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Transgendering Viewers of Television

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Abstract

In response to the growing number of transgender characters on television, I explored how witnessing transgender representation on television is associated with an increase in viewers’ knowledge about the trans community, their empathy and understanding for the trans community, and their likelihood to advocate for the trans community. I hypothesized that witnessing trans representation on television is associated with greater understanding and empathy for the trans community, knowledge about trans experiences, and motivation to advocate for the trans community. The trans community specifically is becoming more visible thanks to television shows like Fox’s *Pose*. Gender and gender identity frameworks are nuanced but necessary for understanding and discussing the implications for representation of transgender people. In my research, I investigated in a multi-part survey questionnaire with 64 participants, completing various extents of it. The survey explored how viewing media with transgender representation was associated with participants’ self-reported takeaways from watching. From the responses, I gained insight as to how watching this representation was associated with participants’ responses to questions, which I designed to investigate the variables of interest to my hypothesis. I found there was significant positive associations between viewers’ amounts of trans representation watched overall and their reported greater levels of education and understanding about the trans community from watching. These greater levels of education and understanding from watching were significantly, positively associated with greater levels of willingness to advocate for the trans community and act in support of it with pronoun usage from watching. The results of this study have reaching implications about the associations between watching transgender representation on television viewer takeaways and greater levels of understanding for this community. From this we can understand how the increase in transgender representation in television may impact and continue to impact audience members.
Introduction

In the world of Fox’s television show *Pose*, drag ball culture, transgender people of color, and queer characters take center stage (Murphy et al., 2018). It has storylines about these communities that viewers have never seen before on television. *Pose* educates viewers on intersectional, transgender issues and culture all while entertaining. The show takes place in the world of drag ball culture dominated by the trans community in the 1980s and 1990s. Sakoui (2019, p. 1) described this series as one that “captures the life of black and latinx trans and other queer outcasts who built maternal houses that took in LGBTQ youth,” which centers transgender history and culture of the “balls” and the dance scene that was prominent in the 1980s and ‘90s (Murphy et al., 2018; Sakoui, 2019, p. 1). This show incorporates stories like these that have never been on television before. It takes the viewer deep into trans and LGBTQ+ stories, struggles, culture, and community. It encourages viewers of the series to become invested in characters, communities, and families on their screens. As the show dives further into transgender experiences and characters’ struggles, viewers gain more knowledge on the trans community and trans experiences. They gain more understanding of what it is like to be a part of a community that society has ostracized for so long that nevertheless thrived.

*Pose* is not the only show on air telling trans and queer stories. Currently, the number of shows with representations of transgender characters is on the rise, which according to GLAAD, a LGBTQ+ media coverage organization, is a great accomplishment for the transgender community (GLAAD, 2015; GLAAD, 2017; GLAAD, 2019). This indicates that viewers are witnessing more trans characters and experiences. What is the effect or what will be the effect of this increase? Most viewers of these shows are likely cisgender individuals, that is, individuals who identify with the gender their parents assigned them at birth. Cisgender individuals most likely have less insight into trans experiences than trans people. How will having trans characters
on their screen impact them? Will they gain this insight and/or more empathy for this community from watching their stories?

I explored whether viewing television shows with transgender characters is associated with the knowledge of viewers on transgender issues and experiences. I also explored whether that knowledge could lead cisgender viewers to feel more concern or empathy for trans issues and discrimination.

To investigate if and how watching shows with representations of transgender characters on TV is associated with changes in viewers, I conducted research using a survey approach. Researchers in social and psychological disciplines have utilized numerous successful surveys to investigate media effects on viewers and viewer responses (Flayelle et al., 2019; Gillig et al., 2018; Primack et al., 2010). Researchers have also surveyed participants to gain information on television viewing behaviors and responses in past studies (Bessett & Murawsky, 2018; Flayelle et al., 2019; Gillig et al., 2018; Netzley, 2010; Oliver, 2012; So & Shen, 2016).

**Conceptual Framework**

*Transgendering Gender*

Gender is often thought of in binaries, the opposing genders being male and female. People often mistakenly link the term gender with sex, but these terms mean different things. Sex means physical, biological characteristics as in external genitalia, chromosomes, internal sex organs, which is how people typically assign gender to their children at birth (Healey, 2014, p. 1). Whereas gender is someone’s gender identity, “…whether that person feels masculine or feminine, a bit of both, or neither, however that person self-identifies” (Girschick, 2008, p. 2). Butler (2004) describes gender as “the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts
within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, a natural sort of being.” Gender is not something that must be internal or external. Everyone expresses or regards their gender identity differently. Almost every parent assigns gender to their child when presented with their child’s external genitalia. Most people assume that there are only two binary, opposite sexes, so there should be two binary genders as well, but Fausto-Sterling questioned that belief in 1993. She explained in her work that there are more than two physical sexes and that there are five different biological sex expressions (Fausto-Sterling, 1993). She described how physiological science disproved the myth of only two sexes, (sex meaning one’s external and internal sexual organs). That there are five different combinations of internal and external sexual organs; therefore, intersex individuals, those with sexual organs that do not match up with the expected male or female assigned sexual organs, exist. This diversity in sex expressions shows how sex is not either male or female, so it is not binary. Since there are more than two sexes biologically, the notion of multiple gender identities other than just male or female is reasonable from a biological perspective.

There are numerous gender identities that individuals identify with. Most people identify with the gender their parents or caregivers assigned them at birth based on their sex, and we call these individuals cisgender. But some individuals identify as trans or transgender, which is a term for someone who identifies differently than their gender assignment at birth (Healey, 2014, p. 58). Butler (2004) describes transgender people as “…persons who cross-identify or who live as another gender, but who may or may not have undergone hormonal treatments or sex reassignment operations”. Transgender people may or may not choose to undergo biological treatments to alter their bodies or hormones. Some trans people seek to transition physically to align closer to their gender characteristics. Some individuals identify as outside of the binary
selections of male or female: an identity many of them choose is genderqueer or gender nonbinary. People who identify out of this binary expand others’ presumptions of gender, which is why Healey refers to these individuals who challenge the definition of gender and its expression as “gender expansive” (2014, p. 2). These individuals reveal the existence of gender as a continuum within which it can be fluid. Given the vast complexity of human experience, identities, and physiological sex expressions, it makes sense that gender would also be complex and varying just as the human experience is (Fausto-Sterling, 1993; Healey, 2014, p 2). There are numerous gender identities and labels for those who identify other than male or female, and the term for these identities is “gender nonconforming” or alternatively, “genderqueer,” “gender nonbinary,” “agender,” etc. Trans is a term that gender nonbinary individuals sometimes identify with. For the purposes of this discussion, I will use the term “trans” to refer to individuals identifying differently than the gender assigned to them at birth and include gender-nonconforming individuals under this term.

Ultimately, the framework we are using relies on gender being something beyond the binary and fixed expectations. As Ekins & King put it, “…transgendering refers to both the idea of moving across one preexisting gender category to another or to the idea of transcending or living ‘beyond gender’ altogether” (1999, p. 1). This way of looking beyond the binary of gender is the framework I will use in this discussion. We need to fully “transgender,” so to speak, our concept of gender to truly comprehend the transgender characters that we will be looking at. We cannot view gender as a binary concept because doing so would exclude those who identify outside of that binary. This would invalidate the identities and experiences of gender-nonconforming individuals while failing to account for the continuum and fluidity of gender.
Transforming TV with Representation, Can Representation Transform Viewers?

Representation in television is a key component of this discussion. Due to pluralities in television or narrative series types, for the sake of this discussion, I’m going to use the term “TV” or “television” to describe narrative series or programs across broadcast or cable networks, or on streaming services: everything from Netflix original series to cable television sitcoms.

To discuss how viewing trans characters on TV influences the knowledge and subsequent activist leanings of viewers, we need to confirm how we will identify these characters as trans. To consider a character in this discussion transgender, the character has to have been born with a different gender assignment based on their sex at birth than the gender that they currently identify as. This includes trans women, trans men, nonbinary individuals, genderqueer individuals, or gender-neutral people without a specific gender label. For the sake of this discussion, we will consider trans characters in television as trans representation when the writers of the series acknowledge the character’s trans identity or trans experience. Research on gay representation in television and how it affects heterosexual and non-heterosexual viewers has found that an increase in this representation on television can lead to more positive visibility for the LGBTQ+ community (Netzley, 2010). I will soon discuss how the cultivation theory research framework informs this research and other similar studies that investigated the impact of watching television series with specific narratives on viewers (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Gerbner, 1998; Krongard & Tsay-Vogel, 2018). I hypothesize that this gain in visibility can lead to trans people becoming more accepted in mainstream society and the media, while becoming normalized in the eyes of cisgender people but this is not a hypothesis I will be testing in this paper. I am operating under this idea that trans representation in general is beneficial for viewers and the trans community, but all TV series may not always handle this representation in
beneficial ways with accurate and enlightened writing. Many television shows have centered transgender children navigating their experiences (Prochuk, 2014). Many of these programs have involved cisgender adults like interviewers and parents judging and subjecting these trans children’s bodies and lives to moral judgment and condemnation. This case is obviously not beneficial representation for the community or trans children when they face scrutiny from cisgender adults in power. Other television programs with LGBTQ+ representation have treated their characters that are members of this community poorly, involving storylines that have excessive violence and suffering for these characters and sometimes death. There have been harmful LGBTQ tropes in television like the “bury your gays” tropes, in which television series writers decide to script queer characters, lesbian characters specifically, dying (Waggoner, 2018). Writers have used this trope for shock value since 1976. The fan outrage that followed the unnecessary, violent death of the lesbian character Lexa Trikru on the CW’s The 100 condemned and called out this “bury your gays” trope. Another notable example of this trope is the excessively violent, scripted death of Tara Maclay on The WB’s Buffy the Vampire Slayer. When representation happens on television, it is not always handled with care by the writers.

Currently, there is a growing number of trans characters on TV, with GLAAD reporting there are 38 total trans characters recurring on TV as of 2019. Of the 38 recurring and regular trans characters on TV, “…21 are trans women, 12 are trans men, and five are non-binary characters” (GLAAD, 2019, p. 28). Based on this reporting, there is not equal variation in transgender representation numbers. There were only five non-binary characters on TV, which is a microscopic amount of representation for the nonbinary community. According to GLAAD, in 2015, there were only seven reoccurring transgender characters on “…scripted broadcast, cable, and streaming programming” (GLAAD, 2015). This is extremely low for 2015, a time when
LGBTQ+ representation in other forms was much higher (GLAAD, 2015). In 2017, there were 17 regular and recurring trans characters on TV (GLAAD, 2017). In 2019, that number increased to 38 (GLAAD, 2019). Based on GLAAD’s reports over the past few years, this rising trend in regular and recurring trans characters is growing. For example, Fox’s *Pose* “…has the largest number of trans actors in series regular roles in TV history” (Sakoui, 2019, p. 1). This means more trans characters are on television, and more viewers are seeing trans characters, trans experiences, and trans struggles with transphobia, which is prejudice against transgender individuals. This representation could have a big impact on the general population’s understanding of trans experiences and compassion for trans lives. The more viewers who witness trans representation, the more likely it is to affect these viewers’ knowledge of the trans community and their empathy for the trans community.

Alternatively, does TV have the ability to affect viewers’ knowledge and feelings? What effect do television or narrative stories have on the audience? Is watching a story really enough to change someone’s knowledge on a topic? Is it enough to make the viewer care about the people on their screen?

Based on Gerbner et al.’s (2002) cultivation theory and television mainstreaming research, we know that television widely contributes to viewer conceptions and worldviews (Gerbner, 1998; Gerbner et al., 2002). Gerbner describes that the viewing of similar content on television can overpower perspective differences among viewers and make them think more similarly. Gerbner et al. (1976) found television to be a medium of socialization, where common enculturation of values takes place. They found that participants who watched more television were more likely to have liberal political attitudes and opinions (Gerbner et al, 2002). They found that representation of characters in fictional worlds of television seemed to “signify [the]
social existence” of those characters in the minds of mainstream viewers (Gerbner et al., 1976). This indicates that representation on television may help normalize marginalized individuals and communities on screens in the minds of mainstream viewers and culture. This framework of cultivation from television viewing is applicable to contemporary television and audiences today as well (Krongard & Tsay-Vogel, 2018). This is the theoretical framework I will base my research on.

For television shows with gay representation, for example, research has found gay viewers can also benefit from witnessing their identities on screens, “…gay youth who once felt isolated because they did not see characters like themselves on television could feel more acceptance today because of the number of gay characters on television” (Netzley, 2010, p. 3). This research also found that witnessing this representation can benefit heterosexual viewers by helping normalize to them the existence of LGBTQ+ individuals via culturation theory (Gerbner, 1976; Netzley, 2010). That is, it can help non-LGBTQ+ viewers become more accepting of LGBTQ+ people by seeing them more often on their screens. This logic implies that similar viewer effects are present with transgender representation on television as well. This implies that non-trans people watching trans representation on television may also become more accepting of trans people by seeing them more often on television.

There are several instances where fictional television has shown to exert considerable influence on the viewers’ knowledge base and empathy for marginalized and unfamiliar groups specifically (Bessett & Murawsky, 2018; Oliver, 2012; So & Shen, 2016). In a research study by Bessett & Murawsky (2018), they found that pregnant women both purposely and inadvertently learned information on pregnancy from fictional television. Based on this research, it is reasonable to assume people can gain some of their knowledge schemas from fictional television.
whether they wish to or not (Bessett & Murawsky, 2018). This shows how large an influence TV can have on its viewer in terms of knowledge learned. Oliver (2012) found that a narrative story about a marginalized group can give audiences “…more compassion towards individuals in the story, more favorable attitudes toward the group, more beneficial behavior intentions, and more information-seeking behavior” (Oliver, 2012, p. 1). Based on this study, it is reasonable to assume that narrative stories featuring stigmatized groups can elicit empathetic responses from viewers. This means that witnessing trans characters and narrative storylines about transgender experiences and struggles on fictional television shows could elicit compassion and empathy in audience members for the transgender community. We need more research on the effects of trans representation in television because the numbers are rising. This research showcases why featuring trans characters in shows can have numerous impacts on viewers. Based on this evidence, it is likely that witnessing trans characters in fictional shows can give viewers a new understanding of trans experiences and the struggles of the trans community dealing with stigmatization and transphobia. This potential effect of showcasing trans stories on TV is why we must explore it deeper.

A recent study investigated some of these inquiries with methods similar to my own. (Gillig et al., 2018). This study investigated how a transgender storyline on a television show affected the viewers. They surveyed viewers to determine how they reacted to the exposure of transgender narratives. The results were that narrative exposure led to politically conservative viewers gaining more positive political attitudes towards transgender people after viewing transgender narratives on television. This research is one of the first to analyze this representation effect in terms of trans storylines with television. They found that there is a significant attitude change in conservative-leaning viewers, which indicates that other changes...
can occur for neutral or conservative-leaning viewers who watch other transgender narratives or more transgender narratives. This study focused on the attitudes and politics of viewers and how those changed, demonstrating how those attitudes can change in those with pre-existing political attitudes. This leads me to my research in which I analyzed how watching these shows is associated with increases in viewer effects. I looked at viewers’ gained knowledge of and/or understanding of the transgender community and trans experiences. I analyzed whether viewers of shows with this representation have an association with an increase in empathy for the trans community after witnessing these narratives and the potential for them also having the likelihood to advocate for or act in support of transgender people or causes.

*Context for Empathy*

We also must acknowledge the reasoning for TV viewers to understand more about the trans community and become more empathetic to their struggles. The trans community struggles immensely because of transphobia, prejudice against transgender individuals. Butler (2004, p. 6) describes this prejudice, “…transgender and transsexual people are subjected to pathologization and violence that is heightened in the case of trans persons from communities of color. This harassment suffered by those ‘read’ as trans or discovered to be trans cannot be underestimated.” Transphobia is widespread and massively affects trans people and trans communities in terms of family and social support, mental health, health care, government identification documents, safety, and risk for violence (James et al., 2015). Research has indicated this discrimination towards trans people is likely caused by feelings of hetero-cis normativity, where those with transphobic attitudes assume being cisgender and heterosexual is normal and consider those who are not as abnormal (Worthen, 2016). These feelings motivate many transphobic attitudes and behaviors like violence against trans people. Due to the prevalence of transphobia in our society,
transgender people face widespread prejudices and discrimination (Factor & Rothblum, 2007). A demographic study found that trans individuals are more likely to experience harassment and discrimination than cisgender people, specifically violent assault (Factor & Rothblum, 2007). They are in danger of violent transphobic assaults, specifically physical and sexual assault (Factor & Rothblum, 2007). Trans people are in physical danger for being trans, and they face immense discrimination on top of that threat. Many of the trans storylines on TV share these stories. For example, transgender people struggling with transphobia are prevalent in the storylines on Fox’s Pose (Murphy et al., 2018). These storylines involving trans characters could motivate some viewers to have more compassion and empathy for the trans community or at least learn more about this community. I explored whether this occurs for viewers of shows with trans representation, and if so, to what extent.

**Necessity of Research**

In the context of the existing literature, there is little research investigating the effect of transgender representation in television or even general representation’s effect on TV viewers. Gillig et al. (2018) began this inquiry. My inquiry is in response to the growing number of transgender characters represented in television (GLAAD, 2015; GLAAD, 2017; GLAAD 2019). This rise means that more viewers will encounter trans stories and representation. This is why the field needs research to see how these new stories and experiences will affect viewers. (especially viewers without previous knowledge of or interaction with the trans community). There is little literature on the effect of LGBTQ+ representation in general in television on viewers. This is an important phenomenon that needs exploration. This study will add to the research pioneered by Gillig et al (2018) while using similar methods for my own inquiry.
I explored the following research questions. Does watching shows with transgender representation have an association with viewers gaining empathy and understanding for this community? Does this viewing have an association with them gaining more knowledge about the experiences of this community? Are people who have pre-existing ties to trans people or the trans community more likely to watch shows with trans representation than others? Do these viewers of trans representation report feeling more willing to advocate for trans people and trans rights after witnessing shows with storylines about trans people and communities? Can television representation be associated with viewers’ willingness to advocate?

I explored these questions within a digital survey questionnaire I distributed to Pace University students and other various volunteers from social media who were 18 years old or older. I hypothesized that if individuals witness trans experiences and representation on television shows, they will have an associated increase in knowledge of the trans community and empathy for this community and their struggles. Furthermore, I hypothesized that this newly educated empathy from witnessing representation may lead to an inclination in viewers to advocate for and act in support of this community. In terms of data, I hypothesized that participants with higher scores for an anti-trans bias scale would have less reported amounts of watching trans representation in television (H1). I also hypothesized that participants who reported having watched greater amounts of trans representation would have higher scores for the total score of my dependent variables of interest which are whether watching a show with trans representation has contributed to participants: reporting greater levels of education about gender, education about transgender experiences and/or the community, education about LGBTQ+ experiences, understanding for using pronouns, and a greater level of willingness to use pronouns more, a greater level of willingness to advocate for the trans community or trans
people, whether socially, politically, financially, etc. (H2). I also hypothesized that the people with more trans background knowledge will have witnessed more transgender representation in television (H3). I believe the results I found have reaching implications for viewers of television shows in general and new viewers of specific transgender storylines.

Methods

Participants

I recruited volunteer participants who were 18 years old or older from Pace University students via emails and other participants from recruitment materials on social media. The participants were “drawn from, but not necessarily representative of, targeted sectors of the population of interest” of undergraduate students at Pace University and volunteers from social media (Walden, 2012, p. 1). In the email to students, I requested volunteers to take a survey that will take from 15 to 40 minutes depending on the participant’s willingness to complete additional parts. The sample was a convenience one based on volunteer participation in the study.

There were 64 participants who completed various extents of the questionnaire. In the analyses I ran, when participant responses were missing, it omitted that participant from the analyses. Of the participants, key additional characteristics are the following: 6 men, 45 women, 12 nonbinary people, and 1 trans man; 73.4% White, 10.9% Black or African American, 3.1% Asian, 1.6% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, 10.9% Other, 93.8% ages 18-24, 3.2% ages 27-40, and 3.2% ages 44-58, mean participant age: 21.95, standard deviation of participant ages: 6.27. The participant sample was diverse in terms of gender identities that included a dozen nonbinary participants, a population that is typically underrepresented in research. The Pace University Institutional Review Board approved the procedures for this study.
Participant Experience Overview

Participation began with all participants volunteering to complete a survey that may or may not involve LGBTQ+ themes in television. They started the survey by answering the demographics pre-survey. Then, they completed the general television viewing survey. All closed-ended questionnaires in the survey consisted of multiple-choice responses or Likert scales. Many successful questionnaires and research investigations similar to my own have utilized Likert scales (Hill and Willoughby, 2005; Nagoshi et al., 2008; Gillig et al., 2018). Some of my own questionnaires with Likert scales come directly from their work. Then, if they agreed to move on to the additional video survey component that was not the focus of this current study but will be in a larger project. I debriefed the purpose of the study after the participants complete the survey(s). For all of the survey questions containing transgender terminology, I included definitions of transgender terms, gender terms, and transphobia terms to clarify for participants.

Pre-survey Demographics Component

The survey began with all participants completing an informed consent form for a survey that “concerns effects of viewing television narratives that could be related to LGBTQA+ themes” in which I discussed potentials for participant discomfort. Then they completed the pre-survey demographics questionnaire. The following were the parts of the demographic questionnaire survey component:

Part I consists of basic demographic questions I designed involving participants describing their academic year, ethnic background, political leaning, gender identity, etc. This part informs me of demographics of participants which allows me to see the diversity of the
sample, the LGBTQ+ and/or gender identity of the participant, and the participant political background.

**Part II** consists of a questionnaire I created that assessed the participants’ transgender or LGBTQ+ knowledge background and potential connections to these communities. This part informed me of participants’ background and connection with the trans community and their pre-existing knowledge and empathy for the community. This component allowed me to observe how much participants reported television impacting their knowledge on trans experiences compared with other sources of knowledge.

**Part III** involved participants rating their agreement on a Likert scale of “from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)” with items 1-7 from Hill and Willoughby’s (2005) transphobia scale and item 8 from Nagoshi et al.’s (2008) research methods questionnaire. In example, item 2 was “sex change operations are morally wrong.” Participant responses to this section allowed me to pinpoint participants’ baseline attitudes, views, and biases about transgender people and trans experiences where higher scores indicated higher levels of anti-trans biases (Hill and Willoughby, 2005). The reliability for this anti-trans bias scale had a Cronbach’s alpha of .873.

*Television Viewing Survey*

The purpose of this survey was to get an idea of what shows with trans representation participants have watched and what they report they gained or did not gain from watching the shows.
Part I is based on participants reporting television show(s) they watched that had a transgender character (all series I provided as response options include at least one significant portrayal of a realistic, transgender experience with realistic writing). If a participant selected “I have not witnessed a show with a transgender character,” the participant is directed to the video survey component option question instead of completing the general television viewing survey. If participants selected any other option, they continued to part II of this survey.

Part II involved questions that prompted participants to describe how much transgender representation they saw in the show(s) they selected and in television in general. This part allowed me to see how much representation participants have seen before. It also informed me how much representation they viewed on the shows they reported watching, which allowed me to see how many trans storylines the participants have witnessed in general.

Part III involved questions on the impact of watching television with trans characters. Participants’ responses to these statements allowed me to determine how viewing trans representation was associated with what responses from participants including the main variables of interest to me being grouped as the following categories of questions whether watching a show with trans representation has contributed to participants: reporting greater levels of education about gender, education about transgender experiences and/or the community, education about LGBTQ+ experiences, understanding for using pronouns, and a greater level of willingness to use pronouns more, a greater level of willingness to advocate for the trans community or trans people, whether socially, politically, financially, etc. The responses to questions considering the effects of viewing on gender education, knowledge, and learning about the trans community allowed me to see if and how viewing these storylines helped participants
learn more about transgender experiences, culture, issues, transphobia, etc. The responses to statements on increased empathy and understanding for trans people allowed me to assess if and how viewers may have gained an understanding for trans characters or people. The responses to other questions in this section allowed me to assess the impacts that viewing potentially gave participants’ political attitudes, views, and willingness for activism and change in support of transgender people. Answers to this last type of statements allowed me to assess if participants felt that they have gained motivation and likelihood to alter their behaviors or act in advocacy for trans people after witnessing trans storylines. All of these answers were self-reported by participants which has the potential for response biases. It will allow me to observe how participants report their perceived viewer effects. This section allowed me to see evidence for my hypothesis that viewing trans representation is associated with an increase in one’s knowledge or understanding of transgender experiences, issues, and transphobia. There were 6 matrixes in this section with a total of 29 items for participants to rate their agreement with. The total dependent variable of interest totals had a Cronbach’s alpha reliability of .814.

There is a high possibility for response bias and participants making overestimations in this section, which I considered in my analysis.

**Part IV** of the general television survey asked participants to explain how “watching transgender characters on television has affected you in your own words” in an open-ended prompt. Responses to this prompt allowed me to analyze individual cases of reported viewership effects.

**Part V** of this survey asked participants if they “would like to complete an additional survey that involves watching a video and answering related questions that may take 20-25 minutes to complete”. If they answered “yes,” they continued to the video survey component
where I randomly assigned them to either the treatment condition or control condition of the video components that I will use for another larger research project. If they answered “no,” I shared with them a debriefing that described the value of their contribution and my intended research goals.

**Analysis**

I hypothesized that the variables of interest to me would present with those who report having witnessed transgender representation in television. From all questionnaire designs that target my variables of interest, I learned more about participants’ reported effects of viewing trans representation, their gender and trans biases, their attitudes towards trans people, their willingness to advocate for the community, etc. Each questionnaire had an intended analysis purpose. I used additive measures to determine participants’ numerical scores for the numerous Likert scale questionnaires.

**Variables**

Below are the dependent variables of interest that I grouped together out of questions surrounding these themes that participants rated their agreement with on in the questionnaire:

Whether watching a show with trans representation has contributed to participants: reporting greater levels of education about gender, education about transgender experiences and/or the community, education about LGBTQ+ experiences, understanding for using pronouns, and a greater level of willingness to use pronouns more, a greater level of willingness to advocate for the trans community or trans people, whether socially, politically, financially, etc.

Other variables in the survey that I helped inform my data analysis were the anti-trans bias scale responses that I scored, the amount of trans representation the participants reported
watching in the past, and the participants’ reported trans background knowledge. I compared these variables with the dependent variables of interest and others to find associations.

To operationalize the variables I studied, I looked at the questionnaire pieces that relate to the variables and created scores that corresponded with those variables from questionnaire responses. I used Likert scale scores to measure multiple item responses that correlate to the dependent variables to calculate the levels of the effect or dependent variable. I will discuss the analysis in terms of the following response types consisting of Likert scores, multiple choice responses, and compiled scores from quantitative scales and responses.

I hypothesized that participants with higher scores for the anti-trans bias scale would have fewer reported amounts of watching trans representation in television (H1). I also hypothesized that participants who reported having watched greater amounts of trans representation would have higher scores for the total score of my dependent variables of interest (the question themes that make up this sum total I discussed earlier) (H2). I also hypothesize that the people with more trans background knowledge will have witnessed more transgender representation in television (H3).

**Statistical Analysis**

For all scaled questionnaire responses including the anti-trans bias scale and the total dependent variables of interest to me, I ran reliability Cronbach’s alpha analyses that confirmed they had a high enough reliability to warrant using them. I ran correlations with the participants’ anti-trans bias scale scores and the transgender representation watched overall score to investigate my H1 hypothesis (I hypothesized that participants with higher scores for the anti-trans bias scale would have less reported amounts of watching trans representation in television). I ran correlations between the transgender representation watched overall score for participants
with the total score of participants’ dependent variables of interest to me (whether watching a show with trans representation has contributed to participants: having greater levels of education about gender, education about transgender experiences and/or the community, education about LGBTQ+ experiences, understanding for using pronouns, and a greater level of willingness to use pronouns more, a greater level of willingness to advocate for the trans community or trans people, whether socially, politically, financially, etc.). I then subsequently ran correlations for each dependent variable of interest with the transgender representation watched overall to see if there was a significant association for any particular variable for my H2 hypothesis (I hypothesized that participants who reported having watched greater amounts of trans representation would have higher scores for the total score of my dependent variables of interest, the scores that make up this sum total I discussed earlier). I also ran a correlation between all of the different themes of my dependent variables of interest that I scored which I detailed earlier. I ran correlations between anti-trans bias scores, transgender representation watched overall, and transgender background knowledge, and reported knowledge of transphobia to investigate if there is a significant association for my H3 hypothesis (I hypothesize that the people with more trans background knowledge will have witnessed more transgender representation in television). Lastly, I ran an ANOVA with the gender identities of participants and their amount of representation watched overall. For the statistical analysis involving responses absent from participants who did not complete the entire survey, they were omitted from the statistical operation. All tests were conducted at a .05 level of significance.
Results

**Hypothesis 1 (H1)**

I tested my H1 hypothesis with a correlation that found an insignificant association between anti-trans bias scores and representation watched overall in participants $r(52) = .252$, $p > .05$. The implication of this finding is limited because my anti-trans bias scores had extremely low variability and were highly clustered towards low scores of anti-trans bias. When I ran a t-test with these same variables with median splits for the anti-trans bias scores, there was a significant difference between the two groups with high and low anti-trans bias scores and the representation they had watched overall $t(52) = 1.360$, $p < .05$.

**Hypothesis 2 (H2)**

I tested my H2 hypothesis by running a correlation between trans representation watched overall and the subject’s total scores for their dependent variable effects I previously described. These variables had a significant association with $r(51) = .269$, $p = .052$, indicating a positive association between these variables. As participants increased in their score of representation watched overall (higher score meaning more representation watched), their dependent variable effects total score (higher scores meaning more reported greater levels of the dependent variables of interest to this study) increased as well in general. This supports my hypothesis and indicates that there is an association between my variables of interest as a total score and representation viewed by participants.

To look at the individual dependent variables of interest to me, I ran a correlation with trans representation watched overall with each of the dependent variables as separate totals (being reported greater levels of education about gender, the transgender community, pronoun use, etc. as previously mentioned). From this correlation I found a significant association specifically between representation watched overall and an increase in education/understanding
about transgender experiences with $r(51) = .306, p < .05$. This means as participants increased in their score of representation watched overall, their scores indicating greater levels of understanding and education about the transgender community also increased. I also ran a correlation between those individual dependent variable effect scores with each other in a correlation matrix and found that the scores for greater levels of education/understanding for the trans community were positively associated with the following other dependent variable total scores: with scores for greater levels of understandings for gender being $r(51) = .566, p < .01$, and with the scores for greater levels of willingness to use and share pronouns being $r(51) = .640, p < .01$, and with the scores for greater levels of willingness for transgender advocacy efforts being $r(51) = .522, p < .01$.

I also observed that there was a significant positive association between the subjects who have watched *Pose* and their reported greater levels of LGBTQ+ education/understanding from watching trans representation with $r(51) = .263, p < .05$.

**Hypothesis 3 (H3)**

My H3 was not supported: the total score of participants’ transgender background knowledge was not significantly associated with their score of transgender representation watched overall $r(52) = .097, p > .05$. In an ANOVA, there was no significant difference between participants’ gender identity and the amount of representation watched overall $F(3, 50) = 1.021, p > .05$. And there was no significant association between participants’ transgender identification and the amount of representation watched overall $r(52) = -.215, p > .05$. In another ANOVA, there was not a significant difference $F(1, 52) = 2.271, p > .05$ between liberal political affiliations and other political affiliations for participants and the amount of representation watched.
There was a significant negative association between total transgender background knowledge and participants’ anti-trans bias scores with \( r(62) = -0.252, p<0.05 \). This association means that as anti-trans bias scores increased (meaning increasing levels of anti-trans bias), the score of transgender background knowledge decreased (meaning participant scores for amount of understanding for the transgender community decreased). There was a significant positive association between participants’ pre-existing, self-reported levels of transgender community knowledge and their understanding of transphobia with \( r(62) = 0.711, p<0.01 \).

**Discussion**

**Results Summary**

The purpose of my study was to analyze and explore the relationship between trans representation watched on television and participants’ self-reports of resulting greater levels of knowledge for that community, their understanding for that community, their empathy for it, and their willingness to advocate for it. Based on my statistical results, the findings did not support H3 hypotheses, which means that my results found that the subjects’ trans background knowledge was not significantly associated with the amount of transgender representation watched in television. My results partially supported my H1 hypothesis which found that median splits of subjects’ anti-trans bias scores were significantly associated with the amount of transgender representation watched in television. However, my H2 hypothesis was supported by the significant positive association between the amount of transgender representation watched in television, and the total scores of the dependent variables of interest (being viewers’ knowledge about the trans community and/or trans experiences, viewers’ understanding or empathy for trans people or the trans community, and viewers’ willingness to advocate for or support the trans community or trans people). To my knowledge, my results are the first to show that viewing
transgender representation can be associated with greater levels of understanding and knowledge for that community.

Additionally, the specific dependent variable that had a significant positive association with the amount of representation watched was an participants’ self-reported levels of education/understanding about transgender experiences. Among the dependent variables, variables significantly, positively associated with the total scores for greater levels of education/understanding for the trans community were scores for greater levels of understandings for gender, scores for greater levels of willingness to use and share pronouns, and the scores for greater levels of willingness for transgender advocacy efforts. There was a positive association between participants who reported having watched Pose and their reported greater levels of LGBTQ+ education/understanding from watching trans representation. There was also a significant negative association between total transgender background knowledge and participants’ anti-trans bias scores. There was a significant positive association between participants’ pre-existing, self-reported levels of transgender community knowledge and their understanding of transphobia.

These results have implications for the potential associations of watching transgender representation on television in terms of viewers’ potential resulting knowledge for the community they watched represented and how that knowledge/understanding may become associated with greater levels of willingness to advocate for the community they watched and behave differently according to what they learned. These results also have implications for other representations of marginalized groups on television and viewers on how watching representation may involve viewers having greater levels of understanding/knowledge for the marginalized community being represented.
**Context with Findings**

The results of my study have several implications in comparison to the pre-existing research. Gerbner et al. (1976) found that representation of characters in fictional worlds of television seemed to “signify [the] social existence” of those characters in the minds of mainstream viewers, and according to my study this translates into the significant positive association between the amount of trans representation watched and subjects’ scores for greater understanding/knowledge for the trans community. This implies that in terms of trans representation, this “signify[ing of] social existence” may occur in terms of viewers’ sense of understanding for and knowledge of the trans community after watching them on television.

While my study does not investigate Gerbner’s other research that indicates how representation on television may help normalize marginalized individuals and communities on screens in the minds of mainstream viewers and culture, my study reveals that part of this mainstreaming process from representation may involve greater levels of understanding and knowledge for the trans community. This has implications for the effect of representation on viewers’ understanding for marginalized groups.

My results also found that participants’ anti-trans bias scores were significantly different with the amounts of transgender representation watched for participants with high and low anti-trans bias scores that were median splits. This means that participants with high anti-trans bias levels watched a different amount of trans representation overall than those with low anti-trans bias scores. This implies that individuals’ anti-trans biases may be related to the amount of trans representation they have watched on television and that those factors may be related.

Since there is not a supported association between these variables, this suggests that there is potential for many different people with different attitudes towards trans people that may end up watching transgender representation on television that may involve an association with
viewers’ greater levels of understanding for this community. Greater levels of understanding for this community and seeing trans people on television may involve viewers seeing this community as one that is more mainstream and normal as suggested by the culturation and mainstreaming theories (Gerbner, 1976; Netzley, 2010).

Netzley (2010) found that witnessing gay representation can benefit heterosexual viewers by helping normalize to them the existence of LGBTQ+ individuals via culturation theory, which is a process that could potentially apply to what we are seeing with the trends in my data results where there is an association with an increase in understanding for the trans community after watching representation (Gerbner, 1976; Netzley, 2010). This means that, potentially, if the culturation process proposed by Gerbner (1976) is happening with transgender representation for viewers, then a part of that culturation process could involve a step where viewers gain education about or understanding for the trans community like we are seeing in my results.

My findings in terms of the association with greater understanding and knowledge for watching representation on television also support research done by Bessett & Murawsky (2018) which found that pregnant women both purposely and inadvertently learned information on pregnancy from fictional television. This furthers the claim that education and understanding are gained from television and adds new findings that support this concept applying to representation for the trans community.

My results did not find an association between representation watched and empathy gained for the trans community which does not support Oliver (2012)’s specific findings on compassion from representation in narratives. However, the association between greater levels of knowledge/understanding for the trans community and greater levels for advocacy efforts and pronoun use does support Oliver’s findings that narratives with marginalized people can give
audience a greater likelihood to engage in “more information-seeking behavior” like these (Oliver, 2012, p. 1). The lack of significant results with empathy and compassion for the trans community could be due to response bias to questions that specifically asked participants whether watching transgender storylines has “increased your empathy for…” or “increased your compassion for…” which might have increased the likelihood for bias. In future studies on empathy for communities represented being associated with representations in media, less direct means of questionnaires might be more effective in scoring greater empathy or compassion levels.

My findings also add to the research of Gillig et al. (2018) which found significant attitude change in conservative-leaning viewers of transgender storylines. My research adds more findings to the growing understanding of how transgender representation on television may affect viewers in which results show an association with viewing and greater levels of knowledge/understanding for the transgender community. This implies that one of the potential phenomenons for viewers watching more transgender representation could be greater levels of viewers understanding the trans community and having more knowledge about this community. Further research is needed to verify and build off of this finding in terms of transgender representation.

My research also found that there was not an association between viewers’ amount of transgender background knowledge or their gender identity with their amount of representation watched, which suggests that people with various backgrounds are likely to watch transgender representation. This may add to the findings of Gillig et al. that viewers with conservative leaning attitudes towards trans people can have significant attitude changes towards this group after watching trans storylines, and those with these neutral or conservative backgrounds might
be just as likely to watch transgender representation (as my findings suggest) and have their attitudes change as demonstrated in the previous research (Gillig et al., 2018). However, my results that there was a difference between political affiliation and viewers representation watched overall scores supports to the findings of Klapper (1960) about the tendency for viewers of television shows to watch programs that go along with their pre-existing worldviews and attitudes that may be related to conservative political affiliations. This means that those with conservative political leanings may not have witnessed as much trans representation in my study.

**Limitations**

In my study, there are the following limitations: the tendency for viewers of television shows to watch programs that go along with their pre-existing worldviews and attitudes which means I might not have had as many responses from participants with worldviews and attitudes that are anti-trans or neutral towards transgender people who have not watched transgender representations because I could not survey those who have never witnessed transgender representation in parts of my study (Klapper, 1960). This research found that those with neutral or positive perspectives on the trans community are more likely to watch shows with trans representation to begin with which could impact the trends in my data where those who have watched transgender representation in the first place may have pre-existing attitudes and background associations impacting their responses. And possibly those with negative views or neutral views of transgender individuals may be more likely to avoid shows with trans storylines altogether. This may affect the distribution of responses in my survey research. In an attempt to offset this limitation, I recruited participants for my research that I described as “research on television viewing that could relate to LGBTQ+ themes,” which purposefully omitted explicit information about the study focusing on transgender representation. There was a likelihood that
participants with negative attitudes towards trans people chose to not take the survey at all if I advertised it as such, but they also had the ability to stop taking the survey once they saw questions involving the trans community and trans politics which is a limitation in this study that may have deterred these participants from completing my survey. This limitation of the study may mean my participants who completed it may have either positive or neutral views of the trans community. The participants in this study were primarily college-aged individuals and young adults which limits the generalizability of this study to the population as a whole.

Based on participants’ self-reported effects, I learned more about how participants perceived and reported the effects of trans representation on themselves. For this survey component, the questionnaires were all self-reports that might have response biases that must be taken into consideration in this study. The findings previously mentioned involving questions asking specifically about participants’ greater levels of empathy and compassion might have contributed to some response biases where participants might have wanted to avoid admitting that a television show impacted their levels of compassion or empathy towards a community or to avoid admitting that they did not have such qualities before watching. Future studies investigating these qualities might benefit from measuring greater levels of compassion and empathy less directly in participants to offset this bias.

There are possible extraneous variables from participant responses to the demographic’s questionnaire to factor into my consideration of the effects of interest. These extraneous variables consist of the gender identity of participants, their LGBTQ+ background, and if the non-transgender participants have a connection to the transgender community. These pre-
existing factors may have impacted potential response biases of participants in their reports of how watching this representation impacted them.

The generalizability of this study is limited because this survey was volunteer-based consisting of mostly white women 18-24 years of age. The associations from correlations that I found were not evidence of causation, so I cannot assume cause and effect were present in the results of this study. Since this study is a single-case one, there is low population validity.

**Importance of Research**

With the increasing number of transgender storylines and representations on television, there will be more viewers watching the storylines which could have potential impacts on these viewers’ understanding of this community they are watching. It is important to study the possibility of potential effects or associations between watching these stories and having greater understandings for this community and/or empathy for it to understand how this representation may impact viewers. This representation gives visibility to a community that faces threats of violence, discrimination, and physical danger because of ignorance and hetero-cis normativity and transphobia from society and individuals (Factor & Rothblum, 2007). If these individuals and society are able to see more transgender storylines on television, there is a possibility that watching this is associated with greater understanding for this community as suggested by my data results. This also has implications for the potential viewership effects of watching representations of marginalized communities on television within the context of the culturation theory and mainstreaming of television content (Gerbner, 1976; Netzley, 2010). Within the context of this theory, we can analyze if viewing representation of transgender people can contribute to the mainstreaming process that can normalize viewers’ perceptions of transgender people and the community in positive ways that are more understanding and accepting.
In my results, participants’ greater levels of understanding for the trans community after witnessing representation were positively associated with greater levels of information-seeking behavior, greater levels of pronoun use, and greater levels of willingness to engage in advocacy for this community. This finding has implications for the relationship between gaining understanding for the transgender community and engaging in these advocacy and activism behaviors. This suggests that the greater levels of understanding from watching trans representation is associated with greater likelihood to engage in behavior supporting and advocating for the community a viewer has watched, suggesting that representation of marginalized communities in television could be associated with greater knowledge/understanding of that community and a greater likelihood for activism and advocacy for it. This implies an indirect link between watching representation on television and having a greater likelihood to engage in advocacy for that community which is a concept not yet explored in research in terms of transgender representation. This link is one that needs further research to investigate possible cause and effect relationships with understanding for the trans community and willingness to engage in advocacy for this community. Further research demonstrating cause and effect in terms of gained knowledge, gained empathy, gained willingness for advocacy, etc. from transgender representation on television is also needed.

More people watching trans representation according to the culturation and mainstreaming theories could involve viewers having more normalized perceptions of transgender people after witnessing representations of them on television (Gerbner, 1976; Netzley, 2010). If more viewers watch representations of trans people, it is possible they could potentially have decreased levels of cisgender normativity biases once they understand more about the trans community. Since cisgender normativity often incites discrimination and
transphobic attitudes and behaviors against trans people, this potential decrease in feelings of this bias could have far-reaching impacts on societal attitudes about trans people (Factor & Rothblum, 2007; Worthen, 2016). More research is needed to investigate these potential implications and what it could mean for societal understanding and attitudes about trans people. More research is also needed to pinpoint how anti-trans biases may be associated with levels of trans representation watched and if there is a possible attitude and bias change process that can happen from watching this representation as Gillig et al.’s research suggests (Gillig et al., 2018).

These findings reveal implications of the potential impacts of the rise in number of viewers watching transgender representations on television and how watching these stories may in fact impact audience understandings for this community and if this potential rise in understanding can contribute to a transgendering process for viewers in which transgender people become normalized in their minds and in society. With this potential normalization process that may occur, there is hope for the trans community to face less societal discrimination and transphobia. Further research is needed on how this transgendering process is happening for viewers. More research is needed on if my findings of greater levels of understanding for this community can apply to the larger population of television viewers. More research is also needed on if greater understanding can lead to normalization for the trans community. This research is vital to understanding how and if representation can affect viewers and if this representation in television can impact audiences’ relationship to the transgender community from seeing these stories on their screens.
References


