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available for the Iberian Mesolithic, the Neolithic, and the Copper Age (8th–3rd millennia B.C.) and the analysis of this from the perspective of the “sex ratio.” This demographical indicator has allowed us to detect a higher proportion of male individuals than female ones in most of the sites analyzed. Secondly, the different causes of this systematic disproportion (cultural, methodological, and biological) are discussed, concluding that the methodological bias in favor of males presented in research over 40 years ago still exists.

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## Electronic supplementary material

**ESM 1**  
(DOCX 46 kb)

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ORIGINAL PAPER



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# Missing prehistoric women? Sex ratio as an indicator for analyzing the population of Iberia from the 8th to the 3rd millennia B.C.

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## Abstract

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In the last few decades, archaeology has undergone a profound transformation. The inclusion of techniques from a wide range of other sciences, as well as the specific contribution of physical anthropology, genetics, and paleodemography using the analyses of human remains, has enabled the reconstruction of some key aspects of past populations such as mobility, diet, physical activities, and health status. In addition, the emergence of gender archaeology has led to a great renewal in how societies in the past are conceptualized and approached. Although the gender approach completely relies on the accuracy of the method used for estimating the sex of individuals, the increasing number of publications on this issue rarely focuses on the criteria on which these results are based. The aim of this paper is, firstly, to present the anthropological data available for the Iberian Mesolithic, the Neolithic, and the Copper Age (8th–3rd millennia B.C.) and the analysis of this from the perspective of the “sex ratio.” This demographical indicator has allowed us to detect a higher proportion of male individuals than female ones in most of the sites analyzed. Secondly, the different causes of this systematic disproportion (cultural, methodological, and biological) are discussed, concluding that the methodological bias in favor of males presented in research over 40 years ago still exists.

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**Keywords** Sex ratio · Paleodemography · Iberia · Mesolithic · Late prehistory

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## Introduction

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Since the emergence of new archaeology and its commitment to a more scientific archaeology (Binford 1962, 1971; Clarke 1968; Renfrew 1973; Schiffer 1987) in the 1960s, archaeology has undergone a profound transformation. The inclusion of techniques and methodologies from other sciences such as physics, chemistry, biology, and demography has left a strong multidisciplinary mark, leading to advances in the reconstruction of past societies that were inconceivable a few decades

ago. Although it is difficult to highlight one area, the contribution of physical anthropology, genetics, and paleodemography to the advancement of our knowledge of prehistoric societies is unquestionable. The remains of human bone, previously seen as useless, are now at the center of research. With such material records, it is possible to examine key social issues such as mobility patterns, nutrition, activities, and diseases suffered by both men and women, young and old, in past societies.

In addition to this, the irruption of gender archaeology (Conkey and Spector 1984; Bertelsen et al. 1987; Arnold et al. 1988; Ehrenberg 1989; Gero and Conkey 1991; Sorensen 2000) has highlighted the relevance of incorporating gender as a basic category of social analysis, distinguishing between male and female individuals when approaching to past societies. Since gender analysis is strongly bound by the sex estimations of skeletons recovered in funerary contexts, the dependence of gender archaeology on physical anthropology is very strong. However, publications have mostly assumed sexual estimations, without considering the methodological criteria on which such estimations are based. Both the rapid shift towards a multidisciplinary approach and a

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Q2

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58 significant increase in gender archaeology publications over  
 59 recent years have, to some extent, prevented reflection and in-  
 60 depth assessment of the results obtained as well as the  
 61 methods used.

62 This paper aims to contribute to this issue. Specifically, we  
 63 present an analysis of the anthropological data available for  
 64 the study of the “sex ratio” demographical index among  
 65 Iberian Mesolithic, Neolithic, and Chalcolithic populations.  
 66 This indicator allows us to quantify the sex ratios in a given  
 67 society, offering a first insight on the demographic composi-  
 68 tion of a society, as well as on potential differences or inequal-  
 69 ities between men and women.

70 **Sex ratio as a demographic index**

71 The ratio offers us a first demographic approach to a human  
 72 contingent (Hobbs 2004: 129 et seq.). The formula used to  
 73 obtain it is  $RS = 100 * \text{men/women}$ , and it can be expressed in  
 74 hundreds (105) or units (1.05), showing the number of men  
 75 (105) per 100 women in each case.

76 Sex ratio in modern populations is usually between 95 and  
 77 102, while values exceeding the 90–105 limit are considered  
 78 extreme or unusual (Hobbs 2004: p. 130). At birth, this demo-  
 79 graphic index is higher for men, with global data between 104  
 80 and 107 (Hobbs 2004: p. 133). Later in the life cycle, the  
 81 proportion of men to women changes slightly due to a higher  
 82 male mortality rate. Additionally, the sex ratio may vary later  
 83 on in life as a consequence of different factors: greater mobil-  
 84 ity of one sex, lower female life expectancy linked to risks of  
 85 reproduction, the role of violence in the increase of male mor-  
 86 tality, or certain cultural practices aimed at regulating repro-  
 87 duction, among others.

88 The aforementioned reasons make the sex ratio depen-  
 89 dent on the stage of life being analyzed, offering fact-  
 90 based information about the cultural practices and the so-  
 91 cial organization of human groups. The most obvious cur-  
 92 rent example of which can be found in countries such as  
 93 China, Pakistan, and India, whose sex ratio at birth is  
 94 117.8, 109.9, and 110.5, respectively (Gilmoto 2012:  
 95 20). We know that these values, which imply a high num-  
 96 ber of “missing women” (Sen 1990), are related to the  
 97 practice of female selective abortion and infanticide  
 98 (Coale and Banister 1994; Klasen and Wink 2003), and  
 99 are a direct consequence of discrimination against women  
 100 and the preference for male offspring. However, high sex  
 101 ratios are not exclusive to contemporary complex societies  
 102 and they have also been documented in numerous hunter-  
 103 gatherer, agricultural-livestock and pastoralist groups,  
 104 whose subsistence levels could be considered equivalent  
 105 to those of the people that inhabited the European conti-  
 106 nent between the Upper Paleolithic and the Bronze Age.

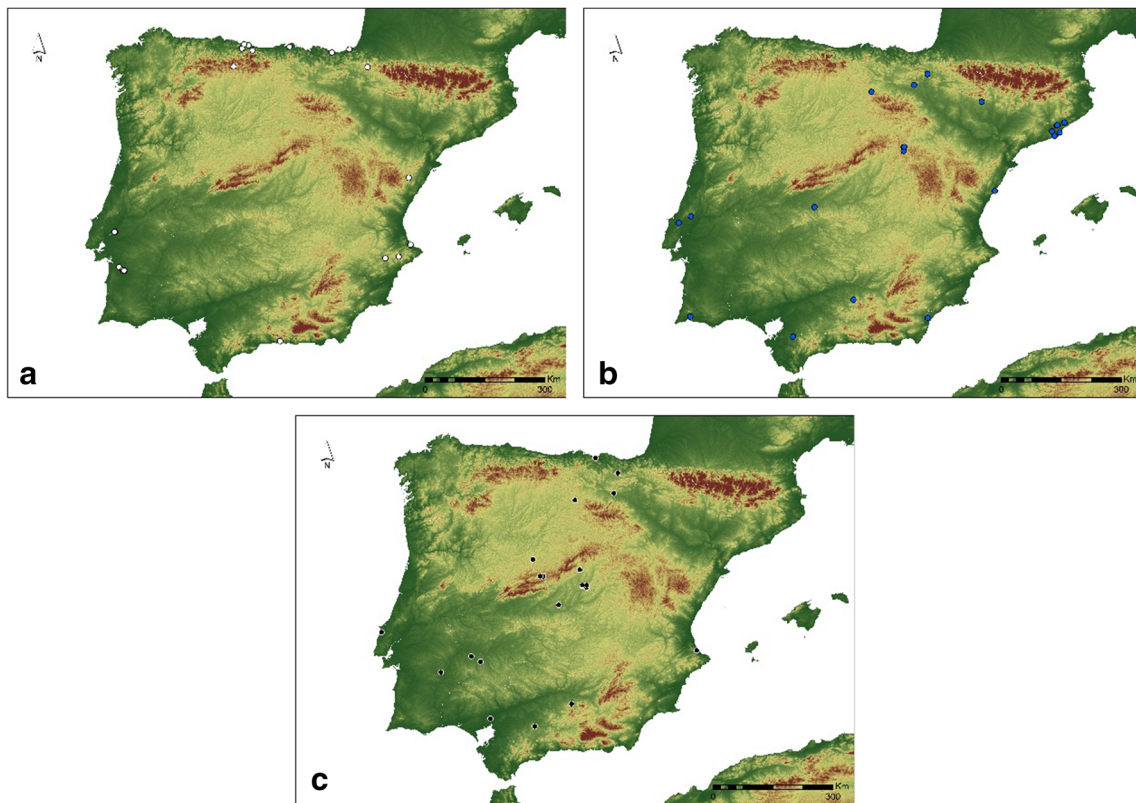
As in the case of the populations of China, Pakistan, 107  
 and India, “extreme” sex ratios at birth presented by the 108  
 Ache (Paraguay) or the Agta (Philippines) have mostly 109  
 been explained as a result of practices of female neglect 110  
 or differential investment in sons and daughters (Hewlett 111  
 1991). Other researchers suggest that high sex ratios may 112  
 be explained by adaptive reasons (Sieff et al. 1990; Page 113Q5  
 et al. 2019). Consequently, it would be a mistake to blind- 114  
 ly compare the social dynamics of these groups with those 115  
 of prehistoric communities or to assume that high sex ra- 116  
 tios are synonymous with gender inequality in all cases. 117  
 However, the data presented is useful for establishing a 118  
 frame of reference, since it shows both diachronic and 119  
 synchronic tendencies that can be useful when assessing 120  
 data from prehistoric archeological records. Therefore, 121  
 ethnography and demography are key tools for explaining 122  
 and understanding data obtained through the anthropolog- 123  
 ical study of archeological remains, which are often in- 124  
 complete (Chamberlain 2006: p. 177). 125

**Methodology and empirical records** 126

The data analyzed in this paper has been compiled during the 127  
 development of a doctoral research at the University of Seville 128  
 (Cintas-Peña 2020). The database is comprised of a total MNI 129  
 of 2410 from 62 sites in Iberia (Fig. 1), grouped chronologi- 130  
 cally into the Mesolithic, the Neolithic, and the Copper Age. 131  
 This data covers a period between the 8th and the 3rd 132  
 millennia cal B.C. 133

The data compiled has been produced and published by 134  
 other researchers (for a complete list of references, see 135  
 Supplementary Material). These works are mainly physical 136  
 anthropological studies carried out in accordance with a stan- 137  
 dardized, scientific methodology, and they have been pub- 138  
 lished and are available for consultation. After collecting the 139  
 data, information was stored in a purpose-specific database. 140  
 The selection of our sample has been made according to three 141  
 criteria: first, the clear chronological adscription of the con- 142  
 texts; second, the existence of bio-archeological data obtained 143  
 using explicitly defined criteria; third, the accessibility of data. 144  
 The resulting set comprises 62 sites, with 20 for the Mesolithic 145  
 (MNI 172), 21 for the Neolithic (MNI 515), and 21 for the 146  
 Chalcolithic (MNI 1723). 147

The analysis has been carried out on five levels: (i) general, 148  
 considering the overall values for each period; (ii) site-level, 149  
 distinguishing the highest value among the four categories: 150  
 female or likely female, male or likely male, undetermined 151  
 adult, and non-adult of unknown sex (henceforth F/F?, 152  
 M/M?, UND, and NAD); (iii) site-level, comparing the sex 153  
 ratios; (iv) site-level, selecting only the presence/absence of 154  
 men and women; (v) site-level, selecting only adult individ- 155  
 uals with estimated sex. 156



**Fig. 1** Sites included in the analysis. **a** The Mesolithic. **b** The Neolithic. **c** The Chalcolithic. Author: Rodrigo Paulos Bravo

157 The geographical and temporal scale, as well as the large  
 158 volume of individuals compiled, ensures both the representa-  
 159 tiveness of the sample and the validity of the conclusions  
 160 reached.

**Analysis**

**The Mesolithic**

163 We have compiled data from 20 Mesolithic sites, storing in-  
 164 formation of MNI 172. Regarding the first level of analysis,  
 165 this sample is comprised of 61 (35.47%) M/M?, 47 (27.33%)  
 166 F/F?, 36 (20.93%) UND, and 28 (16.28%) NAD (Table 1).  
 167 The sex ratio at the Iberian level is 129.8, which implies that if  
 168 we were looking at a living population, there would be 130  
 169 men for every 100 women.

170 Secondly, if we examine the general distribution on a site-  
 171 level, the pattern is slightly different. At ten sites, the highest  
 172 percentage (Table 1; shaded cells) corresponds to M/M? indi-  
 173 viduals, while at four sites, F/F? is dominant. At three sites,  
 174 UND is the most highly represented category, and lastly, in  
 175 two other places, NAD is dominant.

176 Thirdly, regarding the sex ratio, there is not enough data (ei-  
 177 ther because of the absence of men or the absence of women) to  
 178 obtain the value at 12 sites. In the remaining eight places, there

are four sites where the sex ratio reveals a predominance of males  
 (Arapouco, El Collado, Los Canes, and, Moita do Sebastião),  
 one in which the index indicates more women (Cabeço do  
 Pez), and three sites where the value is balanced and comparable  
 with a “natural” sex ratio. Therefore, sex ratio more frequently  
 shows a majority of men to women, although in certain cases, the  
 values are insufficient.

On the fourth level of analysis, that is, assessing only individ-  
 uals with sexual identification (Fig. 2), at ten of the 20 sites,  
 the highest value corresponds to men, compared with five sites  
 where the highest value corresponds to women. The major dif-  
 ferences are found at El Collado (4F, 9M) and Cabeço das  
 Amoreiras (0F, 5M) where, as already indicated in previous  
 works (Peyroteo Stjerna 2016: 446), men represent 83.3% of  
 the whole MNI. In the remaining five places (Cabeço da  
 Arruda, Cingle del Mas Nou, Cueva de Linatzeta, Vale de  
 Romeiras, and Várzea da Mó), there is an equal number of  
 men and women.

Finally, if we focus exclusively on adult individuals with  
 estimated sex, the results are similar, as there are only four  
 non-adult individuals with estimated sex. They correspond to  
 the sites of Cabeço da Arruda (1 M?), El Collado (1 M?), and  
 Los Canes (1 M) from El Truchiro/La Garma (1 F?). If we  
 excluded them from the general data, the sample would com-  
 prise 46 F/F? and 58 M/M?, with 126.09 as the sex ratio on the  
 Iberian level.

t1.1 **Table 1** The Mesolithic sites.  
 t1.2 *F/F?*, female or likely female;  
 t1.3 *M/M?*, male or likely male; *UND*,  
 t1.4 undetermined adult; *NAD*, non-  
 t1.5 adult of unknown sex. Italicized  
 t1.6 values show the highest  
 t1.7 percentage

Site	F/F?		M/M?		UND		NAD		Total	Sex ratio
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>		
Aizpea	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	-
Arapouco	8	36.36	10	45.45	1	4.55	3	13.64	22	125.00
Braña-Arintero	0	0.00	2	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	-
Cabeço da Arruda	6	20.00	6	20.00	13	46.67	5	16.67	30	100.00
Cabeço das Amoreiras	0	0.00	5	83.33	0	0.00	1	16.67	6	-
Cabeço do Pez	9	34.62	6	23.08	7	26.92	4	15.38	26	66.67
Casa Corona	1	50.00	0	0.00	0	0	1	50.00	2	-
Cingle del Mas Nou	1	14.29	1	14.29	0	0	5	71.43	7	100.00
Colomba	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	-
Cueva de Linatzeta	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	1	100.00	1	-
Cueva de Nerja	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	-
El Collado	4	26.67	9	60.00	1	6.67	1	6.67	15	225.00
El Truchiro/La Garma	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	-
Jaizkibel 3/J3	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	-
Los Azules	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	-
Los Canes	1	25.00	2	50.00	1	25.00	0	0.00	4	200.00
Moita do Sebastião	10	34.48	12	41.38	4	13.79	3	10.34	29	120.00
Tito Bustillo	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	-
Vale de Romeiras	4	20.00	4	20.00	8	40.00	4	20.00	20	100.00
Várzea da Mó	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	1	-
Total	47	27.33	61	35.47	36	20.93	28	16.28	172	129.79

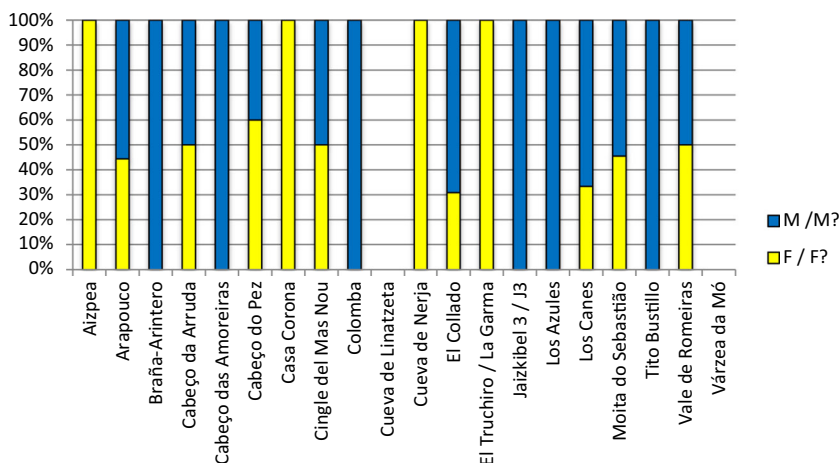
205 Therefore, male individuals form the majority on the  
 206 Iberian level as well as on the site-level. The five levels of  
 207 analysis reveal a predominance of men versus women.  
 208 Different research carried out focusing on Europe showed that  
 209 26% of the Mesolithic population buried there were men,  
 Q7 210 while 20% were women (Grünberg 2000: p. 257). However,  
 211 both in Iberia and on the continent, data shows a high number  
 212 of undetermined adults and non-adults, which demands  
 213 caution.

**The Neolithic**

214

215 Regarding the Neolithic, we have compiled the data available for  
 216 MNI of 515, distributed with great heterogeneity over 21 sites.  
 217 The set comprises 119 M/M? (23.11%), 79 F/F? (15.34%), 174  
 218 UND (33.79%), and 143 NAD (27.77%) (Table 2), with a sex  
 219 ratio of 151, incompatible with the reference values for a natural  
 220 population. The high number of undetermined cases can be partially  
 221 explained by the collective burial practices that began in the

**Fig. 2** Individuals with sex estimation for the Mesolithic sites. M/M? male or likely male. F/F? female or likely female



t2.1 **Table 2** The Neolithic sites.  
 t2.2 *F/F?*, female or likely female;  
 t2.3 *M/M?*, male or likely male; *UND*,  
 undetermined adult; *NAD*, non-  
 t2.4 adult of unknown sex. Italicized  
 values show the highest  
 t2.5 percentage

Site	F/F?		M/M?		UND		NAD		Total	Sex ratio
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%		
Alberite	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	100.0
Algar do Barrão	2	10.00	3	15.00	11	55.00	4	20.00	20	150.0
Algar do Bom Santo	3	20.00	8	53.33	3	20.00	1	6.67	15	266.7
Alto del Reinoso	6	14.29	13	30.95	8	19.05	15	35.71	42	216.7
Azután	0	0.00	1	11.11	3	33.33	5	55.56	9	-
Bòbila Madurell	13	9.29	12	8.57	61	43.57	54	38.57	140	92.3
Camí de Can Grau	11	28.95	12	31.58	5	13.16	10	26.32	38	109.1
Can Gambús	8	14.04	7	12.28	42	73.68	0	0.00	57	87.5
Castelo Belinho	0	0.00	3	18.75	10	62.50	3	18.75	16	-
Cerro Virtud	2	18.18	5	45.45	4	36.36	0	0.00	11	250.0
Costamar	0	0.00	4	57.14	0	0.00	3	42.86	7	-
Cova de les Agulles	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	40.00	6	60.00	10	-
Cueva de Chaves	0	0.00	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	-
La Caserna de Sant Pau del Camp	4	15.38	3	11.54	3	11.54	16	61.54	26	75.0
La Lámpara	1	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	-
La Sima	9	34.62	2	7.69	5	19.23	10	38.46	26	22.2
La Tarayuela	1	5.88	11	64.71	2	11.76	3	17.65	17	1100.0
Los Cascajos	4	11.11	23	63.89	6	16.67	3	8.33	36	575.0
Mínas de Gavá	7	30.43	5	21.74	6	26.09	5	21.74	23	71.4
Paternambidea	5	38.46	5	38.46	1	7.69	2	15.38	13	100.0
Polideportivo de Martos	2	40.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	60.00	5	-
Total	79	15.34	119	23.11	174	33.79	143	27.77	515	150.6

222 Neolithic period. The reuse of spaces produces commingled de-  
 223 posits, complicating the individualization and the sexual estima-  
 224 tion of the skeletons.

225 In relation to the second level of analysis, at seven of the 21  
 226 sites, the greatest amount of individuals observed (Table 2;  
 227 shaded cells) corresponds to M/M? (Algar do Bom Santo,  
 228 Camí de Can Grau, Cerro Virtud, Costamar, Cueva de  
 229 Chaves, La Tarayuela, and Los Cascajos), in six cases to  
 230 NAD (Alto del Reinoso, Azután, Cova de les Agulles, La  
 231 Caserna de Sant Pau del Camp, La Sima, and Polideportivo  
 232 Martos), at three sites to UND (Algar do Barrão, Bòbila  
 233 Madurell, Can Gambús), and in only two places to F/F? (La  
 234 Lámpara and Mínas de Gavá). The remaining two places  
 235 (Alberite and Paternambidea) have the same number of F/F  
 236 as M/M?

237 On the third level, and considering the sex ratio, at seven  
 238 sites, the data is insufficient to obtain the value. At the remain-  
 239 ing 14, we found a balanced sex ratio in two places (Alberite  
 240 and Paternambidea), an index favorable to men in seven (Algar  
 241 do Barrão, Algar do Bom Santo, Alto del Reinoso, Camí de  
 242 Can Grau, Cerro Virtud, La Tarayuela, and Los Cascajos), and  
 243 a figure which indicates more women in five contexts (Bòbila

Madurell, Can Gambús, La Caserna de Sant Pau del Camp, La  
 244 Sima, and Mínas de Gavá). Three places stand out because of  
 245 their extreme values: La Tarayuela (SR = 1100, 11 M/M? ver-  
 246 sus 1 F/F?), Los Cascajos (SR = 575, 23 M/M? versus 4 F/F?),  
 247 and La Sima (SR = 22.22, 2 M/M? versus 9 F/F?). Assigning  
 248 the number of undetermined to the minority group, whether  
 249 male or female, would not balance the sex ratio at any of these  
 250 three sites.  
 251

252 A detail worth mentioning is the data from Bòbila Madurell  
 253 and Can Gambús, where according to the publication (Allièse  
 254 2016), the anthropological collection is comprised of 61  
 255 (MNI = 140) and 42 (MNI = 57) UND individuals, respective-  
 256 ly. This data has been collected from the most recent anthro-  
 257 pological study (Allièse 2016) that covers a greater number of  
 258 subjects than the previous one (Roig Buxo et al. 2010). Allièse  
 259 considers that the poor state of skeletal preservation does not  
 260 allow a reliable sexual estimation to be carried out in most  
 261 cases, which consequently prevents the establishment of a  
 262 discussion in terms of sex ratio, which goes beyond simply  
 263 saying that men and women are present in the archeological  
 264 record (Allièse 2016: pp. 83, 154 and 227). The authors of the  
 265 reports linked to the project called “Sepulturas Neolíticas”



266 hold a different opinion; they do carry out a sexual ascription  
 267 for a higher number of individuals, and use this data as the  
 268 basis for other works (Ruiz et al. 2010; Fontanals-Coll et al.  
 269 2015). The divergence in the number of M/M? and F/F? in  
 270 each analysis is significant; we will return to this issue in the  
 271 “Discussion” section.

272 On the fourth level of analysis, if we focus only on the  
 273 individuals with sexual determination (Fig. 3), the number  
 274 of M/M? exceeds the number of F/F? at 10 sites, while in  
 275 seven places, the situation is the inverse, and in two, there is  
 276 an equilibrium. We have no data for the remaining site.

277 Finally, if we consider only adult individuals with estimat-  
 278 ed sex, we should exclude three individuals from Los  
 279 Cascajos (1 F, 1 M?, 1 M), one from Minas de Gavá (1 M),  
 280 one from Camí de Can Grau (1 F), two from Paternanbidea (1  
 281 F, 1 F?), two from Alto del Reinoso (2 M), and one from Cerro  
 282 Virtud (1 M?). Without them, the total amount of F/F? and  
 283 M/M? is of 75 and 113, respectively, which gives a sex ratio of  
 284 150.67.

285 Consequently, the results are very similar to those of the  
 286 Mesolithic. A high sex ratio indicating a greater male presence  
 287 is observed both in general and in site-level terms.

288 **The Copper Age**

289 The 21 sites selected for the analysis presented here yield a  
 290 MNI of 1723: 334 M/M? (19.38%), 287 F/F? (16.66%), 492  
 291 UND (28.55%), and 610 NAD (35.40%) (Table 3). The sex  
 292 ratio gives us a value of 116.38, showing once again the in-  
 293 compatibility between the funerary population and a natural  
 294 demographic curve. Notwithstanding, the high number of un-  
 295 determined individuals (1102 if we add UND and NAD) re-  
 296 quires prudence.

297 With respect to the category with the highest representation  
 298 at each of the sites (Table 3; shaded values), we can see that in  
 299 up to nine of the 21 places, most individuals correspond to the  
 300 NAD group. These are the sites of Pico Ramos, Huerta

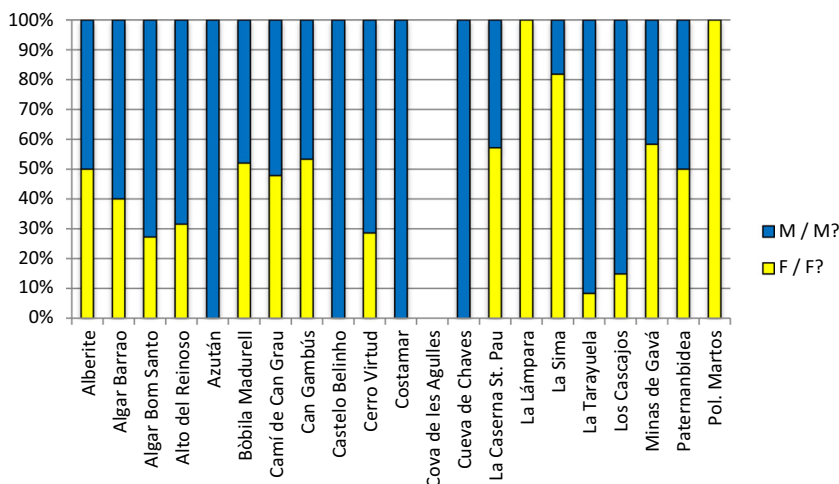
301 Montero, San Juan Ante Portam Latinam, Perdigões, Soto  
 302 de Henares, Camino de las Yeseras, El Perdido, El Tomillar,  
 303 and Aldeagordillo. The second highest category is that of  
 304 M/M?, which prevails in Fuente Celada, Cerro de la Cabeza,  
 305 La Vital, and Cueva de Nardakoste IV, followed by UND in  
 306 Paimogo I, La Pijotilla, and Valle de las Higueras. Finally,  
 307 F/F? have a high representation only in Valencina, while in  
 308 La Molina and La Magdalena, the number of men and women  
 309 is the same, and in El Rebollosillo, those of UND and NAD  
 310 have the highest representation.

311 The fact that UND and NAD are the majority at 13 of the  
 312 21 sites prevents us from seeing clear differences based on  
 313 sex. As in the Neolithic period, during the Copper Age, the  
 314 funerary practice of collective burial and re-utilization of  
 315 spaces makes it very difficult to analyze the anthropological  
 316 remains. High numbers of sexually undetermined individuals  
 317 are undoubtedly linked to the characteristics of the context, in  
 318 which it is not always possible to individualize the skeletons  
 319 to obtain a clear sexual diagnosis.

320 Thirdly, regarding the sex ratio, at two of the sites, the data  
 321 is insufficient to obtain the index; in 11 places, the number  
 322 obtained is favorable to men, in six to women, and in the  
 323 remaining two, the value is compatible with the natural sex  
 324 ratio. It is more frequent to find a high sex ratio (prevalence of  
 325 men) than a low one (prevalence of women).

326 Concerning the fourth level of analysis (Fig. 4), at 12 of the  
 327 21 sites, there are more men than women, while at seven sites,  
 328 the category of women has higher values, and finally, in two  
 329 places (Pico Ramos and La Molina), the number of males and  
 330 females is the same. It suggests that it may have been more  
 331 common for men to have access to inhumation funerary prac-  
 332 tices than women, although the high number of undetermined  
 333 people should not be forgotten. The quantitative differences  
 334 between men and women are especially marked in Huerta  
 335 Montero (15 F/F? versus 29 M/M?), Fuente Celada (1 F/F?  
 336 versus 2 M/M?), Camino de las Yeseras (16 F/F? versus 6  
 337 M/M?), Cueva de Nardakoste IV (2 F/F? versus 6 M/M?),

Fig. 3 Individuals with sex estimation for the Neolithic sites. M/M? male or likely male. F/F? female or likely female



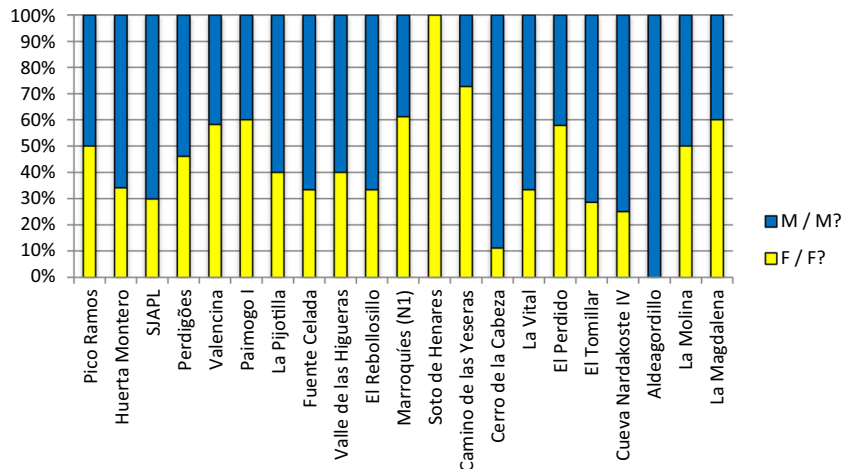
t3.1 **Table 3** The Copper Age sites.  
 t3.2 *F/F?*, female or likely female;  
 t3.3 *M/M?*, male or likely male; *UND*,  
 t3.4 undetermined adult; *NAD*, non-  
 t3.5 adult of unknown sex. Italicized  
 t3.6 values show the highest  
 t3.7 percentage

Site	F/F?		M/M?		UND		NAD		Total	Sex ratio
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%		
Pico Ramos	12	11.54	12	11.54	8	7.69	72	<i>69.23</i>	104	100.0
Huerta Montero	15	13.76	29	26.61	17	15.60	48	<i>44.04</i>	109	193.3
SJAPL	46	13.61	108	31.95	18	5.33	166	<i>49.11</i>	338	234.8
Perdigões	6	5.61	7	6.54	46	42.99	48	<i>44.86</i>	107	116.7
Valencina	60	<i>31.41</i>	43	22.51	53	27.75	35	18.32	191	71.7
Paimogo I	69	16.71	46	11.14	175	<i>42.37</i>	123	29.78	413	66.7
La Pijotilla	18	10.11	27	15.17	110	<i>61.80</i>	23	12.92	178	150.0
Fuente Celada	1	25.00	2	<i>50.00</i>	0	0.00	1	25.00	4	200.0
Valle de las Higueras	4	9.52	6	14.29	17	<i>40.48</i>	15	35.71	42	150.0
El Rebollosillo	1	4.76	2	9.52	9	<i>42.86</i>	9	<i>42.86</i>	21	200.0
Marroquies (N1)	11	25.58	7	16.28	13	<i>30.23</i>	12	27.91	43	63.6
Soto de Henares	1	10.00	0	0.00	4	40.00	5	<i>50.00</i>	10	-
Camino de las Yeseras	16	30.19	6	11.32	12	22.64	19	<i>35.85</i>	53	37.5
Cerro de la Cabeza	1	11.11	8	<i>88.89</i>	0	0.00	0	0.00	9	800.0
La Vital	1	25.00	2	<i>50.00</i>	1	25.00	0	0.00	4	200.0
El Perdido	11	32.35	8	<i>23.53</i>	2	5.88	13	<i>38.24</i>	34	72.7
El Tomillar	2	10.53	5	26.32	1	5.26	11	<i>57.89</i>	19	250.0
Cueva Nardakoste IV	2	14.29	6	<i>42.86</i>	1	7.14	5	35.71	14	300.0
Aldeagordillo	0	0.00	2	40.00	0	0.00	3	<i>60.00</i>	5	-
La Molina	4	<i>40.00</i>	4	<i>40.00</i>	1	10.00	1	10.00	10	100.0
La Magdalena	6	<i>40.00</i>	4	26.67	4	26.67	1	6.67	15	66.7
Total	287	16.66	334	19.38	492	28.55	610	<i>35.40</i>	1723	116.4

338 Aldeagordillo (0 F/F? versus 2 M/M?), San Juan Ante Portam  
 339 Latinam (46 F/F? versus 108 M/M?), Cerro de la Cabeza (1  
 340 F/F? versus 8 M/M?), and El Tomillar (2 F/F? versus 5  
 341 M/M?). At the last four sites, the predominance of males has  
 342 previously been indicated by some authors (Fabián García  
 343 2006: p. 439; Etxeberria Gabilondo and Herrasti Erlogorri  
 344 2007: p. 273). At all of the sites, there are twice as many  
 345 men as women, with the exception of Huerta Montero, which

are closed to this figure, and of Camino de las Yeseras, where  
 the number of women more than doubles that of male sub-  
 jects. In spite of the above data, at Fuente Celada, El  
 Rebollosillo, La Vital, and Aldeagordillo, the figures are too  
 low to reach a conclusion. On the contrary, at Huerta Montero,  
 San Juan Ante Portam Latinam, Camino de las Yeseras, Cerro  
 de la Cabeza, and, to a lesser extent, El Tomillar and Cueva  
 Nardakoste IV, the data indicates a clear male majority.

**Fig. 4** Individuals with sex estimation for the Copper Age sites. M/M? male or likely male. F/F? female or likely female



354 As regards the fifth and last level of analysis, there are 55  
 355 individuals with estimated sex that did not reach adult age.  
 356 Their remains come from the sites of Cerro de la Cabeza (2  
 357 M), Huerta Montero (4 F, 2 M), La Magdalena (1 F), El  
 358 Perdido (2 F, 1 M), Perdigões (2 M), San Juan Ante Portam  
 359 Latinam (12 F, 23 M), Valencina (1 F?, 3 M), and Camino de  
 360 las Yeseras (2 F). If we exclude them, the initial amount of 287  
 361 F/F? and 334 M/M? is reduced to 265 F/F? and 301 M/M?,  
 362 resulting in a sex ratio of 113.58.

## 363 Discussion

364 The data shown in this research exhibits a clear trend: there is  
 365 a majority of male individuals over female ones. Of the 2410  
 366 individuals considered in this study, 413 are F/F?, 514 M/M?,  
 367 702 UND, and 781 NAD. On the five levels of analysis and in  
 368 every period covered in this study, men outnumber women. In  
 369 every period, the sex ratio favors men: 129.8 in the Mesolithic,  
 370 150.6 in the Neolithic, and 116.4 in the Copper Age. If we  
 371 consider exclusively adult individuals with estimated sex, the  
 372 sex ratio for each period varies very slightly: 126.1 in the  
 373 Mesolithic, 150.7 in the Neolithic, and 113.6 in the  
 374 Chalcolithic. Although there are some exceptions, and despite  
 375 the high number of undetermined individuals, there is a clear  
 376 pattern, even when considering the sites separately.

377 What are the reasons for this pattern? Where are the miss-  
 378 ing prehistoric women?

379 As we previously indicated, in modern populations, the sex  
 380 ratio at birth stands typically between 104 and 107 (Hobbs  
 381 2004: p. 133; Chamberlain 2006: p. 18). Although values  
 382 may vary both within different populations and in compar-  
 383 isons between them, due to issues such as race, birth order and  
 384 socioeconomic context (Sieff et al. 1990: p. 25), sex ratios  
 385 over 90–105 are considered to be extreme (Hobbs 2004: p.  
 386 130). Moreover, according to Hobbs (2004: p. 136), “a sex  
 387 ratio deviating even further [...], above 110 or below 85 must  
 388 be accounted for in terms of some unusual feature of the area  
 389 [...]” This statement is equally valid for data from ethnogra-  
 390 phy. Although there are remarkable differences between pop-  
 391 ulations such as the Chinese and Yanomami, to give two ex-  
 392 amples, some demographic parameters are constant  
 393 (Chamberlain 2006: p. 180); sex ratio, supported by an exten-  
 394 sive body of literature, is one of them.

395 Ethnographic documentation indicates great sex ratio vari-  
 396 ability in societies with economies and ways of life similar to  
 397 those in prehistory. Hewlett, in a publication from 1991, pro-  
 398 vides data from 15 different groups of hunter-gatherers, horti-  
 399 culturists, and shepherds with a preindustrial demography  
 400 model (Table 4). For the first group, the sex ratio at birth  
 401 ranges from 109 (Aka y Efe) to 122 (Agta), from 81  
 402 (Dusun) to 111 (Nvimba) for horticulturists, and between  
 403 110 (Datoga and Kipsigis), and 126 (Sebei) for shepherds.

At 15 years old and during adulthood (> 15 years), the situa-  
 tion changes drastically in most populations with an average  
 ranging between 86 (Dusun) and 141 (Cuiva), although most  
 of the groups (ten out of 15) do not exceed 85–110, the limits  
 proposed by Hobbs. In our study, the results obtained for the  
 Mesolithic, the Neolithic, and the Copper Age do exceed  
 those figures of 85 and 110. Additionally, at every site, the  
 sex ratio is closer to the upper limit (110) than the lower one  
 (85), indicating a vast majority of men versus women, which  
 is not compatible with an adaptive explanation.

The discrepancy between the number of men and women  
 found in the prehistoric osteological assemblages in Iberia,  
 with a natural demographic structure, was already considered  
 in other contexts (Fernández-Crespo and de-la-Rúa-Vaca  
 2015: p. 610). In addition, a recent regional research published  
 by one of the authors of this study confirms this trend (Herrero  
 -Corral 2019). In this case, human remains were recovered  
 from the Copper Age sites of Humanejos, El Rebollosillo,  
 La Salmedina, Juan Barbero, and El Juncal, located in the  
 upper and middle Tagus basin. In total, 172 individuals were  
 analyzed, providing data of 41 M/M? (18.50%), 28 F/F?  
 (16.47%), 36 UND (26.69%), and 67 NAD (38.33%). The  
 general sex ratio of this sample is 127.46, which indicates a  
 substantial majority of men. At three sites, the value obtained  
 was greater than 100, at one site, equal to 100, and it was  
 lower than 100 only at one site.

From our point of view, there are three possible explana-  
 tions for this fact: (i) a natural selection scenario in which one  
 sex has more access to the inhumation ritual than the other, (ii)  
 a methodological bias that causes a higher identification of  
 masculine individuals, and (iii) men and women may have  
 had differential preservation due to biological factors.

## Cultural selection

The cultural hypothesis is not new. Several researchers have  
 indicated the possibility of intentional selection of those indi-  
 viduals who had access to certain funerary contexts, for mega-  
 lithic monuments during the Neolithic and Copper Age. Fernán-  
 dez-Crespo and de-la-Rúa (2016: p. 290) noted the predomi-  
 nance of male individuals in megalithic tombs (with  
 sex ratios between 110 and 200), while there is a majority of  
 women in caves and rock shelters (sex ratios between eight  
 and 57) at six sites on the Cantabrian coast. Other megalithic  
 sites in the interior of the Peninsula, such as La Peña de la  
 Abuela, La Tarayuela, or the dolmen of Las Armillas (Delibes  
 de Castro 1995: p. 77; Rojo Guerra et al. 2005: pp. 61 y 62),  
 would have been preferentially reserved for men at the ex-  
 pense of women and children. Regarding La Tarayuela, it is  
 noted that “there is a predominance of men as a direct conse-  
 quence of an intentional act from which most of the women of  
 the group were excluded” (Velasco Vázquez 2005: p. 349).

t4.1 **Table 4** Sex ratio data of hunter-  
t4.2 gatherers, horticulturalists, and  
t4.3 pastoralists groups. Source:  
t4.4 Hewlett 1991: pp. 10–12

		Population	Birth	Juvenile (= 15)	Adult (> 15)	Mean
t4.5	Hunter-Gatherers	Ache	116	154	133	134
t4.6		Agta	122	145	83	117
t4.7		Aka	109	115	75	100
t4.8		Cuiva	118	163	ND	141
t4.9		Efe	109	106	97	104
t4.10	Horticulturalists	Northern!Kung	120	81	85	95
t4.11		Bari	96	94	ND	95
t4.12		Dusun	81	103	75	86
t4.13		Nyimba	111	113	118	114
t4.14		Semai	107	103	112	107
t4.15	Pastoralists	Tikopia	82	136	104	107
t4.16		Yanomamo	107	134	109	117
t4.17		Datoga	110	116	71	99
		Kipsigis	110	103	75	96
		Sebei	126	101	102	110

454 La Tarayuela is one of the places where our analysis found  
455 the greatest differences between men and women and also at  
456 other Neolithic sites such as Costamar, Los Cascajos, and  
457 Algar do Bom Santo, and San Juan Ante Portam Latinam,  
458 Huerta Montero, and Cerro de las Cabezas for the Copper  
459 Age. Most of them are non-megalithic graves; they are caves,  
460 rock shelters, or simple pits, which indicates that sexual selection  
461 would not have a direct relation with megalithism.

462 An alternative explanation could be that sexual selection  
463 could have been related to specific geographic areas, such as  
464 the Cantabrian coast or the interior of Iberia, where there was  
465 predominantly male access to graves. The idea of a regional  
466 pattern is supported by the results obtained by Silva (2002: pp.  
467 166–167) for a Neolithic and early Copper Age sample in  
468 Portugal, which shows a slight but systematic majority of  
469 women. This feminine predominance is also comparable with  
470 the results obtained from the “Chasséen” culture sample in  
471 France (Silva 2002: p. 171). Considering possible regional  
472 cultural practices, Silva suggests that the results could show  
473 that men were inhumed somewhere else, but at the same time,  
474 the author does not exclude a methodological problem (Silva  
475 2003: pp. 58–59). A recent study carried out by Díaz-Zorita  
476 Bonilla (2017) at 15 Copper Age sites in Southwest Iberia (La  
477 Pijotilla and Valencina among them) shows similar rates for  
478 men and women. Specifically, in a sample of 225 sexed individuals,  
479 114 were identified as women (49%) and 111 as men  
480 (51%), perfectly consistent with a natural demographic curve.

481 However, in this same area, other sites with sex ratios  
482 which are markedly favorable to men, such as Huerta  
483 Montero, have been detected, therefore rejecting the hypothetical  
484 sexual selection linked to a regional pattern. Moreover,  
485 the great geographical dispersion of the sites with high masculine  
486 indexes, such as El Collado (Valencia) and Arapouco

(Alentejo) for the Mesolithic period, Algar do Bom Santo 487  
(Lisbon), and Los Cascajos (Navarra) for the Neolithic, and 488  
San Juan Ante Portam Latinam (Álava), Cerro de la Cabeza 489  
(Ávila), and Cueva de Nardakoste IV (Guipúzcoa), for the 490  
Copper Age, does not suggest a relation between an elevated 491  
frequency of men and a specific geographical area. 492

493 Finally, Bishop and Knüsel (2005: pp. 205–206) suggested  
494 that an elevated number of men versus women in graves are an  
495 indicator of a conflict or confrontation. This hypothesis would  
496 be valid for some sites such as San Juan Ante Portam Latinam,  
497 where several signs of violence were documented (Vegas  
498 Aramburu 2014) but would not explain other contexts. 499

**Methodological bias** 499

500 Although there are countless methods for sex assignation in  
501 archeological collections (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994;  
502 Ferembach et al. 1980), most experts coincide in using the  
503 morphological traits of the skull and the pelvis (Mays and  
504 Cox 2000: p. 217). The characteristics of these bones can be  
505 qualitatively or quantitatively analyzed, but the efficiency of  
506 both methods depends directly on the number of observable  
507 traits, the observer, and the type of traits (cf. Krogman 1962: 507Q11  
pp. 112–152; see Harrison 2019 for a detailed account). The  
508 greater the number of traits, the greater the precision. At the  
509 same time, the results are more accurate when using both of  
510 these bones, the skull and the coxal, than when using just one  
511 of these. If it is possible to use both bones, the coxal is the  
512 most reliable bone (≈96% accuracy) (White and Folkens  
513 2005: p. 398) with the highest sexual dimorphism in adults  
514 and those pre-adults in whose skeletons the three elements of  
515 the hip bone had already fused (ilium, ischium, and pubis).  
516 Unlike the pelvis, the skull alone is not very reliable, between 517

518 62 and 92% (White and Folkens 2005: p. 387), which leads to  
 519 a higher probability of wrongly sexing an individual. Beyond  
 520 morphological methods, the molecular analysis of the X and Y  
 521 chromosomes is, to date, the most accurate technique for  
 522 sexing individuals, at over 99%, when the sample is well  
 523 preserved (Stone et al. 1996).

524 Regarding the morphological methods, which are by far the  
 525 most common, there are several problems when trying to as-  
 526 sign the male or female sex. Firstly, there are inherent diffi-  
 527 culties when sexing adolescents or those individuals who were  
 528 about to enter adulthood. During this stage, the three elements  
 529 of the hip bone may be fused; therefore, the same method  
 530 based on the morphology of the pelvis used for adults can be  
 531 applied. However, young growing bones can be wrongly  
 532 identified as feminine. Something similar happens with the  
 533 morphology of a young skull, which is easily mistaken for a  
 534 feminine one (González Martín 2008: p. 63). This fact is taken  
 535 into account by physical anthropologists, and as a common  
 536 precaution, they tend to classify those individuals within the  
 537 undetermined group, and only when the traits are clearly mas-  
 538 culine are they classified as men. In our sample, sex ratio favor  
 539 males whether we consider all individuals or exclusively adult  
 540 individuals. On the other hand, the opposite situation should  
 541 be taken into account, when young masculine individuals are  
 542 wrongly sexed as women. A clear example was detected at the  
 543 Copper Age site of Camino de las Yeseras (Madrid), one of  
 544 the few places with a higher frequency of women than men.  
 545 The molecular analysis of X and Y chromosomes (Olalde  
 546 et al. 2019: supplementary data, table S1) has enabled re-  
 547 searchers to sex a 12-year-old individual as masculine who  
 548 was previously osteologically identified as a woman (Gómez  
 549 Pérez et al. 2011: p. 104).

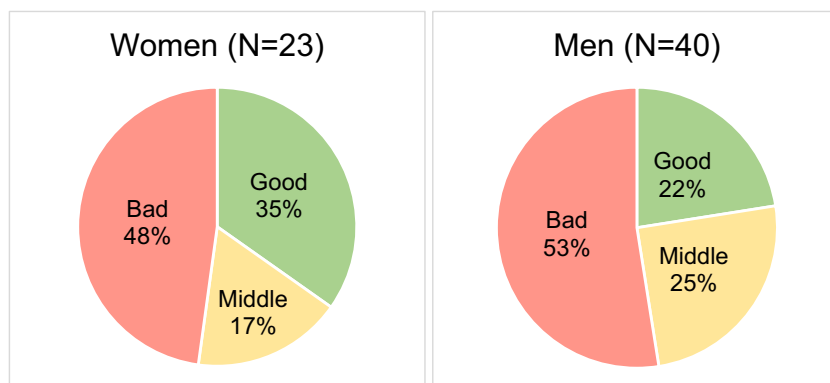
550 Methodological problems are also found in other stages of  
 551 life besides the young individuals. A systematic, regular bias  
 552 of 12% benefiting men was already demonstrated in a classic  
 553 work (Weiss 1972) when assigning sex in adult skeletons.  
 554 This bias was caused by the application of methods based  
 555 on secondary sex characteristics in prehistoric populations in  
 556 which the preservation of the pelvis is usually worse than the  
 557 skull. Meindl et al. (1985) reached a similar conclusion with a

558 blind test that demonstrated a tendency to wrongly classified  
 559 masculine individuals (1985: p. 81). Consequently, the au-  
 560 thors suggested that only adult individuals with well-  
 561 preserved pelvises should be sexed (Meindl et al. 1985: p.  
 562 84). More than a decade later, Konigsberg and Hens (1998)  
 563 also indicated the presence of a more frequent misclassifica-  
 564 tion of males than females. In the publication of Alto del  
 565 Reinoso, a Neolithic round barrow included in this study,  
 566 the researchers mentioned explicitly that “it is worth noting  
 567 that sex determination based solely on crania, without taking  
 568 into account the pelvis results in an imbalance in the sexes”  
 569 (Alt et al. 2016: p. 9). Additionally, the osteological methods  
 570 applied for the pelvis are mostly based on the presence/  
 571 absence (masculine/feminine) of certain traits, and it has been  
 572 demonstrated that it is easier to detect a clear absence than an  
 573 ambiguous or poorly defined presence (Rascón 2017: p. 181).

574 The Neolithic sites of Bòbila Madurell and Can Gambús  
 575 can give a clear example. As previously mentioned, two an-  
 576 thropological analyses were made by two different researchers  
 577 (the results of both works can be found in Alliése 2016: Anexo  
 578 34–37). According to Alliése (2016), as shown in Table 2,  
 579 the osteological collection of Bòbila Madurell was composed of  
 580 140 individuals, of which 61 adults were of undetermined sex  
 581 and in Can Gambús 42 out of 57 were assigned to that group.  
 582 However, in another study, previously carried out (Roig Buxo  
 583 et al. 2010; Ruiz et al. 2010) and used by other researchers  
 584 (Fontanals-Coll et al. 2015), a greater number of individuals  
 585 were sexed. In particular, within the group of individuals clas-  
 586 sified by Alliése as undetermined (2016: p. 228), 12 women  
 587 and 39 men were identified, which means twice as many men  
 588 as women.

589 Something similar happened with the “reassessment of de-  
 590 mographic estimates for Pecos Pueblo” (Ruff 1981), which  
 591 examined a new study of the osteological collection of 101  
 592 individuals from Pecos Pueblo (México) 50 years after the  
 593 first anthropological report (Hooton 1930). As a result, 38 of  
 594 the 40 individuals classified by Hooton as feminine were con-  
 595 firmed by Ruff and the other two were identified as men,  
 596 which is not a substantial difference. However, only 49 of  
 597 the 61 individuals classified as men by Hooton were

Fig. 5 Preservation of female (left) or male (right) remains



598 confirmed by Ruff, who identified the remaining 12 as women. In this sense, we went from 61 men and 40 women in the first approach (Hooton) to 51 men and 50 women (Ruff) showing a clear tendency to overestimate male individuals. As the methods used by both researchers were similar, Ruff suggests that the differences lie “in subjective judgment rather than in specific forensic techniques” (Ruff 1981: p. 150).

605 Considering that there is a period of 50 years between the two studies, it can be argued that those methodological biases have been corrected. However, the examples of Bòbila Madurell and Can Gambús and the data presented in this study suggest that this problem is by no means behind us as we continue to uncover biases in research methods. Questioning assumptions and results is still required (Milner et al. 2018: p. 608).

613 **Biological factors**

614 A third option to explain the bias in favor of men is differential preservation. This hypothesis suggests that female individuals would have been preserved in a worse condition than men in archeological contexts. Although studies based on bone differential preservation are not very common, in the research of several sites from different areas and distinct chronological periods (Stojanowski et al. 2002; Walker et al. 1988), no significant differences in the preservation between men and women have been detected.

623 To verify this hypothesis, we analyzed the preservation of the individuals buried in the III–II millenia B.C. site of Humanejos (*n* = 146) (Madrid), one of the sites included in the previously mentioned regional study (Herrero-Corral 2019). The collection is comprised of 23 F/F?, 40 M/M?, 31 UND, and 52 NAD (of unknown sex). To evaluate the state of preservation, we used a method (modified from Rascón et al. 2011), which takes into account both the number of anatomical units preserved and the quality of the bone. The skeletons can then be classified in three groups from 1, the best preservation condition, to 3, the worst preservation condition. The results (Fig. 5) show, as we would expect, that the better the preservation, the easier it is to sex the individual. On the other hand, no differential preservation was detected between men and women, in fact, a higher number of women were classified within group 1 (35% versus 22.5% for men), and in contrast, more men (52.5%) were labeled as group 3, the worst preserved.

641 **Conclusions**

642 Sex ratio is a crucial indicator to detect eventual differences or inequalities between men and women in a certain group. High sex ratios could be related, with some exceptions, to discrimination against women. The results presented in this study

show a clear predomination of men in osteological contexts between the 8th and the 3rd millennia cal. B.C. in Iberia. In light of this unquestionable majority of masculine individuals in the archeological record, the question that must be answered is *where are the missing prehistoric women?*

Without completely excluding the differential funerary treatment received by some women, it is difficult to deny the existence of a methodological problem, which causes women to not be identified as such. The effectiveness of the sex ratio parameter relies directly on the reliability of the osteological methods used to identify sex. The assignation of the human remains to the categories of “man” and “woman” is crucial for any demographic, social, economic, political, or gender approach. It is therefore essential to consider the tendency towards sexual determination of a greater number of men than women before conducting any social analysis; otherwise, the conclusions reached will be questionable. In addition, a thorough review of anthropological methods would be advisable to solve this problem.

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