The rights of LGBTI people in the European Union

SUMMARY

The prohibition of discrimination and the protection of human rights are important elements of the EU legal order. Nevertheless, discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) persons persists throughout the EU, taking various forms including verbal abuse and physical violence.

Sexual orientation is now recognised in EU law as grounds of discrimination. However, the scope of these provisions is limited and does not cover social protection, healthcare, education and access to goods and services, leaving LGBTI people particularly vulnerable in these areas.

Moreover, EU competence does not extend to recognition of marital or family status. In this area, national regulations vary, with some Member States offering same-sex couples the right to marry, others allowing alternative forms of registration, and yet others not providing any legal status for same-sex couples. Same-sex couples may or may not have the right to adopt children and to access assisted reproduction. These divergent legal statuses have implications, for instance, for partners from two Member States with different standards who want to formalise/legalise their relationship or for same-sex couples and their families wishing to move to another Member State.

Combating discrimination has become part of EU internal and external policies, and the subject of numerous resolutions of the European Parliament. However, action in this area remains problematic when it touches on issues pertaining to areas traditionally reserved to Member States, such as marital status and family law.

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Context

In some parts of the world, negative perceptions of LGBTI people (see glossary) are reflected in harsh laws. Consensual same-sex acts between adults are illegal in at least 72 countries, and in eight of these, they are punishable by death.\(^1\) Since 2013, several countries have enacted new laws criminalising same-sex conduct. Others including some European countries, have either passed or discussed so-called ‘homosexual propaganda’ laws.\(^2\) These have been criticised by the UN and the EU for limiting the rights of LGBTI people. Advocacy and human-rights groups have also noted that such legislation can create a climate of intimidation, and encourage homophobia and hate crime.

On the global spectrum, the EU appears comparatively LGBTI-friendly. The EU Member States are parties to a whole range of international instruments\(^3\) – including the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) – which set out a catalogue of fundamental rights for all. At the same time, the EU boasts one of the most extensive sets of anti-discrimination legislation in the world. Moreover, the EU promotes the rights of LGBTI people internationally. Amongst numerous examples, it initiated a UN declaration calling for the worldwide decriminalisation of homosexuality.

However, when it comes to the lived experience of LGBTI people in Europe, the picture is more mixed. On the one hand, for a number of years, public opinion polls suggested that an increasing proportion of Europeans perceived their respective countries to be relatively discrimination-free. The 2012 Eurobarometer Discrimination Survey revealed that Europeans were on average less inclined to see discrimination based on sexual orientation as widespread than they were when the previous surveys were conducted (in 2006, 2008 and 2009). On the other hand, the 2015 survey showed a substantial increase in the share of respondents who consider this discrimination to be extensive (58 %, compared to 46 % in 2012). More people also considered discrimination on the basis of gender identity (being transgender or transsexual) to be widespread, making sexual orientation and gender identity the second and third most commonly indicated ground for discrimination in the EU. However, it is noted that this may reflect greater awareness about discrimination – also reflected in the survey – as much as an actual rise in cases of discrimination.

Within the LGBTI community itself, the perception and experience of discrimination is also widespread. In 2012, the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) conducted the first ever EU-wide survey, to generate comparable data about the extent and nature of discrimination, violence and hate speech experienced by gay, lesbian, bi and trans people across the EU.\(^4\) Of the 93 000 respondents, almost half reported that they had felt personally discriminated against or harassed within the previous year, whilst a quarter said that they had been attacked or threatened with violence in the past five years. One of the key findings was that 90 % of such incidents go unreported to the authorities. Lesbian women (55 %), young people (57 %) and poorer LGBT people (52 %) were more likely to be discriminated against, whilst Trans persons were shown to experience the highest levels of discrimination, harassment and violence amongst all LGBT subgroups. The survey also flagged homophobia and bullying in schools as a particular problem. A second EU wide survey, extended to include the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, is to be launched in 2018.

These EU-wide surveys on attitudes and perceptions are also supported by in-depth legal and social analysis. The FRA Report on homophobia and discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation in the EU Member States – drafted at the request of the European Parliament in 2008 – and the subsequent updates in 2010 and 2015, confirm the extent of homophobia, transphobia and discrimination experienced by LGBTI people throughout Europe. According to these reports, verbal and physical attacks on LGBTI people have occurred in all Member States.\(^5\) Research also shows that attitudes towards transgender people seem to be particularly negative, and levels of transphobic hate crime particularly high.\(^6\)

It may be argued that these social phenomena are reflected at political level. The FRA has documented cases of incitement to discrimination, hatred or violence by politicians in some
Member States in recent years. It also reports that, between 2010 and 2014, LGBTI pride events and other public demonstrations in favour of the rights of LGBTI people met with resistance from the authorities in at least four Member States, whilst demonstrations involving explicitly homophobic and/or transphobic hate speech continued to take place in EU Member States over this reporting period.

Attention has also turned to current laws and practices which may lead to discrimination against intersex people, including medical interventions, requirements for identity documents, and the relatively low awareness amongst professionals. This social and political context, combined with major differences in national laws (e.g. in respect of same-sex unions and hate crime/speech), raises questions as to the actual extent to which LGBTI people can exercise their rights in the EU.

The EU legal framework

Discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation in EU primary law

The principle of equality and the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation have an extensive legal basis in the EU Treaties (e.g. Article 10 TFEU, Articles 2 and 3 TEU).

These Treaty provisions are complemented by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU which – under the Lisbon Treaty – has the same legal value as the Treaties. The Charter was the first international human-rights charter to explicitly prohibit discrimination on the grounds of 'sexual orientation' (Article 21(1)). However, sexual orientation acquired this status only recently. Until the Treaty of Amsterdam of 1999, the relevant EC Treaty provisions only addressed discrimination on the grounds of nationality and sex. At the same time, the case law of the Court of Justice of the EU (CJEU) defining the scope of the general principle of equality was not uniform – whether discrimination based on sexual orientation was prohibited under this principle remained contentious.

The breakthrough Article 13 ECT – introduced by the Amsterdam Treaty (now Article 19 TFEU) – empowered the EU to adopt measures to deal with discrimination based on other grounds, including sexual orientation.

Anti-discrimination Directives: scope and implementation

Two landmark Anti-discrimination Directives were adopted on the basis of Article 13 ECT in 2000, the:

- Race Equality Directive implementing the principle of equal treatment irrespective of racial or ethnic origin; and the
- Employment Equality Directive prohibiting discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

There is a notable difference in the scope of application of these two directives. The former has a very broad scope as it obliges Member States to adopt relevant anti-discrimination legislation in the areas of:

- social protection (including social security and healthcare);
- education; and
- access to and supply of goods and services available to the public (including housing).

The Employment Equality Directive, on the other hand, is restricted to employment, occupation and vocational training.
However, LGBTI people also experience various forms of discrimination in the areas covered by the first directive, including:

- being refused entry to visit partners or children in hospital;
- higher premiums on health insurance;
- not having access to social benefits reserved for married couples;
- bullying, harassment and discriminatory content in educational materials; and
- degrading treatment by neighbours, or refusal to rent.

Moreover, the question arises as to whether this difference in the scope of protection ('hierarchy of grounds') is legitimate and consistent with international human rights law.

The Commission sought to remedy the situation by making a proposal for a new horizontal directive, which would extend the prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation outside employment. The European Parliament adopted its opinion on the proposal in April 2009 under the consultation procedure. However, following the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the proposal falls under Article 19 TFEU which requires the EP’s consent in addition to unanimity in the Council. Such unanimity has not been achieved and the proposal has been blocked in the Council for several years. The Commission President, Jean-Claude Juncker, made progress on this directive a priority in his political guidelines for the current Commission.

Nevertheless, when implementing the Employment Equality Directive, some Member States already extend protection on the basis of sexual orientation to cover some or all fields to which the Race Equality Directive applies.

Moreover, there is a general tendency among Member States to create a single equality body, dealing with all grounds of discrimination, while only the Race Equality Directive and the 2004 Directive implementing the principle of equal treatment between women and men in the access to and supply of goods and services require such an institution. The Victims’ Rights Directive, adopted in 2012, also explicitly prohibits discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression.

### EU anti-discrimination legislation and same-sex unions

According to recital 22 of the Employment Equality Directive, its provisions do not affect national laws on marital status and benefits reserved for married couples. In the same vein, the proposal for the new anti-discrimination directive leaves the recognition of marital or family status, adoption and reproductive rights to national laws, supposedly reflecting diverse national traditions and policy choices.
Indeed there are substantial differences between Member States in social perceptions of same-sex marriage and the adoption of children by same-sex couples. National laws also vary considerably with respect to the legal recognition of same-sex unions and adoption. In this area, it may be said that there is a fracture line between Member States which were in the EU prior to 2004 and those that have joined since. Some of the latter (Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Slovakia) have introduced bans on same-sex marriage.

It could be argued that the refusal of those countries which do not allow same-sex couples to marry to grant such couples certain benefits in the areas covered by the Employment Equality Directive is a discriminatory practice.

According to CJEU case law, when a Member State has created some form of union, comparable to marriage, for same-sex partners, it may not create an arbitrary difference in treatment between marriage, not open to such partners, and this form of union. This does not mean however that the directive compels Member States to create such an institution.

Adoption rights are still more restricted, even in countries offering same-sex marriage, although the number of states making provision for it is expanding. Full joint adoption by same-sex couples is legal in 14 EU countries: the Netherlands (since 2001), Belgium (2003), Spain (2005), Sweden (2009), Portugal (2010), Denmark (2012), France (2013) the UK (England and Wales 2013; Scotland 2014), Luxembourg (2015), Ireland (2015), and Finland, Malta and Germany (2017). Following a court decision, Austria is likely to adopt new marriage legislation by 2019.

Most of the remaining Member States recognise unions similar to marriage or some form of contract or registration. These include Slovenia, whose Civil Partnership Act giving same-sex partners the same rights as married couples, except for access to joint adoption and in vitro fertilisation, came into force in February 2017 and Estonia, whose Cohabitation Act has been in effect since 2016. Italy, the only western European country which had no form of recognised partnership, passed a law recognising civil unions between same-sex couples in May 2016.

Other directives with implications for LGBTI people

Among EU instruments with implications for the rights of LGBTI people, three directives deserve particular attention due to specific problems in their interpretation:

- **Free Movement Directive**: definition of 'spouse' and 'members of the family'; the recognition of same-sex marriages concluded and registered partnerships entered into in other Member States.
- **Family Reunification Directive**: entry and residence rights of LGBTI third-country nationals; and the
- **Qualification Directive**: granting of asylum on the basis of belonging to a specific 'social group', including explicit references to sexual orientation and gender identity.
There are various open questions in respect of the interpretation and application of these directives. Given the divergences between Member States when it comes to legal recognition of same-sex relationships, significant practical issues arise and same-sex couples and their families may currently experience significant and disproportionate obstacles when moving around the EU. A court case brought before the European Court of Justice has clarified the EU’s position on family reunification rights when same-sex couples in a recognised partnership move to a Member State which does not provide for legal recognition of same-sex relationships (Coman case – C-673/16). In June 2018, the Court ruled that EU countries that have not legalised gay marriage must at least respect the residency rights of same-sex spouses who want to live together in their territory. With regard to the right to asylum, the 2004 EU Qualification Directive referred explicitly to sexual orientation, and the amended version, adopted in 2011, marks further progress in ensuring LGBTI applicants’ rights by adding gender identity as a cause of persecution. However, there is no uniform interpretation of the directive across the Member States.

Specific EU programmes and funding

It has been recognised that legislative protection against discrimination is not sufficient in itself to effect change. Accordingly, the EU has also adopted a series of strategies setting out active measures to promote non-discrimination and equal opportunities. The current ‘List of actions to advance LGBTI equality’ adopted by the Commission in 2016, includes an EU-wide communication campaign to combat stereotypes, action to combat hate speech and bullying, investigation of inequalities in health and education, and financial support for national authorities and advocacy and rights organisations. The second annual assessment was published in March 2018.

Funding for LGBTI rights comes under the consolidated Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme (2014-20), with a total budget of €439.47 million (current prices), representing a slight reduction in the net budget from the previous funding programmes. The European Commission has reported that, as of October 2017, around €3 million had been awarded to projects aimed at countering homophobia and transphobia, focusing on empowering and supporting victims of hate crimes and improving reporting. In addition, the European Social Fund (ESF) for the 2014-2020 period has been extended to combating discrimination based on sex – including discrimination against transsexual persons – and sexual orientation. Funding has now also been made available under the Equity and Inclusion strand of the Erasmus+ Programme, to support people facing difficulties or obstacles in accessing educational mobility because of their gender, age, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation or disability.

The promotion of non-discrimination and human rights is also a part of the EU’s enlargement and external policy. The guidelines for supporting LGBTI persons’ human rights, adopted in 2013, provide a checklist for assessing LGBTI human rights issues in this field. Under the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), EU funding is also available to support NGOs working against all kinds of discrimination outside the EU, including homophobic and transphobic violence, and to promote general freedoms of assembly, association and expression.

The European Parliament’s position

The European Parliament has addressed the issue of LGBTI rights on numerous occasions, starting with the adoption of a resolution on the rights of homosexuals in the workplace, as early as 1984.

In 2009, while supporting the Commission’s proposal for the horizontal anti-discrimination directive, the EP nevertheless suggested numerous amendments to it. One amendment would extend the...
The rights of LGBTI people in the European Union

directive’s scope to include discrimination based on assumptions about a person’s religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation, as well as discrimination based on a person’s association with people with one or more of those characteristics. Parliament has continued to call for movement on the directive, which remains blocked in Council. A 2018 study carried out for Parliament by EPRS has quantified the serious impact of discrimination on LGBTI individuals and wider society (including increased health risks, estimated lost earnings of €19-53 million and a GDP loss of €25-71 million), highlighted the uneven protection in the current EU anti-discrimination legislation and once again recommended the adoption of the horizontal directive, along with revisions to existing directives to include sexual orientation and gender identity consistently as a protected ground.

Parliament has also called on many occasions for a comprehensive multiannual policy to protect the fundamental rights of LGBTI people, in the form of a roadmap, a strategy or an action plan. Its 2014 resolution on a future EU roadmap against homophobia and discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity called for measures covering hate speech and hate crime, freedom of assembly and expression, non-discrimination in employment, education, healthcare goods and services, citizenship and free movement, asylum, external action and the specific needs of transgender and intersex people.

During its eighth term, the EP has adopted a number of resolutions condemning homophobia, highlighting discrimination and calling for further legislation and action to protect and extend LGBTI rights. Regarding the legislative framework, in addition to adoption of the horizontal directive, it has called for monitoring to ensure proper transposition and implementation of existing EU legislation and urged the Member States to include the grounds of gender identity and sex characteristics in their national equality legislation. On family and free movement issues, Parliament has encouraged the EU and Member States to ‘reflect on the recognition of same-sex marriage or same-sex civil union as a political, social and human and civil rights issue’ and called for further action to ensure that same-sex couples and their families can truly exercise their right to free movement across the EU, including automatic cross-border recognition of adoption orders, without discrimination. In March 2018, its annual report on the situation of fundamental rights in the EU condemned all forms of discrimination against LGBTI people, including the practice of LGBTI conversion therapies and the pathologisation of trans people, and stressed the urgency of tackling increasing levels of hate speech and hate crime motivated by bias against a person’s sexual orientation or gender identity. The resolution on gender equality in the media sector in the EU, adopted in February 2018, puts forward concrete proposals for combating hate speech and harmful stereotypes. Parliament has also drawn attention to the human rights situation for LGBTI people outside the EU, and the need to ensure that their situation is taken into account in asylum procedures.

Stakeholders’ opinions

Positions in favour of LGBTI rights

The issues debated in the Parliament have also been the focus of major stakeholders.

The EP Intergroup on LGBTI Rights – an informal forum for MEPs – sets monitoring the Commission’s work on LGBTI rights among its five priorities for action. It published a series of infographics summarising the voting on LGBTI issues in the 2014-2019 parliamentary term and has organised debates on LGBTI rights in the eighth parliamentary term, transgender rights, freedom of movement for LGBTI families, and the health inequalities experienced by LGBTI people.

ILGA-Europe – the European region of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA) – challenged those elected to the Parliament in 2014, through a ten-point EP elections pledge, to combat discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity and gender expression. The pledge was initially addressed to candidates, but has remained open for signature by elected MEPs. The association strongly supported the proposed horizontal anti-discrimination
directive. It considered however that the references in the proposal to marital and family status and reproductive rights were not justified and could be harmful to protection against discrimination based on sexual orientation and on other grounds. This brings ILGA's position close to the views taken by Amnesty International, which recognises the discriminatory character of civil marriage laws.

ILGA-Europe has also commented extensively on the Free Movement Directive and its Implementation Guidelines, arguing that:

- restricting the notion of 'spouse' to opposite-sex spouses amounts to discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation; the prohibition of such discrimination is enshrined in the preamble to the directive, which – even though not binding – the CJEU will take into account when interpreting it; and
- if the national law provides for registered partnerships, national legislation must extend the right to enter and reside to individuals who formed such a partnership in another Member State.

ILGA has also drawn attention to the potential impact of the reform of EU asylum law.

**Anti-LGBTI positions**

A Pew report investigates the divide in attitudes across the world, illustrating how (non-) acceptance of homosexuality is correlated with factors such as age, gender and religiosity. Reference to LGBTI rights meets with particularly strong resistance when it takes place in the context of laws on marriage or family. This is illustrated by the fierce opposition and mass protests in France sparked by the law of May 2013 which granted same-sex couples the right to marry and jointly adopt children. Similar opposition has been expressed by a number of different religious authorities.25

**FURTHER READING**


The fundamental rights situation of intersex people, Fundamental Rights Agency, 2015.

Developing Anti-Discrimination Law in Europe. The 28 EU Member States, the Former Yugoslav, Republic of Macedonia, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Turkey compared, European Commission, 2013.


Implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation, EPRS, 2014: Complementary Impact Assessment of the proposed horizontal Directive on Equal Treatment.

Same-Sex Couples before National, Supranational and International Jurisdictions, Daniele Gallo/Luca Paladini/Pietro Pustorino, 2013.

ILGA Europe Rainbow Packages – Map, Index and Annual Review of the Human Rights Situation of LGBTI people in Europe (annual publications: 2009-2018). The 2018 update was issued shortly before the International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia (IDAHOT) on 17 May.
ENDNOTES

1 The 12th edition of the report on State-Sponsored Homophobia: A World Survey of Sexual Orientation Laws: Criminalisation, Protection and Recognition, issued in May 2017, clarifies that the death penalty is actively applied in eight countries (Iran, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Sudan, regions of Somalia, Nigeria and Iraq and ISIL/Da’esh-held territories in Syria) whilst in a further five (Afghanistan, Mauritania, Pakistan, Qatar, UAE) it remains technically possible but lesser penalties are being invoked. The results are also summarised in the form of three world maps.


3 These include UN, ILO and Council of Europe instruments, complemented by extensive jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights concerning discrimination on the grounds of gender and sexual orientation.

4 The 2012 survey covered lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people aged 18 or older. Intersex people were not included.


7 The specific situation of intersex people was addressed for the first time in the 2015 update of the FRA report (chapter 4).


11 As of the 2015 update of FRA’s comparative legal analysis, 21 Member States (Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Romania, Portugal, Sweden, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and the United Kingdom) had extended the prohibition of sexual orientation discrimination to some or all of the areas covered by the Racial Equality Directive (e.g. education, health, social protection), whilst in seven Member States (Austria, Cyprus, Estonia, Greece, Italy, Latvia and Poland) legislation was confined to the scope of the Employment Equality Directive.


14 The interactive LawsAndFamilies Database, with legal information on 21 European countries (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom) went online in early 2017. More jurisdictions are to be added.


16 CJEU Maruko case (C-267/06) and Römer case (C-147/08).

17 A bill extending the right to co-habiting same-sex couples who are in a civil partnership or have been living together for at least three years, was passed in October 2017.

18 Step-parent adoption is recognised under §15 of Estonia’s Registered Partnership Act. However, since Parliament has not adopted the accompanying implementing legislation there is a certain legal limbo. This has led to a number of court cases where individuals have been successful in getting adoptions recognised. See: Supreme Court: Registered Partnership Act part of Estonia’s legal order, ERR, 10 April 2018, and Murrang kooseluseaduses: samasoolistel paaridel pole lapsendamiseks rakendusakte enam vaja, õnki täidab kohus, Eesti Ekspress, 21 February 2017.

19 Same-Sex Couples before National, Supranational and International Jurisdictions, p. 320.


21 Current migration situation in the EU: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex asylum seekers, FRA, 2017.


23 Details of projects being funded from 2018-2020 are set out in the Appendix to the Commission’s 2017 second Annual Report on the List of Actions to Advance LGBTI Equality.

The stances adopted on same-sex marriage by various religions are explored in a further report by the Pew Research Centre in the USA.

Glossary

**LGBTI**: describes a diverse group of persons who do not conform to conventional or traditional notions of male and female gender roles. LGBTI people are also sometimes referred to as ‘sexual, gender and bodily minorities’.

**Lesbian**: describes a woman whose enduring physical, romantic and/or emotional attraction is to other women.

**Gay**: describes a man whose enduring physical, romantic and/or emotional attraction is to other men, although the term can be used to describe both gay men and lesbians.

**Bisexual**: describes an individual who is physically, romantically and/or emotionally attracted to both men and women.

**Transgender**: describes people whose gender identity and/or gender expression differs from the sex they were assigned at birth and those who wish to portray their gender identity in a different way to the gender assigned at birth. This includes, among many others, transgender persons who are between male and female, transsexuals and transvestites.

**Intersex**: covers bodily variations in regard to culturally established standards of maleness and femaleness, including variations at the level of chromosomes, gonads and genitals.

**Discrimination**: the less favourable treatment of one person or group than another on various grounds (direct discrimination), or the situation where an apparently neutral provision is liable to disadvantage a group of persons in comparison to others (indirect discrimination).

**Gender identity**: each person’s deeply felt internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond with the sex assigned at birth, including the personal sense of the body.

**Hate speech**: public expressions which spread, incite, promote or justify hatred founded on intolerance.

**Homophobia**: the irrational fear of and aversion to homosexuality and LGB people based on prejudice.

**Sexual orientation**: each person's capacity for profound emotional, affectional and sexual attraction to, and intimate and sexual relations with, individuals of a different gender or the same gender or more than one gender.