Exploring LGBTQ+ Well-being in Toiletscapes: A Case Study of Lund University

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Abstract

This thesis aims to critically investigate how a service organization's physical spaces, particularly the toilet areas, impact LGBTQ+ individuals' well-being. More particularly, this research focuses on Lund University in Sweden, a service organization with significant international and societal influence. As service organizations face pressures to become more socially and environmentally sustainable, this study explores how the University's physical spaces have the ability to impact individual well-being, especially in already vulnerable toilet areas. Using a queer theoretical perspective, this study analyzes how elements of the servicescape framework are experienced by queer, non-heteronormative individuals. The results from the research show that Lund University's use of heteronormative discourse both in language and their toilet areas negatively impacts LGBTQ+ individuals' experiences, thus reducing well-being based on one's gender. Lastly, and importantly, this study highlights how individual well-being could be better considered in physical spaces and what this means for the good of society.

Keywords: *gender, heteronormativity, servicescape, sexuality, social sustainability, toilet, toiletscape, LGBTQ+, queer theory, well-being*

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From Melanie:

To my wonderful wife, I truly couldn't have made it here without you. Thank you for always being everything you are to me.

And to my amazing parents and sisters, thank you all for always showing your love and support, no matter how far.

I am incredibly lucky to have you all.

From Dianne:

To my lovely family, I love you three very much. Thank you for supporting my decision to go back to school.

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I can't even begin to count how many times I have been told that I was in the "wrong" bathroom. I was "assigned female at birth", and that has not been a good enough reason for my short-haired, "masculine"-clothed body to use the "women" only public toilets. I've asked myself, should I then use men's? If not here, if not there, then where do I fit in? Luckily, since moving to Sweden I have been able to use the single-stall public toilets without much interaction with anyone. And according to the signs, these are considered shared spaces for both men and women. But, what about those who are neither a man nor a woman?

During my first visit to Lund University's Campus Helsingborg, I immediately took notice of the "Inclusive Toilet" signs found on the accessible toilet doors. Initially, I thought it was a step in the right direction, but eventually, I questioned why queer people are boxed into a distinctively marked stall? Could they not just all use the same spaces? Why were queer individuals and people with a disability[1] limited to only one separate stall? Everyone needs to use one, so why deny certain people a toilet based on their gender or disability? These signs marked the beginning of feeling like I was not entirely welcomed on the University's campus. These signs marked the continuance of my questioning, then where do I fit in?

I am one of the two authors of this paper, and this narrative acts as the motivation for this thesis. As I write this experience, I recall the feeling of exclusion that I have often felt in many organizational settings. These physical spaces have played a significant role in impacting my well-being, and thus driving a sense of feeling either included or excluded in society. My story is only one of many, and this thesis seeks to explore how other LGBTQ+[2] individuals are impacted by an organization's heteronormative physical environment.

The remainder of this introduction provides an overview of this thesis by first presenting a relevant background on social sustainability and servicescape to show how the exclusion of individuals in society runs counter to social sustainability. This section ends by introducing the research aim, research questions and our approach.

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[1] See D'Clark (2022) and Wachsler (n.d.) for more information on language choice.
[2] LGBTQ+ is an acronym that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and any other person with a sexual or gender identity that does not align with being cisgender and heterosexual (see e.g., Bloodworth, 2018 and Blakemore, 2021).

Background

      Based on the narrative above we sought to consider how aspects of physical places can be linked to social sustainability and therefore, be relevant to contemporary organizations. We found this particularly relevant at a university, as these institutions are often considered to be leaders in society. In a time when companies and organizations face significant pressure to take responsibility for environmental and societal impacts (Ingham & Havard, 2017; Unnikrishnan et al., 2020) powerful institutions are also expected to equally welcome all individuals, regardless of race, gender identity or social status (United Nations, n.d.). As institutions found all over the world, contemporary universities are complexly intertwined within society (Bölling & Eriksson, 2016; Sharma, 2015; Walshok, 2005), and thus influence the way society functions and understands social values and norms (Walshok, 2005). As *social sustainability* is a broad term, within the scope of this paper, we defined this term as continually promoting healthy and satisfying well-being for all of society (Rogers et al., 2012).

      The above narrative reflects how a person could feel a lack of consideration for their well-being as related to a physical space. Within the field of service management, physical spaces are considered as communicating and contributing to an organization's goals and objectives; and, therefore, we explored how the servicescape framework, as first conceptualized by Bitner (1992), can possibly link physical environments to well-being. Thus, a *servicescape*, or an organization's built environment, includes various controllable stimuli (e.g., ambient conditions, spatial layout and functionality, and signs, symbols and artifacts) that can significantly impact a stakeholder's service experience (Bitner, 1992; Parish et al., 2008; Rosenbaum & Massiah, 2011; Rosenbaum & Montoya, 2007). Mari and Poggesi (2013) noted the importance of a service provider's physical environment, calling it "pivotal" (p. 171) and stating that it "acts as a packaging of the service" (p. 171). Discussion of the importance of a physical environment can be found in many different areas of research including servicescape, atmospherics, psychology, marketing, consumer research and architecture (Anderson et al., 2013; Mari & Poggesi, 2013), yet for the scope of this thesis we primarily drew on Bitner's (1992) servicescape framework.

      Bitner (1992) established the idea that servicescapes have the ability to impact consumer interactions, behaviors and experiences within those spaces. However, this research primarily focused on physical stimuli that influence customer desire to engage transactionally with a

business, or, in other words, choose to conduct business with an organization. It did not directly examine the potential of the physical servicescape to improve well-being for the common good of society. In more recent research, and in relation to the environmental servicescape dimensions (e.g. signs, symbols and artifacts) as proposed by Bitner (1992), researchers have further expanded her framework to consider other additional dimensions of servicescapes. For example, and in relation to social sustainability, the cultural/symbolic (e.g., Rosenbaum, 2005) or natural/restorative (e.g., Arnould et al., 1998; Rosenbaum & Massiah, 2011) dimensions focus on different aspects of well-being. Yet, at this time there still is very little literature that considers the potential of physical servicescape to influence social sustainability at the individual level as contributing to the social good. In the Literature Review section below, we reviewed the development of servicescape research in more detail, highlighting research that considers the alignment of physical servicescape and well-being.

As a type of servicescape, the *toiletscape,* or the toilet areas and their configurations, is one case of a physical environment regularly found within universities, as well as most other public places. Originally used by Wiseman (2019), the term toiletscape signified a toilet landscape, which was argued as "overwhelmingly ableist" (p.789). Wiseman focused on toileting experiences for those with a disability and noted "the impact that inaccessible toilets have on self and personhood and the hidden inequalities produced through these spaces" (p. 788). In this thesis, we adapted the term *toiletscape* to denote all of the different elements of toilet areas as servicescapes within an organization. As Wiseman (2019) also argued, there is an overlooked relationship between one's embodied citizenship, access to toilets and overall sense of belonging in society. Wiseman further stated that toilet spaces are "one of the most fundamental spaces in which being human is acted out" (p. 788) and stressed the inequalities found within toiletscapes. This aligns with Kogan's (2007) research that noted how physical places can be designed to either include or exclude certain individuals. We adopted these ideas when considering how a servicescape can be tied to individual well-being.

We focused on toiletscapes, as types of physical servicescapes, to explore how such elements influence social sustainability. We paid close attention to the various signs within toilet spaces, recognizing that signs are included in Bitner's (1992) original framework. In addition, the toiletscape could also be considered within the cultural or socially symbolic dimension of a servicescape (Rosenbaum & Massiah, 2011), as the signage found in toiletscapes can take on

more than a functional role, with the potential to greatly impact certain individuals. We also considered how elements of the toiletscape may influence an individual's perception of an organization itself, in this case, whether different toiletscape elements influence individuals' perceptions of social sustainability promotion by Lund University.

In the scope of this thesis, we did not consider how a university's educational offering affects well-being, but rather how part of a campus' physical servicescape impacts social sustainability outcomes. By considering a physical servicescape's under-acknowledged relationship to social sustainability, this thesis further developed Rosenbaum and Massiah's (2011) suggestion that servicescape research could be applied to contexts beyond the marketing purposes of a service, which built upon their suggestion that a servicescape may include any relationship people have with their service environments. To consider this relationship, we used a critical, queer lens to explore LGBTQ+ experiences with elements of the physical servicescape, specifically the toiletscapes at Lund University. With this research, we explored the connection between gender inclusion, servicescape and social sustainability.

Research Aim, Approach and Questions

We aimed to critically investigate how Lund University's physical toiletscapes impact LGBTQ+ individuals' well-being. We chose to use a queer perspective, in order to critically assess and identify heteronormative elements both within the discourse of the language and physical spaces of the University. We conducted a document analysis on the University's *Equal Opportunities Plan for Lund University, 2022-2027*, observed and documented with photos the physical elements offered in a selection of Lund University's toiletscapes and carried out semi-structured interviews that included photo-elicitation to capture the experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals who have used these toiletscapes. Therefore, our research questions are as follows:

> **RQ1:** *How are Lund University's toiletscapes reproducing (or not) heteronormativity?*
> **RQ2:** *How do LGBTQ+ individuals experience Lund University's toiletscape?*

By addressing these two questions, we intended to explore how elements of an organization's physical servicescape can influence individual well-being. Specifically, we considered how LGBTQ+ people are impacted by Lund University's toiletscape.

Societal Significance

This research highlights the importance of organizations staying in step with social issues that can contribute to societal well-being, particularly those pertaining to the well-being of individuals found marginalized and oppressed by societal norms. More frequently, individuals are speaking up about being LGBTQ+, and this has contributed to a shift in discourse that moves away from the heteronormative views of gender and more toward dignity-affirming inclusion in society (Ravanera, 2019; Yang, 2022). This thesis highlights the need for organizations to shift toward socially sustainable operations, for example through policy and practice, by identifying and eliminating systemic barriers, biases, and discrimination against oppressed groups in society, such as LGBTQ+ individuals. These once unheard voices are starting to speak up, and organizations are realizing their responsibility to remove obstacles found within their reach (Fosbrook et al., 2020). Finally, this thesis adds to the service management literature by exploring the overlap of physical servicescape (Bitner, 1992) and social sustainability, in regard to a non-normative, nonbinary and queer view of gender inclusion.

Structural Outline

The next section, Literature Review, presents relevant servicescape and other related research for this thesis. This is followed by the Theoretical Framework section that introduces our queer theory and critical perspective to be applied in the analysis. Next, we introduce the Methodology section, which includes our reasoning for choosing Lund University as our case study as well as our methodological choices. This section also shows our decision to conduct method triangulation to substantiate results. Next, in the Results and Analysis section, we interweave interviewee voices with physical observation and document analysis data to present a rich picture of our findings. We end this thesis with the Discussion and Conclusion section, which consists of a discussion of our interpretations and the societal relevance of the results.

Literature Review

The Servicescape

Elements of what is now bundled under servicescape literature can be traced back to Kotler's (1973) "Atmospherics as a Marketing Tool", which highlighted marketing the *total product* by showing how the environment influences customers' purchasing decisions. Kotler's paper focused on the customer perspective, and he used the term *atmospherics* to describe "the conscious designing of space" (p. 50) to elicit an emotional response that would "enhance his [their] purchase probability" (p. 50). Still, it was Bitner's (1992) paper that first introduced the term *servicescape* and considered Kotler's customer focus together with an employee focus when thinking about the impacts of physical elements. Bitner's framework recognized that both customers and employees can "respond cognitively, emotionally, and physiologically" to physical surroundings (1992, p. 59).

Further, Bitner's (1992) framework categorized three main aspects of what she designated as the environmental dimension of the servicescape. These included (a) ambient conditions; (b) spatial layout and functionality; and, (c) signs, symbols and artifacts. Bitner holistically considered the servicescape and its dimensions as she noted that all three environmental categories, especially when taken together, create an impact on people within the space (1992). *Ambient conditions* included elements such as room temperature, air quality, noise and odors or scents. The *spatial layout and functionality* category addressed the layout, equipment and furnishings of an environment. Lastly, the framework's third environmental dimension named *signs, symbols and artifacts* included directional signs, personal artifacts and other objects that explicitly "communicate firm image" (Bitner, 1992, p. 66). In addition to signs explicitly signaling some message, such as for directional purposes, "other environmental objects may communicate less directly than signs, giving implicit cues to users about the meaning of the place and norms and expectations for behavior in the place" (Bitner, 1992, p. 66). We, therefore, included this angle within this thesis. This perceived servicescape, as Bitner discusses, elicits internal behavioral responses for people in the space, which can be further linked to certain actions of approach or avoidance.

Bitner (1992) presented her servicescape research as a possible tool to be used by an organization in pursuit of its objectives, and her work implicitly links these objectives to the economic success of the firm. Additionally, although Bitner used the terms "employee

satisfaction" and "customer satisfaction", terms which could take on a number of meanings today, her use of these terms seemed to be linked only to employee retention, service efficiency and customer purchase decisions. We have not considered Bitner's use of these terms to be linked to overall employee well-being or social sustainability, as these terms would be understood in a more contemporary context. In agreement, Rosenbaum (2005) suggested that within Bitner's (1992) framework, the physical stimuli are used to explain a consumer's decision to interact (or not) with an organization, thus making a successful transaction (e.g., purchase of an object of service) the desired outcome and the reason for making an inviting servicescape.

Expanded versions of Bitner's framework have been continually introduced, and relevant to this thesis are the social and cultural considerations (Rosenbaum, 2005; Rosenbaum & Massiah, 2011; Rosenbaum & Montoya, 2007), such as Rosenbaum's (2005) proposed *socially symbolic servicescape,* restorative third places (Rosenbaum, 2009); and stigmatized identity cues related to physical elements (Chaney et al., 2019; Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). "Symbolic environmental stimuli" is defined by Rosenbaum (2005) as "signs, symbols, objects and artefacts contained within a consumption setting that possess a common interpretation among consumers belonging to a specific ethnic group" (p. 258). In 2005 Rosenbaum states that certain signs, such as toilet signs, "are meant to be interpreted by *all* [emphasis added] consumers, rather than by specific groups of consumers" (Rosenbaum, 2005, p. 258). In our study, we showed that these signs are not always interpreted the same way by all consumers.

Further, while the physical toiletscape can be seen easily tied to the third aspect of Bitner's physical dimension (i.e., signs, symbols and artifacts), due to the signs that demarcate these toilet spaces, we considered their overlap with the socially symbolic dimension of the servicescape since many toilet signs reflect societal norms. But, again, Bitner (1992) did suggest that environmental objects could communicate the "meaning of the place and norms and expectations for behavior in the place" (p. 66). We have leaned on Bitner's (1992) original framework to explore how physical elements found in a servicescape can be experienced as welcoming or unwelcoming, but linked this perception to social sustainability, rather than a successful or unsuccessful service transaction.

Bitner's framework viewed the entirety of the servicescape as contributing to a customer or employee outcome, which meant their overall perception of the service environment led to either an approach or retreat response. Yet, this notion of servicescape is relatively simple, as a

negative response to a single servicescape element may not be reason enough for a person to choose to patronize another establishment for many reasons, including that there may not be other available choices or that the cost of making such a change is too great. We related this idea to our thesis by recognizing that a negative experience with a single physical servicescape element may or may not result in a person choosing, for example, to disenroll from university. Yet, it may be great enough to negatively impact their personal level of well-being and their perception of an organization that they continue to associate with.

Finally, we explored how and what Lund University's physical servicescape elements are communicating to users, much in the same way as stigmatized identity cues communicate a value to certain individuals as shown by Chaney et al. (2019), and how identity-safety cues, such as the use of gender pronouns, can signal organizational support for LGBTQ+ employees (Johnson et al., 2021). In all, this thesis builds on the idea that servicescape has the potential to shape individual well-being through the communication of norms through objects and signs, and this acts as an extension to the concepts presented in more recent restorative servicescape research by Rosenbaum and Messiah in 2011.

Servicescape and Well-being

Connecting services and servicescapes to sustainability is a newer area of contemporary research, and while it has presented itself in different ways over the years, being referred to as transformative services, customer and employee well-being, inclusivity, health and safety, and sustainability, it is generally recognized as having the potential to positively influence society but as being under-researched (Anderson et al., 2013; Conrad et al., 2019; Lugosi, 2019; Ostrom et al., 2010; Rosenbaum et al., 2011; Siguaw et al., 2019; Walsh & Linzmajer, 2021). Anderson et al. (2013) wrote of how services of all kinds "are an integral part of day-to-day human experiences" (Anderson et al., 2013, p. 1203) and that services and service interactions can "have the opportunity and power to improve or negatively affect consumer well-being" (Anderson et al., 2013, p. 1203). An example of a service with well-being implications includes making blood pressure screening machines freely available in grocery stores (Anderson et al., 2013, p. 1203). In this example, well-being is the outcome of the service, which we considered a result of the primary service offering.

Still, there is exploratory research that supports a broader interpretation of well-being as seen as resulting from the physical servicescape or servicescape elements. For example, most research related to food service on university campuses has focused on food intake (i.e., the primary service) "rather than the ability of the foodservice environment to contribute to people's broader wellbeing" (Lugosi, 2019, p. 230). Lugosi (2019) proposed that foodservice servicescapes can contribute to a more general definition of well-being and calls for research to explore this concept after noting the current gap in research. He was interested in how foodspace designs can "act as drivers of social interaction" and how good aesthetic design choices might contribute to general well-being. In a similar way, we considered how a servicescape element, toiletscapes, influences well-being while recognizing that toiletscapes are not the primary offering of a university. We saw this potential source of well-being to be tied to a background servicescape element, rather than the university's educational offering.

We also reviewed research on stigmatized identity cues and recognized how these can influence well-being by signaling a welcome or unwelcome environment (Chaney et al., 2019; Chaney & Sanchez, 2018). In fact, Chaney and Sanchez (2018) stated that a gender inclusive bathroom can be considered a stigmatized identity cue that signals fairness. Their paper presented the concept of *cue transfers*, meaning that a cue purposely placed to influence one group of people may actually have a positive spillover effect, influencing individuals who identify with another minority group. Yet, in their paper cue signaling by companies was primarily proposed as a way to attract consumers or employees, rather than as a way to promote general well-being for the collective good of society and all stakeholders.

In conclusion, physical servicescapes' potential to influence social sustainability has not been researched extensively. Our research adds to this broader interpretation of individual well-being as an upshot of physical servicescape related decisions.

The Toiletscape

There has been far too much literature written on toilet spaces to even attempt to cover even a small percentage of it in this paper, but we mention a few to show the complexity of the topic. On a broad scale, The World Toilet Organization (World Toilet Organization, 2021) showed the link between clean toilet access and health, poverty and education. More closely related to this research, Slater and Jones' (2018) research showed what makes toilets safe and

accessible for trans, queer and disabled people. Related to this, Overall (2007) discussed the history of sex-segregated toilets and societal norms, and Wiseman (2019) continued this conversation about segregation with regard to how toilet spaces can become areas of exclusion and politicization. Of course, many papers discuss the importance of toilet signs, especially gendered signs, including Jones and Slater (2020) and Slater and Jones (2021) who discussed how signs can act like border markers and Tønnessen (2017) who noted the importance of toilet sign design and communication. In this thesis, we focused on literature by Kogen (2007, 2017) and Slater and Jones (2018, 2021) that shows how toilet spaces can be exclusionary to specific groups of people due to toilet area design and social norms. Kogen (2007, 2017) showed how the division of toilet spaces by gender, along with other public spaces such as train cars, became standard practice during the Victorian ages and discusses how divisions of spaces still exist and impact individuals. Slater and Jones (2018) found that "Many trans and disabled persons experience difficulty in accessing safe, usable and comfortable toilets away from home" (2018, p. 4). Wiseman's (2019) research also showed how accessible toilets in the modern day can be rather exclusionary. We built on these ideas as well as on servicescape literature on how spaces can exclude groups of people, as shown in research about people with visual or auditory impairments (Beudaert et al., 2017; Conrad et al., 2019). We considered toiletscapes within a service management context and explored whether these mundane, somewhat taboo and often overlooked spaces can be linked to individual well-being. We considered exclusion as something that negatively impacts well-being and inclusion as positively impacting well-being. In this way we have shown how mundane physical elements can be considered differently within service management and how the reach of the servicescape framework can be extended to consider its impact on social sustainability.

Theoretical Framework

In this chapter we introduce a queer theory perspective, which allowed us to critically explore how LGBTQ+ individuals, or those found outside of heteronormative ideals, are impacted by Lund University's physical servicescapes. We drew on queer theorist Judith Butler and their[3] groundbreaking work *Gender Trouble*, which was originally published in 1990. As one of Butler's major contributions to queer and feminist theory, *Gender Trouble* explains their theory of gender performativity and how this affects society's understanding of gender (2006). We start this chapter with an introduction to queer theory, which highlights the overlooked fluidity and complexity of individual identities. This first section also includes an introduction to the dominant system of heteronormativity, what this then entails for LGBTQ+ people and how queer theory challenges society's normative beliefs.

Properly explaining the complexity of queer theory is beyond the scope of this thesis, so we have only highlighted the key topics tied to gender identity and society, such as the societal idealization of heteronormativity; the complexity of gender, sex and sexuality; and the importance of intersectionality when using a queer perspective. Altogether, this theoretical framework offers a dynamic and critical perspective of the physical elements found within the servicescape framework and allows us to analyze how these elements impact different types of LGBTQ+ people.

Introduction to Queer Theory

Since the end of the 1980s, many queer theorists have challenged the contemporary hegemonic view of socially constructed identities. In each their own way, these theorists have accentuated the existence of queer identities, or those existing beyond the dominant discourse of essentialist assumed binaries of sex (i.e., male/female) and gender (i.e., man/woman). As discussed by Butler (2006), conventional understandings of these finite terms have been believed to lead to the "utopian notion of a sexuality" (pp. 40-41), or *heterosexuality,* which only accepts a fixed desire to take place in the form of a man partnering with a woman, and vice versa. Challenging this assumption, a queer perspective acknowledges the shifting and unfixed temporalness of a spectrum of identities (Butler, 2006, 2011).

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[3] Just as he/him/his and she/her/hers pronouns, the singular use of they/them/their pronouns are used by people for many reasons, including to describe their gender identity (see e.g., Sanders, 2019).

Throughout most Western-influenced societies, this dominant assumption of certain societal norms, known as *heteronormativity*, is one of the key concepts that queer theorists argue against. Berlant and Warner (1998) defined heteronormativity as "the institutions, structures of understanding and practical orientations that make heterosexuality seem not only coherent – that is, organized as a sexuality–but also privileged" (p. 548). Deriving from "the Latin *cis-*, or 'on the same side as'", a *cisgender* person is then someone whose socially understood gender (i.e., either man or woman) aligns with the sex they are assigned at birth (i.e., either male or female), which is ultimately based on their genitalia (Aultman, 2014, p. 61). In other words, the assumed link between one's sex and gender stays constant over the course of their lifetime and does not stray from society's heteronormative understanding of what gender, or in this case sex, should entail. When taken together then, cisgender and heterosexual (commonly referred to as "straight") act as the basis for the ideal heteronormative way of life.

Clearly contrasting this societal standard, and very simply put, a *queer*, *transgender* or *gender non-conforming* individual can be anyone who does not stay "on the same side as" this assigned and assumed gender/sex (Aultman, 2014, p. 61). Heteronormativity only makes sense of two binary genders/sexes, and in turn, their heterosexual desires, thus also excluding lesbian, gay, bisexual or other people from this normative lifestyle. This heteronormative concept continually impacts people whose identities fall outside of its sphere of privilege and marks them as different, wrong and something other than normal (Ahmed, 2014; Rothmann & Simmonds, 2015). One goal for many queer theorists and researchers has been to "denaturalize and resignify bodily categories" by explaining the overlooked complexity of these terms (i.e., gender, sex and sexuality) and how they do not always fall into continual, predetermined identities (Butler, 2006, p. xxxiv).

Encountering Heteronormativity: Queer Identities in Society

This section discusses in more detail how language and discourse have affected the way in which the complexity of queer identities is overlooked in society. In addition, it also shows how queer theory challenges societal expectations and gender identities and norms found within heteronormative systems. Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity is described, outlining how gender, and thus the corresponding identities and norms are reproduced and reinforced over time. We also include considerations of how people can be impacted by such rigid systems, and

we finish by highlighting the significance of an intersectional perspective while using a queer theoretical stance.

The Complexity of Gender, Sex and Sexuality

Since the 1970s, second-wave feminism and radical lesbian ideologies have played a significant role in "redefining and politicizing" the terms gender and sex, shifting the way certain identities, as associated with one's gender, are deemed acceptable (Stryker, 2017, p. 126). Although there was a movement toward more gender neutral identities and norms during this time (Stryker, 2017), in some ways, the distinction between sex and gender further contributed to the rigidness of societal gender norms (Butler, 2006, 2011). Oftentimes used interchangeably, the terms sex and gender have been connected to anti-LGBTQ+ discourse, mainly that of transphobic, which has unjustly argued against a person being enough of a certain gender (Stryker, 2017). This discourse, for example, put out by gatekeepers in the medical community (see e.g., Stone, 2006), has shifted the language that reproduces such societal ideals, accepting only those who either align with or appear to align within the heteronormative perspective.

Individual identity, in the context of sexuality or gender, has frequently caused conflict for people when they do not pass as, or fit the expected norms and roles of society's heteronormative framing (Namaste, 2006). *Passing* here means "to be accepted as a 'natural' member of that gender" and to carry out the expected gender norms found within that identity (Stone, 2006, p. 231), in order to avoid the risk of violence or other safety concerns. Such negative impacts arise when a person is confronted by those who have a belief that someone "'*deserves'* [emphasis added] to be hated" (Juang, 2006, p. 714) since they do not neatly fit within the mold of the normative binary framework of male/man, female/woman (Namaste, 2006). Any variation outside of this binary frame is then considered non-normative, and the people who fall outside oftentimes face harassment and hate, which in turn impacts their health or well-being (McGuire et al., 2021), all based on society's rigid misunderstanding of gender, sex and sexuality.

Contrasting this heteronormative framework, an individual with a non-normative, queer gender works against the idea that "body-equals-sex-equals-gender-equals-identity as well as the binary of heterosexual and homosexual" (Cromwell, 2006, p. 509). This simplicity of such a definitive and fixed belief, as drawn out by Cromwell (2006) does not capture the reality and

complexity of many people's identities and experiences within those. Therefore, in a queer theory perspective, it can be recognized that one's gender identity does not necessarily and precedently assume their sex, which is believed to be linked to body or biology (Cromwell, 2006) and vice versa. The dominant and heteronormative belief only acknowledges "'intelligible' genders", which "in some sense institute and maintain relations of coherence and continuity among sex, gender, sexual practice, and desire" (Butler, 2006, p. 23). This then is reproduced as a natural, single and understood truth existing in most of contemporary Western society (Butler, 2006), rather than being recognized as constructed and reproduced by individuals and the social structures they are found within (e.g., universities).

The question of how these intelligible genders, i.e., man and woman, then become understood and reproduced in society can be supported by Butler's (2006, 2011) theory of gender performativity. As Butler (2006) explains, "gender proves to be performative—that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed" (p. 34). An individual is not necessarily a gender, but rather gender is an identity that they carry out in society over time. The discourse surrounding these multiple gender actions, which are not necessarily contemplated by the subject carrying them out, plays into the understandings and markers of gender and identity norms found and reproduced throughout society (Butler, 2011). For example, understanding that pink is for girls and blue is for boys, or men are more masculine and women are more feminine (see e.g., Butler, 2006). These ongoing practices of norms continue to be carried out, society understands certain gender actions, and so gender becomes an existing expectation of truth for one to understand and further produce throughout time (Butler, 2006, 2011).

This line of thought highlights the significant role of language and norms, and in this context hetero-norms, in an individual's understanding of how a gender should be proven or displayed through action, discourse and the power surrounding its reproduction (Foucault, 1970). As put further by French philosopher Michel Foucault (1978), who in *The History of Sexuality* also claimed social construction of sexuality:

> Under the authority of a language that had been carefully expurgated so that it was no longer directly named, sex was taken charge of, tracked down as it were, by a discourse that aimed to allow it no obscurity, no respite. (p. 23)

Language is not always understood in the same way, as throughout time and space the meanings of language shift based on the systems that have the power to influence these meanings (Foucault, 1970). Through a powerful hegemonic discourse, society understands these binary framings of gender as linked to one's biology (i.e., sex), and thus expects people to follow through with this understanding of gender and sexuality. Therefore, and again, any person not aligning with these understandings of heteronormative gender performativity may face certain barriers or obstacles, such as workplace discrimination (Badgett et al., 2009; Dietert & Dentice, 2009) or other concerns of safety and well-being because of their lack of normative and understood existence.

In her works *On Being Included* and *The Cultural Politics of Emotions,* critical theorist Sara Ahmed discussed the occupation of certain categories and identities, in the context of institutional life (Ahmed, 2012), and how identities relate to social norms and emotions (Ahmed, 2014). When able to exist and actively portray a coherent gender or identity, or in other words, to pass as one of these intelligible genders, one may not even realize they inhabit such a category (Ahmed, 2012, p. 176). In regards to heterosexuality and its relationship to privilege, as explained by (Butler, 2011):

> Heterosexual privilege operates in many ways, and two ways in which it operates include naturalizing itself and rendering itself as the original and the norm. But these are not the only ways in which it works, for it is clear that there are domains in which heterosexuality can concede its lack of originality and naturalness but still hold on to its power. (p. 85)

Thus, people found in more privileged positions of the "heterosexual matrix" (Butler, 2006) are, able to inhabit socially understood bodies and identities, and carry out performances in a normative space that is ideal for the dominant society (Ahmed, 2014). This contributes to an individual's ability to access resources (e.g., comfort), which those outside of these norms are not granted access to. Thus, not having to confront the idea of being outside of a category, or not "coming up against the category" implies some privilege within society (Ahmed, 2012, p. 176).

The individuals that are in less privileged positions may find shame or discomfort due to a lack of a heteronormative body and/or script (Ahmed, 2014). The heteronormative ideal exclusively allows heterosexual individuals to maintain their space of comfort and privilege, and in relation to other people in society (Ahmed, 2014). Thus, Ahmed (2014) reiterated that

"normativity is comfortable for those who inhabit it" (p. 147). This establishes normative barriers, having expectations of all of society to create some kind of ideal reflecting a patriarchal nuclear family (Ahmed, 2014). As Ahmed (2014) continued, "heteronormativity refers to more than simply the presumption that it is normal to be heterosexual" (p. 149). Thus, making a heteronormative society comfortable through the, what is believed to be necessary, reproduction of "legitimate ... ways of living" continues this space of comfort and privilege (Ahmed, 2014, p. 149). Therefore, any threat to these existing normative narratives, by moving away from something outside of this ideal script has the potential to change the current power of our existing heteronormative society.

Intersectionality

In 1989 Crenshaw first used the term "intersectionality" to describe the complex relationship, or interconnections, of culturally or socially constructed identities that bring upon marginalization in different ways. Since then, Crenshaw's (1989) definition of intersectionality has evolved to acknowledge other groups that are not necessarily culturally or socially constructed, but whose embodiment, and thus their existence is denied access (e.g., physical access) or resources (e.g., comfort and safety) within society, for example, an individual with a disability (Wiseman, 2019). In her recent interview with Time Crenshaw stated, "It's a lens, a prism, for seeing the way in which various forms of inequality often operate together and exacerbate each other" (Steinmetz, 2020). As further put by Ahmed (2012), "How we experience one category depends on how we inhabit others" (p. 14). The complexity of an individual's identity, or the pluralism of oppressions faced, is an important idea to reflect upon when considering an individual's lived experience. Any disregard for other social identities can not fully capture an individual's interpretation of the world, and therefore their experiences within it.

Furthermore, having oppressed identities steer an individual toward becoming grouped as the others, particularly in relation to the normative and accepted societal subjects (Butler, 2006). Thus, these marginalized, unaccepted people face harmful divisions between themselves and society (Rothmann & Simmonds, 2015), and get boxed into a rejected group whose existence threatens the normative society (Ahmed, 2014). Yet, despite their differences in society, throughout history, oppressed communities have come together, realizing their similarities based on the injustices faced (Stryker, 2017).

Still, different contexts of politicized categories impact individual subjects in many different ways (Butler, 2006). "If one 'is' a woman, that is surely not all one is" (Butler, 2006, p. 4). In line with this argument, having a certain label, expression or identity of gender does not reflect the complexity and full context of a person (Butler, 2006). Therefore, "it becomes impossible to separate out 'gender' from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained" (Butler, 2006, pp. 4–5). In other words, gender and sexuality are not the only pieces of queer theory that challenge societal norms and other oppressed categories are recognized in this perspective. In order to truly capture one's lived experience, and to better understand the politicized and cultural backgrounds of such societal categories they find themselves within, we must reflect on the importance of the networks of these categories and their intersections at the point of each person's lived experience.

Heteronormativity is just one of these rigid systems of oppression, and for the scope of this thesis, we acknowledged the potential complexity of each narrative. At the same time, it is also essential to realize that people may or may not share similar experiences based on their identities, and in other words, we should not just simply generalize their experience in relation to a label or identity (see e.g., Lamble, 2013). And again, understanding the way in which an individual may interpret and construct their own identities, such as class or race, may mirror the interconnections and power relationships of their experiences in other marginalized categories (Ahmed, 2014). From a queer theoretical perspective the "cultural, social, and political intersections" between such constructions must therefore be recognized as multiple, in order to not distort the unique, lived reality some face (Butler, 2006, p. 19).

The Toiletscape Through a Queer Lens

Taking a queer focus widened the rigid boundaries of the heternormative and assumed script, and allowed for us to view if elements found in the servicescape have been made comfortable for the dominant society, and thus have further marginalized those outside of this presumed ideal (Jones & Slater, 2020; Kogan, 2017; Slater & Jones, 2018, 2021). Since the servicescape framework has been shown to be a valuable strategic tool that communicates organizational goals (Bitner, 1992), and has also been expanded to acknowledge its potential affects on indivdiual experiences with these elements (e.g., see Rosenbaum, 2005), we used our theoretical framework to consider how individuals falling outside of heteronormative ideals

expereince, and thus, are impacted by the University's toiletscape. In doing this, we were able to view how the discourse, through such stylized performances (Butler, 2006), shapes temporal societal norms within this particular organizational setting.

As drawn on through much of Butler's works (see e.g., Butler, 2006), in this thesis we reflected on the rigidness, barriers and obstacles this dominant framework poses to the LGBTQ+ community, since many of these individuals' identities do not align with society's dominantly expected, or "intelligible" gender roles and standards. This lens allowed us us to identify whether or not there is a heteronormative influence within the University's toiletscape, and if so, to consider the barriers this may present for LGBTQ+ people. In all, we attempted to determine if individual well-being is impacted, especially in relation to exclusion, safety concerns or the feeling of not being welcomed or represented in and at the University.

In addition, this framework gave us the ability to recognize the intersection of other oppressed groups or identities found within society and reflect on the importance of considering these when considering the impacts these spaces have on non-normative individuals in society. We therefore addressed the significance of realizing these intersections, and further acknowledged that not doing so would only remove the necessary contexts from people's truths. We also recognized the temporality and fluidity of this very theoretical perspective and further realized the complexity of each person's identity, as well as their individual experiences that go beyond these dominant assumptions. Overall, this theoretical framework allowed us to understand how non-heteronormative people can experience and be impacted by an organization's physical environment, the toiletscape.

Methodology

In order to understand how Lund University's physical toiletscape impacts LGBTQ+ individuals' well-being we conducted qualitative research, using the University as a case study, to address our two research questions. We used document analysis to examine one of the University's official documents to understand its promotion of gender inclusion. We observed and documented with photographs physical elements of the toiletscape to better understand what these objects are projecting with regards to supporting and promoting the well-being of users. Lastly, we conducted semi-structured interviews to capture personal experiences related to well-being and these spaces. During all aspects of analysis, we applied a queer theoretical perspective to help explore the impact on LGBTQ+ individuals. Going into this research, we speculated that society's heteronormative influence on the design of these physical servicescape elements, as well as on formal documents may influence well-being.

Methodological Choices

We chose to conduct qualitative research because we wanted to gain an in-depth understanding of individuals' perceptions of their lived lives, and we did not think that a quantitative approach would yield the same level of understanding, nor did we think we could obtain relevant quantitative data (Yin, 2011). A qualitative approach also allowed us to more easily use a mixed methods approach to data collection, which we felt enriched the research. Since we did not state a hypothesis regarding the relationship between toiletscape elements and individual well-being in advance of the data collection, this research is inductive in nature (Bryman, 2016). We purposely used an open-ended approach as we were not trying to prove that servicescape results in a particular outcome, but rather to better understand the relationship between physical servicescape and social sustainability as related to our target group.

The ontological position of the research falls within the critical realism category, as we believe that an external reality does exist, yet at the same time we believe that this reality is interpreted by individuals, and individual interpretations are highly dependent on social construction (Ritchie et al., 2014). While we chose to use queer theory to bring to the forefront the influence of socially constructed norms, we rely on broad interpretivism as the leading epistemological stance to understand how these constructions are reflected in toiletscapes and experienced by individuals. Our choice of multiple qualitative methods was driven by

pragmatism, "rather than to align with epistemological stance" providing us the freedom to choose qualitative methods we felt best suited given our short time period (Ritchie et al., 2014, p. 22). Our overall goal was to capture perspectives relevant to our topic, which we believe is relevant to current modern life.

Methods and Approach

In this section we first outline our choice of using a case study, and why Lund University was suitable. Next, we introduce our chosen methods, their data collection and analysis, and further explain why we felt these were reasonable choices. We start by introducing the document analysis, then the physical observations and end with our semi-structured interviews. We end this section by discussing method triangulation, and how this approach allows for a more comprehensive understanding of our case study.

Case Study

We used Lund University as a case study for a number of reasons. First, as our research was exploratory in nature, confining the scope of research was recommended (Rowley, 2002). Also, a case study approach is thought to be a good choice for students undertaking a modest research project with time constraints, as well as being suitable for the qualitative "how" and "why" questions defining our research (Rowley, 2002). Yet, even more importantly, we recognized that the University, as an official institution with many stakeholders, provided a well-known, public servicescape with an influential reach to champion social sustainability far beyond its staff and students. The "exploration of multiple perspectives which are rooted in a specific context" is also a key feature of a case study (Ritchie et al., 2014, p. 66). Since Lund University has a variety of toiletscape configurations found on the campuses, coupled with the fact that the University attracts international students, staff and other stakeholders, we found the University to offer multiple perspectives for our research.

We additionally reflected on how this approach may act as a potential limitation for our research. Many criticize qualitative research in general, as it is "too impressionistic and subjective", "difficult to replicate" and cannot be generalized to a greater level of society (Bryman, 2012, pp. 405-406). As this context is at an individual university located within Sweden, and since it focuses on a diverse group of people (i.e., LGBTQ+ interviewees) we

instead realized that this would provide a rich, dynamic account of how LGBTQ+ individuals feel in this given context. As many of these individuals are not given much opportunity to speak, we decided that this case study could highlight their voices and experiences within Lund University. Also, since we wanted to compare data collected from different qualitative methods, we recognized that the variety of toiletscape configurations found at Lund University gave us the opportunity to employ distinct collection techniques in appropriate and suitable ways, allowing for cross-method triangulation (see Method Triangulation section).

Document Analysis

While first discussing the use of this method, we focused on the importance of language, specifically through text, and considered the power of official documents and their discourse being disseminated by institutions in society (Foucault, 1970). Through these published documents, we are offered a context and background of the University's position, and therefore are able to designate a voice to the University (Bowen, 2009). "Documents represent a specific version of realities constructed for specific purposes" (Flick, 2014, p. 454), so in choosing a document, we prioritized finding a document that offered the University's voice in regards to strategies for gender inclusion. We use the "voice" of the University as a point of reflection when analyzing elements of the toiletscapes. Therefore, since one of our research questions is particularly interested in identifying what Lund University communicates, and thus how through discourse it shapes the way things are carried out in society (Rose, 2016), we decided to conduct a document analysis on an official document published for and by Lund University.

We began by reading various official documents, and this required that we read many of Lund University's web pages in order to determine which document(s) to analyze. During this initial process, we came across many documents that were first published in Swedish, while some had been recently translated. Both being native English speakers, we discussed the importance of finding a document that was officially translated into an English document, so that we could better grasp the discourse and communication, and therefore the voice of the University from its official documents. We chose to analyze the *Equal Opportunities Plan for Lund University, 2022-2027*, which throughout, we reflected on its *intertextuality*, or how this document referred and linked to other documents and their meanings to create its own discursive reality (Rose, 2016). For example, the *Equal Opportunities Plan for Lund University, 2022-2027*

referenced governmental Acts, as well as other official University documents and policies (e.g., the University's strategic plan). Yet, we decided to include only the text from the other documents that were stated directly in the *Equal Opportunities Plan for Lund University, 2022-2027*.

As described by Bryman (2016) discourse is "an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being" (p. 536). Since the document displays what Lund University is currently communicating as its strategy for gender equality to its many stakeholders (Flick, 2014), we chose this document to consider the University's role in reproducing and shaping discourse. More particularly, we thought this method would prove valuable to determine if there is an "absence, sparseness, or incompleteness of documents", thus suggesting that there has been "little attention or that certain voices have not been heard" (Bowen, 2009, p. 33). The selection of an official document ensures that it is an authentic source of information that represents accurate and reliable documentation of what the University is offering to society (Flick, 2014). We accessed the selected document online, through the University's official website. Such easy access gives the document wider distribution and makes it more powerful (Flick, 2014).

Document Analysis: Analysis Process.

Overall, the analysis portion of this method was carried out by "skimming (superficial examination), reading (thorough examination), and interpretation" of the University document together while discussing the content, and thus the understood discourse communicated through the document (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). After recognizing several patterns, or codes coming through the text (Rose, 2016), we categorized and organized the data into particular themes based on our theoretical perspective (Bowen, 2009). This document analysis was conducted to discern what discourse the document displays and enforces, and we reflected on this thought throughout the rest of our analysis.

Physical Observations

In choosing this method we considered the importance of familiarizing ourselves with the physical toiletscapes found around Lund University. As described by Bitner (1992), a servicescape communicates a service organization's goals and has the ability to impact the

people found within these spaces. Although individual experiences of these physical spaces were of interest, this part of our research was solely focused on the *physical setting*, or "the organisation of physical space" in the toiletscapes on LU's campuses. We sought to investigate and identify how these physical spaces existed (Ritchie et al., 2014), and therefore how Lund University's voice carried through its space, and thus impacted the users of these toiletscapes (Bitner, 1992). Since toiletscapes are areas where people desire privacy and safety, out of ethical consideration, we decided not to observe people within these settings.

Over a course of five days we visited a total of eighteen buildings on campus documenting, both through photo documentation and notes, the physical toiletscapes we found throughout Lund's campus. In addition to the campus in the city of Lund, some of the photos were taken on Lund University's campus in Helsingborg. We attempted to visit more buildings on the main Lund campus during these visits but were unable to access some with our standard issue student cards; for example, we were unable to enter M-huset, the math building. From the other eighteen observational visits, we were able to gain visual information, knowledge and references, and overall familiarization with a variety of toiletscapes.

During the first round of observations, we visited Lund University in the city of Lund and Campus Helsingborg in Helsingborg. The approach included taking photographs of the exterior of the building as well as interior directional signs, toilet door signs, and toilet areas including physical objects such as toilets, sinks and trash bins. If accessible, we continued to take photos of toiletscapes found throughout the building and on various floors. Ideally, these physical observations and photos would have been conducted using floor plan schematics to ensure accuracy, although a more systematic approach would most likely not have changed the overall outcome or understanding gained during the physical observation period since we were only trying to gain knowledge of the current physical setting, not conduct a quantifiable survey. Photos were taken with the intention of addressing the research question of how these physical elements were promoting/supporting well-being, following the advice of (Rose, 2016) that photos used for social science research should be well tied to a research question. Due to time and access constraints, it was not possible to take photos in every building. Initially, we used a spreadsheet to note observations that we considered important, but later this was replaced with a text document that made it easier to share and modify during our analysis (see Table 1 for an example of data collected during observations).

Table 1

Example Data Collection From Physical Observation

Building	Toilet Door Signs	Stall Configuration *S*=Single-stall *M*=Multiple-person	No. of Photos	Observation Notes
AF Borgen	– WC – Accessible symbol, skirt figure, pants figure, "Toalett" – Accessible symbol, toilet graphic – Binary gender skirt|pants figures – Skirt, "Damer" – Pants, "Herrer" – "Grottan", "Toalogen", "DualKarneval", etc.	*S, M*	30+	– Non gendered multi-person toilet area with entertaining door signs instead of skirt|pant figures, common sink, no sinks in stalls – Stall walls and doors were not full length in non gendered toiletscape – No consistency of directional/ door signs throughout
Eden (Hus H)	– WC, braille – RWC, braille	S	<15	– "Toalett" and no skirt|pant figures on directional signs – Gender neutral colors (bright green, bright yellow doors) – -No gendered door signs seen
Gamla Barnsjukhuset / Sambib (Hus J)	– WC, no braille – WC, braille – HWC, braille	S	15-30	– WC may not be understood by all international students – HWC basement level only – Pictographs used to show water refill station with braille underneath and cleaning closet pictogram without braille

After this initial round of physical observations we discussed using photos to help focus and direct our semi-structured interviews, as was done in a research paper by Dean (2012) that we had become familiar with during our preliminary research period on servicescapes. In the end we selected a number of photos taken during the physical observation visits to create a deck of slides used during these interviews. Initially, this slide deck only included photos taken at Lund University, but after two interviews, a final slide that included toilet sign options from other sources was added. This was done because interviewees mentioned other toilet signs that they were familiar with, and we felt this additional slide enriched this back-and-forth aspect of the interviews, while at the same time, not significantly changing the interview (see Appendix B, slide 12). The second round of physical observations took place approximately one month later and was conducted over two days. We visited different buildings with a focus on observing toiletscapes with configurations distinct from those we had previously seen. In the end, we observed a total of eighteen buildings.

Physical Observation Analysis.

We reviewed the photos taken during our data collection process together at the start of this analysis process. In a systematic way, we noted differences and similarities in toilet signs, both directional and on or next to the toilet doors, within buildings, and between buildings on the campus. During this process, we used our queer theoretical perspective to find emerging themes or elements that would help us address our research aim. We also inspected the interior spaces, their configurations, and other physical elements such as tile color. In all, we assessed this data for different patterns and themes found within each building's offerings within their toiletscapes.

Interviews

In choosing this method we considered the importance of gaining knowledge about individuals' experiences with the toiletscape areas of Lund University. We focused our interviews on individuals who identify as LBGTQ+ and had studied, researched or worked at the University, in order to hear directly about their experiences with and interpretations of these physical spaces. Therefore, we chose purposeful sampling during the interviewee recruitment process in order to gain data that was most relevant to our research questions (Yin, 2011).

Going into our recruitment process, we discussed how each individual voice was important for this thesis, but we also recognized that every person has a different perspective. Regardless of their social, gender or cultural identities, these individuals could not be generalized to represent the entirety and complexity of the queer community. We also recognized the complexity of queer identities and how one relates to a community, so we chose the acronym LGBTQ+ since this most closely reflected how our interviewees identified themselves. Additionally, being a sensitive topic that focuses on a vulnerable space, the toiletscape, we made this decision knowing the extra challenge we would likely encounter in finding people willing to be interviewed. We first started recruiting by posting on several LGBTQ+ networks, such as Facebook groups. Due to a lack of response in these groups, we decided to post on more general Facebook groups (e.g., English-speaking, expat communities) as well. In addition, we also posted physical flyers around Lund University's campus.

Initially, six interviewees responded to the first round of posts, but due to cancellations this attempt only resulted in four interviews. Next, one of us contacted two LGBTQ+ acquaintances affiliated with Lund University and asked them to participate. They both agreed to interviews which then gave us a total of six interviewees at that time. Due to a close mutual connection, it was decided that in order to avoid any ethical issues (Flick, 2014), one of these two interviews would be conducted by the other person, who had no connection with the interviewee.

Additionally, we used a purposeful snowballing strategy, asking each interviewee if they knew of anyone else who fit our targeted sample (Flick, 2014; Yin, 2011), and this resulted in one additional interviewee, Drew. This interviewee was suggested by our second interviewee, Omid, who had stated how passionate of an advocate Drew was for the LGBTQ+ community. Despite not being a direct part of the desired sample group, Drew represents a highly involved ally, who, in addition to being recommended by Omid, can be perceived as a valuable international voice upon having a conversation about her background. She is an ally who has many close ties to the LGBTQ+ community. During the interview, she continually reflected on the importance of social inclusion, such as gender, sexuality, and disability, and we felt this would add an interesting and valuable perspective to our thesis. Our final interviewee was scheduled after a second round of Facebook postings on various sites and took place over Zoom. In total we held eight interviews (see Table 2), each lasting between 47 and 78 minutes.

Table 2

Interviewees

*Interviewee's Pseudonym	Age (< 30 or 30+)	Gender	Relationship to LGBTQ+ Community	Interview Time (minutes)	Interview (In-person or Virtual)
Remy	30+	Not mentioned	Gay/ Queer	70	In-person
Omid	< 30	Cisgender man	Gay	70	Virtual
Núria	< 30	Cisgender woman	Bisexual	78	In-person
Sam	< 30	Cisgender man	Gay	61	In-person
Drew	< 30	Cisgender woman	Active ally	76	In-person
Bailey	< 30	Cisgender man	Gay	47	In-person
Jordan	30+	Nonbinary	Nonbinary/ Queer	75	Virtual
Dakota	30+	Cisgender woman	Gay/ Lesbian	60	Virtual

*Note: *In order to ensure confidentiality, pseudonyms are used in place of each interviewee's name. Without being too specific, this table shows an overview of relevant information for each interviewee.*

After some discussions between ourselves and our advisor about the interview process we decided to conduct the interviews as a team since we thought this could be more efficient and valuable and add to a more natural, conversation-like interview for us and the interviewees. Since the goal was to talk about their experiences, and acknowledge the potential sensitivity coming along with this, we wanted the environment to feel safe and confidential, and ensure anonymity for each individual we interviewed. For the in-person interviews, we booked a campus study room to ensure privacy and safety, as well as tried to accommodate each person, for example by offering a water bottle. This room was equipped with a screen that allowed us to present the slideshow in a larger, more easily seen format. In one case an in-person interview was conducted off-campus as a convenience for the interviewee. For the virtual interviews, which took place over Zoom, we offered to turn off cameras to make the interviewee feel more

comfortable. Although we took these ethical precautions, every interviewee was willing to speak freely about this sensitive topic.

We chose to use pseudonyms for each participant and excluded home country information to help ensure confidentiality for the interviewees (Flick, 2014) since all of the participants were originally not from Sweden. Additionally, during our analysis section, we chose to refer to individuals at times simply as "Interviewee" if we believed that the response might be too revealing even based on the generalized details we provided (see Table 2). International affiliation was not planned as part of our selection group criteria, but as we primarily recruited participants through international/expat groups on Facebook, as well as posting in English, we see this as one reason our participants did not have initial origins here in Sweden.

Since every individual, with the exception of one, identified themselves as a part of the LGBTQ+ community, we recognized the safety concerns that already pose a threat to many individuals found within this marginalized group. Since some international communities in Sweden, and more particularly Lund and Malmö (the two cities most interviewees reside in) are small and tight-knit, these individuals become more identifiable when certain details are disclosed. In addition, when relevant, we included limited and general details about the interviewees' country of origin, such as if it is a non-European country or not. We certainly acknowledge the significance of reflecting on the interviewees' countries of origins, especially in relation to how they may interpret different aspects of their identity, such as gender, sexuality and the norms expected of them within these contexts. Still, with this in mind, we see that the safety of each individual is very important. Prior to the interviews, we asked permission to record the interview and ensured interviewees that the recordings would not be used for anything other than our transcription and analysis.

In addition to asking their opinions on which details could be used or not, we offered to confirm the usage of direct quotes in our analysis before submitting our final paper at the end of our writing process. As each participant had a relationship with the University (e.g., PHD student), we recognized how by including this specific level of information we would risk exposing each individual's identity. For this reason, we attempted to only present vague, unspecified information about the participants throughout our analysis and in this paper.

Interview Design.

For the style of our interviews, we chose a qualitative semi-structured interview format with mostly open-ended questions. This choice was made in order to follow a more conversational flow and gain more "insight into what the interviewee sees as relevant and important" (Bryman, 2016, p. 470). Since we wished to explore how LGBTQ+ individuals experience Lund University's toiletscape, we felt a semi-structured interview style would allow us to more flexibly follow our interview guide (see Appendix A) while also allowing for each interviewee to open up and develop their own narrative throughout the process (Bryman, 2016). We also chose to first introduce ourselves, and particularly disclose our relationship to the LGBTQ+ community, as a way to make the interviewee feel safe in sharing information on the topic. Like in our recruitment posts we again outlined the purpose of the study, introduced contextual and personal information and explained certain definitions such as "toiletscape" (Ritchie et al., 2014). At the beginning of each interview, we ensured interviewees' anonymity and confidentiality, as this is a sensitive topic and many were originally from countries other than Sweden and could be identified due to details such as this (Bryman, 2016).

In forming our interview questions, we created questions related to Lund University's relationship to social sustainability (e.g., gender inclusiveness) and how it presents its physical toiletscape to users. After reading an article by Dean (2012), we decided to use the technique of *photo-elicitation* during the interview process to show the interviewees different toilet configurations and door signs found around the campus. In doing this, we were able to introduce and direct different topics within the conversation and gain insight into how each interviewee interpreted the photos (Bryman, 2016). As previously stated, our photo selection was based on the data gathered during our physical observations. In order to ensure a good conversational flow and to test our questions (Bryman, 2016), we held one pilot interview, after which we decided to significantly change the way we presented these photos. Once strategically reorganized, the slideshow gave us the ability to "walk through" these toiletscapes with the interviewees. Additionally, the slideshow, along with the knowledge we gained about toiletscape configurations during the physical observation periods, allowed us to have richer, more engaging conversations with interviewees that included a good level of back-and-forth and understanding.

Interview Transcription and Analysis.

We recorded each interview on two devices to ensure redundancy in case we encountered a technological issue with one recording. We used Otter.ai, a software to transcribe recordings of each interview, and this helped us better track our data and use our time more efficiently. During the transcription process, we also chose to assign and refer to individuals by their pseudonyms, in order to ensure more anonymity. In total there were 8 hr and 57 mins of recordings.

Directly after each interview, we debriefed to gather our thoughts and discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the interview process. During these sessions, we began noting significant content that surfaced during the interviews. After all interviews were complete, each of us then listened to the interviews on our own during this first run-through, in order to familiarize ourselves with the data and some emerging topics (Ritchie et al., 2014). During this time, we also edited major software transcription mistakes to help us better analyze the interview content. We listened to the interview data a second time together, and this is when we more systematically began assigning meaning to the empirical data (Bryman, 2016). Because we each have our own perspectives, we discussed and compared our individual interpretations in order to minimize a single bias of the interview data collected (Flick, 2014).

After this, we began writing our analysis, but based on a conversation with our advisor, we chose to return to the data to rethink our patterns and themes to reshuffle the presentation of the data. This next time through the interview transcripts, we focused on grouping the data into broader, emotionally based thematic categories related to our aim and research questions (Bryman, 2016) rather than by physical elements. By doing this we were better able to relate and link each interviewee's experience with one another, as well as with both the document and observations content. Therefore, this provided us with a broader understanding of the complexity of these topics.

Method Triangulation

In order to gain a richer understanding of how LGBTQ+ well-being is impacted by Lund University through their physical servicescape, we decided to triangulate our research methods. Through *triangulation* or the use of "more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena" we were able to access more, rich detailed perspectives for our case study of Lund University (Bryman, 2012, p. 392). We decided to use data from the document analysis,

physical observations and semi-structured interviews "to seek convergence and corroboration" of the data (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). By doing this, the intersection of these three methods and perspectives gave us a better opportunity for a stronger, more comprehensive analysis and results (Flick, 2014).

Starting with the document analysis, this method allowed us to interpret what was being communicated by the University through an official document (Bowen, 2009). By also capturing an overview of the physical toiletscape offered on the University's campus, we were not only able to familiarize ourselves with the University's servicescape, but we were also able to interpret how these spaces reflected or not what the University document (i.e., from the document analysis) communicated. In addition, these spaces acted as a basis for interpreting how the interviewees from our semi-structured interviews experienced these spaces (e.g., through photos we presented from our physical observations). The interview data was therefore able to come up against the perspective of the other data sources (i.e., document data and physical observations data), thus giving us a combined perspective of our research (Flick, 2014).

Importantly, throughout our analysis, we also reflected on Ahmed's (2012) argument that powerful institutions need to go beyond "fulfilling the requirements" or taking a "tick box approach" (p.106). Instead of the University writing a document that states something positive for diversity to "appear in the best way", we wanted to identify whether or not the University was following through with their claims based on the physical observations and interviewee statements (Ahmed, 2012, p. 107). As Ahmed (2012) further suggested, institutions should show their commitment to inclusion and equality by proactively acting and considering different, possibly overlooked perspectives, and this is something our triangulation allowed us to analyze.

Results and Analysis

Through our queer lens, our analysis revealed that LGBTQ+ individuals are impacted by Lund University's toiletscapes in ways that are dependent on their individual backgrounds and experiences. In addition, our results showed how the University creates a heteronormative voice that carries through its toiletscapes, and this is confirmed through both our observations and the interviewees' voices. During our analysis, four main themes emerged: (a) reinforcement of heteronormativity, (b) exclusion (c) vulnerability and (d) inclusion. Overall, each of our interviewees expressed how their experiences with certain physical aspects of the toiletscape made them feel excluded, vulnerable and/or included. In the next sections, we will further explain our results on how the University communicates itself, and expand on what this means for our LGBTQ+ interviewees.

Experiencing Heteronormativity

By combining all of our findings from the three methods, we were able to identify our first theme, which is how Lund University reproduces heteronormativity both through documents and within its toiletscapes. Our results reflected the complexity of the human element in our analysis, the voices of interviewees, and their experiences within the University's toiletscapes. When further organizing our findings, we additionally realized this theme's interconnectedness with two of our other themes, exclusion and vulnerability. We identified that both of these themes, as drawn out by the interviewees, were contingent on the University's voice reinforcing heteronormativity. Therefore, the next two parts of this section further draw out our results in connection to how the interviewees experience exclusion and vulnerability, respectively, in Lund University's toiletscapes.

Feeling Excluded

As according to Butler (2006), to be an "intelligible gender" or to be understood as having "coherence and continuity among sex, gender, sexual practice, and desire" means to be understood as normal and natural by a majority of Western society (p. 23). This concept acts as the basis for the script for heteronormativity, which assumes naturality and expects that all humans align with these dichotomous identities (Butler, 2006, 2011). Thus, one is often marked or excluded if they do not align with this normative thought. During our interviews, many of the

interviewees reflected on this assumption. They revealed that some of the elements found in these toiletscapes were only intended for specific, coherent identities found within these heteronormative beliefs. We discovered that most of the interviewees talked about feeling excluded either through having to label themselves or because they were misrepresented or just not represented at all. Therefore, these next sections discuss the interviewees' experiences of being excluded in both ways.

Exclusion Through Being Labeled.

Throughout our interviews, it became apparent how most interviewees felt that some situations or physical elements (e.g., toilet signs) required them to label themselves, and this consequently contributed to a feeling of exclusion for some. One of our interviewees, Remy who stated he was a person "betewen gay and queer" reflected on who could use the separated binary gendered toilet spaces, such as the ones located at Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (HCE) on Lund University's campus (see Figure 1). Clearly, in a displeased tone, he stated, "I would say that it would be the people who are defined as either male or female, but excludes like nonbinary [people] or people who don't feel comfortable in any of the genders." When then asked about how gender binary divisions directly impacted him, Remy revealed:

> Badly. I personally–I don't like [the divisions] not only because I see myself as queer … I don't know. But, they impact me because I have to label myself in things that even [sic] doesn't matter to anyone what I do in this business. Right?

Remy described his feelings of exclusion by having to mark himself as something outside of the heteronormative understandings found throughout society, including in these toiletscapes.

Figure 1

Toiletscapes Separated by Binary Gender

Note. Photos of two entrances to separate toiletscapes found in the same common area at the Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (ground floor) building.

Remy continued these thoughts, reflecting on these divisions for other non-heteronormative, LGBTQ+ individuals:

> I think you have two people who has [sic] even better and defined like, "I am nonbinary" or "I am in a transition", like if someone is [sic] transitioning, it could be very mentally disturbing, that you have to fit in certain labels that someone choose [sic] to you.

Being labeled as an outsider to this ideal script (Ahmed, 2014), Remy is someone who not only has to face a division in society (Rothmann & Simmonds, 2015), but has also confronted his feelings of being categorized within these rigid heteronormative toiletscape divisions.

In addition to these mentioned divided toiletscapes, a majority of the conversations revealed that other physical elements also acted as barriers for many interviewees, especially in regards to having to categorize themselves as something while entering or being within these spaces. As shown by Butler (2006, 2011), predetermined identities, with this continual linkage between body, sex, gender and desire, construct the heteronormative understanding of identities

in society (see also Cromwell, 2006). Therefore, having certain elements within a space, especially when only intended for a certain (binary) gender (i.e., man and woman), links one's gender to an expected and understood body. As an example, almost every interviewee acknowledged that urinals were only suitable for "people with a penis" as was simply stated by Remy when shown photos from the interior toiletscape at HCE (see Figure 2).

Figure 2

Toiletscape Intended for Men

Note. Photos of interior of the men's toiletscape at Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (ground floor) building.

When shown the same interior photo, Omid stated "it's definitely geared toward men. I mean, the urinals make it very, very difficult for anyone else to use it." These understandings reflected that there is a heteronormative communication being put out in these particular spaces, and anyone who is not a man, and therefore someone assumed to have a penis, should not enter or use this space. Drew, a cisgender woman reacted by saying, "so, I'm guessing that if I walked into this, I'd be like 'in the wrong place!' Partly because of the blue [tile], partly because of that urinal straight up, looking at me." Thus, based on these socially understood indicators of heteronormative gender expectations, it can be suggested that these spaces reflected expectations of certain gender and sex to be connected, and the interviewees considered this indicator as some communication of being labeled as some gender (or not).

Another interviewee, Bailey, a cisgender gay man, recalled being excluded since he was not labeled in a way that allowed him to enter a space with his friends. He explained:

Most of my friends are girls, so then if they're like, "oh, bathroom time," or whatever. Or, they all go to the bathroom, I'm just supposed to, like, wait outside if [the bathrooms are] divided. Or like, and they just go in, and then I'm just by myself. And this is, like, not optimal in a way.

Bailey continued on about having to wait outside of the women's only toilets:

And it always makes you feel like you don't be--really, like, belong to your friend group, I guess. Or like you belong, but like, you're not one of them, you know? So it's kind of like, okay, they have their space, they have their time. But like, why don't I get to be part of that as well? Just because I'm, like, a man.

In his narrative, Bailey described his experience with feeling labeled, and thus excluded from a toiletscape because of the sign, regardless of aligning with the gender binary (e.g., as a cisgender man). Recognizing the power of this sign, since he felt like it prevented him from entering and, in this particular case, Bailey explained to us how he is impacted by these divisions because of not being a certain gender.

Many interviewees also discussed feeling excluded through having to label themselves according to the displayed toilet signs in the toiletscape at Campus Helsingborg, regardless of the single-stall configuration this space offered. To contextualize this toiletscape, on most floors of the building there were, for example, a total of seven toilet stalls found within a hallway. Of these seven, four were marked with the binary figures, one with a skirted figure and the

remaining one with an accessible and "Inclusive Toilet" sign (see Figure 3). When only shown the Inclusive Toilet sign, many of our interviewee's first impressions reflected an overall positive tone because this toilet sign was intended "for everyone, even people with special needs" (Remy). We then went on to describe the exact layout of the seven toilet options together, and upon hearing this background, many of the interviewees' interpretations shifted.

Figure 3

Toilet Door Signs Found on Campus Helsingborg

Note. Photos next to or on exterior toilet doors found at Campus Helsingborg, Lund University. From left to right: binary gender sign, skirt/dress figure, Inclusive Toilet sign

Most of the interviewees voiced that this arrangement boxes non-normative individuals into a separate space that is marked by something other than what is normal, according to society. After receiving the layout of this space, Jordan (nonbinary) stated:

> It actually feels a little less inclusive when I see it in context. Because, so normally, I assume, when I see the symbol with ... the pants and the skirt and the line between, like, yeah, whatever they're just trying to, they mean everybody, so. But when you then have an "Inclusive Toilet" next to it that like explicitly kind of draws something out from like, queer/trans culture of like, "here we have this thing", then it's almost like, "oh, no, no, no, the other ones aren't for you. It's actually just this one that you're allowed in." Yeah, so it's, even though it's *trying* [emphasis] to be more inclusive, it almost, like, undermines it a little bit through specificity.

Remy also considered this layout stating, "[the space] make [sic] me reflect like, oh, well, why I have to, to label myself or like, everyone is going to perform the same thing ... so you don't need the gender definition to do this." Núria, a cisgender bi woman also contemplated:

> It's like you are putting the excluded in the same place. … So if you are trans or nonbinary, you have just one choice. And if you are using a wheelchair, no, it's like some kind of putting the excluded apart [from others].

Echoing these accounts, Sam stated:

> That's very disturbing for me. I think, if they want to be inclusive, they should be [sic] just indicated 'WC' ... That's inclusive for me. You–you don't feel violated. You don't feel like you have to think 'what are you?' before you open the door. You just use the toilet as anyone else. You don't need to be told by a door what are [sic] you.

Some individuals also focused on the additional, separately marked stall intended for women in this toiletscape. Each stall, aside from the one marked "Inclusive Toilet", had the exact interior, including the amount of space and setup. Bailey (cisgender gay man) questioned, "if they all look the same, and like, there's no common area, it's not like a safety thing or like a comfort thing?" Even still, in order to not offend anyone else, Sam (cisgender gay man) stated he would never use that toilet regardless of it being identical to the other stalls. Thus, we can see that the signs indicate to him that he is labeled as someone who may not enter that space.

Overall, each interviewee revealed that they did not understand why gender was even involved in these spaces, especially in trying to mark a separate door as "Inclusive Toilet" or in

these binary divided toiletscapes. The results from our document analysis, acting as the University's voice, contrasted many of the interviewees' experiences, by stating that the University protects and ensures "respect for *everyone's* [emphasis added] equal value" and "human rights and freedoms" (Lund University, 2022a, p. 2). Thus, "everyone" and their freedoms are only considered and include the following according to the document:

> This entails, among other things, that employees, students and those who apply to work or study at Lund University are to be treated and assessed without irrelevant reference to sex, transgender identity, ethnicity, religion or other belief, disability, sexual orientation or age. (Lund University, 2022a, p.2)

> This group of "everyone" is expected "to combat discrimination and promote gender equality, equal treatment, equal rights and opportunities in compliance with both internal regulations and current applicable legislation" (Lund University, 2022a, p. 6). Even so, we identified that within this very strategy for equal opportunities, "gender equality" is defined in a way that excludes the part of "everyone" when one's gender is not displayed in a coherent and continuous, or, a heteronormative way (Butler, 2006, 2011). Instead, as noted in the document, gender simply refers to the term *sex*, which is defined as "woman or man" (*Discrimination Act,* SFS 2008:567 as cited in Lund University, 2022a), and therefore protects everyone except the indivduals categorized as non-heteronormative, or in this case "transgender identity" (Lund University, 2022a, p.2).

> In these conversations, we were able to hear that most interviewees felt labeled, and thus excluded in certain situations when considering their experiences in these toiletscapes. The voice of the University labeled a group of others against the heteronormative and coherently understood gender binary. Overall, and in contrast to the University's voice, Omid expressed:

> The question is, why does a bathroom need to be gendered? Yes, we want to be inclusive, but wouldn't the most inclusive thing be just getting rid of gender in bathrooms altogether? Because we're all people at the end of the day.

As Omid voiced, everyone is a human, regardless of gender, and this is something that is not reflected by labeling others against these coherently understood binary genders.

Exclusion Through Representation.

In entering toiletscapes found on campus, individuals carry out certain and gendered actions that create society's understanding of what gender "is purported to be" (Butler, 2006, p. 34; Butler, 2011). For example, when individuals are forced to choose between the two separate spaces (see Figure 1 in the Exclusion Through Labeling section) and must select which of the two figures (i.e., the pants and the skirt) they consider themselves to be, they therefore carry out an expected truth of this binary gender. Specifically, on the University's campus, our results showed that a woman is mostly depicted as an image of a skirt figure with closed legs and a dainty appearance (see Figure 4). This belief of what a woman should appear as has often been reflected throughout contemporary Western society, and our physical observations determine that Lund University has also followed suit.

Figure 4

Skirt Figure Toilet Sign

Note. These are three examples of skirt figures found on women-only toilets. Location from left to right: Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (ground floor), Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (basement), Campus Helsingborg.

Society, and in this case Lund University, displays that "to be a woman you have to wear a skirt" (Dakota). Dakota, a cisgender gay woman, discussed her feelings on this particular figure:

> It just feels weird. That the woman's logo is the one with the skirt, you know? Yeah, because I'm pretty tomboyish as well. So, I don't really like to wear skirts. So for me, it's like okay, I'm a woman, but I'm not wearing a skirt.

Dakota clearly felt misrepresented by these signs, which portray this tiny-waisted, hour-glass-shaped figure, as she described them. In some way, she feels excluded from what is expected of a woman, and regardless of her knowing she is allowed to be in that space, she reflects on feeling some rigid expectations from the heteronormative ideal of gender presented in this skirt figure.

Other individuals, such as Núria, a cisgender bisexual woman, also considered the expectations being communicated through this skirt figure toilet signs (see Figure 4). When we asked her what these signs meant to her, she replied:

> I hate it. Because it doesn't represent me, but it's supposed to represent me. Oh, I don't know. Society has shown me that this should represent me. ... you have like the man sign, he doesn't represent me either. Because when you see that sign ... I don't think it's representing me either. So, where the fuck am I? Because I'm never dressed like this, or like my shape is not like this sign.

Núria explained that what particularly bothered her about the photos were the closed legs, and all of these points illustrate how she, like Dakota, feels like she is not represented by these signs.

In the same heteronormative angle, the skirt figure's counterpart simply shows a more assertively positioned, open-legged figure in pants (see Figure 5). Thus, society, as well as many of our interviewees understood that sign indicated only men could enter. Giving it more thought, Núria explained, "but I don't think a person who is not a man and has a penis is going to be included in this, is going to feel included in this." Although stating she is someone who does not have a penis, she makes a statement in recognizing the complexity of gender, sex and sexuality (Butler, 2006), and shows that not all men need to have a penis to be represented by a space.

Figure 5

Pants Figure Toilet Sign

Note. Three examples of pants figures found on men-only toilets. Location from left to right: Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (ground floor), Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (basement), Palaestra et Odeum (Hus D).

The results from our physical observations revealed that urinals were only found within the toiletscapes exclusively intended for men. Thus, as in line with Butler's (2006, 2011) argument on heteronormativity's assumption, i.e., linking the body to gender, we recognize that these spaces assume that to be a man one must have a penis. Therefore, and again according to this heteronormative reasoning, women are not capable of using such fixtures since they do not have a penis. In addition to urinals, sanitary bins were only found in either single-stall toiletscapes intended for both men and women, or toiletscapes that were divided and only intended for women. This finding is again supported by Butler's (2006, 2011) argument that heteronormativity only sees women (as females) as those whose bodies are capable of menstruating, and men (as males), are therefore not capable of this.

Drawing on the exact argument that sex links to gender (Butler, 2006; Cromwell, 2006), during our physical observation analysis, we identified a particular space, Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (HCE) as communicating a belief of binary gender association through pink and blue wall tiles. We were not alone in identifying this signal coming from these colored tiles, since every interviewee pointed these out as something they would consider when entering this particular toiletscape. When introducing the toiletscape photos during our interviews, we began by displaying an orange-tiled, single-stall toiletscape (see Figure 6). Following this photo, we displayed a pink-tiled space, and many interviewees immediately considered this a space

intended only for cis women (see Figure 7). Remy referred to the pink tile as "common sense" for society, but he went on to declare that "in the end, it's just a color." As each interview developed, we came to see that although this was "just a color", many pointed out, some several times, how the blue and pink tile colors communicated certain expectations or representations within these toiletscapes.

Figure 6

Single-stall Toiletscape

Note. Interior of the toiletscape at the LUX building.

Figure 7

Toiletscape Intended for Women

Note. Interior of the women's toiletscape at Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (ground floor) building.

Some interviewees who identified themself as either a man or a nonbinary person, communicated that this space was not intended for them. Jordan, a queer/nonbinary individual immediately asked if there was "some sort of sign of who can enter it" when first shown the pink-tiled space. As a queer person, Remy commented, also in reference to the urinals in the blue toiletscape, "it's quite well defined who's supposed to use [the spaces]. So, I don't think this aspect is nice." People were not pleased with the gendered associations they interpreted from these tiles and thus felt these toiletscapes expected individuals of certain labels to use a specific space. Not necessarily feeling included by these "strongly gendered" spaces (Jordan) that, according to Remy, clearly indicated who is or is not supposed to be there point to these interviewees feeling excluded by the use of such heteronormative cues and assumptions in these toiletscapes.

When shown all three toiletscape examples (see Figure 8), Drew, Bailey and many others stated that they would prefer the orange-tiled toilet since it felt "very inviting" (Omid) and "warm" (Omid). Comparing the three spaces, and referring to the blue and pink tiles, Núria stated, "even if you don't have a sign, you have the colors that in our culture are assigned to [gender]." Jordan too reflected on these three photos together, stating, "I appreciate the orange tile more than I did the first time around. It's just, it's nice to have, like, you know, the bathroom is just a room instead of this, like, strongly gendered, weirdly pink [space]." When considering the association between the pink tile and the skirt figure toilet sign (See Figure 4), Jordan stated, "it tells me that this is not the bathroom for me." As a nonbinary individual, they pointed out that this space felt like it was not intended for them, especially since the sign marking this space also indicated that they should not enter.

Figure 8

Example of Toiletscape Tile Colors

Note. Photos of interior toiletscapes. Location from left to right: LUX, Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (ground floor), Holger Crafoords Ekonomincentrum (ground floor).

Additionally, many interviewees recognized instances in certain toiletscapes on the University's campus that could bring upon exclusion for some LGBTQ+ individuals even if not for themselves. When shown a photo of the binary toilet door symbol frequently found around campus (see Figure 9), Dakota, a cisgender gay woman, discussed the binary figure signs found on most toilet doors around the University as "more for everyone" in contrast to the separated men's and women's only spaces. She continued, "I am not nonbinary, so I don't know how these people will feel if they see just like this. But I'm speaking for myself, and I think it's pretty much welcoming for the men and women." Again, regardless of not feeling represented by the skirt figure, Dakota realized that she is meant to be included in the genders depicted on these signs. That being said, she also understood that it is "pretty much welcoming" for these recognizable binary genders, but maybe not for other genders. This recognition aligns with Butler's explanation of "intelligible genders", as they are displayed in these toiletscapes, and only intended for those who align with the heteronormativity portrayed in these elements.

Figure 9

Examples of Gender Binary Toilet Signs

Note. Three examples of the gender binary, skirt and pants figures found on single-stall toilet doors. Location from left to right: Gamla Köket (Hus L), Campus Helsingborg, Centre for Languages and Literature (SOL).

Also discussing what this binary figure sign communicated, "Jordan", a nonbinary person explained:

> I mean, I think the signs are trying to tell people that anyone can use the bathroom. I think that's what they're going for. I think that's what they want, they want people to think like, 'oh, men and women,' which is *everyone* [emphasis] can use this bathroom', which is, you know, a lot better than only having one–like one figure on those. It's still like, there must be a better way to include nonbinary people in this but…

Overall, these binary signs, especially since placed on single-stall doors, were perceived as inclusive enough, but still not truly representing, respecting or even considering everyone. These were seen as available for the "two ends of the spectrum" (Bailey), but still not representing everyone according to most of the interviewees.

Additionally, many of the interviewees noted the "WC" found on many individual stall doors was something that they were unfamiliar with upon arriving in Sweden, despite now understanding the meaning. As someone who came from another European country, Omid considered:

> ... I think 'WC' is very European, British European words ... I've met a lot of Americans that just didn't know what it was. People from China and India generally are not familiar

with it. So, like when I think about *who* [emphasis] is familiar with it, it's really central

Europeans and Australians.

Sam also stated, "It's just not in my country. We have like one letter for men and one letter for women." When presented with these signs, he interpreted these letters as "something to do with, like, gender, like women and men." Coming to Sweden from a non-European country, Sam, along with other interviewees, did not fully understand this sign when asked about its meaning.

Núria also explained her experiences as being a part of "other social categories." She pointed out that things such as language, physical barriers and social class were not considered in all toiletscape configurations. For her, as an international person, she did not understand Swedish as depicted on most signs, so she explained how this sometimes makes her feel excluded by not understanding her surroundings. She must also pack a lunch as well as bring all of her belongings with her since she cannot afford to purchase lunch every day. Núria pointed out that she needs more space in toilet stalls because of having all of her belongings, and this is something she does not feel is offered in every space.

Drew also reflected on the lack of space, noting that a relative uses a wheeled walker due to a physical disability and that many of the toiletscapes do not offer enough space for her to use them. Many interviewees reflected on this lack of space, each mentioning that one accessibility toilet is not enough, especially in the Campus Helsingborg configuration, which also groups queer people into this space. The University voiced that as part of their initiative for equal opportunity, there should be "Continued development as an international university" and that people should be "offered attractive environments" (Lund University, 2022b as cited in Lund University, 2022a). The voices of the interviewees indicated that these spaces do not necessarily offer an international and satisfying space, as the University communicated in this document. That being said, we were able to identify that these signs and spaces, as a part of the University, do not fully consider or represent all of the international individuals using the toiletscapes, since not everyone's identities and backgrounds, and thus their understandings, were reflected throughout these physical spaces.

The interviewees' considerations for everyone not being truly represented by these physical elements further contrasts with the University's voice that we identified during our document analysis. We found that the University ensured everyone was protected based on their gender, but this was assumed to be linked to sex, and thus only encompassed a cis-gender, binary

understanding (i.e., men and women). The document designated another category of what they refer to as "transgender identity or expression" (see e.g., Lund University, 2022a, p. 2), but our results showed that this clearly boxed the non-normative, everyone else into a different category other than the category of "sex". Thus, a cis-gender person is someone with a normatively understood gender "on the same side as" their birth-assigned sex (Aultman, 2014, p. 61). In contrast, the word *transgender*[4] could be understood as moving toward another side, at least in regard to society's heteronormative understanding of gender. Continuing with a queer perspective, it was possible for us to identify how the University framed "transgender identity or expression" as someone moving between the binary genders, but still, as someone who is neither a man nor a woman.

As if the terms man and woman were only understood as two opposites that one can travel between, the University's use of "identity or expression" undermined the truth a transgender person is actually living. If one can be enough of some coherent gender (Butler, 2006; Stryker, 2017), and thus pass as either a man or a woman, they would not be forced to have a label as an "identity or expression", but rather just as a socially accepted gender. Thus, the heteronormative system does not fully accept transgender or any other non-normative gender as an actual gender, or in other words, an actual truth (Butler, 2006). The very simple fact that "sex" and "transgender identity or expression" are separated into two different categories, especially when referring to gender equality and equal opportunities, means that one is either heteronormative or boxed into something else, as someone or something less real.

The heteronormative discourse surfacing through the toiletscape, additionally made it clear to us that the University only makes sense of two genders/sexes, and anything else is either represented as the mythical, unreal, lesser others (see e.g., Rothmann & Simmonds, 2015) or just not represented at all. This was further drawn out by many interviewees and their accounts with confronting exclusion brought on by either being misrepresented or being completely overlooked. Many interviewees mentioned not feeling represented or even acknowledged in other aspects of the University, and their accounts confirmed that this heteronormative

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[4] According to Merriam-Webster (n.d.) *"trans- prefix Definition of trans- 1: on or to the other side of : across : beyond"*

University voice trickles down to other policies that create their experiences within physical spaces.

"Interviewee" discussed their feelings about not being considered or represented by the University, simply because the University prohibited them and others, as LGBTQ+ staff members, from representing the University in the Lund Pride Parade. They went on about how the University did not allow them to do this because "it was too political" of a statement. Omid too discussed that, especially during World Pride last year (i.e., 2021), as "the largest academic institution, it's one of the largest employers, it has such a big presence in the region. They should have done something." They both described not only feeling a lack of support but also not feeling represented and feeling unheard due to the mixed signals given off by the University. In line with this, other interviewees discussed a lack of opportunity at the University in terms of socializing and having a physical environment that acted as a particular space for LGBTQ+ individuals.

"Where are queer students?" Jordan asked. Some others mentioned also seeking such spaces out when first arriving at the University, and in the end, they were only directed toward P6, a safe-sex organization associated with the University, which many found insulting since they were not looking for safe-sex resources. Thus, not being in the dominant and privileged position of heteronormativity, LGBTQ+ people lack access to resources (Ahmed, 2012), such as physical spaces to socialize and feel represented throughout society. Omid also mentioned a lack of access and specially trained counselors for his other LGBTQ+ friends going through mental health issues, and he stated that the University's available resources did not represent the complexity of queer experiences (see e.g., Ahmed, 2012).

In addition to this lack of resources, Jordan also recognized that the few LGBTQ+ events that they could find were run by P6 and had communicated information that reflected heteronormative beliefs and ideals. Jordan continued on how this could potentially be dangerous for its queer attendees, by saying, "I think you give space to groups that maybe shouldn't be doing [leading such events], like, a well-meaning, but poorly done information that could have hurt more people than it helped." Therefore, there is a risk that not only will LGBTQ+ individuals feel misrepresented and unwelcome during these types of events but spreading and misinforming others in society could continue reproducing a harmful, rigid discourse that misrepresents queer people.

Feeling Vulnerable

Ahmed (2014) states, "Normativity is comfortable for those who inhabit it" (p. 147). Those who inhabit it, and therefore fit or pass within society's script, are able to access privilege and comfort. Therefore, those who do not follow a normative script may experience discomfort, shame and vulnerability (Ahmed, 2012, 2014). Butler (2006) explains that society only makes sense of a single truth of gender and sexuality, so anyone that does not embody this truth will likely find themselves confronting feelings of shame and vulnerability (Ahmed, 2012). In this section, we present LGBTQ+ interviewees' experiences of feeling vulnerable. We further elaborate on how their vulnerability is spoken about, and how our results point to feelings of shame, embarrassment, a lack of privacy, and reduced safety while LGBTQ+ individuals use or enter a toiletscape.

When each interviewee was asked about their sense of safety in Lund University's toiletscapes, they explicitly stated that they felt safe, yet, even so, we identified indications that in some contexts, these LGBTQ+ individuals felt vulnerable. Since every interviewee has an international background and thus comes from a country outside of Sweden, many of them discussed how Sweden, and therefore their experiences at Lund University, relate to their experiences outside of Sweden. For example, some mentioned habits related to safety, such as checking for functioning door locks, full-length doors and stall walls, and hidden cameras, since their individual backgrounds have accustomed them to certain understandings of what to do (or not) when using a public toilet. Many of the interviewees discussed how they did not know how to lock the doors, or quite understand other certain physical cues that are considered normative in Sweden when first arriving. It was clear from our conversations that interviewees' home country experiences especially influenced their initial use of toiletscape at Lund University in the short term, as well as their longer-term assessment of vulnerability in these spaces.

For example, when asked about safety in toiletscapes at Lund University, Dakota mentioned an uncomfortable, vulnerable situation that she commonly encountered in her home country due to a lack of full-length doors and stall walls. Dakota elaborated:

> ... I also don't like when the toilet has ... a gap in the very bottom and also in the upper part, because then people can peek because there are a lot of perverts in ___ and ___. So, you always have to feel like you have to guard yourself all the time, and you have to

> always look around inside the toilet if there's like [sic] camera or something like that, you know?

The results from our physical observations identified a toiletscape that, although recently being renovated, still included gaps above and below the stall doors and walls (see Figure 10). Having to "guard yourself all the time" and search for things such as cameras clearly indicated Dakota's feeling of vulnerability when entering a toilet space, especially in ones that lack full-length stalls and walls. Although she did not continue checking for cameras in Lund University's toiletscapes after about a week, her unique context impacted the way she considered safety in entering these spaces.

Figure 10

Examples of Toiletscape Lacking Full-length Doors and Walls vs. Full-length Doors and Walls.

Location: AF Borgen, Biologihuset

Núria also mentioned how a lack of full-length doors and walls can lead to unsolicited use of recording devices by users in adjacent stalls. Additionally, she mentioned feeling vulnerable as a result of a toilet's proximity to cis-gender men, whether in common areas outside of the toilet or somewhere within the toiletscape. Núria stated:

> You have to see, not just the toilet, but what's [sic] surrounding the toilet because if this is, let's say, the woman's toilet or the inclusive toilet, and it's next to-- I don't know, a common area where, usually, men are occupying the space. It can be uncomfortable, but you have to cross this common area with men.

Núria revealed that in these vulnerable moments of using the toilet when she would "make noise" while being on her period (e.g., unwrapping a sanitary product), she would feel uncomfortable sharing this space with other, more inconsiderate individuals. Therefore, she acknowledged the feeling of being a minority against or outside of the majority (Ahmed, 2014), by having to cross into or be within an unwelcoming, male-dominated space.

Dakota mentioned the difficulty of figuring out how to lock toilet doors commonly found at Lund University upon arrival:

> ... when you close the toilet door, sometimes the handle you have to, like, put it up to lock it right? And a lot of international students don't know that. So, their thought, when they enter a toilet, 'it's automatically locked' or something and so they don't lock it.

When asked if she received any information on how to lock doors or use other toiletscape features (e.g., toilets), she said she did not since "it's a bit weird of a topic." Others also talked about how toilets, even just in our interviews, were not a normal topic to talk about. Having to ask about something that is considered shameful, or is a bit of a taboo, separates people from society when not understanding norms (Ahmed, 2014). Thus, people get pushed to the side since they appear different from what is considered normal. Remy described a situation where his friend felt shame and embarrassment since he did not know how to use a Westernized toilet and therefore used it incorrectly.

Remy too was unsure of how to use some commonly understood objects in Swedish society and suggested that the University should consider the "cultural shock" individuals feel when arriving in Sweden and provide basic use instructions. He stated, "I think this happens a lot, but of course, people feel ashamed, like, [using a toilet]." In addition to this, Remy also spoke of being concerned about his privacy when there are inoperable door locks, noting

problems with doors that have a green indicator for available and a red indicator for occupied.
Remy explained:

> Yeah, this is the problem with the *big one* [accessible toilet in his work area] because it's
> [the door lock indicator] half red. I hear [sic] already about situations that —half red [sic]
> was 'open' and got [sic] somebody in this vulnerable moment. So I avoid that one …

Interviewees also showed concerns for safety, as well as confusion when shown the
"Inclusive Toilet" sign currently used alongside the accessibility toilet door sign at Campus
Helsingborg. Sam, a cisgender gay man, explained his thoughts on this toiletscape configuration:

> It says, like specifically for a *certain kind* [emphasis] of people. And I think it's a great
> idea. And I would use it just to make a point. But I think like for some people, especially
> if you're a [sic] young adult that is studying at Lund University. And if you come from a
> certain culture, you would be *a little bit* [emphasis] afraid to use it.

Sam showed his concern with this sign since it created a label for him and other LGBTQ+
people, especially for those who are international students from less accepting countries. This
reflection pointed to the complexity of intersectionality and the broader implication of signs
exhibited at the University.

We have identified through our document analysis that the "Inclusive Toilet" sign and the
configuration (see Figure 3 in the Exclusion Through Being Labeled section for an explanation)
of this space contrasted with the voice of the University, as it states students are "to be treated
and assessed without irrelevant reference to sex, transgender identity, ethnicity, religion or other
belief, disability, sexual orientation or age" (Lund University, 2022a, p. 2). The University
continued by stating they expect "to be free from discrimination" and that they "take a
zero-tolerance approach to harassment, sexual harassment and victimisation" (Lund University,
2022a, p. 2). That said, our physical observation analysis revealed that some of the "Inclusive
Toilet" signs were defaced (See Figure 11). Many of the interviewees noticed these markings and
went on to question the University's decision in using these signs. Jordan considered:

> I think they're trying to be inclusive, so it's that anyone can use the toilets. And the–
> making it as accessible as possible by, you know, trying to invite all genders and putting
> it in like an accessible toilet. It's not great that it's defaced. ... I probably prefer just to see
> like, you know, a generic, you know, 'WC' sign for toilet than to see something like this

that's trying to be inclusive and that is like graffitied over. Because that would make me feel less comfortable. ... For my own feelings of like, safety.

Figure 11

Defaced "Inclusive Toilet" Sign

Note. Location: Campus Helsingborg

It was pointed out many times that this was some "form of trolling ... and it's unnecessary" (Drew), and that it could lead to safety concerns for those entering this space. Although many interviewees recognized this as some form of representation of the LGBTQ+ community, as we previously explained in the section Exclusion Through Being Labeled, many individuals felt labeled and, therefore, know there are potential risks in not appearing as part of the heteronormative society (Namaste, 2006). In addition to this, there were other configurations that the interviewees acknowledged as potentially bringing about safety concerns for them. One interviewee, Bailey pointed out his dislike for the communal areas in certain toiletscapes with multiple stalls. Bailey elaborated,

> I feel like it's very unnecessary. It just creates, like, a very uncomfortable space. ... It makes me feel like when I'm inside, there's someone outside waiting. ... It makes me feel very uncomfortable. ... It just feels like I'm being watched. ... And then sometimes if you're, for example, like out and there's a group of guys, then it's kind of like, "okay, I'm here alone and there are a bunch of guys.

Many other interviewees opened up about this same type of potential risk based on communal areas. For example, offering a space for conversation means offering a "space for confrontation" (Bailey), and this potential vulnerability is especially something considered when an individual feels like they do not belong or fit in. Numerous interviewees also described how they avoided using urinals and even disliked it when they had to use communal sinks located next to these fixtures. Sam, a cisgender gay man, noted, "but I think like this [sic] urinal things … are made for straight men. I'm sorry, but I think if you're homosexual, it would be a bit uncomfortable. I can't say. I can't speak for all homosexuals." He continued to explain that he avoids using urinals, explaining that "privacy and respect should be the priority" for toiletscapes on campus.

Sam also stated that when possible he would "just find another toilet" rather than use a urinal and relays a story of recently feeling uncomfortable while using a toiletscape with urinals off-campus. While using a sink Sam was addressed inappropriately by another man who was using a urinal positioned close to that sink. Although this story did not take place on Lund University's campus, it conveyed that toiletscape design choices can impact feeling comfortable or not, and did exactly this for Sam. Another of our interviewees, Bailey, also noted his dislike for urinals when shown a photo of a toiletscape on Lund University that included urinals, and

thinks that they are "...unnecessary. If you can have a stall, why don't you just have a stall?" He also emphasized how exposed, undivided urinals can create another "one of *those* [emphasis] spaces", with "those" meaning an unsafe space (Bailey).

Overall, it was clear that most of the interviewees avoided using urinals, and even toiletscapes with urinals if possible, and this avoidance shows agreement with Slater and Jones' Around the Toilet 2015-2018 report that stated, "urinals can also present problems for trans and cis people, whether in men's or all-gender provisions" (Slater & Jones, 2018, p. 8). Urinals found at Lund University also reflect the heteronormative script, as the separated men's only toiletscapes have urinals while the women's only toiletscapes do not. Thus, urinal fixtures not only lead to feelings of vulnerability but also promoted the constructed view that "body-equals-sex-equals-gender-equals-identity" (Cromwell, 2006, p. 509).

Conversations about other physical areas related to toiletscapes also surfaced during the interviews. Remy brought to our attention that some changing facilities on the University's campus are accessed by (binary) gender coded key cards and mentioned how this space could be very problematic for a nonbinary or transgender person for a number of reasons, including possibly making them feel embarrassed or ashamed because of the heteronormative understandings of gender and sex (Butler, 2006). Remy also mentioned this space as one that "is a challenging [sic] one."

Another interviewee, Jordan, also expressed their shock after learning that peers seemed to know a bit too much about individuals' toilet habits based on the noises they make (e.g., how one urinates). Jordan stated that they did not use to this particular area, which was located in a quiet area near offices, but they voiced how they were upset realizing that even the single-stall toiletscapes that they usually really appreciate can have downsides due to location, noting "apparently people pay a lot of attention to bathrooms." Jordan stated:

> As a nonbinary person, like, I have been asked to leave or thrown out of toilets … everywhere I've ever gone, like every country I've ever been to, and get a lot of weird looks when it's the type of, like communal toilet … areas. So, like, I really appreciate the single stall because there are a lot of less people [sic] to question you or tell you you're in the wrong place. Umm, but, yeah, I guess it does also mean there's a … few more people watching you go into those toilets [those toilets located in quiet hallways].

While we were focused on toiletscape experiences on campus, we also heard about vulnerable instances while visiting off-campus spaces in an official University capacity, e.g., attending conferences. "Interviewee" mentioned two situations, one personal and one experienced by a peer, where they perceived that the University did not take proactive strides to promote safe spaces for LGBTQ+ individuals. The first one, directly related to toiletscapes, involved a colleague who had asked the University to help promote or secure safe toiletscape options for them while attending a conference off-campus. "Interviewee" conveyed that in this situation the University did not go on to help the individual, stating that it was outside of their (i.e., the University's) sphere of influence.

The other situation involved "Interviewee" feeling unsafe while conducting research in another country. "Interviewee" felt as if the University was "way too easy to draw that boundary of saying like, 'we don't need to care about that because it's not on campus.'" "Interviewee's" recollection of the University's response was "that it's not our responsibility, because it's, it's not here [in Sweden]." "Interviewee" acknowledged that while they were not "directly threatened in a bathroom" while abroad, they stated, "I was attacked on the street, I had people throw rocks at me, I was hit in the back of [the] head." Overall, this shows the complexity of defining appropriate safety and social measures that influence LGBTQ+ individuals. "Interviewee" stated while reflecting on these situations:

> Students, their lives don't end when they walk off campus, right? Like, we encourage them in fact, to go out into other places, and so I think, even with restrooms, that conversation should include where people go when they study abroad but are still students of the University.

Again, "Interviewee" spoke about Lund University's influence and reach when saying "I think if the University made demands of the places where its students studied abroad, for example, they could make changes. Maybe. They could at least try." "Interviewee" showed hope that the University would eventually, and hopefully soon, provide more information related to safety for LGBTQ+ persons while studying and researching abroad since "not all of us have quite that level of just getting to move in all circles of society." In our analysis, it became clear to us that feelings of vulnerability run counter to Lund University's voice, as they communicate that "students, employees and visitors are to be offered attractive environments" (Lund University,

2022b in Lund University, 2022a, p. 4), and the interviewees' voices did not feel their environments on campus, which include the toiletscapes, fully offered this.

Experiencing Inclusion

In contrast to feeling either excluded or vulnerable, our fourth theme emerged as interviewees voiced experiences of feeling included. Most interviewees confirmed certain toiletscape design choices to be considered inclusive, and thus felt they were not being labeled, misrepresented, or feeling vulnerable in these contexts. Based on their experiences, interviewees additionally presented their thoughts on what they thought would make the toiletscapes at Lund University more inclusive, and thus create a safer and more representative environment for them. Therefore, this last section of our analysis presents our results in relation to how LGBTQ+ voices experience inclusion within Lund University's toiletscapes.

Overwhelmingly, interviewees expressed their preference for single-stalls toiletscapes found throughout Lund University. We heard from all interviewees how this configuration and the elements found in every stall (e.g., sanitary bins) made them feel like their gender did not matter in these spaces. In almost all cases, the single-stalls made it possible for these LGBTQ+ people to use the toilet without any judgment. Our results also showed that the single-stall toiletscape was recognized as empowering and private, especially to individuals coming from countries where toiletscapes were normally gendered and often offered minimal security due to common sink areas and stalls designed without full-length walls and doors.

Jordan was one of the interviewees who spoke enthusiastically about how single-stall toiletscapes are more common than not at Lund University. Jordan elaborated:

> Like, a lot of Swedish restrooms are just set up in a way that makes sense. Like, it's just gender neutral toilets. Like, why? Why can't you just have a row of them? So something like the SOL building does this quite well, where you have a cafe above and you just go down the stairs and there's just a whole bunch of bathrooms. And I don't know that any of them have, like, specified gender. And that– that's kind of the norm in a lot of the buildings …. and I like that. I liked that *that's* [emphasis] the norm.

Sam also spoke highly of the single-stall toiletscape, saying:

Because I think here at the campus, we don't have the division and it's very comfortable because you don't have to identify yourself with a certain gender. And I think it's, yeah, I think it's, it's a way forward.

As both Jordan and Sam, and some other interviewees discussed, the single-stall configuration of the toiletscape is a prominent element that made toiletscapes at Lund University feel more welcoming to them. Once most interviewees realized that the toilet doors marked with binary gendered signs (i.e., pants and skirt figures) led to individual, private areas, which offered both a toilet and a sink, the sign on the door became less of a consideration. Once familiar with the commonly found single-stall toiletscape interviewees voiced that they overlooked the signs. In some cases, interviewees even claimed to accept them as meaning everyone, again, pointing to the fact that interviewees found the single-stall configuration to be far better than separated gendered toilet signs leading to common, multi-person toiletscapes.

During our document analysis, we read the University's statement that "there is a zero-tolerance policy towards victimisation, harassment and sexual harassment" (Lund University, 2018, as cited in Lund University, 2022a, p. 4). Our results revealed that by offering students and staff, particularly LGBTQ+ individuals more private single-stalls marked with "WC", the University's voice displayed a contrast to heteronormative scripts that often separate women from men in toiletscapes. Since the voices of the interviewees also mirrored this, stating how these stalls offered less chance of "victimisation, harassment, and sexual harassment" (Lund University, 2018, as cited in Lund University, 2022a, p. 4), we were able to identify that these particular single-stall spaces and configurations offered most interviewees a feeling of inclusion while using toiletscapes on Lund University's campus.

Feeling Like There Could Be More

Our results reflected that most of the interviewees eventually learned to disregard the toilet signs associated with single-stall configurations. Despite this, every interviewee preferred toilet signs that did not assign gender to the toiletscapes. When the interviewees were asked about toilet signs commonly found at Lund University, many of them much preferred a "WC" sign over the binary gender sign found on single-stall doors. Thus, these signs took the heteronormative element of needing to "be accepted as a *'natural'* [emphasis added] member of that gender" out of these toiletscapes (Stone, 2006, p. 213). Omid expressed that "WC" signaled

inclusivity to him, stating, "Yeah, WC, for 'water closet,' that tells me it's a bathroom. I can use it, non-gendered. I wouldn't assume it's-- I think it's open for everybody." Bailey agreed, noting that "WC" indicates that "It's just like a bathroom for everyone, men and women, everything, yeah, in between." Additionally, many recognized that this may not make sense to everyone, so would prefer something more accessible and universally understood.

When asked what they thought would be the most ideal toilet sign for them, most interviewees mentioned using a simple toilet graphic (see example in Appendix B, slide 12). For example, Bailey stated, "maybe if you have, like a symbol that's just like, like, a toilet emoji." Rather than displaying a "WC" or "Inclusive Toilet" with the all-gender symbol, this toilet graphic was considered more likely to clearly communicate to everyone, including non-Swedish individuals, what was behind the door. This preference for a toilet graphic was reiterated by most interviewees as the interviews developed. Drew also stated that this toilet symbol would make the most sense, but also considered the privilege Westernized individuals would experience by having a dominantly understood toilet depicted that not everyone else would necessarily understand. The "Inclusive Toilet" symbol offered a positive feeling for some since most stated that it was a "bathroom meant for everyone" (Bailey), but most interviewees changed their minds upon knowing that it was marked and boxed away as the rejected (Ahmed, 2014). As Sam concluded in his interview, "The thing is, for me, inclusion is absence of ... indications that 'we welcome *you* [emphasis], we welcome *you* [emphasis].'" Therefore, inclusion to him, like many others, meant just being and existing within society.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this thesis we have critically investigated how Lund University's physical toiletscapes impact the LGBTQ+ individuals and their well-being during their time on campus. More specifically, by drawing on Bitner's (1992) dimensions of the physical servicescape, this analysis has demonstrated how the toiletscape can transfer, through its physical elements, feelings of inclusion and exclusion for LGBTQ+ individuals. We were able to determine how these toiletscapes signaled certain heteronormative cues, hence reproducing heteronormativity within these spaces, as the voice of the University was identified as not fully considering queer, or non-normative genders and sexualities (RQ1). We have also heard eight stories, which has given us significant insight into how LGBTQ+ people experience these university toiletscapes (RQ2). Overall, many individuals have considered societal, or normative cues being put out through these physical elements, and thus have felt either labeled (excluded), not represented or misrepresented (excluded) or vulnerable because of the reproduction of heteronormativity and its ideals in the University's toiletscapes.

To move beyond the direct and intended communication of meaning in physical elements, we have critically explored what indirect signals are given off and how they are experienced and perceived by LGBTQ+ individuals on Lund University's campus. We also relied on Bitner's (1992) consideration that "other environmental objects may communicate less directly than signs, giving implicit cues to users about the meaning of the place and norms and expectations for behavior in the place (Bitner, 1992, p. 66). Rosenbaum (2005) additionally suggests that there are socially or culturally understood cues being signaled through certain elements, to certain groups of people as welcoming communications. Through our analysis, we identified how, as a certain group in society, LGBTQ+ people interpreted both explicit and implicit toiletscape cues, and thus the University's "norms and expectations for behavior" (Bitner, 1992, p. 66). Not necessarily as welcoming symbols (see e.g., Rosenbaum, 2005), but instead as unwelcoming symbols, we considered how these socially understood, physical cues reflected heteronormativity, and thus exclusion of LGBTQ+ individuals. For example, the urinals being found in men-only toiletscapes can be considered as an implicit cue, communicating a heteronormative assumption that one's biological makeup determines their gender. This, and also including the University's communication of objectives (Bitner, 1992), creates a discourse of expectation for genders, and thus how an individual should carry out certain actions (Butler,

2006). Other elements, such as tile color, also conveyed such assumptions and created a feeling of exclusion or concern for many of these individuals. Therefore, through our queer perspective, we were able to see that a servicescape can, directly and indirectly, impact an individual's well-being.

As our results reflected, society, which includes the University, has sometimes rigid expectations of individuals to appear and present in a certain way. Heteronormativity assumes a "legitimate ... way of living" (Ahmed, 2014, p. 149), and regardless of the well-intended protections or initiatives put in place, we determined the University assumes these ways of life based on their definition of gender, both within their discourse and the space in which it influenced (i.e., the toiletscapes). Again, as the servicescape framework communicates an organization's goals and objectives (Bitner, 1992), we saw that although the *Equal Opportunities Plan for Lund University, 2022-2027*, stated a message of inclusion for all, not everyone was truly considered in this plan. As the interviewees explained they were excluded in many ways, and their stories highlight how their sense of well-being was compromised by the University's exclusionary conventions, all through the document, discourse and physical servicescape.

The voices of the interviewees that carried through our analysis drove that, in addition to feeling excluded in certain ways (i.e., labeled as different, not or misrepresented and vulnerable), they really just wanted to fit into society, and thus be accepted by the University. These individuals desired acknowledgment and representation, which was something they felt lacked for the international and LGBTQ+ communities in the University's toiletscape. An unwelcoming experience or feeling in these physical spaces has caused a decrease in well-being for each person, even if not in every way mentioned. Overall, their experiences reflected some kind of negative, exclusionary impact based on their gender, sexualities or other minority categorizations in relation to normative society.

Many individuals also showed compassion and consideration for trying to make everyone, from all backgrounds feel included, and voiced their concerns about this within an international setting like Lund University. By having inclusive servicescape elements, such as single-stalls, Lund University has already taken steps to include different types of people. Chaney and Sanchez (2017) point out how minority groups recognize these cues, and so these inclusive cues (i.e., the single-stalls) are seen and understood by others with stigmatized identities as reflecting a welcoming environment for them. Thus, being such a far-reaching,

international institution in society that wishes to improve conditions for its students and staff, Lund University has the power to influence the current discourse, and actually improve conditions for LGBTQ+ individuals. Starting with its own gender equality strategies, the University has the ability to become even more equal, or actually inclusive in regards to more complex views of gender, sex and sexuality. Regardless of its intentions to protect "respect for *everyone's* [emphasis added] equal value" (Lund University, 2022a, p. 2), everyone is not everyone, and LGBTQ+ individuals are excluded when only allowing for this dominant, heteronormative discourse being put out through this document.

In turn, our analysis highlighted the importance for organizations, especially ones with such societal influence, to use Bitner's (1992) servicescape framework to evaluate where and why certain people are being overlooked and unheard, especially when it may impact their well-being. As social sustainability has become a more relevant topic of interest for organizations all over the world, through our research we have been able to identify how the servicescape, and therefore the controllable stimuli in a physical space (Bitner, 1992), can be reworked to contribute to overall inclusion and well-being for all of society. In other words, societal well-being could be improved as a result of an organization, such as Lund University, more thoughtfully choosing physical servicescape offerings, thus showing a linkage between servicescape offerings and sustainability. Through our results, we have seen there is potential that individuals could feel more welcomed and included if powerful institutions aligned their goals communicated through documents with the reality of their physical servicescape (Ahmed, 2012). Therefore, we recognize that Lund University could go beyond only "fulfilling the requirements" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 106), and use its reach to better and more proactively contribute to social sustainability in every way possible, even in their toiletscape design. Because at the end of the day everyone, and we mean everyone, deserves to feel included in something as essential as a toiletscape.

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Appendix A: Guide For Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviewee's information/Warm up questions:

Name: Age:

Faculty/Program: Other Info:

Can you tell me a bit about yourself? For example, what programme/faculty are you in, how old are you, which pronouns do you prefer, and anything else you're comfortable sharing?

1. Can you tell me about your time on campus?
   a. Where do you spend most of your time?
   b. What brings you to campus - work, classes, social, or all?
   c. How are you involved with the LU community?
   d. How long have you been part of the LU community?
   e. Have you been to other Lund campuses, such as Lund University Campus Helsingborg?

LU and social sustainability: (establish individual's well-being - based on our understanding of well-being as a link to social sustainability)

2. How do you think the university shows a commitment to inclusiveness?
3. How do you think the university shows a commitment to gender inclusiveness?
   a. What about for gender nonconforming/nonbinary/trans* people?
4. Can you think of a way that the university shows accommodation for gender nonconforming/nonbinary/trans* people in a physical space?
5. Have you ever been to a place that welcomes only a certain gender/gender identity?
6. Do you have a friend or know someone who has had a negative experience on the LU campus based on their gender identity?
   a. Have you had a similar experience?
7. Should LU be responsible for ensuring gender inclusiveness for all individuals? Why or why not?
   a. Is the university doing this now?
   b. How could the university do this?

LU and physical servicescape (toiletscape):

8. You mentioned that you spend your time in ___ building.
   a. Have you used the toilet there?
   b. Can you tell me about the toilet configuration in that building such as location, single or multi-stall?
9. Is the current toilet layout acceptable to you?
   a. Does it meet your needs?
   b. What, if anything, would you change about it?
10. Have you ever felt unsafe while using the toilets on the LU campus? Explain if yes?
11. Do you think the toilets at LU meet the needs of all users? Any specifics?
12. What would make the toilet stall more accessible or welcoming to you or others?
13. Do you have a story about a time when it was not accessible or welcoming to you or others?
    a. Did this happen on campus/where?
    b. If not on campus, ask, has a similar event ever happened on campus?

14. Could you describe a toilet space you would not want to use?
    a. Is this something you have encountered on campus?
15. Can you tell me about a time you have ever avoided using the toilet at LU?
    a. Do you prefer using the toilet at home before/after being on campus?
    b. Or, is there a cafe or another area off of campus where you use the toilet in order to avoid using the toilet at LU?
16. **16. Show photo of an interior toilet space- 2-3 photos of interior spaces at LU– photos A-F**
    a. What do you think could be added//taken away from this space to make it more accommodating / welcoming ? – *Individual photos*
    b. Does anything stand out to you? – *All*
    c. Who may use these spaces? – *All*
17. Do you think it is easy to locate the toilets at LU? Are the signs clearly marked and guide you to the right locations? *How do the signs include or exclude individuals?*
18. Have you seen toilet door signs on the campus? Can you share what you remember about these signs?
19. How do the signs on the toilet door you regularly use make you feel?
    a. Are they welcoming or not?
    b. What do they signal to you?
    c. Have you ever questioned why the signs show the graphic they show?
20. Have you ever questioned which toilet stall you should use on the campus?
21. How do you choose which toilet space to use most of the time?
    a. Do you choose which toilet stall to use based on location (most convenient to where you are) or based on other factors?
    b. Can you explain how you decide which toilet area to use?
22. **Show a photo of toilet door signs - photos of exterior toilet spaces at LU – photos G-R**
    a. **Show stick figure (woman binary) sign**
        i. What does this sign mean?
        ii. Who can use this toilet?
        iii. Have you seen this sign on campus?
    b. **Show stick figure (man binary) sign**
        i. What does this sign mean?
        ii. Who can use this toilet?
        iii. Have you seen this sign on campus?
    c. **Show stick figure (woman/man binary) sign**
        i. What does this sign mean?
        ii. Who can use this toilet?
        iii. Have you seen this sign on campus?
    d. **Show 'WC' sign-**
        i. What does this sign mean?
        ii. Who can use this toilet?
        iii. Have you seen this sign on campus?
    e. **Show 'ISA' (International symbol of access) sign-**
        i. What does this sign mean?
        ii. Who can use this toilet?

         iii.   Have you seen this sign on campus?

    f. **Show ISA with 'inclusive' sign (e.g., from Campus Helsingborg)-**

         i.   What does this sign mean?

         ii.   Who can use this toilet?

         iii.   How does this sign make you feel?

         iv.   What makes this toilet 'inclusive' or not?

         v.   Why do you think this sign was chosen?

         vi.   Have you seen this sign on campus?

23. What sign do you most often see?
    a. What about on campus?
24. Why do you think there are divisions for some toilet spaces?
    a. Gender divisions? Accessibility divisions? Etc.
    b. How do these divisions impact you? *(referring to well-being)*
    c. How do you think these divisions impact other people?
    d. Do you think they are necessary?
25. Would you change the current toilet signs in the building you most often visit if you could? Why or why not?
26. **Show all types of toilet signs at LU–**
    a. How would you feel in situation A…B…C…D?
    b. Do all of these signs show the same level of gender inclusion? Why or why not?
    c. Which combination/scenario do you prefer and why?
    d. What's wrong with the other photos? Or, what made you choose ___?
    e. Do you recognize any of these photos? If so, where have you seen it/them?
27. How do gendered bathrooms, including the signs affect your well-being? Positive, negative, neutral. What about them makes you feel this way?
28. Any other suggestions on how to make the toilet spaces on the campus more inclusive?
    a. What could be changed to improve overall well-being for others on campus?
29. How could physical spaces on campus affect someone's well-being?
30. Do you have a story/suggestion about another area on campus that you feel could be made more inclusive?
    a. What could be changed to improve overall well-being on campus?
31. Before this interview had you given any thought to the toilet signs on campus? How or why?
32. **Show different types of toilet signs (not at LU)--**
    a. Which of these makes you feel most comfortable/welcomed/safe and why?
    b. Where do you think these different signs would be found?
    c. Does one make most sense to use in a university toiletscape? Why or why not?

Wrap-up

33. Is there anything else you'd like to mention in terms of physical spaces on campus?
34. Would you like to change anything in your previous answers?
35. Do you have any suggestions for how to improve this interview?

Appendix B: Toilet Photo Presentation For Interviews

Slide 1
Interior 1 – LUX
16. Show a photo of an interior toilet space - 2-3 photos of interior toilet spaces at LU
        a.   What do you think could be added//taken away from this space to make it more accommodating / welcoming ? – *Individual photos*
     c. Who may use these spaces? – *All*

Slide 2
Interior – HC
16. Show photo of an interior toilet space- 2-3 photos of interior spaces at LU
        a.   What do you think could be added//taken away from this space to make it more accommodating / welcoming ? – *Individual photos*

Slide 3
Interior – HC
    a.   What do you think could be added//taken away from this space to make it more accommodating / welcoming ? – *Individual photos*

Slide 4
16. **Show photo of an interior toilet space- 2-3 photos of interior spaces at LU–photos A, C and F**
       b. Does anything stand out to you? – *All*
       c. Who may use these spaces? – *All*

Slide 5
Skirt figure – LUX (left), HC (right)
<mark>22. **Show a photo of toilet door signs - photos of exterior toilet spaces at LU– photos D- N**</mark>
   a.   **Show stick figure (woman binary) sign**
            i.   What does this sign mean?
            ii.   Who can use this toilet?
            iii.   Have you seen this sign on campus?

Slide 6
Pants figure – LUX (left), HC (right)
<mark>22. **Show a photo of toilet door signs - photos of exterior toilet spaces at LU – photos G-R**</mark>
    a.   **Show stick figure (man binary) sign**
            i.   What does this sign mean?
            ii.   Who can use this toilet?

iii.   Have you seen this sign on campus?

Slide 7
Binary/"man/pants and woman/skirt" – Helsingborg (left), Gamla Köket sociohögskolan (right)
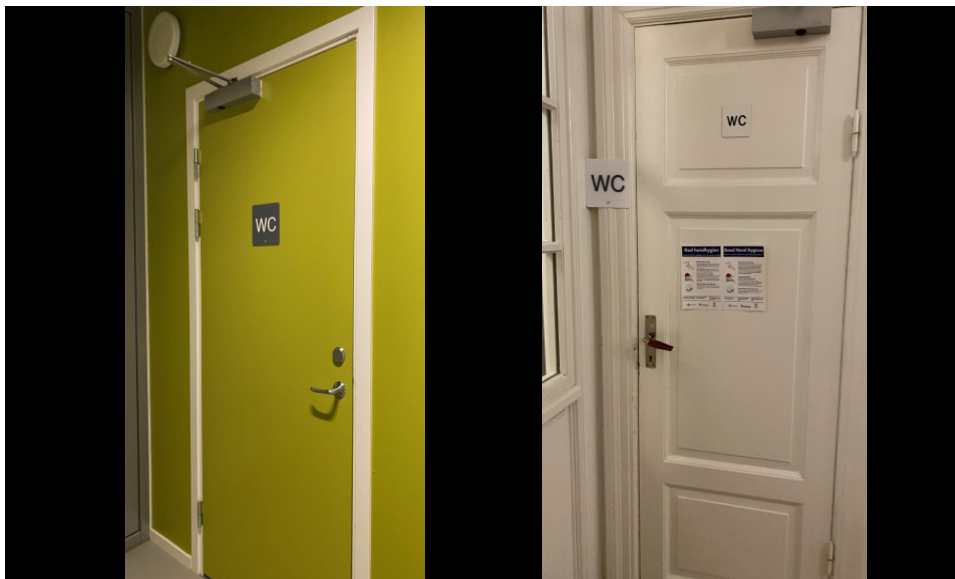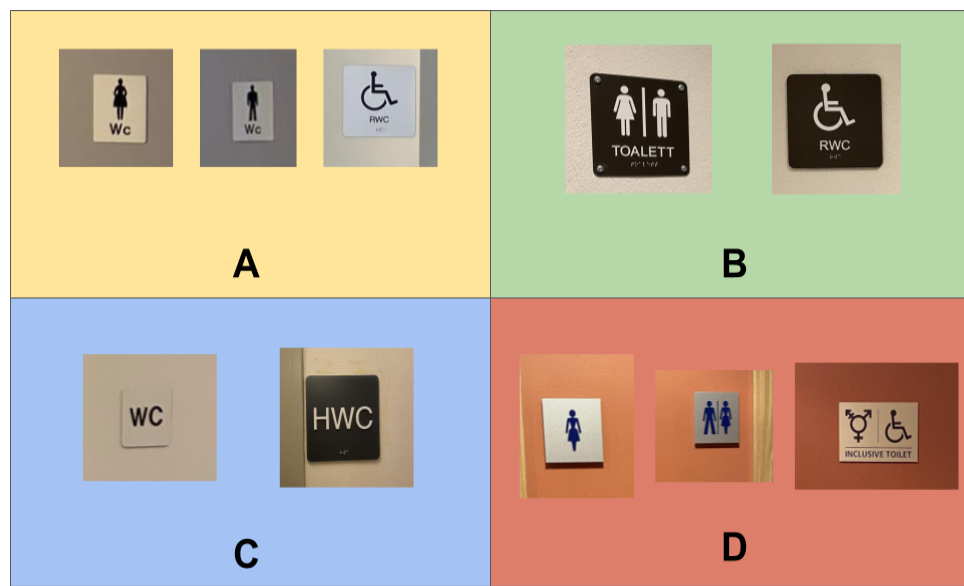

Slide 8
"WC" – EDEN (left), SAMBIB (right)

Slide 9
"RWC" – Astronomy Building (left), SAMBIB (right)

Slide 10
"Inclusive" and ISA – Helsingborg (left), Helsingborg (right)

Slide 11

26. **Show all types of toilet signs–**
   a. *How would you feel in situation A…B…C…D?*
   b. Do all of these signs show the same level of gender inclusion? Why or why not?
   c. Which combination/scenario do you prefer and why?
   d. *What's wrong with the other photos? Or, what made you choose ___?*

Do you recognize any of these photos? If so, where have you seen it/them?

Slide 12

32. Show different types of toilet signs (not at LU)--
   a. Which of these makes you feel most comfortable/welcomed/safe and why?
   b. Where do you think these different signs would be found?
   c. Does one make most sense to use in a university toiletscape? Why or why not?