Mediated Vicarious Contact with Transgender People: How Narrative Perspective and Interaction Depiction Influence Intergroup Attitudes, Transportation, and Elevation

Minjie Li

The University of Tampa

Article Information

Abstract

The emerging intergroup perspective-taking narrative has become a mainstream representational strategy in the rise of transgender media visibility. Taking an experimental design approach, this study investigates how narrative perspective (Ingroup Perspective vs. Outgroup Perspective) interacts with intergroup interaction depiction (Positive vs. Negative) in transgender-related media content to redirect people's attitudes toward transgender people, transportation, and elevation responses. The findings reveal that the outgroup perspective is more likely to elicit 1) positive attitudes toward the featured transgender character and the transgender outgroup; 2) transportation; and 3) meaningful affect, mixed affect, and motivational responses. However, the positive depiction of transgender-cisgender intergroup interaction only prompts positive attitudes toward the transgender character, meaningful affect, and physical responses. Implications of such intergroup communication strategies in public interest communications are discussed.

Introduction

In recent years, transgender media visibility and representation have drastically evolved. The Amazon series *Transparent* won two Golden Globes; Olympic gold medalist Caitlyn Jenner started her reality show, *I am Cait*, garnering 17 million viewers; ABC Family's *Becoming Us* documented a parent's gender transition from the perspective of a teenage son; and *I am Jazz* on TLC explored the journey of a transgender youth (Richards, 2015). These programs show three major shifts in media's representation of marginalized social groups and intergroup relations. First, they redefine and complicate the meaning and relations of ingroup and outgroup in media

representation; different from the ingroup-outgroup relations defined by race, sexuality, nationality, and traditional binary male-female gender categories, transgender social category poses a new ingroup-outgroup relation, cisgender-transgender (cisgender refers to those whose gender identity aligns with their biological sex). Second, these shows emphasize the interaction between transgender characters and their family members as opposed to depicting transgender people as isolated individuals. Instead of focusing on the featured trans characters' perspective, these programs shift the narratives to tell transgender stories from the cisgender family's perspective. As a result, such emerging narrative construction and intergroup relation in media might complicate how audiences process incoming information about the target outgroup members, particularly transgender people. The cisgender family members in these shows might serve as ingroup negotiators to improve intergroup understanding and communication between the general audience and transgender people. While transgender media visibility increased and transformed significantly, the number of transgender people murdered has skyrocketed worldwide (Adams, 2017). This phenomenon calls for better media narrative strategies that are able to not only represent transgender people but also change outgroup members' perceptions of the transgender community at large. Bandura (1994) asserts that vicarious experiences, rather than direct experiences, influence people's conceptions of social reality. Mediated contact theories suggest that contact with outgroup media characters could reduce individuals' prejudices toward the outgroup (Schiappa, Gregg, & Hewes, 2005 Schiappa, Gregg, & Hewes, 2006). Therefore, it is theoretically and empirically meaningful to examine the effects of the previously mentioned emerging narrative strategies in the shifting intergroup relations.

The current study integrates mediated vicarious intergroup contact—exposure to the interaction of ingroup and outgroup characters—with social cognitive theory (SCT) to explain the effects of mediated intergroup contact in the context of current transgender media representation. More specifically, this study investigates how narrative perspective (Ingroup/Cisgender Perspective vs. Outgroup/Transgender Perspective) interacts with depictive valence of intergroup interaction (Positive vs. Negative) to influences people's attitudes toward a transgender character and the transgender social group as a whole. Moreover, it examines how narrative perspective and interaction depiction redirect people's transportation and elevation through outgroup-related reality television. This study makes innovative theoretical contributions through 1) investigating the contact effects of narrative perspective and interaction depiction on attitudes, 2) exploring how narrative perspective and interaction depiction influence transportation and elevation, 3) exploring the media effects of the emerging cisgender-transgender intergroup relations and representational strategies, 4) enriching the literature of the emerging field of public interest communications, and 5) exploring the psychologically effective narrative strategies so as to optimize the media's and activists' social change efforts.

Literature review

Public interest communications, intergroup communication, and social change

As a form of strategic communication for social change, public interest communications refers to "the development and implementation of science-based, planned strategic communication campaigns with the goal of achieving significant and sustained positive behavioral change or action on an issue that transcends the particular interests of any single organization" (Fessmann, 2016, p. 16). While intergroup strategic communication is one of the key components that institutes social change (Seyranian, 2013), there is limited systematic knowledge on what social psychological variables can help social groups and community leaders optimize their efforts in social change through constructing intergroup messages and media narratives (Fiol, Harris & House, 1999; Seyranian, 2017). The goals of public interest communications include 1) influencing individuals' attitudes, and 2) enacting positive behavioral change on public interest issues that might "translate into higher levels of overall well-being, thriving, and happiness" (Fessmann, 2016; Seyranian, 2017, p. 59).

This research not only centers around the key component of social change—intergroup relations—but also takes the social scientific approach to explore the optimal social psychological variables and strategies that promote the foregoing two goals of public interest communications. First, drawing from the intergroup contact theories and social cognitive theory, this study addresses the importance of two strategic variables—narrative perspective and interaction depiction—in relationship to intergroup attitudes. Second, through incorporating the theories of transportation and elevation, this research further explores whether narrative depiction and interaction depiction will facilitate creating mediated minority content that not only absorbs/engages the otherwise apathetic majority audience but also prompts broader prosocial tendencies and well-being.

Intergroup contact

The contact hypothesis, also known as Intergroup Contact Theory, asserts that contact with outgroup members functions to facilitate prejudice reduction (Allport, 1954; Schiappa et al., 2005). To optimize such positive outcomes, the contact situation should meet four intergroup conditions—equal status, shared common goals, cooperation, and authoritative support. Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis supports these effects and patterns of intergroup contact. However, such direct contact is not always feasible; people tend to choose their social contact based on the similarities in social categories (e.g., race, gender, sexuality, class, religion) (Wojcieszak & Azrout, 2016). In reality, most people do not have direct interpersonal contact with most outgroups that fall outside their identities, especially when it comes to marginalized

social groups such as the transgender community. Therefore, indirect contact plays a crucial role in bridging this gap.

Mediated vicarious contact: Intergroup interaction in the media

Indirect intergroup contact functions in various forms (Harwood, 2010; Harwood, Qadar, & Chen, 2016; Vezzali, Hewstone, Capozza, Giovannini, & Wolfer, 2014). Extended contact addresses situations in which people simply know about an ingroup member's having contact with an outgroup member (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Imagined contact encourages people to simulate an encounter with an outgroup member mentally (Crisp & Turner, 2009). Parasocial contact pertains to scenarios when an audience encounters individual media characters who are outgroup members (Schiappa et al., 2005). Vicarious contact, on the other hand, emphasizes observing the interaction between an ingroup member and an outgroup member (Joyce & Harwood, 2014). Compared to other forms of contact, mediated vicarious contact is a crucial and accessible means of prejudice reduction, especially when it comes to highly marginalized social groups. First of all, people can easily experience vicarious contact through traditional and digital media with low financial and logistical investments, regardless of their personal social network. Also, individuals in media representation are more interactive than isolated. Moreover, the external mediated outgroup individuals are independent of the audience's subjective imagination. Finally, mediated vicarious contact palliates the anxiety, fear, or perceived threat triggered by direct intergroup contact (Harwood et al., 2016; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011).

This study focuses on mediated vicarious contact because it examines the psychological impacts of exposure to mediated presentation of the interaction between two social groups, the featured transgender character and their cisgender family members. Although underexplored, the existing research on mediated vicarious contact identifies not only the attitude reshaping effects but also the conditions maximizing such effects. According to these studies, how much the audience identifies with the ingroup characters in the observed intergroup interaction (e.g., Joyce & Harwood, 2014), how positively they perceive the contact experience of the ingroup and outgroup characters (e.g., Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright, 2011), and the quantity of mediated outgroup contact have positive impact on intergroup attitude outcomes (Wojcieszak & Azrout, 2016). However, this line of research has not examined how narrative strategies such as narrative perspective might impact the cognition of the depiction of intergroup interaction.

Narrative perspective and interaction valence: A social cognitive approach to examine vicarious mediated contact

Narrative perspective

Although rhetorical arguments prompt people to critically and rationally think about media messages (Green & Brock, 2000 Slater, Rouner, & Long, 2006), narratives affect audiences' attitudes by encouraging them to make sense of the story through entertaining and engaging their

attention and emotion (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2008). The low counterarguing and high engaging properties of narratives are particularly appealing to humans—the cognitive misers—and effective in influencing attitudes related to the topical issues depicted in a story. However, there is little literature on how the previously mentioned perspective-taking narratives—the ingroup or outgroup perspective on which a narrative is based to tell an intergroup story—might influence people's attitudes toward the outgroup.

In the context of the current study and mediated vicarious intergroup contact, narrative perspective refers to the perspective (i.e., ingroup perspective, outgroup perspective) from which the narrative tells a story involving intergroup interaction experience. That is, telling the same story through different characters' perspectives (i.e., ingroup character, outgroup character) might redirect people's cognition of the content differently. Taking the aforesaid transgender reality TV shows, for example, if the same storyline is narrated from the ingroup cisgender family member character's perspective, the audience might have a better understanding of the transgender character because cisgender family member characters ask questions and negotiate with the transgender character from the cisgender audience position. It is possible that the cisgender ingroup family character serves as the negotiator between the transgender character and the general audience to facilitate the intergroup understanding. Thus, it is necessary to examine whether and how narrative perspective influence people's intergroup cognition and outcomes.

Differentiating narrative perspective from identification

Existing research has demonstrated that identification influences people's intergroup attitudes. For example, the impact of negative mediated intergroup contact on people's attitudes toward an outgroup (i.e., immigrants) is enhanced among those who strongly identify with the ingroup character (i.e., a U.S. citizen) (Joyce & Harwood, 2014). Scholars argue that stronger identification amplifies perceived ingroup membership and perceived intergroup difference/conflict and typicality, which might have resulted in relatively negative intergroup attitudes (e.g., Ortiz & Harwood, 2007; Stenstrom, Lickel, Denson, & Miller, 2008). However, the effects of ingroup narrative perspective should not be confused with the effects of identification with the ingroup characters. When it comes to emerging intergroup relations such as cisgender-transgender relations, audience members might be reluctant to identify with either the ingroup or outgroup characters. Unlike the established intergroup relationships (e.g., race, sexuality, sex, age), audience members' identification with cisgender characters might not be as automatic, since they might identify themslves with other established social categories of the characters more, such as race, sex, nationality, sexuality, and age. However, the mere ingroup-outgroup division of cisgender-transgender categories might still impact people's intergroup cognition. Narrative perspective should be a standalone factor that influences people's intergroup cognition. To examine the effects of narrative perspective, it is important to control for people's identification with the ingroup character and consider it as a covariate.

Depiction valence of intergroup interaction and its attitudinal outcomes: A social cognitive approach

In reality, mediated vicarious intergroup contact and its attitudinal outcomes might be complicated by not only the narrative perspective but also the depiction of perceiving ingroup character's interaction experience with the outgroup character. Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) suggests that individuals observe and learn from other people's actions and the consequent rewards or punishments in dynamic social contexts and interactions (Bandura, 2001). In the context of media exposure, the audience members learn from the experiences of the media characters. In this way, they will acquire new behaviors or attitudes when they retain the relevant information and are motivated and positive in their capability to enact these behaviors. Exposure to a positive intergroup depiction should result in the rewarding and desirable perception of intergroup contact, which eventually leads to the remodeling of the attitudes and behaviors observed in the intergroup narrative (Fujioka,1999, Joyce & Harwood, 2014). Mazziotta et al. (2011) further found that such increased positive intergroup attitudes and desire for future contact are achieved through increasing self-efficacy and decreasing intergroup uncertainty after the positive mediated contact. Thus, when taking into consideration the effects of narrative perspective, positive interaction depiction might interact with ingroup perspective to enhance the positive intergroup attitude outcomes. It is important to explore whether there is an interaction effect between narrative perspective and interaction depiction.

Mediated intergroup contact leads to information processing that helps with judgment, which results in two dimensions of attitudinal outcomes (Bandura, 1986). One dimension is attitudes toward the specific outgroup members with which one has contact. The other is attitudes toward this outgroup as a whole. The notion of abstract symbolic modeling in social cognitive theory states that human beings generalize learning from one context to another (Bandura, 1986). This notion has been tested in intergroup contact; people can generalize their attitudes and perception toward a specific target outgroup member after contact with attitudes toward the whole target outgroup. Herek's (1987) study demonstrated that the generalization also happened for college students who experienced pleasant interactions with a gay person. They tended to generalize the specific contact experience to be the overall impression of gay people as a group. However, little research has examined whether such attitude outcomes and generalization would still exist if we take into consideration the two factors, narrative perspective and valence of interaction depiction. Based on the aforementioned assumptions of the relationships among narrative perspective, interaction depiction, and intergroup attitudes, the researcher poses the following hypotheses:

H1a: People's attitudes toward the featured transgender outgroup character vary as a function of narrative perspective (Ingroup Perspective vs. Outgroup Perspective) and interaction depiction (Negative vs. Positive), such that the storyline with cisgender ingroup perspective and positive interaction depiction are more likely to elicit positive attitudes toward the transgender

outgroup character than the storyline with transgender outgroup perspective and negative interaction depiction.

H1b: People's attitudes toward the transgender outgroup vary as a function of narrative perspective (Ingroup Perspective vs. Outgroup Perspective) and interaction depiction (Negative vs. Positive), such that the storyline with cisgender ingroup perspective and positive interaction depiction is more likely to elicit positive attitudes toward the transgender outgroup than the storyline with transgender outgroup perspective and negative interaction depiction.

Beyond attitudes: Transportation and elevation in mediated intergroup contact

Corresponding to the foregoing two goals of public interest communication, this line of research on the effects of narrative perspective and interaction depiction on intergroup cognition should go beyond emphasizing intergroup attitude outcomes. It should extend into examining the broader transcendent impacts that prompt mental engagement, universal humanistic responses, empathy, well-being, altruism, and justice beyond specific social groups and issues (Seyranian, 2017). Existing research has supported that media narratives can influence people's content engagement such as transportation—how absorbed the audience is (Green & Brock, 2000)—and elevation responses—the meaningful psychological responses audiences feel after observing exceptional conduct (Oliver, Hartmann, & Woolley, 2012). However, these studies have not explored these narrative effects in the context of mediated vicarious intergroup contact. Thus, transcending the examination of attitudinal outcomes, this study further explores the effects of narrative perspective and interaction depiction on transportation and elevation.

Transportation

Creating minority-related media content that actually engages and absorbs the majority audience has been a challenge for media content creators and strategic communication practitioners who are aiming to create social change and improve intergroup relationships. Psychologically, "people routinely fail to empathize with others, especially members of different social or cultural groups" (Cikara, Bruneau, Van Bavel, & Saxe, 2014, p. 110). It is important to examine whether the emerging perspective-taking strategies (i.e., narrative perspective) have the potential to not only improve intergroup attitudes but also engage audience members in meaningful ways.

Different types of narrative engage and absorb audience members differently, which has rarely been examined in the intergroup context and narrative perspective. Transportation refers to audience members' engagement in the narrative experience in a mental state where their attention is absorbed by the story, such that people feel 1) more emotions about the characters and events and are 2) less aware of their reality and physical surroundings (Green & Brock, 2000). As a result, people are more likely to uncritically accept the message (i.e., belief, attitudes) in the narrative, which subsequently reshapes their attitudes (Green & Brock, 2000; Tal-Or, 2016; Zwarun & Hall, 2012). Although some research (e.g., Slater, Rouner, & Long,

2006) has found the persuasive effects of transportation are lacking, several studies have demonstrated that transportation and narrative engagement are associated with people's endorsement of story-consistent beliefs (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2008; Green & Brock, 2000). However, little research has examined transportation in the context of narrative perspective and interaction depiction in relationship to intergroup communication. In the current study, ingroup narrative perspective might absorb viewers more because they might sympathize or agree with the ingroup character due to shared ingroup experience. Through projecting a rewarding experience, positive interaction depiction has the potential to interact with ingroup narrative perspective to make audience members more cognitively involved (Busselle & Bilandzic, 2008) and emotionally invested in considering and adopting the perspective of the characters (Dal Cin, Zanna, & Fong, 2004; Green & Brock, 2000). Therefore, the researcher proposes the following hypothesis:

H2: People's transportation varies as a function of narrative perspective (Ingroup Perspective vs. Outgroup Perspective) and interaction depiction (Negative vs. Positive), such that the storyline with cisgender ingroup perspective and positive interaction depiction is more likely to elicit higher levels of transportation than the storyline with transgender outgroup perspective and negative interaction depiction.

Elevation responses

Other than absorbing/engaging audiences and reshaping people's attitudes toward specific outgroups, another broader goal of public interest communications is to generate transcendent impacts (e.g., elicit meaningful empathetic emotions, motivate altruism, prompt prosocial tendencies) that are not necessarily limited to a specific issue or group. Elevation is a possible theoretical consideration that allows us to test whether narrative perspective and interaction depiction can facilitate achieving this goal.

As stated before, people's responses to narrative inevitably involve emotions; narratives about intergroup interaction might elicit more nuanced and meaningful elevation responses differently, depending on the narrative perspective and interaction depiction valence. Research on how affective and conative processes complicate the cognition of media content and its attitudes outcomes can be traced back to the debates between hedonic concerns (e.g., pleasure and enjoyment) and eudaimonic concerns (e.g., truth and meaningfulness) of media consumption. Early on studies on the motivations and outcomes of the consumption of entertainment materials focused on hedonic concerns. Disposition-based theories supported the idea that enjoyment increased as the outcomes depicted for liked characters became more positive in the storyline; level of enjoyment also was increased as disliked characters suffered (Zillmann & Cantor, 1977). Also, Zillmann and Bryant (1985) found in mood-management theory that the potential to optimize positive states and terminate negative states guided viewers' choices of entertainment. For example, this theory indicates that people select their entertainment

content based on whether the content will give them pleasure and enjoyment. However, these frameworks were constructed in hedonistic terms that emphasized appreciation of positive affect and enjoyment. This emphasis limited their capabilities to account for appreciation of negative affect and meaningful entertainment that depicted and activated profound mixed feelings.

With the consideration of the aforementioned limitations, scholars began examining eudaimonic concerns of entertainment content, which led to the theorization of elevation. They conceptualized and operationalized the paradoxical appreciation of meaningful cinematic entertainment featuring portrayals of moral virtues (i.e., sad, dramatic entertainment) as mixed affect (Oliver & Raney, 2011). Oliver and Raney (2011) broadened the conceptualization of entertainment selection and created a scale to include both "pleasure-seeking" and "truth-seeking" as motivators (p. 984). In terms of the outcome and response to such entertainment, Oliver et al. (2012) identified the feelings triggered by eudaimonic concerns and meaningful entertainment as elevation. Elevation refers to "an other-praising affective response to witnessing moral beauty that involves mixed affect—feelings of both sadness and happiness" (Oliver et al., 2012, p. 361). Elevation is signified as meaningful affect (e.g., touch, inspired), physical responses (e.g., tears, goose bumps, a lump in the throat), mixed affect (e.g., feelings of happiness and sadness simultaneously), and motivations to embody moral virtues (e.g., being a better person or helping others) (Oliver et al., 2012, p. 360).

In the context of this study, these aforesaid apsects of elevation responses echo the second goal—the transcendent impacts—of public interest communications. Elevation responses cover not only the emotions and well-being that are related to universal empathy (i.e., meaningful and mixed affects, physical responses) but also prosocial and altruistic tendencies (i.e., motivations to embody moral virtues and do social good). The previous hypotheses pose that the narrative perspective and interaction depiction will interact in such a way that the storyline narrated from the ingroup perspective with a positive interaction depiction is more likely to elicit positive intergroup attitudes and transportation. However, these hypothesized outcomes might not be the case for elevation responses. According to the eudaimonic concerns, the outgroup perspective with a negative depiction might better fulfill audience members needs in truth-seeking through making them paradoxically appreciate the outgroup perspective and negative intergroup interaction experience. Thus, the researcher hypothesizes:

H3: People's meaningful affect, mixed affect, physical responses, and motivations to embody or enact moral virtues vary as a function of narrative perspective (Ingroup Perspective vs. Outgroup Perspective) and interaction depiction (Negative vs. Positive), such that the storyline with transgender outgroup perspective and negative interaction depiction is more likely to elicit higher levels of meaningful affect, mixed affect, physical responses, and motivations than the storyline with cisgender ingroup perspective and positive interaction depiction.

As previously discussed, it is important to differentiate narrative perspective from identification so as to explore the effects of narrative perspective. Thus, the researcher poses:

RQ1: Is there a difference in how narrative perspective and interaction depiction influence intergroup attitude, transportation, and elevation when we control for identification and consider it as a covariate?

Methods

Participants

A sample of 117 undergraduate participants from a large Southern public university completed a lab experiment in exchange for extra credit. The respondents were, on average, 20 years old (*SD* = 1.69) and comprised of 76% biological female (*n* = 89) and 24% biological male (*n* = 28). Participants who identified as transgender person (i.e., transman, transwoman, gender fluid) were manually eliminated from the final data for the purpose of the study.

Most participants were Caucasian (76.1%, *n* = 89), followed by African American (17.1%, *n* = 20), Other Hispanic (3.4%, *n* = 4), Asian-American/Oriental/Pacific Islander (2.6%, *n* = 3), and Mexican-American/Chicano (0.9%, *n* = 1). Two-point-six percent (*n* = 3) did not identify with any of these categories. Additionally, 57.2% (*n* = 67) estimated their family's household income as $80,000 or above.

Study design and procedure

To address the hypotheses and research question, the current study employed a 2 (Narrative Perspective: Ingroup Perspective vs. Outgroup Perspective) x 2 (Interaction Depiction: Positive vs. Negative) between-subjects laboratory experimental design. The researcher used clips from ABC Family's *Becoming Us* for the stimuli and performed manipulation checks on their perceived narrative perspective and interaction depiction.

In the main laboratory study, participants were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions. The first condition was a video narrated by the perceived ingroup cisgender character with negative interaction depiction; the second condition was a video narrated by the target outgroup transgender character with negative interaction depiction; the third condition was a video narrated by the perceived ingroup cisgender character with a positive interaction depiction; the fourth condition was a video narrated by the target outgroup transgender character with a positive interaction. After being randomly assigned to one condition, participants were instructed to proceed to watch the assigned stimulus and answer questionnaires measuring the key dependent variables (i.e., attitudes toward the transgender character, attitudes toward the transgender outgroup, transportation, elevation responses), the covariate (i.e., identification), and demographics. Such a one-time exposure experimental design with video stimuli has been widely used in mediated intergroup contact research (e.g., Joyce & Harwood, 2014; Harwood et

al., 2016). The study protocol and materials were approved by the Institutional Review Board at the researcher's university.

Independent variables / stimulus manipulation

This study used 8-minute clips edited from ABC Family's docu-series *Becoming Us* as the stimuli. The structure, component, and main storyline were the same. The main chosen storyline was about transwoman Carly—the outgroup character—talking about her gender transition with her son, Ben, the ingroup character. Material from *Becoming Us* was used because it portrays a relevant and salient outgroup for the study population and has a relatively even mix of positive and negative footage of intergroup interaction. Most importantly, this show has parallel narratives to tell the same storylines from different characters' perspectives.

Narrative perspective
To manipulate the narrative perspective, the opening introduction was narrated by the cisgender son, Ben, in the ingroup perspective conditions and by the transgender mother, Carly, in the outgroup perspective conditions. The manipulation of narrative perspective was further enhanced by inserting interviews and voiceovers of the cisgender ingroup character or the transgender character within the context of the chosen storyline.

Interaction depiction
To manipulate interaction depiction, each scene from the show was labeled as positive or negative by the researcher. Scenes were labeled as positive when characters showed empathy, perspective taking, cooperation, or affection (Joyce & Harwood, 2014). Scenes were labeled as negative when the characters were aggressive or were engaged in conflict or arguing. Through editing and assembling the footage, video stimuli composed of varying ratios of positive and negative interactions between the featured transgender character and her cisgender family members were created. The positive condition contained at least 80% positive interactions, and the negative condition at least 80% negative interactions.

Stimuli structure
Regardless of the manipulation of narrative perspective and interaction depiction valence, all conditions shared the common themes in their storylines in the same order: 1) the transgender person negotiating the use of personal pronoun with the son, 2) a discussion of her surgical transition with the son, and 3) her overall relationship with her family members, particularly her son. All conditions shared a similar introduction and structure but were given different narrated opening introductions, written prologues, and epilogues to strengthen the manipulations. In the opening introduction, either Ben or Carly introduced himself or herself, talking about how he or she used to live a normal life until Carly's transition. Following this narrated introduction, the stimulus then presented the previously mentioned shared structured storyline. Throughout the storyline I inserted the interviews and voiceovers that align with the narrative perspective and

interaction depiction manipulations of the condition. For example, the interviews inserted in the ingroup-negative condition were mainly Ben talking about how Carly's transition had negatively impacted his life while commenting on the storyline. Before each scene depicting a positive or negative interaction between the trans character and her family members, text-based prologues were presented on the screen to set the valence tone for the scene. For example, the outgroup-positive prologue for the segment where Carly negotiated the use of her gender pronoun with Ben read, "I finally asked Ben to call me mom and use female pronouns so that I can feel that I am living a normal life. Surprisingly, he is very receptive to that idea." The epilogue was designed to strengthen the manipulation and provide closure to the narrative. For example, the epilogue for the ingroup-negative condition read, "I think we all have a hard time dealing with changes in Carly's life. Sometimes I feel that our relationship is falling apart. I just need to deal with it one day at a time." The final stimuli consisted of clips from episodes 1, 3, 7, and 8.

Pilot study

To test the effectiveness of the stimulus manipulation, the researcher conducted a 2 (Narrative Perspective) by 2 (Interaction Depiction) between-subjects pilot study. Seventy-four undergraduate student participants were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions. To check the manipulation of narrative perspective, one item asked, "Who do you think is the narrator in this video clip? In other words, whose perspective do you think this video is taking?" The participants chose from "Carly (the transgender character)," "Ben (the son)," or "Don't Know." The vast majority of participants (93.24%) chose the answer aligned with our manipulation of narrative perspective, X^2 (1, $N = 74$) = 55.39, $p < 0.001$. People more often perceived the storyline as being told from Carly's perspective (92.11%) when exposed to the outgroup perspective videos and were more likely to perceive the storyline as being told from Ben's perspective (94.44%) when exposed to the ingroup perspective videos.

When it came to interaction depiction valence, participants were asked to rate how much they agreed with six statements describing their general perception of the interaction between the two main characters (e.g., "Most time, the interactions between Carly and Ben are positive," "I think the relationship of the main characters is falling apart") on a 7-point Likert-type scale (Cronbach's α =.94). A 2 X 2 ANOVA was conducted to examine the perceived valence of the interaction depiction in the videos. The analysis revealed main effects for experience, as the participants actually perceived the positive interaction depictions more positive ($M = 5.47$, SE =.17) than the negative interaction depiction (M =2.62, SE =.16), F (1, 70) = 151.46, $p < .001$, partial η^2 =.68. The results yielded no main effect for Narrative Group Perspective, F (1, 70) = .114, $p > .05$, partial η^2 = .002. Also, there was no Narrative Perspective X Interaction Depiction interaction effect, F (1, 70) = .08, $p > .05$, partial η^2 =.001.

Dependent variables

Attitudes toward the featured transgender character and transgender social group

Two sets of five-item scales separately measured perceptions of the featured transgender character—Carly—and transgender social group's warmth, competence, trustworthiness, morality, and respect (Transgender Character: Cronbach's α = .94, M = 4.46, SD = 1.80; Transgender Outgroup: Cronbach's α = .93, M = 4.81, SD = 1.50). The participants responded to a 7-point Likert scale. Higher scores indicated more positive attitudes toward the transgender character/social group (Joyce & Harwood, 2014).

Transportation

Transportation was measured with 12 items adapted from Green and Brock's (2000) scale. Responding to a 7-point Likert scale, participants rated how much they agreed with the statements related to their focus level of the stimuli. This measurement included statements such as, "While I was watching the narrative, I could easily picture the events in it taking place," "While I was watching the narrative, activity going on in the room around me was on my mind," and "I could picture myself in the scene of the events described in the narrative." Items were recoded so that higher values indicated higher levels of transportation. The scale was reliable (Cronbach's α = .80, M = 4.42, SD = .88).

Elevation responses

Affective responses

To assess three affective responses, the scales constructed by Oliver et al. (2012) were used. Responding to a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = Not at All, 7 = Very Much), participants rated how much they experienced each emotion under *Meaningful Affect* (touched, moved, emotional, meaningful, compassion, inspired, and tender; M = 4.34, SD = 1.62, α = .92); *Positive Affect* (cheerful, happy, joyful, and upbeat; M = 2.85, SD = 1.66, α = .93); and *Negative Affect* factors (sad, gloomy, depressed, and melancholy; M = 3.28, SD = 1.43, α = .80). Mixed-affect scores were computed to see each participant's minimum score on either positive affect or negative affect (Ersner-Hershfield, Mikels, Sullivan, & Carstensen, 2008; Oliver et al., 2012): (Mixed Affect: M = 6.14, SD = 2.13). That was, a person's mixed-affect score would be high when both positive affect and negative affect were reported to be at high levels (Ersner-Hershfield et al., 2008).

Physical responses

Physical manifestations of affective responses were measured on a 7-point Likert scale through 11 items like "lump in throat," "tears crying," "rising or open chest," or "muscles tensed" (Algoe & Haidt, 2009; Oliver et al., 2012; Silvers & Haidt, 2008). This scale yielded good reliability (M = 2.29, SD = 1.21, α = .89).

Motivational responses

Using a 7-point Likert scale, participants responded to a list of items about how the video might have motivated them to act and behave. The items were created by Oliver et al. (2012) based on Algoe and Haidt's (2009) motivational effects of elevation, including items such as "being a better person," "to do something good for others," or "to seek what really matters in life" ($M =$ 3.94, $SD =$ 1.64, $\alpha =$ .93).

Covariate

Identification with the ingroup character

Responding to a 7-point Likert scale (1 = "Extremely Disagree," 7 = "Extremely Agree"), participants rated how much they agreed with the seven statements on their identification with the cisgender ingroup character (Cronbach's $\alpha =$ .87, $M =$ 3.33, $SD =$ 1.29). The measurement includes identification inventory items, such as "I am identified with Ben," "I share commonalities with Ben," "I consider myself in the similar social group of Ben," "I think the narrator would be the ideal group member in my social life." "Broadly, Ben is in the similar socio-economic group that I am in" (Joyce & Harwood, 2014).

Results

H1a explored whether people's attitudes toward the outgroup character varied as a function of narrative perspective and interaction depiction. A factorial ANCOVA was conducted, treating people's attitudes toward the outgroup character as the dependent variable and narrative perspective and interaction depiction as the independent variables, with identification with the ingroup character as a covariate. As Table 1 shows, the analysis revealed a main effect for narrative perspective, indicating that the participants exposed to the outgroup perspective narrative reported significantly more positive attitudes toward the featured outgroup character (M = 4.99, $SE =$ .22) than did those who were exposed to the ingroup narrative perspective ($M =$ 3.92, $SE =$ .23), $F (1, 99) =$ 10.07, $p <$ .01, partial $\eta^2 =$ .09. The results yielded a main effect for interaction depiction, indicating that the participants exposed to the video depicting positive interaction had significantly more positive attitudes toward the featured outgroup character ($M =$ 5.26, $SE =$ .21) than did those who were exposed to the video depicting negative interaction (M =3.65, $SE =$. 23), $F (1, 99) =$ 27.95, $p <$ .001, partial $\eta^2 =$ .33. The analysis revealed no Narrative Perspective X Interaction Depiction interaction effect, $F (1, 99) =$ .35, $p >$ .05, partial $\eta^2 =$ .004. In addition, identification with the ingroup character was a significant covariate, $F (1, 99) =$ 15.01, $p <$ .001, partial $\eta^2 =$ .13, which supports the researcher's theoretical decision to control for this variable in the analysis.

Table 1. ANCOVA statistics for attitudes toward the featured outgroup character as a function of narrative perspective and interaction depiction, controlling for identification with the intergroup character

Dependent Variables: Positive Attitudes towards the Featured Outgroup Character		
	Negative Depiction	Positive Depiction
Ingroup Perspective		
M	3.02_{aA}	4.82_{bA}
SE	.34	.31
Outgroup Perspective		
M	4.27_{aB}	5.70_{bB}
SE	.30	.30

Narrative Perspective X Interaction Depiction: $F(1, 99) = .35$, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .004$.
Covariate - Identification with the Intergroup Character: $F(1, 99) = 15.01$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .13$
Within rows, means with no lowercase subscript in common differ at $p < .05$.
Within columns, means with no uppercase subscript in common differ at $p < .05$.

H1b explored whether people's attitudes toward the outgroup as a whole varied as a function of narrative perspective and interaction depiction. A factorial ANCOVA was conducted, treating people's attitudes toward the transgender people as the dependent variable and narrative perspective and interaction depiction as the independent variables, with identification with the ingroup character as a covariate. As Table 2 shows, the analysis revealed a main effect for narrative perspective, indicating that the participants exposed to the outgroup perspective narrative reported significantly more positive attitudes toward the outgroup as a whole ($M = 5.08$, $SE = .22$) than did those who were exposed to the ingroup narrative perspective ($M = 4.36$, $SE = .22$), $F(1, 99) = 5.32$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .05$. The results yielded no main effect for interaction depiction, indicating that the participants exposed to the video depicting positive interaction have equivalent positive attitudes toward the outgroup as a whole ($M = 5.08$, $SE = .20$) as did those who were exposed to the video depicting negative interaction ($M = 4.36$, $SE = .22$), $F(1, 99) = 3.86$, $p = .052$, partial $\eta^2 = .33$. The analysis revealed no Narrative Perspective X Interaction Depiction interaction effect, $F(1, 99) = .02$, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. Also, identification with the ingroup character was a significant covariate, $F(1, 99) = 16.84$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .15$.

Table 2. ANCOVA statistics for attitudes toward the outgroup as a function of narrative perspective and interaction depiction, controlling for identification with the intergroup character

Dependent Variables: Positive Attitudes towards the Outgroup		
	Negative Depiction	Positive Depiction
Ingroup Perspective		
M	4.06_{aA}	4.66_{aA}
SE	.31	.29
Outgroup Perspective		
M	4.82_{aB}	5.33_{aB}

SE	.28	.28

Narrative Perspective X Interaction Depiction: F (1, 99) = .02, p > .05, partial η^2 =.00
Covariate - Identification with the Intergroup Character: F (1, 99) = 16.84, p < .001, partial η^2 =.15
Within rows, means with no lowercase subscript in common differ at p < .05.
Within columns, means with no uppercase subscript in common differ at p < . 05.

H2 asked whether people's transportation varied as a function of narrative perspective and interaction depiction. A factorial ANCOVA was conducted, treating transportation as the dependent variable and narrative perspective and interaction depiction as the independent variables, with identification with the ingroup character as a covariate. As Table 3 shows, the analysis revealed a main effect for narrative perspective, indicating that the participants exposed to outgroup perspective narrative reported significantly higher levels of transportation (M = 4.57, SE =.12) than did those who were exposed to the ingroup narrative perspective (M = 4.18, SE = .13), F (1, 99) = 4.57, p < .05, partial η^2 =.04. The results yielded no main effect for interaction depiction, indicating that the participants exposed to the video depicting positive interaction have equivalent levels of transportation (M = 4.31, SE = .11) as did those who were exposed to the video depicting negative interaction (M = 4.44, SE =. 12), F (1, 99) = .63, p > .05, partial η^2 = .01. The analysis revealed no Narrative Perspective X Interaction Depiction interaction effect, F (1, 99) = .88, p> .05, partial η^2 = .01. Also, identification with the ingroup character was a significant covariate, F (1, 99) = 28.38, p < .001, partial η^2 = .16.

To examine whether people's elevation responses differed as a function of narrative perspective and interaction depiction (H3), a 2 (Narrative Perspective) X 2 (Interaction Depiction) multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was conducted with the four dimensions of elevation responses—meaningful affect, mixed affect, physical responses, and motivational responses—entered into the model as dependent variables with identification with cisgender ingroup characters as a covariate. As Table 4 shows, the results yielded a significant main effect for both narrative perspective, Wilks' λ = .88, F(4, 96) = 3.22, p < .05, partial η^2 = .12, and interaction depiction, Wilks' λ = .89, F(4, 96) = 3.02, p < .05, partial η^2 = .11. Also, identification with the ingroup character was a significant covariate, Wilks' λ = .82, F (4, 99) = 5.30, p < .01, partial η^2 = .18.

Table 3. ANCOVA statistics for transportation as a function of narrative perspective and interaction depiction, controlling for identification with the intergroup character

Dependent Variables: Transportation		
	Negative Depiction	Positive Depiction
Ingroup Perspective		
M	4.32aA	4.03aA
SE	.19	.17
Outgroup Perspective		
M	4.56aB	4.58aB
SE	.17	.16

Narrative Perspective X Interaction Depiction: F (1, 99) = .88, p> .05, partial η^2 = .01

Covariate - Identification with the Intergroup Character: F (1, 99) = 28.38, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .16$
Within rows, means with no lowercase subscript in common differ at $p < .05$.
Within columns, means with no uppercase subscript in common differ at $p < .05$.

The univariate analysis for Meaningful Affect revealed a significant main effect for narrative perspective, with participant exposed to outgroup perspective narrative reporting significantly higher on meaningful affects (M = 4.85, SE = .21) than did those who were exposed to ingroup perspective narrative ($M = 3.74$, $SE = .23$), F (1, 99) = 11.76, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$. A main effect was obtained for interaction depiction, with participants exposed to positive intergroup interaction depiction reporting significantly higher on meaningful affect for transgender people in general ($M = 4.71$, $SE = .20$) than did those who were exposed to negative interaction depiction ($M = 3.88$, $SE = .22$), F (1, 99) = 8.01, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$. There was no interaction effect between narrative perspective and interaction depiction, F (1, 99) = .05, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .001$.

The univariate analysis for Mixed Affect revealed a significant main effect for narrative perspective, with participants exposed to outgroup perspective narrative reporting significantly higher on mixed affect ($M = 6.72$, $SE = .30$) than did those who were exposed to ingroup perspective narrative ($M = 5.50$, $SE = .32$), F (1, 99) = 7.32, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$. No main effect was obtained for interaction depiction, F (1, 99) = 1.40, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was no interaction effect between narrative perspective and interaction depiction, F (1, 99) = .33, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .003$.

The univariate analysis for Physical Reponses revealed a significant main effect for interaction depiction, with participant exposed to positive intergroup interaction depiction reporting significantly higher on physical responses ($M = 2.62$, $SE = .16$) than did those who were exposed to negative interaction depiction ($M = 2.00$, $SE = .17$), F (1, 99) = 6.94, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$. No main effect was obtained for narrative perspective, F (1, 99) = 1.53, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. There was no interaction effect between narrative perspective and interaction depiction, F (1, 99) = .34, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .003$.

The univariate analysis for Motivational Reponses revealed a significant main effect for narrative perspective, with participants exposed to outgroup perspective narrative reporting significantly higher on physical responses ($M = 4.45$, $SE = .22$) than did those who were exposed to ingroup narrative perspective condition ($M = 3.58$, $SE = .24$), $F(1, 99) = 6.46$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$. No main effect was obtained for interaction depiction, $F(1, 99) = .86$, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was no interaction effect between narrative perspective and interaction depiction, $F(1, 99) = .13$, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .001$.

Table 4. MANCOVA statistics for elevation responses as a function of narrative perspective and interaction depiction

	Narrative Perspective				Interaction Depiction			
	Ingroup	Outgroup	Univariate F	Partial η^2	Negative	Positive	Univariate F	Partial η^2
Meaningful Affect								
M	3.74	4.85	11.76***	.11	3.88	4.71	.8.01**	.08
SE	.23	.21			.22	.20		
Mixed Affect								
M	5.50	6.72	7.32**	.07	5.87	6.35	1.40	.01
SE	.32	.30			.30	.28		
Physical Responses								
M	2.15	2.47	1.53	.02	2.00	2.62	6.94**	.07
SE	.18	.17			.17	.16		
Motivational Responses								
M	3.58	4.45	6.46*	.06	3.87	4.16	.86	.01
SE	.24	.22			.23	.21		
	Multivariate: Wilks' $\lambda = .88$, $F(4, 96) = 3.22$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .12$.				Wilks' $\lambda = .89$, $F(4, 96) = 3.02$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .11$.			

Narrative Perspective X Interaction Depiction: Wilks' $\lambda = .99$, $F(4, 96) = .29$, $p > .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$
Covariate - Identification with Ingroup Character: Wilks' $\lambda = .82$, $F(4, 96) = 5.30$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .18$
*$p < .05$, **$p < .001$, ***$p < .001$

Discussion

In this study, the researcher used an 8-minute experimentally controlled stimulus manipulating the narrative perspective and intergroup interaction valence so as to examine their impact on intergroup cognition and attitudinal outcomes. This study hypothesizes that the storyline with cisgender ingroup perspective and positive interaction depiction is more likely to 1) improve intergroup attitudes at both individual levels and group levels, and 2) absorb and engage the

audience mentally. Also, the storyline with transgender outgroup perspective and negative interaction depiction is more likely to evoke elevation responses that signify prosocial emotions and tendencies, because people might paradoxically appreciate the outgroup perspective and negative intergroup interaction experience to fulfill their eudaimonic/truth-seeking needs (Oliver, et al., 2012). Our findings show that narrative perspective and interaction depiction impact not only intergroup attitudes but also transportation and elevation responses. However, the effect directions of narrative perspective do not entirely align with our predictions. Transgender outgroup narratives are more effective in terms of improving intergroup attitudes, absorbing the audience, and eliciting meaningful affect, mixed affect, and motivational responses. These findings have important theoretical and practical implications.

The findings of this study show that narrative perspective can influence the attitudinal outcomes of mediated vicarious intergroup contact—that is, people's attitudes toward the outgroup transgender character and the transgender outgroup as a whole. People exposed to outgroup narrative perspective (i.e., the featured transgender character's perspective) are more likely to have positive attitudes toward the featured transgender character than those who are exposed to the same storyline narrated from an ingroup perspective (i.e., the cisgender family character's perspective). This effect direction is different from our prediction. One potential explanation is that the outgroup perspective might have been perceived to be more authentic, which leads to better attitudes. Existing research has shown that the perceived authenticity (i.e., representativeness, candidness) of a reality program is positively associated with enjoyment, learning, and cognitive involvement (Hall, 2009). Telling the outgroup story from the outgroup perspective might make the audience perceive the story to be more authentic and genuine, which results in more cognitive involvement, enjoyment, and learning. Consequently, the outgroup perspective might further lead to better intergroup tolerance and attitudes. Moreover, the current research shows that the attitudinal effects of narrative perspective are transferred and generalized into people's attitudes toward the transgender outgroup as a whole; the storylines narrated through the transgender outgroup character's perspective elicit significantly more positive attitudes toward the transgender social group. These findings resonate with the results from previous research that the attitude change outcomes of mediated intergroup contact can be generalized from an individual outgroup character to the outgroup (Herek, 1987). More importantly, it indicates that the effects of specific narrative strategies (e.g., narrative perspective) could be generalized and transferred from the individual level to the group level. However, the transgender narrative perspective being more effective in reshaping attitudes does not mean that cisgender family characters hinder the intergroup *understanding*. Instead, this finding might indicate that the effects of intergroup persuasion and attitude reshaping are stronger when the story is told by the outgroup character, while both ingroup and outgroup narrative perspective strategies are persuasive at different levels. For example, the mean of attitudes toward the transgender outgroup after exposure to ingroup narrative perspective is 4.36 (as opposed 5.08, the attitudes after exposure to the outgroup narrative perspective), which is not necessarily a negative attitudinal outcome itself. Thus, while applying outgroup narrative

perspective can optimize the intergroup attitude outcomes, we need to be cautious about discrediting the effects of ingroup narrative perspective.

In terms of the effects of interaction depiction on the outcomes of mediated intergroup contact, the findings echo past studies suggesting that positive portrayals of outgroup members lead to favorable attitudes to some extent (Covert & Dixon, 2008; Joyce & Harwood, 2014; Mastro & Tukachinsky, 2011; Power, Murphy, & Coover, 1996). Positive depictions of transgender-cisgender intergroup interaction are significantly more likely to elicit positive attitudes toward the featured transgender characters than negative interaction depictions. However, such effects of interaction depiction do not transfer or generalize into people's attitudes toward the transgender outgroup as a whole; that is, viewers hold equivalent attitudes toward the transgender outgroup after watching the positive or negative interaction depiction. This indicates the valence of intergroup interaction depiction is more likely to change people's attitudes toward a specific outgroup member rather than the outgroup as a whole. While one-time exposure to positive intergroup interaction depiction can effectively improve attitudes toward a certain outgroup individual, it might take multiple or continuous exposures to reshape one's attitudes toward the whole outgroup. Moreover, there is no interaction effect between narrative perspective and interaction depiction in changing attitudes toward the transgender character or transgender outgroup, which means they only work as independent factors to influence people's intergroup cognition in the transgender-cisgender intergroup context. Telling a positive transgender-cisgender intergroup interaction storyline through the transgender character's perspective does not necessarily elicit more positive attitudes toward the transgender character or the transgender outgroup than telling a negative intergroup interaction storyline through the cisgender character's perspective.

Narrative perspective and interaction depiction also have transcendent impacts—transportation and elevation responses—that go beyond shaping attitudes toward specific social groups. Similar to the findings for the attitude outcomes, while interaction depiction does not influence viewers' transportation, transgender outgroup perspective elicits higher levels of transportation. Letting the outgroup members narrate the story, as the findings of this study suggest, absorbs the audience more, which plays an important role in engaging the majority audience who are otherwise apathetic to minority issues, experience, and content. When it comes to elevation responses, outgroup perspective narratives elicit more meaningful affect, mixed affect, and motivational responses compared to ingroup perspective narratives. Moreover, positive interaction depiction is significantly more likely to prompt meaningful affect and physical responses than negative interaction depiction. There is no interaction effect between narrative perspective and interaction depiction in eliciting elevation responses. Elevation responses transcend attitudes toward specific individuals and social groups, which encourage the audiences to tolerate the universal outgroups, feel touched, and be a better self. Telling the story from the outgroup transgender perspective or demonstrating a positive intergroup interaction improves not only people's attitudes toward the transgender outgroup, but also their universal tolerance.

Theoretical implications

The results contribute to media psychology and social changes in a number of aspects. First, this study explains the effects of mediated contact in the context of current transgender media representation through integrating vicarious contact with social cognitive theory. Second, it explores how narrative perspective interacts with valence of intergroup interaction to redirect people's intergroup attitudes, elevation, and transportation when being exposed to the outgroup-related content. Third, this study separates the effects of narrative perspective from the ones of identification. This complicates both the conceptualization and operationalization of mediated intergroup contact. Fourth, this research examines the mechanism and social effects of current transgender media representational strategies, which is useful for media practitioners who want to contribute to social change through diversity narratives and multicultural economy. Lastly, this study is a timely response to the call for addressing intergroup social change through social psychology in the emerging field of public interest communications.

Practical implications

Collectively, these findings demonstrate the importance of having the minority outgroup members tell their own stories. Conventionally, people assume that in order to better intergroup understanding, the message should come from a negotiator from the dominant social group in which members of the mass audience belong. Research in social psychology has demonstrated that ingroup-and-outgroup status (e.g., David & Turner, 1999) and majority-and-minority status (Crano & Seyranian, 2009) are important factors that redirect persuasiveness. More specifically, when sources are part of the audience's ingroup (e.g., fellow members belonging to the same social category) or constitute a majority (e.g., dominance in the number of ingroup members), they have more persuasive power (Petty & Wegener, 1998; Seyranian, 2017). According to this logic, finding a White straight cisgender spokesperson (with whom the majority general audience members identify with the most) might be the key to intergroup persuasion. However, our findings suggest otherwise: when the same story is narrated by the transgender outgroup character, the audience members 1) feel more engaged/absorbed; 2) hold more positive attitudes toward the transgender character and the transgender outgroup; and 3) have more meaningful affect, mixed affect, and motivational responses.

The findings in the effects of interaction depiction are also valuable for practitioners in public interest communications. If the main goal of a campaign or media content is to improve people's perceptions about a specific outgroup member, it is crucial to ensure that the depiction and narrative are constructed in a positive light. However, when it comes to shifting people's attitudes toward a social group as a whole, the strategy needs to focus on letting the outgroup members telling their stories from their perspectives, regardless of whether their stories are positive or negative.

In addition to attitudinal outcomes, our findings demonstrate the transcendent effects of narrative strategies, which is important for the practice of public interest communication (Seyranian, 2017). According to Seyranian (2017), public interest communications promotes "the expansion of the business-as-usual model of advancing the plight of specific individuals and groups to more broadly analyzing implications from all human angles through a broad 360-degree view" (p. 59). It's crucial to explore narrative strategies that have the potential to encourage "collectives to band together and enact visions of social change that focus on the advancement of all of humanity" (p. 59). In order to prompt such universal prosocial emotions (i.e., meaning affect, mixed affect) and tendencies (i.e., motivational responses), campaign strategists or media content creators should apply the outgroup perspective narrative strategies. If their goal is to attract people's initial attention to or raise people's awareness of outgroup issues and engage/absorb them mentally, it is also important to let outgroup members deliver the story, regardless of the valence of the story. However, positive interaction depiction is more effective in eliciting physical responses (e.g., "lump in throat," "cry with tears").

Limitations and directions for future research

There are limitations to this study. First, this study did not examine the mixed depiction of the interaction between the ingroup and outgroup characters. In reality, there is no absolute negative or positive interaction depiction on television. It is important to examine how the coexistence of negative and positive interaction depictions in different proportions interact with perspective narrative to influence people's attitudes, transportation, and elevation. Second, this study tested only one-time exposure, which is limited in explaining the accumulative and long-term impact that narrative perspective and interaction depiction have on intergroup cognition. Third, this study utilized a student sample, researchers could replicate this study with a nationally representative sample to see if the findings are consistent. Fourth, there is a need to explore the transgender-cisgender intergroup dynamic outside of the family context. The familial relationship that the featured transgender and cisgender characters share might be a factor that moderates the effect of perspective narrative on attitude reshaping. Future research should eliminate such factors when more diverse transgender-related representational materials are available. Lastly, this study only explored the effects of narrative perspective and interaction depiction in the context of transgender-cisgender intergroup relations. Researchers should examine their effects in different intergroup relations (e.g., race, sexuality, ability).

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