Palaeolithic Patriarchy: To What Extent are Documentary Audiences Consuming an Androcentric Image of the Palaeolithic?

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Figure 1, reverse. An Ardipithecus ramidus mother cradles her child and eats fruit provided to her by her monogamous male partner, from the documentary Out of the Cradle (NHK 2019).

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Abstract

This thesis sought to answer the question: to what extent are documentary viewers consuming an androcentric image of the Palaeolithic? In order to reach a conclusion, it first examined several prominent models of human evolution and early subsistence, noting the roles of males and females in each, and any bias or stereotyping that arose. Secondly, ethnographic evidence was cautiously evaluated to determine the extent to which anthropological models of early hunter-gatherers accurately reflect modern hunter-gatherer lifestyles. In addition, representations and depictions of Palaeolithic life, and in particular Palaeolithic women and their work, from various popular media sources were examined. Evolutionary theory, ethnographic and archaeological evidence, and common themes in the representation of Palaeolithic women were examined together to devise a definition of 'androcentrism' in this context. This definition was then compared to the treatment of women in five documentaries depicting Palaeolithic life, chosen for their perceived scientific authority and influence over the public's understanding of the Palaeolithic.

The results of the analysis of these documentaries showed they firmly adhered to the definition of androcentrism previously devised. Across all documentaries, women were vastly underrepresented compared to men. Where women were represented, they were shown engaging in a much more limited range of activities than men, and these activities perpetuated a modern, Western notion of women's 'place'. Women were tied to activities associated with nature such as gathering and childcare, and were excluded from activities related to culture including stone tool use, ritual and art. Activities that were most commonly carried out by females, such as gathering, were also significantly underrepresented in comparison to perceived male activities such as large game hunting. Having established the significant overrepresentation of males and a privileging of their activities across all documentaries examined, this thesis concluded by offering advice for future documentaries to avoid presenting such an overtly androcentric view of the Palaeolithic.

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1. Introduction

In 1968, Sherwood Washburn and C. S. Lancaster published their 'Man-the-Hunter' model of human evolution which framed large game hunting as both an exclusively male labour and the major adaptive influence for all the morphological, social and technological advances of *Homo sapiens* (Washburn and Lancaster 1968, 293). In contrast, women evolved on the coat-tails of men due to a Darwinian 'equal transmission of characteristics' (Hager 1997, 8). Women's labour and role in human evolution is assumed to be negligible and is therefore not afforded any consideration in the Man-the-Hunter model. Even gathering, traditionally considered a female domain, was not left in women's hands in evolutionary models that followed: Owen Lovejoy's 1981 article *The Origin of Man* presented a theory known as 'Man-the-Provisioner', in which males gathered and provisioned immobile females in exchange for sex and loyalty (Lovejoy 1981). From the late 1970s, alternative models of early hominin evolution sought to provide a broader view that considered the role of females alongside men and utilised expanded data sets, most notably the 'Woman-the-Gatherer' model (Slocum 1975; Tanner 1981; Zihlman 1978) and the Grandmother Hypothesis (Bowdler and Balme 2010; Hawkes *et al.* 1998). However, Man-the-Hunter and its core principles of "male centrality and female invisibility" have remained firmly in the popular imagination even in the face of significant criticism and a lack of supporting empirical evidence (Zihlman 1997, 96).

The impact of Man-the-Hunter and related evolutionary discourse is still evident today, more than 50 years since its inception. 'Known' sex differences thought to result from men's theorised adaptation to hunting and women's lack of such adaption have been attributed to everything from women's apparent deficiencies in map-reading ability to their perceived unsuitability for military combat, and have been used as a justification for women's exclusion from the workplace and political office (Hager 1997, 8). More disturbingly, concepts of male aggression and 'natural' violent tendencies relating to a theorised 'male

killer instinct' honed in the Palaeolithic amongst early hunters are used to provide a concerning 'human nature' justification for "infanticide, rape and regular battering of females by males" (Wrangham and Peterson 1996, 7). For example, in the 1968 symposium proceedings *Man the Hunter*, Balikci notes with concern that the tendency of the Netsilingmiut on King William Island, Canada to kill female infants due to their perceived inability to hunt and contribute to the community threatened the group's continued existence (Balikci 1968, 81). Elsewhere in the same volume, Washburn and Lancaster justify and appear to support female infanticide in hunter-gatherer communities, referring to infanticide as the solution to "the problem of excess females", who must be provided for and are incapable of providing valued labour besides birthing male children (Washburn and Lancaster 1968, 302). This bioessentialist (and inaccurate, see Murdock and Provost 1973) view of women's capabilities, and misuse of evolutionary discourse, claims "the privileged epistemic status of scientific authority" to remove individual responsibility and provide a justification for sexual and physical violence against women and children (Crane-Seeber and Crane 2010, 223). These justifications often have no biological or palaeoanthropological basis and are instead mere applications of modern Western ideas of men and women's capabilities onto the past (Sussman 1999, 457). For this reason, the importance of evolutionary discourse, particularly regarding women's roles and capabilities, cannot be overstated.

The androcentric nature of evolutionary models is, however, reflective of the wider male-dominated history of anthropology (see Rogers 1978). This bias, having contributed so heavily to our understanding of early human origins and the collection of the ethnographical evidence available today, means that this thesis will not accept 'conventional wisdom' regarding human history or women's capabilities even where they are widely accepted. Instead, it will follow Rayna Reiter's instruction that in order to achieve a complete and accurate view of human history; "focusing first on women, we must redefine the important questions, re-examine all previous theories, and be critical in our acceptance of what constitutes factual material" (Reiter 1975, 16).

As social relationships and hierarchies are invisible in the archaeological record, the ethnographic record is often utilised as a comparative tool when discussing early hominins, as it will be in this thesis. Ethnographic work which acknowledges the value of women's perspectives has revealed a different picture of female hunter-gatherers' responsibilities and capabilities than is found in many evolutionary models. Across hunter-gatherer societies, there are almost no universally 'female' and 'male' occupations, suggesting that division of labour does not reflect real biological constraints, but rather socially constructed gender roles (Murdock 1937). These gender roles are routinely flexible, and sex lines of labour division are regularly crossed, particularly by men (Draper 1975, 92). In many communities all over the world, women undertake a variety of difficult, demanding and dangerous tasks, contribute heavily to a community's subsistence needs, and are not as constrained by their reproductive abilities as has been assumed (Leibowitz 1975, 20).

However, this accurate and more egalitarian image of hunter-gatherer communities has not only been ignored by evolutionary theorists but has not been accurately represented in popular media regarding the Palaeolithic. Media such as TV and film, fiction and non-fiction books, reconstruction drawings and museum exhibitions frequently underrepresent females and privilege men and their activities over those of women (Galanidou 2008; Gifford-Gonzalez 1993; Solometo and Moss 2013). Crucially, representations of the Palaeolithic which portray a male bias and conform to stereotypes can have a negative effect on their audience's understanding of the Palaeolithic, as well as their own abilities and 'place' with regard to their gender (Conkey 1997, 174). Previous studies on the representation of Palaeolithic women will be referenced within this thesis to identify common stereotypes, patterns of bias and androcentric themes that may reflect a "Palaeolithic glass ceiling" (Zihlman 1997, 91) or a "Western, women's-place-is-in-the-home, cultural stamp" (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 31).

Having examined women's place in evolutionary theory over the last century, compared this to available ethnographic evidence, and identified male centring or bias in visual representations of the Palaeolithic, a definition of

‘androcentrism’ will be determined. This will then be used to examine the way in which Palaeolithic women and their labour are portrayed to the audience in five documentaries depicting Palaeolithic life. Documentaries were chosen as the subject of this thesis due to the scientific authority they are perceived to hold by the general public, as well as their role in “producing beliefs, engaging desires, and populating imaginations” (Haraway 1989, 192). The number of men and women, the screen time they are given, and the activities they are depicted as engaging in will be considered for each documentary examined. By noting patterns in the representation of men and women in these documentaries, and comparing this against the definition of androcentrism devised, this thesis will answer the research question: to what extent are documentary audiences consuming an androcentric image of the Palaeolithic? Following this, recommendations will be given as to more accurate and egalitarian ways to present Palaeolithic life, and specifically Palaeolithic women, in future documentaries.

2. A History of Females in Evolutionary Theory

In order to critique the representation of Palaeolithic life and subsistence in a number of documentaries, this thesis must first examine the different models of early hominin lifeways and evolution that exist. Relevant evolutionary models and their reception will be outlined critically, noting assumptions, stereotypes and bias in their treatment of females, if and when this occurs.

2.1 Darwin's Passive Women

To begin, Charles Darwin's ideas regarding women's place in evolution as outlined in *The Descent of Man* must be examined, due to their strong influence on subsequent evolutionary theory. While writing his pioneering work on sexual selection, Darwin found the enforced passivity of Victorian women in matters of marriage and reproduction to be at odds with the importance of female choice that he had plainly observed in the rest of the animal kingdom (Zihlman 1981, 78). To reconcile these competing observations, Darwin concluded that, as humans were superior to other species and human males were in turn superior to human females, human males had "gained the power of selection" through methods unknown, and so had the ability to keep a human female "in a far more abject state of bondage than does the male of any other animal" (Darwin 1871, 901). The themes of assumed human superiority and in particular male superiority, as well as the ethnocentrism of Darwin's position, would be carried into models of human evolution far beyond the 19th century.

2.2 Man-the-Hunter

In 1966, Sherwood Washburn and C. S. Lancaster presented a paper entitled *The Evolution of Hunting* at the *Man the Hunter* symposium organised by anthropologists Richard Lee and Irven DeVore at the University of Chicago. Their male-centric model of human evolution, which became known simply as the 'Man-the-Hunter' theory, is perhaps the most well-known of several prominent models of the development of bipedalism and complex cognition in early

hominins (Washburn and Lancaster 1968). Washburn and Lancaster's model suggested that male acquisition of meat via hunting was directly responsible for the development of all of the "hallmarks of mankind"; encompassing technological, social and morphological innovations including bipedalism, tool use, complex cognition, and social structure (Hager 1997, 5). These characteristics, considered to be the evolutionary products of hunting, were selected for exclusively in males, while females evolved on the 'coat-tails' of males via Darwin's concept of the equal transmission of characteristics (Washburn and Lancaster 1968, 293).

It has been repeatedly noted that Washburn and Lancaster's model, despite its pervasiveness, is based on little empirical evidence (Fiddes 1989, 75; O'Connell, Hawkes and Blurton-Jones 2002, 50; Slocum 1975, 38; Sussman 1999, 457; Zihlman 1978, 17; Zihlman 1997, 99), and subsequent palaeoanthropological discoveries have disproved a variety of the unsubstantiated claims made in *The Evolution of Hunting.* Most notably, the discovery of bipedal morphology in the skeletal remains of *Ardipithecus ramidus* and *Australopithecus afarensis* contended with Washburn and Lancaster's claim that bipedalism appeared with the *Homo* genus, which they believed to be only around 600,000 years old (Washburn and Lancaster 1968, 293). From the 90s, archaeologists began to question Washburn and Lancaster's assertion that early *Homo* species were hunters due to a lack of evidence of weapons in the archaeological record, instead suggesting scavenging and gathering were the main subsistence methods amongst these species (Speth 2010, 40).

Elements of Man-the-Hunter do not hold up to logical scrutiny; in Washburn and Lancaster's model, **"**hunting cannot explain its own origin" (Slocum 1975, 43). Little consideration is given as to how hunting developed; instead, it simply appeared, providing the primary adaptive force for our species. Bipedalism, complex cognition, strategic thinking and tool and weapon creation are framed as the results of male hunting behaviours, despite being prerequisites to successful hunting. In this way, hunting is "presented without precursors, as if

it too came out of a bad headache, like Minerva springing from the head of Zeus" (Zihlman 1987, 11).

Washburn and Lancaster's arguments for why hunting was an adaptive behaviour and vital to the creation of complex social systems are, on the surface, equally applicable to gathering. Both are social activities requiring cooperation and knowledge of the environment, both result in the sharing of products, and both require the creation of specific tool kits (Washburn and Lancaster 1968, 296). Washburn and Lancaster themselves acquiesce: "Meat can be carried away easily, but the development of some sort of receptacles for carrying vegetable products may have been one of the most fundamental advances in human evolution" (*ibid.*, 297) and "when males hunt and females gather, the results are shared and given to the young, and the habitual sharing between a male, a female, and their offspring becomes the basis for the human family" (*ibid.*, 301). In the absence of any biological or archaeological data to support their model, the decision to place hunting, rather than gathering, scavenging or any other activity, as the basis of the human condition appears arbitrary. The act of hunting is given baseless privilege that is prominently reflected in the article's language; in the minds of Washburn and Lancaster it is elevated from a mere subsistence strategy to a 'way of life' (*ibid.*, 293).

This attitude is extended to the tools the authors associate with the earliest hunters, which Washburn and Lancaster call "beautiful" four times in one brief paragraph (Washburn and Lancaster 1968, 298). This language bias is particularly evident where they refer to male-female pairs as "an experienced hunter-provider and a female who gathers and who cares for the young" (*ibid.*, 302); hunting is an identity and synonymous with provider, while gatherer is simply something one does, as is child care. Instead of archaeological evidence, the model relies heavily on Edward Burnett Tylor's debunked theory of cultural 'survivals'; the idea that behaviours which exist today and have existed for large periods of human history must therefore be evolutionarily important and adaptive (Sussman 1999, 457).

While the evidential basis of the Man-the-Hunter model is largely missing, the societal influence that shaped the theory is clear and can be found in post-WWII America. In the 1950s, women who had been recruited during the war effort to a variety of practical job roles were encouraged to return to their 'true calling' or 'natural place' as housewives and mothers while the men went out to 'hunt' for money and food by working (Hager 1997, 5). Lori Hager suggests that the Man-the-Hunter model was heavily influenced by attitudes towards Western men and women's sex roles and responsibilities during this period, and in return was used to further bolster the effort to return women to their "reproductive, homemaker role" (*ibid.*).

The role of females was given little consideration by Washburn and Lancaster beyond women's ability to bear children; an ability that despite its importance and necessity to the survival of the *Homo* genus was in turn given little to no attention (Washburn and Lancaster 1968). Washburn and Lancaster make seven explicit references to females in *The Evolution of Hunting*; one relating to incest taboos (*ibid.,*301), one astutely noting that human females behave differently to female wolves (*ibid.,* 296), and one suggesting an excess of females "without [male] providers" requires, and would have been historically met with, infanticide (*ibid.,* 302). Two references refer to a sexual division of labour in early human social groups in which men hunt and women gather, but no explanation is given as to how or why this division came to be (*ibid.,* 301). A further reference suggests that women and children may have been involved in hunting "small creatures" while men hunted large game (*ibid.,* 296), but no attempt is made to explain why large game hunting, the cooperation it requires and the meat sharing it precipitates would be adaptive while small game hunting would not be. The final reference refers to the primacy of the "mother-young group", in contrast to the rest of the article which privileges "male-male associations" (*ibid.,* 297). The index entry for 'gathering' in the conference proceedings in which Washburn and Lancaster's paper appears reveals one singular page reference under the subtitle 'behaviour'. The page referenced, a discussion on the future-agenda of hunter-gatherer research and the questions

on gathering that must be addressed, makes no reference to females whatsoever (Lee and DeVore 1968, 344), although elsewhere in the volume Lee and DeVore do note that "early woman would not have remained idle during the Pleistocene" (Lee and DeVore 1968, 7).

Despite the fact that the theory is directly at odds with years of ethnographic observation in hunting and gathering communities, the behaviour of our closest primate relatives, and archaeological evidence that suggests tools significantly predate hunting behaviour, Man-the-Hunter remains a pervasive model in the public imagination (Zihlman 1981, 75) and academia (Speth 2010, 40).

2.3 Women-the-Gatherer

During the 60s and 70s, the typically male-dominated fields of palaeoanthropology and primatology saw an increase in female academics and researchers within their ranks. Likely due in part to this shift and the rise in feminist thinking in a variety of academic disciplines, an ontological turn began in which prior androcentric views of human evolution were questioned, reviewed, and re-evaluated (Hager 1997, 6). The most prominent example of this was the 'Woman-the-Gatherer' model devised by Sally Slocum, Nancy Tanner and Adrienne Zihlman, which analysed previously untouched aspects of human history: the role of females in subsistence, development of social life and innovation (Slocum 1975; Tanner 1981; Zihlman 1978).

Woman-the-Gatherer posited based on the non-human primate and ethnographic record that foraging was primarily done by females and that the earliest tools would have been associated with gathering and infant carrying, such as digging sticks and slings, making women the earliest toolmakers (Gough 1975, 64). The model focused on the mother-infant social unit, female gathering labour and the importance of gathered produce to early hominin subsistence (Tanner 1981). Though assigning males much larger roles than Man-the-Hunter did females, the Women-the-Gatherer theory was deemed "gynecentric" and "female-biased" by largely male critics (Hager 1997, 7). No similar consideration

was given to whether the Man-the-Hunter theory may be 'androcentric' and 'male-biased' until the rise of the Woman-the-Gatherer model. The model was additionally classed as mere "feminist revisionism" (Tooby and DeVore 1987, 222) rather than being critically evaluated on the basis of accuracy or evidence. However, Zihlman maintains that Woman-the-Gatherer as a theory was not inspired by the feminist movement or intended to counter Man-the-Hunter; instead indicating that Woman-the-Gather was a data-driven model fuelled by the overwhelming data Zihlman and Tanner had compiled from a combination of ethnographic, nonhuman primate and fossil sources (Zihlman 1997, 103).

Zihlman's pioneering work on the topics of early hominin social relationships, bipedalism and sexual dimorphism was largely disregarded or ignored by palaeoanthropologists writing contemporarily and after her, most notably by Owen Lovejoy in his article *The Origin of Man* (1981) (Haraway 1989, 283). The reaction (and lack therefore of) to Woman-the-Gatherer is concisely summarised by Linda Fedigan, who writes that the work of Zihlman in particular "attempts to account for more of the data from all sources than any other model I have seen, and yet her interpretation of early hominin life has received no more attention from the palaeoanthropologists than other less 'data-based' models" (Fedigan 1986, 58).

2.4 Man-the-Provisioner

In 1981, Oven Lovejoy introduced his own model of human evolution, known as Man-the-Provisioner (though he did not use this term himself). In contrast to Man-the-Hunter, Lovejoy placed gathering as the primary subsistence method in early hominins: but in Man-the-Provisioner, it was males who were doing the gathering (Lovejoy 1981). Females, in contrast, are not assigned any particular role aside from bearing children and providing males with sex – for a price. Man-the-Provisioner assumes bipedalism evolved in males as a food-gathering adaptation: those who could walk upright with free hands could gather more food. This food was then carried to a female at a central camp location (*ibid.,* 344). For Lovejoy, females' dependence on males for their own and their

offspring's survival mandated monogamy; males would essentially 'purchase' sex with plant foodstuffs in order to ensure females' loyalty towards them (*ibid.*). Females in turn ensured a male subsistence contribution by losing oestrus and being "continually sexually receptive" which Lovejoy believed would safeguard male loyalty to a specific female (*ibid.*). Lovejoy does not attempt to explain the main logical fallacy within his model: why larger, stronger bipedal males leaving their immobile, semi-quadrupedal, entirely dependent females and offspring alone and undefended at a central camp would increase female and offspring survival rate rather than decreasing it.

Though Lovejoy published his gathering-based theory after Zihlman, Tanner and Slocum published their theories, and although Lovejoy attended the *Men and Women in Prehistory* conference at which Zihlman put forward her substantial work on gathering and bipedalism, Lovejoy makes no reference to Zihlman, Tanner and Slocum whatsoever, even where he has closely followed their ideas of gathering as a significant aspect of hominin subsistence (Zihlman 1997, 99). While the details of Man-the-Hunter and Man-the-Provisioner differed, one aspect remained startling similar: males were entirely responsible for the subsistence of themselves, females, and offspring, and their contribution kick-started morphological changes that 'made us human' (Hager 1997, 8). Hager describes Man-the-Provisioner as one of several theories in which anthropologists "simply appropriated and inverted the basic concepts of these earlier models for their own purposes", and Lovejoy's work still relies heavily on the same 'equal transmission of characteristics' as Man-the- Hunter, which positions females as a passive, evolutionary drag lifted into humanity by male labour (*ibid.*). Lovejoy's model "insists on male dominance and male provisioning of immobile, continually breeding, dependent females" in contradiction of evidence from observation of primates and ethnographic observation of contemporary foraging women (Zihlman 1997, 103).

Despite the wide variety of criticisms and challenges made against Man-the-Provisioner (Cann and Wilson 1982; Hrdy 1981; McHenry 1982; Wolfe *et al.* 1982; Zihlman 1987), the model has remained pervasive in popular media,

textbooks and documentaries in a way that Woman-the-Gatherer never has, despite its firm data-based foundations and just as Man-the-Hunter has more or less prevailed (Hager 1997, 8).

3. Man-the-Hunter, Woman-the-Gatherer?

In order to critically evaluate the evolutionary models outlined in chapter 2, this chapter will review ethnographic evidence on four topics which are taken as conventional wisdoms without sufficient evidence to support them, particularly in Washburn and Lancaster's Man-the-Hunter model. Firstly, that only men, and never women, hunt. Secondly, that there is a universal and clearly defined sexual division of specific labours in hunter-gatherer societies. Third, that meat is primary to subsistence and survival and that hunting is the highly complex, coordinated group activity Washburn and Lancaster portray it as while gathering is comparatively simplistic and unskilled. Lastly that women's work, particularly with regard to hunting, is highly constrained by their biology, including reproductive abilities, menstruation, lactation and child-rearing responsibilities.

Though the limiting of women's work to certain roles is often taken as a reflection of their physical capabilities, Claude Meillassoux (1981) writes that: "nothing in nature explains the sexual division of labour, nor such institutions as marriage, conjugality, or paternal filiation. All are imposed on women by constraint, all are therefore facts of civilization which must be explained, not used as explanations" (Meillassoux 1981, 21). Similarly, Sandra Bowdler and Jane Balme argue that as sexual divisions of labour are not actually reflective of biological restrictions caused by sexual dimorphism but instead are organised by social and culture restrictions (Bowdler and Balme 2006), this phenomenon would be more accurately termed a gendered division of labour than a sexual one (Bowdler and Balme 2010, 391). Their argument contends that the concept of gender and subsequent gender roles would not have been developed until the appearance of symbolic thinking in the Upper Palaeolithic, marked by the creation of art and coinciding with the emergence of highly gendered figurines (*ibid.*). So-called Upper Palaeolithic 'Venus' figurines have been interpreted as everything from early pornography (Mellars 2009) to self-portraits (Morriss-Kay 2012) to fertility symbols (Conard and Wolf 2010), but have also been interpreted as the "primary deity" of their creators (Crane-Seeber and Crane

2010, 227). As such, they have been theorised to be representative not necessarily of matriarchy but of the shared power and status of males and females in the Upper Palaeolithic (Crane-Seeber and Crane 2010; Eisler 1987, Starhawk 1997; Tannahill 1992). Bowdler and Balme conclude that there was likely little differentiation in male and female roles beyond what was biologically and reproductively necessary prior to the Upper Palaeolithic (Bowdler and Balme 2010, 391). Furthermore, there is no palaeoanthropological evidence to support the idea of a Palaeolithic patriarchy or dominance of either sex even into the Upper Palaeolithic, with universally sparse grave goods and no significant differences in burial preparations which would indicate gendered status or a sexual division of labour (Crane-Seeber and Crane 2010, 228).

Due to the lack of answers found in the archaeological record, the ethnographic record is instead heavily relied upon. It is taken as fact that in modern hunter-gatherer societies, which are assumed to be the closest analogy to our Palaeolithic ancestor's lifestyles and subsistence systems, men hunt for meat while women gather plantstuffs, the latter burdened with small children. Or, more concisely; "it is a truth universally acknowledged that a single hunter must be in want of a gathering woman" (Bowdler and Balme 2010, 391). This thesis does not deny a sexual division of labour in the Palaeolithic or that as a general rule men hunt and women gather. Instead, it suggests there was likely more flexibility in gender roles than has been assumed in prior evolutionary models, based on cross-cultural variation observed in a variety of ethnographic studies.

However, before examining evidence from the ethnographic record, caution must be taken on two grounds. Firstly, ethnographic evidence can be over-relied upon and the similarity of the complex lifestyles of modern hunter-gatherers to our earliest ancestors overstated. In this way, groups, especially those who have been subject to significant anthropological interest such as the Hadza and Mbuti, can be treated as "windows into the Palaeolithic" and "living fossils" as they have been for decades by western anthropologists (Graeber and Wengrow 2018). Secondly, the ethnocentrism and androcentrism of the

ethnographic record and the bias present in the data available to us must be acknowledged. Anthropology has traditionally been a male domain, and the data collected reflects this (Brightman 1996, 688). Where women are mentioned, the information anthropologists receive often comes from asking male informants about their wives, sisters and daughters rather than consulting the women themselves (Rogers 1978, 129). Male researchers may not have access to females, their work and their spaces, and even where they do have access there has historically been a lack of interest in the lives and perspectives of women by anthropologists (Rohrlich-Leavitt, Sykes and Weatherford 1975, 110). The result of this bias in data collection is a situation in which "men's information is too often presented as a group's reality, rather than as only part of a cultural whole", and half of the population goes unexplored and unexamined (Reiter 1975, 13). Even in language, a male bias is apparent in the abundant use of the term 'man' that pervades much of the anthropological literature. Although this term supposedly refers to all of humanity, "one frequently is led to suspect that in the minds of many anthropologists, 'man' […] is actually exactly synonymous with 'males'" (Slocum 1975, 38). With these two considerations in mind, ethnographic evidence regarding modern hunter-gatherers will not be taken as an exact reflection of Palaeolithic sex roles, but rather as a comparative tool.

3.1 Men Hunt, Women Gather

With the exception of Lovejoy (1981) who assigned gathering to males, all evolutionary models outlined in Chapter 2 assume that gathering is and has always been exclusively women's work, while large game hunting is and has always been men's work, but none provide any hard evidence to justify their position (Bowdler and Balme 2010, 391).

The conventional wisdom that men hunt and women gather in hunter-gatherer societies today is both generally true and over-simplistic, and requires a manipulation of the term hunting to refer exclusively to tracking and killing large, mobile game. If hunting is taken simply to mean 'killing or capturing wild animals', females are regular participants; small game in particular is procured by

both sexes in a variety of hunter-gatherer societies, or primarily by women (Brightman 1996, 688; Watanabe 1968, 74), and small game constitutes up to half of the meat consumed by some hunter-gatherers such as the Ache (Kaplan *et al.* 2000, 181). In an ethnographic study of Australian hunter-gatherers, Annette Hamilton (1980) noted that the women in fact “saw themselves as going out primarily for meat" (Hamilton 1980, 11). In addition, women are involved in large game hunting in many societies, working as drivers for herd hunting and working in other assistive roles even when men are the primary hunters (Brightman 1996, 688; Brown 1975, 243). However, cases of women hunting large mammals alone are also known (Watanabe 1968, 74), for example among the Nanadukan Agta where big game hunting is a common female activity (Estioko-Griffin 1985), and among aboriginal Australians where women regularly hunt kangaroos with dogs they have trained for the purpose (Rohrlich-Leavitt, Sykes and Weatherford 1975, 115).

In Watanabe’s (1968) study of the Ainu, he notes that women are not necessarily excluded from large game hunting by any specific taboo on hunting. Instead, there is a taboo associated with women crafting, owning and using weapons, meaning if women were to hunt they would have to do so empty-handed or with improvised weapons such as sticks, ropes or dogs. Without access to weapons specifically designed to hunt animals, large game hunting amongst women becomes too unprofitable to be a common practice, although Ainu women still occasionally hunt deer when the opportunity arises (Watanabe 1968, 74). Similarly, while gathering is primarily and traditionally a female domain, men in most hunter-gatherer societies also gather, albeit largely to sate their own appetite rather than to share with a group (Brightman 1996, 692).

3.2 Sexual Division of Labour

As has already been demonstrated, women are known to hunt large game and carry out labour-intensive foraging activities, suggesting sexually dimorphic features such as smaller body size and less muscle mass do not restrict the labour women are physically capable of. For example, the strength intensive

labour of carrying is often considered ‘women’s work’ and was termed ‘Woman-the-Porter’ by Geza Roheim (1933), to the extent that when Efe Pygmy men kill a large game animal, “they will travel considerable distances back to camp in order to fetch women to carry the meat, rather than carrying it back themselves" (Peacock 1991, 356). Instead, social and cultural barriers may be responsible, and due to the invisibility of social relationships in the archaeological record we cannot assume that the same barriers existed in the Palaeolithic. While every known society divides at least some labour along sex lines, the sexual division of labour is not always as clear cut or definite as is often assumed in hunter-gatherer communities (Draper 1975, 92). Amongst the !Kung people of the Kalahari desert, the roles and responsibilities of men and women overlap and both sexes are happy to take on the gendered responsibilities of the other sex when necessary or more convenient, particularly men (*ibid.*). Vast cross-cultural variation in sex roles has been noted by a variety of anthropologists including Ralph Linton (1936) and Margaret Mead (1946), and a systematic study of labour division by George Murdock has suggested that there are essentially no universally female occupations (Murdock 1937). For example, knitting, cooking and weaving are considered men’s work in some societies, while canoeing, housebuilding and pearl diving are sometimes female occupations (Leibowitz 1975, 20).

3.3 Privileging of Hunting and Meat

Washburn and Lancaster’s Man-the-Hunter suggests that all morphological traits that separate humans from our closest primate relatives came about due to the complex and social nature of hunting behaviours and the importance of meat to the *Homo* diet (1968, 299). The perception of male hunting as an activity coordinated by a group of men, resulting in meat being brought back to provision a nuclear family or share amongst a group is evidently not the case among Hadza males, who hunt alone and only to the extent that their own hunger is satisfied, resulting in them often returning home empty-handed (Woodburn 1968, 53). Though the Hadza are considered the ‘quintessential hunters’, Woodburn notes

than many males rarely engage in large game hunting and around half of men fail to kill even a single large animal in a year; some kill only one in their adult lives (Woodburn 1968, 54). The Hadza kill only when they need and do not kill more animals than are strictly necessary: "they see no virtue in hunting unless they are hungry for meat "(*ibid.*, 53). This is in contrast to Washburn and Lancaster's idea that "man is naturally aggressive and that he naturally enjoys the destruction of other creatures" (Washburn and Lancaster 1968, 299). In addition, far from being the highly complex, coordinated effort which Washburn and Lancaster depict it as, amongst the men of the Hadza large game hunting is an individual pursuit, the procedure for which is "simple and differs very little whether the target is a lion, a zebra, or a guinea fowl" (Woodburn 1968, 51). This is in stark contrast to the way hunting is described by Laughlin in the same volume as both Woodburn and Washburn and Lancaster: "hunting is the master behaviour pattern of the human species. It is the organizing activity which integrated the morphological, physiological, genetic, and intellectual aspects of the individual human organisms and of the population who compose our single species" (Laughlin 1968, 304).

In contrast to this portrayal of hunting, there is a common perception of gathering as work which is simple, safe, and requires little skill or specialisation (Brightman 1996, 687; Draper 1975, 83). This is not the case, and in fact "promotes a condescending attitude toward what women's work is all about" (Draper 1975, 83). Instead, gathering is most often a social activity, and requires knowledge and recognition of hundreds of plant species in different visible stages of their lifecycles (*ibid.*). Women's knowledge of the bush and the movement of wildlife is such that amongst the !Kung, male hunters question women at the end of each gathering day to aid in their hunt (*ibid.*). Gathering, particularly of foodstuffs that involve the use of tools or complex methods such as palm extraction, requires significant skill and increases in efficiency with experience (Kaplan *et al.* 2000, 169). In addition, it has been suggested that small game hunting, which women are often equal or primary participants in, may have higher learning demands and often requires more "encounter-specific and species-specific knowledge and creativity" that large game hunting, due to the

diversity of species killed and methods needed to do so (Kaplan *et al.* 2000, 181). Furthermore, women's gathering and foraging can be accompanied by significant risk; for example, Tiwi women regularly climb trees to hunt small marsupials, gather honey from beehives and capture poisonous snakes (Goodale 1971, 152), while Tasmanian women free-dive in dangerous waters for shellfish (Smyth 1878, 392).

Among the !Kung, both men and women work for two or three days per week at hunting and gathering respectively, although women routinely gather while men sometimes stop hunting for weeks or occasionally months at a time when facing a run of bad luck. Due to the unpredictability of hunting, plantstuffs gathered by women constitute around 60-80% of the !Kung diet (Lee 1968, 37). Contrary to the idea of hunting as the dominant subsistence method in communities classified as 'hunter-gatherer' societies, Richard Lee found that half of the 58 societies he examined actually relied primarily on gathering, while one third relied on fishing and only one-sixth on hunting, reflecting the unreliability of meat procurement. The societies that did rely on mammal hunting did so due to the lack of viable alternatives in their particular environments (*ibid.*, 42). Among the Hadza, vegetables similarly make up the majority of the diet, but as amongst the !Kung, meat is more highly valued than plant foodstuffs: "from informants assertions, one would gather that little but meat is eaten" (Woodburn 1968, 52). This is not as contradictory as it first appears, however; meat is considered a treat due to its rarity, unpredictability and the danger and cost associated with its procurement, as well as due to its preferential taste compared to often dry and tough vegetable products (Lee 1968, 40). Furthermore, it is entirely possible and likely that a male-dominated labour may be privileged in a male-dominated society, and that male informants may have privileged their own labour in conversations with the male anthropologists who dominated early ethnographic studies (Fiddes 1989, 26; Rogers 1978, 129).

3.4 Reproductive restrictions

Lactation in hunter-gatherer societies has been recorded for up to four years, during which the mother or similarly lactating women must be within range of the child for a significant portion of the day (Campbell 1999, 205). As a result, women are typically the primary carers for children in all societies for at least the period of lactation, but often far beyond this (*ibid.*). That substantial female-infant interaction is usually required for successful child-rearing is not disputed in this thesis or in others that critique assumptions of females capabilities based on reproductive restrictions. Instead, it questions whether being the primary caretaker for a child is as restrictive as has often been assumed. Birth rate spacing techniques such as infanticide and abortion and the theorised "low physiological fertility" of early hominins would have kept birth rates relatively low and manageable (Cowlishaw 1981, 37), and in combination with the availability of other lactating women and alternative child care from post-menopausal women, older children and sometimes men, child nurturing would likely not have been a "full-time occupation" for women as has been suggested by other scholars (see Huber 2007) (Bowdler and Balme 2010, 394).

Furthermore, there is enormous cross-cultural variation in the perceived constraints of menstruation, pregnancy and childrearing on women's activities and free time (Rogers 1978, 137). The real and perceived constraints of pregnancy and lactation are not sufficient to explain the sexual division of hunting, as they do not explain why women do not hunt before their first pregnancy or after the menopause (Brightman 1996, 697). The idea that sex differences in odour, particularly during menstruation, would influence women's ability to successfully hunt has been criticised along several lines; firstly that menstruation days make up only a fraction of potential hunting days, and secondly that all human odours are off-putting for animals, therefore women could easily utilise the same odour disguising techniques that men use (Tesart 1986, 26). Women have been known to hunt while carrying children; while this may greatly increase inefficiency in hunts that require stealth, ambush or

prolonged running, many types of hunt do not require these strategies (Brightman 1996, 699).

4. Representations of Palaeolithic Women

Depictions of Palaeolithic life, particularly when found in 'trusted' sources such as textbooks, documentaries and museum exhibitions, are assumed by the general public to reflect archaeological evidence and hold a scientific authority (Gindhart 2002, 2). However, due to their nature as visual impressions expanding on palaeoanthropological knowledge and ethnographic observations into the unknown, they naturally contain "scope for speculation, error, controversy, and the projection of one's own prejudices" (James 1997, 31). Like any other form of archaeological interpretation, visual depictions are at risk of reproducing the biases held by their creators and perpetuating stereotypes about gender, but reach a much wider audience than archaeological literature typically does (Gero 1994, 145). The representation of Palaeolithic women in media such as books, documentaries, television and film has been the subject of various studies which have revealed a common pattern of stereotyping and androcentrism (Conkey 1997; Galanidou 2008; Gifford-Gonzalez 1993; Hurcombe 1995; Moser and Gamble 1997; Solometo and Moss 2013; van den Dries and Kerkhof 2018).

4.1 Quantitative Representation

In reconstructions of the Palaeolithic, women "are rendered either invisible nonparticipants or as the handmaidens to men in prehistory" and their activities and movements are severely limited, constituting a "Palaeolithic glass ceiling" (Zihlman 1997, 91). Women are vastly underrepresented in number in a variety of popular media depicting the Palaeolithic (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 30). In Nena Galanidou's analysis of Palaeolithic themed children's books, 73% of the characters across all hominin species were adult men and 14% were children, while only 13% were adult women (Galanidou 2008, 156). A similar disparity in the representation of each sex was noted by Linda Hurcombe in her examination of the reconstruction paintings of Benoit Clarys and Maurice Wilson, in which 63% of characters were adult males while only 23% were adult females and 14% were children of either sex (Hurcombe 1995, 91).

4.2 Gendered Labour

These images of Palaeolithic life often rely on a number of 'schemata', a concept created by Sir Ernst Gombrich (1960) to describe the way in which an artist reproduces one of a limited number of formulas or models and adapts it to fit the required final product, rather than executing an original idea from scratch (Gombrich 1960). In an analysis of dioramic representations of Palaeolithic life, Diane Gifford-Gonzalez (1993) identifies several prominent, reoccurring schemata. These include 'Man-the-Toolmaker' depicting an adult male bashing stones together "in a fashion more suitable to blacksmithing than to stone flaking", 'Madonna-with-Child' depicting a young woman cradling a baby, and 'Drudge-on-a-Hide' depicting an often faceless female squatting or on all fours and engaged in hide scraping in the style of a 17th-century scullery maid (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 34). These common schemata paint male labour as heroic, dangerous and rewarding, while female labour is menial, servile and animalistic, relegated to the background and performed by often anonymous women. Schemata such as these, often derived from or mimicking modern, ethnocentric gender roles serve to indiscriminately apply contemporary ideas of women's 'place' onto early hominins without any supporting archaeological evidence. These patterns are also apparent in Donald Henson's (2016) study of the representation of the Mesolithic in popular media, which found the period to be "predominantly male" with a large disparity in the number of men and women depicted and a strong adherence to modern gender roles "which privilege hunting and tool-making as male activities over the assumed female actions of cooking, scraping skins and looking after children" (Henson 2016, 234).

Other activities are deeply gendered, reflecting a Levi-Straussian female-male/nature-culture dichotomy in which men are positioned as toolmakers, creators and inventors capable of exploiting nature to further humanity while women are confined to their 'natural' role as breeders and caretakers (see Ortner 1972). Men are ritual leaders and attendees, fire starters, toolmakers and armed hunters. Women are cooks and mothers and occasionally utilise natural materials for weaving or hide scraping. In the 231 images examined by Gifford-

Gonzalez, men were never depicted interacting with children or working on hides, while women were never depicted hunting or leading or attending rituals (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 32). Notably, women are almost never depicted creating or utilising stone tools, whereas amongst the Konso, women are the primary creators and users of biface flaked lithics which they craft from high-quality stone acquired by themselves and other women, often from great distances from the home camp (Arthur 2010, 228). Though the labours women are most commonly depicted as engaging in such as hide processing, clothes making and food processing require stone tools, their production is still depicted as a male domain. In two-thirds of the representations of women working on hides analysed by Gifford-Gonzalez, the association between men and tools was so pervasive that the women were not depicted with any kind of tool: they appear to be scraping hides with their bare hands (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 36).

Furthermore, van Gelder and Sharpe note the almost exclusive depiction of the earliest cave artist as male, contrary to evidence that suggests many of the creators of hand paintings and fluted images may have been female or children (van Gelder and Sharpe 2009, 331). In a comprehensive study of dozens of reconstruction images of Palaeolithic artists, Conkey found women and children, if they appeared at all, resigned to the role of 'assistants' and carrying out activities such as grinding pigments or providing a light source for the 'real' artists: males (Conkey 1997, 176). Her article on the matter concluded that there is a need for future research into art and complex cognition in the Upper Palaeolithic that is "based on empirically researched results instead of on imagined male flights of fancy" (van Gelder and Sharpe 2009, 331).

4.3 Positioning

Bias can also be noted in the sizing and positioning of activities and individuals in a composition; items placed in the centre or in the foreground draw the observer's eye and their importance is implied by their positioning. In dioramic representations of the Palaeolithic, women's labour was largely relegated to the lower levels and background of images, carrying a connotation that their work is

menial or less important than that of males (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 35). In addition, women are depicted kneeling, sitting or squatting at significantly higher rates than men who stand tall and dominate scenes, a pattern also present in modern advertisements (Goffman 1976). Men are consistently depicted as active and in motion while women are commonly passive and static, both in images of prehistory (van den Dries and Kerkhof 2018, 232) and in modern Western visual culture (Berger 1972; Goffman 1976).

In addition, men were frequently depicted in large groups while women are most often alone or in the company of one or two small children (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 35), despite ethnographic evidence suggesting that in modern hunter-gatherer societies women often gather in groups (Draper 1975, 83) and men often hunt alone (Woodburn 1968, 51). Despite the prevalence of the idea that gathering is an almost exclusively female labour, women are rarely depicted actually gathering in reconstruction images (Sommer 2007, 345), or indeed outside the homestead in any capacity (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 31), despite the fact that !Kung men and women's activities lead them away from the home camp for roughly similar amounts of time per day (Draper 1975, 85). A similar pattern was noted in van den Dries and Kerkhof's examination of Dutch history schoolbooks, in which 86% of men were depicted in a public setting compared to 54% of women, while 40% of women were placed in a domestic setting compared to only 9% of men (van den Dries and Kerkhof 2018, 232). The resulting depiction of Palaeolithic women "bears a peculiarly Western, woman's-place-is-in-the-home, cultural stamp" that is contrary to the available ethnographic and palaeoanthropological evidence (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 31). For the general public who gain a large proportion of their knowledge and understanding of history through popular media and internalise and reproduce the stereotypes and biases they witness within (Ward and Aubrey 2017), the message is clear: "the whole of history is made by males. They are the heroes. Women played only a minor role" (van den Dries and Kerkhof 2018, 232).

5. Toward a Definition of 'Androcentric'

Based on the evidence presented in chapters 2-4 regarding stereotypes in visual representation, accuracies and assumptions in the history of evolutionary theory and the realities of the archaeological and ethnographic evidence regarding hunter-gatherer gender roles, a definition of 'androcentrism' can be determined. The documentaries on Palaeolithic life examined later in this thesis can then be compared to elements of this definition to identify if and when their representation of the past is androcentric.

A documentary which represents Palaeolithic life in accordance with the following tropes may be considered androcentric:

5.1 Quantitative Representation

- A quantitative overrepresentation of males and underrepresentation of females, in terms of the number of characters and the amount of time male and female characters are shown on screen.

5.2 Labour and Activities

- The limiting of female labour to specific, traditionally gendered activities associated with 'nature' such as gathering, child care or hide working, and their exclusion from other roles associated with 'culture' such as art, tool production and ritual, constituting a "Palaeolithic glass ceiling" (Zihlman 1997). Furthermore, the justification of this limiting of female labour using unsubstantiated explanations relating to the 'constraints' of women's biology.
- The underrepresentation of female-dominated activities and the overrepresentation of male-dominated activities. In particular, the privileging and overrepresentation of hunting and meat procurement, and the overuse of hunting as an explanation for human development beyond what is provable or reasonable, as in Washburn and Lancaster (1968).

- The underrepresentation of gathering and other forms of subsistence such as fishing and scavenging in comparison to hunting, especially in time periods or societies in which these methods would have constituted the majority of a group's diet.
- A reiteration of evolutionary models that are generally considered androcentric (particularly Man-the-Hunter and its derivatives but also Lovejoy's Man-the-Provisioner) without further supporting evidence or consideration of alternative theories.
- The perpetuation of common stereotypes and schemata analogous to those identified by Gifford-Gonzalez (1993) that appear to be applications of modern, Western gender roles onto the past without sufficient palaeoanthropological evidence to support them.

5.3 Visual Associations and Positioning

- The visual association of 'cultural artefacts' e.g. weapons and tools exclusively or largely with males.
- The visual association of children exclusively or largely with females, particularly where the females are restricted in activities and movements by the children.
- The confinement of women to homesteads, camps and other domestic spaces, especially in contrast to more mobile men, constituting "a peculiarly Western, woman's-place-is-in-the-home, cultural stamp" (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 31).

5.4 Language

- The use of language which appears to place males as the default for humanity such as the use of male pronouns for entire species, or the use of 'man' in "an ambiguous fashion that it is impossible to decide whether it refers to males or to the human species in general" (Slocum 1975, 38).

- The privileging or use of narratives relating to male violence, aggression and warfare as relating to early Man-the-Killer theories of innate male violence (see Sussman 1999).
- The presentation of male anatomy as the default for humanity, for example giving the height or weight of a species as the average male height or weight even where there is large sexual dimorphism and the statistic would not apply to females.

6. Methodology

6.1 Selection of Documentaries

Twenty-eight documentaries relating to the Palaeolithic were reviewed for applicability from a list of Palaeolithic documentaries compiled by Klossner (2005) (though the majority of films listed in Klossner could not be accessed due to their age and scarcity so could not even be reviewed), and from those available for free on streaming services such as Kanopy, YouTube and Netflix. Documentaries which did not feature reconstructed scenes of Palaeolithic life in the form of CGI or live action sequences (see fig. 2) were immediately discounted, as that is the content that is being examined in this thesis. Of the remaining documentaries, those that were either not in English or did not feature English subtitles, or were not of high enough quality to accurately determine the sex of characters or their activities were similarly discounted. Others were discounted due to being less than 20 minutes in length, covering subjects beyond the scope of this dissertation including the Neolithic and beginnings of agriculture, or for being too narrow in their scope by discussing only one site or species.

Instead, documentaries were chosen that provided a broad view of early hominin lifeways and human evolution, focussing on a range of large issues and developments such as bipedalism, the creation of tools and the beginnings of hunting. All documentaries chosen feature a range of hominin species, though the species featured in each documentary differ. Although the title of this thesis refers to the Palaeolithic, depictions of hominins which slightly precede or only partially overlap with the Palaeolithic are still considered, such as *Ardipithecus ramidus*, *Australopithecus afarensis* and *Australopithecus africanus*.

Figure 2. An example of a live-action Palaeolithic scene featuring actors portraying early Homo sapiens in Out of the Cradle (NHK 2019).

6.2 Data Collection

Two recording forms were compiled (see Appendix 1), featuring space to record the sex of Palaeolithic characters and the activities they were depicted as engaging in. Categories on the recording form are described in more detail below. Each documentary was given a preliminary viewing without recording anything, to understand the narrative and subject matter without distraction. Each documentary was then viewed a minimum of three times to ensure the accuracy of the recording. In addition to filling out the recording form, notes where made while watching each documentary to record significant observations and plot points.

6.3 Definition of Character

The number of male and female characters in each documentary has been counted on the recording form to determine the quantitative representation of each sex. A 'character' is considered as any adult Palaeolithic individual featured in a scene of Palaeolithic life, in the form of a costumed actor, CGI model, or animation. 'Character' refers only to Palaeolithic individuals, and therefore does not include those participating in the documentary such as researchers, archaeologists and presenters, and also does not include appearances by or

actors playing figures in the history of palaeoanthropology such as Raymond Dart or Mary Leakey. Digital reconstructions of fossil specimens for the purposes of discussing anatomy (see fig. 3) and not depicting Palaeolithic life have not been considered characters and therefore have not been counted. Static images, particularly those illustrating movement of people or anatomical information (see fig. 4) have also not be counted.

Figure 3. An example of a CGI reconstructed hominin from Out of the Cradle. As the individual is being used to demonstrate anatomy and is not in a scene of Palaeolithic life they would not be counted (NHK 2019).

In addition, individuals shown on screen for less than two seconds, or in groups of more than twenty, have not been included on the basis that any work individuals are engaged in will not be identifiable to the audience and therefore will leave a negligible impression on the viewer (see fig. 5). While there is evidence that an audience can subliminally perceive individuals shown only briefly (Henke, Landis and Markowitsch 1994), there is also evidence that mostly men but also women cannot come to accurate conclusions about the quantitative representation of women even when given explicit information or data, viewing women as equally or over-represented even when they are vastly underrepresented (Horowitz, Igielnik and Parker 2018; Cutler and Scott 1990; McGregor 2017; Gero 1994, 149; Haraway 1989, 284). If one individual of a large group has individual screen time and is featured in close up shots, the character and their activities have been counted. When the same character is depicted in

multiple scenes and it is obvious that they are the same individual, their sex has not been counted twice, but all activities they engage in have been counted across all scenes they appear in. Documentaries often feature a montage of footage from within the documentary at the beginning and end of the film – as this is merely repeated footage, the characters within it have not been counted, and their activities have not been noted. Any other instances of repeated footage have been treated similarly; sex and activities have only been noted the first time a clip is shown.

Figure 4. An example of a still image of an individual, who has not been considered as a character and has not been counted (NHK 2019).

Figure 5. An example of a large group of hominins on screen for less than 2 seconds; their sex has therefore not been counted (NHK 2019).

6.4 Sex Determination

Characters have been counted as either male or female where it is possible to determine their sex. The sex of individuals has been determined by observing a combination of physical features including secondary sexual characteristics, sexual dimorphism, build, facial hair and facial features as well as clothing and hairstyles. Individuals may also be verbally identified by the documentaries narrator as male or female. Only adult males and females have been counted due to the difficulty in accurately determining sex in depictions of children as faced by Solometo and Moss (2013). Where an individual's sex cannot be determined with confidence they have not been counted, following studies on gender representation in visual media including Gifford-Gonzalez (1993) and van den Dries and Kerkhof (2018).

6.5 Screen Time

The time female characters and male characters respectively are depicted on screen has been recorded in seconds, to give context to the number of males and females depicted. When a scene is repeated, the screen time of males and females within it has not been recorded; screen time has only been recorded the first time a scene is shown.

6.6 Activities

Activities, defined as work, labour or an action that an individual is engaged in, have been noted to determine what work males and females are depicted as doing. A list of 21 activities was compiled based on the most common actions noted during preliminary viewings of the documentaries examined. A definition of each activity can be found below (see table 1). A tally was kept of each time a male or female was seen carrying out an activity. It is anticipated the range of roles women are depicted in will be severely limited, constituting a "Palaeolithic glass ceiling" (Zihlman 1997, 91).

Large game hunting	The capturing and killing for meat of large terrestrial and aquatic mammals, typically associated with stalking, chasing and spear throwing.
Small game hunting	The capturing and killing for meat of small animals, particularly birds, reptiles, amphibians and small mammals including monkeys, squirrels, rabbits and foxes.
Gathering	Foraging for plant-based foodstuff including but not limited to fruits, vegetables, leaves, and nuts. The collection of insects and invertebrates such as termites and worms has also been considered gathering, as has the collection of animal products such as eggs and honeycomb.
Fishing	The capturing and killing of fish for subsistence purposes, by hand or with tools such as spears.
Scavenging	The collection of the meat and bones from carcasses that have been killed by another predator or died of natural causes.
Food preparation/cooking	The processing of hunted, gathered, fished and scavenged foodstuffs through chopping, grinding and/or cooking over fire.
Skinning/butchery	The butchery of animal carcasses for meat and bone and the skinning of carcasses for skins, hides and fur.
Stone tool use	The unspecified use or production of stone tools, such as in flint knapping and smashing open bones. The use of stone tools for purposes relating to another activity has not been counted in this category. For example, a scene depicting a hominin cutting open a carcass with a flint tool would be counted as 'Skinning/butchery' instead of 'Stone tool use'.
Organic tool use	The use or production of organic, non-stone tools such as termite sticks, digging sticks and baby slings.
Weapon production	The creation of weapons, particularly the carving and hafting of spears, bows and arrows
Child care	Direct caretaking of young children, including feeding and cleaning them. Simply holding or talking to a child without actively engaging in a caretaking activity is counted as 'Associated with children' in the visual association portion of the form (see 6.8) and is therefore not counted as 'Child care'.

Funeral participation	Attendance at a funerary service or ritual, and/or participation in funerary rites such as depositing of grave goods, burial or spreading of ochre
Art	Art consists of the intentional creation of designs or patterns and includes those engaged in activities such as painting, stencilling and engraving.
Leading ritual	The leader or instigator of a ritual; often a shaman-like figure who stands in front of an audience or oversees proceedings. This is separated from 'Attending ritual' as it involves a different range of roles and implies markedly different social status.
Attending ritual	The audience or attendees of a ritual, who may be engaged in watching, chanting or playing instruments amongst other activities.
Utilising fire	The intentional, active lighting or harnessing of fire. To be counted, characters must intentionally light a fire, or harness existing, naturally occurring fire to burn or set something else alight such as a torch. Cooking over an already lit fire or sitting in the vicinity of a pre-lit fire are considered passive uses of fire and are therefore not counted.
Fighting/killing (hominins)	Physical conflict between hominins, both conspecifics and heterospecifics.
Fighting/killing (predators)	Physical conflict between hominins and predators; here the fighting or killing of animals by hominins is separated from hunting as it is assumed the primary motivation is not to consume the animals killed. Instead, the motivation may be self-defence, group protection or scavenging the predator's kills.
Grooming	Hominins that are grooming other's hair or fur.
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	Hominins caring for, healing, supporting and provisioning injured, sick and elderly hominins.
Carrying	Refers to hominins laden with large, heavy or numerous objects, such as bags or firewood. Does not include individuals carrying single objects such as weapons and tools, individuals carrying infants, or objects which are the end result of another activity they have carried out on screen, such as the products of gathering or hunting.

Table 1. Definitions of common activities depicted in Palaeolithic-based documentaries, featured on the recording form.

6.8 Visual Association

On an additional part of the recording form, the visual association between males and females and weapons and children has been recorded. 'Visual association' refers to scenes in which males and females interact with children and weapons, but are not necessarily engaged in any activity with the weapons or children. Further definitions of these visual associations can be found in table 2. It is anticipated that females will rarely be shown holding weapons, based on Brightman's proposition that women's tendency not to hunt in hunter-gatherer societies is not based on real or perceived biological constraints or sexed labour taboos against women hunting, but on taboos against women using weapons which make it too inefficient for women to hunt unarmed (Brightman 1996, 706). It is also anticipated that men will seldom be visually associated with children, based on findings that men in Palaeolithic reconstructions are not only rarely represented as caring for children, but are also almost never visually associated with children at all (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993, 32).

Associated with children	Includes any scene in which an individual is touching, holding or interacting with a child. This includes, but is not limited to scenes that constitute child care such as feeding and cleaning children.
Holding weapons	Includes any scene in which an individual is shown holding any kind of weapon. This includes, but is not limited to, scenes in which the individual holding the weapon is engaged in an activity such as weapon production, fighting predators and large game hunting.

Table 2. Definitions of the terms used in the visual association portion of the recording form.

6.9 Analysis

For each documentary, a table of key information has been provided; including the title, year of production, production company, country of origin, duration and official plot summary. A brief overview of the plot and subject has been given, followed by a discussion of the quantitative and qualitative representation of Palaeolithic males and females. Particularly pertinent scenes in each

documentary have been described, to give context to the numerical data. Where a documentary features multiple hominin species, a separate section has been written for each species shown. Particularly androcentric language has been noted, such as the use of male pronouns as the default for a species. A further section provides space for additional notes and noteworthy observations on the treatment of gender in each documentary when they do not fit into any other section. Specific terms used in the analysis of each documentary are defined below in table 3.

Main character	When one character (see definition in 6.3) holds the narrative and cinematic focus in a scene (e.g. a scene following the daily life of the *Australopithecus afarensis* fossil specimen Lucy) they have been considered the 'main' character.
Experts	Refers to those interviewed during the documentary who deliver a piece to camera on the subject of their research and explain sites, fossils and concepts to the viewer. These experts are typically archaeologists, palaeoanthropologists and evolutionary biologists.
Historical figures	Refers to real people from the history of human evolution research such as Charles Darwin or Louis Leakey, portrayed in documentaries by actors or in historical footage, as opposed to interviewed experts.
Live action	A scene featuring actors, typically in costume, as opposed to animated or CGI characters.
Re-enactment	The acting out (live action, CGI or animated) of a known, witnessed or documented event or process as it happened, e.g. Mary Leakey's discovery of Zinjanthropus Boisei. Typically refers to scenes from the history of evolutionary research, featuring historical figures.

Reconstruction	A character, setting, event or scene based on available evidence but largely reliant on interpretation and subject to change. This is as opposed to a known, documented or remembered event or character. All Palaeolithic scenes and characters are considered reconstructions.

Table 3. Definitions of relevant terms used in the analysis of documentaries within this thesis.

7. Documentary Analysis

7.1 *Out of the Cradle*

Title	*Out of the Cradle*
Year	2018
Production Company	Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai
Production Country	Japan
Duration	116 min
Plot Summary	How did humanity's earliest ancestors evolve into one of the most successful species on Earth? An extraordinary journey tracing the footsteps of early hominins. Using the latest paleoanthropological findings mixed with the latest CGI from Square Enix, this story is finally told (NHK 2018).

Table 4. Information regarding the documentary Out of the Cradle.

7.1.1 Overview

Out of the Cradle is a 2018 documentary from Japanese production company NHK (Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai), which combines CGI from Square Enix, live-action re-enactments, interviews with archaeologists in laboratories and on excavation sites, and analysis of fossil specimens. The documentary covers *Ardipithecus ramidus*, *Australopithecus afarensis*, *Homo habilis, Homo erectus, Homo neanderthalensis* and *Homo sapiens*. Subjects touched upon include predation of early hominins and defence strategies, toolmaking, ritual, the migration of *H. sapiens* from Taiwan to Okinawa, Japan, and the advent of bipedalism, hunting and the nuclear family.

7.1.2 Characters by Sex

Every species examined featured more males than females apart from *Ardipithecus ramidus*, which featured an equal number of male and female characters. *Homo erectus* was represented exclusively by male characters; no species was represented exclusively by female characters. Overall, 24% of the characters whose sex could be identified were female while 76% were male (see table 5).

	Male	Female
Ardipithecus ramidus	1	1
Australopithecus afarensis	5	3
Homo habilis	4	2
Homo erectus	3	0
Homo neanderthalensis	9	1
Homo sapiens	36	11
Total	**58**	**18**

Table 5. Characters per species of hominin in Out of the Cradle by sex.

7.1.3 Screen Time

The screen time given to male characters was over five times as long as that given to female characters in total, and males had significantly more screen time per character than females did (see table 6).

	Male	Female
Screen time	1725	331
Average per character	29.7	18.4

Table 6. Screen time given to characters in Out of the Cradle by sex in seconds.

7.1.4 Activities

While there were several female characters in *Out of the Cradle*, they were consistently depicted as idle; no female character was clearly shown engaged in any activity (see table 7). In contrast, male characters were shown engaging in nine different types of activity, and were shown engaging in activities forty-seven times. The most commonly depicted activity was large game hunting.

	Male	Female
Large game hunting	21	0
Small game hunting	3	0
Gathering	4	0
Fishing	0	0
Scavenging	4	0
Food preparation/cooking	0	0
Skinning/butchery	1	0
Stone tool use	3	0
Organic tool use	0	0
Weapon production	0	0
Child care	0	0
Funeral participation	0	0
Art	0	0
Leading ritual	1	0
Attending ritual	6	0
Utilising fire	0	0
Fighting/killing (hominins)	0	0
Fighting/killing (predators)	4	0
Grooming	0	0
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	0	0
Carrying	0	0
Total	**47**	**0**

Table 7. Activities depicted in Out of the Cradle by sex of those engaging in them.

Those depicted holding weapons were overwhelmingly male, although one *Australopithecus afarensis* female was shown holding a makeshift branch weapon though she did not use it (see table 8). All individuals visually associated with children were female.

	Male	Female
Holding weapons	23	1
Associated with children	0	3

Table 8. Visual associations between characters, weapons and children in Out of the Cradle by sex.

7.1.4.1 *Ardipithecus ramidus*

	Male	Female
Ardipithecus ramidus	1	1

Table 9. The number of Ardipithecus ramidus characters by sex in Out of the Cradle.

Ardipithecus ramidus is represented by one male (considered the 'main character' whose activities the documentary section follows), one female and a child (see table 9). The male *A. ramidus* is shown collecting fruit (see table 10)

and it is stated that traits related to bipedalism were selected for due to their role in increasing gathering efficiency. Having gathered several pieces of fruit, the male returns to a tree where a female and infant wait, and he is shown sharing his provisions with the female. The male does not interact with the child or the female beyond handing the latter a piece of fruit. The female is not engaged in any activity, including child care, though she is visually associated with a child (see table 11). She is also at significant risk of predation; the previous shot has established that *A. ramidus* on the ground in this area were threatened by large feline carnivores. As the baby is depicted as significantly ape-like with long clutching fingers consistent with grasping and the mother is depicted with significant body hair, it is unclear why she must wait for the male to return and cannot provision herself and her child independently.

The gathering of provisions by a male for a waiting female and child bears a striking resemblance to Lovejoy's Man-the-Provisioner theory (1981). Indeed, the next section of the documentary features an interview with Owen Lovejoy himself, who explains that the small canines of *A. ramidus* are evidence that the species did not fight over females, but instead purchased mating opportunities with gathered foodstuffs. The role of female choice, and the criticisms levelled against Lovejoy's Man-the-Provisioner theory, are not considered. Male parental investment and the subsequent establishment of the nuclear family and monogamy are indicated as the basis of the "demographic success" of early hominins by Lovejoy and the documentary's narrator.

Ardipithecus ramidus	Male	Female
Gathering	1	0

Table 10. Activities depicted in Out of the Cradle by sex of the Ardipithecus ramidus individuals engaging in them.

Ardipithecus ramidus	Male	Female
Associated with children	0	1

Table 11. Visual associations between Ardipithecus ramidus individuals and children in Out of the Cradle by sex.

In addition, the fossil specimen known as 'Ardi' is discussed, but is referred to entirely in gender-neutral terms despite having been sexed female (Gibbons 2009). In addition, when comparing the pelvis of *A. ramidus* to that of *H. sapiens*

and chimpanzees, the specifically male pelvis is chosen as the default for all three species.

7.1.4.2 *Australopithecus afarensis*

	Male	Female
Australopithecus afarensis	5	3

Table 12. The number of Australopithecus afarensis characters by sex in Out of the Cradle.

Australopithecus afarensis is represented by a large group of ten to fifteen males and females, led by a male 'main character' that the camera follows. However, as many of the characters are only shown briefly or are far in the background, only eight characters can be identified as male or female with any confidence (see table 12). Of those whose sex can be identified, four out of five males are armed with makeshift branch weapons, while only one female is armed (see table 14). Immediately preceding this scene, Tanzanian archaeologist Fidels Masao states that *A. afarensis* would have had difficulty defending themselves through a lack of offensive morphology and would "depend on their number in order to defend themselves against predators" – therefore it is unclear why most of the females would not be armed. The group appears to represent an entire band, moving from one area to the next in search of food, though there are no children present. Some gathering is depicted, and though a brief shot from above features the entire group on their knees digging up insects and plant roots, only two male characters are clearly shown foraging (see table 13). While there are several females in this scene, they remain in the background and are not specifically shown engaging in any activity.

Australopithecus afarensis	Male	Female
Gathering	2	0

Table 13. Activities depicted in Out of the Cradle by sex of the Australopithecus afarensis individuals engaging in them.

Australopithecus afarensis	Male	Female
Holding weapons	4	1

Table 14. Visual associations between Australopithecus afarensis individuals and weapons in Out of the Cradle by sex.

Upon introducing *Australopithecus afarensis*, the heights of *Ardipithecus ramidus* (120cm) and the male *Australopithecus afarensis* (150cm) are compared

despite theorised significant sexual dimorphism in *A. afarensis*, again presenting male physiology as the default for hominins.

7.1.4.3 *Homo habilis*

	Male	Female
Homo habilis	4	2

Table 15. The number of Homo habilis characters by sex in Out of the Cradle.

Homo habilis is represented by four males and two females (see table 15). The male *Homo habilis* are depicted as scavengers who provide for their females much as *Ardipithecus ramidus* did. Four males armed with makeshift branch weapons (see table 17) scavenge a hyena kill, fighting off three large hyenas and dragging away the rib bones of a carcass (see table 16). The two females are waiting at camp for the return of the males; no children are present and they are not engaged in any activity, nor is there any material culture for them to potentially be engaged with. They appear roughly the same height and weight as the males with no obvious sexual dimorphism outside of secondary sexual characteristics, and do not appear to be pregnant; therefore it is unclear why they did not accompany the males on the scavenging expedition. Noticing the marrow inside the scavenged bones, the females attempt to chew or suck it out while the males take direct action; one attempts to break a bone against the side of the tree while another picks up a sharp rock and smashes open the bone, accidentally inventing stone tools while the females watch.

Homo habilis	Male	Female
Scavenging	4	0
Stone tool use	1	0
Fighting/killing (predators)	4	0

Table 16. Activities depicted in Out of the Cradle by sex of the Homo habilis individuals engaging in them.

Homo habilis	Male	Female
Holding weapons	4	0

Table 17. Visual associations between Homo habilis individuals and weapons in Out of the Cradle by sex.

7.1.4.4 *Homo erectus*

	Male	Female
Homo erectus	3	0

Table 18. The number of Homo erectus characters by sex in Out of the Cradle.

Homo erectus is represented by three male characters; there are no female *H. erectus* shown (see table 18). The males are shown in a long hunting sequence (see table 19), in which they chase and kill an antelope with spears (see table 20). The males return their kill to a campsite, where one male butchers it. They then share the meat between themselves, an act which is alleged to be the basis of "compassion", and the development of "human emotion and intelligence", "personalities" and "social relationships". It is unclear why the sharing of meat would fuel this development when *Ardipithecus ramidus* and *Homo habilis* have also been depicted as sharing food within the documentary. Similarly, hunting is depicted as the driving force behind encephalization and complex cognition – that larger brains and increased intelligence may be a prerequisite rather than product of successful strategic group hunting is not considered.

Homo erectus	Male	Female
Large game hunting	3	0
Skinning/butchery	1	0

Table 19. Activities depicted in Out of the Cradle by sex of the Homo erectus individuals engaging in them.

Homo erectus	Male	Female
Holding weapons	3	0

Table 20. Visual associations between Homo erectus individuals and weapons in Out of the Cradle by sex.

7.1.4.5 *Homo neanderthalensis* and *Homo sapiens*

	Male	Female
Homo neanderthalensis	9	1
Homo sapiens	36	11

Table 21. The number of Homo neanderthalensis and Homo sapiens characters by sex in Out of the Cradle.

Several sequences in *Out of the Cradle* feature both *Homo neanderthalensis* and *Homo sapiens* individuals. As the documentary does not separate the species into two separate sections, they have been considered together in this chapter. Across all scenes, *H. neanderthalensis* is represented by nine males and one female, while *H. sapiens* is represented by thirty-six males and eleven females (see table 21).

In the first scene featuring *Homo neanderthalensis*, the species is represented by four males carrying spears (see table 23), who are engaged in large game hunting and are attempting to take down a mammoth (see table 22). *Out of the Cradle* then shows a group of *Homo sapiens* at a coastal location. One male is shown gathering shellfish (see table 24) and giving them to another female, while two unidentifiable individuals attempt to catch fish with their bare hand in the sea. Another male, armed with a spear, watches them from the beach. A group is then shown heading out of Africa, consisting of two females and two children, who are flanked by two males carrying spears (see table 25). Another shot briefly shows a male standing in the entrance to a cave, holding a spear. The documentary then returns to *H. neanderthalensis*; one male is briefly shown running and holding a spear while the narrator describes the species' physical characteristics and lifestyle. A further group of four armed male *H. neanderthalensis* are then shown large game hunting and taking down a rhinoceros. They are contrasted with a group of three male *Homo sapiens*, who are described as lacking the strength for large game hunting and instead engage in small game hunting, capturing a rabbit while armed with bows and arrows. Several thousand years later, a group of seven male *H. sapiens* are shown as being able to successfully capture large game due to the development of better hunting technology, weapons and strategies, including the atlatl. A further group of seven male *H. sapiens* are depicted as engaged in a ritual inside a cave; of these, one male is leading the ritual while the rest attend and take part in various activities including playing instruments and chanting.

In a later scene, one of the male *Homo neanderthalensis* who was shown killing the rhinoceros is briefly shown running through the forest. He is armed with a spear and wears a shell necklace, which he drops while running. It is picked up by one of three armed *Homo sapiens* male, who attempts to follow the *H. neanderthalensis* but cannot catch up to him. A subsequent section of *Out of the Cradle* deals with the hypothesised interbreeding between *H. sapiens* and *H. neanderthalensis*, including interviews with geneticist Svante Pääbo. The three *H. sapiens* males who previously encountered *H. neanderthalensis* come across a

lone, female *H. neanderthalensis* child who is implied to have been orphaned. The male *H. sapiens* approach with hostility with their spears pointed towards her, until an unarmed female *H. sapiens* intervenes, hugging and comforting the child. In another scene, a *H. neanderthalensis* female is shown holding a baby which is implied to be the hybrid child of herself and the armed male *H. sapiens* who approaches her. In both scenes, the females are the only ones to touch or interact with the children in any significant way.

Homo neanderthalensis	Male	Female
Large game hunting	8	0

Table 22. Activities depicted in Out of the Cradle by sex of the Homo neanderthalensis individuals engaging in them.

Homo neanderthalensis	Male	Female
Holding weapons	9	0
Associated with children	0	1

Table 23. Visual associations between Homo neanderthalensis individuals, weapons and children in Out of the Cradle by sex.

Later scenes feature only *Homo sapiens*. A large section of the documentary is dedicated to the settlement of the Okinawa Islands of Japan by *Homo sapiens*, who are thought to have travelled to the islands via boat from Taiwan. Here, two males are shown first noticing the islands across the sea, and deciding to travel there. The two males appear to be either spearfishing or gathering in the sea, but the exact activity they are engaging in during this brief shot is unclear and has therefore not be counted. They are also shown using stone axes to chop trees and carve dugout boats. Later, the two males look out over the sea and are flanked by two female *Homo sapiens* character. The voice-over then explains that "a single traveller couldn't reproduce" – here, the default single traveller is depicted as male. A female is added to the travelling party for what are implied to be purely reproductive reasons, as females seem to have no part in deciding to travel to Okinawa or preparing for travel. In order to successfully colonise the islands, researchers determine that five men and five women must sail to Okinawa. These ten people are included in the character count, but the large group of over twenty individuals that watches them sail away are not, for reasons outlined in chapter 6. They are seen off by an elderly man (the only elderly person in the documentary) who wears a black cloak, large

pendant and carries a staff. It is implied that he is the group's leader or chief, and he is shown bestowing leaf crowns upon the leaving party.

The final section of *Out of the Cradle* focuses on survival in Siberia. While the majority of the interviews and voice-overs revolve around the creation of needles and the sewing of warm clothing, only present-day craftspeople are shown sewing. The Palaeolithic reconstruction focuses instead on a group of three armed men, who are identified by the narrator as being engaged in large game hunting. They are briefly shown walking with another individual, whose sex cannot be clearly identified and is therefore not counted as a character.

Homo sapiens	Male	Female
Large game hunting	10	0
Small game hunting	3	0
Gathering	1	0
Stone tool use	2	0
Leading ritual	1	0
Attending ritual	6	0

Table 24. Activities depicted in Out of the Cradle by sex of the Homo sapiens individuals engaging in them.

Homo sapiens	Male	Female
Holding weapons	21	0
Associated with children	0	1

Table 25. Visual associations between Homo sapiens individuals, weapons and children in Out of the Cradle by sex.

7.1.5 Androcentric Language

The narration of the documentary describes human evolution in particularly warlike, aggressive terms, describing the different hominin species as "fierce rivals in the struggle for survival" in the opening lines, a theme which carries on throughout. There are instances of the use of 'man' to refer to humanity as a whole (e.g. "how did prehistoric man cross the oceans") but these are few. *Paranthropus boisei* is only mentioned in passing and does not have a section of the documentary devoted to it, nor are there any reconstructed scenes of *P. boisei* life. However, what little is said about *Paranthropus boisei* uses male pronouns ("he could probably chew three to six times stronger than *Homo habilis*") and it is described as the "rival" of *Homo habilis*, with whom *P. boisei* is

locked “in a battle for survival”, presenting human evolution in distinctly war-like terms centring violent narratives.

7.1.6 Additional Notes

Of the twenty-seven experts interviewed during *Out of the Cradle*, twenty-two were male while only five were female. In addition, a phylogenetic tree (see fig. 6) depicting nineteen known hominin species was shown in the opening scenes of the documentary and is repeatedly shown throughout, particularly when introducing a new section that focusses on a different species. Each species on the tree was represented by an individual, and the subsequent reconstruction scenes relating to each species follow these individuals or ‘main’ characters. There were nine species represented by whole or partial silhouettes only, while ten species were depicted as full colour figures. Of these ten figures, only one was female; *Homo floresiensis*. *Homo floresiensis* was not one of the species examined in the documentary, meaning the representative on the phylogenetic tree of every species featured was male.

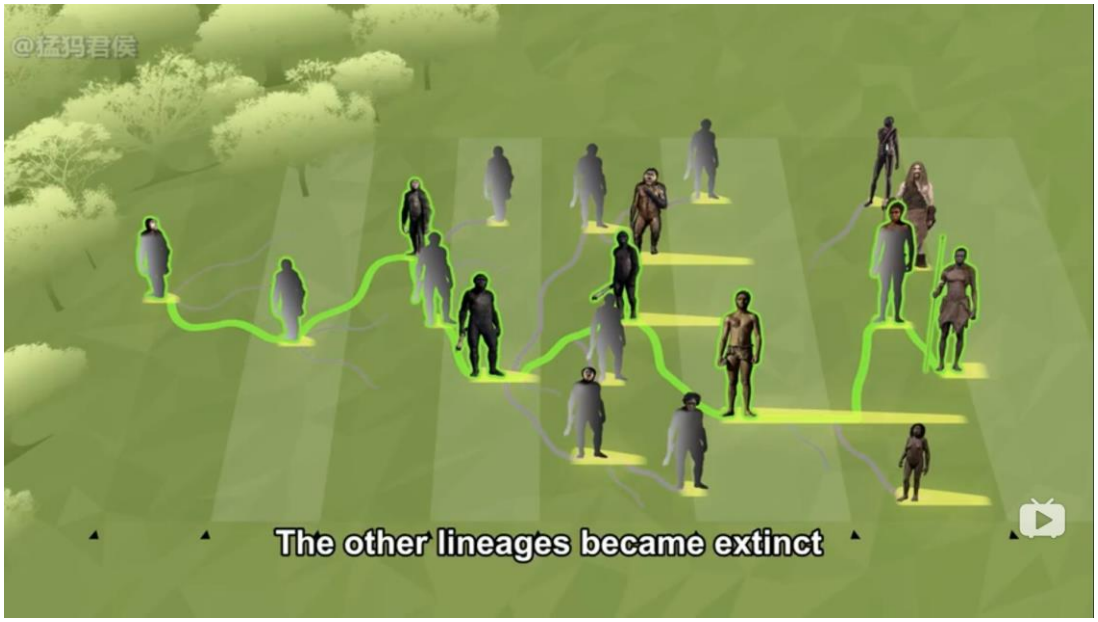

Figure 6. The phylogenetic tree featured in Out of the Cradle (NHK 2019).

7.2 *Ape to Man*

Title	*Ape to Man*
Year	2005
Production Company	Lion Television
Production Country	USA
Duration	90 min
Plot Summary	*Ape to Man* is the story of the quest to find the origins of the human race – one that has spanned more than 150 years of obsessive searching. This film examines the remarkable discoveries which led to our understanding today, as well as the theories which were dismissed at the time, and an incredible hoax which baffled scientists for years (Lion Television 2005).

Table 26. Information regarding the documentary Ape to Man.

7.2.1 Overview

Ape to Man is a 2005 documentary produced by Lion Television for the History Channel. The documentary covers the discovery of a variety of hominin species by palaeoanthropologists using live action re-enactments, alongside expert interviews, examination of fossil specimens and reconstructions of early hominin life using costumed actors. The documentary covers the discovery of the first *Homo neanderthalensis* skulls in Neander Valley, Germany, Dubois' search for *Homo erectus*, the Piltdown Man hoax, Raymond Dart's discovery of Taung Child, Louis and Mary Leakey's discovery of *Zinjanthropus* (*Paranthropus*) *boisei* and *Homo habilis*, Donald Johanson and the discovery of Lucy, and finally Matthias Krings' work on the *Homo neanderthalensis* genome.

7.2.2 Characters by Sex

The majority of characters in *Ape to Man* were male (see table 27). *Australopithecus afarensis* and *Australopithecus africanus* were both represented by a single female and no males, while *Homo neanderthalensis* was represented by two males and no females. No species had more than one female character. Overall, nearly 27% of the characters whose sex could be identified were female while 73% were male.

	Male	Female
Australopithecus afarensis	0	1
Australopithecus africanus	0	1
Homo erectus	2	1
Homo neanderthalensis	2	0
Homo sapiens	7	1
Total	**11**	**4**

Table 27. Characters per species of hominin in Ape to Man by sex.

7.2.3 Screen Time

The screen time given to male characters was over twice as long as that given to female characters in total, though females had more screen time per character than males did (see table 28).

	Male	Female
Screen time	967	460
Average per character	87.9	115.0

Table 28. Screen time given to characters in Ape to Man by sex in seconds.

7.2.4 Activities

Male characters were shown engaging in activities twenty-four times, significantly more than females who were depicted engaging in activities nine times (see table 29). Male characters were shown engaging in nine different types of activity, while females were engaged in eight different types of activity. The most commonly depicted activities were large game hunting and fighting hominins, which were entirely male activities, and skinning/butchery, which was carried out by men two-thirds of the time. Activities that only females were shown engaging in included grooming, caring for the injured, carrying, gathering and organic tool use.

	Male	Female
Large game hunting	6	0
Small game hunting	0	0
Gathering	0	1
Fishing	1	0
Scavenging	2	1
Food preparation/cooking	0	0
Skinning/butchery	3	2
Stone tool use	2	1
Organic tool use	0	1
Weapon production	1	0
Child care	0	0
Funeral participation	0	0
Art	1	0
Leading ritual	0	0
Attending ritual	0	0
Utilising fire	2	0
Fighting/killing (hominins)	6	0
Fighting/killing (predators)	0	0
Grooming	0	1
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	0	1
Carrying	0	1
Total	**24**	**9**

Table 29. Activities depicted in Ape to Man by sex of those engaging in them.

Every character visually associated with children in *Ape to Man* was female (see table 30). The vast majority of characters shown holding weapons were male, although one female *Homo erectus* was shown holding a spear. The spear she was carrying, however, had something attached to the end of it where the males' spears did not. The shot was not clear enough to identify with any confidence what was tied to the end of her spear, but it appeared to be a piece of fabric or fur, or possibly a small animal carcass, rendering the spear non-functional in comparison to the males'.

	Male	Female
Holding weapons	11	1
Associated with children	0	3

Table 30. Visual associations between characters, weapons and children in Ape to Man by sex.

7.2.4.1 *Australopithecus afarensis*

	Male	Female
Australopithecus afarensis	0	1

Table 31. The number of Australopithecus afarensis characters by sex in Ape to Man

Australopithecus afarensis is represented by a reconstruction of the female fossil specimen known as Lucy (see table 31). She is described as the first bipedal species, and it is suggested that bipedalism developed from the need to move over open land between trees in order to maximise the efficiency of gathering of plant foodstuffs. Lucy is briefly shown climbing a tree to reach for fruit, then climbing down to walk across the plain towards a different, more abundant tree. This is the only depiction or indeed mention of gathering in the entire documentary, and lasts only a few seconds. She is also briefly shown fishing for termites using a stick (see table 32). The documentary later states that *Homo habilis* was the first tool user, and therefore does not consider this use of a termite stick as true tool use, but for the purposes of this thesis it has been counted as 'Organic tool use'.

Australopithecus afarensis	Male	Female
Gathering	0	1
Organic tool use	0	1

Table 32. Activities depicted in Ape to Man by sex of the Australopithecus afarensis individuals engaging in them.

7.2.4.2 *Australopithecus africanus*

	Male	Female
Australopithecus africanus	0	1

Table 33. The number of Australopithecus africanus characters by sex in Ape to Man.

Australopithecus africanus is represented by two individuals; a reconstruction of the fossil specimen Taung Child (who, as a child, is not counted and whose activities are not considered) and the mother of Taung Child (see table 33). *A. africanus* is described as being "no hunter", but "supplemented her diet by scavenging". She is shown using a rock to bash open scavenged bones for the marrow within, "like a modern chimp". The documentary later states that *Homo habilis* was the first tool user, and therefore does not consider this use of rocks as true tool use, but for the purposes of this thesis it has been counted as 'Stone

tool use' (see table 34). The documentary depicts the mother-child unit as the only enduring social group within *A. africanus* (see table 35); there is no father or other kin in sight. The mother is depicted as being at a severe disadvantage due to this lack of support, and struggles to protect and care for the child while providing food for them both. When the mother places Taung Child down a short distance away to scavenge bones, the child begins to wander away and is promptly picked up by an eagle and carried to its death.

Australopithecus africanus	Male	Female
Scavenging	0	1
Stone tool use	0	1

Table 34. Activities depicted in Ape to Man by sex of the Australopithecus africanus individuals engaging in them.

Australopithecus africanus	Male	Female
Associated with children	0	1

Table 35. Visual associations between Australopithecus africanus individuals and children in Ape to Man by sex.

7.2.4.3 *Homo erectus*

	Male	Female
Homo erectus	2	1

Table 36. The number of Homo erectus characters by sex in Ape to Man.

Homo erectus is represented by four individuals; two males, one female, and one individual whose sex cannot be accurately identified (see table 36). The latter is significantly shorter than the others and may be a child, but this cannot be confirmed with any certainty. Therefore this individual has not been counted and their activities have not been noted. The unidentified individual has an injured leg and is cared for, groomed and helped to walk by the female *Homo erectus* (see table 37). As they move through the plains, two males walk ahead of the women and unidentified figure. She is not involved in the males' scavenging of an antelope carcass but instead retreats to a camp with the unidentified figure while the men bring the carcass back to them. She is, however, involved in the butchery of the carcass alongside the males. One male is shown using stone tools, before a storm hits the camp. Only the males are involved in 'taming' fire when a nearby bush is struck by lightning. Throughout this section of *Ape to Man,* both males are armed with spears, as is the female (see table 38);

however, as mentioned in 7.2.4 the female's spear is rendered non-functional by the fur or fabric that appears to be wrapped around it. *Ape to Man* does, however, shy away from the common trope in popular media which depicts *Homo* females as relatively hairless compared to their male counterparts. Here, the *Homo erectus* female is depicted with roughly the same body hair as the males, including a full beard.

Homo erectus	Male	Female
Scavenging	2	0
Skinning/butchery	2	1
Stone tool use	1	0
Utilising fire	2	0
Grooming	0	1
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	0	1

Table 37. Activities depicted in Ape to Man by sex of the Homo erectus individuals engaging in them.

Homo erectus	Male	Female
Holding weapons	2	1
Associated with children	0	1

Table 38. Visual associations between Homo erectus individuals, weapons and children in Ape to Man by sex.

7.2.4.4 *Homo neanderthalensis*

	Male	Female
Homo neanderthalensis	2	0

Table 39. The number of Homo neanderthalensis characters by sex in Ape to Man.

Homo neanderthalensis is represented by two adult males (see table 39) armed with spears (see table 41). They are both shown engaged in large game hunting in an extended sequence, and in later scenes one male is shown hafting a spear while the other male uses stone tools (see table 40). Later in the documentary, the two *H. neanderthalensis* are chased and killed by a group of male *Homo sapiens*.

Homo neanderthalensis	Male	Female
Large game hunting	2	0
Stone tool use	1	0
Weapon production	1	0
Fighting/killing (hominins)	2	0

Table 40. Activities depicted in Ape to Man by sex of the Homo neanderthalensis individuals engaging in them.

Homo neanderthalensis	Male	Female
Holding weapons	2	0

Table 41. Visual associations between Homo neanderthalensis individuals and weapons in Ape to Man by sex.

At the introduction of each new species featured in *Ape to Man*, a 'fact sheet' is shown, giving its height, weight, brain size and habitat. These facts supposedly refer to the entire species, however, the height given for *Homo neanderthalensis* of 5ft 5 inches (165cm) refers only to *H. neanderthalensis* males, who had an average height of between 164 and 168cm. *H. neanderthalensis* females, in contrast, had an average height of 152 to 156cm (Helmuth 1998). Here, male physiology is taken as representative of the entire species and is accepted as the default, even where it applies to only 50% of the population.

7.2.4.5 *Homo sapiens*

	Male	Female
Homo sapiens	7	1

Table 42. The number of Homo sapiens characters by sex in Ape to Man.

The *H. sapiens* section of *Ape to Man* briefly shows a small group in a coastal camp in an unspecified part of Africa, where an adult male is spearfishing in the shallows. A female appears onscreen for a few seconds, in which she receives the fish from a small child and sets about skinning it (see table 43). The female is the only character visually associated with the child in this scene (see table 44). Both female and child are later seen sitting around a campfire, eating with three adult males, one of whom is butchering a carcass. This social group (of three males, one female and a child) is referred to as a family unit (see table 42). They are later shown walking along the beach, with the males again carrying spears and the female carrying what appears to be firewood or sticks. This scene is brief, and the *H. sapiens* section moves on to focus on a group of four adult males, in pursuit of a wild pig in the forests of Eurasia and armed with spears. They are tracking the same pig as two *H. neanderthalensis* males, who the *H. sapiens* proceed to chase down and kill with no apparent provocation. The last scene of the documentary focusses on what is said to separate us from *H. neanderthalensis*: our ability to create art. One of the *H. sapiens* hunters paints

scenes from their hunt on the cave wall while the other three male hunters watch. This last section suggests that the hunting capabilities of *H. sapiens* males, particularly their "better weapons and better organisation" in comparison to *H. neanderthalensis,* were ultimately responsible for the extinction of *H. neanderthalensis*, the colonisation of the world by *H. sapiens*, and the creation of art. The documentary also suggests that the extinction of *H. neanderthalensis* was down to warfare and targeted killings of *H. neanderthalensis* by *H. sapiens*, rather than *H. sapiens* outcompeting *H. neanderthalensis* for dwindling resources.

Homo sapiens	Male	Female
Large game hunting	4	0
Fishing	1	0
Skinning/butchery	1	1
Art	1	0
Fighting/killing (hominins)	4	0
Carrying	0	1

Table 43. Activities depicted in Ape to Man by sex of the Homo sapiens individuals engaging in them.

Homo sapiens	Male	Female
Holding weapons	7	0
Associated with children	0	1

Table 44. Visual associations between Homo sapiens individuals, weapons and children in Ape to Man by sex.

7.2.5 Androcentric Language

Ape to Man, as its title implies, frequently uses 'man' as a synonym for 'human', in terms such as "ape-man", "walked on two legs like a man" and "ancestors of man".

7.2.6 Additional Notes

Of the 4 experts interviewed during *Ape to Man*, 3 were male while 1 was female. In addition, the female expert was given significantly less screen time than each of the male experts. While not directly related to the topic of this analysis, the treatment of Mary Leakey in this documentary deserves some consideration due to its androcentrism. Mary Leakey, an experienced and qualified archaeologist in her own right, is described only as "[Louis Leakey's] second wife Mary", and at no point in the documentary is the audience made

aware that she, too, was an archaeologist. Instead, she is made out to be a somewhat bumbling amateur (complete with a slapstick sequence in which she loses her hat to the wind in an open-topped car) accompanying her paleoanthropologist husband. While she is credited in the documentary with the initial discovery of the first *Zinjanthropus boisei* and *Homo habilis* skulls, she is shown as stumbling across them randomly and having little to no knowledge of what she is looking at, going as far as to drag a severely ill Louis out of bed and answering "I don't know, that's why you're going to have to come and have a look" when asked what she has found. These same skulls are then described several times in the documentary as Louis' discoveries. Raymond Dart's wife Dora is similarly represented in a poor light; while not a palaeoanthropologist herself (though she was an anatomist) her role in the documentary is confined to dressing her husband, and being an obstacle to his scientific progress – she is represented as nagging and refusing to allow him to open a box containing Taung Child's skull for fear he will get his clothes dirty before a wedding. In a documentary which features so few females in Palaeolithic and historical settings and in expert interviews, this treatment is noteworthy.

7.3 *Becoming Human*

Title	*Becoming Human*
Year	2009
Production Company	WGBH Educational Foundation
Production Country	USA
Duration	154 min
Plot Summary	Nothing is more fascinating to us than, well, us. Where did we come from? What makes us human? NOVA's groundbreaking investigation explores how new discoveries are transforming views of our earliest ancestors. Featuring interviews with world-renowned scientists, footage shot in the trenches as fossils were unearthed, and stunning computer-generated animation, *Becoming Human* brings early hominins to life, examining how they lived and how we became the creative and adaptable modern humans of today (WGBH 2009).

Table 45. Information regarding the documentary Becoming Human.

7.3.1 Overview

Becoming Human is a 2009 WGBH Educational Foundation sub-series consisting of three episodes, produced for PBS as part of the long-running American documentary television series *NOVA*. *Becoming Human* covers the evolution of hominin species from *Australopithecus afarensis* to *Homo sapiens*. The documentary utilises expert interviews and reconstructions of the lives of hominins using CGI and costumed actors, covering topics such as the invention of stone tools, hunting, funeral rites and art.

7.3.2 Characters by Sex

The majority of characters were male and no species featured in *Becoming Human* had more female than male characters. Two species were represented entirely by male characters, while three had more male than female characters and *Homo erectus* had an equal number of males and females. Overall, 26% of the characters whose sex could be identified were female while 74% were male (see table 46).

	Male	Female
Australopithecus afarensis	3	2
Homo erectus	3	3
Homo heidelbergensis	3	0
Homo neanderthalensis	6	1
Homo floresiensis	1	0
Homo sapiens	4	2
Total	**20**	**8**

Table 46. Characters per species of hominin in Becoming Human by sex.

7.3.3 Screen Time

The screen time given to male characters was over twice as long as that given to female characters, though females were given more screen time per character than males (see table 47).

	Male	Female
Screen time	344	149
Average per character	17.2	18.6

Table 47. Screen time given to characters in Becoming Human by sex in seconds.

7.3.4 Activities

Males and females were both shown engaging in activities thirteen times, and both took part in eight different types of activity (see table 48). In contrast to other documentaries examined here, women were depicted as the primary tool users rather than men, utilising stone and organic tools three times. However, other elements of culture were the exclusive domain of men, including weapon production, funeral participation and creating art.

	Male	Female
Large game hunting	3	0
Small game hunting	0	0
Gathering	1	1
Fishing	0	0
Scavenging	0	0
Food preparation/cooking	1	2
Skinning/butchery	0	0
Stone tool use	1	2
Organic tool use	0	1
Weapon production	1	0
Child care	0	1
Funeral participation	3	0
Art	2	0
Leading ritual	0	0
Attending ritual	0	0
Utilising fire	0	0
Fighting/killing (hominins)	0	0
Fighting/killing (predators)	0	0
Grooming	0	4
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	1	1
Carrying	0	1
Total	**13**	**13**

Table 48. Activities depicted in Becoming Human by sex of those engaging in them.

Every character shown holding a weapon in *Becoming Human* was male, while only one of the characters that was visually associated with children was male (see table 49).

	Male	Female
Holding weapons	13	0
Associated with children	1	4

Table 49. Visual associations between characters, weapons and children in Becoming Human by sex.

7.3.4.1 *Australopithecus afarensis*

	Male	Female
Australopithecus afarensis	3	2

Table 50. The number of Australopithecus afarensis characters by sex in Becoming Human.

Australopithecus afarensis is represented by a group comprised of two smaller females, three larger males and one child (see table 50). The first scene featuring this species shows a female embracing and grooming a child while sitting in a tree. Later, a male is shown climbing down from the tree to illustrate the species' bipedalism, and the group is shown walking through grasslands with the male leading the party and the child walking at the heels of one of the females (see table 52). One of the females is shown kneeling on the ground, using a digging stick to dig up a plant root, which she feeds to the child (see table 51). The voice-over implies that the mother is also teaching the child how to use the digging stick as part of the "survival strategies her family group needed to survive." The focus of the *A. afarensis* section of the documentary is firmly on the mother and child group, and the importance of the mother-infant bond is explicitly acknowledged. The males and additional female are not depicted as engaging in any particular activity besides walking and climbing.

Australopithecus afarensis	Male	Female
Gathering	0	1
Organic tool use	0	1
Child care	0	1
Grooming	0	1

Table 51. Activities depicted in Becoming Human by sex of the Australopithecus afarensis individuals engaging in them.

Australopithecus afarensis	Male	Female
Associated with children	0	1

Table 52. Visual associations between Australopithecus afarensis individuals and children in Becoming Human by sex.

7.3.4.2 *Homo erectus*

	Male	Female
Homo erectus	3	3

Table 53. The number of Homo erectus characters by sex in Becoming Human.

Homo erectus is represented by two groups; one is a large game hunting party consisting of three males (one of which is a reconstruction of the fossil specimen

Turkana Boy), while the other is a group of three females and three children (see table 53). The males are shown running through open grassland; one is armed with a spear (see table 55), one is unarmed, and another is holding something that cannot be identified but may be a stone tool. Two of the females are shown grooming the children and using stone tools to crack open unidentifiable objects. It is possible that these objects are nuts or other foodstuffs, but as they cannot be clearly identified this activity has been classed as 'Stone tool use' rather than 'Food preparation/cooking' (see table 54). Turkana Boy, pained by an abscess in his jaw, falls behind the hunting party and cannot continue. The documentary's narrator then tells the audience that "knowing he would be looked after, he returned to his camp to find comfort amongst the females". Turkana Boy is then shown laying his head in a female's lap while she takes care of him. The two remaining males in the hunting party bring meat back to the camp for the females, children and Turkana Boy. A male is shown using stone tools, and it is likely he is butchering a carcass, however whatever he is cutting with the stone tools is out of shot, so this has been included under 'Stone tool use' rather than 'Skinning/butchery'. Two of the females are visually associated with the children, however no males are associated with children even when they return to the camp.

Homo erectus	Male	Female
Large game hunting	3	0
Stone tool use	1	2
Grooming	0	2
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	0	1

Table 54. Activities depicted in Becoming Human by sex of the Homo erectus individuals engaging in them.

Homo erectus	Male	Female
Holding weapons	1	0
Associated with children	0	2

Table 55. Visual associations between Homo erectus individuals, weapons and children in Becoming Human by sex.

7.3.4.3 *Homo heidelbergensis*

	Male	Female
Homo heidelbergensis	3	0

Table 56. The number of Homo heidelbergensis characters by sex in Becoming Human.

Homo heidelbergensis is represented by three males (see table 56), who undertake a funeral for another male, including the ritual deposition of the body in a deep pit along with a hand axe made of non-local quartz (see table 57). The three males are armed with spears throughout the scene (see table 58).

Homo heidelbergensis	Male	Female
Funeral participation	3	0

Table 57. Activities depicted in Becoming Human by sex of the Homo heidelbergensis individuals engaging in them.

Homo heidelbergensis	Male	Female
Holding weapons	3	0

Table 58. Visual associations between Homo heidelbergensis individuals and weapons in Becoming Human by sex.

7.3.4.5 *Homo floresiensis*

	Male	Female
Homo floresiensis	1	0

Table 59. The number of Homo floresiensis characters by sex in Becoming Human.

Homo floresiensis is represented by one male character who is shown running around in a jungle setting (see table 59). The character does not engage in any kind of activity and is only onscreen briefly.

7.3.4.5 *Homo neanderthalensis*

	Male	Female
Homo neanderthalensis	6	1

Table 60. The number of Homo neanderthalensis characters by sex in Becoming Human.

Homo neanderthalensis is represented by a group living in a darkened cave. Of those whose sex can be identified, two *H. neanderthalensis* are male, one is female and another is a young boy, who as a child has not been counted as a character (see table 60). Another individual in the background of a cave scene cannot be identified as either male or female. The child is shown being groomed by the female (see table 61), and later aids one of the males in the production of a spear, marking the only interaction between a child and an adult male in the documentary (see table 62). *Homo neanderthalensis* is described by the narrator as an exclusively carnivorous species, and the female is shown cooking meat over a campfire. In another scene, a male *H. neanderthalensis* cares for another male who has been mortally wounded; both carry spears and it is implied that he was

injured during a hunt, but as the hunt is not shown, it has not been counted as an activity. Two further *H. neanderthalensis* males are shown in a later scene in the *Homo sapiens* section of the documentary. These males are armed with spears but are not shown engaged in any activity.

Homo neanderthalensis	Male	Female
Food preparation/cooking	0	1
Weapon production	1	0
Grooming	0	1
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	1	0

Table 61. Activities depicted in Becoming Human by sex of the Homo neanderthalensis individuals engaging in them.

Homo neanderthalensis	Male	Female
Holding weapons	5	0
Associated with children	1	1

Table 62. Visual associations between Homo neanderthalensis individuals, weapons and children in Becoming Human by sex.

7.3.4.6 *Homo sapiens*

	Male	Female
Homo sapiens	4	2

Table 63. The number of Homo sapiens characters by sex in Becoming Human.

Homo sapiens is represented by two different groups in two separate scenes. In the first scene, two males and a female are shown living in a coastal area in Africa (see table 63). The party are shown walking across a beach with the males, who are armed with spears (see table 65), leading the way while the female trails behind them, laden with bags. Later, one of the males is shown collecting shellfish from the sea, which has been counted under 'Gathering', while the remaining male and female bash the shellfish against rocks to open them, which has been classed as 'Food preparation/cooking' (see table 64).

A different group of *H. sapiens* are shown in Eurasia, consisting of another two males and a female. All three are shown with elaborate, heavily painted faces, though only one of the males is actually shown painting himself with red pigment, which has been counted under 'Art'. Later, another male is shown creating art by painting hand stencils against a cave wall. Towards the end of the scene, the group come into contact with two male *H. neanderthalensis*. Both the

male *H. neanderthalensis* and the male *H. sapiens* are armed with spears, while the female *H. sapiens* is unarmed.

Homo sapiens	Male	Female
Gathering	1	0
Food preparation/cooking	1	1
Art	2	0
Carrying	0	1

Table 64. Activities depicted in Becoming Human by sex of the Homo sapiens individuals engaging in them.

Homo sapiens	Male	Female
Holding weapons	4	0

Table 65. Visual associations between Homo sapiens individuals, weapons and children in Becoming Human by sex.

7.3.5 Androcentric Language

Homo erectus is referred to using male pronouns as though all members of this species were male.

7.3.6 Additional Notes

Of the 35 experts interviewed during *Becoming Human*, 29 were male while only 6 were female.

7.4 *In Search of Human Origins*

Title	*In Search of Human Origins*
Year	1994
Production Company	WGBH Educational Foundation
Production Country	USA
Duration	165 mins
Plot Summary	A tiny female collapses into an ancient lake. She emerges three million years later, and a determined anthropologist finds her fossilized bones. Could she be the missing link between ape and us? For Don Johanson, she is the starting point of a tireless quest to understand our past (WGBH 1994).

Table 66. Information regarding the documentary In Search of Human Origins.

7.4.1 Overview

In Search of Human Origins is a 1994 PBS documentary series consisting of three episodes, presented by palaeoanthropologist Donald Johanson. The documentary covers the evolution and lives of *Australopithecus afarensis* and

Homo habilis, *erectus*, *neanderthalensis* and *sapiens* through reconstructions using costumed actors, interviews with experts and examinations of fossil specimens. Topics covered include the beginnings of bipedalism and monogamy, subsistence methods and the advent of complex cognition.

7.4.2 Characters by Sex

The majority of characters were male (see table 67). Two species were represented by a lone male and no females, while *Homo erectus* featured an equal number of male and female characters. *Australopithecus afarensis* features more females than males while *Homo neanderthalensis* features more male than female characters. Overall, 40% of the characters whose sex could be identified were female while 60% were male.

	Male	Female
Australopithecus afarensis	1	2
Homo habilis	1	0
Homo erectus	3	3
Homo neanderthalensis	3	1
Homo sapiens	1	0
Total	**9**	**6**

Table 67. Characters per species of hominin in In Search of Human Origins by sex.

7.4.3 Screen Time

The screen time given to female characters was around 1.3 times as long as that given to male characters, and females were given twice as much screen time per character than males (see table 68).

	Male	Female
Screen time	382	500
Average per character	42.4	83.3

Table 68. Screen time given to characters in In Search of Human Origins by sex in seconds.

7.4.4 Activities

Males were depicted as engaging in activities fourteen times in *In Search of Human Origins*, while females were shown engaging in activities five times (see table 69). In addition, males carried out nine different types of activities while females carried out only four different types of activities. Hunting, scavenging, stone tool use and weapon production were amongst the activities that only

men took part in, while gathering, child care and organic tool use were solely in the female domain.

	Male	Female
Large game hunting	1	0
Small game hunting	0	0
Gathering	0	1
Fishing	0	0
Scavenging	2	0
Food preparation/cooking	1	0
Skinning/butchery	1	0
Stone tool use	2	0
Organic tool use	0	2
Weapon production	2	0
Child care	0	1
Funeral participation	3	1
Art	0	0
Leading ritual	0	0
Attending ritual	0	0
Utilising fire	1	0
Fighting/killing (hominins)	0	0
Fighting/killing (predators)	0	0
Grooming	0	0
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	0	0
Carrying	1	0
Total	**14**	**5**

Table 69. Activities depicted in In Search of Human Origins by sex of those engaging in them.

Only males were depicted as holding weapons while only females were visually associated with children (see table 70).

	Male	Female
Holding weapons	2	0
Associated with children	0	3

Table 70. Visual associations between characters, weapons and children in In Search of Human Origins by sex.

7.4.4.1 *Australopithecus afarensis*

	Male	Female
Australopithecus afarensis	1	2

Table 71. The number of Australopithecus afarensis characters by sex in In Search of Human Origins.

Australopithecus afarensis is represented by Lucy, the female fossil specimen discovered by the documentary's presenter Donald Johanson (Johanson and

Edey 1981) (see table 71). She is shown gathering foodstuffs in the forest with other *A. afarensis* (see table 72); however these other individuals are either too far away from the camera or are not shown from the front, so their sex cannot be identified and they have not been counted. Lucy is also shown using organic tools to aid in gathering; she uses a large stick to crack open a termite nest and a thinner stick to extract the termites to eat. The documentary touches on the idea that a lack of large canines in *A. afarensis* males indicates there was no male-male competition for females, and considers the possibility that females and males instead formed monogamous couples. To illustrate this, Lucy is seen walking with a larger male who has an arm placed around her shoulders in a distinctly modern gesture, reminiscent of common reconstructions of the creation of the Laetoli footprints (Zihlman 1997, 107). *In Search of Human Origins* also briefly reviews and debunks the Killer Ape hypothesis using the work of Bob Brain, who noted that deposits of bones and horns collected by *Australopithecus* were most likely used as digging tools rather than weapons (Brain 1981). To illustrate this point, another female *A. afarensis* is shown using an antelope horn to dig up tubers.

Australopithecus afarensis	Male	Female
Gathering	0	1
Organic tool use	0	2

Table 72. Activities depicted in In Search of Human Origins by sex of the Australopithecus afarensis individuals engaging in them.

7.4.4.2 *Homo habilis*

	Male	Female
Homo habilis	1	0

Table 73. The number of Homo habilis characters by sex in In Search of Human Origins.

This section of *In Search of Human Origins* briefly touches upon the bias towards hunting-based explanations of evolution and human intelligence in palaeoanthropology, suggesting that "anthropologists and archaeologists have seized upon every bit of evidence, no matter how slim, to justify that view". It also presents Binford's objections to the characterisation of *Homo habilis* as a hunter (Binford 1981), and instead depicts *H. habilis* as scavengers. In a brief

scene, a male *H. habilis* is shown scavenging bones then cracking them open with stone tools (see table74). No female *H. habilis* are depicted (see table 73).

Homo habilis	Male	Female
Scavenging	1	0
Stone tool use	1	0

Table 74. Activities depicted in In Search of Human Origins by sex of the Homo habilis individuals engaging in them.

7.4.4.3 *Homo erectus*

	Male	Female
Homo erectus	3	3

Table 75. The number of Homo erectus characters by sex in In Search of Human Origins.

Homo erectus is also presented as a scavenging rather than hunting species. A group of *H. erectus* are briefly shown scavenging, but the sex of all but one (a male, who is given a close-up shot) cannot be identified. In a domestic space or camp, a female *H. erectus* is shown holding and breastfeeding a baby while a male *H. erectus* cuts up meat and feeds it to the female (see table 76). In a later scene, two female *H. erectus* are shown sitting by a fire with several children and are passing a baby between them (see table 77). A male is shown carrying firewood and later lights a torch from the campfire, while another is shown skinning an antelope. In total, *Homo erectus* is represented by an even number of males and females (see table 75).

Homo erectus	Male	Female
Scavenging	1	0
Food preparation/cooking	1	0
Skinning/butchery	1	0
Child care	0	1
Utilising fire	1	0
Carrying	1	0

Table 76. Activities depicted in In Search of Human Origins by sex of the Homo erectus individuals engaging in them.

Homo erectus	Male	Female
Associated with children	0	3

Table 77. Visual associations between Homo erectus individuals and children in In Search of Human Origins by sex.

7.4.4.4 *Homo neanderthalensis*

	Male	Female
Homo neanderthalensis	3	1

Table 78. The number of Homo neanderthalensis characters by sex in In Search of Human Origins.

Homo neanderthalensis is represented by a group of three males and one female (see table 78). One male is using stone tools, while another is crafting a spear (see table 80). All members of the group take part in a funeral, placing objects such as skulls and plants around the grave, though only the males cover the body with dirt while the female merely watches (see table 79).

Homo neanderthalensis	Male	Female
Stone tool use	1	0
Weapon production	1	0
Funeral participation	3	1

Table 79. Activities depicted in In Search of Human Origins by sex of the Homo neanderthalensis individuals engaging in them.

Homo neanderthalensis	Male	Female
Holding weapons	1	0

Table 80. Visual associations between Homo neanderthalensis individuals and weapons in In Search of Human Origins by sex.

7.4.4.5 *Homo sapiens*

	Male	Female
Homo sapiens	1	0

Table 81. The number of Homo sapiens characters by sex in In Search of Human Origins.

Homo sapiens is represented by one brief shot of a male (see table 81) who crafts a spear and then throwing it towards a large animal (see tables 82 and 83). The emergence of art is briefly touched upon and is attributed to hunting magic, although no character is shown creating art on screen.

Homo sapiens	Male	Female
Large game hunting	1	0
Weapon production	1	0

Table 82. Activities depicted in In Search of Human Origins by sex of the Homo sapiens individuals engaging in them.

Homo sapiens	Male	Female
Holding weapons	1	0

Table 83. Visual associations between Homo sapiens individuals and weapons in In Search of Human Origins by sex.

7.4.5 Androcentric Language

As in other documentaries, *In Search of Human Origins* refers to "fossil hunter Louis Leakey" and "his wife Mary" without noting Mary Leakey's own credentials as a palaeoanthropologist, thus erasing her own achievements and expertise.

7.4.6 Additional Notes

All experts interviewed in *In Search of Human Origins* were male.

7.5 *Walking with Cavemen*

Title	*Walking with Caveman*
Year	2003
Production Company	British Broadcasting Corporation
Production Country	UK
Duration	170 mins
Plot Summary	Professor Robert Winston meets Lucy, the first upright ape, and follows her ancestors on the three-million-year journey to civilisation. Broadcast in 2003, *Walking with Cavemen* combined special effects with the latest scientific theories, to show us what it really means to be human (BBC 2003).

Table 84. Information regarding the documentary Walking with Cavemen.

7.5.1 Overview

Walking the Cavemen is a 2003 BBC documentary series comprised of four episodes. The documentary covers the social lives and subsistence methods of a wide variety of hominin species from *Australopithecus afarensis* to *Homo sapiens*, all of which are played by costumed actors. The presenter walks amongst the hominins and observes them from a distance, narrating their activities in the style of a wildlife documentary. While the presenter explains concepts to the audience, there are no expert interviews, unlike in the other documentaries examined.

7.5.2 Characters by Sex

Paranthropus boisei was represented by more female than male characters, while *Homo erectus* was represented exclusively by male characters (see table 85). The remaining seven species had more male than female characters. Overall,

30% of the characters whose sex could be identified were female while 70% were male.

	Male	Female
Australopithecus afarensis	5	2
Paranthropus boisei	1	2
Homo habilis	4	2
Homo rudolfensis	3	1
Homo ergaster	5	3
Homo erectus	3	0
Homo heidelbergensis	3	1
Homo neanderthalensis	3	2
Homo sapiens	5	1
Total	**32**	**14**

Table 85. Characters per species of hominin in Walking with Cavemen by sex.

7.5.3 Screen Time

The screen time given to male characters was over twice as long as that given to female characters, though females were given slightly more screen time per character than males (see table 86).

	Male	Female
Screen time	3244	1544
Average per character	101.4	110.3

Table 86. Screen time given to characters in Walking with Cavemen by sex in seconds.

7.5.4 Activities

Males were shown engaging in activities fifty-seven times, while females only engaged in activities eighteen times (see table 87). In addition, males were shown taking part in fifteen different types of activity in contrast to females who were only shown taking part in nine different types of activity. Though only males hunt in the documentary, equal numbers of males and females were shown gathering. Males were depicted primarily as tool users, butchers, fighters and hunters while females were primarily gatherers and scavengers but were also shown fighting conspecifics, amongst other activities.

	Male	Female
Large game hunting	13	0
Small game hunting	1	0
Gathering	4	4
Fishing	0	0
Scavenging	3	2
Food preparation/cooking	1	0
Skinning/butchery	4	1
Stone tool use	3	0
Organic tool use	4	1
Weapon production	1	0
Child care	0	2
Funeral participation	0	0
Art	1	0
Leading ritual	0	0
Attending ritual	0	0
Utilising fire	1	0
Fighting/killing (hominins)	14	4
Fighting/killing (predators)	3	0
Grooming	2	1
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	2	1
Carrying	0	2
Total	**57**	**18**

Table 87. Activities depicted in Walking with Cavemen by sex of those engaging in them.

Of the individuals shown holding weapons, only one was female. In addition, both individuals shown holding or interacting with children were female (see table 88).

	Male	Female
Holding weapons	16	1
Associated with children	0	3

Table 88. Visual associations between characters, weapons and children in Walking with Cavemen by sex.

7.5.4.1 *Australopithecus afarensis*

	Male	Female
Australopithecus afarensis	5	2

Table 89. The number of Australopithecus afarensis characters by sex in Walking with Cavemen.

Australopithecus afarensis is represented by a troop who are involved in a violent turf war with another troop of *A. afarensis*. Of the individuals whose sex can be accurately identified, five are male and two are female (see table 89). One

of the females within the troop is identified as the fossil specimen Lucy, who is shown carrying a newborn baby (see table 91). She is the mother of several other members of the troop, most notably a young adult female who aids in caring for Lucy's baby while Lucy is gathering fruit. The troop is led by a dominant male, who is killed by an alligator leading to a fight for leadership between two other adult males (see table 90). When the rival troop approaches, the males of the original troop must "rouse themselves into a frenzy of display" to form a patrol party, which also serves as a method of fighting for leadership and "access to the troop's females". One of the males stays behind with the females and children in order to have access to Lucy, the dominant female who has recently lost her mate. He is shown grooming Lucy before making unwanted advances on her, and a fight breaks out when the patrol party returns. The male steals Lucy's baby and runs into the scuffle, in which Lucy is accidentally killed. The baby is then taken and raised by Lucy's adult daughter.

Australopithecus afarensis	Male	Female
Gathering	0	1
Child care	0	2
Fighting/killing (hominins)	5	0
Grooming	1	0

Table 90. Activities depicted in Walking with Cavemen by sex of the Australopithecus afarensis individuals engaging in them.

Australopithecus afarensis	Male	Female
Associated with children	0	2

Table 91. Visual associations between Australopithecus afarensis individuals and children in Walking with Cavemen by sex.

7.5.4.2 *Paranthropus boisei*

	Male	Female
Paranthropus boisei	1	2

Table 92. The number of Paranthropus boisei characters by sex in Walking with Cavemen.

Paranthropus boisei is represented by a group of 10-15 individuals, though the camera only focusses on two females and one male (see table 92). The dominant male is significantly larger than the females, and is the only male in the troop allowed to mate with the females, who are described as "his harem". A new female approaches the troop, and clashes with the most senior female who is visibly jealous. The new female is then shown writhing on the ground to attract

the attention of the dominant male, who decides to groom her and add her to his harem despite the possible instability this may cause amongst the group. The male and new female are also both shown collecting termites using organic tools (see table 93).

Paranthropus boisei	Male	Female
Gathering	1	1
Organic tool use	1	1
Grooming	1	1

Table 93. Activities depicted in Walking with Cavemen by sex of the Paranthropus boisei individuals engaging in them.

7.5.4.3 *Homo habilis*

	Male	Female
Homo habilis	4	2

Table 94. The number of Homo habilis characters by sex in Walking with Cavemen.

Homo habilis is represented by a large group of around twenty individuals, though the camera initially only focusses on one male, while other members of the group cannot be accurately identified as male or female. The male, who is said to be the dominant male of the troop, is shown taking honeycomb from a bees nest to feed himself and the rest of the group (see table 95). Still hungry, the *H. habilis* follow a group of vultures to a carcass. Here, three additional males and two females are identifiable. One of the younger males is said to be wary of lingering predators, so hangs back, while the other members of the group scavenge from a carcass and fight a troop of *H. rudolfensis* who challenge them. In the scuffle, a lion appears to reclaim the carcass they are scavenging from and kills the dominant male. The troop regroup and make another attempt to take the carcass, this time armed with stone tools, which the wary young male is shown creating while an *H. habilis* female looks on in awe. The group then band together to scare the lion away from the carcass using a teamwork strategy. The narrator tells the audience that *H. habilis* have become smart enough to outmanoeuvre predators, obtain meat and use tools because of their meat-based diet. The logical fallacy of requiring meat to be able to procure meat is not addressed. Once the carcass has been secured, the young male is shown using a stone tool to break open bones, and an organic tool to scoop out the marrow. He

then becomes the dominant male of the group due to his actions in securing food for the rest of the *H. habilis*.

Homo habilis	Male	Female
Gathering	1	0
Scavenging	3	2
Stone tool use	1	0
Organic tool use	1	0
Fighting/killing (hominins)	3	2

Table 95. Activities depicted in Walking with Cavemen by sex of the Homo habilis individuals engaging in them.

7.5.4.4 *Homo rudolfensis*

	Male	Female
Homo rudolfensis	3	1

Table 96. The number of Homo rudolfensis characters by sex in Walking with Cavemen.

A large group of *Homo rudolfensis*, of which three males and one female are identifiable (see table 96), briefly appear and fight the *Homo habilis* group over a scavenged carcass (see table 97).

Homo rudolfensis	Male	Female
Fighting/killing (hominins)	3	1

Table 97. Activities depicted in Walking with Cavemen by sex of the Homo rudolfensis individuals engaging in them.

7.5.4.5 *Homo ergaster*

	Male	Female
Homo ergaster	5	3

Table 98. The number of Homo ergaster characters by sex in Walking with Cavemen.

In the first scene featuring *Homo ergaster,* the species is represented by a group of four males (one of whom is implied to be the group leader) and a female, who are tracking an antelope (see table 98). The males all carry weapons, while the female is unarmed (see table 100). The group are tracking a large game animal, which is scared away by the younger males' lack of patience while the older males and female look on. While trying to find the animal again, one *H. ergaster* male is shown inventing the hand axe and using it to carve a weapon from bone, while another is shown using a digging stick. In this scene, all males are engaged in some unidentifiable activity (possibly also using digging sticks) which the female stands near them, not engaged in any activity. The group locate the

antelope again and this time succeed in killing it. Although the female accompanies the men on the hunt and observes, as she is unarmed and not shown running after their prey or assisting in killing it, she is not counted as being engaged in large game hunting (see table 99). She does, however, assist the males in skinning and cutting up the kill.

The narrator explains that *H. ergaster* would not have had permanent home bases, but nonetheless, two females are shown waiting for the males and female to return at a base camp, where both females are engaged in gathering. One of the waiting females is pregnant and is given meat by the older female from the hunting party, who is identified as the pregnant female's mother. The other female is provided for by one of the males from the hunting party, who uses meat as a "currency" in order to "buy a mate". A solitary male from outside the group appears and makes unwanted advances towards the same female, and a fight ensues between the two males vying for her attention, the dominant male of the group, and the female from the hunting party. These latter two characters are both older, with grey hair and wrinkles, making them the only two elderly characters in the documentary and two of three elderly characters across all documentaries examined.

Homo ergaster	Male	Female
Large game hunting	4	0
Gathering	0	2
Skinning/butchery	4	1
Stone tool use	1	0
Organic tool use	1	0
Weapon production	1	0
Fighting/killing (hominins)	3	1

Table 99. Activities depicted in Walking with Cavemen by sex of the Homo ergaster individuals engaging in them.

Homo ergaster	Male	Female
Holding weapons	4	0

Table 100. Visual associations between Homo ergaster individuals and weapons in Walking with Cavemen by sex.

7.5.4.6 *Homo erectus*

	Male	Female
Homo erectus	3	0

Table 101. The number of Homo erectus characters by sex in Walking with Cavemen.

Homo erectus is represented by three males, one of whom gathers grubs using bamboo tools (see table 101). The three males are engaged in a large game hunt and are armed with spears (see table 103), but lose the trail of their prey and resort to eating a tarantula instead, which has been considered 'Gathering' for the purposes of this thesis (see table 102). The males encounter and fight a Gigantopithecus which injures one of the group. This individual is then cared for by one of the other males, while the remaining male builds and stokes a fire.

Homo erectus	Male	Female
Large game hunting	3	0
Gathering	2	0
Organic tool use	1	0
Utilising fire	1	0
Fighting/killing (predators)	3	0
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	1	0

Table 102. Activities depicted in Walking with Cavemen by sex of the Homo erectus individuals engaging in them.

Homo erectus	Male	Female
Holding weapons	3	0

Table 103. Visual associations between Homo erectus individuals and weapons in Walking with Cavemen by sex.

7.5.4.7 *Homo heidelbergensis*

	Male	Female
Homo heidelbergensis	3	1

Table 104. The number of Homo heidelbergensis characters by sex in Walking with Cavemen.

Homo heidelbergensis is represented by three males (see table 104) described as brothers, who form a hunting party and carry spears (see table 106). One of the males is mortally wounded by an elk and is bought back to a base where a female is waiting. The female, along with one of the brothers, cares for the injured male until his death (see table 105). *H. heidelbergensis* is described as lacking the complex cognition necessary for funeral rites, so the body is left in

the open and the group move on. The two remaining males hold spears while the female carries a large pack as the group walk to a new location.

Homo heidelbergensis	Male	Female
Large game hunting	3	0
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	1	1
Carrying	0	1

Table 105. Activities depicted in Walking with Cavemen by sex of the Homo heidelbergensis individuals engaging in them.

Homo heidelbergensis	Male	Female
Holding weapons	3	0

Table 106. Visual associations between Homo heidelbergensis individuals and weapons in Walking with Cavemen by sex.

7.5.4.8 *Homo neanderthalensis*

	Male	Female
Homo neanderthalensis	3	2

Table 107. The number of Homo neanderthalensis characters by sex in Walking with Cavemen.

Homo neanderthalensis is represented by three males, armed with spears, who are engaged in large game hunting. They return to a home base where two females wait (see table 107), one of whom is pregnant and is briefly shown holding a spear (see table 109). One of the males successfully hunts a rabbit and later cooks it over a fire for the group (see table 108).

Homo neanderthalensis	Male	Female
Large game hunting	3	0
Small game hunting	1	0
Food preparation/cooking	1	0

Table 108. Activities depicted in Walking with Cavemen by sex of the Homo neanderthalensis individuals engaging in them.

Homo neanderthalensis	Male	Female
Holding weapons	3	1

Table 109. Visual associations between Homo neanderthalensis individuals and weapons in Walking with Cavemen by sex.

7.5.4.9 *Homo sapiens*

	Male	Female
Homo sapiens	5	1

Table 110. The number of Homo sapiens characters by sex in Walking with Cavemen.

Homo sapiens is represented by a group of five males, one female and several children in a coastal location, gathered around a campfire (see table 110). One of the males is shown using stone tools, and another is depicted painting on the walls of a cave and creating hand stencils with pigment (see table 111). One of the females is shown carrying a large bundle of sticks, while three of the males are shown holding spears. The documentary ends with a woman picking up and carrying her baby, which none of the males interact with at any point (see table 112).

Homo Sapiens	Male	Female
Stone tool use	1	0
Art	1	0
Carrying	0	1

Table 111. Activities depicted in Walking with Cavemen by sex of the Homo sapiens individuals engaging in them.

Homo Sapiens	Male	Female
Holding weapons	3	0
Associated with children	0	1

Table 112. Visual associations between Homo sapiens individuals, weapons and children in Walking with Cavemen by sex.

7.5.5 Additional Notes

Walking with Cavemen did not feature any interviews with experts, though the presenter and narrator of the documentary (Professor Robert Winston) was male.

8. Discussion

8.1 Quantitative Representation

Male characters heavily outnumber female characters in every documentary examined. Across all documentaries, 72.2% of the characters whose sex could be identified were male, while only 27.8% were female (see table 113). This is reflective of findings outlined in chapter 4 that suggest representations of Palaeolithic life in popular media are heavily male-dominated and male characters are vastly overrepresented, and in turn meets the definition of androcentrism established in chapter 5.

	Male	Female
Out of the Cradle	58	18
Ape to Man	11	4
Becoming Human	20	8
In Search of Human Origins	9	6
Walking with Cavemen	32	14
Total	**130**	**50**

Table 113. The number of male and female characters in each documentary examined.

Of the twelve species that appeared in the documentaries examined, nine were represented by mainly male characters, with between 58-100% of the characters per species being male (see table 114). In contrast, two species were represented by more female than male characters. *Australopithecus africanus*, which was featured only in *Ape to Man*, had one female character compared to no male characters, while *Paranthropus boisei*, which appeared only in *Walking with Cavemen*, had two female characters and only one male character. Only one species, *Ardipithecus ramidus*, is represented by an equal number of male and female characters, at one each.

In *Ape to Man,* two species were represented exclusively by female characters. However, in both cases the female character was either a known fossil specimen (Lucy, representing *Australopithecus afarensis*), or was a necessary addition in order to represent a known fossil specimen that would

have been far too young to be shown unaccompanied (Taung Child's mother, representing *Australopithecus africanus*). In contrast, where species were represented solely by male characters, these were unnamed individuals not reflective of fossil specimens. This indicates that rather than wanting to focus on female characters and their stories, the documentaries aim to tell the stories of known fossil specimens, several of whom happen to be female. When fossil specimens are not used and therefore choice of character sex is not constrained, documentary producers return to the default: male characters.

In addition, representations of earlier species such as *Ardipithecus ramidus*, *Australopithecus afarensis* and *Australopithecus africanus* featured more female characters than later *Homo* species did. *Ardipithecus* and *Australopithecus* females were more often the sole or majority characters for their species, were given more screen time, and were engaged in more activities per character than *Homo* females. *Australopithecus* females were shown securing their own food and using tools more frequently than *Homo* females, and were shown away from men and domestic spaces more often. This suggests to the audience that Palaeolithic life became increasingly more male-dominated, and women's activities and movements increasingly more limited as time went on, as though gender roles were a natural consequence of evolution.

The amount of screen time given to each sex initially appears to be androcentric, as four out of five documentaries gave substantially more screen time to males. However, per character women were actually given more screen time than men in four out of five documentaries (see table 115). While men had over twice as much screen time in total as women, per character females had slightly more screen time overall (see table 116), however they were rarely on screen without men except when they were the sole representative of their species. In *Ape to Man*, *In Search of Human Origins* and *Walking with Cavemen*, extended sequences followed and discussed a reconstruction of the *Australopithecus afarensis* fossil Lucy, resulting in the disparity in screen time per character between males and females.

	Out of the Cradle		*Ape to Man*		*Becoming Human*		*In Search of Human Origins*		*Walking with Cavemen*			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total Male	Total Female
Ardipithecus ramidus	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Australopithecus afarensis	5	3	0	1	3	2	1	2	5	2	14	10
Australopithecus africanus	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Paranthropus boisei	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	2
Homo habilis	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	9	4
Homo rudolfensis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	3	1
Homo ergaster	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	5	3
Homo erectus	3	0	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	0	14	7
Homo heidelbergensis	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	1	6	1
Homo floresiensis	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Homo neanderthalensis	9	1	2	0	6	1	3	1	3	2	23	5
Homo sapiens	36	11	7	1	4	2	1	0	5	1	53	15
Total	**58**	**18**	**11**	**4**	**20**	**8**	**9**	**6**	**32**	**14**	**130**	**50**

Table 114. The number of male and female characters in each documentary, per species.

	Male	Female
Out of the Cradle	1725	331
Ape to Man	967	460
Becoming Human	344	149
In Search of Human Origins	382	500
Walking with Cavemen	3244	1544
Total	**6662**	**2984**

Table 115. The time in seconds that male and female characters appear on screen in each documentary examined.

	Male	Female
Out of the Cradle	29.7	18.4
Ape to Man	87.9	115.0
Becoming Human	17.2	18.6
In Search of Human Origins	42.4	83.3
Walking with Cavemen	101.4	110.3
Total	**53.3**	**58.5**

Table 116. The time in seconds given to males and females per character in each documentary.

8.2 Labour and Activities

Four out of five documentaries depicted men engaging in activities significantly more times than women (see table 117). Overall, 77.5% of the activities observed were carried out by men compared to only 22.5% of activities carried out by women. It is interesting to note that women carried out far fewer activities on screen despite having slightly more screen time per character than men. This suggests that women are most commonly depicted as static and not engaged in any particular activity, as noted by Gifford-Gonzalez in her analysis of dioramic representations of the Palaeolithic (1993).

The number of different types of activity men and women engaged in was also unequal. Overall, men were involved in twenty different types of activity and the only activity men did not engage in was child care. In contrast, women were only involved in twelve different types of activity. Across all documentaries, female characters are never involved in large game hunting, small game hunting, fishing, creating weapons, creating art, leading or attending rituals or fighting predators. The only activities in which women outnumber men were organic tool use, grooming, carrying, and child care, the latter of which was an exclusively female occupation. This suggests a strong limiting of women's labour, constituting a "Palaeolithic glass ceiling" (Zihlman 1997), and meeting the previously given criteria for an androcentric representation. No explanations were given in any documentary as to why women were not involved in hunting, fishing, weapon use and ritual amongst other activities. Instead, the firm sexual

division of labour and women's lack of participation in 'male' work is simply presented as a known fact of Palaeolithic life without supporting evidence.

Throughout the documentaries, there is a clear privileging of hunting, meat acquisition and violent narratives of hominin life, although *In Search of Human Origins* does offer some criticism to this approach. Hunting is depicted substantially more times, and offered significantly more screen time than gathering, and even when gathering is depicted it is most commonly carried out by males. Little consideration is given to gathering as a subsistence method, and fishing is only depicted once across all documentaries, in a brief scene in *Becoming Human*. While some attention is granted to scavenging, this is again a predominantly male activity although no explanation is given as to why.

Only *Becoming Human* showed male and female characters carrying out an equal number of activities (thirteen each), and an equal number of different types of activities (eight each). Although this would initially appear to be an egalitarian representation of men and women's work, the activities males and females are engaged in are still significantly gendered. Women in *Becoming Human* are mainly cooks and mothers, engaging in grooming and caring for others, while men are mainly hunters, artists and funeral participants. Across all documentaries, the work women are engaged in is highly reflective of modern Western concepts of women's place as primarily mothers and housewives. In addition, there is a strong association of women with nature and men with culture, evident in women's lack of involvement in creating the products of culture; art, tools and weapons as well as rituals and funerals. This nature-culture, male-female division and similar concepts have been described as "fictitious and simplistic dichotomies that arbitrarily designate men as sacred and women as profane" (Rohrlich-Leavitt, Sykes and Weatherford 1975, 113) and do not reflect the reality of women's roles and capabilities.

	Out of the Cradle		*Ape to Man*		*Becoming Human*		*In Search of Human Origins*		*Walking with Cavemen*			
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total M	Total F
Large game hunting	21	0	6	0	3	0	1	0	13	0	44	0
Small game hunting	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0
Gathering	4	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	4	4	9	7
Fishing	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Scavenging	4	0	2	1	0	0	2	0	3	2	11	3
Food preparation/cooking	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	3	2
Skinning/butchery	1	0	3	2	0	0	1	0	4	1	9	3
Stone tool use	3	0	2	1	1	2	2	0	3	0	12	3
Organic tool use	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	4	1	4	5
Weapon production	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	5	0
Child care	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	4
Funeral participation	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	1	0	0	6	1
Art	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	4	0
Leading ritual	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Attending ritual	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0
Utilising fire	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	4	0
Fighting/killing (hominins)	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	14	4	20	4
Fighting/killing (predators)	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	7	0
Grooming	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	2	1	2	6
Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	1	3	3
Carrying	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	4
Total	**47**	**0**	**24**	**9**	**13**	**13**	**14**	**5**	**57**	**18**	**155**	**45**

Table 117. The number of times males and females are recorded engaging in each activity for each documentary examined.

This nature-culture dichotomy is particularly evident in the differences in tool use between men and women across the documentaries: women were shown using organic tools slightly more than men, while men were shown using stone tools significantly more than women. In addition, even when women are shown using tools, they are never depicted creating them. Important tools such as baby slings and carrying baskets, that Richard Lee theorises would have been amongst the first tools created by hominins (Lee 1968, 40), are not represented. In fact, despite well-documented ethnographic evidence of women gathering and even hunting while carrying children (Brightman 1996, 699), no woman is shown carrying out any activity while holding or carrying a child in any documentary. This creates the impression that motherhood limits activity and movement much more than is actually the case. This once more meets the definition of androcentrism devised in chapter 5 of this thesis.

In several cases, women are shown using organic tools, but a later species represented mainly by men is referred to as the first tool-using species. For example in *Ape to Man*, where female *Australopithecus afarensis* and *africanus* are both shown utilising tools to aid in gathering, but the male *Homo habilis* are assigned the role of the first tool users by the narrator. This suggests that organic tools (and women's tools) are not 'real' tools and innovations are not 'true' innovations when carried out by females. This double standard is particularly evident in *Ape to Man,* when an *Australopithecus afarensis* female is shown using a stone to open bones and gain access to bone marrow. This is described as behaviour "like a modern chimp", whereas almost identical behaviour from a male in *Out of the Cradle* is described as the first real tool use. With this in mind, a schema as defined by Gombrich (1960) and utilised by Gifford-Gonzalez (1993) can be observed across the documentaries: Man-the-Creator. In two strikingly similar scenes from *Out of the Cradle* and *Walking with Cavemen*, males return from a scavenging trip with bones. The females fruitlessly attempt to open the bones with their teeth and bare hands, uselessly smacking them against rocks to access the marrow inside. Eventually, a male takes over, taking a sharp stone and opening the bones using it; inventing tools while the females look on in awe,

having contributed nothing to the innovation. In addition, only male characters invent weapons, art, hunting, sea travel, funerals, ritual deposition and sharing, the latter of which is said to lead to "human emotion and intelligence". There is a clear reiteration of the main theme of both the Man-the-Hunter and Man-the-Provisioner models, which also meets the previously given criteria of androcentrism; males are responsible for the survival, success and development of hominins, while females were simply bystanders. While elements of Washburn and Lancaster and Lovejoy's theories can be identified in each of the documentaries examined, there is no similar consideration or mention of Women-the-Gatherer or any alternative evolutionary models.

8.3 Visual Associations and Positioning

Of the characters shown holding a weapon, 96% were male (table 118). Of the three instances of females carrying weapons, one spear is rendered non-functional by an unidentifiable object tied to the end. Females were never depicted actually using their weapons and are not engaged in any other activities while holding weapons, in contrast to males who are often depicted fighting hominins and predators, hunting, carrying out rituals and scavenging while holding weapons. In the few instances of women fighting other hominins (three times, compared to twenty instances of men fighting hominins), they do so unarmed. While the lack of armed women reflects Brightman's observation that taboos often prevent women from owning and using weapons specifically for hunting large animals in hunter-gatherer societies (Brightman 1996, 706), it is more likely that women were not shown holding weapons because the activities they are permitted to do in the documentaries simply did not require them. In addition, in every instance in which women are attacked or at risk of predation, men are present and are able to protect the group, including the women. The implication is that women accompanied by men do not need weapons, as the men (who are frequently shown fighting other hominins and predators) will protect them. In several instances, women are shown at camp locations, waiting for the men to return to them in sequences that mimic either Washburn and Lancaster's model of males returning with meat (1968) or Lovejoy's model of

males returning with plant foods (1981). The women are conveniently not shown to be at any risk of predation in these instances, despite the males they are waiting for being depicted as in great danger, and despite being unarmed and not sheltered or defended in any way.

Of the characters visually associated with children, 94% are female. Only one male is ever associated with a child, a *Homo neanderthalensis* man in *Becoming Human*, who is crafting a weapon with the help of a young boy. Males are never shown holding or carrying babies or infants, or talking to, playing with, feeding, grooming or caring for children in any way. Several scenes of young women clutching babies while not engaged in any activity bear more of a resemblance to Gifford-Gonzalez's identification of the Madonna-with-Child schema (1993, 34) than the way in which Palaeolithic women likely would have carried children, in slings (Haraway 1989, 196). It is interesting to note, however, that there is a surprising lack of children across all documentaries and women are rarely depicted as mothers despite this being their perceived primary occupation; there are only four examples of active child care across all documentaries despite there being 16 instances of women being associated visually with children. Just as Gifford-Gonzalez noted that the association between men and stone tools is so strong that women are not shown holding them even when engaged in an activity that they are necessary for, a similar logical failure can be seen here. The association between women and the homestead, a reflection of modern Western conceptions of women's place and role as a housewife, is so pervasive that women are confined to domestic spaces in documentaries even when there are no children to keep them there.

	Holding weapons		Associated with children	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Out of the Cradle	23	1	0	3
Ape to Man	11	1	0	3
Becoming Human	13	0	1	4
In Search of Human Origins	2	0	0	3
Walking with Cavemen	16	1	0	3
Total	**65**	**3**	**1**	**16**

Table 118. The number of males and females visually associated with weapons and children in each documentary examined.

Men bringing home food to their waiting women is a common enough theme to constitute an additional schema: Man-the-Provider. Be it gathered, scavenged, fished or hunted foodstuffs, men routinely provide or even feed it to their women while women are only depicted providing food for children, and even this is shown surprisingly rarely. In the vast majority of cases of this schema, the women are not pregnant, elderly, injured, or burdened with small children or babies, leaving no reason why they would not also go out in search of food, particularly as the scarcity of food and harshness of early hominin life is stressed across all documentaries. Furthermore, there is no archaeological evidence which suggests the existence of 'campsites' at which women, children, the elderly and the injured could be left before the Middle Palaeolithic (Belfer-Cohen and Bar-Yosef 2000, 20).

8.4 Language and Additional Notes

In general, few instances of outright androcentric language were noted. The instances that were noted were primarily the use of male pronouns to refer to entire species, even when a species is represented by both male and female characters as with *Homo erectus* in *Becoming Human.* There was some use of the term 'man' to refer to all of humankind, most notably in *Ape to Man*, although not in *Walking with Cavemen* despite its title. In several of the documentaries examined, the anatomical details given for species such as *Homo neanderthalensis* and *Australopithecus afarensis* apply only to males, due to sexual dimorphism between male and female body size. This positions males and

male biology as the default, and meets the definition of androcentrism as defined in chapter 5. In addition, all documentaries examined featured interviews with significantly more male than female experts, furthering the image of prehistory (and the study of it) as a male-dominated domain.

9. Conclusion

This thesis sought to answer the question: to what extent are documentary audiences consuming an androcentric image of the Palaeolithic? When compared to the definition of androcentrism devised in chapter 5, the documentaries examined within this thesis present a clearly androcentric image of the Palaeolithic to their viewers. This image is heavily male-dominated, and reflects bias, stereotypes and tired schemata more than it reflects up to date palaeoanthropological knowledge. Female viewers in particular are presented with an image of their female ancestors as largely helpless drags on evolution, whose main function "was to suffer and die in the attempt to give birth to [men's] large-brained male infants" (Slocum 1975, 43). In this way, documentaries reproduce and therefore reinforce harmful conceptions of women's abilities that contribute not only to their oppression but to their sense of self. In addition, the findings of this thesis were remarkably similar to those of various studies on the representation of Palaeolithic women outlined in chapter 4. In particular, stereotypes and schemata that represent women as passive, unproductive and entirely dependent on men were present in both popular media from the last 50 years and the documentaries examined in this thesis, suggesting audiences are still being presented with dated conceptions of women's 'place'.

The number of male versus female characters in the documentaries examined was so heavily weighted towards males that hominins would never have survived were it reflective of actual population demographics. In order to provide a more egalitarian and realistic view of the human past, documentaries must provide substantially more female characters and aim to tell their stories and present their perspectives, alongside elderly characters and children who were also neglected. Although each of the five documentaries examined within this thesis claimed to portray a thorough and accurate image of Palaeolithic life, analysis has revealed that they most commonly depicted a thorough (but not entirely accurate) image of *male* Palaeolithic life. Though the representation of

Palaeolithic women differed in each documentary, all displayed significant androcentrism, including a substantial overrepresentation of males and a privileging of their labour. The activities and movements of females were highly limited and reflective of modern gender roles associating women with children, the home and nature. Males, in contrast, were the primary heroes and innovators of history; fighting off predators to protect their groups, providing their entirely reliant women and children with sustenance, creating fire, art, tools and culture, and singlehandedly pushing hominins into humanity while towing women along with them despite their lack of contribution.

This thesis would recommend that future documentaries give more consideration to possible Palaeolithic subsistence methods besides hunting; including fishing, scavenging and particularly gathering. Documentary creators must examine whether the privilege they grant to male-dominated activities such as hunting, killing and fighting in both screen time and narrative is justified by the evidence available to us. To accurately reflect ethnographic evidence, a documentary should show a community with a flexible sexual division of labour in which women's labour is varied, substantial and valued, and their contribution to subsistence is significant. To accurately reflect archaeological evidence and avoid an ethnocentric application of modern gender roles onto the Palaeolithic, documentaries should avoid showing women as primarily caretakers, cooks and mothers, confined to the homestead. Rather than blindly reiterating heavily criticised, decades-old models of human evolution without acknowledging the androcentrism of the context they were created in or more recent archaeological evidence that refutes them, documentary writers would do well to broaden their research scope and consider alternatives. To achieve this, documentary writers should work more closely with archaeologists and palaeoanthropologists to confirm the accuracy of their work. In addition, documentary creators may benefit from working with more female researchers, and interviewing more female experts within their documentaries, to ensure that the role of women not just in prehistory but in the study of it is acknowledged and respected. Only then will documentary audiences be presented with an image which fairly and

accurately reflects ethnographic evidence, palaeoanthropological findings and the full scope of women's history and capabilities.

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WGBH Educational Foundation, 2009. *Becoming Human*. TV sub-series, part of documentary series NOVA, 3 episodes. Season 36, episodes 13, 14 and 15. Directed by Graham Townsley. USA: Public Broadcasting Service.

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Appendix 1

A1.1 Sex, Species and Screen time Record Form

<table>
<tr><td colspan="7">Name of documentary:</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gendered language</td><td></td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="13"></td><td>Adult characters</td><td></td><td></td><td>Homo ergaster</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviewed experts</td><td></td><td></td><td>Homo erectus</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Screen time</td><td></td><td></td><td>Homo heidelbergensis</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Homo neanderthalensis</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Ardipithecus ramidus</td><td></td><td></td><td rowspan="2">Homo floresiensis</td><td rowspan="2"></td><td rowspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Australopithecus afarensis</td><td rowspan="2"></td><td rowspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo sapiens</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Australopithecus africanus</td><td rowspan="2"></td><td rowspan="2"></td><td colspan="3">Additional notes</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4"></td><td rowspan="4"></td><td rowspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Paranthropus boisei</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo habilis</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo rudolfensis</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

A1.2 Activities Recording Form

Name of documentary:						
Additional notes	Activity	Male	Female	Activity	Male	Female
	Large game hunting			Art		
	Small game hunting			Leading ritual		
	Gathering			Attending ritual		
	Fishing			Utilising fire		
	Scavenging			Fighting/killing (hominins)		
	Food preparation/cooking			Fighting/killing (predators)		
	Skinning/butchery			Grooming		
	Stone tool use			Caring for the injured/sick/elderly		
	Organic tool use			Carrying		
	Weapon production			Visual Association	Male	Female
	Child care			Holding weapons		
	Funeral participation			Associated with children		

Appendix 2

A2.1 *Out of the Cradle* Completed Recording Forms

<table>
<tr><td colspan="7">Name of documentary: Out of Cradle</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gendered language</td><td></td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="13">-Hominin species: “fierce rivals in the struggle for survival”
- “How did prehistoric man cross the oceans”
- Paranthropus boisei: “he could probably chew three to six times stronger than Homo habilis”
-H. habilis and P. boisei “rivals”, “in a battle for survival”</td><td>Adult characters</td><td>58</td><td>18</td><td>Homo ergaster</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviewed experts</td><td>22</td><td>5</td><td>Homo erectus</td><td>3</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Screen time</td><td>1725</td><td>331</td><td>Homo heidelbergensis</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Homo neanderthalensis</td><td>9</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ardipithecus ramidus</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>Homo floresiensis</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Australopithecus afarensis</td><td>5</td><td>3</td><td rowspan="2">Homo sapiens</td><td rowspan="2">36</td><td rowspan="2">11</td></tr>
<tr><td>Australopithecus africanus</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Paranthropus boisei</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td colspan="3">Additional notes</td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo habilis</td><td>4</td><td>2</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3">-9/10 species featured in the phylogenetic tree shown are male. Only Homo floresiensis is female, though this species is not featured in the documentary.
-Male average height of A. afarensis considered the default for humanity despite sexual dimorphism</td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo rudolfensis</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
</table>

Name of documentary: *Out of the Cradle*						
Additional notes	**Activity**	**Male**	**Female**	**Activity**	**Male**	**Female**
	Large game hunting	21	0	Art	0	0
	Small game hunting	3	0	Leading ritual	1	0
	Gathering	4	0	Attending ritual	6	0
	Fishing	0	0	Utilising fire	0	0
	Scavenging	4	0	Fighting/killing (hominins)	0	0
	Food preparation/cooking	0	0	Fighting/killing (predators)	4	0
	Skinning/butchery	1	0	Grooming	0	0
	Stone tool use	3	0	Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	0	0
	Organic tool use	0	0	Carrying	0	0
	Weapon production	0	0	**Visual Association**	**Male**	**Female**
	Child care	0	0	Holding weapons	23	1
	Funeral participation	0	0	Associated with children	0	3

A2.2 *Ape to Man* Completed Recording Forms

<table>
<tr><td colspan="7">Name of documentary: Ape to Man</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gendered language</td><td></td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="13">-Use of ‘man’ to mean ‘human’
-“Ape-man”
-“Walked on two legs like a man”
-“Ancestors of man”</td><td>Adult characters</td><td>11</td><td>4</td><td>Homo ergaster</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviewed experts</td><td>3</td><td>1</td><td>Homo erectus</td><td>2</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Screen time</td><td>967</td><td>460</td><td>Homo heidelbergensis</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Homo neanderthalensis</td><td>2</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ardipithecus ramidus</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td rowspan="2">Homo floresiensis</td><td rowspan="2">0</td><td rowspan="2">0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Australopithecus afarensis</td><td>0</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Australopithecus africanus</td><td>0</td><td>1</td><td>Homo sapiens</td><td>7</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Paranthropus boisei</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td colspan="3">Additional notes</td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo habilis</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3">-Mary Leakey is referred to only as Louis Leakey’s “second wife Mary” rather than as a palaeoanthropologist
-Shown as a bumbling amateur complete with slapstick sequence
-Her discoveries referred to as Louis’ instead.
-Dora Dart also represented in a similar light</td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo rudolfensis</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
</table>

Name of documentary: *Ape to Man*						
Additional notes	**Activity**	**Male**	**Female**	**Activity**	**Male**	**Female**
-Spear that a female *H. erectus* is holding has something (fur?) tied to the end rendering it non-functional	Large game hunting	6	0	Art	1	0
	Small game hunting	0	0	Leading ritual	0	0
	Gathering	0	1	Attending ritual	0	0
	Fishing	1	0	Utilising fire	2	0
	Scavenging	2	1	Fighting/killing (hominins)	6	0
	Food preparation/cooking	0	0	Fighting/killing (predators)	0	0
	Skinning/butchery	3	2	Grooming	0	1
	Stone tool use	2	1	Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	0	1
	Organic tool use	0	1	Carrying	0	1
	Weapon production	1	0	**Visual Association**	**Male**	**Female**
	Child care	0	0	Holding weapons	11	1
	Funeral participation	0	0	Associated with Children	0	3

A2.3 *Becoming Human* Completed Recording Forms

<table>
<tr><td colspan="7">Name of documentary: Becoming Human</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gendered language</td><td></td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="12">-Homo erectus referred to using male pronouns</td><td>Adult characters</td><td>20</td><td>8</td><td>Homo ergaster</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviewed experts</td><td>29</td><td>6</td><td>Homo erectus</td><td>3</td><td>3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Screen time</td><td>344</td><td>149</td><td>Homo heidelbergensis</td><td>3</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Homo neanderthalensis</td><td>6</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ardipithecus ramidus</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td rowspan="2">Homo floresiensis</td><td rowspan="2">1</td><td rowspan="2">0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Australopithecus afarensis</td><td>3</td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td>Australopithecus africanus</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>Homo sapiens</td><td>4</td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td>Paranthropus boisei</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td colspan="3">Additional notes</td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo habilis</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo rudolfensis</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
</table>

Name of documentary: *Becoming Human*						
Additional notes	**Activity**	**Male**	**Female**	**Activity**	**Male**	**Female**
-*H. erectus* female shown cracking something (possible nuts) open with stone tools but as the object they are cracking open is not shown this is counted as 'Stone tool use' not 'Food preparation' -Likewise *H. erectus* male skinning something that is off screen is counted as 'Stone tool use' not 'Skinning/butchery' -Collection of shellfish by *H. sapiens* considered 'Gathering' -Face painting considered 'Art' from *H. sapiens*	Large game hunting	3	0	Art	2	0
	Small game hunting	0	0	Leading ritual	0	0
	Gathering	1	1	Attending ritual	0	0
	Fishing	0	0	Utilising fire	0	0
	Scavenging	0	0	Fighting/killing (hominins)	0	0
	Food preparation/cooking	1	2	Fighting/killing (predators)	0	0
	Skinning/butchery	0	0	Grooming	0	4
	Stone tool use	1	2	Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	1	1
	Organic tool use	0	1	Carrying	0	1
	Weapon production	1	0	**Visual Association**	**Male**	**Female**
	Child care	0	1	Holding weapons	13	0
	Funeral participation	3	0	Associated with children	1	4

A2.4 *In Search of Human Origins* Completed Recording Forms

<table>
<tr><td colspan="7">Name of documentary: In Search of Human Origins</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gendered language</td><td></td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="12">-Mary Leakey referred to only as Louis Leakey’s wife, and not as a palaeoanthropologist in her own right</td><td>Adult characters</td><td>9</td><td>6</td><td>Homo ergaster</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviewed experts</td><td>15</td><td>0</td><td>Homo erectus</td><td>3</td><td>3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Screen time</td><td>382</td><td>500</td><td>Homo heidelbergensis</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Homo neanderthalensis</td><td>3</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ardipithecus ramidus</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td rowspan="2">Homo floresiensis</td><td rowspan="2">0</td><td rowspan="2">0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Australopithecus afarensis</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td>Australopithecus africanus</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td>Homo sapiens</td><td>1</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Paranthropus boisei</td><td>0</td><td>0</td><td colspan="3">Additional notes</td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo habilis</td><td>1</td><td>0</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo rudolfensis</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
</table>

Name of documentary: *In Search of Human Origins*						
Additional notes	**Activity**	**Male**	**Female**	**Activity**	**Male**	**Female**
	Large game hunting	1	0	Art	0	0
	Small game hunting	0	0	Leading ritual	0	0
	Gathering	0	1	Attending ritual	0	0
	Fishing	0	0	Utilising fire	1	0
	Scavenging	2	0	Fighting/killing (hominins)	0	0
	Food preparation/cooking	1	0	Fighting/killing (predators)	0	0
	Skinning/butchery	1	0	Grooming	0	0
	Stone tool use	2	0	Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	0	0
	Organic tool use	0	2	Carrying	1	0
	Weapon production	2	0	**Visual Association**	**Male**	**Female**
	Child care	0	1	Holding weapons	2	0
	Funeral participation	3	1	Associated with children	0	3

A2.5 *Walking with Cavemen* Completed Recording Forms

<table>
<tr><td colspan="7">Name of documentary: Walking with Cavemen</td></tr>
<tr><td>Gendered language</td><td></td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="13"></td><td>Adult characters</td><td>32</td><td>14</td><td>Homo ergaster</td><td>5</td><td>3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Interviewed experts</td><td>N/A</td><td>N/A</td><td>Homo erectus</td><td>3</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Screen time</td><td>3244</td><td>1544</td><td>Homo heidelbergensis</td><td>3</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Species</td><td>Male</td><td>Female</td><td rowspan="2">Homo neanderthalensis</td><td rowspan="2">3</td><td rowspan="2">2</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ardipithecus ramidus</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Australopithecus afarensis</td><td rowspan="2">5</td><td rowspan="2">2</td><td rowspan="2">Homo floresiensis</td><td rowspan="2">0</td><td rowspan="2">0</td></tr>
<tr></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Australopithecus africanus</td><td rowspan="2">0</td><td rowspan="2">0</td><td rowspan="2">Homo sapiens</td><td rowspan="2">5</td><td rowspan="2">1</td></tr>
<tr></tr>
<tr><td>Paranthropus boisei</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td colspan="3">Additional notes</td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo habilis</td><td>4</td><td>2</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="3">-No experts were interviewed in this documentary although the presenter was male</td></tr>
<tr><td>Homo rudolfensis</td><td>3</td><td>1</td></tr>
</table>

Name of documentary: *Walking with Cavemen*						
Additional notes	**Activity**	**Male**	**Female**	**Activity**	**Male**	**Female**
-Male *H. erectus* captures eats a tarantula – considered 'Gathering'.	Large game hunting	13	0	Art	1	0
	Small game hunting	1	0	Leading ritual	0	0
	Gathering	4	4	Attending ritual	0	0
	Fishing	0	0	Utilising fire	1	0
	Scavenging	3	2	Fighting/killing (hominins)	14	4
	Food preparation/cooking	1	0	Fighting/killing (predators)	3	0
	Skinning/butchery	4	1	Grooming	2	1
	Stone tool use	3	0	Caring for the injured/sick/elderly	2	1
	Organic tool use	4	1	Carrying	0	2
	Weapon production	1	0	**Visual Association**	**Male**	**Female**
	Child care	0	2	Holding weapons	16	1
	Funeral participation	0	0	Associated with children	0	3