

# CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL SCIENCES

PEER REVIEWED, INDEXED & REFEREED QUARTERLY INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

ISSN 0302-9298

<https://www.jndmeerur.org>

[Vol. 33, No. 1 (January-March), 2024]

<https://doi.org/10.62047/CSS.2024.03.31.77>

## Exploring Behavioural Discrimination towards Sexual and Gender Minorities (LGBTIQ) : A Study in Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Nepal

*Netra Kumar Ojha*

Lecturer, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Padmakanya  
Multiple Campus, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur (Nepal)  
E-mail:<netraojha@gmail.com, netra.ojha@pkmc.tu.edu.np>

### Abstract

*People who identify as sexual or gender minorities such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer (LGBTIQ) often face discrimination in society. This study interviewed seven participants from the LGBTIQ community in Kathmandu, Nepal's capital city. The goal was to understand public attitudes towards LGBTIQ individuals. The interviews were informal and in-depth ones. The results showed high levels of discriminatory behaviour in families and schools. Moreover, families and teachers often reject those who break gender norms and punish them. Supportive environments for LGBTIQ people depend greatly on if their families accept them. In addition, students with non-traditional gender identities face more exclusion if teachers discriminate against them. So, this research shows it is important for people to understand and accept the LGBTIQ individuals as the heterosexuality ones.*

### Keywords

Sexual and gender minorities, Behavioural discrimination, LGBTIQ, Kathmandu Metropolitan City.

**Research Foundation International, New Delhi**  
(Affiliated to UNO)

Editorial Office : D-59, Shastri Nagar, Meerut - 250 004 (INDIA)  
Ph. : 0121-2763765, +91-9997771669, +91-9219658788

## **Exploring Behavioural Discrimination towards Sexual and Gender Minorities (LGBTIQ) : A Study in Kathmandu Metropolitan City, Nepal**

### **1. Introduction**

Sexual minorities are a diverse group made up of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex, and queer people (UNDP/USAID, 2014; Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2023). A lesbian is a woman who is attracted to other women. Similarly, a gay person is someone who is attracted to the same sex, regardless of past experiences. Moreover, bisexual people are attracted to both the same sex and the opposite sex. Furthermore, transgender individuals are people whose gender identity or how they express it differs from the sex they were given at birth (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2023). In addition, intersex individuals are those with sexual features that do not fit into typical male or female categories. Included within these features are differences in genitals, hormones, and chromosomes. Finally, the term queer acts as a cover-all term for people who do not identify as cisgender or heterosexual (Queer Nation, 1990).

Sexual orientation involves different types of romantic feelings and relationships, with anything other than heterosexual norms sometimes seen as different (Moradi et al., 2009). On the one hand, gender identity refers to a person's internal understanding of being a woman or man, which may contrast with what was assumed based on their body at birth, challenging typical views of gender (National Centre for Transgender Equality [NCTE], 2009). On the other side, individuals whose gender identity differs from what was assumed at birth, called transsexual individuals, may seek medical help to align their body with how they feel inside (NCTE, 2009). Additionally, terms like homophobia and transphobia show negative views and behaviours toward LGBT people, contributing to societal unfairness—ranging from casually hurtful language to outright hostility (Weinberg, 1972; Taylor & Peter, 2011).

The movement advocating for the rights and social acceptance of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or questioning, and intersex individuals has achieved significant milestones in the struggle for equality and recognition. Starting with the establishment of the first known organization supporting these communities, the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, in Berlin in 1897, to the Stonewall Riots in New York City in 1969, seen as the first major demonstration for LGBTQ+ equality, and the subsequent legalization of same-sex marriage in places such as the Netherlands in 2001 and Argentina in 2010, the journey towards justice has involved both advancement and obstacles. Progress has been gradual.

The “Being LGBT in Asia” study by the UNDP and USAID (UNDP, 2014) spotlighted challenges for LGBT people. It strongly urged for inclusive projects and policy talks. The Queer Youth Group and Campaign for Change in Nepal is also fighting. They are asking for new laws to safeguard the rights of side-lined sexual and gender groups (Pant, 2021). Even with wins, there are still hurdles like Russia’s 2020 amendment outlawing same-sex marriage (Angelo et al., 2021). Yet, these efforts continually push for global equality and acceptance.

Several studies have highlighted the persistent disapproval of LGBTI individuals in society, despite increased visibility (Wong et al., 1999; Burn, 2000; Herek, 1988). Schools and colleges, pivotal in shaping attitudes towards sexual and gender minorities, often fail to provide a safe environment. Bullying, prejudice, and social rejection experienced by LGBTIQ individuals can lead to depression, trauma, and suicide, resulting in high dropout rates. A study by Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDCP, 2019) revealed that a significant percentage of LGBTI students faced verbal and physical harassment and assault in educational settings. Workplace discrimination against sexual and gender minorities also persists, affecting job opportunities, mental and physical health, and productivity (Drydak, 2009; Singh, 2010; James & Herman, 2015). Despite increasing awareness, discrimination against sexual and gender minorities remains a significant issue, negatively impacting both individuals and employers (Jackson, 2010; UN OHCHR, 2017).

Sexual and gender minorities encounter numerous barriers in accessing job opportunities, education, and public services, facing stigma and discrimination in daily interactions that contribute to social isolation and depression. Transgender individuals, in

particular, often endure mental trauma due to discriminatory treatment based on their appearance. Hate speech and hate crimes further undermine their ability to participate fully in society. Despite increasing awareness, societal attitudes toward sexual and gender minorities remain ambivalent, impacting their willingness to openly express their identities. This reluctance is influenced by the level of discrimination and the status of LGBTI rights in their environment.

In the context of Nepal, significant steps have been made in recognizing and protecting LGBT rights, positioning it as one of the more progressive countries in South Asia in this regard (Khadgi, 2024). However, despite legal advancements, discrimination based on gender identity remains prevalent. So, the research problem of this study was to investigate the behavioural discrimination experienced by sexual and gender minorities in Nepal. It aimed to understand societal attitudes towards LGBTIQ individuals and explore their perceptions and awareness. The study sought to raise awareness, provide recommendations for societal acceptance, and contribute to a more inclusive and equitable society.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Theoretical Understanding on Sexual and Gender Minorities**

Anthropologists assert that gender and sexuality are cultural constructs rather than natural phenomena, shaped by societal norms and cultural practices. The binary division of humans into male and female categories, along with the association of specific behaviours and attributes with each gender, varies significantly across cultures (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2022). Moreover, the traditional link between biology and destiny, which once dictated societal roles and behaviours based on gender, has been challenged by decades of research that emphasize the cultural construction of gender and sexuality (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2022).

Cultural diversity is evident in the fluidity and flexibility of gender roles and identities observed in different societies. While some cultures adhere to rigid gender norms, others recognize multiple genders or allow individuals to adopt roles not traditionally associated with their biological sex (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2022). Examples such as the Lahu of southwest China and Thailand, where men and women are seen as complementary and equally valued,

challenge the notion of gender hierarchy prevalent in many societies (Du, 1999).

Similarly, cultures where both male and female roles are considered essential for family and household functioning, highlight alternative models of gender that prioritize cooperation and mutual respect (Zhou, 2002). Overall, anthropological studies underscore the dynamic nature of gender and sexuality, shaped by cultural practices, historical contexts, and individual experiences within diverse societies (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2022).

In contemporary anthropology, gender's pivotal role in society is a central focus. Since the 2000s, scholars have explored the fluidity within sexuality and gender constructs, integrating gender perspectives across all areas of study. Drawing on feminist science, discourse analysis, political theory, and queer theory, researchers deepen their understanding of gender dynamics and power structures (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2022).

Anthropological inquiry now encompasses diverse topics such as pleasure, desire, trauma, mobility, reproductive rights, violence, diseases, globalization, and immigration. These investigations illuminate the complex interplay between gender and society, offering insights into how gender identities and experiences are shaped within different cultural contexts (Du, 1999; Zhou, 2002; Ojha, 2020, 2023a, 2023b). Through ongoing research, anthropologists contribute to a deeper understanding of gender's influence on human lives and societies.

## **2.2 The Evolution of Anthropology in Sexuality Studies**

Anthropology has a long-standing relationship with the study of sexuality, though its prominence has fluctuated over time. Scholars like Diderot in the 18<sup>th</sup> century idealized sexual practices of "primitive" Polynesians to critique societal norms, setting the stage for anthropological inquiry into sexuality (Diderot, 1989). In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, sexuality was integral to constructing notions of "primitive promiscuity" that underpinned evolutionary theories (Lyons and Lyons, 2004). However, this discourse shifted as scholars like Westermarck and Malinowski challenged these ideas, examining cultural variations in sexual practices (Westermarck, 1906-08; Malinowski, 1987). By the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, sexuality took a backseat as anthropologists pursued scientific respectability, avoiding personal or controversial topics (Lyons and Lyons, 2004).

### **2.3 Resurgence in Sexuality Studies**

In the 1970s, the anthropology of sexuality resurged with a focus on both metropolitan and marginalized sexualities. This shift paralleled broader societal changes, including feminist and LGBTQ+ movements (Lyons and Lyons, 2004). Attention turned to diverse sexual practices within Western societies and non-Western cultures, challenging prevailing norms and hierarchies. The emergence of queer theory further expanded the theoretical landscape, offering new perspectives on sexual identities and practices (Lyons and Lyons, 2004).

### **2.4 The Power Dynamics of Sexuality**

Anthropological inquiry into sexuality often intersects with power dynamics. Scholars like Foucault and Said have explored how discourses of sexuality are entwined with broader systems of power and morality (Lyons and Lyons, 2006). For instance, debates around same-sex marriage within Christian communities reflect conflicting notions of “natural” sexuality and moral authority (Lyons and Lyons, 2006). Meanwhile, anthropologists have grappled with the complexities of consent and coercion in contexts like trafficking, where power differentials shape individuals’ engagement with sex work (Lyons and Lyons, 2006).

### **2.5 Future Directions**

While the anthropology of sexuality has made strides in understanding diverse sexualities, there’s a need for further exploration. Current scholarship often focuses on marginalized or non-normative sexualities, leaving mainstream heterosexual practices relatively unexamined (Lyons and Lyons, 2006). Breaking the silence around normative sexualities could offer valuable insights into societal norms and power dynamics. Anthropology’s engagement with sexuality has evolved over centuries, reflecting broader societal shifts and theoretical developments. From early depictions of “primitive promiscuity” to contemporary critiques of power dynamics, anthropologists continue to uncover the complexities of human sexual experience.

## **3. Study Area and Methodology**

This study aimed to explore the behavioural discrimination faced by sexual and gender minorities in Nepal, focusing particularly on

the experiences of LGBTIQ individuals in the Kathmandu Valley. Employing a qualitative research approach, informal face-to-face interviews were employed as the primary data collection method to gain a deeper understanding of participants' perspectives and levels of awareness. The sample consisted of 7 individuals from the LGBTIQ community, purposefully selected for their relevance to the research objectives. To ensure confidentiality and privacy, pseudonyms were used to anonymize the identities of all participants involved in the study.

## **4. Data Presentation and Interpretation**

### **4.1 Behavioural Discrimination Towards Sexual and Gender Minorities**

Behavioural discrimination faced by sexual and gender minorities within family, friends, and society persists, with societal judgment and discrimination often based on perceived deviations from traditional gender norms, regardless of individuals' self-identification. Anshu, 43 years old Trans woman stated that :

When I was a kid, I would steal my mom's makeup and dress like a little girl. This was something I found exciting, but it brought me a lot of fear and sadness. Whenever my father found out, he beat me relentlessly, he couldn't accept or understand my behaviour. I remember those moments vividly, crying uncontrollably with a mixture of confusion and pain. It was a difficult time, filled with internal struggles and external conflicts, and it shaped a part of my identity that I still don't fully understand.

Anshu's story highlights how some people face discrimination because they do not act according to traditional gender roles. In this case, the person wanted to look like a girl but faced anger and punishment from their father for having long hair. This shows that even within families, acceptance can be hard to find when someone's gender expression doesn't match expectations. Similarly, Devika, 29 years old Trans woman stated that :

I used to love dressing like my sister when I was a child. But the majority of my friends and family would spread rumors about me, which was incredibly upsetting. I eventually understood my gender identity, and it was a complex emotional landscape. My family immediately wanted to get me treated by a doctor or therapist after learning that I am transgender. They considered it

a kind of mental disorientation and considered it as a disease that was treatable. My family and society did not accept me; they thought I was strange. I've noticed that my friends and family have distanced themselves from me because of my gender identity. It's like they've cut off all contact with me. They seem to believe that I've disrespected them and their cultural values simply by being true to myself. It's been really hard feeling like I've lost the support and connection I once had with them.

Devika's experience reflects the ostracism and rejection that individuals often face upon disclosing their non-conforming gender identity. The distancing by friends and family signifies a form of social exclusion, where acceptance is withheld based on societal norms and cultural values. The perception that disclosing one's true identity is a sign of disrespect highlights the lack of understanding and acceptance towards gender diversity within certain communities. Overall, it underscores the challenges individuals encounter in navigating social relationships and seeking acceptance amidst prevailing attitudes of discrimination and stigma. Moreover, in another instance, Anju, 37 years old Lesbian expressed :

I felt terrified when I was threatened not to reveal my identity to anyone. My family went to extreme lengths to control me, locking me in rooms to prevent me from meeting my partner. The emotional and mental torture I endured was unbearable, leaving me feeling isolated and helpless. Being considered a disgrace to my family only added to the pain and anguish I experienced.

This account highlights the severe measures taken by the individual's family to suppress their identity and control their behaviour. The threats and confinement constitute coercive tactics aimed at enforcing conformity to societal norms and expectations regarding gender and sexuality. The emotional and mental torment inflicted upon the individual underscores the harmful consequences of such discriminatory actions, perpetuating a cycle of fear, isolation, and psychological distress. Additionally, being branded a disgrace by one's own family reflects the deep-seated stigma and prejudice prevalent within the family unit, further exacerbating the individual's sense of alienation and suffering. Likewise, unlike the above, a response was different. Rupkala, 27 years old Trans woman stated :

From a young age, I naturally gravitated towards feminine activities, often assisting my mother in the kitchen. Thankfully, I



never faced behavioural discrimination from my parents, friends, or relatives because they recognized and accepted my differences from an early age. This understanding fostered an environment of support and inclusivity, allowing me to express myself authentically without fear of judgment or prejudice.

The above experience illustrates the importance of familial and societal acceptance in fostering a supportive environment for individuals with non-conforming gender identities. In this case, the individual's family and social circle acknowledged and embraced their natural inclinations towards feminine activities, refraining from imposing traditional gender norms or discriminating against them based on their behaviour. This acceptance contributed to a sense of belonging and allowed the individual to express themselves authentically without facing judgment or prejudice, contrasting starkly with the discriminatory experiences often endured by individuals whose gender expressions diverge from societal expectations. Furthermore, another participant, experience was quite different. Rupak, 28 years old Gay expressed :

During my time in school, I often felt excluded and marginalized by my teachers. While they would patiently explain topics multiple times to other students, I received different treatment. Instead of offering guidance and support, my teacher singled me out with difficult questions and resorted to physical punishment if I couldn't provide the right answers. This unequal treatment left me feeling isolated and disheartened, impacting my confidence and sense of belonging in the classroom.

Rupak's experience reflects a form of mistreatment and bias based on perceived differences. The teacher's actions demonstrate favoritism towards certain students while subjecting others to undue scrutiny and punishment. By singling out the individual with difficult questions and resorting to physical discipline, the teacher perpetuated a discriminatory environment that undermined the student's sense of inclusion and fairness in the educational setting. This unequal treatment based on perceived differences not only affects the individual's academic performance but also their emotional well-being, highlighting the detrimental impact of behavioural discrimination in educational institutions. In a similar vein, unlike others, Dhiren, 31 years old Trans man expressed :

When I decided to share my story on social media, I braced myself for the reactions, but I wasn't prepared for the extent of

the fallout. After revealing that I am a trans woman, most of my friends blocked and unfriended me, leaving me feeling isolated and abandoned. Even more distressing was the way my relatives reacted, using hurtful language to provoke my parents by insinuating that their daughter worked in the hijra office. These hurtful actions from those closest to me only compounded the pain of rejection and discrimination, leaving me grappling with feelings of betrayal and alienation.

The experience faced by Dhiren reflects the social exclusion and ostracism based on gender identity. The rejection and abandonment by friends and family members, along with the use of derogatory language and provocative remarks, constitute forms of discrimination and prejudice. These actions demonstrate a lack of acceptance and understanding, perpetuating stigma and marginalization against individuals who identify as transgender. Such behaviours reinforce harmful societal norms and contribute to the ongoing discrimination faced by transgender individuals, leading to feelings of betrayal, alienation, and psychological distress. Finally, another response was similar to the other experiences. Suresh, 31 years old Trans man expressed :

During my time in college, I often found myself subjected to hurtful taunts and jeers from my peers. They would loudly shout derogatory terms like “chakka” and point at me, but at the time, I didn’t fully understand why. It wasn’t until later that I realized they were teasing me because of my masculine nature, which made me feel deeply hurt and ashamed.

The above experience highlights the harmful effects of derogatory language and targeted teasing based on gender expression. The taunts and jeers directed at the individual in college constitute acts of verbal harassment, which can deeply impact a person’s sense of self-worth and belonging. Such behaviour perpetuates stigma and marginalization against those who do not conform to traditional gender norms, fostering an environment where discrimination thrives and individuals feel ostracized for expressing their true identity.

## **5. Major Findings**

Major findings of this study may be summarized as under :

- ▶ The case studies reveal the enduring prevalence of behavioural discrimination within familial contexts, where individuals

may face punitive measures and rejection for deviating from traditional gender norms.

- ▶ Individuals often encounter social ostracism and loss of support upon disclosing their non-conforming gender identity, reflecting broader societal attitudes towards gender diversity.
- ▶ Coercive tactics employed by families to suppress the identities of sexual and gender minorities result in emotional and mental distress, as well as feelings of disgrace and isolation.
- ▶ Familial acceptance and support play a critical role in fostering a nurturing environment for individuals with non-conforming gender identities, enabling them to express themselves authentically without fear of judgment.
- ▶ Discriminatory behaviour from educators in educational settings can lead to feelings of exclusion, marginalization, and diminished confidence among students grappling with non-conforming gender identities.
- ▶ The case studies highlight the pervasive nature of social exclusion and discrimination faced by individuals upon disclosing their transgender identity, resulting in harmful consequences such as rejection and abandonment by friends and family members.
- ▶ Verbal harassment and derogatory language directed at individuals with non-conforming gender expressions contribute to feelings of shame, hurt, and social isolation within educational settings.

## **6. Conclusion**

This study explores the persistent and multifaceted nature of behavioural discrimination experienced by sexual and gender minorities within familial and educational contexts. Within familial environments, punitive actions and rejection are common responses to deviations from traditional gender norms, perpetuating cycles of emotional distress and isolation. Moreover, the disclosure of non-conforming gender identities often leads to social ostracism and loss of support, reflecting broader societal attitudes that marginalize gender diversity. Coercive tactics employed by families to suppress these identities exacerbate feelings of disgrace and further isolate individuals.

Conversely, familial acceptance and support emerge as crucial factors in fostering environments where individuals can express their identities authentically without fear of judgment. In educational settings, discriminatory behaviour from educators can compound feelings of exclusion and diminish confidence among students grappling with non-conforming gender identities. Additionally, social exclusion and discrimination faced by individuals upon disclosing their transgender identity result in harmful consequences, including rejection and abandonment by peers and family members. Verbal harassment and derogatory language further exacerbate these challenges, contributing to feelings of shame and social isolation.

Overall, these findings emphasize the urgent need for greater societal acceptance, education, and advocacy to combat behavioural discrimination and promote inclusivity for sexual and gender minorities within familial and educational spheres.

## References

- Angelo, P. J., "The Changing Landscape of Global LGBTQ+ Rights", Council on Foreign Relations, January 29, 2021. <https://www.cfr.org/article/changing-landscape-global-lgbtq-rights>.
- Annie E. Casey Foundation, "Defining LGBTQ Terms and Concepts", April 25, 2023. <https://www.aecf.org/blog/lgbtq-definitions>
- Burn, S. M., "Heterosexuals' Use of 'Fag' and 'Queer' to Deride One Another: A Contributor to Heterosexism and Stigma", *Journal of Homosexuality*, 40(2), 2000 1-11.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDCP), "Protective Factors for LGBT Youth", December 20, 2019. <https://www.cdc.gov/healthy-youth/disparities/protective-factors-for-lgbtq-youth.htm>
- Jackson, M. J., *The Psychology of Prejudice: From Attitudes to Social Action*, Washington, D.C. : American Psychological Association, 2010.
- Diderot, D., "Le supplément au voyage de Bougainville", Le neveu de Rameau, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 12, Paris: Hermann, 1989 [1796], 577-647.
- Drydak, N., "Sexual Orientation Discrimination in the Labor Market", *Labor Economics*, 16(4), 2009, 364-372.
- Du, S., *Chopsticks Only Work in Pairs : Gender Unity and Gender Equality among the Lahu of Southwest China*, New York : Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Duberman, M., *Stonewall : The Definitive Story of the LGBTQ Rights Uprising that changed America*, New York : Plume, 1993.

- Herek, G., "Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men : Correlates and Gender Differences", *The Journal of Sex Research*, 25(4), 1988, 451-477.
- James, S. E., & Herman, J. L., *The Report of the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey*, Washington, D.C. : National Center for Transgender Equality, 2015. <https://transequality.org/issues/us-transgender-survey>
- Khadgi, A., "Meet the torchbearers for transgender rights in Nepal", *The Kathmandu Post*, March 10, 2024. <https://kathmandupost.com/2020/03/31/meet-the-torchbearers-for-transgender-rights-in-nepal>.
- Kosciw, J. G., & Cullen, M. M., *The GLSEN 2001 National School Climate Survey : The School-Related Experiences of Our Nation's Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth*, Brussels, Belgium : ERIC, 2002. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED464978>.
- Kottak, C. P., & Kozaitis, K. A., *On Being Different : Diversity and Multiculturalism in the North American Mainstream*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Noida : McGraw-Hill, 2022.
- Lyons, A. P., & Lyons, H. D., "The New Anthropology of Sexuality", *Anthropologica*, 48(2), 2006, 153. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/25605307>
- Lyons, A. E., and Lyons, H. D., *Irregular Connections : A History of Anthropology and Sexuality (Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology)*, Lincoln : University of Nebraska Press, 2004.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia*, Boston : Beacon Press, 1987. [Original publication date 1929].
- Moradi, B., Mohr, J. J., Worthington, R. L., & Fassinger, R. E., "Counseling Psychology Research on Sexual (Orientation) Minority Issues : Conceptual and Methodological Challenges and Opportunities", *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 56(1), 2009, 5-22.
- National Center for Transgender Equality (NCTE), *National Transgender Discrimination Survey Report on Health and Health Care*, 2009. <https://transequality.org>.
- Ojha, N. K., "Paradox in Physical Distancing : Exploring the Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic on Rato Matsyendranatha Chariot Festival in Kathmandu Valley", *Contemporary Social Sciences*, 29(4), 2020, 50-66.
- Ojha, N. K., "Some Selected Theoretical Underpinnings in the Long Journey of Cultural Anthropology : Uncovering Key Concepts and their Implications for Anthropological Studies", *Contemporary Social Sciences*, 32(2), 2023a, 86-96.
- Ojha, N. K., "Navigating Globalization : Anthropological Insights on the Dynamics of Cultural Transformation in Nepal", *Journal of National Development*, 36(2), 2023b, 11-124.
- Pant, A., "Transforming Lives : Advocating for LGBT Rights in Nepal", *Nepali Times*. <https://www.nepalitimes.com/here-now/transforming-lives-advocating-for-lgbt-rights-in-nepal/>.
- Queer Nation, "Queer Nation Manifesto", 1990. <https://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/queernation.html>.

- Sears, B., & Mallory, C., "Documented Evidence of Employment Discrimination & Its Effects on LGBT People", Williams Institute, 2011. <https://www.scirp.org/reference/referencespapers?referenceid=2519948>.
- Singh, A. A., "Transgender Youth of Color and Resilience : Negotiating Oppression and Finding Support", *Sex Roles*, 68(11-12), 2012.
- Taylor, C., & Peter, T., "Every Class in Every School : Final Report on the First National Climate Survey on Homophobia, Biphobia, and Transphobia in Canadian Schools", 2011. <https://www.egale.ca/every-class/>.
- UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN OHCHR), *Discrimination and Violence Against Individuals Based on Their Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity : Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights*, 2017. file:///C:/Users/Admin/Downloads/A\_HRC\_19\_41-EN.pdf.
- UNDP, "A Participatory Review and Analysis of the Legal and Social Environment for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Persons and Civil Society", 2014. [https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/migration/asia\\_pacific\\_rbap/rbap-hhd-2014-bli-a-nepal-country-report.pdf](https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/migration/asia_pacific_rbap/rbap-hhd-2014-bli-a-nepal-country-report.pdf).
- Weinberg, G., *Society and the Healthy Homosexual*, New York : St. Martin's Press, 1972.
- Westermarck, E., *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, New York : The Macmillan company, 1906-08.
- Wong, F., McCreary, D., Carpenter, K., Engle, A., & Korchynsky, R., "Gender-Related Factors Influencing Perceptions of Homosexuality, *Journal of Homosexuality*, 37(3), (1999): 19-31.
- Zhou, H., *The Na of China: Gendered Space, Ritual, and the Practice of Everyday Life*, New York : Columbia University Press, 2002. ★