

**Reference and Citation Patterns in the History of Psychology –  
a Preliminary Assessment Through Gender**

Noora Juulia Rajalahti

S3783839

Department of Theory and History of Psychology, University of Groningen

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Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Annette Mülberger Rogele

Second evaluator: Rinske Vermeij

## **Abstract**

Sexism and androcentric narratives are well-researched and calls for critical reflexivity have been made from a feminist and women's history perspectives in the History of Psychology. Eminent, yet invisibilised women in Psychology have been re-discovered and written back to its history, especially since the start of the women's movements in the 1960s and 1970s. In this research I focus on recent and highly influential scholarly work. I look into patterns of referencing, citing, and presentation between female and male authors in overviews given on the History of Psychology. In my analysis, I combine qualitative and quantitative methods. Using a selection consisting of a known journal on the History of Psychology, and two publications giving an overview of work done in the History of Psychology, I illustrate that asymmetries exist in the presentation of female and male authors. Implications, limitations, and future avenues in researching this topic are discussed.

## Introduction

“All histories are selective, whether their authors are consciously aware of it or not. The best way to approach this problem is to make the selection explicit and to explain the reasons for it.”, writes Adrian Brock in his recent publication titled “The History of the History of Psychology” (2020, p. 2). In a fashion similar to Brock’s, the inherent selectivity in historiographical work is often pointed out in recent publications, as is the need for reflexivity. Without such an awareness, or at least the *strive* for awareness of one’s own potential blind spots, narrow perspectives and viewpoints have the risk to be presented as objective and representative. Acknowledging selectivity and practising reflexivity send a message about the values held important in today’s academia: equality, representativeness, and inclusivity – and generate discussion around the issues seen as potentially compromising to such values.

In the recent decades, the ways in which women and women’s work have suffered from varying degrees of a biased selection throughout history have become clearer and better known in the recent decades. In 1995, Janis Bohan noted in her book, “Re-Placing Women in Psychology”, that “...a growing literature has documented not only the dearth of women in the histories..., but also the fact that women have indeed made major, if unrecognized, contributions.” (p. xii), Research into the forms of androcentrism and discrimination in historical accounts have triggered publications on forgotten and invisible voices, and also generated lively discussion, educational campaigns, and awareness – most notably ever since the women’s movements in the 1960s and 1970s (Bohan, 1995).

All in all, describing, understanding, and locating a problem is the first step towards any effective solution. It is not difficult to recognize that women have faced disproportionate barriers in their pursuits of successful careers in History, Psychology, or academia in general. And indeed, as a result, we often see the sprout of reflection in many present-day

publications, recognizing that all histories are selective, and not the ultimate representation of the past. Reflexivity is often brought up as an important act and as a part of a historian's duty.

However, do the noble aspirations really materialize in ways that matter to women in academia, and specifically, in History of Psychology? Does the objective of making women visible translate into real changes for their careers and lives as well as into the way women are included and portrayed in historical narratives? Or does it instead lead only to some superficial statements of good will while quarantining the visibility of women?

In Maldonado and Draeger's words, "...like environmental pollution where the acts of individuals might seem trivial and the effects might seem minimal, the accumulation of seemingly small harms contributes to widespread gender pollution that should not be ignored" (Cole & Hassel, p. 6, 2017). This means that individual choices and actions are embedded in the larger social structures, such as traditions and institutions surrounding each person. In historiographical publications, referencing and citing policies constitute a central part of any scholar's work. They have the potential to either perpetuate practices of invisibilising and silencing female voices, or to change such customs.

Let us take a field trip. Cole and Hassel write, citing a recent assessment by Kieran Healy, that when it comes to the humanities "...no discipline is more White and more male than Philosophy", and that the works of "women philosophers are far less likely to be published, and their publications are *far* less frequently cited." (Cole & Hassel, p. 80, 2017; Healy, 2011; Healy, 2013b). So, there already exists diagnostics of the underrepresentation of women in Philosophy. What about the field of History of Psychology?

When it comes to history and historiography of Psychology, "reflecting on the history of psychology is for historians of psychology the ultimate reflexive step" (Brock, p. 1, 2020) and would naturally imply an effort to include diverse set of perspectives, including gender.

Alice White's recent research into the representation of women engineers on Wikipedia is a good example of separating women's work and history into corners. In her examination, she came across two separate pages: one for the history of engineering, and one for the history of women in engineering. About the existence of a separate page designated to women in the first place, she writes that it "... implies that women are not a part of mainstream engineering history, but simply a sub-branch whose involvement is not necessary to know about to appreciate history as a whole." (White, p. 7, 2022) Regarding Psychology, Bohan also notes that "Women's history typically viewed as one variety of ... history", rather than seen as an incorporated element of a general narrative (1995, p. 20). Such a view hinders women from receiving their due credit.

Bohan discusses how history "serves as ... a model of reality" and a "...portrayal of what has been and what is..." (Bohan, 1995, p. 2). She describes an author's rendition of the history of Psychology as a collection of themes, individuals, and connections, "drawn between earlier work and contemporary psychology", as a reflection of "the historian's and the discipline's current conceptions of what is important to an understanding of the history of psychology." (Bohan, 1995, p. 10)

Thus, the models of the History of Psychology, rendered and published, impact the way we view a field. In White's words, "...we often assume that everything to be known is there – and that if something is not there, this is because the topic, person or place is not important." (White, p. 2, 2022) Therefore, the missing representation and information "...about the work of women, or women themselves, suggest that women have not contributed." (White, p. 2, 2022).

There are many "...influences that have shaped psychology's histories in a manner that has rendered those histories largely blind to women and their contributions" (Bohan, 1995, p. xii). My aim in this paper, however, is not to review such research, or to discuss the

well-documented forms of sexism that have inhibited women's participation and recognition in academia and within History of Psychology. Moreover, in the field of History of Psychology some scholars such as Rutherford, Pettit, Radke, Stam and others (see, for example (Klempe & Smith, 2018; Rutherford, 2020; Rutherford & Pettit, 2015) have long been pointing out the need to change our current androcentric historical narrative by taking a feminist perspective.

For instance, in a recent publication by George et al., titled "Disrupting Androcentrism in Social Psychology Textbooks: A Call for Critical Reflexivity" (2020), this group of researchers examined how the gender of a researcher in a selection of social psychology textbooks is presented to the reader. Their findings show that androcentric patterns, both quantitative and qualitative, persisted in these presentations, continuing to "make men's contributions more visible" with the cost of "minimizing or omitting the contributions of marginalized psychologists" (George et al., 2020). Thus, my research is by no means the first to focus on current publications' gender representation, even if it is the first one to examine overviews given on the history of Psychology, specifically.

In this thesis, using the lens of gender, I look into a handful overviews on the field of the History of Psychology. I examine what I consider crucial to any scholar aiming at building a career: visibility. As my focus, I have chosen to examine patterns in referencing and citing, as they have a great effect on an author's impact and, due to the way a researcher's CV is assessed, also a long-term effect on a scholar's career.

My approach is both quantitative and qualitative. I will first analyse a journal devoted to the history of Psychology, to achieve a general idea about the gender proportions of scholars actively publishing in the field. Then, I will move on to examine a selection of publications that aim to give an overview on the topic of History of Psychology. I will

analyse these texts not only in terms of gender proportions of authors, but also in terms of their in-text visibility through types of citations.

Thus, I aim to assess whether there exist asymmetries between genders of female and male, considering the inclusion, representation, and importance given to the scholarly work in these recent publications. In this research, for practical reasons, I have limited gender as an analytical category to a binary set of options. Such a simplification does not reflect the real variety of genders, nor does it deny other ways to approach invisibilities and marginalizations. The current analysis does not aspire to be exhaustive. It is meant as a first step, aiming at shifting the attention to the category of gender in publications aiming to provide an overview on the History of Psychology.

Moreover, a binary gender categorization of women and men, reflects the weight these categories have had throughout history. It has been a powerful tool for discrimination and exclusion. As such, it casts a long shadow to this day, thus, proving useful as a starting point for my work. Moreover, as my examination concerns publications in English, the language provides the reader with helpful feminine and masculine gender pronouns.

Lastly, by no means do I attempt to offer a flawless or objective assessment or result. As young, white, and female, my vision and interest are guided by my social location. Not only that, but elements, such as restrictions in time and space limit my possibilities to deepen into many more layers and intersections that produce asymmetries in visibility, in academia. I will return to the limitations in more detail in the Discussion.

### **Quantitative analysis of authors' gender proportions in the "History of Psychology" journal**

To start off the analysis, and to reach a general idea of the state of the History of Psychology as a field in relation to gender proportions of authors, I chose to first analyse a

known journal: The History of Psychology (HOP). HOP is an APA journal, established in 1998 and published by the Society for the History of Psychology ever since. It is an English language journal and publishes four issues a year.

Each issue includes several types of works in addition to the so-called “regular” or “official” academic publications, that is, articles. In this journal, these different types of works are usually clearly indicated in the table of contents. Examples of other types of work include editorials, comments, obituaries, and reviews, and the authors of these types of work will not be considered in my analysis. Regular articles are the relevant type of work here.

Some issues also include “Special Sections” or “Special Spotlight Sections” that I do not consider in my analysis of the author gender proportions either, as these sections do not present any original research but book reviews, obituaries, and general information about scientific societies and the like. The type of publication in these sections were not always clearly indicated, thus not included.

Lastly, some issues are labelled as “Special Issues”, which simply indicates that the issue is dedicated to a certain theme, such as “The Future of the History of Psychology” (History of Psychology, 2016, Volume 19, Issue 3). Thus, these issues are included in the same way as regular issues.

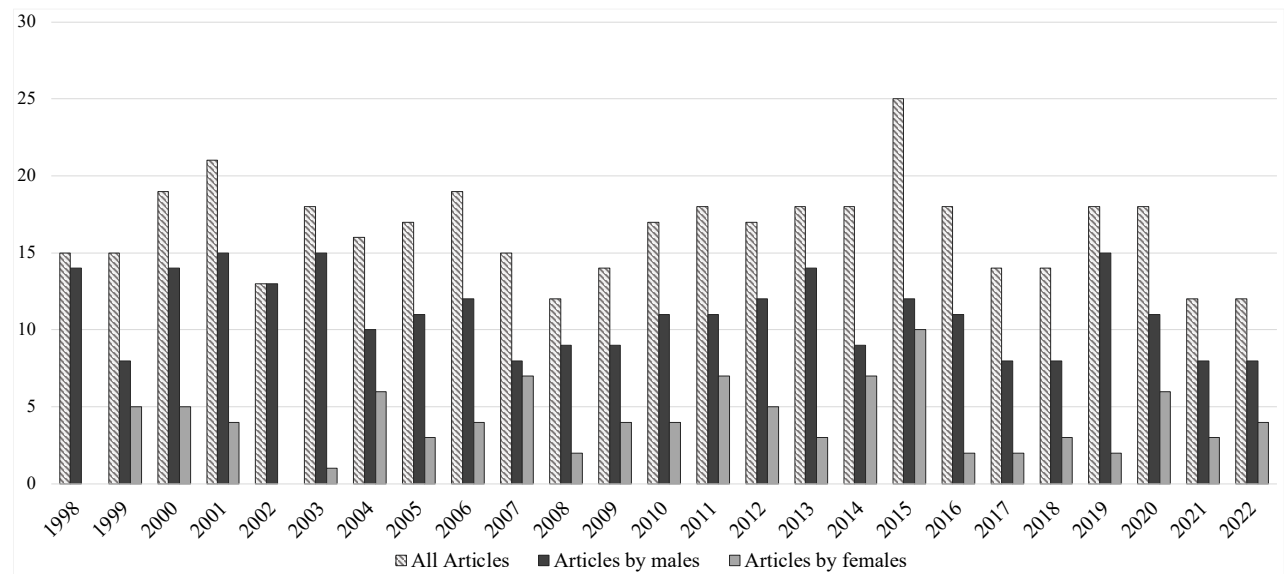
In my analysis of the research articles, I started by counting the total number of articles in each issue. I then looked into the gender proportions of the authors of these articles, and I broke down the articles into several categories: number of articles authored by a male, or a group of male scholars, and number of articles authored by a female, or a group of female scholars.

The data are summarized per year (and therefore, per 4 issues) in Figure 1 below. The first light grey (stripped) columns show the sum of all the articles. The second, black column shows the number of articles signed only by male author(s) and the third grey



column the sum of only female author(s). Examining the relative heights of each bar provides a visual overview of the numbers of articles authored by male scholar(s), which is considerable higher than the number of articles published by female scholar(s).

Figure 1. Comparison between the number of articles by female and male authors published in History of Psychology (1998-2022)



*The striped bars represent the total number of articles, the black bars the number of articles signed by male author(s) and the grey bar the number of articles by female author(s).*

Across all the volumes of the journal the proportion is the following: against every article written by a single female author or a group of authors consisting of only women (grey bar), there were 2,8 articles written by a male author or a group of authors consisting of only men (black bar).

Overall, the proportion of articles authored by male scholar(s) per year varies from 48% (History of Psychology, Volume 18) to making up most, or all of the articles in some volumes, such as in Volume 5 from 2002. Some years stand out, however. For instance, in two Volumes, one of the four issues was a Special Issues, entitled: “Power Matters: Knowledge Politics in the History of Psychology” (History of Psychology, 2007, Volume 10, Issue 2) and “Feminism and/in/as Psychology” (History of Psychology, 2015, Volume 18, Issue 3). In these years, we can notice that the bar representing articles by female scholars

climbs particularly close to the bar representing articles by male scholars, thus, resulting in unusually similar number of articles. But such a balanced distribution is not the general trend.

Below, in Figure 2, the percentages of articles both by female author(s) and male author(s) per year are represented for an additional summary of the data.

Figure 2. Percentages of articles by female and by male author(s) per year.

<b>Year</b>	<b>%Male</b>	<b>%Female</b>
1998	93,3 %	6,7 %
1999	53,3 %	33,3 %
2000	73,7 %	26,3 %
2001	71,4 %	19,0 %
2002	100,0 %	0,0 %
2003	83,3 %	16,7 %
2004	62,5 %	37,5 %
2005	64,7 %	29,4 %
2006	63,2 %	21,1 %
2007	53,3 %	46,7 %
2008	75,0 %	25,0 %
2009	64,3 %	28,6 %
2010	64,7 %	29,4 %
2011	61,1 %	38,9 %
2012	70,6 %	29,4 %
2013	77,8 %	16,7 %
2014	50,0 %	50,0 %
2015	48,0 %	44,0 %
2016	61,1 %	27,8 %
2017	57,1 %	21,4 %
2018	57,1 %	35,7 %
2019	83,3 %	11,1 %
2020	61,1 %	38,9 %
2021	66,7 %	33,3 %
2022	66,7 %	33,3 %
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>66,8 %</b>	<b>28,3 %</b>

Another overview is offered by Figure 3, see below. Figure 3 contains the counting of time each category of authorship appears, this time also including a category of a mixed author group (including authors of both genders) with a female lead. I decided to add this

category, as a reference with a female lead, when cited, gains repetition and visibility especially to that first surname in the author group.

This way I could see that my first intuition, that women might have tended to publish more often as first author within a mixed group than as single authors or being part of an all-female group. Upon a review of the relevant column, it is clear that this does not seem to be the case. The number of publications of this constellation is limited with a maximum of three publications in the year 2016.

Figure 3. Yearly counts of articles published by male author(s), female author(s) and by a female-led mixed group with total numbers up to date.

Year	All Articles	Male author(s)	Female author(s)	Female lead
1998	15	14	0	1
1999	15	8	5	0
2000	19	14	5	0
2001	21	15	4	0
2002	13	13	0	0
2003	18	15	1	2
2004	16	10	6	0
2005	17	11	3	2
2006	19	12	4	0
2007	15	8	7	0
2008	12	9	2	1
2009	14	9	4	0
2010	17	11	4	1
2011	18	11	7	0
2012	17	12	5	0
2013	18	14	3	0
2014	18	9	7	2
2015	25	12	10	1
2016	18	11	2	3
2017	14	8	2	1
2018	14	8	3	2
2019	18	15	2	0
2020	18	11	6	1
2021	12	8	3	1
2022	12	8	4	0
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>413</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>18</b>

After this analysis of the authors' gender proportions in History of Psychology, we move on to the quantitative analysis of the references in two selected publications by Adrian Brock and James Capshew.

## **Quantitative analysis of the references in Adrian Brock's "The History of History of Psychology" (2020)**

In his recent publication, titled *History of the History of Psychology* (2020), Adrian Brock discusses the History of the History of Psychology in detail. He starts off with a discussion of different perspectives on the beginnings of Psychology and History of Psychology, ends with considerations about the future of the field; while along the way, weighing the state of the field through different periods in history. In his text he heavily relies on the work done by other authors.

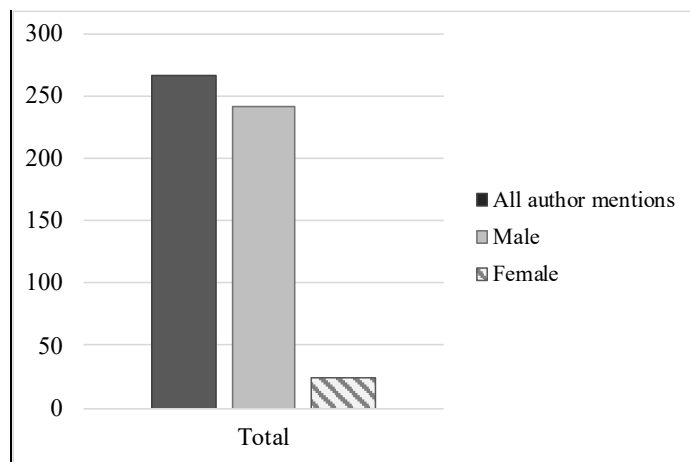
In the reference list of this publication, thirteen out of the 116 listed sources are either by a female author, a group of female authors, or a female-led mixed group of authors. This number translates into a proportion of 11.2%.

Sometimes one author receives citations for several/many of their publications. Without any deeper analysis, Brock cites, for instance, six different publications by Kurt Danziger in his reference list, while there is only one publication mentioned by Elisabeth Scarborough, to which one other co-authored publication with Laurel Furumoto can be added.

Besides the reference list, the number of times male and female authors are mentioned by name in the text itself can be examined. What I decided to include as a "mention" includes forms such as "Surname", "Surname's", and in-line citations: "(Surname, 2020)". Repetition of a name is treated as another mention, and therefore is counted. I did not include the forms, where a name was a part of concept, i.e., "Surname Studies".

Figure 4, below, represents the total number of all authors (dark grey bar, left) compared with the number of males (light grey, in the middle) and female authors that appear in Brock's text (striped bar, right).

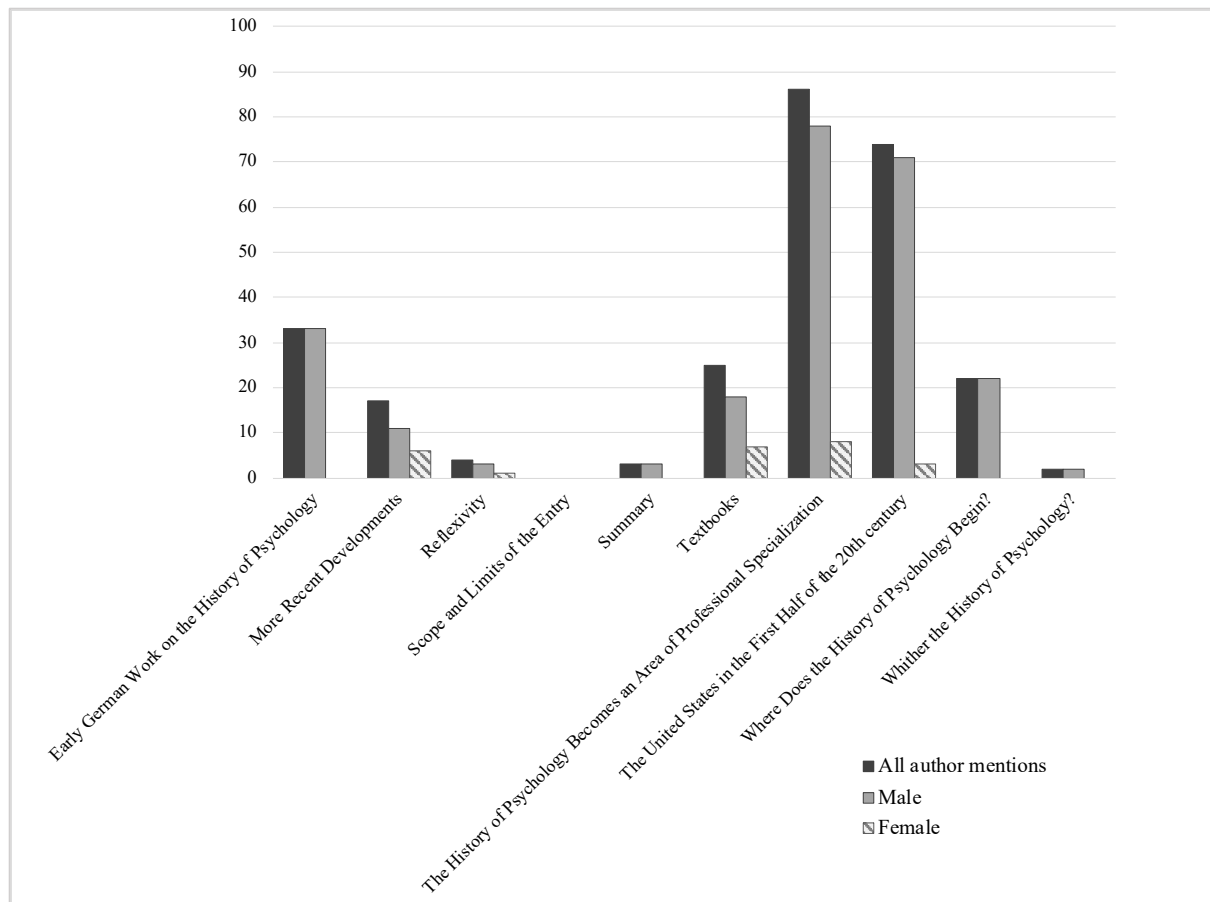
Figure 4. A bar graph of the numbers of mentions of all authors, male authors, and female authors across the publication.



*The sum of all authors mentioned (dark grey bar), next to the sum of all female authors mentioned (striped bar) within the text.*

These numbers can also be divided by subsections of the article, as presented in Figure 5. Here we can notice that even when the number of authors mentioned within a subsection peak substantially – for instance, in the subsection “The History of Psychology Becomes an... (Area of Professional Professionalization)” – the number of women mentioned does not peak in similar fashion.

Figure 5. A bar graph of the numbers of mentions of all authors, male authors, and female authors across the publication, divided by article subsections.



*Numbers of all authors (dark grey bar), all male authors (light grey bar), and all female authors mentioned (striped bar), divided by each subsection of the article.*

Additionally, the numbers per category, corresponding to each subsection are listed in Figure 6 below. Only 9.4% of all mentions in the text are for female authors.

Figure 6. The number of all author-mentions, mentions of males, and mentions of females, corresponding to each subsection

Subsections	Sum of All author mentions	Author mentions: Male	Author mentions: Female
Early German Work on the History of Psychology	33	33	0
More Recent Developments	17	9	6
Reflexivity	4	3	1
Scope and Limits of the Entry	0	0	0
Summary	3	3	0
Textbooks	25	18	7
The History of Psychology Becomes an Area of Professional Specialization	86	78	8
The United States in the First Half of the 20th century	74	71	3
Where Does the History of Psychology Begin?	22	22	0
Whither the History of Psychology?	2	2	0
Grand Total	266	239	25

*Number of mentioned authors in numbers, divided in columns of all authors, all male authors and in all women mentioned.*

An extra summarization of the data, see below, represents the data in proportions male and female mentions in each subsection.

Figure 7. Proportions male and female mentions in each subsection

Subsections	%Male	%Female
Early German Work on the History of Psychology	100,0 %	0,0 %
More Recent Developments	52,9 %	35,3 %
Reflexivity	75,0 %	25,0 %
Scope and Limits of the Entry	0,0 %	0,0 %
Summary	100,0 %	0,0 %
Textbooks	72,0 %	28,0 %
The History of Psychology Becomes an Area of Professional Specialization	90,7 %	9,3 %
The United States in the First Half of the 20th century	95,9 %	4,1 %
Where Does the History of Psychology Begin?	100,0 %	0,0 %
Whither the History of Psychology?	100,0 %	0,0 %
Grand Total	89,8 %	9,4 %

Lastly, against the ten direct quotations of works across the whole publication, none are of the women's work.

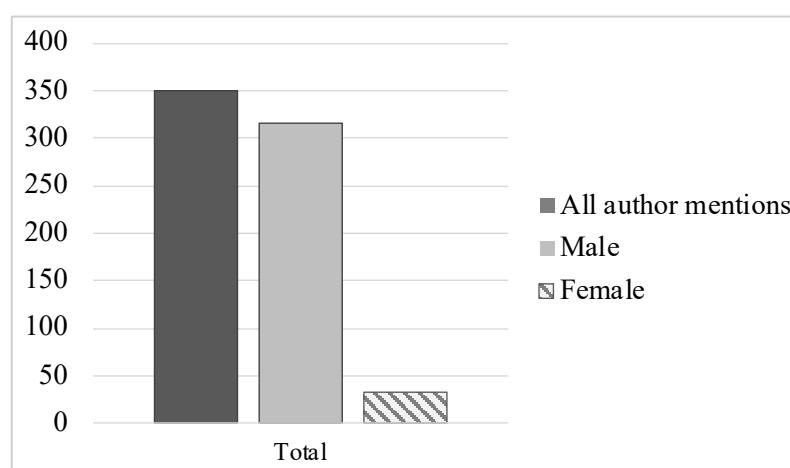
## **Quantitative analysis of the references in James Capshaw’s “History of Psychology since 1945 – A North American Review” (2014)**

In his recent work, entitled “History of Psychology since 1945 – A North American Review” (2014), James Capshaw presents the History of Psychology with a focus on North America. His approach is similar to Brock’s, moving through a timeline guided by what he considers key authors, publications, and events in the History of Psychology to this date.

When it comes to the listed references, fifteen out of the total 125 references are of works signed by a female author or authors, or a female-led mixed group. In this case, the proportion is 12%.

Again, not only the reference list, but the number of times male and female authors are mentioned by name in the publication will be analysed, using the same inclusion criteria as for Brock’s work. The bars in Figure 8 illustrates the overall sum of all authors mentioned in the text (dark grey bar, on the left), next to the sum of male (light grey, in the middle) and female authors (striped bar, right).

Figure 8. A bar graph of the numbers of mentions of all authors, male authors, and female authors across the publication.



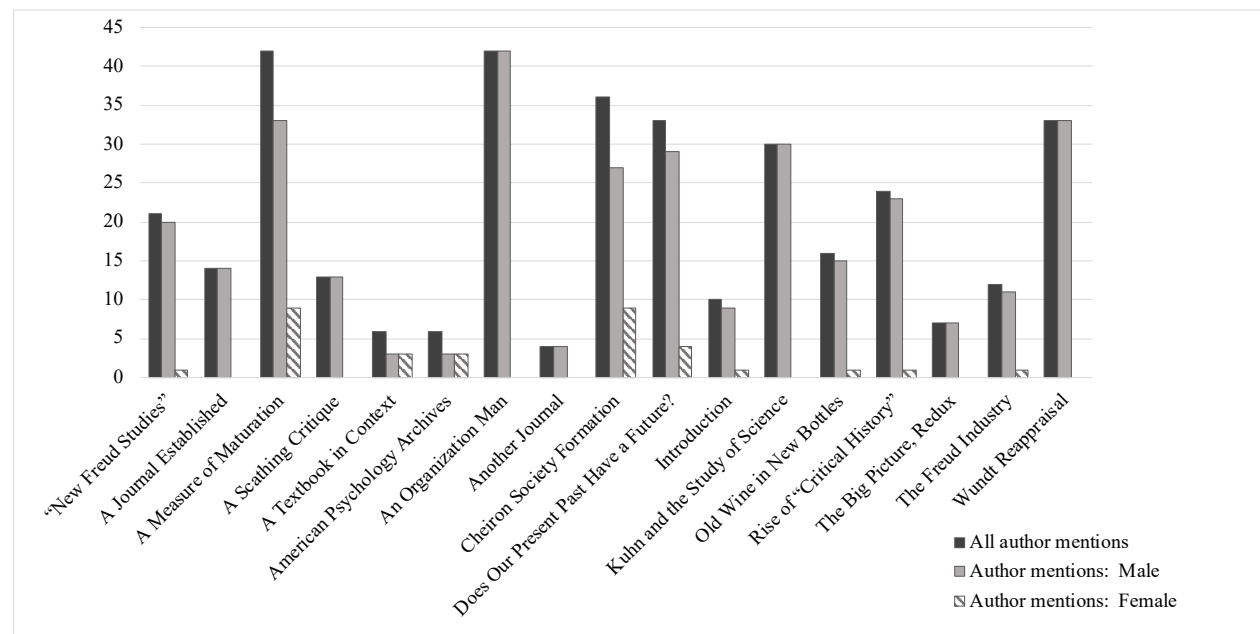
Furthermore, the proportions can also be revised subsection by subsection. In the below Figure 9, we can observe that all subsections do include mentions of male authors, yet



not all of them include mentions of female authors. This is the case, for instance, in the subsections of “The Big Picture, Redux” or “Wundt Reappraisal”.

As the subsections that lack any mentions of women include a very different numbers of male authors, suggesting that the lacking mentions of women do not relate to the overall number of authors mentioned in the text. This means the interpretation could differ, for instance, if a general significant decrease of authors would consistently lead to diminished mentions of women and men alike, yet even when a low number of authors are mentioned, males are never reduced to zero mentions. On the other hand, we can see a climb in the number of females mentioned in two subsections specifically: “A Measure for Maturation” and “Cheiron Society Formation”.

Figure 9. A bar graph representing the numbers of all authors, male authors, and female authors mentioned in the text.



*Numbers of all authors (dark grey bar), male authors (light grey bar) and all female authors mentioned (striped bar), divided by subsections. Alphabetically, from left to right.*

Again, the numbers per category, corresponding to each subsection are listed in the Figure 10 below. The percentages corresponding to each subsection with an overall

percentage of 9.5 of all mentions being of women in the text, are also listed below, in Figure 11.

Figure 10. The counts of all instances of all author-mentions, instances of males mentioned, and instances of females mentioned by subsection.

Subsections	All author mentions	Author mentions: Male	Author mentions: Female
“New Freud Studies”	21	20	1
A Journal Established	14	14	0
A Measure of Maturation	42	33	9
A Scathing Critique	13	13	0
A Textbook in Context	6	3	3
American Psychology Archives	6	3	3
An Organization Man	42	42	0
Another Journal	4	4	0
Cheiron Society Formation	36	27	9
Does Our Present Past Have a Fu	33	29	4
Introduction	10	9	1
Kuhn and the Study of Science	30	30	0
Old Wine in New Bottles	16	15	1
Rise of “Critical History”	24	23	1
The Big Picture, Redux	7	7	0
The Freud Industry	12	11	1
Wundt Reappraisal	33	33	0
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>349</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>33</b>

Figure 11. Percentages of mentions of male and female authors within the text by subsection.

Subsections	%Male	%Female
“New Freud Studies”	95,2 %	4,8 %
A Journal Established	100,0 %	0,0 %
A Measure of Maturation	78,6 %	21,4 %
A Scathing Critique	100,0 %	0,0 %
A Textbook in Context	50,0 %	50,0 %
American Psychology Archives	50,0 %	50,0 %
An Organization Man	100,0 %	0,0 %
Another Journal	100,0 %	0,0 %
Cheiron Society Formation	75,0 %	25,0 %
Does Our Present Past Have a Future?	87,9 %	12,1 %
Introduction	90,0 %	10,0 %
Kuhn and the Study of Science	100,0 %	0,0 %
Old Wine in New Bottles	93,8 %	6,3 %
Rise of “Critical History”	95,8 %	4,2 %
The Big Picture, Redux	100,0 %	0,0 %
The Freud Industry	91,7 %	8,3 %
Wundt Reappraisal	100,0 %	0,0 %
Grand Total	90,5 %	9,5 %

*The subsections are alphabetically ordered from top to bottom.*

Lastly, a single direct quotation was of a woman’s work, while there were the many of men’s work – only by the fifth subsection, a dozen direct quotations were made to a male scholar’s work.

## **Qualitative analysis of the way female and male authors are presented in Brock's and Capshew's texts**

Within a scholarly work that aims to give an overview of the field of history of psychology, of course, many authors are cited. They are an integral part of the argument-building and narrative of the author. They are used as evidence and support to convince the reader, and to provide a cohesive picture of the subject.

When a new publication is introduced, whether it is an older publication considered a milestone in the history of Psychology or a more contemporary source examining and discussing histories from a certain perspective, the names of the authors warrant the quality and the reliability of the work. It is, of course, not only good conduct to appropriately introduce and refer to the sources of one's work. It also plays an important role in the readers' understanding, and the creation of a comprehensive argumentation. Evidence is the key ingredient in any convincing scholarly work, whether it is quantitative or qualitative in nature.

When it comes to introducing authors, they can serve to provide relevant context and weight to the work that is being cited. Introductions can illustrate, prove the suitability, and mark the relevance of the work included in the first place – or do the opposite if the author so wishes, to discredit or disagree with an author or a line of work. Introducing authors also plays into building connections to other authors, thus, potentially creating an interconnected ecosystem of scholars within a publication. In other words, creating a network. These introductions and elaborations live alongside the in-line citing, paraphrasing, and quoting patterns within a publication. Be it consciously or unconsciously, together they, make authors more or less visible.

When a personal introduction refers to a specific author, it can be considered a *biographical statement*. Such a statement can include details about the professional

background of the scholar, together with other contextual details that the writer deems important and appropriate for their purposes and argumentation. The background information and contextual details can be about the institution that the cited author worked in, the political atmosphere of the time and place of their work, or a mention of other work(s) that the cited author has also published. It can also summarize the author's usual approach or stance taken in their work.

An author can also be introduced in relational terms, for instance, as relatives, colleagues, or students of another figure. Being introduced in relational terms can be just another attribute in a list of attributes used to describe an author. In this case, when an author is introduced from plenty of angles, relational information can enrich the context or be useful when building a narrative by connecting the cited author to other, perhaps other eminent figures.

There are many levels to such biographical statements that render them telling, and analysable in terms of patterns or (a)symmetries between the female and male scholars that they are about. Such levels include, firstly, whether such a statement is present at all. For instance, a way to avoid the making of an introduction, or a bibliographical statement, is to mention an author's work as an in-line citation, bracketed at the end of a sentence or a paragraph when referring to their work. This kind of presentation of the author is what we call a mention "in passing".

An author who is not to some level introduced or contextualized, can give the erroneous impression that there was not anything important worth knowing about them. This becomes even more striking, when the author stands next to other authors who are enjoying lengthy descriptions and presentations.

On the other hand, while an author might not be introduced in detail by a biographical statement, their work might be discussed. And during the discussion their name might still

enjoy several mentions and repetitions in the text. An author's name acts as a sort of a barcode, brand, or tag for the reader. Today it is easy to find out more details and associations about a name as soon as it is presented in text. At the same time, the mentioning of an author's name instantly increases the recognition of their scholarly work. Through the discussing and referencing of their work, their name as a scholar can still become explicit, familiar, and likely to be remembered by the reader.

However, in other cases an author and their work, even if discussed to some level of depth, it is done in a passive manner. It could happen by leaving the scholar's name unrepeated and not mentioned in the text as an active contributor. Such a strategy, for instance, can be found in a form of writing that moves the agency away from the author by formulating arguments in a way as though an object such as a *book* or an *article* could consider or discuss a topic. The strategy is opposed to other occasions in which the author presented as active, having *published*, *created*, *discussed*, *considered*, or *innovated*. A sense of agency can also be transmitted by using a genitive proposition, for instance, "*author's*", or "her history", "her finding", and "her publication".

The presence, length and depth of elaboration or a discussion on a cited author's work can be evaluated. Such examination can render answers to questions whether there is *asymmetry* within the introduction or discussion of a scholar's work, in comparison to another author or other publications citing the same author.

All in all, citations not only promote the writings of certain authors, but they also communicate ideas, often adding personal reflections and elaborations. The more a scholar's name is repeated and distributed, the more it solidifies their reputation within the academic community and even among the general public, and the more accessible their production and personality will become in a reader's mind.

### **Adrian Brock's "The History of History of Psychology" (2020)**

Brock introduces some authors in relational terms. On one occasion, he introduces an author and their work into his argumentation using the following expression: "Another example is a work by Göckel's *former student* [emphasis added] Otto Cassman..." (Brock, 2020, p. 4). He uses the same technique when stating: "In the same year, one of his *former students* [emphasis added], Max Dessoir, published a history of recent German psychology in which he divided the field into three areas... Dessoir also included the study of the occult in his history, a topic with which he was *personally engaged* [emphasis added]" (Brock, 2020, p. 5).

Here, Brock defines a figure through their relation to another figure. However, in the scope of the paper, the authors described as "students of" receive other attributes and additional elaboration on their work and interests, specifically visible in his description of Max Dessoir.

As a comparison, let us see how he deals with a female author. For example, after mentioning Fancher, Brock writes about Alexandra Rutherford as follows: "... the involvement of his former student Alexandra Rutherford in the most recent editions has led to it being more representative of current research" and continues with: "Rutherford is also the co-author of another scholarly textbook..." (Brock, 2020, p. 12). In this case, the context is crucial. Before this description, Rutherford, a currently active, well-known, and successful scholar in history of Psychology does not receive any introduction or biographical statement. Only a bracketed in-line citation within a list of other cited works. And more importantly, she is not introduced afterwards either. Thus, this attribute of being a "former student" of a male scholar and "a co-author" of another meagrely mentioned work is the only association provided to a reader about Alexandra Rutherford.

To illustrate an introduction that, by contrast, does provide rich detail, here comes another fragment of Brock's text where he writes:

“The poor quality of much of the scholarship in the field was highlighted by Robert L. Young, *a historian of science, originally from Texas, who was based at the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom*. In 1966, he published a 50-page article *in the journal, History of Science* with the *title, 'Scholarship and the History of the Behavioural Sciences,' in which he criticized* much of the work in the field. [emphasis added]” (Brock, 2020, p. 7)

In this fairly short, but very elaborated excerpt Brock manages to introduce the occupation, origin, institution of Robert Young, as well as an article by him, where it was published and its content – and even its length.

Similarly, on E. G. Boring, Brock writes: “Harvard University, where he was based, ... He therefore had similar aims to some of the early German historians of psychology ... He also belonged to a small group of self-styled “experimentalists” centred on his mentor, ...” (Brock, 2020, p. 7). Here, Brock underlines Boring's institutional and professional backgrounds, aims and motives, and connection to other figures.

An example of an author mentioned “in passing” can be found in the following statement: “...and his [Edward Boring's] influence can be seen in the fact that 1979–1980 was widely celebrated as the 'centennial' of psychology (Ross, 1979)” (Brock, 2020, p. 7).

Here, Barbara Ross' work is mentioned in passing, revolving around the central role of a male figure. However, neither Barbara Ross or her work are introduced, mentioned, elaborated, or reflected upon at any other point in Brock's publication. Without knowing, the reader might mistakenly assume that Barbara Ross' background or scholarly path does not warrant any elaboration next to these figures whose names are repeatedly echoed in the



history of Psychology. Nevertheless, only a quick search for her publications shows her pioneering role and her valuable contributions to the history of psychology. Ross has, for instance, published on the founding of The Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences (1979).

A second example of being mentioned in passing as well as *passively* can be seen when Brock writes about “...some psychologists in Europe declaring the field to be in ‘crisis’” (Brock, 2020, p. 8). He continues: “Books like R. S. Woodworth’s Contemporary Schools of Psychology (1931) and Edna Heidbreder’s Seven Psychologies (1933) *dealt with this situation as well* [emphasis added]” (Brock, 2020, p. 8-9). Neither author, nor their specific works are elaborated on here. However, this is the only time Edna Heidbreder is mentioned. Woodworth, on the other hand, is brought up again. Additionally, the agency is assigned to the *books dealing with a situation*, rather than using an active voice, i.e., “*she deals in her book with a situation*”.

Brock also writes: “... it was Boring who introduced the now ubiquitous concept of the Zeitgeist. ... This is what passed for locating historical events in their wider context, and the emphasis was mostly on the achievements of ‘great men’” (Brock, 2020, p. 8). Interestingly, although Brock acknowledges the skew towards the “achievements of ‘great men’”, by this time, almost halfway through his article, only two female scholars have been mentioned, both “in passing” as in-line citation at the end of a sentence.

Brock later continues, referring to Robert Young: “... Young later explained his article ... However, it did have a positive effect in that it led to a dialogue between historians and psychologists about standards of scholarship in the field and a general improvement in the quality of the historical work” (Brock, 2020, p. 10). He writes about the “positive” impact of the scholar’s work, and the seemingly very extensive and valuable impact of it.

By contrast, right after stating that “The 1970s and 1980s also saw a greater recognition of *underrepresented groups* [emphasis added] in the history of psychology”, Brock writes: “There was also a significant increase in the amount of research *on* women in the history of psychology, and this was due in no small part to the *increasing number of women who were becoming psychologists* [emphasis added]” (Brock, 2020, p. 12).

After Brock describes how “One of the classics in this area is *Untold Lives: The First Generation of American Women Psychologists* by Elizabeth Scarborough and Laurel Furumoto” (Brock, 2020, p. 10-11). He continues: “The *latter* is particularly well known for a G. Stanley Hall Lecture that she gave at the annual meeting of the APA in 1988, titled “The New History of Psychology,” in which she summarized the changes that had taken place” (Brock, 2020 p. 11-12).

To unpack these excerpts, it is relevant to situate them in the scope of the paper. This comment on *underrepresented groups* is within a short paragraph at the end of a subsection, “The History of Psychology Becomes an Area of Professional Specialization” and is not further discussed. Besides mentioning Laurel Furumoto’s work, Brock lists Robert Guthrie’s *Even the Rat Was White* (1976) as “One of the best-known examples of this *genre* [emphasis added].”

This singular and short paragraph overlooks a chance to elaborate on the importance of such “underrepresented groups” when giving an overview on the History of Psychology. Of course, not every single detail can be made to fit perfectly within one paper, but both, individual authors and a field can, collectively, either advocate and prioritise new topics that have been kept invisible or further add visibility where it already exists in abundance.

**James Capshew’s “History of Psychology since 1945 – A North American Review” (2014)**

Capshew introduces and cites Laurel Furumoto in his publication. For instance, he writes: “In 1988, the historian of psychology Laurel Furumoto (1989), who taught at Wellesley College, summarized the ongoing shift in perspectives and methods in an APA lecture, ‘The New History of Psychology’” (Capshew, 2014, p. 167).

The background information that Capshew shares of Furumoto have to do with her post in teaching and the institution in which she was based. Capshew describes that Furumoto “summarized the ongoing shift in perspectives and methods”, which is similar to Brock’s description on the same work.

However, unlike Brock, Capshew, goes on to elaborate: “Addressing teachers of psychology, she emphasized the move away from great men, great events, and great ideas toward a more nuanced, contextual viewpoint that placed external factors in a dynamic relationship to disciplinary developments.” (Capshew, 2014, p. 167) and adds, “Historians of psychology, she argued, were becoming more critical of sources and interpretations in an effort to avoid historical errors...”. Lastly, he describes that “Furumoto’s lecture, after publication, became a touchstone...” (Capshew, 2014, p. 167).

Indeed, when contrasted with the presentation of Brock, Capshew does provide more detail to Furumoto’s work, which seems only appropriate having described it as a “touchstone” amongst historians of Psychology. However, in the context of the publication as a whole, Capshew leaves room for elaboration. His presentation still remains as a short and superficial summary.

Under the same subsection, “A Measure of Maturation”, other females in the field are also cited. In fact, as the subsection opener, Capshew writes: “In 1987, the historians of psychology Elizabeth Scarborough and Laurel Furumoto (1987) published their path-breaking study *Untold Lives: The First Generation of American Women Psychologists*, which

analyzed and narrated patterns of collective change *in this important group* [emphasis added]” (CapsheW, 2014, p. 165).

He further writes: “Although the discipline had always attracted a substantial number of women, patriarchal attitudes and sex discrimination had diminished their chances of conventional professional success. Through a series of moving biographical sketches, the volume traced the career trajectories of female psychologists, identifying the multiple obstacles they faced as well as their differing career strategies. *This work was a fruit of the feminist wave in psychology* [emphasis added]” (CapsheW, 2014, p. 165).

In these excerpts, CapsheW only shortly introduces the authors, and their “path-breaking” work. CapsheW then describes the work to be about “patterns of collective change *in this important group* [emphasis added]”, and generally states that women have faced obstacles due to sexism in academia. CapsheW presents the work only briefly as biographical with a focus specifically on the careers and obstacles Women Psychologists, but these careers and obstacles are not further discussed.

CapsheW presents another influential publication: “As early as 1974, the feminist psychologists Maxine Bernstein and Nancy Russo (1974) published a *call to action*, “The History of Psychology Revisited: Or, Up with Our Foremothers,” in the *American Psychologist*” (CapsheW, 2014, p. 165). Other than this mention, Maxine Bernstein is not introduced, and her work remains unelaborated on beyond this description.

However, Russo is mentioned again in the following: “... in 1980 Russo and Agnes O’Connell (1980) published a collection of autobiographies of eminent women psychologists...” that “also began to redress the *male dominance of psychologist autobiographies* [emphasis added]” (CapsheW, 2014, p. 165). Again, we can notice that these eminent Women do apparently exist, yet the work regarding them is not explored, thus, the citation remains “in passing”.

On the subject of biographies, Capshew also mentions “an exemplary biography published in 1972”, in which “the intellectual historian Dorothy Ross placed the psychologist G. Stanley Hall into the rich context of the late nineteenth-century emergence of the American university” (Capshew, 2014, p. 157). Dorothy Ross is presented in an active way in this description, and her work is highlighted as “exemplary”. As opposed to the other autobiographical works by female scholars that Capshew cites, here he does provide the reader with the name of G. Stanley Hall. Although the other mentioned autobiographical include descriptions of many eminent female figures, I don’t see a reason not mention some of them by name as examples, just like G. Stanley Hall is presented here.

The same applies, when Capshew writes: “In 1968, the historian of education Geraldine Joncich published a massive biography of Edward L. Thorndike, an influential educational psychologist located at Columbia University’s Teachers College” (Capshew, 2014, p. 157). Geraldine Joncich is presented actively, but the mention of her is overshadowed by the detail on Edward L. Thorndike, the subject of her autobiography.

Capshew also cites work by a female scholar that is not autobiographical. He writes: “In *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in the Age of Experts* (1995), the American historian Ellen Herman begins *her story* [emphasis added] with the war, when psychologists sold themselves as experts, and traces the expansion of psychology into the public sphere and private life until the 1960s, *to mixed results*” (Capshew, 2014, p. 175). Ellen Herman is only superficially described, while her work receives some explanation. Capshew also writes “her story”, which, is an active presentation, but whether the word “story” is appropriate to describe Ellen Herman’s publication is debatable, especially, as he does not elaborate on this contribution beyond this mention. Instead, he immediately continues with: “My own contribution...” (Capshew, 2014, p. 175)

At another point in Capshew writes: "...less than a month after the Second World War started, Sigmund Freud died. ..., his daughter, Anna Freud, a psychoanalyst in her own right, became the chief promoter and enforcer of orthodoxy as she gathered *loyal associates* [emphasis added] around her" (Capshew, 2014, p. 147). Here we can observe agency associated with Anna Freud as the "chief promoter and enforcer". However, this is the extent of the description. Right after, Capshew continues on the "associates": "Among those reliable associates were the neurologist and psychoanalyst Ernest Jones, who produced the official biography, *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work* (3 volumes; 1953–7), and translator James Strachey, who oversaw publication of the *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (24 volumes; 1956–74). These served as key texts, to supporters and detractors alike" (Capshew, 2014, p. 147). As we see, much more detail is designated to the associates of Anna Freud and their publications.

Regarding detailed description, Capshew also introduces Robert Young, much like Brock did. He writes a long and detailed statement:

"Young, born and reared in Dallas, Texas, received his undergraduate education at Yale University and started medical school at the University of Rochester, but decamped to Cambridge in 1960. Working with the psychologist Oliver Zangwill and faculty in Cambridge's excellent History and Philosophy of Science Department, in 1964 he obtained perhaps the first doctorate in the history of psychology. He became a Fellow and Graduate Tutor of King's College, and later the Director of the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, before leaving academic life in 1976 for a career as a public intellectual" (Capshew, 2014, p. 147).

Capshew details Young's origins, education, colleague, time of receiving his doctorate, and later posts. On the impact of his work, he writes: "Young's critique, harsh in

tone as it was, nevertheless had a salutary effect on the field, initiating dialogues between psychologists and historians about historiography and scholarly standards” (CapsheW, 2014, p. 147). CapsheW connects Young’s impact to the whole field and generously describes it as having a “salutary effect”. Such a lengthy description is a sharp contrast to the presentation of the female authors, their work, and their impact, thus far.

At one point, CapsheW provides background to a female scholar, Alexandra Rutherford: “... Rutherford acquired her doctorate (2001) from the history and theory of psychology program at York University, where she was hired subsequently as a faculty member” (CapsheW, 2014, p. 173-174), yet this description is nowhere near the depth of the description on Robert Young.

### **Conclusions**

When examining the selected journal, and the selected articles, asymmetries emerged between the proportions and citing patterns between women and men. In the History of Psychology journal, the percentage of articles written by male authors were at its minimum at 48% in a Volume that included a Special Issue (“Feminism and/in/as Psychology”, 2015, Volume 18, Issue 3). All in all, articles by males averaged at 66.8% across all the Volumes. The percentages of articles written by women were consistently much lower, averaging at 28,3% and peaking at 46.7% in a Volume which also included a Special Issue (“Power Matters: Knowledge Politics in the History of Psychology”, 2007, Volume 10, Issue 2).

In the selected articles by Adrian Brock and James CapsheW, the proportion of articles authored by females in the reference list were between 11-12%. Overwhelming majority of mentions in the text were of males in both texts, leaving the mentions of females between 9.4-9.5%.

In the qualitative analysis of the references in these publications, I found further asymmetries between men and women. Across the two publications, consistently longer and more detailed biographical statements were made of males compared to females, who were often mentioned “in passing”, or elaborated on minimally. Often these minimal elaborations were in sections that were considering topics such as feminism or underrepresented groups.

Brock’s presentation quarantines the topic of “underrepresented groups” into an unexplored niche within the end of a small paragraph, alongside of missing the chance to introduce female scholars, the meaning of their research topic, their publications or the impact achieved by the female authors – not even the ones whose works he describes as “one of the classics”. All in all, the topic of “underrepresented groups” remains as a marginal mention and is even referred to as simply “genre”, implying further separateness from the mainstream history.

Further associating the “greater recognition of underrepresented groups” and the increase of “research *on* women” being *due* to “increasing numbers of women who were becoming psychologists” implies that such research was of importance and of worth only for other women – instead of the field altogether (including men). The reader would want to know more about the changing dynamic within a historically male-dominated academia, and the reasons why such historical developments suddenly enabled women to become psychologists. Moreover, the difference between research *on* women and research *by* women is very crucial: Women were and are not only an object of study as the proposition *on*, used by Brock, implies.



Moreover, for example, by referring to Laurel Furumoto as “the latter”, Brock further diminishes the repetition of her name, which is already minimal. Additionally, the reader is left guessing which are “the changes that had taken place” thanks to Furumoto’s influential talk. Neither the topic nor the content of her lecture is mentioned or discussed. As for a male scholar, Brock underlines Robert Young’s wide-ranging impact on the field of History of Psychology along a detailed account of his background and career. Thus, the ways how he cites seem clearly asymmetrical.

Points in the text that are not explicitly about the marginalization of women but do nevertheless offer a chance to integrate women into the narrative, and cite them, exist. On the decline of work on the history of Psychology in the early 1900s German speaking countries, Brock writes: “However, the same situation existed in the United States, and it did not prevent psychologists from publishing...” (Brock, p. 6, 2020). He also notes that “American psychology had, to a large extent, grown on the back of the testing done by psychologists in the army during the First World War.” (Brock, p. 7, 2020)

However, gendered limitations as to who could be a psychologist and even publish existed and could have been explored through women’s position generally, or through publications that have researched the subject, often authored by female scholars. On the other hand, the testing movement, in fact, provided employment for women psychologists, as such tasks were “delegated lower status and lower salaried psychologists, primarily women.” (Bohan, p. 36, 1995). Such a small contextual additions can make a big difference in integrating women into the history that is much theirs as anyone’s, both as part of the story, and as scholars having reflected and researched on the subjects.

Capshew provided slightly more detail when presenting work by Laurel Furumoto. Even with a bit more detail, his account of Furumoto, her work, and the connection to wider contexts is superficial. Generally, reflection and elaboration on the importance, impact and

meaning of moving away from androcentric narratives in the History of Psychology, past and present, were missing. Without anchoring his description to what it means to the field, these mentions of women's work were left quarantined and lacking interconnection to the field as a whole.

The same applied to the few mentions of sexism and obstacles that female academics have faced in the field; they were acknowledged, yet then dismissed, without any deeper description. Similarly, invisibilised eminent women were, in a way, acknowledged as a group by citing autobiographies on eminent women "in passing", but none were individually introduced. This is contrast to the cases where a male was the topic of a cited autobiography and was introduced.

Moreover, especially without contextualization deeper than a mere mention, describing the work of female scholars as "the fruit of the feminist wave in psychology", simplifies the agency of the authors and separates it into only a "wave in psychology" within "this important group" (Capshe, 2014, p. 165).

All in all, reflecting on the history of Psychology aims to discuss diverse perspectives in their contexts, being all the more reason to integrate women into the narrative at an equal extent as men. In Brock's own words, in "The history of the history of psychology ... new approaches have emerged, but the older ones have continued to exist *because there is a still a demand for them* [emphasis added]" (Brock, 2020, p. 13). Considering the asymmetries in referencing and citing between men and women explored in this research, androcentrism indeed has continued to exist on this level – however, if not due to a conscious demand, then due to a repetition of a familiar narrative of eminent and known, still mostly white and male scholars upholding a homogenous group of historians at the centre of these publications.

## Discussion

Taken together, this research has its limitations. It is not exhaustive, most obviously due to the small selection of two publications that I examined. Future research could also benefit from investigating authors that do not conform with the binary categorization of gender used in this research. Within the selected publications, potential for more in-depth examinations also remain for the future – not only from a gender perspective, but through other social categories that factor into invisibilising and marginalizing of voices through forms of oppression (see for example, Rutherford & Davidson, 2019).

As another future research possibility, a selection of similar publications with earlier publication times, and, particularly, in other languages than English could also be examined. Besides publications, more relevant journals in other languages could provide insightful investigations and comparisons of gender proportions and representation.

In this research, I made some observations connecting to publication subsections, however, more in-depth analysis be conducted to examine the potential connections between subsection themes and the mentions of female authors. The points in narrative when a chance to integrate work by women was missed could also be further considered and expanded with suggestions of female-authored work. Additionally, authors often include evaluative verbs and adjectives, which might be *neutral* or perhaps, *uplifting* or even *sceptical*, which is a potential research avenue into the tone of their texts in connection to citations and references.

As another limitation, own social category as a young and white female also acts as a potential bias; studying the representation of other females in the field is coloured by my interest in feminist perspectives in History of Psychology. While this position can enrich my research, at times, it can also narrow my field of vision from other useful perspectives – especially as my knowledge and experience in research are limited at this point in time.

Additionally, the androcentrism in History of Psychology extends to myself and equally skews my baseline knowledge towards male contributions. Male scholars' work is

still more popularized, interlinked, and cross-cited, than women's, which affects the findability and visibility of women's contributions on a general level. These elements have potentially limited my discovery of relevant literature.

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