

## Tensions between Economic Need and Academic Merit: Analysis of Perceptions of the 6000 Scholarship Program in Andalusia (Spain)<sup>1</sup>

*Manuel A. Río Ruiz*  
University of Seville  
Spain  
✉

*María Luisa Jiménez Rodrigo*  
University of Granada  
Spain

**Citation:** Río Ruiz, M. A., & Jiménez Rodrigo, M. L. (2023). Tensions between economic need and academic merit: Analysis of perceptions of the 6000 scholarship program in Andalusia (Spain). *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 31(14). <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.31.7574>

**Abstract:** This article analyzes the beneficiary population's perceptions of the Becas 6000 in Andalusia (Spain), a pioneering income transfer programme conditional on educational results limited to post-compulsory secondary school students from very low-income families. A qualitative strategy based on 33 in-depth interviews was developed. The material was analyzed following grounded theory procedures. The analyses reveal two main directions. On the one hand, the perception of scholarships as an instrument of equity in the support of students with greater economic needs, although their limited coverage and lack of flexibility are questioned. In addition, the scholarship is seen as a resource that facilitates new investments in education and as a basic resource at the service of the household economy. On the other hand, scholarships are seen as an effective instrument to encourage effort and academic performance. In short, the 6000

---

<sup>1</sup> This version is a translation that was not evaluated by peer reviewers.

scholarship is seen as a good, fair, and necessary resource, combining the principles of equity and efficiency, the internalization of which by the beneficiary population contributes to their adherence and commitment to the programme.

**Keywords:** scholarships; school dropout; education policies; income transfers conditional on education; qualitative evaluation; Spain

### **Las tensiones entre la necesidad económica y el mérito académico: Análisis de las percepciones sobre la política de becas 6000 en Andalucía (España)**

**Resumen:** El artículo analiza las percepciones de la población beneficiaria sobre las Becas 6000 en Andalucía (España), un pionero programa de transferencias de rentas condicionadas a resultados educativos limitado a estudiantes de secundaria postobligatoria procedentes de familias de muy escasos recursos. Se ha desarrollado una estrategia cualitativa sustentada en 33 entrevistas en profundidad. El material fue analizado siguiendo procedimientos de la teoría fundamentada. Los análisis revelan dos sentidos principales. Por una parte, la percepción de las becas como un instrumento de equidad en el apoyo a estudiantes con mayores necesidades económicas, aunque se cuestiona su limitada cobertura y escasa flexibilidad. Además, la beca se valora como un recurso facilitador de nuevas inversiones en educación y como un recurso básico al servicio de la economía doméstica. Por otra parte, las becas se entienden como un instrumento efectivo para incentivar el esfuerzo y el rendimiento académico. En suma, la beca 6000 se valora como un buen recurso, solidario, justo y necesario, conjugándose los principios de equidad y eficiencia cuya interiorización por parte de la población beneficiaria contribuye a la adhesión y compromiso con el programa.

**Palabras clave:** becas; abandono escolar temprano; políticas educativas; transferencias de rentas condicionadas a la educación; evaluación cualitativa; España

### **Tensões entre a necessidade económica e o mérito académico: Análise das percepções da bolsa de estudo 6000 na Andaluzia**

**Resumo:** Este artigo analisa as percepções da população beneficiária sobre o Becas 6000 na Andaluzia (Espanha), um programa pioneiro de transferência de rendimentos dependente de resultados educativos limitados aos estudantes do ensino secundário pós-compulsivo de famílias com rendimentos muito baixos. Foi desenvolvida uma estratégia qualitativa baseada em 33 entrevistas aprofundadas. O material foi analisado de acordo com procedimentos teóricos fundamentados. As análises revelam duas direcções principais. Por um lado, a percepção das bolsas de estudo como um instrumento de equidade no apoio aos estudantes com maiores necessidades económicas, embora a sua cobertura limitada e falta de flexibilidade sejam postas em causa. Além disso, a bolsa é vista como um recurso que facilita novos investimentos na educação e como um recurso básico ao serviço da economia doméstica. Por outro lado, as bolsas de estudo são vistas como um instrumento eficaz para encorajar o esforço e o desempenho académico. Em suma, a bolsa de estudo 6000 é vista como um recurso bom, solidário, justo e necessário, combinando os princípios de equidade e eficiência, cuja internalização pela população beneficiária contribui para a sua adesão e compromisso com o programa.

**Palavras-chave:** bolsas de estudo; abandono escolar precoce; políticas educativas; transferências de rendimentos condicionadas à educação; avaliação qualitativa; Espanha

## **Tensions between Economic Need and Academic Merit: Analysis of Perceptions of the 6000 Scholarship Program in Andalusia (Spain)**

Andalusia faces one of the highest rates of early school drop-outs in Spain and all of Europe. In 2011, this rate reached 32.5%, rising to 37.2% among boys (Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia, 2022a). Although this rate has been decreasing and stood at 21.8% in 2020 (26.7% among boys and 16.7% among girls), it still falls far short of the 10% target set in the Education and Training 2020 Strategy. To address the issue of early school leaving<sup>2</sup>, the Andalusian Regional Government has been implementing the 6000 Scholarships Program since 2009-2010, aiming to promote continuity in post-compulsory education for Baccalaureate<sup>3</sup> students and Vocational Training programs from families with very limited resources.

This program is pioneering in comparison to other national scholarship and study aid programs, as it aligns with the principles of conditional income transfer policies based on educational outcomes (CITP). It establishes a system of economic incentives contingent upon fulfilling demanding academic requirements for attendance and academic performance during the school year. Understanding how the beneficiary population internalizes, interprets, and assesses the program's conditions is crucial for comprehending the effectiveness and equity of these types of policies. Therefore, this article focuses on analyzing the perceptions of the beneficiary population regarding the 6000 scholarships concerning the program's operation, purposes, requirements, and effects. Specifically, it examines the set of often overlapping and conflicting perceptions expressed by both students and families regarding the different types of economic and academic conditions that determine access to, and maintenance of, the scholarship.

### **The 6000 Scholarship: Objectives, Functioning and Reach**

The 6000 Scholarships Program aims to promote continuity in post-compulsory education for Baccalaureate students and Vocational Training programs from families with very limited resources through a system of economic incentives. These incentives are in addition to those established in the national scholarship system, which must be applied for simultaneously. A maximum of 6000 euros can be awarded. The granting of the aid is contingent upon meeting specific economic and academic requirements of the autonomous program throughout the school year. Economically, the income limits required to access the 6000 scholarships are much more restrictive than those for pre-university general scholarships. In the 2010-11 call, less than 7,306.5 euros were required for a family of four members, compared to the 13,909 euros established for general scholarships. This is half the income required to qualify for a general regimen scholarship and, above all, well below the poverty threshold in Andalusia, set at 12,801.6 euros annually for the same type of household (Observatorio de la Infancia de Andalucía, 2013). Therefore, the 6000 scholarships are targeted at the most disadvantaged economic sectors with a higher risk of early school leaving. Academically, unlike those who only receive general scholarships, the receipt of the autonomous supplement provided for 6000-euro scholarship recipients is contingent upon regular class attendance, passing all subjects in each quarterly evaluation, and not engaging in employment

---

<sup>2</sup> Early School Leaving (ESL) is an indicator used by the EU to monitor the educational improvement of its member countries. The dropout rate refers to the percentage of individuals between 18 and 24 years old who are not in education or have not attained a post-obligatory education degree.

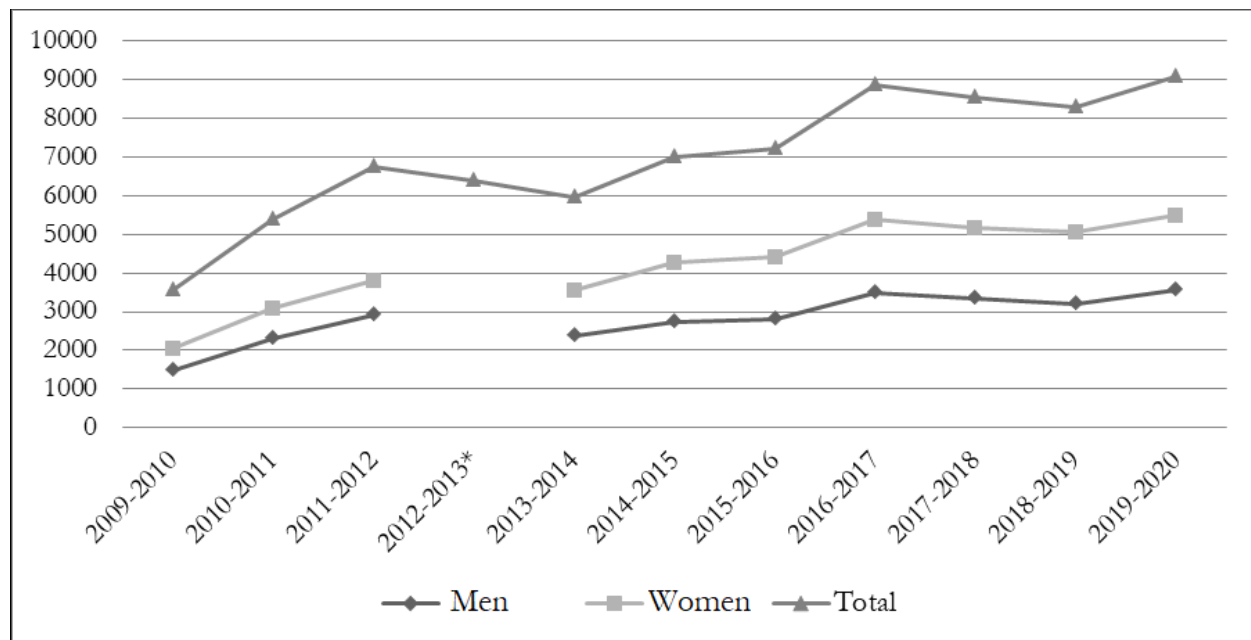
<sup>3</sup> Translator's note: the word Baccalaureate is used to translate Bachiller, which is a general education secondary program in Spain running from year 11 to year 12, after compulsory education is completed and is seen as part of the entrance process to higher education.

activities (Junta de Andalucía, 2011; Luzón & Torres, 2015). The aid is disbursed in different payments throughout the course based on satisfactory progress in the quarterly evaluations. The scholarship, if suspended in any quarter, can be reinstated if the following evaluation is successfully passed. To qualify for scholarship renewal in the following academic year, complete advancement in the previous year's course and progress in the educational system are required, while applicants must not be registered as job seekers. The 6000 scholarship can be received if all requirements are met during the two years of post-compulsory secondary education, whether in the Baccaureate mode (a mode of education composed of different branches that aims to prepare for higher education) or in the Vocational Training mode (geared towards acquiring technical skills and enabling access to Higher Vocational Degrees)<sup>4</sup>.

Since its implementation until 2019-2020, the 6000 Scholarships program has experienced significant expansion, especially from 2016-17 onwards, benefiting 76,984 students (60% girls and 40% boys) (Figure 1) (Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia, 2022b). Alongside the program's notable feminization, there is an increase in the population of foreign migrant origin (Jiménez et al., 2015), a trend towards rural areas with 37% of beneficiaries residing in municipalities with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants, and a prevalence of Baccaureate students (78%) compared to intermediate vocational training cycles (24%; Río & Jiménez, 2014).

### Graphic 1

*Evolution of the Number of Beneficiary Students of the 6000 Scholarships*



\* Data not available disaggregated by gender.

Source: Own elaboration based on Scholarship and Study Aid Statistics from the Institute of Statistics and Cartography of Andalusia.

<sup>4</sup> For more details about the education system in Spain, please visit the website of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training: <https://educagob.educacionyfp.gob.es/sistema-educativo.html>

The implementation of the 6000 scholarship, followed by other similar autonomous programs aimed at providing economic incentives for returning to the education system<sup>5</sup>, allows for the evaluation and discussion of the role of such policies within the strategy to combat early school leaving. While Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programs are still emerging experiences in Spain, they have been widely applied and evaluated in Latin American countries such as the Mexican *Progres-a-Oportunidades* and the Brazilian *Bolsa Escola*, as well as in the United States with *Opportunity NYC* and in the United Kingdom with the *Educational Maintenance Award* (recently discontinued in England, but maintained in Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland). These experiences, alongside sporadic cases in France and Eastern European countries (Cecchini y Madariaga, 2011; Rodríguez-Planas, 2012; Slavin, 2010). They have been subject to various evaluations demonstrating that these programs, albeit not without controversies and limitations, can contribute to retention, educational continuity, improved graduation rates, and academic performance among the beneficiary population (Middleton et al., 2005; Reimers et al., 2006; Riccio et al., 2010; Slavin, 2010; Valencia, 2008).

Analyzing these types of Targeted Conditional Cash Transfer (TCCT) policies, which combine focused selection procedures for vulnerable groups with conditioned economic incentives, provides an opportunity to gather data that enriches the ongoing debate—particularly intensified in Spain following the reform of the general scholarship system—regarding the most efficient and equitable conditions for distributing these resources (Baum et al., 2008; Doyle, 2006; Heller y Marín, 2002). A fundamental aspect of this debate, often distorted by prejudices about aid recipients and regressive redistributive attitudes, revolves around whether scholarships should primarily promote equal educational opportunities for socioeconomically disadvantaged youth or, alternatively, transform into instruments to encourage academic excellence, as argued by the Ministry of Education of the previous conservative Spanish government when advocating changes that intensified academic criteria for accessing and retaining general scholarships. (Spanish government, 2012, 2013; Río, 2020)

Furthermore, faced with the most to the more typical quantitative evaluations of TCCT policies' impact (Andrada et al., 2019; Cecchini y Madariaga, 2011; Edo et al., 2017; Reimers et al., 2006; Rodríguez-Planas, 2012; Serio y Herrera, 2021; Slavin, 2010; Valencia, 2008), analyzing the experiences and perceptions of participants in these programs can help identify and understand key factors influencing the success of these approaches. This includes unconsidered factors that hinder compliance with program requirements, as well as how the population accesses information, values the objectives, and views the procedures of the policy. (Adato, 2000; Dobson et al., 2003; Greenberg et al., 2011; Knight y White, 2003; Legard et al., 2001).

Compared to research results in other countries (Dobson et al., 2003; Escobar and González de la Rocha, 2002; García et al. 2019; Greenberg et al., 2011, Glutz, 2006; Knight and White, 2003; Legard et al., 2001) studies on scholarship policies in Spain - dominated by education economists specializing in measuring final impacts of different programs- suffer instead from analysis on the processes that produce quantified outputs, This is, about what are the transformations in the strategies, practices and student subjectivities triggered by access to scholarships contingent on academic results.

---

<sup>5</sup> In Andalusia, the launch of the Adriano Program stands out, offering a grant of 1,500 euros and aimed at promoting the educational continuity of students in Baccalaureate and Intermediate Vocational Training from low-income backgrounds. Additionally, the Second Chance Program has been initiated, targeting the reintegration of young individuals who prematurely left the education system. In Extremadura, the 18-25 Program has been implemented, providing incentives for the attainment of the Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO) diploma in that autonomous community.

There are even greater knowledge gaps related to other questions addressed in this article, which provide insights for the effective implementation of educational policies. For instance, what are the consequences of being administratively designated as a scholarship recipient on the identities of young students from low-income backgrounds? How does the new role of a scholarship recipient, along with the commitments and demands it entails, affect student perceptions of equity and efficiency in the education system? How does becoming a scholarship recipient impact one's self-perception as a student and the perception of academic success? What rationalizations arise from student successes and failures in maintaining essential support? By considering student and parental perceptions, we aim to contribute to understanding how the population evaluates policies in which they are included but often sidelined—that is, without recognizing and taking into account their experienced perceptions, which could aid both the social acceptance of the measures taken and the more effective reorientation of educational policies.

## Methodology

This study employs a qualitative methodology based on 33 in-depth interviews: 25 with scholarship recipient students and 8 joint interviews with their parents. Qualitative strategies, as developed here, have proven to be useful and irreplaceable for revealing and collecting information about attitudes, motivations, values, beliefs, and aspirations of the target groups of public policies (Viñas, 2001; Yanow, 2017).

The sample of students was constructed using intentional and structural criteria based on data provided by the General Directorate of Participation and Educational Innovation of the Andalusian Regional Government, utilizing records of 6000 scholarship recipients for the academic years 2009/2010 and 2010/2011. The sample was structured according to gender, type of studies, academic year, habitat, and nationality. Different patterns of academic performance among the participating students were also taken into account (See Chart 1).

### Chart 1

*Sociodemographic and Academic Characteristics of Interviewed Student Beneficiaries of the 6000 Scholarship*

Characteristics		<i>n</i>	%
Sex	Women	13	52
	Men	12	48
Municipality size	Less than 20.000 inhabitants	12	48
	Between 20.000 and 100.000 inhabitants	7	28
	More than 100.000 inhabitants	6	24
Nationality	Spanish	23	92
	Foreign	2	8
Type of Studies	Baccalaureate	19	76
	Vocational training program	6	24
Municipality size	Less than 20.000 inhabitants	12	48
	Between 20.000 and 100.000 inhabitants	7	28

Characteristics		<i>n</i>	%
	More than 100.000 inhabitants	6	24
Year	First year	8	32
	Second year	17	68
Academic Performance (Subjects passed at the end of the year)	All subjects passed	15	60
	One or two failed subjects	7	28
	Three or more failed subjects	3	12

*Source:* Own elaboration.

The interviews with parents, despite sharing similar income thresholds, were diversified to include informants from different types of family structures, various employment situations, and distinct habitats. Accessing and contacting scholarship recipient students and their families primarily occurred through educational institutions (55%) and research personnel networks (35%). Other alternative contact methods were also considered, such as utilizing social services institutions and professionals (5%) and social media and the internet (5%), but these avenues proved to be less productive.

The fieldwork took place between October 2010 and December 2011, coinciding with the initial implementation of the program. This provided a significant opportunity to examine the perceptions and initial expectations of the pioneer batches of student beneficiaries. The interview process extended into the 2012-13 academic year, precisely when the reform of the general scholarship system for post-compulsory studies was being proposed<sup>6</sup>, debated, and implemented by the central government. This extended fieldwork period enabled the examination of not only the trajectories of the 6000 scholarship recipients at the university level but also their perceptions regarding the new academic requirements introduced by the central government.

During the interviews, exploration was conducted into the students' previous and subsequent educational paths and challenges, their families' knowledge and evaluations of the program's functioning, conditions, and objectives, as well as the practices and expectations of both parties regarding education and employment. The role of retaining or losing the scholarship within the dilemma of balancing studies and work, as well as intergenerational solidarities, was especially probed.

For organizing and coding the material, the Atlas.ti v.7 program was utilized. The analysis involved a combination of deductive-inductive processes, applying procedures from grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Initial analysis categories were determined based on research objectives, structured along the dimensions outlined in Table 2.

As the analysis progressed, new emergent categories regarding different perceptions of the 6000 scholarship were identified. Finally, these categories were organized through selective coding around two central categories: scholarships as a means of equal educational opportunity and scholarships as instruments for academic achievement.

<sup>6</sup> These requirements entail, at university levels, the need for an average grade of 5.5 for tuition fee exemption and 6.5 for components linked to income. These new requirements also impact the 6000 Scholarships program starting from the 2012-13 academic year, as they now require, in addition to the specific criteria of the call, a grade of 5.5 in the fourth year of Compulsory Secondary Education or the entrance exam to be eligible for the scholarship.

**Chart 2**

*Categories Used for the Analysis of the Perceptions of the Beneficiary Population regarding the Purpose, Functioning, and Effects of the 6000 Scholarship program.*

Dimensions de Analysis	Initial Categories of Analysis	Emergent Categories	Central Categories
Purpose and Conditions of the 6000 Scholarship	Purpose of the scholarship		
	Understanding and Appreciation of Economic Conditions	Opportunity	
Functioning of the 6000 Scholarship	Understanding and Appreciation of Academic Conditions	Salary	A. Scholarships as a Means for Equality of Opportunities
	Experiences Regarding the Application, Approval, and Disbursement Process	Contribution to household economy	
	Experiences Related to the Suspension and/or Loss of the Scholarship	Contract with Society	
Effects of the 6000 Scholarship	Effects on School Behaviors	Motivator-Extra stress	
	Effects on the Study/Work dilemma	Recognition - Reward for Performance and Merit	B. Scholarships as a Tool for Academic Effort/Achieveme nt
	Effects on school expectations	Unconditional right linked to situations of need	
Uses	Priority and Legitimate Uses of the Scholarship	Gift	
	Present uses		
	Future uses		

*Source:* Data collected by authors.

## Results

### Scholarships as a Means for Equal Educational Opportunities

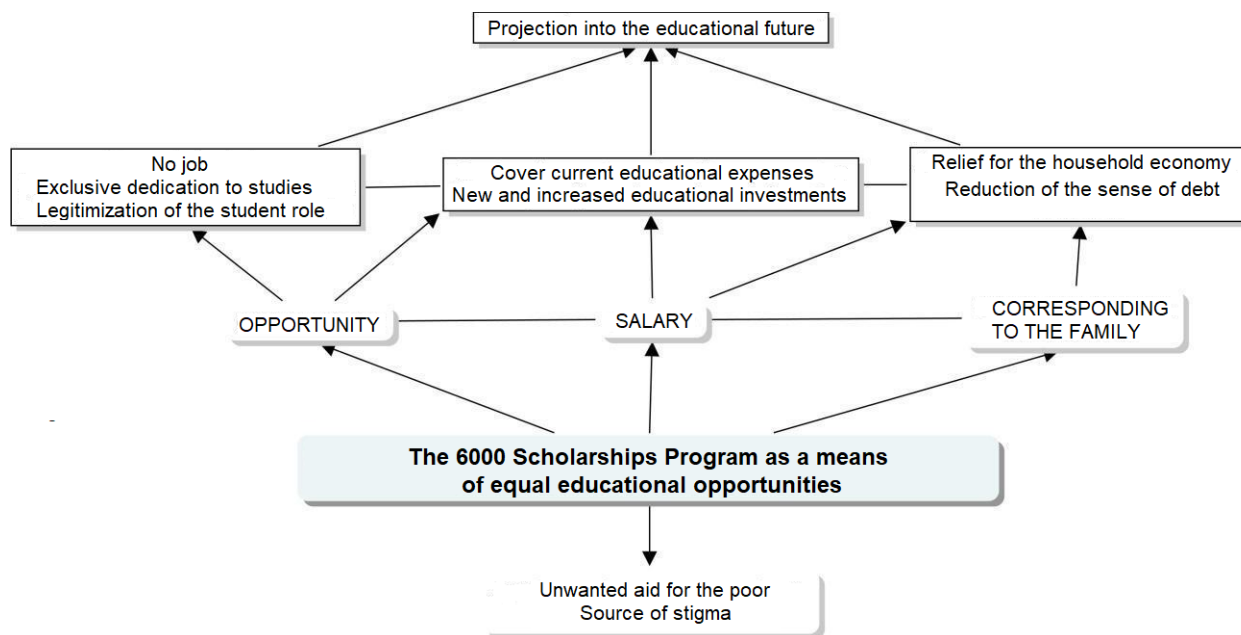
The perceptions of the 6000 scholarships as an economic resource manifest in a collection of discursive positions that converge on their decisive role in generating and equalizing opportunities that would be missed otherwise. Far from being rewards that could be forfeited without significant consequences, the scholarships serve various individual and familial purposes and projects that would be unattainable without their existence, especially in a context of economic crisis and family impoverishment. Such circumstances are well understood by students who have been socialized under the principle of scarcity. On one hand, the scholarship is seen as a savings opportunity for the future, enabling future educational prospects and even university attendance. On the other hand, the assistance is perceived as an opportunity that allows the avoidance of deviation to work options, thereby enhancing students' conditions in academic pursuits that the scholarship reinforces. Beyond being an essential resource for individual endeavors, the scholarship is viewed as a legitimate means to address family needs and deficiencies extending beyond the scope of covering educational



expenses for the beneficiary children. Moreover, the scholarship is valued as a facilitator of new educational investments that contribute to improving academic performance and, consequently, expanding the opportunities to compete for future scholarships, thereby sustaining participation in the education system (See Chart 3).

### Chart 3

*Perceptions of the 6000 Scholarship Associated with Equal Educational Opportunities*



Source: Data collected by authors.

### ***“To enable those who need it the most to study”: Perceptions of the purpose and redistributive scope of the program and its economic conditions***

The beneficiary population expresses a clear familiarity and internalization of the objectives of the 6000 scholarships as aids to facilitate financially disadvantaged students’ continuation of their studies “without difficulties,” as they are compensated for the indirect costs and opportunity costs associated with post-compulsory education. However, while equity is the most valued function, the scholarships are also attributed importance as an efficient investment. They contribute not only to avoiding the social selection of students (the principle of equity) but also to preventing a society from wasting human capital (“perhaps very good students”) due to individual resource deficiencies hindering educational pursuits (the principle of efficiency):

I think it’s great; there are many kids who have to stop studying at 16 because the economy is really bad, especially in smaller towns, and in those cases, very good students might be wasted. (Father of B2, pensioner)

It’s a scholarship that aims to help you keep studying, so students in secondary education wouldn’t stop and continue in the Baccalaureate... So they don’t have to enter the workforce but can continue studying and pursue higher education or the like. (B17, male, 2nd year of Vocational Training in Informatics)

The notion that scholarships should be focused on those who “need them the most” is also shared. However, the limited coverage of the scholarships and the inflexibility in the administrative criteria for assessing the economic needs of applicants are questioned. This could lead to the exclusion of other students who “also need it”:

Also regarding the requirements, well, they shouldn't be so strict regarding the money. I mentioned it before, they shouldn't ask for so many things. They can ask about income, but they shouldn't require a mother to earn 500 euros, you know? If it's 1,000 euros, they should be aware that there are expenses like electricity, garbage, insurance, various things, costs they should be aware of... [...] That's what I would change. (B3, female, 1st year of Baccalaureate)

The broad acceptance of the scholarship's purpose as an opportunity and assistance for needy students and households is followed by a recurring rejection of cases labeled as “fraud.” However, the information regarding these “fraudulent cases” is often stereotypical or imprecise. In response to these “fraudulent cases,” there is a demand for greater control to ensure that the assistance reaches those who “truly need it” and are willing to take advantage of the limited opportunities provided by the administration to a select few. Thus, through the rejection of cases of supposed fraud, differentiations emerge between more and less legitimate scholarship recipients:

Both of us, because we're under the agricultural regime, we're receiving unemployment benefits, we don't have much money, but we make ends meet. However, there are people whose father is a builder, whose mother has this or that, so, much more money is coming into that household, even double the amount coming into mine. And yet, that child, whose only income might be the grandmother's pension or the father's unemployment benefits, that child is given the scholarship even if they don't truly need it, while the one who genuinely needs it, whose income is fully declared and adheres to the law, doesn't receive it. (Mother of B2, farm laborer)

The idea that the scholarship is primarily justified by the economic need of the applicants is evident in the significant reluctance to perceive it, despite being the best-paid scholarship in the state, as a source of pride or something to boast about. Moreover, in some cases, especially among students whose families have experienced unforeseen impoverishment, the scholarship can even be seen as a source of stigma:

I'm not proud either because right now, I hope my parents wouldn't need any scholarships, they could pay for my education themselves if they had the money, but I received this scholarship because it's necessary.” (B1, female, 2nd year of Baccalaureate in Sciences)

I felt a bit offended because they usually give the 6000 Scholarship to low-income families, so they see you as poor... And me, I mean, my situation might have been low, but I wasn't really poor, so I felt a bit... inferior.” (B12, male, 1st year of Baccalaureate in Sciences)

### ***“An Opportunity that Cannot Be Missed”: The Role of the Scholarship in Sustaining Desired Study Conditions***

In general, the scholarship is perceived as “a salary” that, while preventing beneficiary students from “having to work,” legitimizes the role of full-time students. It allows for savings for future

studies and relieves families of educational expenses, which are usually experienced as collective-family sacrifices. These deferred benefits, however, serve individual student purposes and are not shared among the family group. The perception of the scholarship as a substitute for the income generated by employment is common among students whose parents are chronically unemployed at advanced ages or who head single-parent households. These family situations, which are most common among scholarship recipients, can promote youth diversion from education toward work alternatives to address economic needs. This also serves as a way to restore a certain balance in the structure of family rights and responsibilities:

With the crisis, my father became unemployed, and at that moment, if they hadn't given me the scholarship, I wouldn't have been able to come to study. I would have had to start working... At least in my case, without the scholarship, I wouldn't have any options to study. (B22, female, 1st year of degree in Social Sciences)

I hope to live next year without having to work, thanks to the scholarship... If they don't grant it to me, well then, I'll have to find a job... That would be detrimental to my studies, I mean, besides taking up my time, where would I work? (B14, female, 2nd year of Baccalaureate in Technology / 1st year of degree in Engineering)

The granting and maintenance of the scholarship, in addition to resolving the dilemma between studying and working, also leads to greater "autonomy" and reduces the perception of being a "burden":

It's not that I feel like a burden, but I just don't want to be a burden. Where will my parents get the money? I don't want them to feel bad because I can't study." (B23, female, 1st year of degree in Social Sciences)

Moreover, the widespread perception of the scholarship as a "fundamental" and essential opportunity to continue studying is also related to the preferred uses of scholarship funds, which are generally dedicated to covering educational expenses. Among students in Vocational Training programs in rural areas, who are disadvantaged due to a lack of educational offerings in their localities, expenses are often incurred due to transportation or accommodation, which are covered by the scholarship. Conversely, students in Baccalaureate programs often invest their scholarship money in technology, school supplies, and additional tutoring to strengthen their academic performance. For those who aspire to attend university, the scholarship is perceived as a source of savings ("money that is not to be touched") to at least start the desired university degree, even if it requires relocation. Despite the sometimes divergent educational aspirations of young students and the more cautious preferences of their parents regarding university studies, the trajectory of 6000 scholarship recipients who continued on to university confirms these effects:

I saw the university... The doors to the university were opened for me. It was fundamental to be able to continue studying because I don't have the means, and I would have had to work... I truly don't even want to imagine it, but it would have been quite complicated." (B14, female, 2nd year of Baccalaureate in Technology / 1st year of degree in Engineering)

The appreciation of the scholarship as an essential means for future educational projects is also shared by parents, especially mothers. Even in situations of severe material deprivation, as experienced in these households, mothers prioritize saving the scholarship money "so they can continue studying":

We've saved them for them to continue studying. She still has last year's scholarship. And this year, if it comes, she'll have it to continue studying, in case she has to go to Seville, has to pay for an apartment, transportation, food... Well, she needs it... that money is for the future, for her to continue studying. (Mother of B1, farm laborer / unemployed hospitality worker)

***“It’s money for my family, for whatever is needed”: The Scholarship as a Contribution to the Household Economy that Alleviates Feelings of Debt***

The perception of the scholarship as an individual opportunity that allows and will allow studying—without having to engage in activities deemed deviant and undesirable—coexists in a relatively non-conflicting manner with another perception. This perception is that it is “fair” that the scholarship money, which is essential for individual projects, should also be automatically available and “at any time it is needed” to support the household economy:

For two years (of the scholarship), it automatically went to my parents because my father was unemployed, he was self-employed, he went bankrupt [...], he had hit rock bottom and so those 6,000 euros, “I told him ‘they’re for you directly.’” (B21, male, 1st year of degree in Social Sciences)

Female students, especially, see their increased opportunities for dedication to their studies and the maintenance of scholarships that facilitate their continuation as the only means to avoid repeating and compensating for the trajectories of their parents. This is especially relevant for mothers who have followed misguided paths, absorbed by a marital and parenting project to which they were devoted without seriously considering the possibility of qualifying for economic independence from men, while men were present, or when they declared themselves absent from their contributory responsibilities. This maternal experience of vulnerability, abandonment, and female impoverishment fosters a strong gender solidarity between mothers and daughters:

I’ve told her many times, I told her this summer: “Mom, let me work somewhere.” “No, no, study, study, study.” She doesn’t let me help, so... I wanted to give private lessons to a young child, one of those in primary school, I don’t know, at least to make a little money, and always for my mother, because I won’t keep anything, I want my mother to manage it, and for her to do whatever she wants with it, I want to help her so that she knows she has me for something, do you understand? That she’s not alone... (B3, female, 1st year of Baccalaureate)

The wide acceptance of the scholarship as a resource for other family needs is supported by two factors. On one hand, there is a belief that a contract of trust between parents and children will prevail in all matters related to the scholarship, characterized by shared responsibility and a commitment to the principle of scarcity. Both parties are involved in using the money for “whatever is needed” rather than for “frivolities and such,” which neither students nor families can afford.

My mother: “The scholarship is off-limits! The scholarship is for studying, I’ll buy you clothes when I can, and if I need to, I’ll take a little from you, and I’ll give it back when your father gets paid.” She did touch that... But then for buying indulgences and such, no, no. (B20, female, 1st year of degree in Law)

So, the scholarship money, we didn’t use it for the household, no matter how tight things got... and if we had to use it, if there was a moment when things were very bad, very bad, very bad, and we had to use it, then we would pay it back... For example, the money he earns, he’s in a music band, or the money M.C. earns in the

music band, it's theirs. It all goes to the same account as the scholarships... I keep an eye on their bank book so they don't lose control, but the money they earn is for them, and I can tell them to be mindful of their money and to spend it only on what's strictly necessary... (Mother of B2, farm laborer)

These contracts wouldn't be a novel consequence of receiving the scholarship. The trust revealed and expressed between parents and children regarding the legitimate use of scholarship money is consistent with the trust that already exists in families like these concerning educational commitments and aspirations (Martín Criado et al., 2000).

It's more pressure for him to study, so he doesn't have any left. The faults say that they also influence the scholarship, the faults that I do not go to the institute [...] The day she arrived with the mathematics suspense, man, I did not like it very well, because I know that she is able to take them out. And I'm saying, "C., you have to do a little bit of your part." (B1's mother, a day laborer/unemployed hotel worker)

Moreover, the perception of the scholarship as a legitimate resource to support intergenerational solidarity and family needs—rather than only serving individual projects and needs—is influenced by the intense feelings of debt that characterize the relationship between these young students of limited means and their families. These students are far removed from the misguided notions that all young people from different social classes consider dependence on their families a natural right, at least while they are studying (Bourdieu, 1998; Río et al., 2015). By shifting from being financially supported to becoming potential or actual contributors, scholarship recipients neutralize the weight of guilt and debt towards their families. They feel that they are in a position to reciprocate and liberate themselves from the “burden” of parental “sacrifice.” This improves their self-perception as productive individuals in households with “many needs.” On the other hand, when the scholarship is “not obtained” or is “lost,” feelings of debt grow, and the sense is that individual and familial opportunities have been “wasted”:

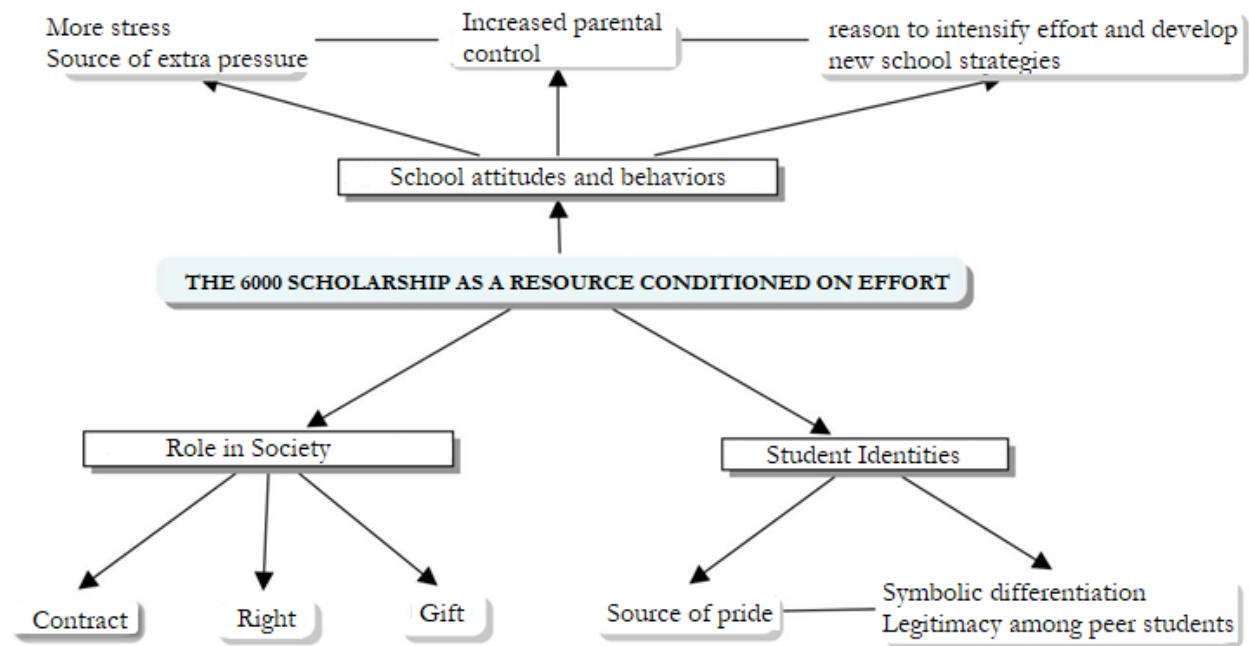
I think I've disappointed my mother because I didn't make enough effort this quarter, and I thought I would fail in just two subjects, but I failed in five... because I know we need the money, and I took it and wasted it fooling around. (B3, female, 1st year of Baccalaureate in Social Sciences)

### **Scholarships as an Instrument to Encourage Effort and Academic Achievement**

In addition to being an opportunity that must not be missed, scholarships are also valued by families and students as a suitable, fair, effective, and necessary instrument to encourage effort. Different perceptions, not mutually exclusive and often overlapping, are identified regarding the obligations set by their academic conditions and their effects on student effort and the identity of the scholarship recipients (See Chart 4).

**Chart 4**

*Perceptions of the 6000 scholarships in relation to academic performance and academic conditionality*



Source: Own Elaboration.

### ***“A Contract with Society”: Perceptions of Academic Conditionality to Preserve Assistance***

The value of effort that the Beca 6000 scholarship program seeks to convey—the institutional slogan of the program is actually “You put in the effort, we provide the resources”—aligns with prevailing perceptions of fairness among the beneficiary population regarding the conditions to be met to receive the formally granted aid. The conversion into a scholarship recipient is generally experienced not only as an opportunity legitimized by the economic needs and deficiencies of the applicants but also as the establishment of a just “contract with society.” This contract is seen as requiring a multiplication of student effort (“you have to prove that you deserve it,” “you ask for something and you have to give something in return,” “you have to work for it, it’s not just given to you”). The high amount of the scholarship, the highest paid by the state, contributes to the acceptance of the new academic conditions introduced by the 6000 scholarship, compared to other “much less demanding scholarships,” like the general scholarships before their reform. This idea of alignment with the public ends up justifying even resigned attitudes from those who have lost or feel they are about to lose the scholarship for “not fulfilling” their part of the contract:

It’s money given to me by the State, and it imposes the rules itself, so if they tell me: ‘You have one left,’ and they don’t give it to me because I have one left, no matter how much I complain, it’s my fault for what happened. (B11, male, 2nd year of Baccalaureate in Social Sciences)

While there is little questioning of conditioning the scholarship on demonstrating effort and academic results, there are diverse positions regarding the adequacy of the academic requirements

imposed by the administration. On the one hand, high-achieving students, who generally express a strong adherence to the ideology of academic gifts and merits, are the ones who declare the highest degree of agreement. Even excellent students may find the level of academic demand to preserve the scholarship too low, not understanding why “so little is required” and demanding that the high-achieving sector of scholarship recipients be differentially rewarded, for example, through excellence bonuses, something contemplated in other programs like the EMA (Dobson et al., 2003). On the other hand, the sector of students whose scholarship is at risk, despite increasing their efforts and commitments to schooling as scholarship recipients, seeks greater flexibility in the criteria for measuring academic effort and more assessment opportunities (“give us some leeway”) to neutralize the influence of factors beyond their control (such as poor teaching and assessment practices or the greater difficulty of certain cycles or branches of study). They seek the ability to meet the established requirements without feeling overwhelmed by dependence on final evaluations. Despite these limitations, the rigorous criteria of the 6000 scholarship are considered “logical” and proportionate to their amount. This assessment contrasts with the rejection of the new requirements introduced by the central government for access to and preservation of university scholarships, emphasizing the new and greater difficulties posed by undergraduate studies along with the increased costs associated with them, exacerbated by the rise in university fees:

The circumstances are not the same... You get to the university, and your tuition costs 3,000€, each book for 10 subjects costs 30 euros... It's just not comparable, and also here [at the university] you take one exam and your whole grade depends on it, and there [in high school] if you don't pass in the first term, you have the second one, and if not, the third one. You have chances to recover. (B22, female, 1st year of Social Sciences Degree)

### ***The Scholarship: Entitlement for being poor or a gift...?***

Although the prevailing view of the scholarship is that of a contract with society, other very minority perceptions have been identified, mainly present among students with erratic trajectories and/or those whose scholarship is at risk or definitively lost. On one hand, in very few cases where an assistentialist logic has been deeply ingrained due to a longstanding tradition of family subsidies, the scholarship is understood more as a right that one has when experiencing deprivation or vulnerability (“I am entitled to it because my family is in need,” “because my father is unemployed,” or “because he is a pensioner”). This idea also emerges in discourse when scholarship recipients, especially when the scholarship is suspended or definitively lost, advocate for prioritizing economic requirements over academic ones, considering it unfair “to have the scholarship taken away when it's still needed at home.”

On the other hand, and in very exceptional cases, when a pattern of academic failure and repeated courses coincides with the absence of feelings of scarcity—likely because the economic conditions of their households are not as precarious or vulnerable as those of other scholarship recipients—the scholarship is perceived as a gift “for enrolling in high school.” These are students who typically anticipate the loss of the scholarship as a result of their poor academic performance even in the first quarter, and therefore, they do not experience any tension regarding its loss (“if it's lost, it's not a big deal”), as it's not seen as a necessary resource for their households either.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> These situations would not affect the efficiency of the program, as the first payment of the scholarship would correspond to the general components of the Ministry of Education scholarship, which are accessed based on the economic thresholds of families, and starting from the latest reforms of the general post-obligatory scholarship system, based on the average grade obtained in ESO.

### ***The Scholarship as Added Pressure and Source of Additional Stress***

Despite the fact that the scholarship offers new opportunities for most of the beneficiary students to continue their studies, the conditionality of the 6000 scholarship introduces new tensions, obligations, and responsibilities that add to their already highly demanding and pressured student experiences. This is interpreted as an additional source of stress and something that sometimes would be preferred not to have (as is the case with scholarship recipients who are “fed up with the scholarship”), if it weren’t for the economic constraints of their families:

“I saw myself capable, but the scholarship is very stressful, because apart from the pressure from teachers, I’m studying, and then my mother comes and tells me: ‘If you don’t pass, they’ll take away the scholarship.’ And I’m studying, and I start thinking: ‘Okay, I need to study because I have to pass, otherwise they’ll take away the money.’ And it stresses me out a lot.” (B2, female, 2nd year of Humanities)

The conditional nature of the scholarship also leads to greater parental control over their studies to ensure that they “pass by any means”:

“It’s more pressure for her to study, so that she doesn’t fail any subjects. [...] And I tell her: ‘You need to make a little effort.’ Because many things influence it: not having to repeat a subject or two, and the scholarship. Losing the scholarship would mean losing a year, if she were to fail one or two subjects. A year of expenses and a year of everything.” (Mother of B1, laborer/unemployed hospitality worker)

These tensions to maintain the resource also result in increased effort from the 6000 scholarship recipients, although this effort varies depending on their academic trajectory and the level of risk/security the scholarship is in throughout the academic year.

Among students who already exhibited high self-demand and academic performance, the scholarship does not seem to impose additional demands on their dedication to school:

“I study a little more because I’m a scholarship recipient, but there isn’t that much of a difference because I’m a very competitive person, I always want to be the best.” (B21, male, 1st year of Social Sciences degree)

It is especially among students who face a retained scholarship due to a failing grade in a particular quarter, which could be recoverable in subsequent evaluations, that a greater intensification of effort is expressed:

“I haven’t given them the impression that I need the scholarship because I haven’t studied enough, but I know that I need it, so I’m going to put in my maximum effort now and I’m stepping up my game because I think: ‘They might take it away from me.’” (B3, female, 1st year of Social Sciences degree)

Thus, new study strategies (dedicating more time to studying, sacrificing leisure time and sleep hours...) and reinforcement strategies (“I want a private tutor, I can’t wait for the grades”) are proposed to recover the subjects that need improvement and thus regain the scholarship.

### ***The Scholarship as a Source of Pride***

The high demands set for the preservation and full receipt of the scholarships also have effects on students’ identity and self-esteem. It’s common, especially among scholarship recipients with excellent academic trajectories, to perceive the scholarship as a reward or prize for their



previous achievements (“I got it because of my good grades,” “they are rewarding me for my studies”). Maintaining a scholarship that requires continuous effort and high academic standards is viewed with pride, and only a few students manage to do so (“those who are worth it”). This perception is often used by 6000 scholarship recipients to legitimize their status in comparison to their school peers who might downplay their situation as a privilege (“I didn’t just luck into the scholarship, I earned it”).

Scholarship recipients view themselves and position themselves against others as a type of student who is particularly legitimate, for whom the scholarship represents an additional source of stress that their other, more socially fortunate, peers are exempt from. There’s a tendency to question the level of commitment and sacrifice for studies among those peers. At the same time, there’s a competitive identification among scholarship recipients when they question whether some of their peers might not be putting in enough effort and thus wasting the educational opportunity that the scholarship provides:

There were a lot of people who would take the scholarship, then not attend classes, but they wouldn’t ‘drop out’ to avoid losing the scholarship [...] They shouldn’t have been given it. I don’t think it’s fair that we’re studying, working hard to pass, and many people didn’t get the scholarship even though they needed it, and then people come in, without studying or anything, to take the money and then leave. No, that’s not right.” (B2, female, 2nd year of Humanities)

This reflects a struggle for social value among individuals in the same condition, expressed in terms of more legitimate scholarship recipients, who are often treated worse, versus less legitimate scholarship recipients, who might need stricter control.

## Conclusions

The specific features in the conception and functioning of the 6000 scholarships make their analysis particularly relevant for the debate on more equitable and effective conditions for providing study aid to economically disadvantaged groups.

The analysis of the perceptions of the beneficiary population reveals that the 6000 scholarship is valued as a good, supportive, fair, and necessary resource. It is appreciated for targeting the least privileged social sectors and for being aimed at students with good academic performance.

On one hand, the criterion of equity is expressed in the widely shared perception that the scholarship provides an opportunity for students with very limited resources to realize their present and future educational aspirations, as well as to alleviate economic constraints in their households and be able to commit to being full-time students. Studies of other similar programs have also found an increase in expectations and material possibilities to continue studying and reach university among those who managed to retain the scholarship throughout previous academic years (Dobson et al., 2003; García et al., 2019; Greenberg et al., 2011; Knight & White, 2003; Legard et al., 2001).

On the other hand, the efficient use of resources is largely ensured through the program’s design by incorporating demanding academic requirements that incentivize continuous academic effort. These requirements are widely accepted and internalized by the scholarship recipients, as we have seen. Available quantitative evaluations of similar CCT programs also show an impact on improving performance, though this varies based on gender, age, or school trajectory (Middleton et al., 2005; Riccio et al., 2010). This analysis provides new insights into how the scholarship represents an additional source of pressure, which triggers an intensification of effort and academic commitment, particularly among students whose scholarship might be at risk at some point during

the academic year. Additionally, it solidifies motivations and expectations related to education. Therefore, the impact of these programs cannot be solely reduced to grade improvement (Río & Jimenez, 2014). They also generate changes in attitudes and behaviors towards schooling, enhancing the security, involvement, and self-esteem of scholarship recipients, as also indicated by other studies (Dobson et al. 2003; Knight & White, 2003).

Nevertheless, the analysis of perceptions about the 6000 scholarship also reveals limitations and areas for improvement in their functioning. Families and students express awareness and understanding of the program's goals, but misinformation and doubts about the administrative procedures for accessing the resource are frequent. This erodes the perception of the program's fairness and generates feelings of unfair treatment. These problems have also been identified in other focused aid programs (Adato, 2000; Calderón & Martínez, 2008). Thus, while the academic preservation criteria of the scholarship are accepted as necessary and fair, there's a demand for flexibility in the measurement of academic performance, incorporating more opportunities to regain the scholarship, and a more nuanced structure of the economic components of the scholarship based on academic achievement.

Despite these critical evaluations, compliance with the academic requirements set by the 6000 scholarship contrasts with the widespread opposition and criticism from 6000 scholarship recipients who subsequently entered university to the new access and maintenance criteria for scholarships (both university and pre-university) imposed by the conservative Spanish government during a period of economic hardship. Those changes, which raised the requirements for accessing and maintaining scholarships, were seen by former 6000 scholarship recipients and later university students as obstacles and sources of insecurity that threatened their already fragile educational trajectories. In fact, some studies warned about the discouraging and excluding effects of that reform (Hernández Armenteros & Pérez García, 2014; Herrera, 2019; Langa, 2019; Río et al., 2015), which has now been abolished in Spain (Río-Ruiz, 2020).

In summary, understanding how target populations of programs like the 6000 scholarship perceive, internalize, and respond to the goals, requirements, management, and scope of such policies provides an opportunity to design, evaluate, and reformulate these programs as effective tools against school dropout, while also improving students' educational performance with a focus on equity and the elimination of educational inequalities due to economic reasons.

## References

- Adato, M. (2000). *The impact of PROGRESA on community social relationships*. International Food Policy Research Institute.: <https://www.ifpri.org/publication/impact-progres-community-social-relationships>
- Andrada, M., Gramajo, P. B., y Chiavassa, L. M. (2019). La influencia de los PTRC en las trayectorias escolares en La Rioja. *Revista Latinoamericana de Políticas y Administración de la Educación*, 11(6), 40-55.
- Baum, S., McPherson, M., & Steele, P. (Eds.) (2008). *The effectiveness of student aid policies: What the research tells us*. The College Board.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Cuestiones de sociología*. Istmo.
- Calderón, A. R., y Martínez, O. A. (2008). La operación y eficiencia del programa Oportunidades en el área metropolitana de Monterrey, México: Un estudio de caso. *Ciencia y Sociedad*, 33(3), 405-441. <http://dx.doi.org/10.22206/cys.2008.v33i3.pp405-41>
- Cecchini, S., y Madariaga, A. (2011). *Programas de transferencias de rentas condicionadas. Balance de la experiencia reciente en América Latina y el Caribe*. CEPAL.

- <https://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/27854-programas-transferencias-condicionadas-balance-la-experiencia-reciente-america>
- Dobson, B., Hardman, J., Maguire, S., Middleton, S. Allen, T., y Maguire, M. (2003). *Education maintenance allowance pilots for vulnerable young people and childcare pilots: Implementation and reported impacts in the first two years (2000-2001/2001-2002)*. Report N° 470. Department for Education and Skills Research. Recuperado de:  
[https://repository.lboro.ac.uk/articles/online\\_resource/Education\\_Maintenance\\_Allowance\\_Pilots\\_for\\_Vulnerable\\_Young\\_People\\_and\\_Childcare\\_Pilots\\_implementation\\_and\\_reported\\_impacts\\_in\\_the\\_first\\_two\\_years\\_2000-2001\\_2001-2002\\_/9598247](https://repository.lboro.ac.uk/articles/online_resource/Education_Maintenance_Allowance_Pilots_for_Vulnerable_Young_People_and_Childcare_Pilots_implementation_and_reported_impacts_in_the_first_two_years_2000-2001_2001-2002_/9598247)
- Doyle, W. R. (2006). Adoption of merit-based student grant programs: An event history analysis. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 28(3), 259–285.  
<https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737028003259>
- Edo, M., Marchionni, M., & Garganta, S. (2017). Compulsory education laws or incentives from conditional cash transfer programs? Explaining the rise in secondary school attendance rate in Argentina. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 25(76). <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.25.2596>
- Escobar, A., y González de la Rocha, M. (2002). *Evaluación cualitativa del Programa de Desarrollo Humano Oportunidades. Seguimiento de impacto 2001-2002: comunidades de 2.500 a 50.000 habitantes*. CIESAS Occidente. <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/etext/oportunidades/2002/escobar2.pdf>
- García, S., Harker, A., & Cuartas, J. (2019). Building dreams: The short-term impacts of a conditional cash transfer program on aspirations for higher education. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 64, 48-57. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2018.12.006>
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Aldine.
- Gluz, N. (2006). *La construcción socioeducativa del becario: La productividad simbólica de las políticas sociales en la educación media*. Instituto Internacional de Planeamiento de la Educación-Unesco.  
<https://www.buenosaires.iiep.unesco.org/es/publicaciones/la-construccion-socioeducativa-del-becario>
- Gobierno de España. (2012). Resolución de 2 de agosto de 2012, de la Secretaría de Estado de Educación, Formación Profesional y Universidades, por la que se convocan becas de carácter general y de movilidad para el curso académico 2012-2013, para estudiantes de enseñanzas universitarias. BOE, núm. 194, de 4 de agosto de 2012. Recuperado de:  
[https://www.boe.es/diario\\_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2012-10849](https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2012-10849)
- Gobierno de España. (2013). Real Decreto 609/2013, de 2 de agosto, por el que se establecen los umbrales de renta y patrimonio familiar y las cuantías de las becas y ayudas al estudio para el curso 2013-2014, y se modifica parcialmente el Real Decreto 1721/2007, de 21 de diciembre, por el que se establece el régimen de las becas y ayudas al estudio personalizadas. BOE, núm. 185, de 3 de agosto de 2013. Recuperado de:  
<https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2013-8559>
- Greenberg, D., Dechausay, N., & Fraker, C. (2011). *Learning together. How families responded to education incentives in New York City's conditional cash transfer program*. MDRC. Recuperado de:  
<https://www.mdrc.org/publication/learning-together>
- Heller, D. E., & Marin, P. (Eds.) (2002). *Who should we help? The negative social consequences of merit scholarships*. The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University.
- Hernández Armenteros, J., & Pérez García, J. A. (2014). *Crisis fiscal, finanzas universitarias y equidad contributiva*. Cuadernos de Trabajo, 7. Studia XXI-Fundación Europea Sociedad y Educación. <http://www.studixxi.com/site/wp-content/uploads/00.-Cuaderno-de-trabajo-7-PRINT.pdf>

- Herrera, D. (2019). ¿Quién estudia en la universidad? La dimensión social de la universidad española en la segunda década del siglo XXI. *Revista de Sociología de la Educación (RASE)* 12, 7-23. <https://doi.org/10.7203/RASE.12.1.13117>
- Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía. (2022a, enero). *Becas y ayudas al estudio*. <https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/organismos/educacionydeporte/servicios/estadistica-cartografia/actividad/detalle/175116/175502.html>
- Instituto de Estadística y Cartografía de Andalucía. (2022b, enero). *Indicadores sociales en Andalucía. Tasa de abandono escolar prematuro por sexo*. [https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/badea/operaciones/consulta/anual/56749?CodOper=b3\\_1094ycodConsulta=56749](https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/badea/operaciones/consulta/anual/56749?CodOper=b3_1094ycodConsulta=56749)
- Jiménez, M., Luzón, A., y Torres, M. (2015). Beca 6000 en Andalucía: Discurso, políticas y prácticas. *Profesorado, Revista de Currículum y Formación del Profesorado*, 19(3), 58-77.
- Junta de Andalucía. (2011). Orden de 5 de julio de 2011, conjunta de las Consejerías de Educación y Empleo, por la que se establecen las Bases Reguladoras de la Beca 6000, dirigida a facilitar la permanencia en el Sistema Educativo del alumnado de Bachillerato y de Ciclos Formativos de Grado Medio de Formación Profesional Inicial y se efectúa su convocatoria para el curso 2011/2012. BOJA, núm. 142, de 21 de julio de 2011. Recuperado de: <https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/boja/2011/142/2>
- Knight, T., & White, C. (2003). *The reflections of early leavers and second year participants on the education maintenance allowance scheme. A qualitative study*. Department for Education and Skills. <https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/4672/1/RR256.pdf>
- Langa-Rosado, D. (2019). El sentido de las becas para los estudiantes universitarios de clases populares. Impacto del nuevo sistema de becas en la universidad española. *International Journal of Sociology of Education*, 8(2), 105-126. <https://doi.org/10.17583/rise.2019.3802>
- Langa-Rosado, D., y Río-Ruiz, M. A. (2013). Los estudiantes de clases populares en la universidad frente a la universidad de la crisis: Persistencia y nuevas condiciones para la multiplicación de la desigualdad de oportunidades educativas. *Tempora*, 16, 71-96.
- Legard, R., Woodfield, K., & White, C. (2001). *Staying away or staying on? A qualitative evaluation of the education maintenance allowance*. Department for Education and Employment. <https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/4672/1/RR256.pdf>
- Luzón, A., & Torres, M. (2015). Las políticas educativas contra el abandono escolar temprano en Andalucía: La Beca 6000. En A. Tarabini (Coord.), *Políticas de lucha contra el abandono escolar en España* (pp. 109-133). Síntesis.
- Martín Criado, E., Fernández, F. Gómez, C., y Monge, A. (2000). *Familias de clase obrera y escuela*. Iralka.
- Middleton, S., Perren, K., Maguire, S., & Rennison, J. (2005). *Evaluation of education maintenance allowance pilots: Young people aged 16 to 19 years. Final report of the quantitative evaluation*. Department for Education and Skills Research. <https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/5734/1/RR678.pdf>
- Observatorio de la Infancia de Andalucía. (2013). *Pobreza y desigualdad*. Cifras y datos, nº 10. Consejería de Salud y Bienestar Social, Junta de Andalucía. <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/observatoriodelainfancia/oia/esp/descargar.aspx?id=3821y tipo=documento>.
- Reimers, F., Silva, C., & Trevino, E. (2006). *Where is the "education" in conditional cash transfers in education?* Unesco. [http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/where-is-the-education-in-conditional-cash-transfers-in-education-06-en\\_0.pdf](http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/where-is-the-education-in-conditional-cash-transfers-in-education-06-en_0.pdf)
- Riccio, J., Dechausay, N., Greenberg, D., Miller, C., Rucks, Z., & Verma, N. (2010). *Toward reduced poverty across generations. Early findings from New York City's conditional cash transfer program*. MDRC. <https://www.mdrc.org/publication/toward-reduced-poverty-across-generations>

- Río Ruiz, M. A. (2020). Becarios rentables y subsidiados en la universidad española. *Infolibre*.  
[https://www.infolibre.es/opinion/plaza-publica/becarios-rentables-subsidiados-universidad-espanola\\_1\\_1183362.html](https://www.infolibre.es/opinion/plaza-publica/becarios-rentables-subsidiados-universidad-espanola_1_1183362.html)
- Río Ruiz, M. A., y Jiménez Rodrigo, M. L. (2014). Las becas 6000 a examen. Resultados, prácticas, expectativas y oportunidades escolares de familias y estudiantes incluidos en el programa. *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 72(3), 155-175. <https://doi.org/10.3989/ris.2013.03.05>
- Río Ruiz, M. A., Jiménez Rodrigo, M. L., & Caro Cabrera, M. (2015). The shifting financial aid system in Spanish university: Grant-recipients' experiences and strategies. *Critical Studies in Education* 56(3), 332-350. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2014.969286>
- Rodríguez-Planas, N. (2012). Mentoring, educational services, and incentives to learn: What do we know about them? *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 35(4), 481-490.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2012.02.004>
- Serio, M., y Herrera, M. (2021). Impacto del Programa Asignación Universal por Hijo en los resultados educativos y las tareas de los estudiantes en Argentina. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 29(1). <https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.29.5195>
- Slavin, R. (2010). Can financial incentives enhance educational outcomes? Evidence from international experiments. *Educational Research Review*, 5(1), 68-80.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2009.12.001>
- Valencia, E. (2008). Conditional cash transfers as social policy in Latin America: An assessment of their contributions and limitations. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 34, 475-99.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.34.040507.134537>
- Viñas, V. (2001). El uso de las técnicas cualitativas en la evaluación de programas. *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, 95(01), 155-177.
- Yanow, D. (2017). Qualitative-interpretive methods in policy research. En F. Fisher, G. J. Miller & M. S. Sidney (Eds.) *Handbook of public policy analysis. Theory, politics and methods* (pp. 431-442). Routledge.

## About the Authors

### Manuel A. Río Ruiz

University of Seville

Titular Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Seville. In the field of Sociology of Education, he has published extensively on pre-university and university scholarship policies, as well as on school absenteeism, family educational practices, early childhood education, labeling processes, and ethnic discrimination in schools.

[manurio@us.es](mailto:manurio@us.es)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6956-9869>

### María Luisa Jiménez Rodrigo

University de Granada

Titular Professor in the Department of Sociology and researcher at the Institute of Women's and Gender Studies at the University of Granada. Her primary research interests focus on analyzing gender inequalities in health, social policies, and education.

[mluisajimenez@ugr.es](mailto:mluisajimenez@ugr.es)

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4635-7713>

---

## Translation to English

Translated from original in Spanish by Abigail Robertson, revised by Rita Cuevas and Jose Fernandez-Calvo of Wowlat Foundation ([wowlat.org](http://wowlat.org)) for Arizona State University.

---

# education policy analysis archives

Volume 31 Number 26

March 14, 2023

ISSN 1068-2341



Readers are permitted to copy, display, distribute, and adapt this article, provided proper credit and attribution are given to the author(s) and to Analytical Archives of Educational Policies, changes are identified, and the same license is applied to the derivative work. More details about the Creative Commons license can be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>. Any other use must be jointly approved by the author(s) or AAPE/EPAA. The Spanish section for South America of AAPE/EPAA is published by the *Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College, Arizona State University*, and the *University of San Andrés* in Argentina. Articles appearing in AAPE are indexed in CIRC (Integrated Classification of Scientific Journals, Spain), DIALNET (Spain), [Directory of Open Access Journals](#), EBSCO Education Research Complete, ERIC, Education Full Text (H.W. Wilson), PubMed, QUALIS A1 (Brazil), Redalyc, SCImago Journal Rank, SCOPUS, and SOCOLAR (China).

Regarding the editorial board: <https://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/index.php/epaa/about/editorialTeam>

For mistakes and suggestions please contact [Fischman@asu.edu](mailto:Fischman@asu.edu)

**Follow us on EPAA's Facebook community at <https://www.facebook.com/EPAAAPE> and Twitter feed @epaa\_aape.**

---