Tuition Waiver Programs for Students with Experience in Foster Care: Policy and Practice Recommendations

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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The nursing program is accelerated and rigorous, prohibiting me from working enough to adequately fund my expenses. The fee waiver alleviated this concern by allowing me to focus on my courses and clinicals instead of feeling stressed about affording classes … Without the help of the fee waiver, along with my own integrity and sense of responsibility, I would not have had this incredible opportunity to choose my dream career.”

- MARY R., UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA, LAS VEGAS, BACHELOR OF SCIENCE IN NURSING

INTRODUCTION

The movement to champion postsecondary education success for students with experience in foster care (SEFC) is disjointed and inconsistent across states, and federal investment in this area is inadequate to the need. Despite limited resources, however, many states have implemented programs designed to decrease financial barriers for students like Mary R, whose time spent in the foster care system increases the likelihood that they will face an array of challenges in postsecondary education, including lack of social support, mental health challenges, unstable housing, and food insecurity.

One example of this type of state support is college tuition and fee waiver programs, which have been in place in some states since the early 1990s. Until now, these waiver programs have gone largely unevaluated, and it has therefore been difficult to ascertain whether these programs were meeting their primary goals—to retain and graduate SEFC with postsecondary education degrees and other credentials. This lack of evidence changed with the recent publication of a tuition and fee waiver study from Texas, which showed that even though tuition waiver usage is lower than it could be (only 60% who are eligible use the waiver), the students who take advantage of the waiver are 3.5 times more likely than their SEFC peers to graduate with a postsecondary education degree.

The evidence from Texas suggests that tuition waivers are a viable strategy for improving higher education outcomes for SEFC. Thus, states without such programs should consider implementing waiver programs and those with programs in place should investigate whether these programs can be improved and expanded. Tuition and fee waiver programs vary considerably, however, and there is no national or evidence-based model to guide their construction and implementation. This paper seeks to fill this void by synthesizing the existing literature on tuition and fee waivers for SEFC and sharing promising practices from key stakeholders in Texas. Texas has one of the oldest and largest tuition and fee waiver programs in the nation and can serve as a case study for evaluating waiver programs. In providing this information, this report seeks to: (1) advise states that currently have a tuition and/or fee waiver on how they might improve their program and (2) offer a guide to research-informed practices for states that want to create a tuition waiver program for SEFC, with an eye towards increased institutionalization of tuition support for SEFC at the state, and ultimately the federal level.
BACKGROUND

NATIONAL DATA ON TUITION AND FEE WAIVERS

Currently, there are an estimated 37 states that have tuition waiver or scholarship programs for SEFC. These programs provide funds towards a student’s financial aid package specifically to cover higher education costs, including tuition and fees. Some waiver programs, like those in Texas, Nevada, and Florida, rely on the institutions of higher education themselves to cover the cost of tuition and fees for SEFC, therein not receiving income for SEFC while others, such as the tuition waiver programs in California and Minnesota, rely on state funds to cover costs.

The way that these programs are structured varies considerably across states. While most cover the full cost of tuition, some contribute only a portion. Some states have gone even farther in recent years. For example, Minnesota recently funded a program that will cover the full cost of attendance, including not only tuition costs, but also room and board and other non-tuition costs for SEFC enrolled in college. Eligibility criteria for the waivers also vary by state and some states limit the number of students who can receive a waiver or scholarship or limit their waiver to only certain types of institutions.

Only two studies provide national data on existing waiver programs and their impact. Hernandez, Day, and Henson (2017) conducted a descriptive study revealing that state waiver programs vary dramatically in terms of their eligibility requirements and ease of access. Some states, such as Texas and Florida, have broadly defined waiver programs and distribute thousands of waivers per year. However, the study revealed that 50% of the states with waiver programs distributed fewer than 50 waivers per year, a figure unlikely to substantively alter the higher education outcomes for SEFC in those states. Not surprisingly, Watt, Kim, and Garrison (2019), using the National Youth in Transition Database, found that states with waivers had only marginally higher postsecondary enrollment rates for SEFC compared to states without waivers. The authors attribute the small impact to the heterogeneity of the states in terms of program coverage. There have been no national studies of retention and graduation rates for SEFC in states with waivers compared to those residing in states without waivers. Thus, on a national level, we know very little about informed practices for constructing waiver legislation and/or the degree of impact that can be expected from implementing a waiver program. More research on the efficacy of tuition and fee waiver programs is warranted. In addition, researchers and practitioners should advocate for more consistent definitions and structures of tuition programs so that the eligibility requirements are clear, and programs can be compared and evaluated across states.
*Map includes all states with any form of financial aid program available specifically for SEFC as well as states with programs for low-income students that offer some form of special consideration for SEFC (e.g., additional funding, expanded eligibility, etc.). Some states limit availability to only certain institutions, cover only partial tuition, provide a waiver only if tuition is not covered by other sources of aid, or limit the number of students who can receive waivers or awards. A listing of state websites is available in Appendix A.
TEXAS: A CASE STUDY OF TUITION AND FEE WAIVERS FOR SEFC

The Texas waiver was legislated in 1993, giving stakeholders decades of experience implementing a waiver program and is therefore the basis for many of the recommendations below. Subsequent legislation and a grassroots movement to support former foster youth in higher education in Texas led to more formal efforts to assess the waiver and its impact. As mentioned above, Texas is the only state to have peer-reviewed, published evaluation data on a tuition waiver program. In addition, Education Reach for Texans (REACH), a 501(c)(3), grassroots, all-volunteer-led nonprofit championing postsecondary education success for SEFC, was established in 2009. REACH works within and outside the state to improve access to benefits, strengthen higher education support systems, and collaborate with national groups like Fostering Academic Achievement Nationwide (FAAN) and the National Research Collaborative for Foster Alumni in Higher Education (NRC-FAHE). In 2013 the legislature required that the Supreme Court of Texas establish the Workgroup for Foster Care and Higher Education. This workgroup, led by the Supreme Court of Texas Children’s Commission, comprised representatives from the Texas Department of Family and Protective Services (DFPS), higher education institutions, and nonprofits serving foster youth, including REACH. Finally, in 2015 the Texas legislature mandated that every campus have a designated liaison to serve SEFC, and that DFPS work with the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board (THECB) to track higher education outcomes for SEFC.
RECOMMENDATIONS

Using the information gained from years of collaborative partnerships and data sources, the following offers recommendations for waiver programs and shares lessons learned from the Texas experience as well as a review of other states’ tuition waiver policies.

1. EXPAND THE AVAILABILITY OF TUITION WAIVERS TO MORE SEFC THROUGH EITHER ADDITIONAL STATE-BASED TUITION WAIVER PROGRAMS, OR A FEDERAL PROGRAM.

As noted in the introduction, Texas’ experiences clearly demonstrate that tuition and fee waivers can improve postsecondary outcomes. An evaluation of the program revealed that students who used the waiver were 3.5 times more likely to receive a bachelor’s degree than students who qualified for, but did not use, the waiver. This provides the first compelling piece of evidence that a waiver program can have a significant and substantive impact and makes a strong case for expanding such programs nationwide.

2. DO NOT REQUIRE THE USE OF OTHER FINANCIAL AID FOR TUITION COSTS BEFORE THE WAIVER TAKES EFFECT.

In some states, tuition waiver programs require students to use all or some available grant or scholarship aid towards tuition costs before the tuition waiver is made available, diminishing the impact of these programs. Most SEFC will qualify for a Federal Pell Grant ($6,495 for the 2021/2022 award year) and often a Chafee Educational and Training Voucher of $5,000. Additional federal, state, or private aid may also be available. With the average tuition costs at public in-state universities coming in at $10,338,12 these sources may fully cover tuition, disqualifying the student from receiving a tuition waiver or substantially reducing its value. When available financial aid does not fully cover the cost of tuition, while it is helpful that the tuition waiver covers the balance, such a restriction reduces the amount of funding that is left to pay for non-tuition costs such as room and board, transportation, books, and other living expenses, leaving students either unable to adequately focus on academics due to a need to work or needing to take out costly and burdensome loans.
3. DEFINE ELIGIBILITY BROADLY.

When states define eligibility for their program too narrowly, the overall impact on SEFC outcomes is likely to be small. The consensus across existing researchers is that tuition and fee waivers for SEFC should have no minimum requirements for how long a child was in foster care or the age at which they were in foster care,13 no or few restrictions on waiver usage,14 and no age limits to activate the waiver.

For example, the Minnesota tuition and fee waiver is written very broadly15 to include any youth who was in foster care after the age of 13. In Texas, the need to maintain broad eligibility was a lesson learned over time, with the state eliminating requirements based on the length of time spent in care after initial adoption of the policy, recognizing that entering foster care for any amount of time poses challenges and potential trauma to a child. The length of time in foster care or age at which a youth was in foster care are poor proxies for need and therefore, ideally, all youth with experience in the foster care system should have equitable opportunities to pursue their postsecondary goals.

The Texas waiver is unique in that it can be used indefinitely toward any degree SEFC want to pursue for their lifetime. In contrast, most states put restrictions on how many years SEFC can use their waiver or impose an age cap.16 The expansive nature of Texas’ program has resulted in SEFC who have obtained post-baccalaureate degrees including master’s degrees, PhD’s and MD’s. Finally, research reveals that many SEFC do not start their higher education journey until later.17, 18, 19, 20 Thus, eliminating age limits allows young adults to obtain their degree if they are parenting, pregnant, or simply need extra time.21 While there is an age limit22 to activate the Texas tuition and fee waiver, there is no limit to waiver usage after initial activation. An even more expansive program could have no age limits related to when the waiver must begin.

4. STREAMLINE APPLICATION AND VERIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.

As mentioned in the Texas tuition and fee waiver evaluation, 40% of SEFC eligible for the waiver do not use it, which may be in part due to barriers created by the application process.23 Other research has found similarly that students with experience in foster care often do not know how to access the benefits available to them and regularly pass up available financial support.24 States with a tuition waiver in place should take action to maximize usage.

One barrier for some students to accessing a tuition waiver both in Texas and elsewhere may be the need to complete a Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA®) to qualify for the waiver. This can be addressed by enacting laws that ensure support is available for students to complete the FAFSA. Texas was the second state to make the FAFSA mandatory for all high school students, an action linked not only to improved access to financial aid but also to increased college enrollment rates.25 States should mandate FAFSA completion, unless a student opts out, for all SEFC to ensure they receive the most comprehensive financial aid package available. Care should be taken with these requirements to ensure that the onus is on institutions to ensure FAFSA completion rather than penalizing students for a failure to complete the FAFSA.

In addition, SEFC typically must submit proof of their foster care status (every year, in some states) to receive the tuition waiver. This can be a time-consuming and frustrating process for students. States should build coalitions with child welfare and higher education agencies to have foster care status verified automatically through a data match, as many states already do for verification of eligibility for Chafee Educational and Training Vouchers. In addition, eligibility typically does not change from year to year and so any requirements to submit verification annually should be eliminated. These strategies would eliminate existing barriers in the application and verification process and ultimately, increase waiver utilization.
5. AVOID ACADEMIC OR SERVICE REQUIREMENTS FOR WAIVER ELIGIBILITY.

States expanding or implementing a tuition waiver should also consider establishing policies and procedures that help SEFC maintain financial aid once enrolled. Minimum GPA requirements or other academic expectations attached to waiver usage can be extremely problematic for a population of students that often enters college with academic deficiencies and inadequate support. Research has found that one in four students who enroll in college do not meet their institution’s Satisfactory Academic Progress (SAP) standard after their first year, resulting in a loss of federal financial aid. This increases to over a third of students when looking at SEFC specifically, and rates of SAP failure among African American and Native American students were found to be double that of white students. Linking eligibility to an institution’s SAP standard or other similar academic metric can exacerbate the inequities that already put foster youth and students of color at a disadvantage.

California recently adopted a model for its Chafee Educational and Training Voucher (ETV) program that allows foster youth to maintain an award for up to two years before being disqualified for academic progress while ensuring that students are both receiving support and held accountable for improving academic progress along the way. Similar standards could be put in place by state tuition waiver programs.

Some states require that students fulfill work or service obligations to maintain the tuition waiver. Such requirements may be challenging for students to comply with while simultaneously fulfilling their academic responsibilities and are not recommended. Other programs require students to be enrolled full time, which may not be realistic for all SEFC. Finally, programs should be open to all eligible students and should not be based on competitive criteria. A competitive scholarship program rewards those most likely to succeed rather than those with the greatest need.
6. FINANCIAL AID ADMINISTRATORS SHOULD INCREASE COST OF ATTENDANCE (COA) AS ALLOWABLE TO HELP MAXIMIZE AVAILABLE AID.

When students enroll in higher education, the institution calculates the Cost of Attendance (COA), which is an estimate of a student’s higher education costs for a specified period. The COA includes both tuition and non-tuition costs, such as room and board, books and supplies, transportation, and miscellaneous personal expenses. The institution then uses the student’s COA and Expected Family Contribution (EFC), a federal measure that relies on FAFSA data to calculate the student’s financial strength, to determine eligibility for aid using the following calculation:

\[
\text{Cost of Attendance (COA)} - \text{Expected Family Contribution (EFC)} = \text{Eligibility for Aid (Need)}
\]

Currently, tuition and fee waivers count as income towards SEFC’s total COA. Regardless of whether the student has a waiver, a scholarship, or a grant, financial aid professionals use this calculation at every institution of higher education in the US. SEFC may also be eligible for the Chafee Educational and Training Voucher (ETV),\textsuperscript{29} Federal Pell Grants and other need-based grants, emergency funds,\textsuperscript{30} and other scholarships to pay for college. All these benefits also count towards the total COA. Students cannot receive any additional aid beyond the amount of unmet need. As a result, the sources of financial support designed specifically for SEFC often do not add to their benefits, but simply substitute for other aid they might have received. This reduces the incentive to utilize the waiver and ultimately, undermines the impact of the program. One possible solution to this problem is to increase the total cost of attendance for SEFC to account for their unique situations, which some Texas universities have done on a case-by-case basis. SEFC lack what John Seita has referred to as “family privilege,” or the wide array of emotional, social, and financial resources that students with stable, supportive families accrue. Increasing cost of attendance can make up for some of these hidden and emergency costs in higher education.

7. ADEQUATELY COVER INSTITUTIONAL COSTS.

In some cases, as in Texas, institutions are asked to shoulder the financial burden for tuition waivers rather than relying on state investment. This is problematic both for institutional bottom lines and the impact on foster youth. Many campus-based support programs that support SEFC get pushback from their own institution when they want to expand or provide more in-depth services to SEFC. The more SEFC institutions attract, the more funds they must spend on tuition. Campus support programs for SEFC in Texas often struggle to get off the ground because of the anticipated tuition costs for SEFC. Federal or state funding is necessary rather than mandating that institutions shoulder the financial burden. Federal or state tuition dollars could free institutions to channel their dollars into statewide liaison and campus support program funding and eliminate the disincentive to creating such programs.
8. INCLUDE SEFC VOICE.

There is an important saying in child welfare, which is “nothing about us, without us.” Too often, however, policies and programs are developed without the voices of students with experience in foster care. For programs to be most effective, the voices of youth must inform both policy and practice so that efforts are responsive to SEFC needs. When Vermont implemented the statewide tuition waiver, they also included student voice/leadership throughout the implementation process including conducting a systemwide needs survey, facilitating foster youth roundtable discussions, and establishing a system-level Peer and Community Educator role. Student voice must be at the center of both state and federal tuition and fee waiver programs to ensure that these programs will best meet the needs of SEFC pursuing postsecondary education.

9. PROVIDE ADDITIONAL SUPPORTS.

Institutionalizing a state tuition waiver is an important step towards improving educational outcomes for SEFC, however, waiver legislation is not a panacea. Additional supports are needed to encourage and support SEFC to enroll in higher education, utilize the waiver, and persist until degree completion. Without a comprehensive support plan for SEFC, waiver programs may be at best inefficient and at worst, futile. The following are examples of promising and evidence-based practices to supplement waiver programs.

Statewide Liaisons

Texas mandated statewide SEFC liaisons at postsecondary institutions because policy makers understood the value of adding a support system to the tuition and fee waiver program. Other states including Michigan, Florida, and California have either institutionalized campus coaches/liaisons or mandated statewide foster care liaisons. Students need a single point of contact who is trained in evidence-based, trauma-informed practices to help SEFC navigate higher education benefits. Texas mandated statewide foster care liaisons in higher education after a statewide initiative to embed foster care liaisons in Pre-K-12 schools. However, in many states, like Texas, the campus liaison position is not funded and is often an add-on feature to other job roles and responsibilities, which can unintentionally deprioritize the needs of SEFC. State and federal funding should include support for staff positions that assist in the retention and graduation of SEFC, which can include oversight of campus support programs. In some cases, private funding can also be leveraged to facilitate the development of a support network. For example, Nevada received philanthropic funding to develop campus support programming and provide for a statewide coordinator to institutionalize programmatic support for SEFC when implementing Nevada's state tuition and fee waiver.

Campus Support Programs

National retention and graduation rates for SEFC are low and SEFC are more likely than their peers to drop out of college. Although tuition and fee waiver programs increase the chance for SEFC to graduate with a degree, support services for SEFC are necessary to ensure academic, personal, and professional success. Campus support programs provide organized and strategic services aimed at supporting students’ educational and professional goals, and should be developed in partnership with SEFC, to include student voice and choice. Support programs offer a variety of services for SEFC, including help with academics, housing, health and wellness, cultural identity, and career coaching. Like tuition waivers, there is no national model for campus support programs and limited evaluation data regarding their effectiveness. However, initial data suggest that these programs are highly valued by SEFC and have
the potential to improve academic outcomes.\textsuperscript{41,42} In some cases, states have begun to invest in such programs. For example, in California, the state funds a comprehensive service program known as NextUp at 46 of the state’s community colleges that provides case management, financial support, academic and personal counseling, life-skills training, career counseling, and linkages to other resources to SEFC.

**Extended Foster Care**

In a large, longitudinal study referred to as the Midwest Study of 700 youth with experience in foster care, researchers found that by age 23 or 24, 29% of participants had been homeless.\textsuperscript{43} Homelessness continues to be a part of SEFC’s experiences in postsecondary education. Twenty-six states have extended foster care from age 18 to age 21 and most offer supervised independent living (SIL) options to youth who remain in care.\textsuperscript{44} Texas institutions of higher education institutionalized SIL programs on 15+ campuses across the state to streamline higher education and extended foster care benefits. SEFC who participate in extended foster care are twice as likely to attend college and twice as likely to have at least one year of college completed by their 21st birthday than their foster care peers without extended foster care.\textsuperscript{45} This is strong evidence to mandate that all states implement extended foster care alongside a tuition waiver program to increase the likelihood of SEFC entering and persisting through college and reducing their likelihood of experiencing homelessness.\textsuperscript{46}
Statewide Backbone Organizations
In 2016, leadership from Fostering Success Michigan and Casey Family Programs gathered leaders from every state that had a SEFC initiative at the time to form a nationwide coalition of professionals. This coalition, known as Fostering Academic Achievement Nationwide (FAAN)\(^\text{17}\) acts as a knowledge-sharing coalition to advance systems, improve policy, conduct original research, and educate the public about SEFC postsecondary challenges and successes. Some of these statewide backbone organizations, including Education Reach for Texans, do not currently have any dedicated staff and have all-volunteer boards. Those with funding typically rely on monies from private philanthropy, which is often inconsistent and short-term.

Federal and state governments should invest in statewide and national backbone organizations that support SEFC to continue to improve their postsecondary education outcomes. There has been some movement towards this goal with the introduction of HR 2028, the Fostering Postsecondary Success for Foster and Homeless Youth Act of 2021 (Kildee-MI),\(^\text{48}\) which would create:

- A recognition program through the US Department of Education (ED) to identify and highlight colleges and universities with tailored campus-based supports for foster and homeless youth.
- A national Center for Fostering Postsecondary Success for Foster and Homeless Youth, to provide technical assistance to postsecondary institutions as they create and maintain campus-based supports and disseminate best practices across the country.

10. CREATE EVALUATION SYSTEMS TO MONITOR IMPLEMENTATION, IMPACT, AND EQUITY.

The final step in developing a tuition and fee waiver program is to establish an evaluation system for the initiative. Process and outcome evaluations are critical for ensuring that waiver programs are being implemented as proposed and achieving the desired outcomes. Texas’ experience reveals that typically siloed systems of child protective services and higher education can work collaboratively to create data systems for assessment.

Evaluations should also examine whether there is equity in access, use, and benefits of the waiver program. The Texas study examined waiver use rates by gender and race/ethnicity and found no significant differences in use by subgroup. There were differences in higher education outcomes by race/ethnicity, however, with Hispanic SEFC having lower graduation rates than white SEFC. There have been only a few national or regional studies that expressly look at race/ethnicity and higher education enrollment and achievement for SEFC. These studies do find racial/ethnic differences in postsecondary education. The findings, however, are complex and in some cases contradictory.\(^\text{49, 50}\) In sum, the relationships between waiver use and higher education outcomes by race/ethnicity are not yet clear, and thus require ongoing assessment by states with tuition waivers.
Conclusion

States have many options to improve postsecondary outcomes and experiences and eliminate barriers for SEFC who pursue postsecondary education. Key among these are tuition and fee waiver programs, which new research has revealed to be a powerful strategy for increasing graduation rates among foster youth. All programs are not created equal, however, and states can use this guide to structure programs to maximize their impact. In addition, tuition and fee waivers are not adequate on their own to support SEFC on their postsecondary education journey. They need support systems like mandated foster care liaisons/coaches and campus support programs to help students persist in earning a degree. When developing, expanding, or modifying programs, it is essential that SEFC have a seat at the table to discuss their needs. Further, higher education institutions need statewide and national backbone organizations to advocate for SEFC needs and to provide training and technical assistance. Lastly, all efforts built at the state level should be evaluated to identify best practices for tuition and fee waiver programs.
The list below includes all states with any form of financial aid program available specifically for SEFC as well as states with programs for low-income students that offer some form of special consideration for SEFC (e.g., additional funding, expanded eligibility, etc.). While many states provide a full tuition waiver to all eligible SEFC, others limit the availability to only certain institutions, cover only partial tuition, provide a waiver only if tuition is not covered by other sources of aid, or limit the number of students who can receive waivers or awards. Eligibility for support also varies by state. States not listed did not have a program as of the date of publication.

All links are active as of January 2022; however, links may change over time.

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<td><a href="http://www.dfps.state.tx.us/Child_Protection/Youth_and_Young_Adults/Education/state_college_tuition_waiver.asp">http://www.dfps.state.tx.us/Child_Protection/Youth_and_Young_Adults/Education/state_college_tuition_waiver.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td><a href="https://wsac.wa.gov/passport/about">https://wsac.wa.gov/passport/about</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td><a href="http://www.itsmymove.org/MyFuture.php">http://www.itsmymove.org/MyFuture.php</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Endnotes

1. Prepared by the Department of Academic and Student Affairs at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. (2021) NSHE Foster Youth Fee Waiver Program: A Status Report.


5. This information was obtained through an internet search by the report authors and also relied on information available at: https://depts.washington.edu/fostered/tuition-waivers-state.


10. For more information, visit www.educationreachfortexans.org.

11. For more information, visit: https://faanetwork.com/.


16. For example, Maine SEFC are eligible for 5 years of full-time enrollment; Massachusetts SEFC are eligible for the waiver until age 25; Rhode Island SEFC are eligible until age 23.


22. All eligible SEFC must activate the waiver by age 25.


25. For more information and data on FAFSA mandates, visit: https://www.ncan.org/page/MandatoryFAFSA.

26. Satisfactory Academic Progress standards include a minimum Grade Point Average (GPA) and course completion rate set by the institution within certain parameters established by federal regulations.


29. For more on the ETV program, visit: https://www.acf.hhs.gov/cb/grant-funding/john-h-chafee-foster-care-independence-program.

30. For an example of the Texas Woman’s University Tonn Emergency Fund, visit: https://twu.edu/foster-care-alumni/help-with-costs/.


33. For more information, visit: http://fosteringsuccessmichigan.com/.


35. For more information, visit: California College Pathways|Helping foster youth stay in college (cacollegepathways.org).

37. Prepared by the Department of Academic and Student Affairs at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. (2021) NSHE Foster Youth Fee Waiver Program: A Status Report.


44. United States Government Accountability Office, States with Approval to Extend Care Provide Independent Living Options for Youth up to Age 21, May 2019


47. For more information, visit: https://faannetwork.com/.


49. Watt & Kim 2019

50. Dworsky et al. 2010