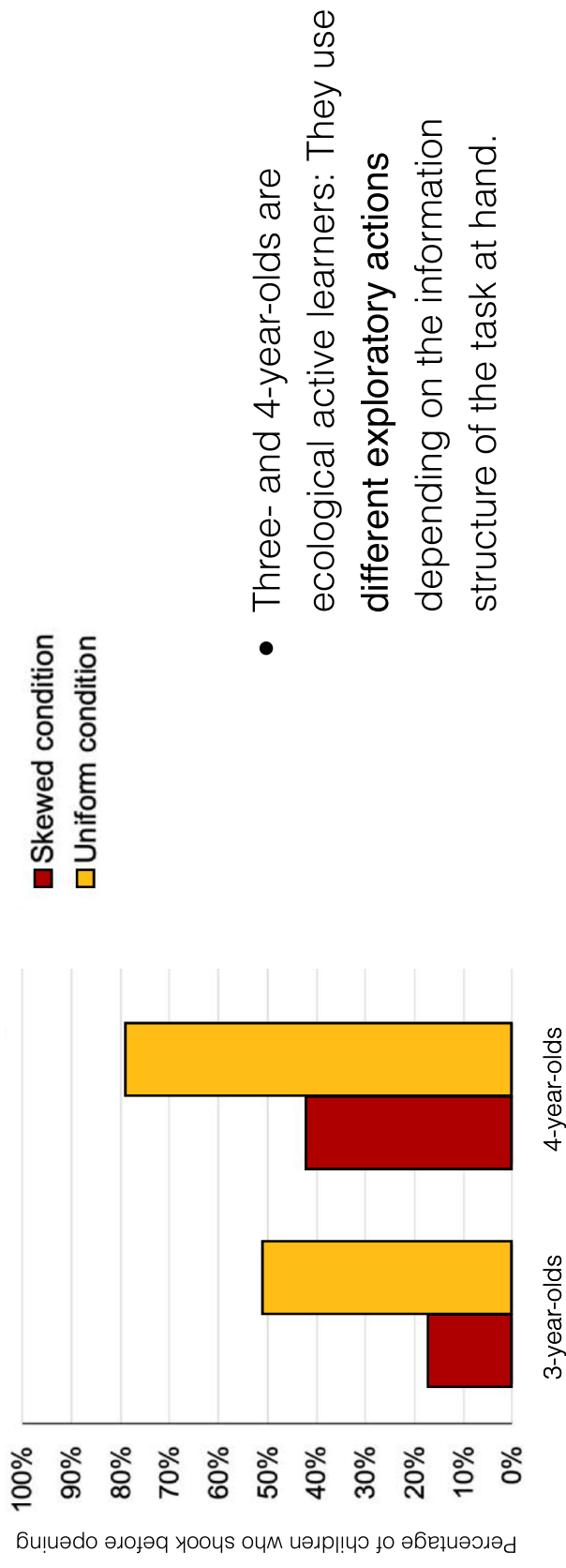
Constraint seeking



Open

Hypothesis Scanning

Shake it baby, but only when needed



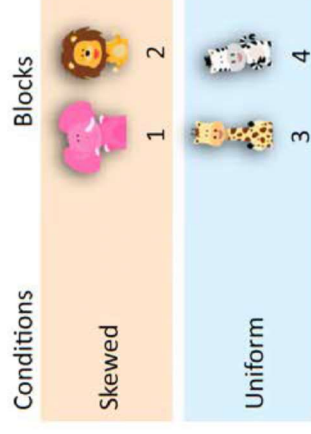
Toddlers' ecological active learning



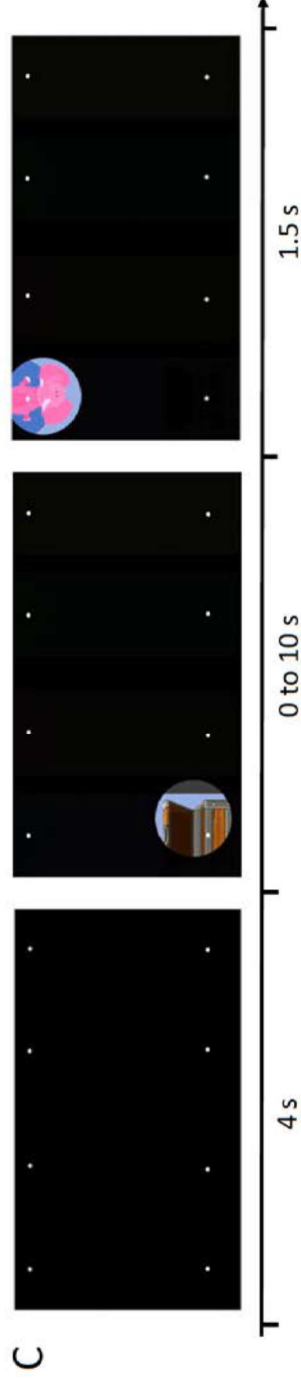
Poli, Li, Naidu, Mars, Hunnius, & Ruggeri, *Nature Communication*, 2024

Francesco Poli

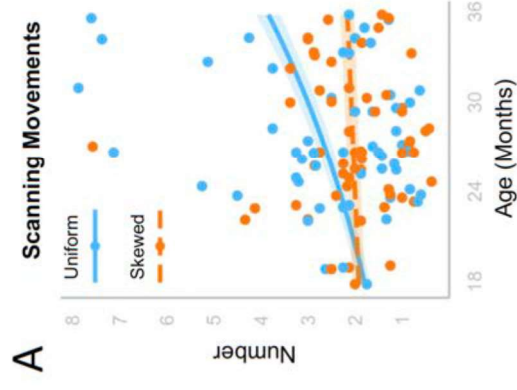
A



Toddlers' ecological active learning



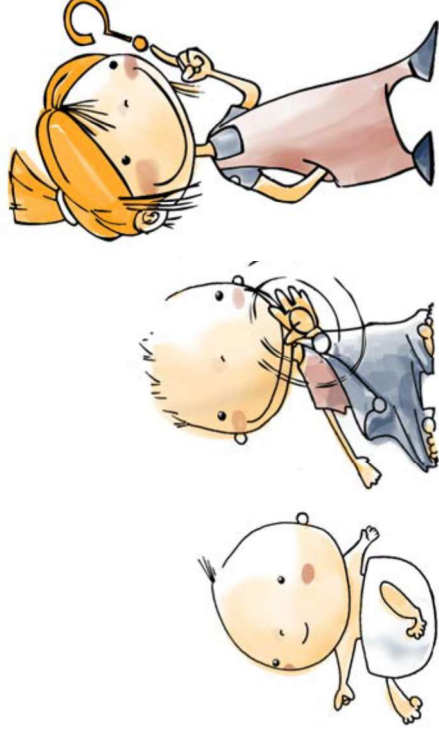
Toddlers' ecological active learning



- Eye-movement data show that, from 24 months of age, toddlers start adapting their exploratory strategies to the information structure of the task.

How children explore and learn by:

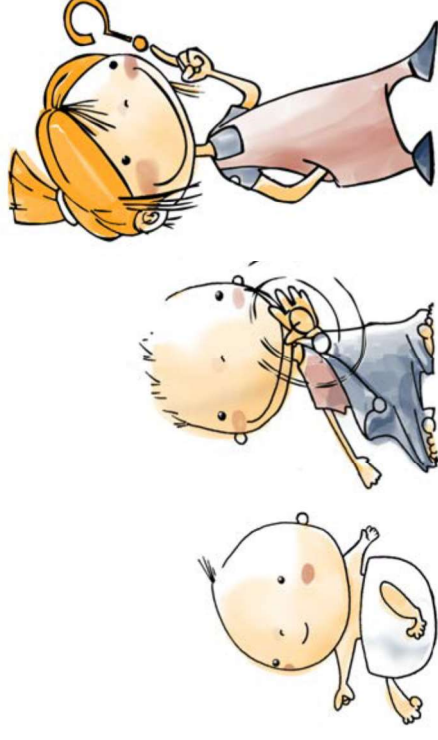
- Recognizing the potentially ever-changing characteristics of their **environments**,
- Monitoring their own **competences**
- Considering internal/external **goals**



Developmental trajectory

How children explore and learn by:

- Recognizing the potentially ever-changing characteristics of their **environments**,
- Monitoring their own **competences**
- Considering internal/external **goals**



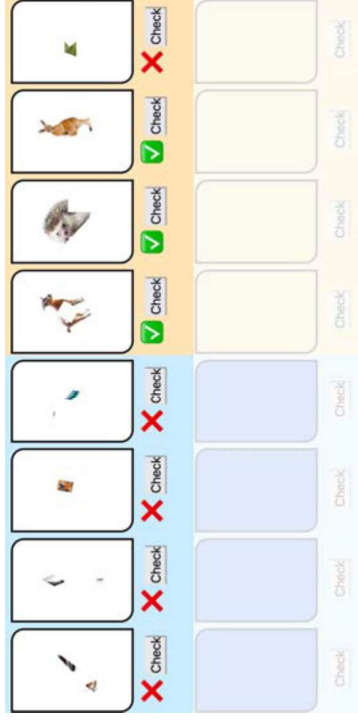
Developmental trajectory

Children strategically decide what to practice



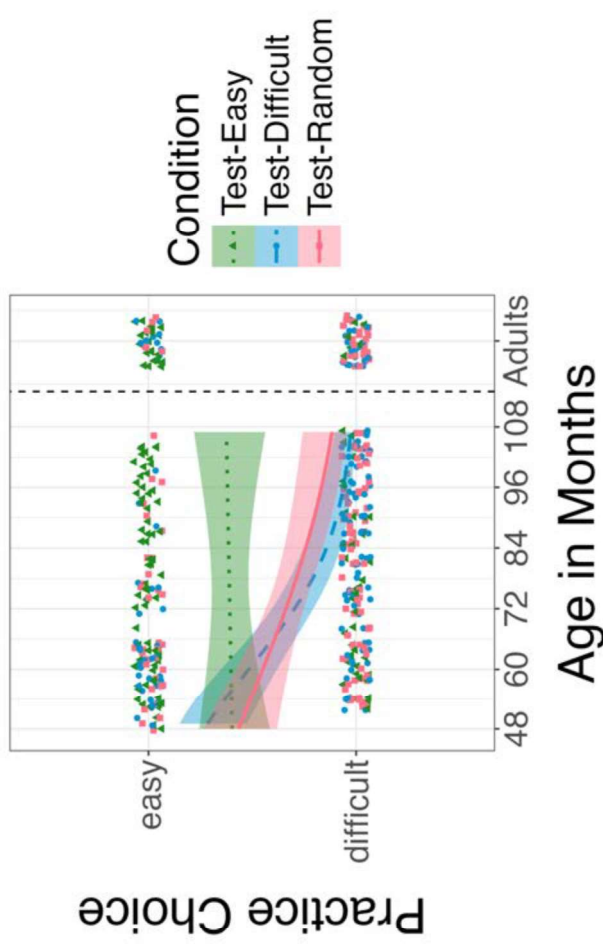
Serko, Leonard, & Ruggeri, *Child Development*, 2025

- **Ecological Active Practice:** the strategic choices students make regarding how to invest their time and effort in preparing for the future.

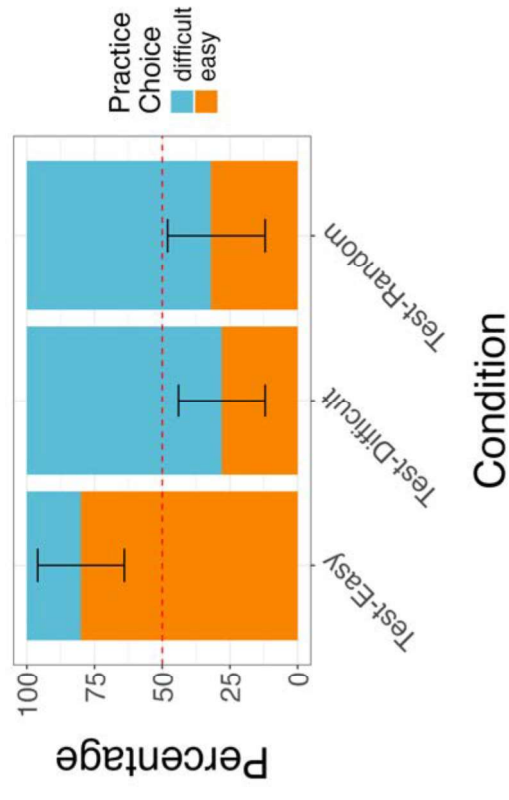
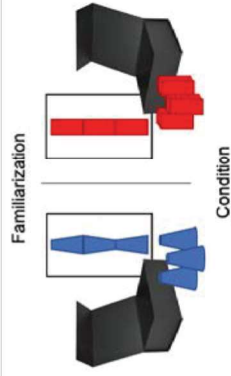


• Conditions:

- Easy
- Difficult
- Random



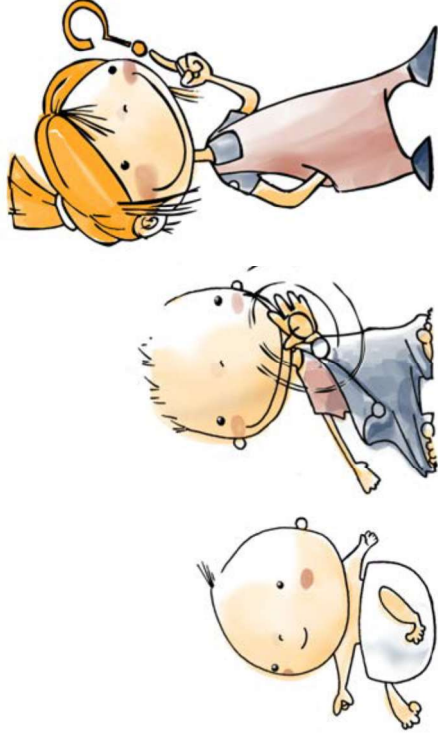
Children strategically decide what to practice



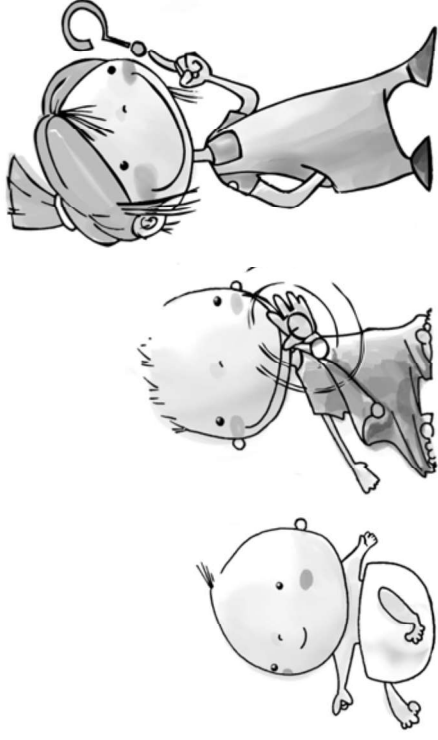
- Ecological Active Practice develops from age 4 to 6.

How children explore and learn by:

- Recognizing the potentially ever-changing characteristics of their **environments**,
 - Monitoring their own **competences**
 - Considering internal/external **goals**
- (Bramley & Ruggeri, 2022, *Dev. Psych.*; Török, Domberg, & Ruggeri, 2024, *Dev. Psych.*; Lapidow, Walker, & Ruggeri, *under review*; Walker & Ruggeri, *in revision*, *Dev. Science*)



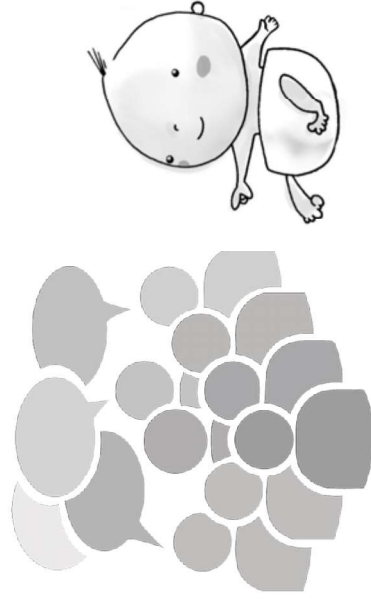
Developmental trajectory



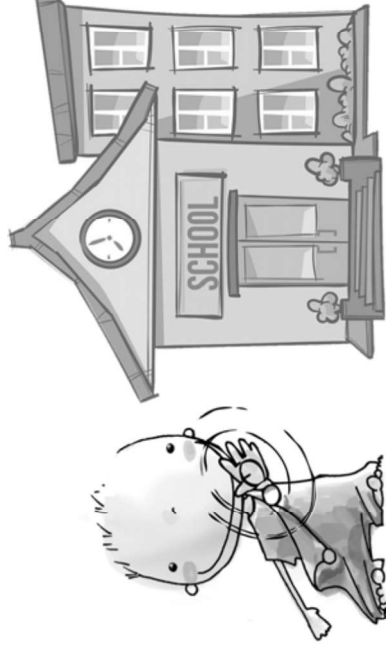
Developmental trajectory



Underlying Dynamics of Exploration



Navigating the social world



Interventions to support learning

- **Mechanisms** of developmental change
- **Triggers** of active learning
- **Factors** modulating active learning efficiency



Underlying Dynamics of Exploration

- Mechanisms of developmental change
- **Triggers** of active learning
- **Factors** modulating active learning efficiency



Underlying Dynamics of Exploration

Curiosity as Engine

- AI struggles to learn when rewards are sparse
- Children thrive in exactly those messy conditions
- Loewenstein’s “information-gap” - the itch to close what we don’t know

Children's Curiosity

- Even infants attend longer to surprising events, seeking to reduce uncertainty (Stahl & Feigenson 2015; Kidd et al. 2012).
- Preschoolers explore more when evidence is confounded or unexpected (Schulz & Bonawitz 2007; Bonawitz et al. 2012).
- Young children actively choose actions with higher potential information gain (Jirout & Klahr 2012; Ruggeri et al. 2017, 2019).
- Persistence—staying with a single challenge—predicts later achievement and is shaped by both task features and social cues (Duckworth et al. 2007; Leonard et al. 2017).

Toddlers search longer when there is more to gain

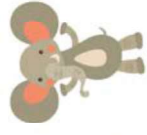


Eric Schulz

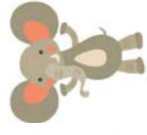
Ruggeri, Stanciu, Pelz, Gopnik, & Schulz, *Dev. Science* 2023



1-animal

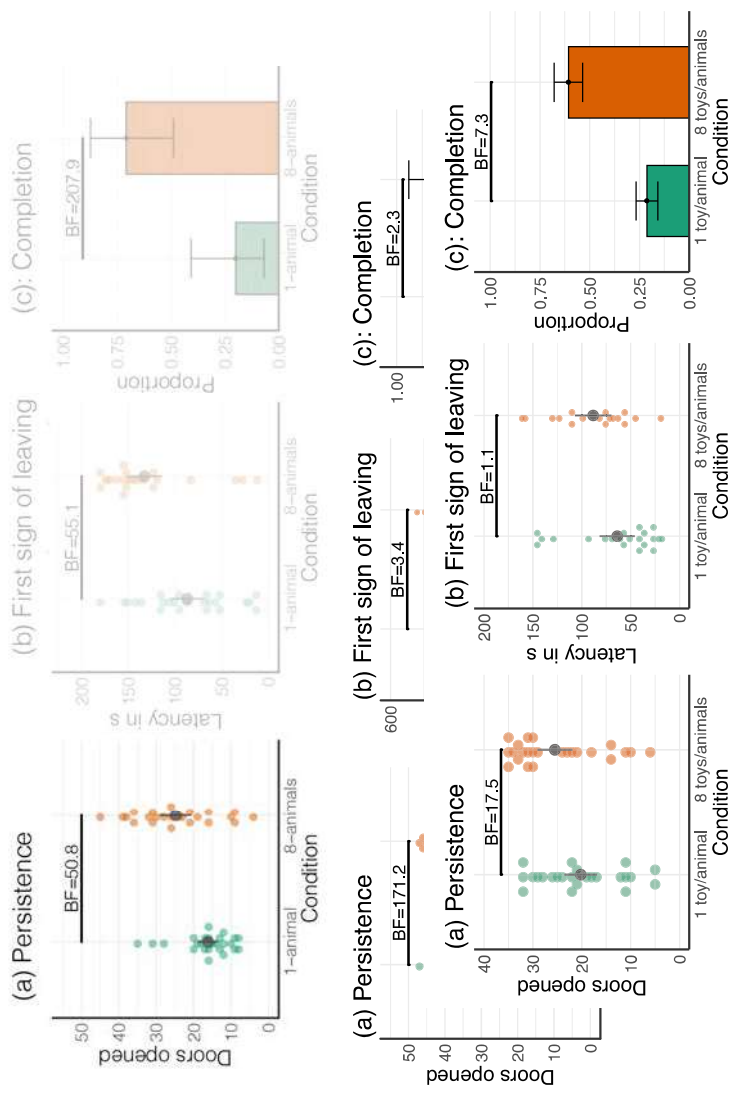


8-animals



Toddlers search longer when there is more to gain

- We replicated these results when manipulating the *amount* of additional information gained (Study 2)...
- ...and when conditions were manipulated within subjects (Study 3)
- In the absence of any rewards, preschoolers' search is **motivated by the expected informativeness** of the actions available



Children search longer when there is more to gain



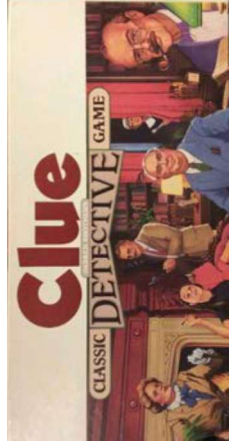
Stanciu & Ruggeri, *in prep.*

Oana Stanciu

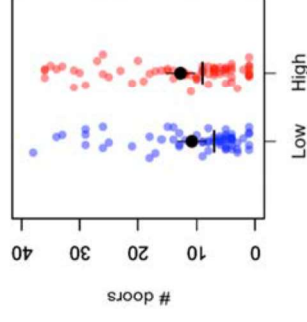
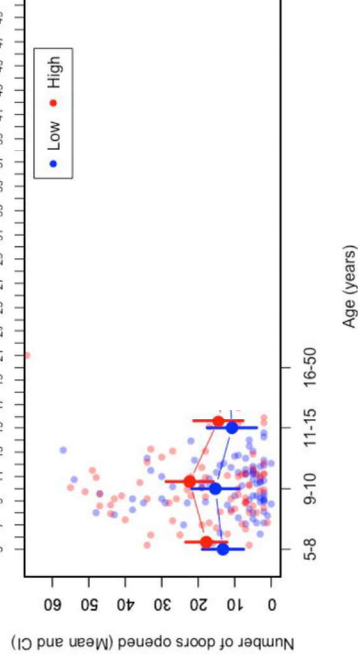
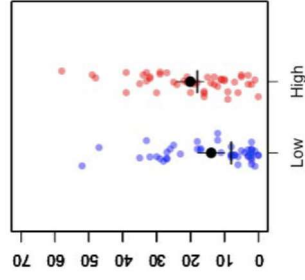
3-5 years



5 years to adults



Adults

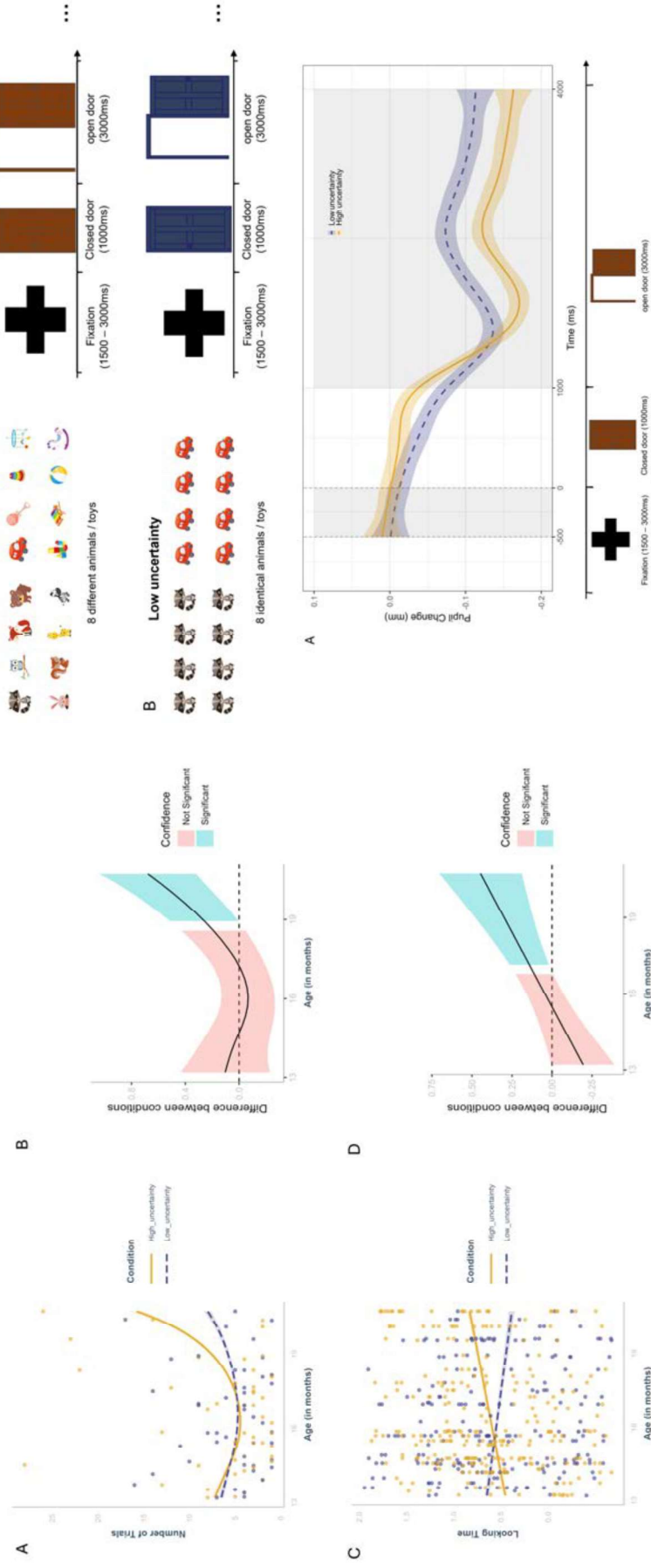


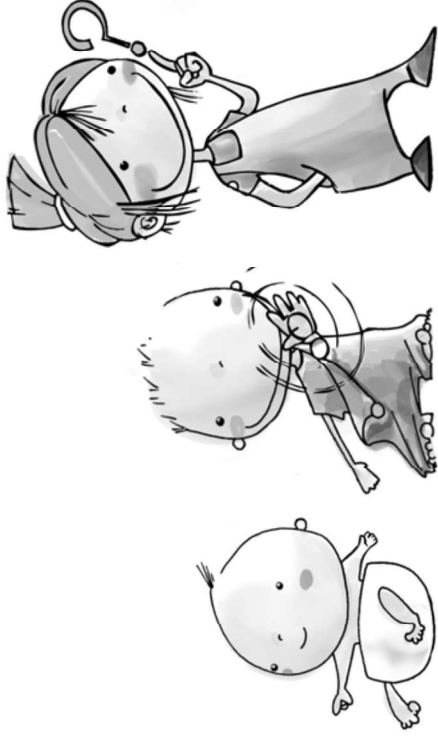
Infants search longer when there is more to gain



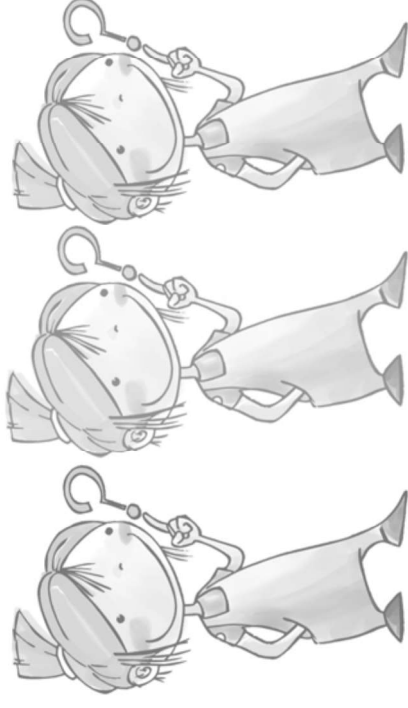
Li, Poli, & Ruggeri, *under review*

Yi-Lin Li

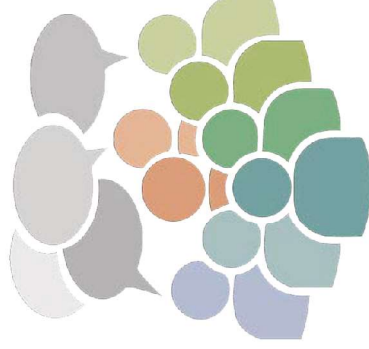




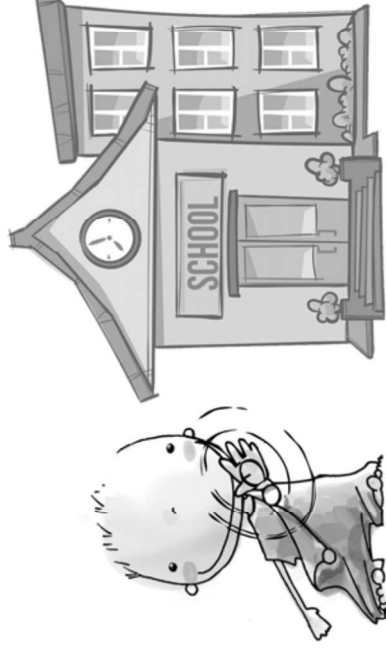
Developmental trajectory



Underlying Dynamics of Exploration



Navigating the social world



Interventions to support learning

Rule communication is context dependent



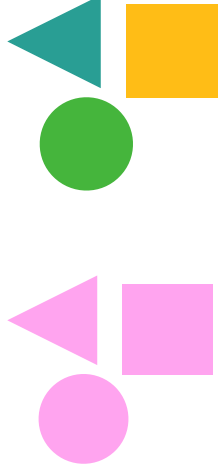
Paula Fischer

- 8-year-old children create rules to guide their behavior in a social-dilemma game (Grueneisen, 2019)
- 5-year-olds maintain previously learnt norms by communicating them to new peers in group activities (Göckeritz, 2014)
- In cooperative contexts, children support one another by offering reminders and clarifications (Koymen et al., 2016)
- How someone communicates in a cooperative/competitive context, influences partner choice (Dunfield, 2013)

Rule communication is context dependent



Familiarisation

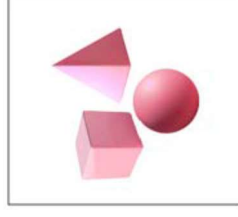


Manipulation



Same team Opposite team

Test



Fidi likes pink
objects

Correct



Fidi likes
green objects

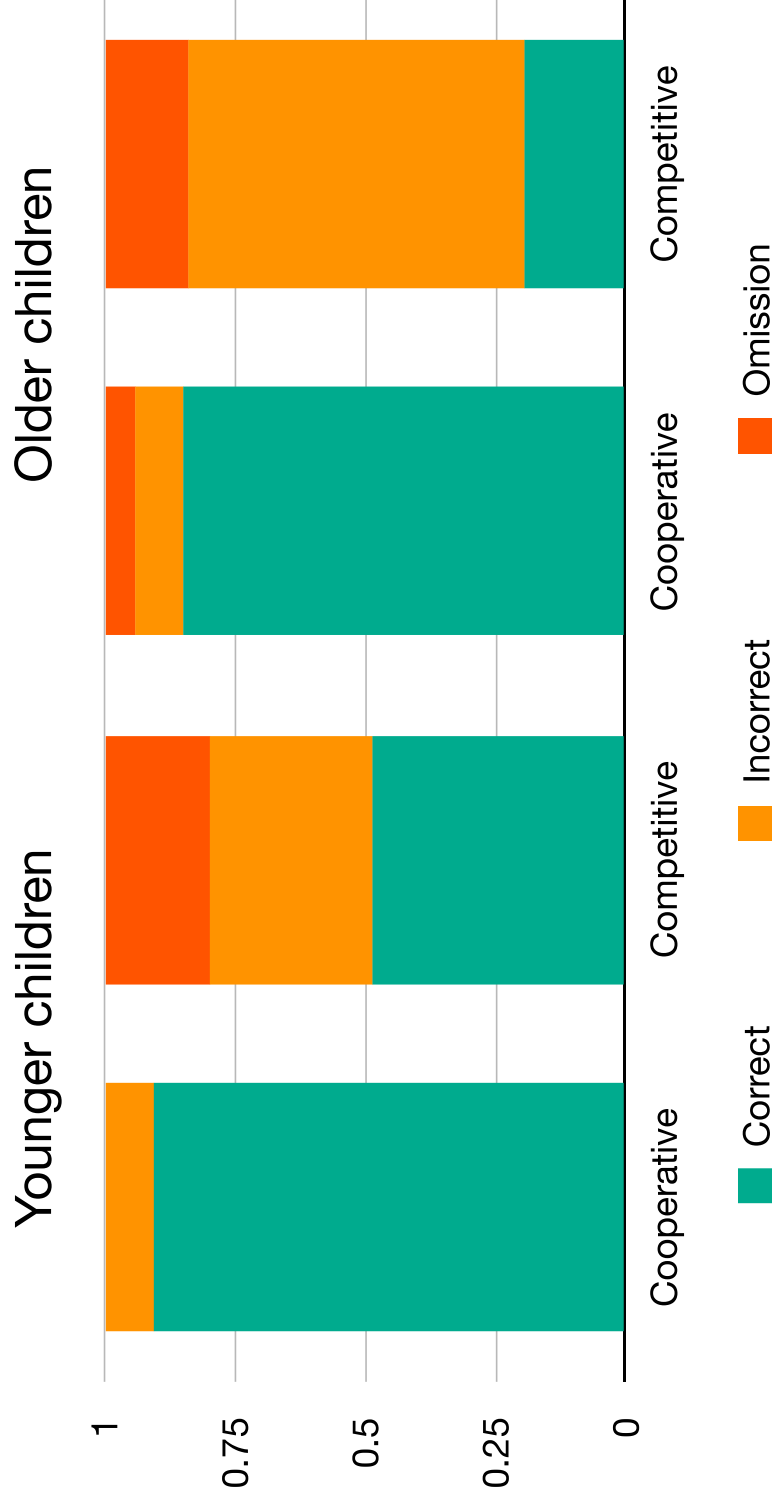
Incorrect



I am not sure
what Fidi likes

Omission

Rule communication is context dependent

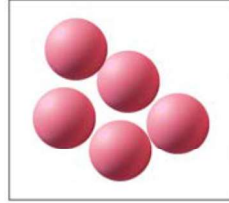


Rule communication is context dependent

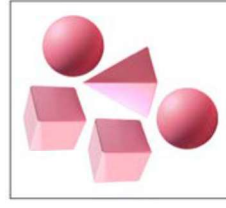
Test



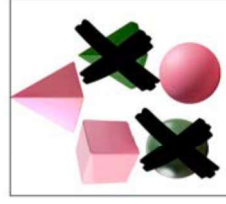
Fido doesn't like green



Fido likes

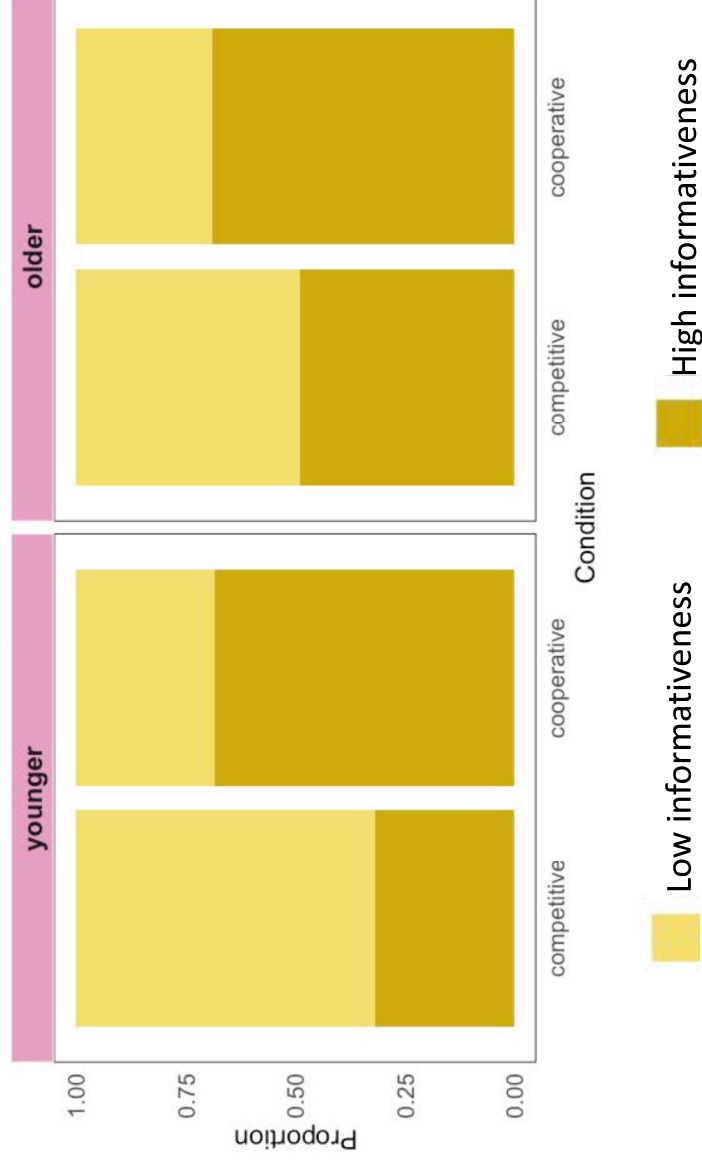


Fido likes pink objects



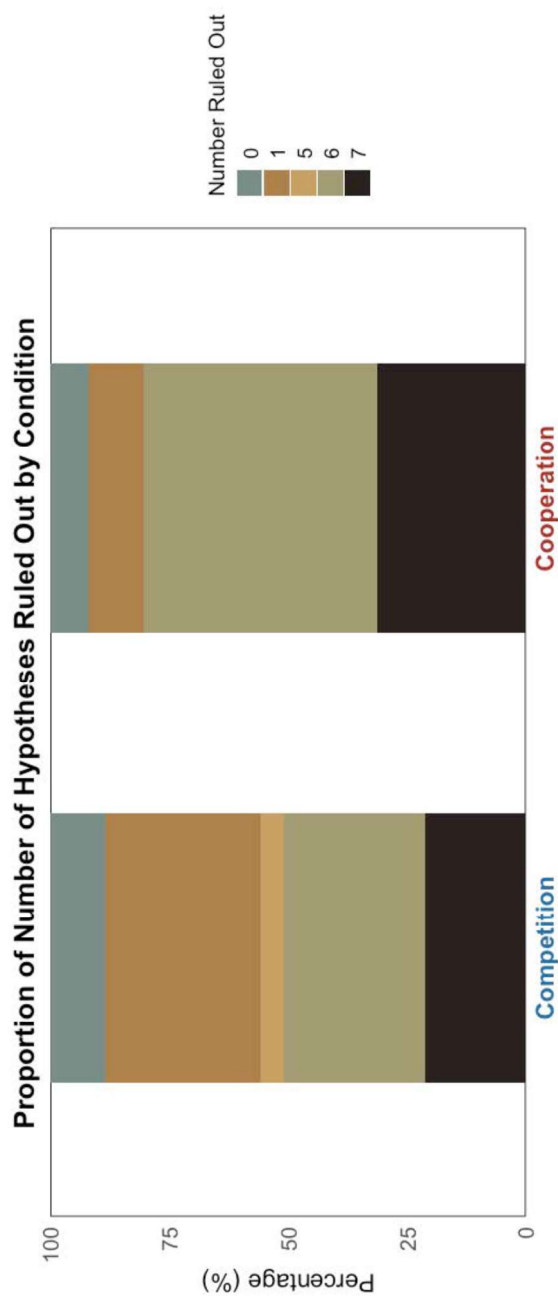
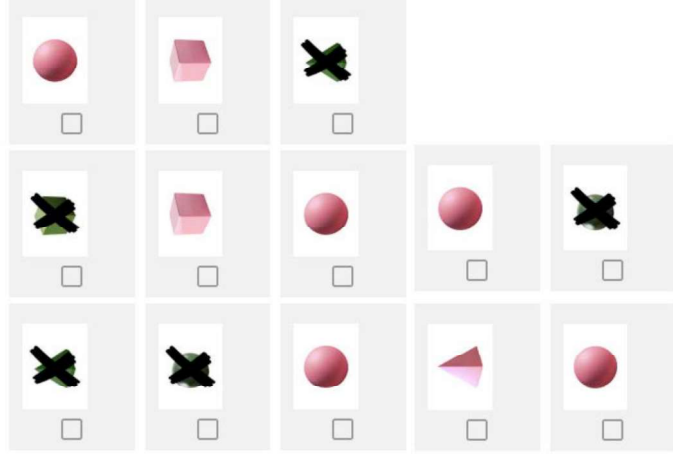
Fido only likes pink

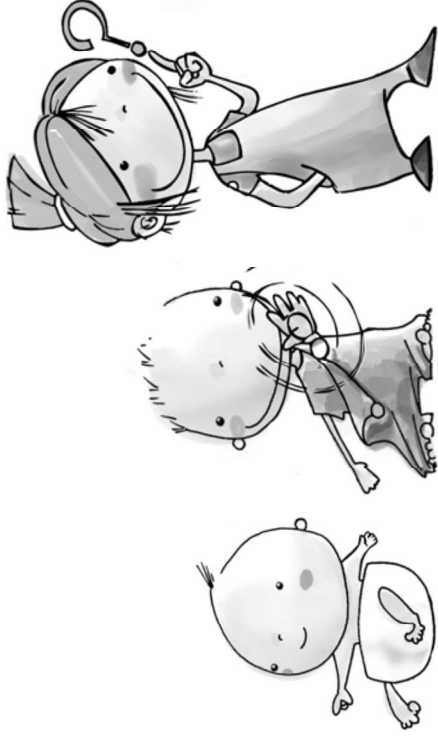
Proportion of High/Accurate vs. Other Responses



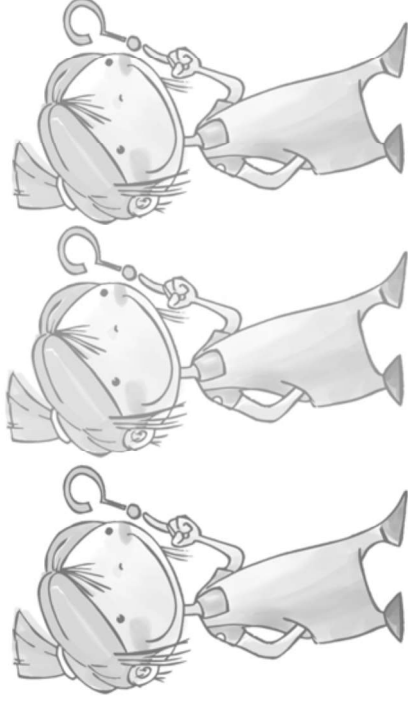
Rule communication is context dependent

Test

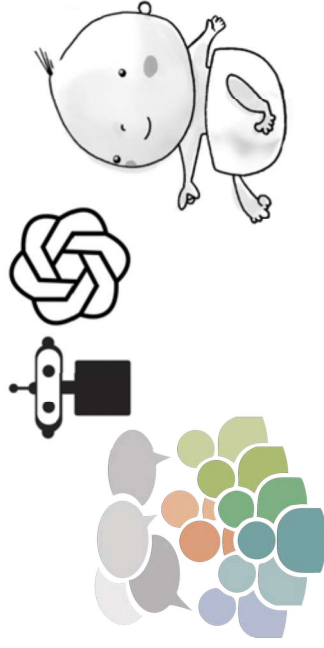




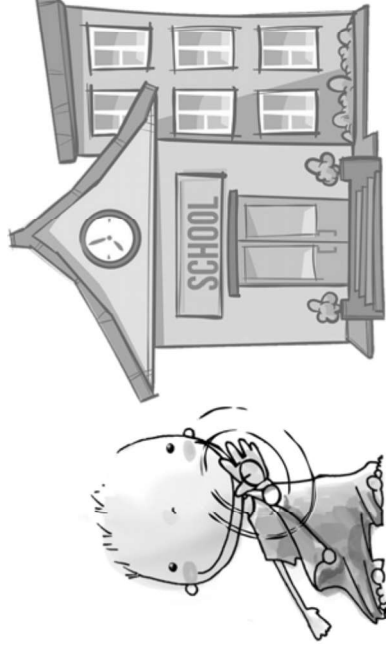
Developmental trajectory



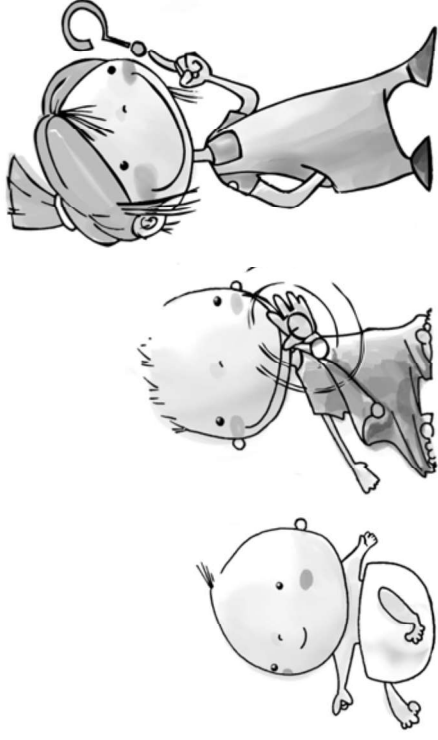
Underlying Dynamics of Exploration



Navigating the social & digital world



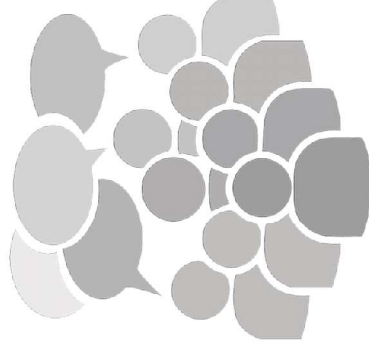
Interventions to support learning



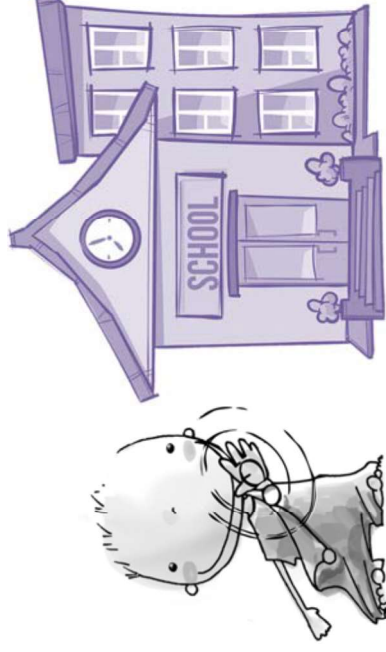
Developmental trajectory



Underlying Dynamics of Exploration



Navigating the social world



Interventions to support learning

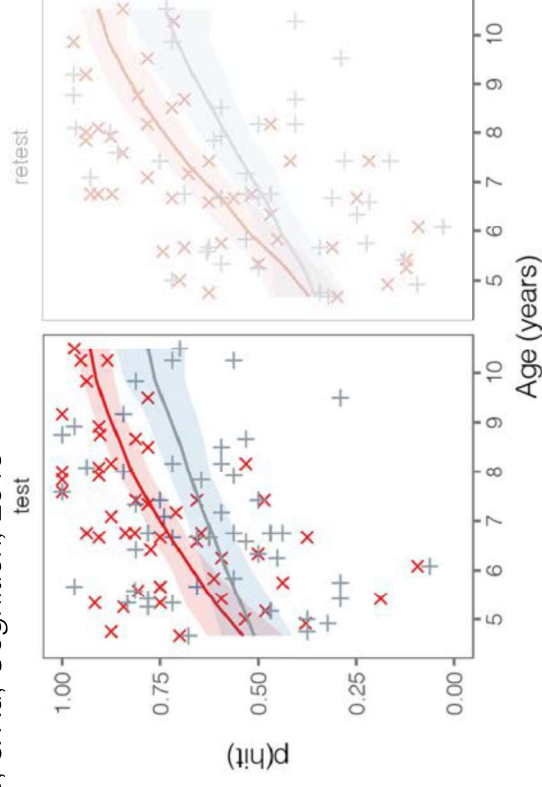
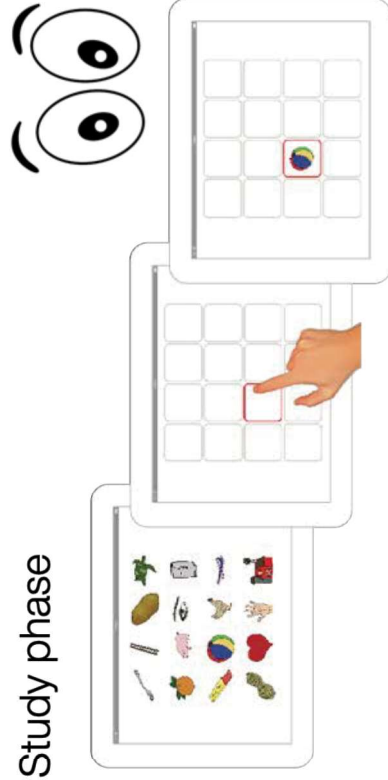
Benefits of active control of study



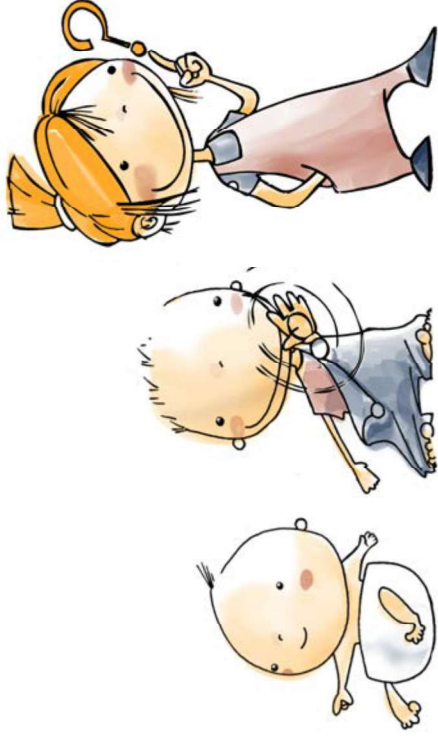
Ruggeri, Li, & Markant, *in revision*; Optiz & Ruggeri, *Lernen und Lernstörungen*, 2022; Fantasia, Markant, Valeri, Perri, & Ruggeri, *Autism*, 2020; Ruggeri, Markant, Gureckis, & Xu, *Cognition*, 2019

Doug Markant

Study phase



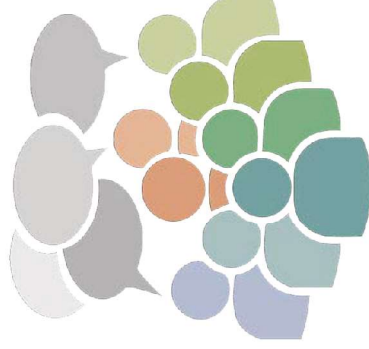
- Recognition memory **more accurate in the active condition.**
- **Robust** across different versions, countries, and replicated with children affected by autism



Developmental trajectory



Mechanisms of developmental change



Navigating the social world



Interventions to support learning

