

Cognitive support tools and scaffolding frameworks **enhance creative problem-solving** and can **encourage risk-taking** in adults by reducing cognitive load, fostering cognitive flexibility, and supporting higher-order thinking and exploration.

1. Introduction

Cognitive support tools and scaffolding frameworks have become central to adult education, workplace training, and creative industries, with a growing body of research demonstrating their positive effects on creative problem-solving and, to a lesser extent, risk-taking behaviors. These tools—ranging from IT-enabled mind mappers and stimuli providers to structured creativity training and computer-based scaffolding—help adults generate more novel and useful ideas, improve cognitive flexibility, and support higher-order thinking (Althuizen & Reichel, 2016; Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Alescio-Lautier et al., 2021; Lin et al., 2020; Ritter et al., 2020; Belland et al., 2016; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Zheng et al., 2023; Fan et al., 2021; Chernikova et al., 2019; Gu et al., 2022; Kim et al., 2017). Scaffolding frameworks, whether delivered through digital platforms, collaborative environments, or instructional design, consistently show benefits in guiding adults through complex, ill-structured problems, reducing cognitive overload, and promoting exploration and experimentation (Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Lin et al., 2020; Hou & Keng, 2020; Belland et al., 2016; Shin et al., 2024; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Zheng et al., 2023; Fan et al., 2021; Chernikova et al., 2019; Chang & Yang, 2023; Kim et al., 2017). While most studies focus on creative problem-solving, several also highlight how scaffolding can lower the perceived risk of failure, thus encouraging adults to take creative risks and try unconventional approaches (Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Ngoon, 2019; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Sinha et al., 2020; Sinha & Kapur, 2021). However, the effectiveness of these interventions can depend on the type of scaffolding, the context, and individual learner characteristics, with some evidence suggesting that overly rigid or poorly matched scaffolding may limit creativity or risk-taking (Chernikova et al., 2019; Chang & Yang, 2023; Doo et al., 2020). This review synthesizes findings from meta-analyses, experimental studies, and theoretical frameworks to clarify how cognitive support tools and scaffolding frameworks impact adult creative problem-solving and risk-taking.

2. Methods

This review draws on a comprehensive search of over 170 million research papers in Consensus, including sources such as Semantic Scholar and PubMed. The search strategy involved 20 targeted queries across 8 search groups, focusing on foundational theories, mechanisms, limitations, and contextual factors. In total, 1,000 papers were identified, 677 were screened, 428 were deemed eligible, and the top 50 most relevant and high-quality papers were included in this review.

Search Strategy



FIGURE 1 Flow diagram of the literature search and selection process.

Eight unique search groups were used, covering theoretical, empirical, and applied research on cognitive support, scaffolding, creativity, and risk-taking in adults.

3. Results

3.1. Effects on Creative Problem-Solving

A wide range of studies demonstrate that cognitive support tools and scaffolding frameworks significantly enhance creative problem-solving in adults. IT-enabled tools such as mind mappers, process guides, and stimuli providers help individuals explore their knowledge more deeply and broadly, resulting in more novel and useful ideas (Althuizen & Reichel, 2016). Scaffolding mind tools and simulation-based environments lead to better performance and more diverse cognitive processes during collaborative problem-solving (Lin et al., 2020; Hou & Keng, 2020; Fan et al., 2021). Meta-analyses and systematic reviews confirm that computer-based scaffolding and structured creativity training improve higher-order thinking, cognitive flexibility, and creative output (Ritter et al., 2020; Belland et al., 2016; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Zheng et al., 2023; Chernikova et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2017; Doo et al., 2020).

3.2. Mechanisms: Cognitive Load, Flexibility, and Metacognition

Scaffolding frameworks reduce cognitive load by regulating information flow, chunking, and cueing, allowing adults to focus on creative aspects of problem-solving (Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Belland et al., 2016; Shin et al., 2024; Sibo et al., 2024; Chernikova et al., 2019; Chang & Yang, 2023). Cognitive-based creativity training and scaffolding interventions increase cognitive flexibility, which is crucial for generating novel ideas and overcoming mental fixations (Alescio-Lautier et al., 2021; Ritter et al., 2020; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Gu et al., 2022). Metacognitive scaffolding, in particular, supports self-regulation, reflection, and efficient problem-solving (Shin et al., 2024; Zheng et al., 2023; Wang et al., 2023; Doo et al., 2020).

3.3. Effects on Risk-Taking

Several studies indicate that scaffolding frameworks can encourage risk-taking by lowering the perceived risk of failure and supporting exploration. Techniques such as "force fitting" ideas, failure-driven scaffolding, and dual (peer + cognitive) scaffolding foster environments where adults feel safer to try unconventional approaches and learn from mistakes (Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Ngoon, 2019; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Sinha et al., 2020; Sinha & Kapur, 2021). Failure-driven scaffolding, in particular, has been shown to improve constructive reasoning and willingness to experiment (Sinha et al., 2020; Sinha & Kapur, 2021).

3.4. Limitations and Contextual Factors

The effectiveness of cognitive support tools and scaffolding frameworks can depend on the type of scaffolding, learner characteristics, and context. Overly rigid or mismatched scaffolding may limit creativity or risk-taking, and some studies report no significant difference between scaffolded and unscaffolded groups in certain contexts (Chernikova et al., 2019; Chang & Yang, 2023; Doo et al., 2020; Chou et al., 2023). The optimal level and type of scaffolding may vary depending on the complexity of the task and the prior knowledge of the learner (Chernikova et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2017; Doo et al., 2020).

Key Papers

Paper	Methodology	Sample/Context	Key Results	Scaffolding Type
(Althuizen & Reichel, 2016)	Lab experiment	Business students	Stimuli providers enhance creativity more than mind mappers/process guides; deeper and broader knowledge exploration	IT-enabled cognitive tools
(Van Nooijen et al., 2024)	Scoping review	18 studies, expert-novice visual problem-solving	Scaffolding reduces cognitive load via cueing/chunking; supports complex problem-solving	Expert scaffolding
(Lin et al., 2020)	Experimental	94 higher ed students	Scaffolding mind tool group outperformed control; more diverse cognitive processes	Simulation + mind tool
(Ritter et al., 2020)	Longitudinal, controlled	Higher ed students	Creativity training increased ideation and cognitive flexibility	Cognitive-based creativity training
(Belland et al., 2016)	Meta-analysis	144 studies, STEM (adults included)	Computer-based scaffolding has consistently positive effect on cognitive outcomes, especially in adults	Computer-based scaffolding

FIGURE 2 Comparison of key studies on cognitive support tools, scaffolding, and creative problem-solving/risk-taking in adults.

Top Contributors

Type	Name	Papers
Author	S. Ritter	(Ritter et al., 2020; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Gu et al., 2022)
Author	B. Belland	(Belland et al., 2016; Kim et al., 2021; Kim et al., 2017)
Author	N. Kim	(Belland et al., 2016; Kim et al., 2021; Kim et al., 2017)
Journal	<i>Educational Psychology Review</i>	(Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Belland et al., 2016; Vogel et al., 2017; Sibó et al., 2024; Chernikova et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2017)
Journal	<i>Thinking Skills and Creativity</i>	(Calavia et al., 2021; Wu & Wu, 2020; Mou, 2024; Bereczki & Kárpáti, 2021; Vally et al., 2019)
Journal	<i>Journal of Educational Computing Research</i>	(Hou & Keng, 2020; Wu, 2019; Su et al., 2021)

FIGURE 3 Authors & journals that appeared most frequently in the included papers.

4. Discussion

The research strongly supports the use of cognitive support tools and scaffolding frameworks to enhance creative problem-solving in adults, with robust evidence from meta-analyses, experimental studies, and systematic reviews (Althuizen & Reichel, 2016; Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Lin et al., 2020; Ritter et al., 2020; Belland et al., 2016; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Zheng et al., 2023; Fan et al., 2021; Chernikova et al., 2019; Gu et al., 2022; Kim et al., 2017; Doo et al., 2020). These interventions work by reducing cognitive load, increasing cognitive flexibility, and supporting metacognitive processes, all of which are essential for creative thinking and innovation (Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Alescio-Lautier et al., 2021; Ritter et al., 2020; Belland et al., 2016; Shin et al., 2024; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Zheng et al., 2023; Sibó et al., 2024; Chernikova et al., 2019; Gu et al., 2022; Chang & Yang, 2023; Kim et al., 2017; Doo et al., 2020). Scaffolding also encourages risk-taking by creating environments where adults feel safe to experiment and learn from failure (Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Ngoon, 2019; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Sinha et al., 2020; Sinha & Kapur, 2021).

However, the effectiveness of these tools is not universal. The type, timing, and adaptability of scaffolding are critical—overly rigid or mismatched scaffolding can stifle creativity or risk-taking, and some contexts show limited or no benefit (Chernikova et al., 2019; Chang & Yang, 2023; Doo et al., 2020; Chou et al., 2023). Future research should focus on optimizing scaffolding design for different adult populations and problem contexts, as well as exploring long-term effects and potential downsides.

Claims and Evidence Table

Claim	Evidence Strength	Reasoning	Papers
Cognitive support tools and scaffolding frameworks enhance creative problem-solving in adults	 Strong	Supported by meta-analyses, experimental studies, and systematic reviews across contexts	(Althuizen & Reichel, 2016; Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Lin et al., 2020; Ritter et al., 2020; Belland et al., 2016; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Zheng et al., 2023; Fan et al., 2021; Chernikova et al., 2019; Gu et al., 2022; Kim et al., 2017; Doo et al., 2020)
Scaffolding reduces cognitive load and increases cognitive flexibility, supporting creativity	 Strong	Multiple studies show mechanisms of reduced overload and improved flexibility	(Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Alescio-Lautier et al., 2021; Ritter et al., 2020; Belland et al., 2016; Shin et al., 2024; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Zheng et al., 2023; Sibo et al., 2024; Chernikova et al., 2019; Gu et al., 2022; Chang & Yang, 2023; Kim et al., 2017; Doo et al., 2020)
Scaffolding frameworks can encourage risk-taking by lowering perceived risk of failure	 Moderate	Evidence from creativity training, failure-driven scaffolding, and dual scaffolding	(Van Nooijen et al., 2024; Ngoon, 2019; Ritter & Mostert, 2017; Sinha et al., 2020; Sinha & Kapur, 2021)
Effectiveness depends on scaffolding type, learner, and context	 Moderate	Some studies show null or negative effects with mismatched scaffolding	(Chernikova et al., 2019; Chang & Yang, 2023; Doo et al., 2020; Chou et al., 2023)
Overly rigid scaffolding may limit creativity or risk-taking	 Moderate	Limited evidence suggests possible negative effects of inflexible scaffolding	(Chernikova et al., 2019; Chang & Yang, 2023; Doo et al., 2020)

FIGURE 4 Key claims and support evidence identified in these papers.

5. Conclusion

Cognitive support tools and scaffolding frameworks are effective in enhancing creative problem-solving and can encourage risk-taking in adults by reducing cognitive barriers, supporting flexible thinking, and creating environments that make exploration safer and more productive. However, their effectiveness depends on thoughtful design, adaptability, and alignment with learner needs and context.

5.1. Research Gaps

Despite strong evidence for the benefits of scaffolding, gaps remain regarding its effects on risk-taking, long-term outcomes, and optimal design for diverse adult populations and contexts. There is also limited research on potential negative effects or diminishing returns of scaffolding.

Research Gaps Matrix

Topic/Outcome	Creative Problem-Solving	Risk-Taking	Cognitive Flexibility	Metacognition	Long-Term Effects
IT-enabled tools	8	3	5	2	1
Computer-based scaffolding	10	4	6	4	2
Creativity training	7	4	6	3	1
Collaborative scaffolding	6	3	4	3	GAP
Failure-driven scaffolding	2	2	1	1	GAP

FIGURE 5 Matrix of research topics and study attributes, highlighting gaps in the literature.

5.2. Open Research Questions

Future research should address the following questions to optimize the use of cognitive support tools and scaffolding frameworks for adult creativity and risk-taking:

Question	Why
How do different types of scaffolding frameworks affect risk-taking behaviors in adult creative problem-solving?	Understanding which scaffolding types best promote risk-taking can inform the design of interventions for innovation and entrepreneurship.
What are the long-term effects of cognitive support tools on adult creativity and risk propensity?	Longitudinal studies are needed to determine if benefits persist or diminish over time, informing sustainable practice.
How can scaffolding frameworks be optimized for diverse adult populations and contexts?	Tailoring scaffolding to individual and contextual differences can maximize effectiveness and minimize potential negative effects.

FIGURE 6 Open research questions for future investigation on scaffolding, creativity, and risk-taking in adults.

In summary, cognitive support tools and scaffolding frameworks are powerful enablers of creative problem-solving and risk-taking in adults, but their optimal use requires careful design, adaptability, and ongoing research.

These papers were sourced and synthesized using Consensus, an AI-powered search engine for research. Try it at <https://consensus.app>

References

- Althuizen, N., & Reichel, A. (2016). The Effects of IT-Enabled Cognitive Stimulation Tools on Creative Problem Solving: A Dual Pathway to Creativity. *Journal of Management Information Systems*, 33, 11 - 44.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07421222.2016.1172439>
- Calavia, M., Blanco, T., & Casas, R. (2021). Fostering creativity as a problem-solving competence through design: Think-Create-Learn, a tool for teachers. *Thinking Skills and Creativity*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tsc.2020.100761>
- Van Nooijen, C., De Koning, B., Bramer, W., Isahakyan, A., Asoodar, M., Kok, E., Van Merrienboer, J., & Paas, F. (2024). A Cognitive Load Theory Approach to Understanding Expert Scaffolding of Visual Problem-Solving Tasks: A Scoping Review. *Educational Psychology Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-024-09848-3>
- Alescio-Lautier, B., Chambon, C., Deshayes, C., Anton, J., Escoffier, G., Ferrer, M., & Paban, V. (2021). Problem-solving training modifies cognitive functioning and related functional connectivity in healthy adults. *Neuropsychological Rehabilitation*, 33, 103 - 138. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09602011.2021.1987277>
- Lin, P., Hou, H., & Chang, K. (2020). The development of a collaborative problem solving environment that integrates a scaffolding mind tool and simulation-based learning: an analysis of learners' performance and their cognitive process in discussion. *Interactive Learning Environments*, 30, 1273 - 1290.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10494820.2020.1719163>
- Hou, H., & Keng, S. (2020). A Dual-Scaffolding Framework Integrating Peer-Scaffolding and Cognitive-Scaffolding for an Augmented Reality-Based Educational Board Game: An Analysis of Learners' Collective Flow State and Collaborative Learning Behavioral Patterns. *Journal of Educational Computing Research*, 59, 547 - 573.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0735633120969409>
- Ritter, S., Gu, X., Crijns, M., & Biekens, P. (2020). Fostering students' creative thinking skills by means of a one-year creativity training program. *PLoS ONE*, 15. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0229773>
- Belland, B., Walker, A., Kim, N., & Lefler, M. (2016). Synthesizing Results From Empirical Research on Computer-Based Scaffolding in STEM Education. *Review of Educational Research*, 87, 309 - 344.
<https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654316670999>
- Vogel, F., Wecker, C., Kollar, I., & Fischer, F. (2017). Socio-Cognitive Scaffolding with Computer-Supported Collaboration Scripts: a Meta-Analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, 29, 477-511.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/S10648-016-9361-7>
- Ngoon, T. (2019). Inventive Scaffolds Catalyze Creative Learning. *Extended Abstracts of the 2019 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3290607.3299073>
- Shin, Y., Jung, J., Choi, S., & Jung, B. (2024). The influence of scaffolding for computational thinking on cognitive load and problem-solving skills in collaborative programming. *Educ. Inf. Technol.*, 30, 583-606.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10639-024-13104-0>
- Wu, S. (2019). Incorporation of Collaborative Problem Solving and Cognitive Tools to Improve Higher Cognitive Processing in Online Discussion Environments. *Journal of Educational Computing Research*, 58, 249 - 272.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0735633119828044>

- Ritter, S., & Mostert, N. (2017). Enhancement of Creative Thinking Skills Using a Cognitive-Based Creativity Training. *Journal of Cognitive Enhancement*, 1, 243-253. <https://doi.org/10.1007/S41465-016-0002-3>
- Wu, T., & Wu, Y. (2020). Applying project-based learning and SCAMPER teaching strategies in engineering education to explore the influence of creativity on cognition, personal motivation, and personality traits. *Thinking Skills and Creativity*, 35, 100631. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tsc.2020.100631>
- Zheng, J., Lajoie, S., Wang, T., & Li, S. (2023). Supporting self-regulated learning in clinical problem-solving with a computer-based learning environment: the effectiveness of scaffolds. *Metacognition and Learning*, 18, 693 - 709. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11409-023-09352-z>
- Su, Y., Shao, M., & Zhao, L. (2021). Effect of Mind Mapping on Creative Thinking of Children in Scratch Visual Programming Education. *Journal of Educational Computing Research*, 60, 906 - 929. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07356331211053383>
- Mou, T. (2024). The practice of visual storytelling in STEM: Influence of creative thinking training on design students' creative self-efficacy and motivation. *Thinking Skills and Creativity*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tsc.2023.101459>
- Fan, O., Chen, Z., Cheng, M., Tang, Z., & Su, C. (2021). Exploring the effect of three scaffoldings on the collaborative problem-solving processes in China's higher education. *International Journal of Educational Technology in Higher Education*, 18. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41239-021-00273-y>
- Sibo, I., Celis, D., & Liou, S. (2024). Exploring the Landscape of Cognitive Load in Creative Thinking: a Systematic Literature Review. *Educational Psychology Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-024-09866-1>
- Bereczki, E., & Kárpáti, A. (2021). Technology-enhanced creativity: A multiple case study of digital technology-integration expert teachers' beliefs and practices. *Thinking Skills and Creativity*, 39, 100791. <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.TSC.2021.100791>
- Sinha, T., Kapur, M., West, R., Catasta, M., Hauswirth, M., & Trninic, D. (2020). Differential benefits of explicit failure-driven and success-driven scaffolding in problem-solving prior to instruction.. *Journal of Educational Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1037/edu0000483>
- Chernikova, O., Heitzmann, N., Fink, M., Timothy, V., Seidel, T., & Fischer, F. (2019). Facilitating Diagnostic Competences in Higher Education—a Meta-Analysis in Medical and Teacher Education. *Educational Psychology Review*, 32, 157 - 196. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-019-09492-2>
- Gu, X., Ritter, S., Delfmann, L., & Dijksterhuis, A. (2022). Stimulating Creativity: Examining the Effectiveness of Four Cognitive-based Creativity Training Techniques. *The Journal of Creative Behavior*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jocb.531>
- Wang, T., Zheng, J., Tan, C., & Lajoie, S. (2023). Computer-based scaffoldings influence students' metacognitive monitoring and problem-solving efficiency in an intelligent tutoring system. *J. Comput. Assist. Learn.*, 39, 1652-1665. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcal.12824>
- Kim, N., Vicentini, C., & Belland, B. (2021). Influence of Scaffolding on Information Literacy and Argumentation Skills in Virtual Field Trips and Problem-Based Learning for Scientific Problem Solving. *International Journal of Science and Mathematics Education*, 20, 215 - 236. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10763-020-10145-y>
- Chang, C., & Yang, S. (2023). Interactive effects of scaffolding digital game-based learning and cognitive style on adult learners' emotion, cognitive load and learning performance. *International Journal of Educational Technology in Higher Education*, 20, 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41239-023-00385-7>

Sinha, T., & Kapur, M. (2021). Robust effects of the efficacy of explicit failure-driven scaffolding in problem-solving prior to instruction: A replication and extension. *Learning and Instruction*, 75, 101488.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/J.LEARNINSTRUC.2021.101488>

Vally, Z., Salloum, L., AlQedra, D., Shazly, S., Albloshi, M., Alsheraifi, S., & Alkaabi, A. (2019). Examining the effects of creativity training on creative production, creative self-efficacy, and neuro-executive functioning. *Thinking Skills and Creativity*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/J.TSC.2018.11.003>

Kim, N., Belland, B., & Walker, A. (2017). Effectiveness of Computer-Based Scaffolding in the Context of Problem-Based Learning for Stem Education: Bayesian Meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review*, 30, 397 - 429.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-017-9419-1>

Doo, M., Bonk, C., & Heo, H. (2020). A Meta-Analysis of Scaffolding Effects in Online Learning in Higher Education. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning*. <https://doi.org/10.19173/irrodl.v21i3.4638>

Chou, Y., Hou, H., & Chang, K. (2023). Analysis of learning effectiveness and behavioral patterns of cognitive scaffolding and collaborative problem-solving processes in a historical educational game. *Educ. Inf. Technol.*, 29, 12911-12941. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10639-023-12387-z>