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Implicit Romantic Fantasies and Women's Interest in Personal Power: A Glass Slipper Effect?

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Three experiments investigated the relationship between women's romantic fantasies and their interest in personal power. Romantic fantasies (associating partners with chivalry and heroism) were assessed using the Implicit Association Test and self-reports. In each experiment, women's implicit romantic fantasies were dissociated with their conscious beliefs. More important, implicit (but not explicit) romantic fantasies negatively predicted women's interest in personal power, including projected income, education goal, interest in high-status jobs, and group leadership appeal. By contrast, men's implicit romantic fantasies were not routinely linked to their interest in personal power. In concert, the findings are consistent with positing a "glass slipper" effect for women that may be an implicit barrier to gender equity.

Keywords: *implicit social cognition; Implicit Association Test; gender roles*

Romantic fairy tales, including *Cinderella*, *Beauty and the Beast*, and *The Princess Bride*, differ in the details but they can be summed up as, "Once upon a time, a young maiden in dire straits was rescued by a wealthy man of royal birth. After sufficient tests of the maiden's love and patience, she was crowned the man's princess and lived happily ever after." These stories continue to provide entertainment for girls (and in their adult form, for women), but they also may teach members of "the fairer sex" to put aside their own ambitions and to reap rewards indirectly, through men.

But how realistic is this message for women today? After all, American college-age women face the prospect of joining a workforce that is 46% female (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1998). Nonetheless, occupations that confer the highest level of wealth, status, and prestige remain strongly male dominated (for a review, see Eagly

& Karau, 2002). Although gender prejudice undoubtedly plays a role in the persistence of the status quo (e.g., Cejka & Eagly, 1999; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000), evidence suggests that young women are not as likely as their male counterparts to pursue occupations associated with the highest financial and social rewards (Konrad, Ritchie, Lieb, & Corrigan, 2000; Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius, & Siers, 1997). Despite legislative and sociocultural changes designed to encourage them to compete with men (e.g., affirmative action), women remain underrepresented in leadership positions at least, in part, through self-selection. For as long as they do, gender hegemony will persist. Therefore, it is important to investigate why women might be less interested than men in pursuing personal power.

Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Power

In calling attention to women's self-selection bias, Pratto et al. (1997) argued that men were more interested in pursuing occupations that legitimized the status quo (hierarchy-enhancing roles), whereas women were more interested in roles that helped the disenfranchised (hierarchy-attenuating roles). Because these roles also differ in terms of access to resources (e.g., stock options, salary, social contacts), ideological differences between

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the genders can help to explain men's greater interest in (and acquisition of) economic and social power (see also Sidanius, Cling, & Pratto, 1991). However, Pratto et al. confounded status and hierarchy-enhancing attributes of occupations, leaving open the question of psychological predictors of women's interest in power more generally. Moreover, the relationship between the desire to legitimize the status quo and career aspirations is modest enough to leave room for additional explanatory factors in women's self-selection bias.

For example, social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000) argues that traditional labor divisions are the root of the problem, with men and women historically assigned to the roles of breadwinner and homemaker, respectively. As a consequence, men have traditionally occupied more powerful roles than have women, with the result that it is more normative for men to be in charge (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000). In addition, gender socialization processes cause men and women to internalize different expectations for their behavior, including the stereotypic expectation that men should be self-determining (i.e., agentic), whereas women should be kind and nurturing (i.e., communal). These gender differences both stem from, and perpetuate, status differences for men and women, with men more likely to be leaders and women their supporters, in domains that range from the athletic field to the workplace. Consistent with the influence of social roles and stereotypes on desired occupational attributes, a recent meta-analysis found that men more often than women valued earnings, power, and leadership, whereas women more often than men valued interpersonal relationships and helping others (Konrad et al., 2000).

Recent social structural theories also have linked prescriptions for female communality to women's subordinate status (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1999; Jackman, 1994). For example, Ridgeway (2001) contends that status beliefs legitimate male dominance by consensually ascribing greater worth or competence to men while simultaneously accrediting lesser valued, but nonetheless positive, traits to women (e.g., as nicer than men) (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). It is the latter component that is particularly insidious because it offers women a stake in the gender hierarchy and thus ensures that they will uphold it themselves.

Similarly, Jackman (1994) argues that men often behave benevolently toward women to sweetly persuade them to accept the status quo. In particular, men's dependence on women (e.g., for sexual relations and domestic duties) motivates them to ascribe positive traits to women (i.e., as more loving and morally pure than men) as a means of preserving gender hegemony (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1999). Moreover, women's dependence on men (e.g., for economic security and social prestige)

helps to ensure that they will participate in, rather than resist, benevolent (i.e., paternalistic) prejudice (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998).

Romance and Women's Interest in Power

What seems to be missing from these analyses is romantic love. Unlike other groups, both sexes develop with the expectation that they will likely become intimate, cooperative partners (e.g., to raise a family together). Not surprisingly, men and women are similarly inclined to endow their romantic partners with highly favorable, often idealized, attributes. In fact, people who engage in positive illusions about their partners enjoy more stable and fulfilling relationships (Murray & Holmes, 1997; Murray, Holmes, & Griffin, 1996). Moreover, satisfactory intimate relationships powerfully enhance the psychological and physiological well-being of both sexes (Berscheid & Reis, 1998). Thus, it is not merely due to a motive to perpetuate the status quo that men are benevolent toward women, but it also may reflect a desire to share a long, happy life with a devoted partner.

However, to the extent that romantic ideologies circumscribe gender roles, they may serve as an important linchpin in understanding why women shy away from positions of power. Romance idealizes femininity and places women on a pedestal. But it also may teach women (e.g., through romantic fairy tales) to depend on men for economic and social rewards. In particular, the romantic idealization of men as chivalric rescuers of women (e.g., *Prince Charming*, *White Knight*) might encourage "the fairer sex" to seek their fortune indirectly, through men. If so, romantic fantasies might be negatively linked to women's interest in personal power.¹ In essence, women may limit their personal strivings for power in exchange for the love and protection of men. Although this proposition is consistent with social structural theories of gender relations (Glick & Fiske, 1999; Jackman, 1994; Ridgeway, 2001), the specific role of romantic beliefs has been neglected. The present research begins to address this gap by examining whether romantic socialization is linked to women's interest in personal power.

Research Objectives and Hypotheses

The primary aim was to examine the association between women's romantic beliefs and their power-related aspirations (e.g., occupational and educational goals). Undergraduate women are an ideal population to investigate because they are in the process of deciding which career to embark on and are generally free to choose a career that matches their interests. Furthermore, we might expect collegiate women to be predominantly concerned with their education and financial

future. However, female undergraduates also find themselves immersed in a culture of romance, in which dating and boyfriends become a focal point of interest and in which they experience considerable peer pressure to find a steady romantic partner (Holland & Eisenhart, 1990; Moffatt, 1989).

To investigate the potential link between power and romantic socialization, Experiments 1 through 3 examined women's romantic fantasies as a correlate of their interest in economic status and expertise. In Experiment 3, we added a group leadership measure. For comparison purposes, Experiments 2 through 3 included men. Because we suspected that as inheritors of the Women's Movement many college-age women might be reluctant to report romantic fantasies, we used a response latency technique, the Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Rudman, Greenwald, Mellott, & Schwartz, 1999), as well as self-reports to measure this construct.²

The primary hypothesis was that women who associate men with romantic heroes and the trappings of fairy tales also would show less interest in directly pursuing power. Instead, they may prefer to seek financial and social rewards indirectly (through men). If the expected results emerge, the findings would provide tentative support for a glass slipper effect such that the idealized association of men with chivalry and heroism might be linked to a hobbling of women's personal power aspirations.

EXPERIMENT 1

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Seventy-seven women participated in the experiment in exchange for credit toward their introductory psychology research requirement (M age = 19 years). Of these, 38 (49%) were European American, 23 (30%) were Asian American, 8 (10%) were African American, and 8 (10%) reported another ethnic identification. Due to technical difficulties, 2 women completed the IAT measures but not the explicit measures. Therefore, the IAT results are based on $N = 77$, whereas the remaining analyses are based on $N = 75$.

MATERIALS

Open-ended measures. Participants reported their age, ethnicity, and chosen occupation. They also indicated whether they were currently involved in a romantic relationship with a man and, if so, to report the length of the relationship. Fifty-five percent of the sample reported being in a current romantic relationship (M length = 7 months). Because the age, ethnicity, and relationship

variables did not influence the findings, they are not further discussed.

Power-related measures. Using a 1998 reference book,³ we assessed each occupation's earning potential using the median income for full-time employment in each profession ($M = \$63,129$, $SD = \$58,700$). These projected income estimates ranged from \$22,300 (photographer) to \$349,000 (chief executive officer [CEO]). As a measure of education goal, we also noted the minimum amount of postsecondary education necessary for each job ($M = 5.58$ years, $SD = 2.7$, range = 0-14 years). Participants also rated their interest in 12 occupations on a scale from 1 (*no interest*) to 7 (*strongly interested*). Responses to five occupations (business management, finance, corporate lawyer, politician, and education administration) were averaged to form the high-status job index, $\alpha = .62$.⁴ In sum, projected income, educational goal, and the high-status job index provided three power-related measures. On each index, high scores reflect greater interest in personal power, operationalized as economic status and expertise.

Romantic fantasy index. To directly measure romantic fantasies, participants rated their agreement with five items on scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). These items were as follows: "I think of my lover as a Prince Charming," "I think of my lover as a White Knight," "My romantic partner is very protective of me," "I think of my lover as a hero," and "My romantic partner is an average man" (reverse scored). Participants were instructed to think of their current relationships or, if not presently in one, to consider their past romantic partners. Responses were averaged to form the romantic fantasies index, $\alpha = .82$. High scores on this measure indicate an explicit association of romantic partners with fantasy.

Romantic fantasy IAT. To measure implicit romantic fantasies, we constructed an IAT in which romantic partners were contrasted with other men and fantasy was contrasted with reality. Romantic partners were represented by eight constructs (e.g., boyfriend, lover, partner, sweetheart, date). Other men also were represented by eight terms (e.g., brother, neighbor, peer, cousin, buddy). Fantasy was represented by an additional list of eight constructs (e.g., *Prince Charming*, *White Knight*, castle, superhero, protector), as was reality (e.g., Average Joe, Regular Guy, ordinary, stable, predictable). All stimuli were presented in capital letters, with target constructs (partners and other men) presented in red and attributes (fantasy and reality) presented in black to aid performance during double categorization tasks. The critical tasks obliged women to pair romantic partners with fantasy and other men with reality (boyfriend + fantasy) and to reverse these associations (boyfriend +

reality). The difference between these was computed as the romantic fantasy IAT effect. High scores on this measure indicate stronger association of romantic partners with fantasy than with reality (i.e., implicit romantic fantasies).

PROCEDURE

As part of a project titled Attitudes Toward Relationships, participants completed the measures (in the order described above) in a private cubicle, on a desktop PC, using the Inquisit program. The items within each measure were presented randomly by the program. The attribute labels used in the IAT were Fantasy versus Reality. The target construct labels were Boyfriend versus Other Men. These labels remained on screen during the relevant IAT task to serve as reminders. Half of the participants completed the boyfriend + fantasy IAT tasks prior to the boyfriend + reality tasks. For the remaining half, this order was reversed. This procedural variable did not reliably affect IAT results. After completion of the experiment, participants were debriefed and thanked for participating.

Results and Discussion

ROMANTIC FANTASY MEASURES

Results for the romantic fantasy IAT revealed that, on average, women were faster when they associated romantic partners with fantasy than with reality, $M = +74$ ms ($SD = 216$).⁵ This IAT effect was significantly greater than zero, $t(76) = 3.01$, $p < .01$ ($d = 0.34$). Women also reported romantic fantasies that were significantly higher than the neutral point, $t(74) = 4.15$, $p < .001$ ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 1.29$).

CORRELATIONS AMONG MEASURES

Table 1 shows the relations among the measures of romantic fantasies and the power-related variables. As can be seen, the fantasy measures were unreliably (albeit positively) related, in support of each measure's discriminant validity. In addition, the power measures were not significantly related, with the exception of projected income and educational goal.

Most important, Table 1 shows that women's implicit fantasies were negatively and significantly related to all three power-related measures; that is, women who possessed implicit romantic fantasies also tended to choose occupations with reduced economic rewards and lower educational requirements. They also showed less interest in high-status occupations (e.g., business management, corporate lawyer). By contrast, the explicit measure of romantic fantasies was unreliably (albeit negatively) related to power-related variables.⁶ In sum, the findings suggest that implicit romantic fantasies may serve as a general predictor of women's strivings for per-

TABLE 1: Correlations Among Implicit and Explicit Measures (Experiment 1)

	Romantic Fantasy IAT	Romantic Fantasy Index	Projected Income	Education Goal
Romantic fantasy index	.17			
Projected income	-.38**	-.16		
Educational goal	-.23*	.07	.34**	
High-status jobs	-.34**	-.08	.14	.17

NOTE: High scores on romantic fantasy Implicit Association Test (IAT) indicate greater association of romantic partners with fantasy compared with reality. IAT correlations were computed using log-transformed latencies (ns range from 75 to 77). Correlations using raw latencies were similar.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

sonal power. In so doing, they provide preliminary support for a possible glass slipper effect.

EXPERIMENT 2

A potential problem with Experiment 1 lies in the romantic fantasy IAT's contrasting of fantasy with reality (instantiated as normal or average). Because the reality-based constructs may have had negative connotations, we may have inadvertently assessed women's positive evaluation of their romantic partners as opposed to romantic fantasies per se. Experiment 2 sought to overcome this limitation by contrasting romantic fantasies with positive traits (e.g., kind, intelligent, witty). In essence, we assessed whether women might possess romantic fantasies above and beyond associating their partners with positive traits. The hypothesis was that women who showed this pattern also might score low on power-related measures.

In addition, Experiment 2 included male participants as a first step toward evaluating their romantic fantasies. To do so, we provided men with female counterparts to women's fantasy associations (e.g., *Cinderella*, *Sleeping Beauty*). A priori, we had no reason to suspect that romantic associations would be less evident in men compared with women. In fact, men are argued to be explicitly more romantic than women (e.g., Sprecher & Metts, 1989). However, we did not expect romantic beliefs to covary with men's interest in power, for two reasons. First, romance may be less central to men's self-concept than it is for women. Differences emerge early, with girls preferring romantic fairy tales and boys preferring scary fairy tales by the age of 4 (Collins-Standley, Gan, Yu, & Zillman, 1996). Furthermore, women's self-esteem is more dependent on having successful personal relationships than is men's (Josephs, Markus, & Tafarodi, 1992). If romance is less important to men's self-concept, it may play a minimal role in their pursuit of personal power. Second, men compared to women experience less con-

flict between personal relationships and ambition. For example, men are less obliged to balance work and family roles, allowing them to pursue more traditional paths to career success (Powell & Mainiero, 1992). For these reasons, we suspected that men's romantic associations would be independent of their interest in power.

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Two hundred and seven volunteers (121 women) participated in the experiment in exchange for credit toward their introductory psychology research requirement. Of these, 113 (55%) were European American, 53 (26%) were Asian American, 18 (9%) were African American, and 23 (10%) reported another ethnic identification.

MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE

The procedure closely followed Experiment 1. Participants completed Experiment 1's demographic measures, including the open-ended occupational choice measure. In addition, we asked participants to report how much money they expected to (personally) make, per year, in their desired occupation. This measure was strongly related to participants' projected income (gleaned from their occupational choice response), $r(193) = .54, p < .001$. It was therefore substituted as the projected income measure. In addition, participants reported the number of years of post-high school education they intended to pursue. This measure was substantially correlated with the education index derived from the open-ended occupational choice measure, $r(193) = .68, p < .001$. It was therefore substituted as the education goal measure.

High-status job index. Participants rated their interest in 12 occupations on a scale from 1 (*no interest*) to 7 (*strongly interested*). Of these, 6 were designed to reflect economic and social prestige (CEO, finance, corporate lawyer, politician, dentist, and doctor) and were averaged to form the high-status job index, $\alpha = .70$. The remaining 6 were drawn from the filler items used in Experiment 2.

Romantic fantasy index. Women completed a slightly modified six-item romantic fantasy index on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) scale. The items were as follows: "I think of my lover as Prince Charming," "I think of my lover as a White Knight," "My romantic partner treats me like a queen," "My romantic partner is very protective of me," "I think of my lover as magical," and "I think of my lover as a hero." Men completed a six-item counterpart in which the items were as follows: "I think of my lover as Cinderella," "I think of my lover as Sleeping Beauty," "I treat my lover like a queen," "I am very

protective of my romantic partner," "I think of my lover as magical," and "I tend to put my romantic partner on a pedestal." Responses were averaged to form separate romantic fantasy indexes, $\alpha_s = .88$ and $.82$ for women and men, respectively.

Romantic fantasy IAT. For women, Experiment 2's IAT was identical to Experiment 1 with the exception that fantasy was contrasted with the positive traits used by Murray and Holmes (1997) in their positive illusions research (e.g., kind, affectionate, open, responsive, patient, intelligent, witty). For men, this IAT contrasted female romantic partners (e.g., girlfriend, lover, partner, sweetheart, date) with other women (e.g., sister, neighbor, peer, cousin, buddy) as the target constructs. The attribute dimension contrasted fantasy with the identical positive traits used for women, but men's fantasy constructs differed from women's (e.g., *Cinderella*, *Sleeping Beauty*, *Rapunzel*, princess, maiden). The attribute labels used in the IAT were Fantasy versus Personality. The target construct labels were Boyfriend versus Other Men (for women) and Girlfriend versus Other Women (for men). The critical tasks obliged women to pair boyfriend with fantasy and other men with personality (boyfriend + fantasy) and to reverse these associations (boyfriend + reality). For men, these tasks can be described as girlfriend + fantasy and girlfriend + reality, respectively. For both genders, high scores on this measure indicate stronger association of romantic partners with fantasy than with positive personality traits (i.e., implicit romantic fantasies). As in Experiment 1, we counterbalanced the IAT tasks, a procedural variable that did not affect results.

Results and Discussion

ROMANTIC FANTASY MEASURES

Table 2 shows the results of the implicit and explicit romantic fantasy measures, separately for women and men. Replicating Experiment 1's results, women were faster when they associated romantic partners with fantasy than with positive traits, resulting in a significant IAT effect, $t(120) = 6.96, p < .01$ ($d = 0.55$). In contrast, men showed a reliably negative IAT effect, $t(85) = 3.61, p < .01$ ($d = -0.47$); that is, men found it easier to associate their romantic partners with positive traits than with fantasy roles. This sex difference in implicit romantic fantasies was significant, $t(205) = 6.99, p < .001$. Finally, Table 2 shows that men scored higher than did women on the explicit romantic fantasy index, $t(205) = 2.84, p < .01$. In sum, women showed greater possession of implicit romantic fantasies than did men, whereas men endorsed explicit romantic fantasies more than did women (see also Sprecher & Metts, 1989).

TABLE 2: Summary Statistics for Implicit and Explicit Measures (Experiment 2)

Measure	Women		Men		Group Effect Size <i>d</i>
	M	SD	M	SD	
Romantic fantasy IAT	+94 _a	148	-87 _b	224	.99
Romantic fantasy index	4.03 _a	1.48	4.60 _b	1.27	-.41
Projected income	\$68,681 _a	19.79	\$79,364 _b	20.18	-.53
Education goal	6.67 _a	2.21	6.50 _a	2.13	.08
High-status jobs	2.48 _a	1.05	2.89 _b	1.34	-.35

NOTE: Implicit Association Test (IAT) effects are reported in a ms index. Means within rows not sharing a subscript differ at the $p < .05$ level. The last column shows the standardized differences between women and men (Cohen's d). Positive effect sizes indicate that women scored higher than men. Negative effect sizes indicate that men scored higher than women. By convention, small, medium, and large effect sizes correspond to .20, .50, and .80, respectively (Cohen, 1988).

TABLE 3: Correlations Among Implicit and Explicit Measures (Experiment 2)

	<i>Romantic Fantasy IAT</i>	<i>Romantic Fantasy Index</i>	<i>Projected Income</i>	<i>Education Goal</i>	<i>High-Status Job</i>
Romantic fantasy IAT	-.07	-.04	-.03	-.05	.01
Romantic fantasy index	-.09	.24**	-.11	-.16	.24*
Projected income	-.19*	-.02	-.02	.21	.41**
Education goal	-.11	.11	.12	.01	.13
High-status jobs	-.20*	.01	.40**	.19*	-.01

NOTE: High scores on romantic fantasy Implicit Association Test (IAT) indicate greater association of romantic partners with fantasy compared with positive traits. Relationships for women ($n = 121$) and men ($n = 86$) are shown below and above the diagonal, respectively. On the diagonal (in italics) are the correlations between each measure and relationship status (1 = not in a relationship, 2 = in a relationship) for the whole sample. IAT correlations were computed using log-transformed latencies. Correlations using raw latencies were similar.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

POWER-RELATED DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Table 2 also shows results of the projected income, education goal, and high-status job measures. As can be seen, men expected to earn more money in their chosen occupation than did women, $t(205) = 3.79$, $p < .001$. Men also showed more interest in high-status occupations, $t(205) = 2.36$, $p < .05$. Finally, men and women scored similarly with respect to their education goals, $t(205) < 1.00$, *ns*.

CORRELATIONS AMONG MEASURES

The primary aim was to replicate Experiment 1's finding, for women, of an association between implicit romantic fantasies and their interest in personal power. By comparison, we did not expect to find a similar linkage for men. Table 3 shows the results, separately for women (shown below the diagonal) and men (shown above the diagonal). On the diagonal, in italics, is the relationship between each measure and relationship status (coded 1 = not in a relationship, 2 = currently in a relationship).

As can be seen, women who possessed implicit romantic fantasies also scored lower on the projected income and high-status job measures. The relationship between the IAT and women's education goal was negative but

nonsignificant. The explicit measure was unreliably related to all three dependent variables. With the exception of the weak IAT-education goal link, these results mirror Experiment 1's findings.

For men, Table 3 shows the expected weak relationships between implicit romantic fantasies and the power measures. Surprisingly, men showed a positive linkage between their explicit romantic beliefs and interest in high-status jobs; that is, men who endorsed a romantic ideology (e.g., treating their partner like a queen) also were interested in occupations that conferred high economic and social rewards (e.g., CEO, corporate lawyer). Because this linkage was not replicated with the projected income or education goal measures, it should be viewed with caution. Finally, for both men and women, implicit and explicit romantic fantasies were dissociated.

Experiment 2's focal finding was the continued negative association of women's implicit romantic fantasies with their interest in personal power. With the exception of the education goal measure, we replicated Experiment 1's support for a possible glass slipper effect. Because Experiment 2's IAT contrasted favorable personality traits with fantasy constructs, it seems unlikely that the results can be attributed solely to positive partner evaluation. For men, there was no reliable associa-

tion between implicit romantic fantasies and their interest in personal power. In fact, on average, men showed no evidence of possessing implicit romantic fantasies. This was surprising given their greater evidence of explicit romantic fantasies, compared with women.

Experiment 3 tested whether men might show evidence of a more sexual version of implicit romantic fantasies, compared with Experiment 2's fairy-tale version. To do so, we used an IAT that included sensual fantasy roles (e.g., sex goddess, sex kitten, Venus) and contrasted fantasy with positive roles that a partner might play in one's life (e.g., companion, helper, adviser). If young adult men are shown to possess romantic fantasies on this IAT, it will suggest that their implicit fantasies about women may have a sexual component.

EXPERIMENT 3

Experiment 3 had three major objectives. First, we added a group leadership measure to assess interest in short-term power to accompany the long-term, power-related dependent variables used in Experiments 1 and 2. If implicit romantic fantasies negatively covary with women's interest in even a temporary leadership role, the finding will further support the glass slipper effect. Second, we included a partner attitude IAT to more directly provide discriminant validity for the research. Although the partner attitude and romantic fantasy IATs should positively covary (if both assess positive partner evaluation), partner attitude should not covary with women's interest in personal power. Third, we directly assessed participants' interest in being financially taken care of by a romantic benefactor. If women high on implicit romantic fantasies also desire a benefactor, results would suggest that romantic socialization impinges on women's interest in personal power, in part, by encouraging reliance on a male provider.

Finally, we included gender belief measures pertaining to (a) awareness of sexism and (b) the belief that gender competition for status negatively affects romantic relationships. We suspected that women might be less interested in power if they believed that sexism was an obstacle or that competing with men curtails romantic intimacy.

Method

PARTICIPANTS

One hundred and twenty-seven volunteers (73 women) participated in the experiment. Of these, 62 (49%) were European American, 38 (30%) were Asian American, 9 (7%) were African American, and 18 (14%) reported another ethnic identification.

MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE

Participants completed Experiment 2's demographic, projected income, education goal, occupational interest, and explicit romantic fantasy measures.

Romantic fantasy IAT. The target constructs were identical to those used in Experiment 2. Only the attribute dimension was altered. For women, this IAT contrasted fantasy roles (*Prince Charming, White Knight, Lancelot, Superman, hero, Braveheart, superhero, chivalry*) with nonfantasy roles (companion, adviser, helper, teacher, student, counselor, roommate, handyman). For men, this IAT contrasted fantasy roles (*Cinderella, Sleeping Beauty, princess, queen, sex goddess, sex kitten, Venus, goddess*) with nonfantasy roles. The nonfantasy roles were identical to those used for women with the exception that handyman was replaced with cook. The attribute labels used in the romantic fantasy IAT were Fantasy Roles versus Reality Roles. For both genders, high scores on this measure indicate stronger association of romantic partners with fantasy than with reality roles.

Partner attitude IAT. The partner attitude IAT used the romantic fantasy IAT's target constructs. The attribute dimension consisted of pleasant and unpleasant words (Greenwald et al., 1998). The pleasant words were *good, happy, sunshine, gift, vacation, heaven, paradise, and holiday*. The unpleasant words were *bad, pain, awful, disease, trouble, failure, poison, and disaster*. The target construct labels were identical to the romantic fantasy IATs (e.g., Boyfriend vs. Other Men). The attribute labels were Pleasant versus Unpleasant. The critical tasks obliged women to pair boyfriend with pleasant and other men with unpleasant words (boyfriend + pleasant) and to reverse these associations (boyfriend + unpleasant). For men, these tasks can be described as girlfriend + pleasant and girlfriend + unpleasant, respectively. High scores on the partner attitude IAT indicate implicit positive evaluation of romantic partners.

As an explicit attitude measure, participants indicated on separate thermometer measures how they felt toward their Boyfriend (or Girlfriend) and Other Men (or Other Women) using a scale ranging from 1 (*very cold/unfavorable*) to 10 (*very warm/favorable*). The difference between these was computed to form the partner attitude index, on which high scores indicate more positive attitudes toward romantic partners than toward other members of the opposite sex.

Benefactor index. Participants rated how important 15 attributes were for their ideal mate to have on scales ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very*). The items of interest were as follows: "Willingness to take care of me financially," "Having a lot of money," "Having high social status," "Having a successful career," and "Having power and prestige." These five items were combined to form

TABLE 4: Summary Statistics for Implicit and Explicit Measures (Experiment 3)

Measure	Women		Men		Group Effect Size d
	M	SD	M	SD	
Implicit					
Romantic fantasy IAT	+277 _a	188	+322 _a	256	-.22
Partner attitude IAT	+182 _a	124	+159 _a	172	.16
Explicit					
Romantic fantasy index	3.90 _a	1.76	4.49 _b	1.46	-.36
Partner attitude index	4.03 _a	2.20	4.60 _b	2.12	-.26
Benefactor	4.59 _a	1.39	3.95 _b	1.50	.45
Awareness of sexism	4.79 _a	0.89	4.08 _b	0.73	.86
Gender competition	3.07 _a	1.57	3.54 _b	1.28	-.32
Projected income	\$68,103 _a	20.01	\$73,380 _a	19.81	-.26
Education goal	6.31 _a	1.85	6.48 _a	1.80	-.09
High-status jobs	2.78 _a	1.13	3.15 _a	1.15	-.32
Group leader	4.60 _a	1.50	5.29 _b	1.36	-.48

NOTE: Implicit Association Test (IAT) effects are reported in a ms index. Means within rows not sharing a subscript differ at the $p < .05$ level. The last column shows the standardized differences between women and men (Cohen's d). Positive effect sizes indicate that women scored higher than men. Negative effect sizes indicate that men scored higher than women. By convention, small, medium, and large effect sizes correspond to .20, .50, and .80, respectively (Cohen, 1988).

the benefactor index, $\alpha = .89$. The remaining items assessed a broad range of attributes (pertaining to personality, attractiveness, and interest in sex) and served as filler.

Gender beliefs measures. Participants rated their agreement with 10 items designed to tap beliefs that competition for status disrupts intimate relationships on scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Sample items include the following: "Men and women would get along better if they did not compete for the same jobs," "Men perform better sexually when they are in charge," and "When men and women compete for the same jobs, it disrupts romantic relations." The items showed adequate reliability, $\alpha = .82$, and were combined to form the gender competition index.

Using the same scale, participants also responded to five items designed to assess awareness of sex discrimination. Sample items include the following: "America is still a sexist society," "American women still need to fight for equal rights," and "More men than women are chosen for high-status roles in our society." These items were combined to form the awareness of sexism index, $\alpha = .73$.

Group leadership. In the context of pilot testing measures for an upcoming experiment, ostensibly concerning the effectiveness of leadership strategies, all participants read the description of two leadership roles. In the masculine leader condition, "the best leaders for this task" were described as being able to size up subordinates quickly and delegate responsibilities accordingly. In the feminized leader condition, effective leaders were described as being able to communicate and to foster cooperation among subordinates. After each description was read, participants reported their interest in the

leader role on scales ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). As a manipulation check, they revisited each description and rated whether the leader role appeared to be more descriptive of men than women. The primary goal was to provide additional measures of interest in power (i.e., short-term group leadership). A secondary goal was to test whether women might more interested in the feminized, as opposed to the masculine, leadership role.

Procedure. Participants first completed either the romantic fantasy or the partner attitude IAT (depending on random assignment), a procedural variable that did not influence results. In between, they completed the direct measures. The order of administration was as follows: the first IAT, partner attitude index, education goal, projected income, occupational interest, benefactor, romantic fantasy index, gender competition, sex discrimination, leadership measures, and the second IAT. In all other respects, we followed prior procedures.

Results and Discussion

IMPLICIT MEASURES

Table 4 shows the results of the implicit romantic fantasy and partner attitude measures, separately for women and men. As can be seen, both women and men were faster when they associated romantic partners with fantasy than with other favorable roles and faster when they associated romantic partners with pleasant compared with unpleasant attributes, resulting in significant IAT effects for both genders, all t s > 7.80 , p s $< .001$. The finding of a positive IAT effect for men's romantic fantasies confirmed our suspicion that they may have a sexual component. The effect sizes for the fantasy IATs were

TABLE 5: Implicit and Explicit Predictors of Interest in Power (Experiment 3)

	Women				Men			
	Projected Income	Education Goal	High-Status Jobs	Group Leader	Projected Income	Education Goal	High-Status Jobs	Group Leader
Implicit								
Romantic fantasy IAT	-.32**	-.33**	-.39**	-.28*	-.03	-.32*	-.13	-.08
Partner attitude IAT	-.19	-.17	-.17	-.29*	.03	-.14	-.01	-.13
Partial correlations ^a	-.27*	-.29*	-.35**	-.19	-.03	-.30*	-.13	-.06
Explicit								
Romantic fantasy	-.03	-.05	.18	.18	.07	.10	-.14	.27*
Partner attitude	.15	.01	.07	.31*	-.05	-.11	-.31*	.05
Benefactor	.09	-.02	.39**	-.04	.08	.18	.35**	.21
Sexism awareness	.04	.17	.02	.29*	.13	.05	.04	-.02
Gender competition	.09	-.12	-.01	-.11	-.07	-.08	.17	.18

NOTE: $n_s = 73$ women and 54 men. Implicit Association Test (IAT) correlations were computed using log-transformed latencies. Correlations using raw latencies were similar.

a. First-order correlations between implicit romantic fantasies and power measures after controlling for implicit partner attitudes.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

robust for women and men ($ds = 1.26$ and 1.47 , respectively) and the partner IAT effects were similarly large ($ds = 1.24$ and 1.09 , for women and men, respectively). There were no reliable sex differences on the implicit measures, both $ts(125) < 1.00$, ns .

EXPLICIT MEASURES

Table 4 also reveals that men reported more explicit romantic fantasies than did women, $t(125) = 2.04$, $p < .05$, echoing Experiment 2. Men also reported greater relative liking for their romantic partners than did women, $t(125) = 2.00$, $p < .05$. However, both genders reported more positive attitudes toward romantic partners than toward other members of the same sex (i.e., the difference scores were greater than zero), both $ts > 6.90$, $ps < .001$.

Sex differences also emerged on the benefactor, awareness of sexism, and gender competition indexes, all $ts(125) > 2.35$, $ps < .05$ (see Table 4). Women were more likely to desire a partner who would take care of them financially and to report that sex discrimination is still a barrier to equal rights, whereas men were more likely to report that when women compete with men for status, it has a negative effect on intimate relationships.

POWER-RELATED MEASURES

Table 4 also shows results of the projected income, education goal, and high-status job measures. As can be seen, men scored higher on each variable than did women, but this sex difference approached significance only for interest in high-status jobs, $t(125) = 1.89$, $p = .07$.

The masculine and feminized group leadership measures were new to Experiment 3. As a manipulation check, we asked participants to rate the extent to which each of the leader roles described men more than women. As expected, the masculine leader role was

more male associated than was the feminized leader role, $t(125) = 2.39$, $p < .05$. We tested whether women might prefer the feminized over the masculine leader role by submitting group leadership scores to a 2 (leader description) \times 2 (participant sex) mixed-model ANOVA. Only a main effect for sex emerged, $F(1, 125) = 7.09$, $p < .01$, such that men showed more interest in being a leader than did women.⁷ Because the two measures were strongly related, $r(125) = .75$, $p < .001$, we combined them into a single group leadership index, the results of which are shown in Table 4.

PREDICTING INTEREST IN POWER

Experiment 3's primary aim was to replicate and extend the association found for women between romantic fantasies and power by using an IAT that contrasted fantasy roles with favorable reality roles and by including the group leadership measure. In addition, we sought to rule out the possibility that attitudes toward romantic partners were responsible for this linkage. Finally, we examined other potential predictors of interest in power, including desire for a benefactor, awareness of sexism, and gender competition beliefs. Table 5 shows the results, separately for women and men.

Implicit predictors. As can be seen in Table 5, women who possessed implicit romantic fantasies also scored lower on the projected income, education goal, and high-status job measures. They also expressed less interest in being a group leader. In concert, these findings both echo and extend our previous results, lending further support for the hypothesized glass slipper effect. Table 5 also reveals that women's partner attitude IAT scores generally did not predict their interest in power, with one exception. Women who possessed positive implicit partner attitudes also shied away from being a

TABLE 6: Correlations Among Predictor Variables (Experiment 3)

	<i>Implicit</i>		<i>Explicit</i>			
	<i>Romantic Fantasy</i>	<i>Partner Attitude</i>	<i>Romantic Fantasy</i>	<i>Partner Attitude</i>	<i>Benefactor</i>	<i>Sexism</i>
Women						
Partner attitude IAT	.37**					
Romantic fantasy index	-.33**	-.19				
Partner attitude index	-.17	-.15	.28*			
Benefactor	-.11	.22	.23*	.15		
Awareness of sexism	-.24*	-.11	.04	.17	.03	
Gender competition	-.09	.01	.18	.01	.38**	-.11
Men						
Partner attitude IAT	.16					
Romantic fantasy index	-.13	-.02				
Partner attitude index	.10	.24*	.29*			
Benefactor	-.35**	-.17	.45**	-.19		
Awareness of sexism	.02	.03	.30*	-.15	.23	
Gender competition	.11	-.05	.04	.01	.28*	-.07

NOTE: $n_s = 73$ women and 54 men. Implicit Association Test (IAT) correlations were computed using log-transformed latencies. Correlations using raw latencies were similar.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

group leader. To provide discriminant validity, we correlated romantic fantasy IAT scores with the power measures while controlling for partner attitude IAT scores. Table 5 shows that the pattern remained stable, with the exception of the leadership index. However, when we examined the leadership roles separately, the first-order correlation between the romantic fantasy IAT and the masculine role was reliably negative, $r(70) = -.24$, $p < .05$, but was unreliable for the feminized role, $r(70) = -.12$, $n.s.$ In sum, the romantic fantasy IAT uniquely predicted women's interest in power, with the exception of the feminized leadership role.

As in Experiment 2, men showed weak associations between romantic fantasies and power, except that men high on the romantic fantasy IAT were less likely to pursue higher education. Men's partner attitude IAT scores did not covary with their interest in power (see Table 5).

Explicit predictors. Table 5 reveals that self-report measures did not predict people's interest in long-term power, with two surprising exceptions. First, both men and women who desired a benefactor were more interested in high-status jobs. Because this pattern is opposite to what we expected, we can only speculate that people looking for a benefactor may believe that high-powered workplaces are a likely hunting ground. Second, men who reported positive attitudes toward romantic partners were less interested in high-status jobs. Although the reason for this link is unclear, it may be that men with low professional aspirations place more importance on their relationships.

Finally, Table 5 shows three explicit predictors of the group leadership measure. First, women who agreed

that sex discrimination still exists were more interested in leadership. Although we expected a negative relationship between this measure and awareness of sexism, it may be that self-confident women are more sensitized to the glass ceiling. Second, women who liked their boyfriends also were interested in being a group leader, perhaps because self-confident women tend to have happy relationships. Third, men who possessed explicit romantic fantasies were more interested in being a group leader. However, Experiment 3 did not replicate Experiment 2's observed link between men's explicit romantic fantasies and their interest in high-status jobs.⁸

CORRELATIONS AMONG PREDICTOR VARIABLES

Table 6 shows the correlations among the predictor variables, separately by participant sex (top half for women, bottom half for men).

Correlations with implicit measures. Women's romantic fantasy and partner attitude IATs were positively related, suggesting that each taps positive partner evaluation. Surprisingly, women's implicit and explicit romantic fantasy measures were negatively related. Because this relationship was not found in Experiments 1 and 2, it should be viewed with caution. Although we expected women high on implicit romantic fantasies to desire a benefactor, Table 6 reveals this linkage only for explicit romantic fantasies, $p = .05$. Thus, it appears that women can possess implicit fantasies without expressing the wish for a financial provider. Finally, women high on sexism awareness were less likely to possess implicit romantic fantasies. No other relations among the implicit predictors were reliable for women.

Men who scored high on the romantic fantasy IAT also expressed less interest in a benefactor. In addition, men's implicit and explicit partner attitudes were positively related. No other implicit relationships were significant for men. In sum, gender moderated covariation among the IATs (women only) and implicit-explicit covariation for partner attitudes (men only).

Correlations with explicit measures. Women and men showed generally similar patterns among the explicit predictors. First, their romantic fantasy and partner attitudes were positively related. Thus, for women, there was evidence for the expected overlap between fantasies and positive partner evaluation at both the explicit and implicit level. Second, men (as well as women) desired a benefactor if they also reported romantic fantasies. It is noteworthy that the fantasy-benefactor link was positive using self-reports but negative using the IAT (albeit only reliably so for men). Third, participants who desired a benefactor also scored high on the gender competition index, suggesting that a reason for wanting a financial provider is to avoid stressful romantic relationships. Finally, men high on sexism awareness also reported more romantic fantasies. As noted above, for women, this linkage was negative and only occurred with the romantic fantasy IAT. Perhaps men aware of sexism are consciously more protective of their romantic partners, whereas for women, gender oppression reduces (automatic) male idealization.

CORRELATIONS AMONG POWER MEASURES

Men and women alike showed positive relationships between projected income and education goal, both $r_s > .26$, $p_s < .05$, and between education goal and interest in high-status jobs, both $r_s > .29$, $p_s < .05$. The relationship between projected income and interest in high-status jobs was reliable for women, $r(71) = .42$, $p < .001$, but not for men, $r(52) = .17$, ns . In addition, men's interest in becoming a group leader covaried with their projected income, $r(52) = .27$, $p < .05$. For women, this linkage was weak, $r(71) = .08$, ns . There were no other reliable relationships among the power-related variables, all $r_s < .21$, $p_s > .10$. In sum, there was general covariation among the long-term power measures but relative independence for the group leadership index.

Experiment 3's focal finding was the replication of women's negative fantasy-power relationships and the extension of this linkage to their interest in short-term leadership. Although results were disappointing with respect to finding other across-the-board predictors of women's interest in power, they further support the proposed glass slipper effect. They also showed that the effect is generally independent of positive evaluation of romantic partners.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present research replicated a self-selection bias, such that women less so than men were attracted to personal power (Konrad et al., 2000), including occupations that offer the highest economic and social rewards (Pratto et al., 1997). Averaging across the power measures in Experiments 2 and 3, the self-selection effect size was modest but nontrivial, $d = -0.28$. Because this bias perpetuates gender inequity, we sought to uncover psychological predictors of women's interest in personal power, focusing on romantic socialization. Because romance may encourage women to idealize and depend on men rather than seek their own fortunes, we hypothesized a link between women's personal aspirations and their implicit romantic fantasies. As anticipated, women who associated romantic partners with chivalric ideals (e.g., *Prince Charming*, *White Knight*) also showed less interest in high-status occupations, the economic rewards that accompany them, and the educational commitment they require. Experiment 3 showed that these relationships were independent of positive partner evaluation and also extended the link to women's interest in becoming a group leader when the role was described in masculine terms. Taken together, the results are consistent with the proposed glass slipper effect, such that automatically associating romantic partners with chivalry and heroism may curtail women's direct pursuit of power. In doing so, we do not seek to undermine the importance of the glass ceiling as an explanation for gender hegemony. Rather, we wish to call attention to the psychological processes that may nonconsciously inhibit women from competing with men for status and prestige.

Alternative Explanations for the Glass Slipper Effect

Because the research is correlational, the direction of the romantic fantasy-power relationship is unclear. Although it seems likely that early socialization results in girls developing implicit fantasies before they choose their occupations (Collins-Standley et al., 1996), it is certainly possible that women who are low in achievement motives might romantically idealize men as a means of indirectly attaining social status. In addition, a third variable may be responsible for the phenomenon. For example, women low in socioeconomic status (SES) might engage in wishful thinking (resulting in implicit romantic fantasies) and also be less likely to pursue personal power. Thus, the role of opportunity should be investigated in future research. Alternatively, fantasy-power linkages may result from system-justification processes (Jost & Banaji, 1994); that is, women who nonconsciously justify men's greater status may both implicitly idealize men and explicitly avoid competing

with them. The present research was more successful at ruling out third variables than providing them. Specifically, Experiment 3 showed that awareness of sexism negatively covaried with women's implicit romantic fantasies but did not generally relate to women's interest in power. Thus, there was no evidence to suggest that sexism inhibits female aspirations while encouraging women to romanticize men as a means of gaining status and prestige. Similarly, gender competition beliefs were ruled out as a possible third variable. The belief that status competition negatively affects romance was a surprisingly poor predictor of women's interest in personal achievement (and of their implicit fantasies). Finally, although we suspected that women with implicit romantic fantasies also might wish for a Prince Charming, Experiment 3 showed only that women who reported romantic fantasies desired a financial provider.

Nonetheless, the findings are provocative in their indicating a link between implicit romanticized notions of male partners and women's personal strivings for power. The fact that explicit romantic fantasies were less predictive of the power variables underscores the need for assessing sensitive attitudes via indirect methods. Although social desirability bias may have prevented women from reporting the true nature of their beliefs about romantic partners (Dovidio & Fazio, 1992), it is also plausible that implicit fantasies were not available to introspection (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). In any event, our results add to the growing literature showing more predictive utility for indirect, as opposed to direct, assessment techniques when measuring attitudes that respondents may be unwilling or unable to report (e.g., Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Rudman & Lee, 2002).

Men's Implicit Romantic Fantasies

Consistent with expectations, men's interest in power was generally unreliably related to their romantic fantasies. In fact, men in Experiment 2 showed no evidence of implicit fantasies (when fantasy was contrasted with positive personality traits in the IAT). However, when Experiment 3 contrasted favorable roles with roles that included sexualized ideals (e.g., sex goddess, Venus), men showed strong possession of implicit romantic fantasies. Nonetheless, men who scored high on this IAT were not more likely to pursue personal power. On the contrary, they were less interested in higher education. Regardless of whether this finding is stable, and many of the results for men in Experiments 2 and 3 were either surprising or proved to be unstable, the differences shown between men's and women's implicit fantasies are interesting and worthy of future research. It suggests yet another way in which men and women are socialized dif-

ferently (i.e., in how they idealize the opposite sex), which could result in disparate expectations for romantic relationships and, thus, disappointment.

Limitations of the Research

Similar to other prominent response latency techniques, the IAT assesses relative attitudes. Thus, we cannot know if romantic partner associations or other men associations are driving women's IAT effects, just as we cannot know if associations between Whites + pleasant or Blacks + unpleasant drive the race IAT effect (Greenwald et al., 1998). However, given the contrasts we used (reality-based, personality, and positive roles), it seems unlikely that linking other men to these alone (rather than linking romantic partners with fantasy) would negatively covary with women's interest in personal power.

Nonetheless, the IAT is an imperfect tool for assessing romantic fantasies because the contrast between romantic partners and other men may be somewhat forced. Using the IAT with unnatural contrasts can lead to spurious results (Karpinski & Hilton, 2001; Swanson, Rudman, & Greenwald, 1999; cf. Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). In the present research, the attribute contrasts varied from natural (fantasy-reality; Experiments 1 and 3) to forced (fantasy-personality; Experiment 2), which resulted in a range of effect sizes for the IAT (from .34 to 1.26 for women, and from -.47 to 1.47 for men). Moreover, Experiment 2 showed generally weaker implicit fantasy-power relationships for women, compared with Experiments 1 and 3. Thus, the present research should be considered exploratory at best. At present, there is not another implicit method that has shown the same flexibility, reliability, and validity as the IAT without its limitations. Perhaps the most promising is the go/no-go association task (GNAT) (Nosek & Banaji, 2001) because it measures nonrelative attitudes. However, depending on the distractors used, GNAT effect sizes also are subject to change.

Concerns have been raised about the IAT that are beyond the scope of this article to address (cf. Fazio & Olson, 2003), but they include the possibility that women who have difficulty switching between the two critical tasks also may possess less ambition because each is linked to mental inflexibility (Mierke & Klauer, 2001). If that were the case, we might expect men to have shown a similar pattern. Furthermore, evaluative associations are just as (if not more) likely to be driving the IAT effect (Mierke and Klauer provide no evidence to the contrary), and the growing literature on the IAT's construct validity, including its associations with behaviors and brain activity, coheres with this interpretation (for reviews, see Banaji, 2001; Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). In addition, the IAT has been argued to assess environmental associations rather than individual differences

(Karpinski & Hilton, 2001). However, implicit attitudes are posited to reflect "the deep reach of culture into individual minds" (Banaji, 2001, p. 139), so to expect a clean line between these and socialization processes is unwarranted (e.g., Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002). Indeed, we suspect that the glass slipper effect is derived from women's early romantic socialization experiences, which may influence them involuntarily (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

Finally, the transparency of our romantic fantasies index may have limited our ability to find an explicit glass slipper effect. In our defense, people with explicit romantic fantasies also reported liking their romantic partners, and the measure showed gender differences consistent with past research (Sprecher & Metts, 1989). Nonetheless, a subtler (and relative) measure would have provided a better counterpart to the IAT.

Implications of the Research

The present research is preliminary, but if experimental (and longitudinal) data confirm the glass slipper effect, its implications for gender parity are important. There are two reasons why implicit romantic beliefs may be especially insidious. First, the fact that romance idealizes partners may prevent even egalitarians from targeting it as potentially harmful to women's progress. Positive beliefs are simply less obvious than antipathy when investigating social structural factors that maintain hegemonies (e.g., Jackman, 1994). Second, whether people are aware of their implicit attitudes is currently a matter of some debate (Wilson, Lindsay, & Schooler, 2000), but less debatable is their ability to seep into judgments without people's knowledge or consent (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). If women are unaware of the linkage between implicit romantic fantasies and their aspirations, it will be difficult for them to counteract it when they ponder decisions that affect their future. Thus, education in the potential costs of romantic socialization might be in order to help women step out of their glass slippers and rise through the glass ceiling.

NOTES

1. It should be noted that romantic fantasies are not synonymous with having positive illusions about romantic partners (e.g., as kinder and more intelligent than average), which have been linked to healthier intimate relationships (Murray & Holmes, 1997; Murray, Holmes, & Griffin, 1996). Rather, they represent an extreme version of romantic ideals, one in which male partners are associated with chivalry and heroism.

2. Each experiment included both implicit and explicit measures of romantic identity and self-esteem and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1999). Because these variables were not related to the focal dependent variables, or produced inconsistent results, we do not report these findings.

3. From *America's Top 300 Jobs: A Complete Career Handbook*. This reference is based on the *Occupational Outlook Handbook* by the U.S. Department of Labor and is published by JIST Works, Inc.

4. The remaining seven occupations were more female traditional (e.g., social worker, counselor) and served as filler items in Experiments 1 through 3.

5. Before computing Implicit Association Test (IAT) effects, we followed standard procedures (e.g., Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). First, response latencies that were less than 300 ms or greater than 3,000 ms were set to values of 300 and 3,000 ms, respectively; all latencies (including corrected responses) were then included in the analyses. Second, latencies were log-transformed to normalize their distribution. For ease of interpretation, IAT results are presented in a millisecond index.

6. As a check on whether relationship status (1 = in a relationship, 0 = not in a relationship) influenced these results, we first determined that this variable was unrelated to the power measures and women's romantic fantasies (all r s < .16, n s). We also standardized the variables and then separately regressed the three power measures on the romantic fantasy IAT, relationship status, and their interaction. Results showed no reliable interactions, all F s < .17, p s > .16. The identical analyses substituting explicit romantic fantasy scores again showed no reliable interactions, all F s < .11, p s > .38. Similar analyses in Experiments 2 and 3 ruled out relationship status as a significant moderator of the link between romantic fantasies and power (for both men and women).

7. For women, the means (and standard deviations) were 4.56 (1.57) and 4.63 (1.60) for the masculine and feminized leader roles, respectively, $t(72) < 1.00$, n s. For men, the comparable means (and standard deviations) were 5.29 (1.55) and 5.28 (1.45).

8. For exploratory purposes, we conducted separate multiple regressions for men and women to check on whether Table 5's predictors were unique. For both genders, the results mirrored those shown in Table 5. Across the four power measures, the mean R^2 for women was .26 (for men it was .14).

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