Advising Students To and Through College: Experimental Evidence from the Bottom Line Advising Program

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A Message from Bottom Line

Bottom Line was founded in 1997 to help low-income, first-generation students get into college, graduate from college, and go far in life. Our program features a high-touch model in which our counselors provide one-on-one, long-term mentoring and support to low-income and first-generation students. We began by serving 25 students in 1997, are serving nearly 5,000 students this year, and plan to serve nearly 11,000 students annually by 2020. With our growth comes a need to demonstrate that our program is effective and will stand up to rigorous evaluation. In the spring of 2014, we launched a randomized control trial (RCT). We believe the results of this study will help improve our work and inform policy and programming throughout our field.

Across the country, millions of dollars are being invested in programs like Bottom Line. We are one of the first college success organizations in the country to assess our program with a rigorous long-term RCT evaluation. It’s important for Bottom Line, our stakeholders, partners, higher education institutions, and the students whom we serve to know that our work leads to successful outcomes and that our program model is an effective and appropriate solution to one of the most critical social and educational issues facing our society today.

Past Evaluations
Over the past 19 years, we have internally tracked our college acceptance and our college graduation rates. In 2010, we worked with a Harvard graduate student to evaluate our programs by running a matched comparison student analysis. This analysis reported that our program had a profound impact on college graduation. As a result of working in our College Success Program, there was a 17 to 19% increase in the probability that a student will graduate in 4 years and a 27 to 43% increase in the probability that a student will graduate from college within 6 years. While the results were encouraging, the research method was not the industry gold-standard.

In early 2014, Professors Josh Goodman (Harvard Kennedy School of Government) and Ben Castleman (University of Virginia, Curry School of Education) conducted a regression discontinuity analysis on a subset of the students in Bottom Line’s program from 2010 through 2013 and those who fell just below the 2.5 GPA cut-off. This analysis also demonstrated that students who received Bottom Line’s services tended to have substantially improved college outcomes than those who did not—again suggesting that further more rigorous testing was warranted.

This Randomized Control Trial Evaluation
With the earlier evidence that our program was likely having an impact, and with the support of the Michael and Susan Dell Foundation, the Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy, and the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, we decided to launch a rigorous evaluation. Beginning with the class of 2015, Professors Ben Castleman and Andrew C. Barr (Texas A&M University) began a study of our combined College Access and Success intervention to attempt to demonstrate that the Bottom Line model of a third party partnering with students is making a significant improvement on the college graduation challenge facing the nation.

We are pleased to present their first report that shows empirically—Bottom Line’s direct service model is having an important impact on students.

Future reports will focus on persistence and success outcomes as well as students’ academic, social, and employment experiences in and out of college. To learn more about Bottom Line or to support our work, please visit us at www.bottomline.org.
Evaluation Summary

Beginning with the high school class of 2015 and continuing with the high school class of 2016, we are conducting a long-term randomized controlled trial evaluation of Bottom Line, an intensive college advising program operating in Massachusetts, New York, and Illinois. To date we have followed the class of 2015 students in the experiment into their first year of college, with multiple survey waves and administrative data on their college enrollment patterns. Bottom Line had a pronounced effect on how students approached the college application process. Nearly 60% of Bottom Line students rated their advisor as very important with college applications and decisions, compared with just over 20% of the control group rating “another college access organization” as very important. Bottom Line students reported applying to substantially more colleges and were almost 30% more likely to report having met with someone to review financial aid award letters while making their college decision.

We find that Bottom Line advising has a substantial positive effect on the overall rate at which students enroll in college and on the quality of where students matriculate. Students who were offered Bottom Line advising were 14% more likely to enroll at a 4-year institution, and attended institutions with higher mean graduation rates and lower cohort default rates. Our survey results indicate that students who were offered Bottom Line were more likely to enroll full time, had higher rates of participation with student groups, and felt more comfortable on campus than students in the control group.

Our survey results indicate that students who were offered Bottom Line were more likely to enroll full time, had higher rates of participation with student groups, and felt more comfortable on campus than students in the control group.

This is the first in a series of ongoing reports we will issue, documenting the impacts of Bottom Line on students’ progression to and through college. Future reports will focus on persistence and success outcomes as well as students’ academic, social, and employment experiences in and out of college.

“The Laura and John Arnold Foundation (LJAF) commends Bottom Line for conducting a randomized controlled trial (RCT) to evaluate its College Access and Success programs. An RCT is widely regarded as the most credible method of evaluating the effectiveness of a social program, and Bottom Line has partnered with an experienced, independent researcher to carry out the study. It will produce a definitive answer about whether the program achieves its goals and helps low-income students become the first in their families to attend college and earn a degree. We are pleased to fund the RCT and applaud the leadership of Bottom Line for its interest in assessing the true impact of its work.”

— Jon Baron, LJAF Vice President of Evidence-Based Policy
Introduction

Despite decades of policy efforts to reduce socioeconomic inequalities in college access and success, students from lower-income backgrounds continue to lag behind their higher-income peers. In fact, when it comes to college completion, gaps between low-income and high-income students have actually widened over time. More than half of students in the highest income quartile earn a bachelor’s degree by age 25, compared with fewer than 10% of students from the bottom income quartile. These differences in postsecondary success persist even when comparing students with similar pre-matriculation levels of academic achievement.

Communities across the country have invested in intensive college advising programs as a strategy to increase the share of low-income high school students who enroll in college and earn a degree. These organizations serve over 2 million students each year, and receive millions of dollars in philanthropic investment, but there is surprisingly little rigorous evidence evaluating the unique impact that these programs have on students’ outcomes, separate from the other individual and community characteristics that influence students’ outcomes. Only a few intensive college advising programs have been rigorously evaluated through randomized controlled trials (RCTs)—the gold standard in the field of impact evaluation. These studies have either failed to find a positive effect of intensive college advising programs, have had very small samples, or have only evaluated the impact of the program on college enrollment, not on the more substantively meaningful outcomes of college persistence and completion.

Bottom Line is an intensive college advising program that operates in Boston and Worcester, Massachusetts; New York City; and Chicago, Illinois. Bottom Line works with several thousand students every year; the advising relationship begins at the end of junior year in high school, and for most students continues in to college. Bottom Line advisors interact several times a month with students and provide highly personalized and comprehensive guidance regarding college applications, financial aid, and college choice. Once students are on campus, advisors help with course and major selection, making use of campus-based resources, and engaging in campus social activities. In 2014, we partnered with Bottom Line leadership to design a long-term RCT of the Bottom Line advising program in Massachusetts and New York. Among Bottom Line applicants in the high school graduating classes of 2015 and 2016, we randomly admitted a subset to Bottom Line and assigned the remainder to a control group. We will follow each class for at least six years after high school graduation, allowing us to document the impact of the Bottom Line program on whether students graduate from college.

In this report we present the first results from the Bottom Line evaluation. We document the impact of participating in Bottom Line on fall college enrollment patterns for the high school class of 2015, and we use extensive survey data to investigate how Bottom Line is impacting students on a more holistic set of outcomes related to employment, course taking, and overall satisfaction.

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One exception is a New Hampshire peer mentoring program designed and evaluated by Sacerdote and Carrell (2013), which led to substantial increases in early college persistence.
Bottom Line Advising

Bottom Line was founded in Boston in 1997 and provides support to students who attend a variety of schools in Boston, Worcester, New York, and Chicago. It offers an Access Program that helps students enroll in college and a Success Program that helps students persist in commonly attended regional colleges. Students apply to the Access Program during the second half of their junior year of high school. Bottom Line focuses on students who are the first in their family to go to college, whose families make less than 200% of the federal poverty line, and most have GPAs of 2.5 or higher.

Bottom Line begins working with admitted students between the end of their junior year and the start of their senior year of high school. Each student meets with their advisor for an hour every 2 to 3 weeks during the application season. The advisors assist students with identifying potential schools, writing essays, completing applications, applying for financial aid, and selecting a suitable college. Bottom Line advisors focus on college choice and affordability—helping students find affordable colleges where they can succeed.

In the fall, advisors work with students to find schools where they appear to be a good academic match and which are likely to be affordable net of financial aid. In the spring, Bottom Line helps students complete financial aid applications and supports students to interpret financial aid award letters they receive from colleges to which they have been admitted.

At the end of senior year, students in the Access program are invited to continue into the Success program if they plan to attend one of the regional colleges and universities where prior cohorts have had success and where Bottom Line advisors provide on-campus support. Approximately half of students choose to attend one of these target colleges. Through the Success Program, Bottom Line advisors provide transitional support during the summer after high school, and then advise and mentor students on campus for up to 6 years after high school. First-year students meet with advisors 3 to 4 times per semester, while students further along in college meet with an advisor less frequently (as long as they are making progress towards their degree). The support focuses on academic, financial, career, and personal challenges utilizing the organization’s DEAL model. Providing this intensive advising costs Bottom Line approximately $6,000 per student who works with the organization throughout the Access and Success programs (5–6 years).

DEAL: Degree, Employability, Aid, and Life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Bottom Line ensures students focus on academics and stay on track to graduate. Making appropriate academic decisions is essential to student success.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employability</td>
<td>Students need experience to get a job after college. Bottom Line helps students find jobs and internships and develop important professional skills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid</td>
<td>Students need to finance their education every year without being saddled with debt when they graduate. Bottom Line helps students identify financial aid sources and scholarships and develop a plan to avoid excessive debt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life</td>
<td>College comes with many challenges. Bottom Line advisors are there for students when life happens. Bottom Line supports students through campus visits, cards, care packages, and phone calls.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Evaluation

Randomized Controlled Trial

Many community-based college access programs promote their students’ successes—high shares applying to college, enrolling in higher education, and persisting to earn a degree. What many of these statistics lack, however, is an appropriate comparison for what those students’ outcomes would have been in the absence of participation in the college access program. Most college access programs require students to apply in order to participate, and a substantial share have competitive application requirements, such as Bottom Line’s minimum GPA requirements or an essay that students must complete in order to be eligible. The same characteristics that lead students to apply and make them eligible for a college access program—motivation, college aspirations, academic ability—are also positively associated with going to college in the first place. This makes it very difficult to disentangle how much effect the program is having on student outcomes, above and beyond what the student would have achieved had s/he not participated.

Randomized controlled trials (RCTs) are the gold standard in impact evaluation because they allow researchers to disentangle the effect of an intervention from other factors that may impact an outcome. In an RCT, every student who is eligible for the program is given an equal chance of being selected to participate. Much like with a lottery, individual characteristics don’t determine who is selected. Instead, a computerized coin flip randomly assigns some students to the program and other students to a control condition. In the case of the Bottom Line evaluation, we worked with Bottom Line staff to identify all applicants who were eligible to participate based on the income, parental education, and GPA information they provided during the application process. We then randomly assigned students to participate in the Access program or to a control group. Students in the control group could not work with a Bottom Line advisor but still had access to any of the other college planning resources available in their community. For the high-school graduating class of 2015, we conducted this randomization in two waves: students who had applied as of the end of May of their junior year in high school, and a separate wave for students who had applied as of the end of August in the summer after their junior year. Across both waves, 1,429 students were eligible to participate in the program. In order to meet Bottom Line’s commitments to serve a certain number of students in each site, we assigned different shares of students to the treatment and control group in each site, as we show in Table 1.

Table 1
Assignment of Students to Bottom Line Treatment and Control, By Site
High School Class of 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcester</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>995</td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In order to evaluate whether randomization was successful, we present Table 2, in which we compare the average characteristics of the treatment students to the average characteristics of the control students. We expect to see some small differences between these groups due to natural fluctuations in the data, but many significant differences would suggest that randomization had failed.

As Table 2 shows, the groups are statistically equivalent on a variety of observable characteristics, suggesting that randomization was successful. The Table also provides a useful illustration of the population of students with whom Bottom Line works. Approximately two-thirds are female and two-thirds are students of color. Students are from quite low-income households—median household income in the United States is more than twice the parental income for our sample—and the substantial majority are the first in their family to go to college. Students have strong academic performance, with average GPAs of 3.26. Interestingly, almost half of students were already working with another college access organization at the time they applied for Bottom Line.

### Table 2
Comparison of Bottom Line Treatment and Control Groups on Baseline Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Average for students assigned to the Access Program</th>
<th>Average for the Control Group</th>
<th>Difference between Treatment and Control Groups*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>-1 pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>2 pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>3 pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent AGI</td>
<td>$22,394</td>
<td>$21,424</td>
<td>$970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verified GPA</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Generation Student</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>-1 pp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently Working With Another College Access Program</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>1 pp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: pp stands for percentage point difference. * None of the differences in this table are statistically significant.
Data Collection

Our evaluation of the Bottom Line program draws on several data sources for both the treatment and control group students:

- **Bottom Line Application**: The demographic, socioeconomic, and academic information students provided on their applications allow us to ensure randomization was successful, as we demonstrated in Table 2, and also allows us to evaluate whether the program was more or less successful for particular sub-groups of students.

- **National Student Clearinghouse (NSC)**: The NSC maintains college enrollment records for institutions that account for 96% of all student enrollment in the country. The NSC records track students longitudinally, providing information on where they enrolled during each term following high school. This data provides the primary college enrollment outcome measures for our analysis.

- **Spring of Senior Year Survey**: We worked with Bottom Line to conduct a survey of both treatment and control group students during the spring of their senior year in high school. In the survey we asked about students’ college and financial aid application decisions and behaviors; where they had been accepted as of the time of the survey; and the sources of advising and support students relied on when making college and financial aid decisions (for treatment group students, this included questions about their Bottom Line advisor).

- **Fall After High School Survey**: We surveyed students again in the middle of the fall semester after high school. In this survey we asked about students’ college and work experiences; their course taking and performance; their use of campus resources and participation in campus groups, if they were enrolled in college; and the sources of advising and support students relied on after high school (for treatment group students, this included questions about their Bottom Line advisor).

Approximately 60% of students responded to each survey wave. In the spring survey similar shares responded from the treatment and control group, while in the fall survey response rates were higher among the treatment group than among the control group. Respondents differed from non-respondents on a variety of characteristics, so the results we present over the next few pages should be interpreted as applying to the subset of students in the overall evaluation who responded to the survey.
Results

College Enrollment Impacts

We begin by presenting results of Bottom Line’s impact on students’ college enrollment outcomes. As we show in Figure 1, both treatment and control group students enrolled in college at high rates in the fall. Students who received Bottom Line advising, however, were substantially more likely to enroll overall, particularly at 4-year institutions. Students who were offered Bottom Line advising were 6% more likely to enroll in college than their control group counterparts, and 10% more likely to enroll at a 4-year institution. These impacts represent a 7% and 14% relative increase over the control group outcomes, respectively.

![Figure 1: Impact of Bottom Line on College Enrollment](image)

Students who were offered Bottom Line advising were 6% more likely to enroll in college than their control group counterparts, and 10% more likely to enroll at a 4-year institution. These impacts represent a 7% and 14% relative increase over the control group outcomes, respectively.

In addition to increasing the share of students that enrolled in college, by several measures Bottom Line advising led students to enroll at higher-quality institutions. In Figure 2, we show that Bottom Line students attended colleges and universities with 6-year graduation rates that were 4% higher and average loan default rates that were 1% lower than the comparable rates at the institutions attended by the control group. These impacts represent an 8% and 10% relative improvement over the control group outcomes, respectively.
Figure 2: Impact of Bottom Line on Quality of College Enrollment

Bottom Line advising had particularly pronounced impacts for certain sub-groups of students, as we demonstrate in Figure 3. In particular, advising led to large enrollment increases for students who were not receiving help from another advising organization at the time they applied to Bottom Line; participants whose GPAs were below the median of the Bottom Line applicant pool; and for female students. Bottom Line students who were not already working with an access organization were 11 percentage points more likely to enroll in college than students in the control who were neither working with Bottom Line nor another college access organization. Students with below-median GPAs who received Bottom Line advising were 13 percentage points more likely to enroll at a 4-year college or university and females were 12 percentage points more likely to enroll at a 4-year institution than their respective control group counterparts. These 4-year impacts represent 16%, 23%, and 17% relative improvement over the control group outcomes, respectively.
Survey Findings

Results from the spring survey, which we present in Table 3, provide valuable insight into the channels through which Bottom Line may have affected students’ college decisions and outcomes. One interesting finding that emerges is that nearly all survey respondents in the control group—those who applied for Bottom Line but were not selected to participate—applied to college and for financial aid, even in the absence of Bottom Line advising. This suggests that control group students were able to access college planning guidance and support from other sources. Students in both groups also applied to a large volume of colleges and universities—10 on average for control group students and 13 on average for students who received Bottom Line advising. And both treatment and control group students appeared to evaluate potential college choices similarly. For instance, both groups ranked overall costs and academic quality highly, while athletic programs were ranked less high.

Table 3
Results from Spring of Senior Year Bottom Line Survey
High School Class of 2015

* indicates a statistically significant difference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent applying to college</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of colleges applied to</td>
<td>13*</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent applying for financial aid</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent rating costs as important in deciding where to enroll</td>
<td>59%*</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent meeting with someone to review financial aid award letters</td>
<td>84%*</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent indicating that a college access advisor (Bottom Line for treatment, other organization for control) was very important in the application process</td>
<td>58%*</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Approximately 60% of students responded to the survey, and respondents appear to be systematically different from non-respondents. The results we provide above may not be representative of all students in the experimental sample.
One notable difference that did emerge was how Bottom Line students responded to questions about financial planning and college costs, as compared to control group students. For instance, treatment students were almost 10% more likely to rank costs as one of the top two factors in deciding where to attend. They were also more confident that they would be able to afford college than control group students. This is probably reflective of the fact that Bottom Line students were nearly 20% more likely to have met with someone to review their financial aid award letters than were control group students. This pattern of results suggests that Bottom Line advising is helping students make informed decisions about the affordability of college options they pursue.

In terms of students’ responses about sources of college and financial aid advising, treatment students rate Bottom Line advising as the most important source of guidance; 58% of treatment students indicated that Bottom Line advising was “very important” in their application and decision process. In contrast, only 21% of control group students indicated that “staff at other college access programs” were very important. Both groups ranked support from parents (~60%), counselors (~50%) and teachers (~30%) as very important.

Interestingly, among students who ranked parents, counselors, or teachers as important, treatment students were less likely to say they discussed college-related issues (e.g. which colleges to apply to or how to apply for financial aid) with these other adults. This suggests treatment students were receiving more guidance on these topics from Bottom Line staff, and perhaps felt less need to turn to other sources of advising for this information. While both treatment and control respondents are very confident that they are going to attend college (93% vs. 89%), only about half (50% vs 48%) are very confident that they are academically prepared.
Results from the fall survey, which we show in Table 4, provide information about the impact of participating in Bottom Line beyond whether and where students enrolled in college. Students who participated in Bottom Line were 5% more likely to enroll full-time in college, and half as likely to be working full-time than control group students, though it’s worth noting that only 8% of control group students worked full-time after high school. Bottom Line students also worked fewer hours each week than did control group students.

Bottom Line participation also led to students making decisions that may contribute to an increased probability of success in college. For instance, Bottom Line students were 7% more likely to report participating in student groups and 7% more likely to report living on campus than control group students. Students assigned to treatment were also more likely to report being “very satisfied” on a variety of measures, such as their level of comfort on campus (36% vs. 29%). Interestingly, Bottom Line students had slightly lower self-reported GPAs during their first term in college, though this may be reflective of them attending higher-quality institutions with more rigorous grading standards or a function of non-random survey response.

Table 4
Results from Fall After Senior Year Bottom Line Survey
High School Class of 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent enrolled full time</td>
<td>94%*</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent working full time</td>
<td>4%*</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average hours worked</td>
<td>5.7*</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent participating in student groups</td>
<td>48%*</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent living on campus</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average first-semester GPAs</td>
<td>3.2*</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates a statistically significant difference
Conclusions and Next Steps

Initial results from our evaluation indicate that Bottom Line advising has a substantial positive effect both on overall enrollment, and in particular on the quality of students enrollment. Students who were offered Bottom Line advising were 10% more likely to enroll at a 4-year institution, and attended institutions with higher mean graduation rates and lower cohort default rates. Impacts of the Bottom Line program were largest for students who weren’t already working with a college access organization, for students with lower GPAs, and for female students. Not only were students more likely to enroll at higher-quality institutions; our survey results indicate that students were more likely to enroll full time, had higher rates of participation with student groups, and felt more comfortable on campus. These improvements, combined with higher-quality enrollment, may position students for greater persistence and success as they move through college.

Results from our end of high school survey highlight the influence that Bottom Line advisors had on students who approached the college application and decision process. Nearly 60% of Bottom Line students rated their advisor as very important with the college application process, compared with just over 20% of the control group rating “another college access organization” as very important. Bottom Line students reported applying to substantially more colleges, were nearly 20% more likely to report costs as a major determinant of where they chose to enroll, and were almost 30% more likely to report having met with someone to review financial aid award letters while making their college decision. Taken collectively, this pattern of results suggests that Bottom Line advisors are helping students make more informed decisions about where they apply and enroll, which in turn leads to substantially higher rates and quality of enrollment. Once on campus, students are engaging in practices that prior research suggests may position them for ongoing success.

Going forward, we will continue to follow these students longitudinally, to study whether Bottom Line advising continues to have a positive—and potentially widening—impact on students’ success in college. We will also incorporate data from our second cohort, students from the class of 2016, who we also randomly assigned to Bottom Line advising or to a control group. As students move through and beyond college, we hope to obtain additional sources of administrative data to evaluate important outcomes like workforce participation and earnings. And we hope to conduct additional longitudinal surveys to investigate how participation in an intensive advising program affects a more holistic set of outcomes, like students’ career trajectory and aspirations, family formation, residential patterns, and overall satisfaction with the course of their lives.
OUR VISION
We strive to dramatically transform urban communities by producing thousands of new career-ready college graduates.

OUR MISSION
We help low-income, first-generation students get in to college, graduate from college and go far in life.

OUR GOALS FOR OUR STUDENTS
We expect our students to earn a bachelor’s degree, accumulate no more than $36,000 in debt, and be employed or continuing their education 6 months after graduation.