Abstract

The present paper represents an attempt to study gender discrimination from the perspective of public recognition of merit measured through the bestowing of civil orders—the single most important incentives awarded by states—both at the national and regional level in Spain. Our results confirm that there is a severe and non-converging structural bias against women in the bestowing of civil orders and medals, despite the fact that in many fields of awarding (such as the judicial system, the national health system, etc.) the percentage of women is nearly equal to that of men.
We discuss the convenience of introducing a female quota in the number of proposals to awards as a measure to overcome the current gender bias.

**Keywords**

Civil orders; medals; Premial Law; women; gender bias; Spain.

**Resumen**

El presente trabajo pretende estudiar la discriminación de género desde la perspectiva del reconocimiento público del mérito medido mediante la concesión de órdenes civiles —los incentivos más importantes otorgados por los Estados— en España, tanto a escala nacional como autonómica. Nuestros resultados confirman que existe un sesgo estructural severo y no convergente contra las mujeres en el otorgamiento de las órdenes y medallas civiles, a pesar del hecho de que en muchos campos (como el sistema judicial, el sistema nacional de salud, etc.) el porcentaje de mujeres es casi igual al de los hombres. Discutimos la conveniencia de introducir un sistema de cuota femenina en el sistema de propuestas a una condecoración como medida para superar este sesgo de género.

**Palabras clave**

Órdenes civiles; medallas; derecho premial; mujeres; discriminación de género; España.
I. INTRODUCTION

The road towards gender equality is often a bumpy one. Gender bias against women has been observed and studied in different fields (Pujol, 1992; Ferber and Nelson, 2003; Staveren et al., 2007; Folbre, 2009; Berik, Rodgers et al., 2011; Pearson, 2012; Karamessini and Rubery, 2014, among others). However, to our best knowledge, the present paper is the first attempt to study the question focusing on the bestowing of civil orders, the single most important incentives of reward—or prizes—offered by the State.

Generally speaking, prizes have received broad attention, not only from economists, but also from related fields like sociology and law\(^1\). This notwithstanding, interest has mainly centred on monetary incentives (for example, Stiglitz, 2006; for a comparison between both, see Frey and Gallus, 2014), as this sort of compensation allows the receptor to maximise its utility (Becker, 1974)\(^2\), or on non-monetary incentives (such as business cars, better offices, etc.) summarised under the term “fringe benefits” (cf. Arzt, 2010). Alternatively, economic analysis of law has studied mostly negative incentives, such as fines and punishment.\(^3\) Nevertheless, one major category—if not the main category—of positive incentives used by States have

\(^1\) An overview of these studies, which among others cover the economics of esteem, reputation, conventions, invaluable and positional goods, signaling, the giving of gifts, as well as the literature of incentives (particularly non-monetary, intrinsic and symbolic incentives), is given in Frey (2005: 9).

\(^2\) For a general introduction to the economics of prestige and prizes, see English (2005).

\(^3\) Supposedly, “positive” incentives like tax reductions should better be considered a lessening of a negative incentive. From a legal point of view, awards and orders are
so far been almost entirely neglected both by economists and jurists: the awarding of orders, medals, decorations and other honours that constitute the so-called Premial Law⁴, referring to which already Beccaria lamented that: “Upon this subject [Premial Law] the laws of all nations are silent⁵. If the rewards proposed by academies for the discovery of useful truths have increased our knowledge, and multiplied good books, is it not probable that rewards, distributed by the beneficent hand of a sovereign, would also multiply virtuous actions?”⁶.

There is serious evidence that Beccaria intended to write a complete Tract on Premial Law, although he ultimately did not achieve this (Jiménez, 1915: 27). Instead, it was Dragonetti (1836) who published a Treatise on virtues and rewards. Nevertheless, it is Jeremy Bentham who might be considered the father of Premial Law with his work entitled Théorie des peines et des recompenses. Later, La Grasserie (1900) published an important article in La Scuola positive dealing with this topic in which he (erroneously) stated that he was the first to introduce the concept of Premial Law. Finally, it might be stressed that probably the most important monograph on this matter was published by a Spaniard, Luis Jiménez de Asúa, in 1915, entitled La recompensa como prevención general. El Derecho Premial. Only more recently has the topic of orders and medals again drawn the attention of scholars, not only from a legal perspective (Fuhrmann, 1992; García-Mercadal, 2010), but also from the perspective of psychology (Fehr and Falk, 2002) and economics (Frey, 2005; Frey and Neckermann, 2006). However, the study of Premial Law should not be confounded with the phaleristics (named after the Roman for order/medal, phalera), i.e. the study of medals as physical objects, instead of the laws and principles that rule their bestowing (Frey and Gallus, 2017).

It is in this context that the present article aims to analyse whether the number of orders bestowed in Spain is equal in gender distribution or, at least, if there is a pattern of convergence among sexes. As will be explained later, this question of possible asymmetry has not escaped the attention of the also a matter of the theory of justice as studied, among others, by Rawls (1971) and Sen (2009).

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⁴ Occasionally the alternative term “Laudative Law” is found in the literature.
⁵ One “historical” exception might be pointed out: in ancient Rome public awarding was not a mere social act, like occurs nowadays, but was the plain positive equivalent to Penal Law. Regarding this, Ihering (1884: I, 181-182), quoting Titus Livius and Valerius Maximus, even affirmed that, at the end of the Republic, “[Roman] Premial Law was more precisely defined than Penal Law”.
⁶ Beccaria [1764] (1991: 83).
policymakers in some countries, who have adopted legal measures to raise the number of bestowals to women. Thus, this study will also allow the effectiveness of such measures to be evaluated.

According to the purpose of the study, the article is structured as follows: in section 2, we review orders and medals from an economic perspective to embed our study in the appropriate theoretical framework. In section 3, we present the empirical analysis, in which we test whether there is equality between men and women in the bestowal of the most important civil orders and medals in Spain. Finally, in section 4 we draw the pertinent conclusions and outline some recommendations for policymakers, considering some measures adopted by other nations to reach equality between women and men in the number of orders bestowed on them.

II. ORDERS AND MEDALS AS INSTRUMENTS TO EXTERIORIZE MERIT

The history of singling out from society those persons who have achieved outstanding merits—either civil or military—by distinguishing them with a distinctive sign (medals, orders, honours and other awards)\(^7\) can be traced back to ancient Greece, more precisely, to the late Hellenistic period\(^8\). Following the excellent study by Fuhrmann (1992) we can find the origin of this debate in Aristotle’s *Politics*. The author, from Stagira, discusses the convenience of distinguishing publicly (τιμή) those citizens who had acted in favour of the *polis*, concluding that, although it might have a positive effect, it should be discharged because of the danger of abuse: “Although this idea might seem attractive, it is not riskless. It might, in fact, favour wrong awarding and cause political disturb[s]”\(^9\).

But these are the thoughts of a philosopher, not of a statesman, and we have broad evidence that civil orders were very common in times of Aristotle, and even about the hot-tempered discussions about their awarding, as proven by

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\(^7\) Although in the present study we centre our attention exclusively on civil orders, for a matter of style we will use these terms synonymously in this text.

\(^8\) For the decoration of the Ancient Greeks (and Romans) see Kuhl and Kohner (1893: 310-312). Among the Roman awards, the *phalerae* (from the greek ταφαλαρα) might be pointed out due to their similarity with modern orders. This is also the origin of the term *phaleristica* for the collection and study of orders. Anyhow, it might be remembered that orders were also known by other ancient cultures, as the Gallic *torques* reminds us.

\(^9\) Aristotle (1951), *Política* (Greek-Spanish ed.), p. 50.
the debate between Demosthenes and Ctesiphon in their respective speeches *Against Ctesiphon* and *On the Crown*.

The philosophical and social attitude towards merit has been crucial in several aspects that, unfortunately, we can only outline briefly in this paper. It might be sufficient to focus on this question from two perspectives: religious and political. Regarding the first, the theological merit reflects those actions which should receive from God a reward in the form of eternal felicity, the question being to what extent meritorious work and reward correspond completely or partly. In the first case, when this correlation is perfect, the merit is *de condigno*, and giving the reward would thus be just, while in the second—the equivalence now being imperfect—the merit would be *de congruo* and the reward would be a question not of justice but of equity. Summarising quite a complex matter, the issue of theological merit might be reduced to the following question: can a person do any action or work that should deserve a reward by God? In this apparently simple question lies the main reason for the schism between Catholicism and Protestantism, as the latter believes in predestination, thus denying any possibility of a man to have any merit by himself, but only through God’s grace. This is relevant to the point that Kunze, in his *Real Encyklopädie*, had no doubt in affirming that the “Reform was essentially a fight against the Doctrine of Merit”.

Similarly, the distinction between libertarians and conservative politics, on the one hand, and socialist or communist politics on the other, depends heavily on whether they give primacy to individual merit over equity or the other way around. A form of organising society has even been termed *meritocracy* for those cases in which merit is the distinctive factor. Of course, the question of *what* is considered meritorious has changed through time and space, as well as the appreciation of the different orders and medals.

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10 Aeschines [330 BC] (1969).
11 Demosthenes [330 BC] (1912).
12 See, among others, Marín (1715).
13 “The concept of merit in an ethical-religious sense, marks a fundamental difference between confessions, as Catholicism recognises man’s merit towards god, while Protestantism denies it” (Kunze, 1908: 500).
14 This matter has been extensively studied by several authors. Maybe the best known example is the work by Le Maitre de Claville (1734), although attention might be drawn to the less famous, although more relevant book by Abbt (1768). For a monograph on the question of values and merit in Ancient Greece see Adkins (1960).
15 Gritzner (1893: v). Thus, for example, the Soviet Union awarded the Medal Hero of the Soviet Union to Ramón Mercader, the murderer of Trotsky, while Nazi Germany awarded decorations to many people involved in the Holocaust.
However, the question of discrimination in the number of orders bestowed to men and women has to date been almost completely ignored. Historically, the matter did not become relevant until after the First World War. Previously, orders were either separated into those exclusive for gentlemen (the majority, as they derived from the ancient orders for knights) and ladies; or a separate category for woman was created inside already existing orders, differentiated by smaller insignia to be worn on a ribbon lace. Step by step nearly all orders and medals bestowed by European countries have changed their statutes supressing any restriction due to gender. Accordingly, it should be assumed that over the last decades the percentages of orders and medals awarded to men and women should have converged towards a level of equality among genders. In the present paper, we will test this hypothesis for the Spanish case.

However, before doing so we should elucidate the difference between orders, decorations and medals. Orders derive from the medieval Knighthoods and the spirit embodied by the Crusades. Accordingly, they are organised in a hierarchy, that is, in several classes or ranks which are reflected in the size and form of the accompanying symbols (usually in growing order of importance: Medal, Cross, Commander’s Cross (less commonly Lady’s Cross), Grand Commander’s Cross, Knight/Grand Cross, Collar). For their part, decorations are simply a sign of distinction of certain meritorious persons by the State or Sovereign, although the awarded people do not constitute a sort of collegiate body or “brotherhood”. Nowadays, orders and decorations are easily and often confused due to the fact that the symbols closely resemble one another, although it is fundamental to clearly distinguish one from another (Jiménez de Asúa, 1915: 39-40). Medals are individual distinctions (either in a single class or in the classic bronze/silver/gold classification, though this, unlike what happens with the orders, does not imply any hierarchy between the awarded persons), intended to recognise either a single act of bravery, commemorate a single event or distinguish good conduct as well as long and/or valuable service. Another difference to be taken into account is that between official orders, decorations and medals (those awarded by a State, such as the British Order of the Garter) and dynastic ones (such as the Spanish Order of the Golden Fleece) on the one hand, and private or semi-private ones on the other (such as the Order of the Olympic Merit).

An in-depth explanation of the statutes and proceedings of awarding of each Spanish civil order covered by our research would extend the purposes of this initial study. Instead, we will simply draw a brief sketch of the
The current Spanish Civil Premial Law System\textsuperscript{16}. We might start our overview with the approval of the \textit{Reglamento Provisional para la Administración de Justicia} (September 26\textsuperscript{th}, 1835)\textsuperscript{17}, the first modern attempt to organise the multiple coexisting laws regarding the Spanish orders and decorations in force up to then. Significantly, it suppressed the requirement of nobility (hidalguía) for obtaining the higher classes of orders. Nevertheless, and except for this point, the \textit{Reglamento} obtained few results, and there still coexisted a great variety of norms and laws regarding orders—religious, military, civil—and medals. This chaos did not change with the next attempts, the \textit{Real Decreto} of July 26\textsuperscript{th}, 1847 (reviewed by the \textit{Real Decreto} of October 28\textsuperscript{th}, 1851), which aimed to definitively organise the Spanish civil orders and awards. The advent of the First Republic (March 9\textsuperscript{th}, 1873) meant the suppression of the \textit{Orders of Carlos III, María Luisa} and \textit{Isabel la Católica}. However, only one year later, the Government decided that Republics could bestow not just orders but also honours. The return of the Monarchy with the proclamation of Alfonso XII in the city of Sagunt restored all honours and orders on January 6\textsuperscript{th}, 1875, stating in the Preamble of the Decree that: “The spare and justified bestowal of awards will stimulate the effort of civil servants and, in general, of all social classes to obtain a sign that demonstrates that they stand out in the achievement of their duty”\textsuperscript{18}.

In 1918 and 1925, two \textit{Reales Decretos} regulated the system of Military awards, but it was not until the Government of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) that the next attempt to (re)-organise the civil orders was made. A commission was created which analysed this question and wrote its final report. But, once again, it was not meant to be. Shortly before the text was to be presented and approved, the Government fell.

In analogy to the First, the Second Republic again suppressed all orders (May 24\textsuperscript{th}, 1931) except the \textit{Order of Isabel la Católica}, alleging that:

Without reducing the Nation’s republican spirit, it is necessary to maintain the order [of Isabel la Católica] to evoke her name, the traditions and the perpetual greatness of Spain’s historical past, but also because international affairs recommend the conservation of an award to recompense such services and civic virtues, high merits

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{16} For an overview of the evolution of recent Premial Law in Spain see Ceballos-Escalera and García-Mercadal (2003: 25-48), as well as García-Mercadal (2010, 2019: chapter 14).
  \item \textsuperscript{17} In order to facilitate the consultation of the legislative texts, we have kept their original Spanish titles.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Quoted in Ceballos-Escalera and García-Mercadal (2003: 28).
\end{itemize}
towards Mankind, the Fatherland and the Republic, or relevant merits regarding politics, science, arts and letters.\(^{19}\)

Nevertheless, the *Order of Isabel la Católica* was complemented with the creation of the *Order of la República\(^ {20}\)*, an order “without those characteristics embodied in the old orders that made them incompatible with the spirit of the new regime\(^ {21}\).

After the Civil War, the Franco regime took its time before restoring the Laws in force until 1931. The first steps were the creation, in 1937, of the new *Orden Imperial del Yugo y las Flechas* and the restoring of the *Order of Isabel la Católica* (which thus coexisted for a while with its republican equivalent.

On April 11\(^{th}\), 1939, the *Orden Alfonso X El Sabio* was bestowed and, in 1942, the *Order of Carlos III*, the *Order of Civil Merit* and the *Order of Agrarian Merit* were restored. Finally, in 1944, two new orders were created: the *Order of San Raimundo de Peñafort* and the *Order of Cisneros*.

If we now jump forward in time to the current Spanish Premial System, it has to be stressed that, according to article 62.f of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, the awarding of all sorts of honours and distinctions is exclusively reserved to HM the King, thus confirming an ancestral tradition (García-Mercadal, 2010: 223-230). Nevertheless, and notwithstanding this clear principle, in fact it is the executive that confers decorations. More precisely, the award is always made in the name of the Head of State, but it is the executive that decides the concession: the government for the higher grades (Grand Crosses and Collars) and the corresponding Ministry in the lower ones. Traditionally, it was believed that these awards were completely discretionary; nevertheless, recent interpretations of article 106.1 of the Constitution and of the *Ley reguladora de la Jurisdicción Contencioso-Administrativa* (1998) tend to interpret that all objective criteria regarding awards could in fact be reviewed by courts. This refers mainly to questions such as assuring that a person does not receive a higher category of award that he is allowed to, etc. Unfortunately, these rules are often ignored, and irregularities are no exception (Ceballos-Escalera and García-Mercadal, 2003: 74)\(^ {22}\).

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\(^{19}\) *Ibid.:* 30.

\(^{20}\) For a detailed account of the history of this order, see Fernández-Xesta (2001).

\(^{21}\) Quoted in Ceballos-Escalera and García-Mercadal (2003: 31).

\(^{22}\) Several works, some of them very broadly, have studied the Spanish Orders and their statutes. Among them we might point out the following: Gil Gorregaray (1864-1865), Silva Jiménez (1906), Sosa (1913-1915), Fernández de la Puente y Gómez (1953), Calvó Pascual (1987), Grávalos and Calvo (1988), Lorente Aznar (1999), Pérez Guerra (2000), as well as the previously cited study by Ceballos-Escalera and
III. **EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS: THE BESTOWAL OF THE MAIN ORDERS AND MEDALS TO MEN AND WOMEN IN SPAIN**

1. **DATA**

For the empirical analysis of our study, we have used data provided by the Spanish Ministry of the Presidency\(^{23}\), broken down by gender and exact date of awarding, and for a series of 39 years (1979—2018). The dataset also allows differentiation between two categories of bestowing, namely the highest levels of each order (usually Grand Crosses or similar), which have to be published by the *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, and the rest (i.e. the lower classes of each award).

Accordingly, it is possible to run the statistical models for four differentiated time-periods (1979-1989, 1990-1999, 2000-2009 and 2010-2018), the last of which, for the already stated reason of lack of available data, is slightly shorter than the previous\(^{25}\) and for two levels or classes: Grand Crosses and all other categories\(^{26}\). Additionally, we have complemented the results obtained at the national level, with a brief overview of the bestowal by gender of the orders and medals awarded at the regional level (i.e. Autonomous Communities), using data provided by the respective regional institutions. In these cases, however, we employed time series of different length, depending on the date of the creation of the specific order and up to 2019.

2. **MODEL**

In order to check whether there is a statistically significant difference between the percentage of orders bestowed to women and to men (and after having made sure that in all cases the female percentage lies below that of their male counterpart, see Annex 1) a simple ANOVA model is run, according to the following hypotheses:

\[
H_0: \mu_{\text{Men}} = \mu_{\text{Women}} \\
H_1: \mu_{\text{Men}} \neq \mu_{\text{Women}}
\]

\(^{23}\) García-Mercadal (2003). To this, we might add several monographs centred on single orders.

\(^{24}\) The complete database can be accessed at: [https://bit.ly/2LrVOax](https://bit.ly/2LrVOax).

\(^{25}\) Despite affirming it contains data updated until June 2019, the dataset available on the webpage of the Ministry of the Presidency only covers up to 2018.

\(^{26}\) This being also the reason why it is not possible to repeat the analysis only for the more recent years.

\(^{26}\) The descriptive data are shown in the Annex.
It has been previously checked that the comparison is robust, that is, that the Levene statistic proves the necessary homogeneity of variances, a condition required for validating the results (see Annex 2a). In order to avoid a distortion (“flattening”) of the means by years with no awarding, zero values have been neglected.

3. RESULTS

3.1. National level (central government)

Order of Agrarian Merit

Table 1 shows the results from an ANOVA testing whether the differences between the percentage of the Order of Agrarian Merit bestowed to women and men. Whenever sig.<0.05, the percentage of bestowal to men is—at a statistically significant level—higher than that of women, that is, it can be ruled out that the difference is accidental. The results show that the differences between genders are statistically significant at the one percent level for all four periods.

| Period       | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F     | Sig. |
|--------------|----------------|----|-------------|-------|------|
| 1979-1989    | 26005.403      | 1  | 26005.403   | 174.339 | .000 |
| Within Groups| 1789.994       | 12 | 149.166     |       |      |
| Total        | 27795.397      | 13 |             |       |      |
| 1990-1999    | 17578.125      | 1  | 17578.125   | 450.000 | .000 |
| Within Groups| 234.375        | 6  | 39.063      |       |      |
| Total        | 17812.500      | 7  |             |       |      |
| 2000-2009    | 33611.111      | 1  | 33611.111   | 242.000 | .000 |
| Within Groups| 1944.444       | 14 | 138.889     |       |      |
| Total        | 35555.556      | 15 |             |       |      |
| 2010-2018    | 21160.000      | 1  | 21160.000   | 264.500 | .000 |
| Within Groups| 640.000        | 8  | 80.000      |       |      |
| Total        | 21800.000      | 9  |             |       |      |

Source: Own elaboration.

As the null hypothesis in the case of the Levene test assumes equal variances, in order to proceed with the ANOVA it is necessary not to reject the null hypothesis, that is, that sig.>0.05. As can been observed in Annex 2a, this criterion is fulfilled in all cases.
*Order of Alfonso X*

The case of the Order of Alfonso X—which is supposed to distinguish outstanding merit regarding science and culture—shows identical results, with all means between genders being statistically significant at the 1% level for all four subperiods.

Table 2. *Order of Alfonso X ANOVA*

| Period      | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F       | Sig. |
|-------------|----------------|----|-------------|---------|------|
| 1979-1989   |                |    |             |         |      |
| Between Groups | 34801.136     | 1  | 34801.136   | 120.229 | .000 |
| Within Groups  | 5789.141      | 20 | 289.457     |         |      |
| Total        | 40590.278     | 21 |             |         |      |
| 1990-1999   |                |    |             |         |      |
| Between Groups | 27546.779     | 1  | 27546.779   | 91.467  | .000 |
| Within Groups  | 4216.339      | 14 | 301.167     |         |      |
| Total        | 31763.117     | 15 |             |         |      |
| 2000-2009   |                |    |             |         |      |
| Between Groups | 15956.409     | 1  | 15956.409   | 72.983  | .000 |
| Within Groups  | 3060.844      | 14 | 218.632     |         |      |
| Total        | 19017.253     | 15 |             |         |      |
| 2010-2018   |                |    |             |         |      |
| Between Groups | 5985.096      | 1  | 5985.096    | 22.801  | .000 |
| Within Groups  | 4199.957      | 16 | 262.497     |         |      |
| Total        | 10185.053     | 17 |             |         |      |

Source: Own elaboration.

*Order of Constitutional Merit*

However, our hypothesis does not prove to be true in the case of the Order of Constitutional Merit, as shown in Table 3, where a statistically significant difference is only detected in the first period 1979-1989. Thus, we can confirm that this order is one of the very rare cases in which, for the two most recent periods (2000-2009 and 2010-2018) there is an equal distribution in the bestowing to men and women.

Table 3. *Order of Constitutional Merit ANOVA*

| Period      | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F       | Sig. |
|-------------|----------------|----|-------------|---------|------|
| 1979-1989   |                |    |             |         |      |
| Between Groups | 9127.355      | 1  | 9127.355    | 916.554 | .001 |
| Within Groups  | 19.917         | 2  | 9.958       |         |      |
| Total        | 9147.271       | 3  |             |         |      |

*igualdadES, 2, enero-junio (2020), pp. 121-155*
Regarding the Order of Carlos III—the highest order bestowed by the Spanish government (see Table 4)—a gender discrimination is observed during all four periods studied. However, it should be observed that, despite the prestige of the order, it is generally bestowed to all ministers once they leave their post, having thus become an order bestowed by custom more than by merit.

Table 4. Order of Carlos III ANOVA

| Period     | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F    | Sig. |
|------------|----------------|----|-------------|------|------|
| 1979-1989  | Between Groups | 34801.136 | 1 | 34801.136 | 120.229 | .000 |
|            | Within Groups  | 5789.141 | 20 | 289.457 |   |      |
|            | Total          | 40590.278 | 21 |           |   |      |
| 1990-1999  | Between Groups | 27546.779 | 1 | 27546.779 | 91.467 | .000 |
|            | Within Groups  | 4216.339 | 14 | 301.167 |   |      |
|            | Total          | 31763.117 | 15 |           |   |      |
| 2000-2009  | Between Groups | 15956.409 | 1 | 15956.409 | 72.983 | .000 |
|            | Within Groups  | 3060.844 | 14 | 218.632 |   |      |
|            | Total          | 19017.253 | 15 |           |   |      |
| 2010-2018  | Between Groups | 5985.096 | 1 | 5985.096 | 22.801 | .000 |
|            | Within Groups  | 4199.957 | 16 | 262.497 |   |      |
|            | Total          | 10185.053 | 17 |           |   |      |

Source: Own elaboration.
Order of Civil Merit

The Order of Civil Merit constitutes the most frequently awarded order in Spain (however often overlapping with other, more specific orders) and thus might be considered of special relevance for the purposes of our study. Table 5 shows the results obtained in the ANOVA analysis. In each of the four periods studied, there is a statistically significant difference between the bestowing to women and men, clearly pointing towards the existence of gender discrimination, something that results even more paradoxically due to the fact that the order is awarded for all sorts of merits, i.e. it is the most “transversal” of the Spanish orders, so being free of any of the contingencies that might bias the awarding of the other orders.

Table 5. Order of Civil Merit ANOVA

| Period     | Sum of Squares Between Groups | Df | Mean Square | F     | Sig. |
|------------|-------------------------------|----|-------------|-------|------|
| 1979-1989  | 45001.928                     | 1  | 45001.928   | 1758.592 | .000 |
| 1990-1999  | 37170.181                     | 1  | 37170.181   | 2788.797 | .000 |
| 2000-2009  | 24793.587                     | 1  | 24793.587   | 445.275 | .000 |
| 2010-2018  | 18667.455                     | 1  | 18667.455   | 95.291  | .000 |

Source: Own elaboration.

Order of Isabel la Católica

The Order of Isabel la Católica corresponds to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, thus, is more often bestowed to foreigners. This should be considered when interpreting the results shown in Table 6. Again, signifi-
cant differences disfavouring women become evident in all the subperiods studied.

Table 6. Order of Isabel la Católica ANOVA

| Period       | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F   | Sig. |
|--------------|----------------|----|-------------|-----|------|
| 1979-1989    | 27883.446      | 1  | 27883.446   | 746.530 | .000 |
| Within Groups| 747.015        | 20 | 37.351      |      |      |
| Total        | 28630.461      | 21 |             |      |      |
| 1990-1999    | 29649.142      | 1  | 29649.142   | 987.355 | .000 |
| Within Groups| 540.520        | 18 | 30.029      |      |      |
| Total        | 30189.661      | 19 |             |      |      |
| 2000-2009    | 21223.385      | 1  | 21223.385   | 809.448 | .000 |
| Within Groups| 471.952        | 18 | 26.220      |      |      |
| Total        | 21695.337      | 19 |             |      |      |
| 2010-2018    | 22727.491      | 1  | 22727.491   | 124.549 | .000 |
| Within Groups| 2919.648       | 16 | 182.478     |      |      |
| Total        | 25647.139      | 17 |             |      |      |

Source: Own elaboration.

Order of San Raimundo de Peñafort

Finally, the Order of San Raimundo de Peñafort—exclusively awarded to members of the judicial power, in which women and men are nearly equally represented—shows, this notwithstanding, a statistically significant difference in the bestowing among genders (see Table 7).

Table 7. Order of San Raimundo de Peñafort ANOVA

| Period       | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F   | Sig. |
|--------------|----------------|----|-------------|-----|------|
| 1979-1989    | 53472.297      | 1  | 53472.297   | 9940.500 | .000 |
| Within Groups| 107.585        | 20 | 5.379       |      |      |
| Total        | 53579.882      | 21 |             |      |      |
Now, the question may arise about whether the bias against women in the bestowal of civil orders in Spain which has been empirically evidenced, might only occur in the higher classes of the orders, arguing that the bias might derive from a historical “conservative” and “patriarchal” imprint. Thus, we considered it worth to check the same hypothesis above stated for the case of the lower classes of each order (exception made of the Order of the Constitutional Merit which consists only of one class and, thus, strictly speaking does actually not constitute an order, but a medal)\textsuperscript{28}.

The results thus obtained are summarised (in order not to unnecessarily exceed the extent of the article) in Table 8\textsuperscript{29}. As can be observed, again in all cases a statistically significant difference discriminating women in the bestowal of order is detected, which may suggest that the above described bias is actually a structural one, that is, is due to the system of proposal and approval of the bestowal.

\textsuperscript{28} See above.

\textsuperscript{29} Again, the Levene test does not allow rejection of the null hypothesis of equal variances (exception made for the lower orders of Alfonso X in the 2010–2018 period), thus validating the ANOVA analysis (see Annex 2b).

| Period       | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F          | Sig. |
|--------------|----------------|----|-------------|------------|------|
| 1990-1999    |                |    |             |            |      |
| Between Groups | 34390.579      | 1  | 34390.579   | 148.302    | .000 |
| Within Groups | 4174.126       | 18 | 231.896     |            |      |
| Total        | 38564.705      | 19 |             |            |      |
| 2000-2009    |                |    |             |            |      |
| Between Groups | 34506.874     | 1  | 34506.874   | 493.771    | .000 |
| Within Groups | 1118.150       | 16 | 69.884      |            |      |
| Total        | 35625.024      | 17 |             |            |      |
| 2010-2018    |                |    |             |            |      |
| Between Groups | 29361.440     | 1  | 29361.440   | 99.261     | .000 |
| Within Groups | 4732.790       | 16 | 295.799     |            |      |
| Total        | 34094.230      | 17 |             |            |      |

Source: Own elaboration.
### Table 8. Lower classes of all orders ANOVA

| Order of Agrarian Merit | Period       | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F     | Sig.  |
|-------------------------|--------------|----------------|----|-------------|-------|-------|
|                         | Between Groups | 29700.908  | 1  | 29700.908  | 324.535 | .000  |
|                         | Within Groups  | 1830.369    | 20 | 91.518      |        |       |
|                         | Total          | 31531.277   | 21 |             |        |       |
| Order of Alfonso X     | 1979-1989     |                |    |             |        |       |
|                         | Between Groups | 26208.908   | 1  | 26208.908   | 191.191| .000  |
|                         | Within Groups  | 2467.485    | 18 | 137.082     |        |       |
|                         | Total          | 28676.393   | 19 |             |        |       |
|                         | 1990-1999     |                |    |             |        |       |
|                         | Between Groups | 12805.794   | 1  | 12805.794   | 36.371 | .000  |
|                         | Within Groups  | 5633.438    | 16 | 352.090     |        |       |
|                         | Total          | 18439.232   | 17 |             |        |       |
|                         | 2000-2009     |                |    |             |        |       |
|                         | Between Groups | 4592.310    | 1  | 4592.310    | 43.150 | .001  |
|                         | Within Groups  | 638.557     | 6  | 106.426     |        |       |
|                         | Total          | 5230.867    | 7  |             |        |       |
|                         | 2010-2018     |                |    |             |        |       |
|                         | Between Groups | 9972.386    | 1  | 9972.386    | 42.124 | .000  |
|                         | Within Groups  | 3787.849    | 16 | 236.741     |        |       |
|                         | Total          | 13760.235   | 17 |             |        |       |
|                         | 1990-1999     |                |    |             |        |       |
|                         | Between Groups | 11615.357   | 1  | 11615.357   | 83.080 | .000  |
|                         | Within Groups  | 2236.940    | 16 | 139.809     |        |       |
|                         | Total          | 13852.296   | 17 |             |        |       |
|                         | 2000-2009     |                |    |             |        |       |
|                         | Between Groups | 10588.543   | 1  | 10588.543   | 111.267| .000  |
|                         | Within Groups  | 1522.609    | 16 | 95.163      |        |       |
|                         | Total          | 12111.152   | 17 |             |        |       |
|                         | 2010-2018     |                |    |             |        |       |
|                         | Between Groups | 8538.908    | 1  | 8538.908    | 51.274 | .000  |
|                         | Within Groups  | 2664.536    | 16 | 166.534     |        |       |
|                         | Total          | 11203.444   | 17 |             |        |       |
| Order of Carlos III    | 1979-1989     |                |    |             |        |       |
|                         | Between Groups | 35875.360   | 1  | 35875.360   | 519.254| .000  |
|                         | Within Groups  | 1105.442    | 16 | 69.090      |        |       |
|                         | Total          | 36980.802   | 17 |             |        |       |
|                         | 1990-1999     |                |    |             |        |       |
|                         | Between Groups | 47183.673   | 1  | 47183.673   | 2312.000| .000  |
|                         | Within Groups  | 367.347     | 18 | 20.408      |        |       |
|                         | Total          | 47551.020   | 19 |             |        |       |
| Order of Carlos III | Period | Between Groups | Within Groups | Total | Between Groups | Within Groups | Total |
|---------------------|--------|----------------|---------------|-------|----------------|---------------|-------|
|                     | 2000-2009 | 42524.691 | 746.914 | 43271.605 | 1 | 42524.691 | 18 | 41.495 | .000 |
|                     | 2010-2018 | 27045.518 | 1210.892 | 28256.410 | 1 | 27045.518 | 16 | 75.681 | .000 |
|                     | 1979-1989 | 17621.591 | 636.337 | 18257.928 | 1 | 17621.591 | 20 | 31.817 | .000 |
|                     | 1990-1999 | 17185.778 | 560.392 | 17746.170 | 1 | 17185.778 | 18 | 31.133 | .000 |
|                     | 2000-2009 | 16024.207 | 125.399 | 16149.606 | 1 | 16024.207 | 18 | 6.967 | .000 |
|                     | 2010-2018 | 17766.475 | 1036.106 | 18802.581 | 1 | 17766.475 | 16 | 64.757 | .000 |

| Order of the Civil Merit | Period | Between Groups | Within Groups | Total | Between Groups | Within Groups | Total |
|--------------------------|--------|----------------|---------------|-------|----------------|---------------|-------|
|                         | 1979-1989 | 14304.770 | 959.068 | 15263.838 | 1 | 14304.770 | 20 | 47.953 | .000 |
|                         | 1990-1999 | 10782.993 | 243.623 | 11026.615 | 1 | 10782.993 | 18 | 13.535 | .000 |
|                         | 2000-2009 | 12098.037 | 163.041 | 12261.078 | 1 | 12098.037 | 18 | 9.058 | .000 |
|                         | 2010-2018 | 12927.201 | 2071.847 | 14999.049 | 1 | 12927.201 | 16 | 129.490 | .000 |

| Order of Isabel la Católica | Period | Between Groups | Within Groups | Total | Between Groups | Within Groups | Total |
|-----------------------------|--------|----------------|---------------|-------|----------------|---------------|-------|
|                             | 1979-1989 | 14304.770 | 959.068 | 15263.838 | 1 | 14304.770 | 20 | 47.953 | .000 |
|                             | 1990-1999 | 10782.993 | 243.623 | 11026.615 | 1 | 10782.993 | 18 | 13.535 | .000 |
|                             | 2000-2009 | 12098.037 | 163.041 | 12261.078 | 1 | 12098.037 | 18 | 9.058 | .000 |
|                             | 2010-2018 | 12927.201 | 2071.847 | 14999.049 | 1 | 12927.201 | 16 | 129.490 | .000 |
### 3.2. Regional level (Autonomous Communities)

So far, the results obtained show clear evidence of the presence of a (statistically significant) bias against women in the bestowal of civil orders by the Spanish central government. However, as Spain is a highly decentralized country, it is worth also taking a glance at those other medals and awards bestowed by the regional authorities (i.e. by the Autonomous Communities). In comparison to the study carried out in the previous section, carrying out an econometric analysis is more complicated as the date of creation of the different regional awards varies greatly, thus making a direct comparison more difficult. Also, the Spanish Regional Premial System is quite complicated, as it lacks a common framework—under the legal form of a *Reglamento*, the different territorial entities set the criteria according to which citizens should be rewarded, the most usual including public and solemn recognition for different reasons, contributing to the improvement of the Community’s image or reinforcing democratic legitimacy (Portugal Bueno, 2017: 159-161)—thus further hindering any attempt at comparison.
Table 9. Percentages of regional orders and medals bestowed to women 
(synthesis)

| Autonomous Community | Decoration | Legal regulation | Total | Men | Women | % Women |
|----------------------|------------|------------------|-------|-----|-------|---------|
| Galicia              | Medal of Galicia<sup>31</sup> | Decreto 1/1991, of January 11th | 327   | 303 | 24    | 7.34    |
| Formato d            | Medal of Asturias | Ley 4/1986, of May 15th | 18<sup>32</sup> | 18 | 0     | 0.00    |
| Cantabria            | Medal of Cantabria | Ley 2/1987, of March 6th | 0     | 0   | 0     | 0.00    |
| País Vasco           | Cross of the “Árbol de Gernika” | Decreto 86/1983, of May 2nd | 8     | 8   | 0     | 0.00    |
| La Rioja             | Medal of La Rioja<sup>33</sup> | Decreto 21/1985, of May 17th | 26    | 25  | 1     | 3.85    |
| Navarra              | Cross of “Carlos III el Noble” de Navarra | Decreto Foral 104/1997, of April 14th | 61    | 36  | 25    | 40.98   |
|                      | Golden Medal of Navarra | Decreto Foral 38/2018, of May 23rd | 24    | 22  | 2     | 8.33    |
| Aragón               | Medal of Aragon | Decreto 229/2012, of October 23rd | 16    | 15  | 1     | 6.25    |
|                      | “Juan de Lanuza” Medal | Resolución of 2018/ October 30th | 3     | 3   | 0     | 0.00    |

<sup>30</sup> The number refers only to the bestowal to natural persons.
<sup>31</sup> The Golden Medal of Galicia, created by Decreto 98/1984, of April 12th was transformed into the Medal of Galicia by Decreto 1/1991, of January 11th.
<sup>32</sup> In the gold-class.
<sup>33</sup> The Ley 1/2001, of March 16th reguladora de los Honores, Distinciones y Protocolo de la Comunidad Autónoma de La Rioja derogated both the Reglamento de Protocolo, Honores y Distinciones of the extinct Provincial Council of Logroño, and the more recent Decreto 21/1985, of May 17th that established the Medals of the Autonomous Community. The current regulation restricts the Medal of La Rioja to “entities” (i.e. legal persons).
| Autonomous Community | Decoration                                      | Legal regulation                  | Total | Men | Women | % Women |
|----------------------|------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------|-----|-------|---------|
|                      | Medal of Human Values                          |                                  | 22    | 19  | 3     | 13.64   |
|                      | Medal of Agrarian Merit                        |                                  | 9     | 7   | 2     | 22.22   |
|                      | Medal of Cultural Merit                        |                                  | 32    | 25  | 7     | 21.88   |
| Aragón               | Medal of Professional Merit                    | Resolución de 2018/ October 30th | 23    | 18  | 5     | 21.74   |
|                      | Medal of Sport Merit                           |                                  | 26    | 19  | 7     | 26.92   |
|                      | Medal of Aragonese Education                   |                                  | 2     | 2   | 0     | 0.00    |
|                      | Medal of Tourist Merit                         |                                  | 8     | 8   | 0     | 0.00    |
|                      | Medal of the “Justicia de Aragón”             |                                  | 1     | 0   | 1     | 100.00  |
|                      | Golden Medal of the “Generalidad de Cataluña” | Decreto 22/2012, of February 28th| 68    | 61  | 7     | 10.29   |
| Cataluña             | Cross of “Sant Jordi”                          | Decreto 457/1981, of December 18th| 114   | 69  | 45    | 39.47   |
|                      | High Distinction of the “Generalidad Valenciana”| Decreto 28/1986, of March 19th  | 54    | 48  | 6     | 11.11   |
| Comunidad Valenciana | Order of Jaume I                               | Decreto 12/2008, of February 1st| 45    | 40  | 5     | 11.11   |

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34 Number referred to the last four years.
35 In the “Grand Cross” category.
| Autonomous Community | Decoration                                                                 | Legal regulation                                      | Total | Men | Women | % Women |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-------|-----|-------|---------|
| Comunidad Valenciana | Distinction of the Generalidad Valenciana to Cultural Merit                | Decreto 35/1986, of March 10th                        | 72    | 57 | 15    | 20.83   |
|                      | Distinction of the Generalidad Valenciana                                  | Decreto 174/2007, of October 5th                     | 15    | 7  | 8     | 53.33   |
|                      | Ambassador of the Comunidad Valenciana                                     | Decreto 247/2003, of December 5th                    | 5     | 5  | 0     | 0.00    |
|                      | Distinction Scientific Merit                                                | Decreto 152/2010, of October 1st                     | 13    | 7  | 6     | 46.15   |
|                      | Medal of Sport Merit                                                        | Decreto 120/2014, of July 18th                       | 102   | 73 | 29    | 28.43   |
|                      | Distinction Business and Social Merit                                        | Decreto 131/2016, of October 7th                     | 7     | 5  | 2     | 28.57   |
|                      | Distinction Merit for Actions in favour of Equality and for an Inclusive Society | Decreto 132/2016, of October 7th                    | 3     | 1  | 2     | 66.67   |
|                      | Distinction “Joan Lluís Vives” of the Valencian contribution to the construction of Europe | Decreto 129/2017, of October 7th                     | 9     | 6  | 3     | 33.33   |
| Andalucía            | Medal of Andalucía                                                          | Decreto 117/1985, of June 5th                        | 299   | 213| 86    | 28.76   |

*igualdades, 2, enero-junio (2020), pp. 121-155*
| Autonomous Community | Decoration | Legal regulation | Total \(^{30}\) | Men | Women | % Women |
|----------------------|------------|------------------|----------------|-----|-------|---------|
| Extremadura          | Medal of Extremadura | Decreto 177/2013, of September 24th | 102 | 78 | 24 | 23.53 |
| Castilla y León      | Medal of Castilla-León | Decreto 219/1997, of November 6th | 7 | 7 | 0 | 0.00 |
| Murcia               | Medal of Murcia | Ley 7/1985, of November 8th | 65\(^{36}\) | 63 | 2 | 3.08 |
| Castilla La Mancha   | Golden Medal of Castilla-La Mancha | Decreto 75/1992, of May 12th | 50 | 40 | 10 | 20.00 |
| Comunidad de Madrid  | Medal of the “Comunidad de Madrid” | Ley 3/1985, of March 22nd | 47\(^{37}\) | 43 | 4 | 8.51 |
|                      | Order of “Dos de Mayo” | Decreto 9/2006, of November 2nd | 73\(^{38}\) | 62 | 11 | 15.07 |
| Islas Baleares       | Golden Medal of the Comunidad Autónoma de Islas Baleares | Decreto 2/2014, of January 10th | 61 | 55 | 6 | 9.84 |
|                      | Distinction “Cornelius Atticus” | Decreto 22/1996, of February 25th | 33\(^{39}\) | 30 | 3 | 9.09 |
| Canarias             | Golden Medal of Canarias | Decreto 76/1986, of May 9th | 132 | 105 | 27 | 20.45 |

*Source:* Own elaboration.

\(^{36}\) In the gold class.

\(^{37}\) In the gold class.

\(^{38}\) Grand Crosses.

\(^{39}\) This number corresponds to the period between the creation of the award and 2016, as from 2017 onwards the call for concession distinguishes two separate categories: male and female.
Accordingly, Table 9 simply gives a synoptic overview of the different awards bestowed by the Autonomous Communities, their legal regulation, and the number of bestowals by gender. As can be observed by the data contained in the last column, only five distinctions—the Cross of Carlos III el Noble of Navarre; the Cross of Sant Jordi of Catalonia (which almost reaches 40%); the Distinction of the Generalidad Valenciana; the Distinction to the Scientific Merit; and the Distinction to Merit for Actions in favour of Equality and for an Inclusive Society—do not present a gender bias against women. All three of the Community of Valencia reach a minimum of 40% of bestowal to women, thus not presenting a gender bias favouring men. In other words, the bias against women detected in the case of the national orders is repeated in the awards bestowed by regional authorities, despite all of them having been created after the approval of the Spanish Constitution. Thus, this result not only reinforces the conclusions reached in the previous section, but also underpins the idea of this bias being structural.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Civil orders and medals are the most important positive incentives to merit and virtue with which a nation can distinguish its citizens. Therefore, special care should be taken in guaranteeing that—in mean terms—any gender discrimination in the number of bestowals is avoided. However, our evidence in the case of Spain—both at the national (including all orders in all their classes) and the regional level—the percentage of awards to women lies (at a statistically significant level) below that of men, up to the point that it may be affirmed that the given bias is structural. Even worse, in some cases there is no proof that there is a significant convergence over time.

In this sense, it is significant that the UK, France and Germany have at some moment in time adopted measures to favour equality in the bestowal to women and men. So, for example, between 1965 and 2004 the percentage of orders awarded to women in Great Britain shifted from 16 to 35 (Phillips, 2004:73). Also, the German Bundesverdienstkreuz (Der Bundespräsident,

40 Although this award has so far only been bestowed three times.
41 We do not include the Medal of the “Justicia de Aragón” as it has so far only been bestowed once.
42 For an overview of the development of the British Honours System see: https://bit.ly/2WV9i3F.
went up from 16 to 25 in 2007%, when the former President of the Federal Republic, Horst Köhler, adopted a politic that favoured awarding to women, after what this valued raised to 30.5% in 2009 a value that over the last decade has gone up to 35% (2019), although during this period the overall number of bestowals was reduced by 40%, as the German presidency sought to avoid an “inflation” of orders, thus imposing much more restrictive bestowing, especially supressing any “awarding by custom” (Müller-Neuhof, 2016) as still occurs in Spain with the Order of Carlos III and others. For its part, the Légion d’Honneur (De Chefdebeen and Galmard-Flavigny, 2002) shifted from a feminine quota of 8% in 1985 to 18% in 2006, showing from then on a clear tendency towards a more equal distribution between genders, as shown by the fact that already in 2005 the numbers of women proposed for the Légion reached 50%, accomplishing exact equality in 2019 when the order was bestowed “réparties à parité exacte hommes et femmes”47. However, the French case seems to be the only one in which equality has really been reached. Instead, both in the UK and Germany, the percentage of bestowing to women seems, after an initial impulse, to have become stuck around 35%, a value close to that presented in Spain by the Order of Alfonso X, the Order of the Constitution—the only one to reach parity between men and women—and the Order of Carlos III in the categories of “Grand Crosses”. However, and despite their shortcomings, those measures have evidently been shown to be effective, if only to a certain degree. Thus, it seems quite astonishing that Spain has to date not adopted any measure to favour gender equality in the bestowing of civil orders.

Which measures should then be implemented to overcome this bias against women? Basically, we account for three different options. The first, and most efficient one, consists in imposing female quotas, legally setting that 50% of all bestowing should be to women. However attractive this measure might seem due to the immediacy of its effects, this option should be treated carefully as it might cause a number of bestowals not by merit but by quota.

43 For a (critical) review of the recipients of the Bundesverdentskreuz, see Brandt (2015)
44 https://bit.ly/2WW9Bvr.
45 Ibid.
46 For a history of the Grand Masters of the Order, see Chaffanjon (1983). Cf. also Code de la Légion d’Honneur et de la Médaille Militaire: Edition 2018. La Bibliothèque Juridique
47 https://bit.ly/2LmHyQg.
48 In the Spanish case, this is even more surprising as this question seems to have been so far completely neglected even by the Ministry of Gender Equality.
thus discrediting not just the bestowal to women but, in general, the underlying merits rewarded by the order.

A second option, less effective than the previous, consists in the Head of State recommending a rise in the bestowals to women, such as occurred in Germany, or has happened in Spain in the reviewed regulations for the Royal Academies. This option avoids mere “quota bestowal” but may be very slow in its implementation.

Finally, a third option, and the one favoured by the authors of this article, consists in establishing a 50% gender quota in the number not of bestowing but of proposals, out of whom the corresponding committee selects whom to award to according to pure criteria or merit. This option avoids any risk of unjustified bestowal and will accelerate convergence towards overall (i.e., average) parity in a relatively short time. However, in order for the result to be successful, it has to be accompanied by three additional requirements: an absolute limit of bestowals should be set so as to avoid duplicating the number of proposals/bestowing, as this would imply an inflation of awards and, thus, a devaluation of the merits underlying their bestowal (see the above case of Germany); and a revision of some sections of certain orders (such as the Order of Agrarian Merit in its “Fishery” section) where women might be, in fact, underrepresented; finally bestowal “by custom” should be suppressed. Germany has given a good example of the latter: originally, all members of the Bundestag (the parliament) received the medal of the Bundesverdienstkreuz; currently it can, at most, be bestowed upon one-third of the members of the parliament, after careful revision of each one’s specific merits over the whole legislature. Finally, Spanish Laudative Law suffers from a proliferation of regional orders that complement the already complex system on national awards, without any agency coordinating them.

Regarding the need for a general revision of Spanish Praemial System, we share the proposals of reform pointed out by Ceballos-Escalera and García-Mercadal (2003: 47-48). These would allow the Spanish System of Civil Orders to be strengthened again, correcting its current inflationary, discriminating and too often erratic application:

a. Enforcing the role of the Crown as a recognitive tie of the Spanish System of honors and awards. Therefore, the orders should be accompanied by a solemn and ceremonious act of bestowing, articulated around the figure of H. M the King, thus following the British model.

49 Cf, also Baumert and Roldan (2011)
b. A drastic simplification of the currently existing orders, maintaining only those with a deep-rooted-tradition—awarding them according to rigorous and precise criteria—combining the rest in the Order of Civil Merit (Orden del Mérito Civil), thus avoiding any duplication among them.

c. The creation of a single Chancellery of Orders, Awards and Medals, that should depend directly on the Presidency.

d. Restoring the Direction of Protocol of the State (Jefatura de Protocolo del Estado).

e. Reviewing the current status of the Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, Montesa and Alcántara.

f. It would be very useful if the orders could present themselves according the model of the Légion d’Honneur—and others—with their own webpage,\(^{50}\) presenting their statutes, publishing information and news related to the order, organising exhibitions, maintaining a historical archive, etc., thus providing the government structure of the orders with an objective, putting to an end the current opacity that characterizes them.

It might be stressed that in spite of b), the reactivation of orders, such as the recent restoration of the Medal for the Merits in Research (Medalla al Mérito en la Investigación)—originally bestowed in 1980—might be very useful.

Adopting these measures will not only favour a more equal but also a more virtuous society.

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\(^{50}\) www.legiondhonneur.fr
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## ANNEX 1. DESCRIPTIVE DATA

| Order of the Agrarian Merit (all sections) | Period              | N   | Mean       | Std. Deviation | Std. Error |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------|-----|------------|----------------|------------|
|                                           | 1979-1989           |     |            |                |            |
|                                           | Men                 | 7   | 93.0991    | 12.21336      | 4.61622    |
|                                           | Women               | 7   | 6.9009     | 12.21336      | 4.61622    |
|                                           | Total               | 14  | 50.0000    | 46.23967      | 12.35807   |
|                                           | 1990-1999           |     |            |                |            |
|                                           | Men                 | 4   | 96.8750    | 6.25000       | 3.12500    |
|                                           | Women               | 4   | 3.1250     | 6.25000       | 3.12500    |
|                                           | Total               | 8   | 50.0000    | 50.44445      | 17.83481   |
|                                           | 2000-2009           |     |            |                |            |
|                                           | Men                 | 8   | 95.8333    | 11.78511      | 4.16667    |
|                                           | Women               | 8   | 4.1667     | 11.78511      | 4.16667    |
|                                           | Total               | 16  | 50.0000    | 48.68645      | 12.17161   |
|                                           | 2010-2018           |     |            |                |            |
|                                           | Men                 | 5   | 96.0000    | 8.94427       | 4.00000    |
|                                           | Women               | 5   | 4.0000     | 8.94427       | 4.00000    |
|                                           | Total               | 10  | 50.0000    | 49.21608      | 15.56349   |

### Order of Alfonso X

| Order of Alfonso X | Period              | N   | Mean       | Std. Deviation | Std. Error |
|--------------------|---------------------|-----|------------|----------------|------------|
|                    | 1979-1989           |     |            |                |            |
|                    | Men                 | 11  | 89.7727    | 17.01344      | 5.12974    |
|                    | Women               | 11  | 10.2273    | 17.01344      | 5.12974    |
|                    | Total               | 22  | 50.0000    | 43.96442      | 9.37325    |
|                    | 1990-1999           |     |            |                |            |
|                    | Men                 | 8   | 91.4931    | 17.35417      | 6.13562    |
|                    | Women               | 8   | 8.5069     | 17.35417      | 6.13562    |
|                    | Total               | 16  | 50.0000    | 46.01675      | 11.50419   |
|                    | 2000-2009           |     |            |                |            |
|                    | Men                 | 8   | 81.5797    | 14.78620      | 5.22771    |
|                    | Women               | 8   | 18.4203    | 14.78620      | 5.22771    |
|                    | Total               | 16  | 50.0000    | 35.60642      | 8.90160    |
|                    | 2010-2018           |     |            |                |            |
|                    | Men                 | 9   | 68.2347    | 16.20177      | 5.40059    |
|                    | Women               | 9   | 31.7653    | 16.20177      | 5.40059    |
|                    | Total               | 18  | 50.0000    | 24.47694      | 5.76927    |

### Order of Constitutional Merit

| Order of Constitutional Merit | Period              | N   | Mean       | Std. Deviation | Std. Error |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----|------------|----------------|------------|
|                               | 1979-1989           |     |            |                |            |
|                               | Men                 | 2   | 97.7686    | 3.15568       | 2.23140    |
|                               | Women               | 2   | 2.2314     | 3.15568       | 2.23140    |
|                               | Total               | 4   | 50.0000    | 55.21857      | 27.60928   |
|                               | 1990-1999           |     |            |                |            |
|                               | Men                 | 7   | 100.0000   | .00000        | .00000     |
|                               | Women               | 7   | .00000     | .00000        | .00000     |
|                               | Total               | 14  | 50.0000    | 51.88745      | 13.86750   |
| Order                      | Period       | N  | Mean   | Std. Deviation | Std. Error |
|----------------------------|--------------|----|--------|----------------|------------|
| Order of Constitutional Merit | 2000-2009    | 5  | 75.4545 | 43.31320       | 19.37025   |
|                           | Women        | 5  | 24.5455 | 43.31320       | 19.37025   |
|                           | Total        | 10 | 50.0000 | 48.86217       | 15.45157   |
|                           | 2010-2018    | 7  | 65.7920 | 46.47096       | 17.56437   |
|                           | Women        | 7  | 34.2080 | 46.47096       | 17.56437   |
|                           | Total        | 14 | 50.0000 | 47.56052       | 12.71108   |
| Order of Carlos III       | 1979-1989    | 11 | 83.0254 | 25.40017       | 7.65844    |
|                           | Women        | 11 | 16.9746 | 25.40017       | 7.65844    |
|                           | Total        | 22 | 50.0000 | 41.91734       | 8.93681    |
|                           | 1990-1999    | 10 | 76.1667 | 23.85721       | 7.54431    |
|                           | Women        | 10 | 23.8333 | 23.85721       | 7.54431    |
|                           | Total        | 20 | 50.0000 | 35.49565       | 7.93707    |
|                           | 2000-2009    | 10 | 73.5505 | 17.18850       | 5.43548    |
|                           | Women        | 10 | 26.4495 | 17.18850       | 5.43548    |
|                           | Total        | 20 | 50.0000 | 29.38898       | 6.57157    |
|                           | 2010-2018    | 7  | 69.4428 | 21.70665       | 8.20434    |
|                           | Women        | 7  | 30.5572 | 21.70665       | 8.20434    |
|                           | Total        | 14 | 50.0000 | 29.01787       | 7.75535    |
| Order of the Civil Merit  | 1979-1989    | 11 | 95.2277 | 5.05863        | 1.52523    |
|                           | Women        | 11 | 4.7723  | 5.05863        | 1.52523    |
|                           | Total        | 22 | 50.0000 | 46.55449       | 9.92545    |
|                           | 1990-1999    | 10 | 93.1104 | 3.65081        | 1.15449    |
|                           | Women        | 10 | 6.8896  | 3.65081        | 1.15449    |
|                           | Total        | 20 | 50.0000 | 44.37288       | 9.92208    |
|                           | 2000-2009    | 10 | 85.2091 | 7.46201        | 2.35969    |
|                           | Women        | 10 | 14.7909 | 7.46201        | 2.35969    |
|                           | Total        | 20 | 50.0000 | 36.84666       | 8.23916    |
|                           | 2010-2018    | 9  | 82.2037 | 13.99642       | 4.66547    |
|                           | Women        | 9  | 17.7963 | 13.99642       | 4.66547    |
|                           | Total        | 18 | 50.0000 | 35.81148       | 8.44085    |
### Percentage Descriptives

| Order                  | Period     | N   | Mean   | Std. Deviation | Std. Error |
|------------------------|------------|-----|--------|----------------|------------|
|                        | 1979-1989  |     |        |                |            |
|                        | Men        | 11  | 85.6010| 6.11153        | 1.84269    |
|                        | Women      | 11  | 14.3990| 6.11153        | 1.84269    |
|                        | Total      | 22  | 50.0000| 36.92364       | 7.87215    |
|                        | 1990-1999  |     |        |                |            |
|                        | Men        | 10  | 88.5027| 5.47986        | 1.73288    |
|                        | Women      | 10  | 11.4973| 5.47986        | 1.73288    |
|                        | Total      | 20  | 50.0000| 39.86138       | 8.91328    |
|                        | 2000-2009  |     |        |                |            |
|                        | Men        | 10  | 82.5756| 5.12051        | 1.73288    |
|                        | Women      | 10  | 17.4244| 5.12051        | 1.73288    |
|                        | Total      | 20  | 50.0000| 33.79142       | 7.55599    |
|                        | 2010-2018  |     |        |                |            |
|                        | Men        | 9   | 85.5336| 13.50844       | 4.50281    |
|                        | Women      | 9   | 14.4664| 13.50844       | 4.50281    |
|                        | Total      | 18  | 50.0000| 38.84141       | 9.15501    |
| Order of San Raimundo | 1979-1989  |     |        |                |            |
| de Peñafort            | Men        | 11  | 99.3007| 2.31932        | .69930     |
|                        | Women      | 11  | .6993  | 2.31932        | .69930     |
|                        | Total      | 22  | 50.0000| 50.51161       | 10.76911   |
|                        | 1990-1999  |     |        |                |            |
|                        | Men        | 10  | 91.4672| 15.22813       | 4.81556    |
|                        | Women      | 10  | 8.5328 | 15.22813       | 4.81556    |
|                        | Total      | 20  | 50.0000| 45.05243       | 10.07403   |
|                        | 2000-2009  |     |        |                |            |
|                        | Men        | 9   | 93.7841| 8.35969        | 2.78656    |
|                        | Women      | 9   | 6.2159 | 8.35969        | 2.78656    |
|                        | Total      | 18  | 50.0000| 45.77761       | 10.78989   |
|                        | 2010-2018  |     |        |                |            |
|                        | Men        | 9   | 90.3880| 17.19882       | 5.73294    |
|                        | Women      | 9   | 9.6120 | 17.19882       | 5.73294    |
|                        | Total      | 18  | 50.0000| 44.78329       | 10.55552   |

**Source:** Own elaboration.
ANNEX 2A. LEVENE TEST (HIGHER CLASSES OF ALL ORDERS)

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

| Order                                    | Period     | Levene Statistic | df1 | df2 | Sig. |
|------------------------------------------|------------|------------------|-----|-----|------|
| Order of the Agrarian Merit (all sections) | 1979-1989  | .000             | 1   | 12  | 1.000|
|                                          | 1990-1999  | .000             | 1   | 6   | 1.000|
|                                          | 2000-2009  | .000             | 1   | 14  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2010-2018  | .000             | 1   | 8   | 1.000|
| Order of Alfonso X                       | 1979-1989  | .000             | 1   | 20  | 1.000|
|                                          | 1990-1999  | .000             | 1   | 14  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2000-2009  | .000             | 1   | 14  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2010-2018  | .000             | 1   | 16  | 1.000|
| Order of Constitutional Merit            | 1979-1989  | .000             | 1   | 20  | 1.000|
|                                          | 1990-1999  | .000             | 1   | 18  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2000-2009  | .000             | 1   | 18  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2010-2018  | .000             | 1   | 12  | 1.000|
| Order of Carlos III                      | 1979-1989  | .000             | 1   | 20  | 1.000|
|                                          | 1990-1999  | .000             | 1   | 18  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2000-2009  | .000             | 1   | 18  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2010-2018  | .000             | 1   | 16  | 1.000|
| Order of Civil Merit                     | 1979-1989  | .000             | 1   | 20  | 1.000|
|                                          | 1990-1999  | .000             | 1   | 18  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2000-2009  | .000             | 1   | 18  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2010-2018  | .000             | 1   | 16  | 1.000|
| Order of Isabel la Católica              | 1979-1989  | .000             | 1   | 20  | 1.000|
|                                          | 1990-1999  | .000             | 1   | 18  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2000-2009  | .000             | 1   | 18  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2010-2018  | .000             | 1   | 16  | 1.000|
| Order of San Raimundo de Peñafort        | 1979-1989  | .000             | 1   | 20  | 1.000|
|                                          | 1990-1999  | .000             | 1   | 18  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2000-2009  | .000             | 1   | 16  | 1.000|
|                                          | 2010-2018  | .000             | 1   | 16  | 1.000|

*Source*: Own elaboration.
ANNEX 2B. LEVENE TESTS (LOWER CLASSES OF ALL ORDERS)

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

| Order                                | Percentage | Levene Statistic | df1 | df2 | Sig. |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------------|-----|-----|------|
| **Order of Agrarian Merit (all sections)** |            |                  |     |     |      |
| 1979-1989                            | .176       | 1                | 20  |     | .680 |
| 1990-1999                            | .049       | 1                | 18  |     | .827 |
| 2000-2009                            | .249       | 1                | 16  |     | .624 |
| 2010-2018                            | 2.790      | 1                | 6   |     | .146 |
| **Order of Alfonso X**               |            |                  |     |     |      |
| 1979-1989                            | 4.219      | 1                | 16  |     | .057 |
| 1990-1999                            | .252       | 1                | 16  |     | .622 |
| 2000-2009                            | .016       | 1                | 16  |     | .900 |
| 2010-2018                            | 6.379      | 1                | 16  |     | .022 |
| **Order of Carlos III**              |            |                  |     |     |      |
| 1979-1989                            | .000       | 1                | 16  |     | 1.000 |
| 1990-1999                            | .000       | 1                | 18  |     | 1.000 |
| 2000-2009                            | .000       | 1                | 18  |     | 1.000 |
| 2010-2018                            | .000       | 1                | 16  |     | 1.000 |
| **Order of Civil Merit**             |            |                  |     |     |      |
| 1979-1989                            | .648       | 1                | 20  |     | .430 |
| 1990-1999                            | 1.532      | 1                | 18  |     | .232 |
| 2000-2009                            | .002       | 1                | 18  |     | .966 |
| 2010-2018                            | .414       | 1                | 16  |     | .529 |
| **Order of Isabel la Católica**      |            |                  |     |     |      |
| 1979-1989                            | 2.988      | 1                | 20  |     | .099 |
| 1990-1999                            | .030       | 1                | 18  |     | .865 |
| 2000-2009                            | .357       | 1                | 18  |     | .558 |
| 2010-2018                            | .632       | 1                | 16  |     | .438 |
| **Order of San Raimundo de Peñafort**|            |                  |     |     |      |
| 1979-1989                            | .086       | 1                | 20  |     | .772 |
| 1990-1999                            | .000       | 1                | 18  |     | .999 |
| 2000-2009                            | .000       | 1                | 18  |     | .999 |
| 2010-2018                            | .111       | 1                | 16  |     | .743 |

Source: Own elaboration.