LGBTQI+ Rights
लैड़िङ्क तथा यौनिक अल्पसंख्यक अधिकार
LGBTQI+ Rights
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नेपाल देशको इन्फर्मेशन फॉर इंटरनेशनल एफिसार्स (एनडीआय) नेपाल नेपाल देशको एक मुनाफा रहित बैर-सार्कारी त्वरक संस्था हो जसले विश्वसनीय रोका लोकतान्त्रिक संस्था र अभ्यासकहरूलाई विज्ञ दुई रस्सानस्था लागो समयीपित सहयोग गर्न आएको छ । सन् १९८३ मा एनडीआयको स्थापना भएको छ नै एनडीआय र यसका स्थानीय प्राथमिक र निर्मित संस्थाहरूले समयीपित र नगरिक संस्थाहरूको शाखाको स्थापना र सहयोजना गर्न, हुने क्रिकेटको संस्थापन गर्न र सरकारलाई नागरिक सहयोग, सुलभताको र अभ्यासकहरूले बढाउने काम गर्न आइसको छ ।

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यस प्रकाशितको केही अंशहरू पुनः उपयोग गर्न र यसको उद्देश्यको लागि अनुमान गर्न सकिएको । तर सरकारलाई एनडीआयको यसको थोक लुप्त तर गरी अनुपातको प्रकाशित उपलब्ध गरेको बनेको ।

अमेरिकी जनसङ्ख्याको उच्च सहयोगात्मक अन्तराष्ट्रिय विकास नियोजन (एनडीआयको) यस प्रकाशितका अन्तर्गत अपेक्षा अनुपातको विकास भएको छ । अभियान तथा सरकारलाई निर्देश, क्रिकेटको संस्थापन गर्न र नेपालको सार्थक सहयोग हुने र तिन्तो गरेको ।

नेपाल नेपाल देशको इन्फर्मेशन फॉर इंटरनेशनल एफिसार्स (एनडीआय) नेपाल कल्पनापटचार लेखन, बुधवार, दोस्रो तलाल, उत्तरधोका सडक, गैरिकार-२, काठमाडौं, नेपाल

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Foreword

Namaste.

I am delighted to share with you the sixth edition of the Policy Review on LGBTQI+ rights – the latest publication from the National Democratic Institute (NDI) Nepal.

The Policy Review is an initiative of the five-year USAID funded ‘Niti Sambad’ (‘Policy Dialogue’) project. Niti Sambad contributes to USAID/Nepal’s goal of helping to advance a more democratic and resilient Nepal by helping to support democratic institutions and strengthening political, social and economic inclusion. Through the Policy Review, NDI Nepal aims to make policy analysis more publicly accessible, thereby increasing the democratic linkages between the citizen and political parties. The overarching aim is to examine how key policies affecting citizens can best be addressed by elected political representatives at all levels.

While sexual and gender diversity are normal characteristics of every society, culture and country, sadly violence, discrimination, and stigma continue to impact negatively on the lives of the LGBTQI+ community, contributing to their increased poverty and deprivation. They may also experience rejection from families, local communities, and other social networks. They face high barriers to legally change their name and/or gender marker and can be victims of targeted sexual violence. They often lack protections in anti-discrimination legislation; and are not afforded the legal recognition of their relationships and families. In addition, and as highlighted by many of the writers in this edition, members of the LGBTQI+ community are still not well represented within either political parties or government.

All of these factors continue to limit the fundamental and human rights of the LGBTQI+ community and access to key services such as education, employment, and health care. The pervasive discrimination and exclusion they receive prevents members of this community from being meaningfully included in wider Nepali society.
Yet, despite this, there are still, courageous, passionate, smart and resilient LGBTQI+ leaders and local NGOs who are working tirelessly to advance the rights of all people across the diverse spectrum of sexual orientations, gender identities and expressions, and sex characteristics. It is due to their tireless efforts that meaningful change is slowly taking place.

That is why NDI Nepal is wholly committed to advancing the human rights of this community. When working to advance the human rights of this community, NDI Nepal follows two principles: ‘Do no harm’ - meaning that NDI takes measures to ensure that our activities do not put members of this community at increased risk of harm or raise their profile in a way that could lead to a negative backlash; and ‘Do nothing about them without them’ - meaning that NDI consults with this community before and during any initiative aimed at supporting them. These maybe two key principles for all politicians and policy makers in any country to follow.

I not only hope you will enjoy reading this publication but I also trust it will provide political representatives and other relevant actors with new and innovative ideas to improve the situation for the LGBTQI+ community in the sphere of policy making and policy delivery.

With kinds regards,

Deborah Healy  
Senior Country Director  
NDI Nepal
List of Contributors

Yubraj Gautam
Yubraj Gautam is a journalist with over 20 years of experience. He began his career in Ilam district (Province 1) before moving to Kathmandu, working for a number of different media outlets. He has written widely on issues relating to social affairs, politics, and tourism. In addition, for over a decade, he has also written about issues related to gender and different sexual minorities.

Sujan Panta
Sujan Panta has worked as a practicing lawyer for more than a decade. During this period, he has extensive experience in advocating for the rights of persons from the gender and sexual minority communities. He has also been active in defending the rights of women sex workers.

Gauri Nepali
Gauri Nepali is a feminist activist working on the rights of the LGBTQI+ community, women, and Dalit communities. She has worked on LGBTQI+ rights for a decade and has also engaged in issues related to human rights, gender, sexuality and social justice of other marginalized groups. Her articles mainly focus on class, caste system, and gender equality.

Kiran Thapa
Kiran Thapa is an activist engaging in the rights of gender and sexual marginalized communities, advocating for their rights in Bagmati Province. She is also the coordinator at ‘Friends Hetauda’, an organization working on gender and sexual minority rights.

Bhakti Shah (Milan)
Bhakti Shah (Milan) is an activist working on gender and sexual minority rights. Bhakti has worked as a journalist for eight years and then was associated with the Blue Diamond Society working in the sector. He is constantly campaigning for the rights of the LGBTQI+ community.
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    | भक्ति शाह (मिलान)
Sexual and Gender Minority Community Neglected by Political Parties

Yaubraj Gautam

**Background**

Based on history, it has been established that persons with an identity other than ‘male’ and ‘female’ are born. Irrespective of the identity that a person is born with, the physical and psychological changes within a person, with age, determine their gender identity, a fact already accepted by the World Health Organization. While there is no clear data on the population of gender and sexual minorities in Nepal, according to one study, eight to 10 percent of the population come from this community. Yet, persons identifying themselves as other than ‘male’ or ‘female’, based on their gender identity, continue to face discrimination. Hate speech and distortion of identity also remains rampant due to patriarchal mindsets and discriminatory practices. Persons from this community have been unable to enjoy their rights and live with dignity. However, after the new millennium, different NGOs began to conduct awareness campaigns against discriminatory practices towards this community. Yet, political parties remain largely silent in addressing issues affecting this community. Consequently, the issue of LGBTQI+ rights has yet to become ‘political’ with the state making no attempt to combat discrimination targeted against this community.

**Legal achievements**

The 1948 UN Declaration on Human Rights cites that every person has the right to practice their basic human rights. Similarly, Nepal’s constitutional and legal provisions grants human rights to persons from the gender and sexual minority community. The Constitution states that it is committed to upholding social justice by ending class, ethnic, gender discrimination, etc. In principle, the provision accepted the universal norm of human rights, whereby persons with a different gender identity have the right to live with dignity. Article 12 provides

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**Rajjanitiik Pathako Upeshkama Yoikin Tatha Lediikak Alpanahyum Samuday**

Gururaj Bote

पृष्ठभुक्ति

इतिहासकार अथुर गाँव से हेदा मानिसा पुज्ञार बहुता महान फरक पत्थरी संघर भएका र यत्न पनि जनमका हुमा भने कुरा शाहिकां भएका भएका। गाँव सुन पत्थरी हत्तियो भए। पनि मानिसा भुने तरह सिन्दुरका नगरमा तरह जनानेले अनुभवका लेखिकामा नियामन हुने गर्दै मनोरर्मा गर्दै नयाहरूका परिवर्तनीय स्वरूपका नीतिका पत्थरी पनि भएका। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति जनसङ्ख्या भति नै छ। नेपालमा रत्नाकर फरक लेखिकामा तथ्यात्मक अनुभवका समावृत्ति ज

**सविधानिक अद्याय**

मनान अधिकारसम्मोहितविवाहितह पोषण-पत्र, सन् १९५७ ले हिंसाका अधिकारमा युगीन यत्नका आर्थिक अनुभवका अम्लमा गरी अधिकार र स्थानमा प्राप्त हुने वाल्थुँहुन्। सरसी मानिसा बिज्ञानीका सविधानीका र कानुनी व्यवस्थासमूहल पनि योग्यता र तर्कहरूका अनुभवका समूहमा सबैले कानुनी अधिकारका रूपमा गरी पनि। प्राप्त गरी तर्कहरूका परिवर्तनीय समयमा जल्दी लेखिकामा तथा योग्यता अनुभवका समूहमा सबैले पनि सविधानीका र कानुनी अधिकारको गरी कानुनी संस्करण परिवर्तन।
for citizenship rights for each citizen, which includes gender identity. Article 18 also provides for the rights of equality whereby no citizen can be discriminated against based on their gender and/or sexual identity, while Article 42 provides for the right to social justice, ensuring rights to representation in all state sectors.

The Constitution also enables a citizen to obtain a passport, thereby, declaring their gender, which is not limited to identifying oneself as female or male, but also ‘third’ gender. The 1967 Passport Act (amended in 2010) states that no citizen should be discriminated against on the basis of gender. Based on this, the State can provide a passport mentioning ‘x’ under others in the column of sex. Such provisions have certainly enabled persons from this community to better assert their identities. In fact, it is important to observe that Nepal is still one of the few countries, which has included sexual and gender minority rights in its constitution.

The State needs to be more inclusive by instilling a greater sense of collective ownership in all institutions and to hold itself accountable to all communities. That is why demands for more inclusive development and governance has been expressed with calls for representation of every community in all the democratic institutions of state. Inclusion should be mandatory in a country as diverse as Nepal to increase access of every community to the functions of the State, equally distributing materials, resources and opportunities.

International bodies like the UN closely tie the issue of inclusion with human rights. In 2011, the UN Human Rights Council published a joint statement on ‘violence and human rights violation on the basis of sexual and gender identity’ and Nepal was the only state member in the region that publicly supported this call. In this sense, Nepal is obliged to adopt and implement the principle of inclusion in full. However, based on the situation to date, while constitutional and political inclusion is accepted by the State, there has been no effective implementation of such provisions.

Sexual and gender minority community in main political parties

According to the Election Commission of Nepal, 111 parties were registered by April 20, 2022 for the local government elections. Some parties, besides the CPN-UML, NC, CPN-MC, CPN-US, JSP, DSP and RPP, have to some extent included issues affecting the gender and sexual minority community in their party’s statutes and manifestos. For example, in 2020, while being formed, the JSP released its manifesto in which it mentioned that they were in favor of a
full proportional electoral system with a reservation provision for the gender and sexual minority community. Similarly, Naya Shakti Party, in its manifesto for the 2017 local elections, included special programs for the economic and social development of this community. Similarly, some parties have attempted to include persons from this community in their political declarations. Most notably, Sunil Babu Pant became a member of the former Constituent Assembly on behalf of the NCP. To date, Pant is the only representative from the LGBTQI+ community to rise to such a political level.

Therefore, while political parties mention persons from this community in their political declarations, their representation is still very largely ignored in the party structures. For example, the NC held its 14th convention in December 2021, where active membership was calculated at 852,711 persons. Out of this, 6,53,439 were men, 1,99,097 were women and only 176 were listed as ‘others’. However, while this ‘others’ list indicates the gender and sexual minority community, their political representation remains invisible. While the NC has developed different ‘clusters’ to make its central committee more inclusive, including a ‘minority community’, it is unclear whether this also includes the gender and sexual minorities. This may explain why their central committee lacks any representation from this community.

Although the CPN-UML mentioned, in its local election manifesto in 2017, that it will ensure the human rights of persons from this community, the party did not include this issue in its statutes or policies. Similarly, while the CPN-MC mentioned in its local election manifesto in 2017 that it will establish the rights of ‘oppressed class’ and ‘minority’ community, its stance in regard to LGBTQI+ community remains unclear. Likewise, while the JSP has covered issues of the community in the preamble to its constitution, its governing structures continue to lack the representation from this community. The BSP has 18 different departments in the party, out of which, the ‘Rainbow department’ focuses on the issues of gender and sexual minority community, but their political representation remains invisible. The NC has mentioned in its local election manifesto in 2017 that it will establish the rights of ‘minority community’, but it is unclear whether this also includes persons from the LGBTQI+ community in the preamble to its constitution, its governing structures continue to lack the representation from this community. While the NC has developed different ‘clusters’ to make its central committee more inclusive, including a ‘minority community’, it is unclear whether this also includes the gender and sexual minorities. This may explain why their central committee lacks any representation from this community.

Therefore, while some political parties have initiated some positive steps to address the political representation of this community, a majority of the parties have not prioritized the issue.

Issues of concern

The Constitution ensures proportional representation of all genders in all State bodies. However, from the perspective of the gender and sexual minority community, political parties continue to negate these provisions. Similarly, while the 2017 Local Government Elections Act provides 50 percent of all presidents...
or vice presidents, mayors or deputy mayors, and heads or deputy heads of district coordination committees to women, the Act ignores the representation of persons from the gender and sexual minorities community. While political parties have included this issue in election manifestos, they have not delivered on concrete policies to ensure the effective participation of the LGBTQI+ community within their respective party structures.

Likewise, although political parties have formed governments across all three tiers, they have neither included the representation of persons from the gender and sexual minority community. While political parties have included this issue in election manifestos, they have not delivered on concrete policies to ensure the effective participation of the LGBTQI+ community within their respective party structures.

It is only when political parties own the issues affecting persons of gender and sexual minority that the LGBTQI+ community will see their multifaceted problems being properly addressed. That is why it is now more important than ever for political parties to adopt action plans relating to those issues affecting the gender and sexual minority communities.

Conclusion

Inclusion with proportional representation needs to be the ‘backbone’ of Nepal’s democracy. Therefore, proportional representation for the gender and sexual minority communities - ranging from formation of political wings in political parties, to the formation of governments and political appointments - should be better ensured. Similarly, political parties should have a clear vision to address issues of this community and develop specific policies and plans to support the growth of their parties.

Citizenship is key to exercising political rights and is needed to be a member of a political party, voter or candidate in an election. To engage in politics with their gender identity, the LGBTQI+ community has been demanding citizenship on the basis of their gender and sexual identity. So, the Government needs to ensure and provide citizenship based on gender identity without any hassle, and that political parties need to have an action plan to resolve the challenges faced by this community.

In order to ensure the effective participation of the LGBTQI+ community within the political parties, it is crucial for political parties to adopt action plans relating to the issues affecting the gender and sexual minority communities. This will not only ensure representation but also promote inclusion and equality for all.

Conclusion

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Citizenship is key to exercising political rights and is needed to be a member of a political party, voter or candidate in an election. To engage in politics with their gender identity, the LGBTQI+ community has been demanding citizenship on the basis of their gender and sexual identity. So, the Government needs to ensure and provide citizenship based on gender identity without any hassle, and that political parties need to have an action plan to resolve the challenges faced by this community.
Political parties should also bring in meaningful representation of the LGBTQI+ community and elevate their issues in their party statutes, in their policies and in their programs. After all, political intervention is urgently needed to create a more enabling atmosphere where this community can live with the same level of dignity as all other persons.

Endnotes
1 Conducted by the Blue Diamond Society and Williams Institute, University of California Los Angeles School of Law in 2015.

LGBTQI+ RIGHTS

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Constitutional and Legal Rights of the LGBTQI+ Community in Nepal

Sujan Panta

Background

Although it is beholden on the Nepal state to provide constitutional and legal rights on the basis of the needs of all communities, there are additional challenges for persons from the LGBTQI+ community, which are not being discussed in the society. In particular, the identity and dignity of the community is not widely accepted and they are being denied the right to education, health, and employment. In terms of positive steps taken by the state, largely as a result of the LGBTQI+ movement, it has attempted to accept a separate gender identity. In 2012, the Ministry of Home Affairs issued a directive to issue citizenship certificates to people from this community, which had defined the community as ‘female homosexual’, ‘male homosexual’, ‘third sex’ and ‘intersex’ groups.

Similarly, the Supreme Court issued a judgement to provide persons from this community with citizenship as ‘others’ instead of either ‘male’ or ‘female’. The Constitution includes concerns of this community in various sections, which have not been implemented in full.

International perspective

Nepal is a signatory to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women, as well as several other international human rights related treaties. The issues of gender and sexual minorities were also raised during reviews of Universal Period Review (UPR) by the International Human Rights Council. In the second UPR Nepal had received 195 recommendations, in which 152 recommendations were accepted. Among these recommendations, seven related to sexual orientation and gender identity, including issues related to same-sex marriage, implementation of Supreme Court’s judgements, citizenship rights and right to equality. Finally, the ‘Jakarta
The Supreme Court has delivered some key judgements on the rights of the LGBTQI+ community. For example, the Court has passed a directive stating that persons from this community should be entitled to equal rights as any other citizen. The judgement stated that laws that forbid persons from accessing their rights, including their gender identity, are discriminatory.

Constitutional provisions

The Constitution has for the first time provided protection to the LGBTQI+ community. Article 12 ensures the right to acquire citizenship in line with a person’s gender identity. Article 18 ensures the right to equality, stating that all citizens are equal in law, mentioning specific provisions to protect, empower and develop persons from the gender and sexual minorities community. Likewise, Article 42 on the right to social justice states that persons from this community are equal in law, mentioning specific provisions to protect, empower and develop persons from the gender and sexual minorities community. Likewise, Article 12 ensures the right to acquire citizenship in line with a person’s gender identity. Article 18 ensures the right to equality, stating that all citizens are equal in law, mentioning specific provisions to protect, empower and develop persons from the gender and sexual minorities community. Similarly, in 2013, a writ petition was filed at the Court against the Government demanding the issuance of passports that mention the third sex under gender, which resulted in a Court order to issue passports based on gender identity. The judgement ruled that the Government should recognize same-sex marriage in line with a person’s gender identity. Article 12 ensures the right to acquire citizenship in line with a person’s gender identity. Article 18 ensures the right to equality, stating that all citizens are equal in law, mentioning specific provisions to protect, empower and develop persons from the gender and sexual minorities community.

Supreme Court rulings

The Supreme Court has ruled several times in favor of the gender and sexual minorities in the country. As examples, in 2012, a writ petition was filed in the Court against the Women’s Commission demanding the legalization of same-sex marriage. The judgement ruled that marriage is an independent relationship between two persons, and therefore, the State should recognize same-sex marriage. Although this was a historic judgement, the recommendation is yet to be effectively implemented. The Court’s judgements, however, have played a positive role in taking forward the rights of gender and sexual minorities. Similarly, in 2013, a writ petition was filed at the Court against the Government demanding the legalization of same-sex marriage rights, which was consequently developed and submitted to the Government. The report stated that marriage is an independent relationship between two persons, and therefore, the State should recognize same-sex marriage. Although this was a historic judgement, the recommendation is yet to be effectively implemented. The Court’s judgements, however, have played a positive role in taking forward the rights of gender and sexual minorities.

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sex marriage. Another writ petition was filed in 2017 against the Immigration Department demanding spousal visas for same sex couples possessing a marriage certificate. In the first case, the Court’s verdict went in favor of the LGBTQI+ community and interpreted that relationship between two adults should be, as per law, also for persons from the gender and sexual minority community. In the second case, the Court stated that a relation between two adults is legal and that spousal visas should be given to same sex couples, similar to a heterosexual couple. Therefore, one can acknowledge that the supreme justice body of Nepal has played a key role in establishing the rights of persons from the LGBTQI+ community.

**Contradiction between rights, and its implementation**

Nepal is seen as a ‘LGBTQI+ friendly’ country as it has enshrined rights in the Constitution for persons from this community. If the implementation of fundamental rights is achieved, this would contribute in the more effective implementation and protection of the rights of persons from this community. A positive atmosphere will further prevail if international commitments and Supreme Court verdicts regarding human rights are effectively implemented.

While the Court issued a mandamus to the Government to issue citizenship to persons from the gender and sexual minorities, it is the Government’s constitutional duty to amend such provisions. Such provisions should be removed and instead the District Administration Offices should be allowed to issue citizenship to persons from this community. As Article 18 of the Constitution provides citizens with the right to equality, and hence, it is the Government’s constitutional duty to amend such discriminatory laws and provisions forthwith.

After the promulgation of the Constitution, although the first parliament passed numerous pieces of legislation, no seriousness was shown in terms of ensuring the rights of persons from the gender and sexual minorities. Election related acts are a good example in this respect. While the Constitution accepts the provision of inclusive and proportional representation of the LGBTQI+ community, to date, laws, policies and programs formulated by the State have ignored the representation of this community and hence, as a consequence, there has been no representation of persons from this community in any level of government and politics.

As an example, the 2021 National Census, conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics, bracketed all persons from the LGBTQI+ community as ‘others’.
in the gender section. Similarly, while security agencies, public services, and government offices have all ensured reservations for different marginalized communities, this does not include the LGBTQI+ community. Additionally, the Court’s order to recognize same-sex unions has not been included in the Civil Code, contradicting the judgement as well as Article 18 in the Constitution.

As persons from the gender and sexual minority community are unable to acquire citizenship in line with their gender identity, they have also been denied their human rights in relation to education, health, employment and politics. The 2017 National Panel (Code) Act states that ‘if a man has sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent, or with a girl child below 18 years of age, even with her consent, the man shall be considered to commit rape’. This language clearly neglects the gender and sexual minority, who continue to be raped. As a result, legal compensation cannot be sought by the LGBTQI+ individuals, in case they are subjected to instances of sexual violence, and/or mental and physical torture. So, as the Government ignores the concerns of this community, persons from this community are denied of their constitutional and legal rights.

**Conclusion**

Although Nepal is the first and, so far, the only nation in the region to constitutionally ensure the rights of the LGBTQI+ community, current discriminatory legislation needs to be amended to further create an enabling environment for persons from this community to freely exercise their fundamental rights without barriers or restrictions. Based on demands from its citizens (women, Madhesi and persons from LGBTQI+ communities), the Government has tabled an amendment to the Citizenship Act, within which the discriminatory provisions needs to be removed and replaced with a provision that is more appropriate to these different groups.

The Civil Code’s provision to recognize marriage between a man and a woman, also needs to be amended to pave the way for ‘same sex marriage’. Additionally, the provision of proportional representation in the electoral law, also needs to be implemented as enshrined in the Constitution, while quotas should also be allocated in various security and governmental institutions.

Persons from different gender and sexual minorities are compelled to face multiple forms of discrimination, with cases of being removed from school to hate speech, physical torture, and denial of employment still prevalent. Therefore, to fully ensure the constitutional and legal rights of persons from the gender and sexual minorities community, all outstanding constitutional and legal provisions need to be implemented with full force.
Endnotes

1 Clause 2 of the directive issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 2012 has defined this community accordingly.
5 Nepal Law Commission, Issue 1, Decision Number 8945, 2012, Kathmandu.

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‘Queer Politics’ and its significance in Nepal

Gauri Nepali

Introduction

Sexual and gender minorities community politics or ‘queer politics’ is mainly not politics of ideology but rather politics of identity. This looks at gender and sexuality issues not only from a pre-defined concept of the opposite sex, but also requests to come out of such gender identity concepts and norms, and to view it from a different ideology. The need and significance of ‘queer politics’ means pressuring the Government to properly address the issue of sexual orientation and gender identity, and to also establish social acceptance for such diversity issues. In short, ‘queer politics’ is about supporting various sexual and gender identities, as well as their struggles to better establish their right to live with dignity.

Internationally, rights activists raised the issue of queer community in the 18th century. Yet, most consider that the concept of ‘queer politics’ only began, in a systematic manner, on June 28, 1969 in New York as a result of the ‘Stonewall Revolt’ where queer independence had been strongly raised. Along with this, the Gay Liberation Front was established, which, in 1972, transitioned into the Gay Activist Alliance, which asserted the rights of queer persons particularly in regard to their liberty and legal rights. This led to a campaign in the US, which began to exude internationally influence. As a result of this, the ‘queer identity’ campaign started to accelerate around 1990. In this way, the campaign was becoming universal and began to raise the issues of the queer community relating to their rights for political representation in Government bodies, legal right to matrimony, right to family and adoption of children, rights to social security and health care, and so on. It is because of these campaigns that many countries in the world have accepted the existence of queer persons in at least one form or another.
Queer politics in Nepal

The Gay’ liberation movement started to have its influence in Nepal in 2001. Nepali society viewed the queer community with hatred and contempt, due to which persons from this community were not able to ‘come out’. In such circumstances, this community organized itself under the leadership of Sunil Babu Pant. The Blue Diamond Society was established in 2001 with the overarching aim to better organize this community and conduct campaigns for the rights of persons from this community. At the time, there was no acceptance of a person’s identity if they came from the sexual and gender minority. Therefore, at the beginning, Nepal’s queer community got identified as ‘third gender’. Although during the registration process of Blue Diamond Society, including ‘third gender’ as its target group was disallowed and the organization had to change its aim to ‘work on male reproductive health’. This demonstrated society’s and the Government’s mindset towards persons from this community and its narrow-mindedness in regard to the issues concerning gender.

Along with the establishment of the organization, connecting of individuals with characteristics of various sexualities and genders was accelerated and the community’s identity was able to transform into ‘homosexual third gender’. Issues of sexual and gender identity slowly started to be recognized as human rights, which led other organizations to work in this field. Additionally, intersex, transgender, and other communities began to conduct joint and separate social campaigns on the rights of the sexual and gender minority communities, which is gaining momentum in political campaigns. Post 2006, the campaign primarily focused on creating greater public awareness and establishing legal gender identity. However, along with debates about the importance of an inclusive democracy, issues related to representation within the government also came to light. Various pieces of analysis from organizations, actively engaged in this sector, also saw the need to develop a political agenda. Political parties, on the other hand, were not as considerate, since society had not easily accepted the other communities, also saw the need to develop a political agenda. Political parties, on the other hand, were not as considerate, since society had not easily accepted

Less legal achievement, many practical obstacles: Gender identification on a legal basis

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started to issue citizenship to the sexual and gender minority community only some five years later and even then, citizenship would categorize them as 'other'. Even after the Court’s directive and amendments in the regulations, members of the LGBTQI+ community are deprived from receiving citizenship. Similarly, persons who have received citizenship mentioning ‘others’ as their gender identity are unable to change their name as per their wish pertaining to their gender in citizenship registration. In 2017, the Court’s verdict had allowed 'third gender' mentioned citizenship holders to change their names as per their wish. However, this is yet to be effectively implemented. Instead, a discriminatory bill pending in the federal parliament, requires persons to submit a certified medical verification affirming their sex if they wish to obtain citizenship on the basis of their gender identity.

As citizenship does not reflect the true gender identity, individuals from the third-gender, transgender and intersex communities face difficulties in pursuing higher education, applying for public service jobs, including in the security forces, and are indirectly neglected by the public service commission. Thus, they are compelled to live with a false identity and will continue to do so until the issue of gender identity-based citizenship is resolved.

Based on the Supreme Court’s directive in 2007, the Council of Ministers formed a committee in 2009, to study same sex marriage. In 2016, the committee recommended to the government to formulate a law that recognizes the rights of this community. However, this law currently being discussed in the Parliament, aims at curtailing their very rights. So far, an ordinance on the amendment of The Citizenship Act, 2009, as the law currently being discussed in the Parliament, aims at curtailing their very rights. The Constitution, Article 12, 18 and 42 of the Constitution ensures the queer community’s rights to live with dignity and the right to be represented in all State bodies. However, the law currently being discussed in the Parliament, aims at curtailing their very rights. As citizenship does not reflect the true gender identity, individuals from the third-gender, transgender and intersex communities face difficulties in pursuing higher education, applying for public service jobs, including in the security forces, and are indirectly neglected by the public service commission. Thus, they are compelled to live with a false identity and will continue to do so until the issue of gender identity-based citizenship is resolved.

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Elections: Free to vote but overlooked as candidates

One important feature of any democracy is that a citizen can vote in an election to elect representatives, or can participate as a candidate. The Constitution and legislative statute have given that right to all citizens, meaning the law has not prohibited anyone, including based on their gender identity, from being candidates or voters at elections. Yet, while the Constitution provides this community’s proportional representation in all of the State bodies, their
The number of individuals who have received citizenship based on their gender identity are nominal. While voter’s identity card is mandatory to vote, social discrimination and lack of political awareness is members of this community not being registered and hence, are not provided with voter ID cards. Therefore, persons from this community often are unable to exercise their democratic right to vote. On the other hand, while the Constitution has accepted the principle of inclusion, the Election Act does not provide a clear provision to ensure this. Similarly, political parties are not ready to accept or nominate persons from this community as candidates. These obstacles were also overlooked in the last local elections in 2017 where only two candidates in Rupandehi and Nawalparasi, stood as candidates.

The Constitution ensures the representation of different marginalized communities in parliament through the proportional representation system. Article 84 (2) states that political parties should provide a closed list of candidates to the Election Commission of Nepal (ECN) for proportional representation based on the population of women and designated different marginalized groups. However, persons from the gender and sexual minority communities are not included on this list. There is also no official data of the population of LGBTQI+ community, which means they are unable to claim political representation based on the population of women and designated different marginalized groups. There is also no official data of the marginalized groups. However, persons from the gender and sexual minority communities are not included on this list. There is also no official data of the population of LGBTQI+ community, which means they are unable to claim political representation based on the population of women and designated different marginalized groups.

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**Significance of Queer Politics in Nepal**

Internationally, the ‘second wave’ of feminism claimed that ‘personal is political’. When viewed from this perspective, every personal experience is the outcome of politics because it relates to the direct influence of societal power relations. Sexuality and gender that was considered ‘private’ has now become a political issue. Therefore, from the perspective of persons from the gender and sexual minority communities remain compelled to live by the norms, values and rules of opposite sex-oriented persons. There are various questions raised regarding the concerns of gender and sexual minority communities. Their personal concerns are determined by the law, like who accepts their gender identity or who marries whom, who can inherit ancestral property, who can adopt children, who can build what kind of family structure, or who can get citizenship, are private issues. Therefore, private or individual rights is undeniably interconnected with political representation remains poor. There are many reasons for this lack of representation.

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the State and politics, which is the main source for socio-cultural transformation and prevalence of rights. Hence, it is necessary for this community to channel political intervention and participation to ensure its rights and meaningful representation in State bodies, end discrimination against the community, and create an atmosphere where the LGBTQI+ community can exercise their rights.

**Conclusion**

There are on-going debates over queer politics in many countries, in relation to transgender, lesbian, gay, and bi-sexual politics. However, in Nepal, the debate remains at a level of citizenship, census, and marital laws. Nepal’s political leadership has not been able to come out of the opposite sex/genderism established by the societal structure with a patriarchal mindset. The LGBTQI+ community and their issues are political, and they have been raising it politically. However, the politicians and decision-makers have not taken the issue under consideration or as a serious political agenda which needs to be addressed. Therefore, queer politics needs to be empowered even more so now, to further sensitize political parties, and to politically intervene on behalf of the LGBTQI+ community. Likewise, the community also needs to move forward through further formulation of strategies that will aim to strongly raise issues within the political sphere.

**Endnotes**

1. Until some decades later, the campaign started by sexual and gender minority community, defined ‘gay’ as lesbian, gay, transgender, including individuals who had various sexualities.

Sexual and Gender Minority: Local struggle for Identity and Rights

Kiran Thapa

Introduction

The LGBTQI+ community in Nepal have faced similar challenges and levels of discrimination. It is an unavoidable human rights issue that persons from this community are not accepted by society, while the Government does not seem to take this matter seriously. Persons from this community still cannot reveal their gender identity with their family or in society, which prevents them from exercising their fundamental rights. Furthermore, their voices have also been suppressed at the local level in comparison to city areas. Although, as a result of activism and advocacy initiated by this community in the urban areas, their voices are gradually starting to trickle down to government, the voices of grassroots level communities continue to be suppressed.

For the last two decades, due to continuous efforts made by the LGBTQI+ community, a few constitutional and legal rights have been established. In addition, the Supreme Court has also delivered verdicts that supported this community. However, members of this community who reside at the grassroots level do not understand and are not in a position to claim their rights because of the socio-cultural environment in which they live. That is why continued activism on the rights of the gender and sexual minorities community at the grassroots level is essential.

Local level campaigns

Many persons from the LGBTQI+ community choose not to disclose their gender identity due to societal pressure, and confusion in identifying themselves as they lack information and support of the local community. In this context, the local LGBTQI+ campaigns have tried to identify such persons, to bring them into the community and boost their confidentiality. These local campaigns have closely engaged with them to help them enjoy a dignified life.
The LGBTQI+ community face multi-dimensional challenges that is taken as a pertinent policy agenda item in both national and local election campaigns. However, this community continues to face discrimination, especially in rural areas where they are compelled to face discrimination in the home, family, education, healthcare, etc. They are often abused and humiliated in the education system as they are unable to speak up and when they seek health services, they can be disrespected and verbally abused. In fact, many feel compelled to leave their homes or are divorced by their families, just because they are ‘different’. In seeking employment and housing, while facing hatred and/or contempt, many are not aware of their rights in terms of the legal process. Often following the disclosure of their identity, they lose their jobs, and in some cases, are compelled to live with rape and robbery, resulting in further psychological problems. In such cases, local LGBTQI+ campaigns have raised voices against such discriminations.

The Constitution guarantees the rights of equality, gender identity-based citizenship, freedom, freedom of speech, among other things. In addition, the Supreme Court verdicts on the right to citizenship, same-sex marriage, change of name and sex in identification documents, reiterated the rights of this community. However, the constitutional and legal provisions, and the Court verdicts have not been implemented effectively. Municipalities, who are responsible for providing the necessary documents to acquire citizenship, passports and other identification documents, along with politicians, are reluctant to implement the relevant constitutional and legal provisions. Thus, the LGBTQI+ community have been advocating for their fundamental rights to be fully implemented. The local campaigns initiated by this community have created voices against such discriminations.

Public discourse on the concerns of this community are organized in Kathmandu, and these programs have assisted in exerting pressure on political decision makers to formulate the necessary legislation, policies and programs. However, as the new federal system delegates responsibility to municipalities to address the needs of citizens, local campaigns are key in holding municipalities more accountable to the LGBTQI+ community.

Certainly, the voices of the LGBTQI+ community will remain unheard until the LGBTQI+ agenda is accepted by government and political parties. Therefore, representation at the political decision-making level is an absolute must. The voices of the LGBTQI+ community have been advocating for their fundamental rights to be accepted by government and political parties. Therefore, certainly, the voices of the LGBTQI+ community will remain unheard until the pressure on municipalities to be more responsible and accountable on this issue.

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As the LGBTQI+ community is also unable to usefully practice political rights, owing to discrimination and lack of citizenship, they are unable to vote or to get nominated for election with their gender identity. A study committee, formed by the government after the Supreme Court verdict in 2007, recommended to the government to legalize same-sex marriage and adopt the required policy measures. This would pave to establish rights to property, the right to adoption and confer citizenship to adopted children, which are all key agendas for this community. Yet, despite this, the Government has not implemented the recommendations.

Additionally, the human rights of this community continue to be violated with challenges still faced in terms of receiving appropriate legal redress. For example, the police administration appears not to understand the key concerns and issues facing this community, and provide only minimal support in delivering justice. Municipal authorities, law enforcement agencies, and political parties all need to be more aware of the human rights issues facing this community, and must act to protect and promote these rights. The various campaigns undertaken at the local level also try to raise these issues.

Campaign achievements

The campaigning of the LGBTQI+ community played a key role in establishing their constitutional and legal rights. The Constitution has ensured gender identity-based citizenship under article 12, and the right to equality for all citizen under article 18. The Supreme Court has delivered verdicts in various cases, including the legalization of same-sex unions, and directed the Government to introduce legislation that enable citizens to enjoy their basic rights based on their identity, including living together irrespective of sexuality and/or gender.

This has enabled the implementation of provisions related to gender identity in citizenship and passports, where persons from the LGBTQI+ community can now be identified as ‘others’ under the gender section. In 2017, the Supreme Court recommended to the Government to legalize same-sex marriage and adopt the required policy measures. This would pave to establish rights to property, the right to adoption and confer citizenship to adopted children, which are all key agendas for this community. Yet, despite this, the Government has not implemented the recommendations.

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conducive environment at home and have tried to further sensitize society on
issues facing the LGBTQI+ community. As a result, some families have accepted
the gender identity of their children or a family relative. In particular, local level
campaigns have led municipalities in Bagmati Province to invite the LGBTQI+
community to meetings and programs while the Provincial Government’s
Ministry for Social Development and Hetauda Sub-Metropolitan City has also
allocated public funds for this community.

Campaign challenges

As the understanding of municipalities and its citizens remain low on issues
affecting the LGBTQI+ community, a great deal of reluctance is still seen in
terms of implementing existing constitutional and legal provisions supporting
individuals from this minority. While municipalities could also enact the
necessary laws, policies, and regulations, the issue is still not prioritized. That
is why the further political representation of persons from this community
in public policy decision-making is essential. Again, the local level campaigns
being organized by the LGBTQI+ community are helping to ensure the
representation of this community.

Elected representatives have falsely claimed to have understood the issues
facing this community with campaign promises not being implemented. This
explains in part why changing the attitudes and behavior of decision-makers
on this matter is a difficult task. That is why a collective and constructive
intervention is urgently required. Targeted programs initiated by municipalities
can create new opportunities to strengthen the wellbeing of persons from this
community. Moreover, the community continues to face challenges in terms of
creating a wider campaign in part because wider civil society has not always
played a supportive role, which is so needed in order to attain their rights.

However, most of all, the main challenge has been attainment of gender
identity-based citizenship. Even though the Supreme Court has delivered a
directive to the government in favor of a person’s right to obtain citizenship
based on gender identity, only three persons from Makawanpur district of
Bagmati Province have received citizenship papers with their gender mentioned
as ‘others’. The community continues to face challenges as municipalities
feel reluctant in regard to providing a letter of recommendation to the local
district administrative office. This demonstrates that changing the attitudes and
behaviors of the authorities and political parties at the local level is a major
problem.
Right to Citizenship of the Sexual and Gender Minority

Background

Persons from gender and different sexual minorities in Nepal face multi-dimensional challenges in their daily lives, including obtaining citizenship on the basis of gender identity. A person without citizenship papers is denied all political, economic and social rights and public services. Without citizenship, a person cannot register on the voters’ list and so will be denied the right to vote or be a candidate. In the same way, citizenship is mandatory to start a business, open a bank account, take loans and receive basic public services. Nepal's sexual and gender minority communities have been demanding citizenship based on gender identity for the past 15 years. In response, the Government has attempted to address the issue by beginning to issue citizenship mentioning ‘others’ to persons who have different sexual identity other than that of male and female. Yet, persons from this community are unable to easily obtain citizenship. On the one hand, their gender identity is not easily accepted by society while, on the other hand, the production of medical evidence to verify the person as someone with a different sexual identity is still mandatory. As a result of these complex requirements, persons from this community continue to face many obstacles. This article discusses some of these problems and attempts to provide some solutions.

Struggles related to citizenship rights

While the Constitution has secured the right to citizenship, gender identity relates only to male or female. Therefore, Nepal’s sexual and gender minority community has been campaigning for their right to obtain citizenship on the basis of gender identity. As part of this process, the LGBTQI+ campaigner Sunil Babu Pant filed a case in 2007 with the Supreme Court demanding citizenship be given based on gender identity. In response, the Court issued a mandamus.

Pūṣṭaḥशृङ्खला

नेपालका लैगिक र विभिन्न धिनिक अल्पसंख्यक यतिहारको लैगिकतामा आवक्षित नागरिकता प्राप्त गर्न विशेष लागि लैगिक क्रम बुझ-आमको जुनाउन भएको सामान्य गर्नुपर्याय। नागरिकता नृज्ञ यतिहारको मात्रहरूलाई दुरङ्ग दर्ज गर्न सकेक २ र भएको अस्तित्वमा अविभक्तअभिव्वजन नै मान्य भएको हुन पाने नै सकेकन। तस्वीरी, बाटेरको कुण गर्न, बैंकको खातालाई, रन दिनवा र आधुनिक लैगिकिक सेवाहरूलाई नै विभिन्न नागरिकता अभिव्वजन गर्नु पर्नु हुनु लाग्दैन। नेपालको लैगिक र विभिन्न धिनिक अल्पसंख्यक समुदायलाई पनि १५ वर्ष हुने लैगिकिक लैगिकतामा आवक्षित नागरिकता गर्नु पर्नु हुनु लाग्दैन। प्रतिरुपाल, सरकारको विभिन्नका समुदायलाई गर्न प्रवास सम्भाव्यिक मैहितिलाई या रन यतिहारको लैगिकिक विभिन्नका समुदायलाई नै लैगिकिक नागरिकता गर्नु पर्नु हुनु लाग्दैन। यस्तर जिदित फाइल गर्न यस्तर समुदायका विभिन्नका समुदायलाई विभिन्नका समुदायलाई आवक्षित लैगिकिक नागरिकता गर्नु अस्तित्वमा अविभक्तअभिव्वजन नै मान्य भएको हुनु पर्नु हुनु लाग्दैन। यस्तर आवक्षित नै मान्य भएको हुनु लाग्दैन। यस्तर सामान्य विभिन्नका समुदायलाई आवक्षित नै मान्य भएको हुनु पर्नु हुनु लाग्दैन। यस्तर सामान्य विभिन्नका समुदायलाई आवक्षित नै मान्य भएको हुनु पर्नु हुनु लाग्दैन। यस्तर सामान्य विभिन्नका समुदायलाई आवक्षित नै मान्य भएको हुनु पर्नु हुनु लाग्दैन।
order to the Government to issue citizenship on the basis of gender identity. Accordingly, the Ministry of Home Affairs instructed its administrative bodies to issue citizenship mentioning 'others' in place of 'male' or 'female'.

Similarly, the gender identity of some persons from the sexual and gender minority have been disclosed as either 'male' or 'female' in their citizenship registration but now want to assert a different name and gender identity in their citizenship. Therefore, in 2015, the Constituent Assembly member Sunil Babu Pant, the Blue Diamond Society’s President Pinky Gurung and LGBTQI+ rights activist Anik Rana filed a writ with the Court claiming their right to change their name and gender in regard to citizenship. According to the Court’s verdict in 2017, persons from this community could change their citizenship to obtain one with the name and gender they wished. The Ministry of Home Affairs and District Administration Offices (DAO) were also directed to maintain an accurate description of members of this community coming forward to obtain citizenship. In this way, the Court’s decision is an important verdict.

However, despite the Court’s verdict, persons from this community still could not obtain citizenship easily. As such, they continued to campaign on the principle that their human rights needed to be enshrined in the Constitution. Sunil Babu Pant’s election to the first Constituent Assembly led to an atmosphere in parliament where sexual and gender minority issues could be discussed. Consequently, as a result of these discussions, the 2015 Constitution established a provision to obtain citizenship based on gender identity. Based on this constitutional provision, in 2016, Yam Bahadur Rana, went to the DAO in Rupandehi demanding citizenship based on gender identity as Aanik Rana. However, the DAO requested a medical certificate as proof of the change of sex, which was difficult to provide as evidence. In response, Rana filed a writ in the Court demanding citizenship based on gender identity, which led the judge to rule in favor, issuing a verdict to provide a citizenship certificate based on a person's requested gender identity. This judgement made it easier for those from the sexual and gender minorities community to obtain citizenship mentioning themselves as 'others'.

**Challenges in implementation**

The Constitution has provided provisions to issue citizenship based on gender identity. Additionally, the Court has also directed the Government to mention gender identity in the citizenship at the time of issuance. The Court’s verdict states that previously acquired passports, citizenship and official documents can be amended with a new name and gender that a person presently identifies with. Yet, in practice, this verdict and the constitutional provision have not
been implemented effectively. Hence, persons from this community have been deprived of their rights to acquire citizenship based on gender identity.

In reality, this community can only exercise their citizenship rights if all the available constitutional and legal provisions, including the implementation of the Court's decisions, are brought together by the State. If there are constitutional provisions to resolve these issues, it should also ensure provisions to legally enforce them. For example, Aanika Rana's gender identity, including name, are different in the educational certificate, citizenship and passport. Rana filed a writ in the Court to have the name and sex changed in those documents. However, while Court ruled in favor, the verdict is yet to be implemented. Similarly, when Angel Lama wished to change name, the ward chair did not provide a recommendation letter, but instead was offered citizenship if she chose to be identified as 'male'.

Such anecdotes show the discriminatory mindset of the state agencies against the gender and sexual minorities community. The state is responsible for implementing the constitutional and legal provisions, including court verdicts. The Constitution has ensured the right to citizenship based on gender identity while the Supreme Court has issued verdicts to formulate necessary policy measures and provide citizenship to this community based on the gender identity. Yet, the Government has not implemented the constitution and laws effectively.

Policy makers also seem reluctant to provide the right to citizenship based on gender identity. It is reflected in the draft citizenship ordinance, which is currently being discussed in the federal parliament. In the draft, it is proposed that persons from this community provide medical certification of changing sex to obtain citizenship based on their gender identity. However, it is impossible for every citizen to provide this document to obtain certification to acquire citizenship.

The Government is not prioritizing the issues facing this community nor is it being held to account in ensuring the right to citizenship for this community. The discriminatory mindset of policy makers adds to the already mounting difficulties being faced. Therefore, political parties and the law enforcement agencies must adopt a more sensitive and responsible attitude, ensuring right to citizenship for this community based on gender identity. Indeed, this community and the agencies of the state should have regular consultations while laws and policies facing this community are being drafted.

Conclusion

It is universally accepted that there are persons from the gender and sexual minority community in Nepal society. The community has continuously

LGBTQI+ rights campaigned for its rights, which has resulted in the constitutional and legal establishment of a gender and sexual minorities identity. However, acquiring a citizenship based on gender identity remains difficult. Therefore, a comprehensive action plan must be developed by the LGBTQI+ community to obtain citizenship based on identity.

Nepal has adopted constitutional and legal provisions to ensure the right to equality and citizenship. Article 18 of the Constitution states that “no discrimination shall be done between male and female” while Article 10 (1) provides no deprivation of citizenship rights to any citizens and that all citizens are equal with the law providing equal protection. However, rights of this community, in regard to gender identity-based citizenship, have not been adequately addressed. In this way, the Government has an obligation in implementing these provisions.

A wider public awareness campaign on the rights of this community should also be conducted by the Government, political parties and civil society. Members of the LGBTQI+ must be aware of their rights, and must be able to claim citizenship based on gender identity. The various state mechanisms also must respect a citizen’s right to citizenship based on gender identity. It is only then that this community can safely practice their political, economic, and social rights.

Over the years, the federal parliament has enacted and amended various laws and policies, which affected the livelihood of this community, even though this community was rarely consulted when such laws were being formulated. In fact, the parliament’s committee on state affairs and good governance even proposed an amendment to the citizenship ordinance in 2018, which was strongly against the citizenship rights of this community. This reaffirms the view that Nepal’s policy makers remain unresponsive to the issues of the LGBTQI+ community. Decision makers in this country must consult with this community while formulating policies relevant to them.

To further the campaign on gender identity-based citizenship, debates, discussions and interactions needs to be continuous between political parties, persons from the gender and sexual minorities community and related stakeholders. While formulating policies, policy makers should also hold intensive consultations with this community. A collaborative and effective campaign needs continuation to ensure the right to citizenship for this community is resolved once and for all.
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