



It has been a year since Nepal witnessed the wide-scale youth-led protests, also known as the Gen-Z Revolution in September 2025. The movement, led by young people with three central demands: anti-corruption, good governance and freedom of speech and expression, went on to cause a massive political change in Nepal. It also caused the lives of 45 youth martyrs and left hundreds injured against police brutality.

The whole movement was coordinated by loosely-connected youths on platforms like Discord and Reddit, as 26 major social media platforms including Facebook, Whatsapp and Youtube were blocked by the government. But, it eventually led to the toppling of the previous government; formation of Gen-Z backed interim-government and consequently, nation-wide general elections that saw emergence of new political faces and a heavily youth-dominated government. The movement demonstrated that the youth of Nepal would no longer stay as a passive audience to political events but active agents of change.

A year later, however, the question is not only what changed politically, but whether the movement's demands have translated into meaningful and lasting institutional change. The following section examines key developments in youth political participation and assesses how far they reflect the aspirations of the Gen Z Movement.



Photo credit: The Kathmandu Post / THP

- ## Post Protest-Youth Political Engagement
- Increased youth representation in Parliament:** The newly formed House of Representatives includes 112 members under the age of 40, comprising 71 elected through the first-past-the-post system and 41 through proportional representation.
 - Youth participation within political parties:** 3 leading political parties completed their general conventions with an increased emphasis on youth participation in their central committees. Gen Z groups have also emerged within several political parties.
 - Institutionalizing Gen-Z demands:** The [10-point Gen-Z Agreement](#) signed between the interim government and Gen Z representatives called for the institutionalization of youth participation and inclusion in governance and decision-making processes.
 - Youth engagement in elections:** Gen Z participated extensively as electoral observers during the March elections, taking an active role in election observation and [monitoring](#). Moreover, massive youth candidacy was also observed during the elections where 1,056 out of 3,135 candidates were youths under the age of 40 contesting for the elections.
 - Student unions banned:** The government banned traditional student unions in universities, citing concerns around political bargaining and violence, and announced plans to establish non-partisan youth councils to advocate for student rights.

These developments indicate that youth participation has moved, at least partially, from the streets into formal political and institutional spaces. But representation alone does not necessarily translate into influence. The central question is therefore not simply how many young people are now represented, but whether young people have gained greater access to decision-making, whether their concerns reach institutions with the authority to act, and whether their participation can influence policy outcomes.

Gen-Z's demands and its follow through

On December 10, 2025, a [Gen-Z Agreement](#) was signed between the Gen-Z representatives and the interim government, calling for stronger, more inclusive and participatory governance. Since then, some youth signatories have joined political parties or taken up roles in government, while others continue to engage as watchdogs and advocates. However, nearly a year later, implementation of several key demands remains limited. While some steps have been taken, many of the commitments outlined in the agreement are yet to see substantive follow-through. Here is a breakdown of the government's progress against key demands of the Agreement:

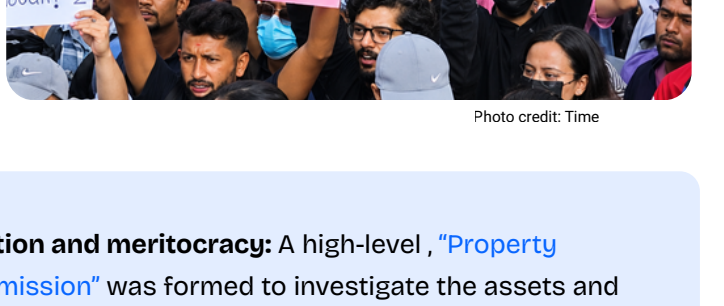


Photo credit: Time

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Support to victims and families:

The 45 protesters who lost their lives during the protests have been recognized as martyrs, with compensation provided to their families and medical treatment arranged for injured victims.

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Anti-corruption and meritocracy:

A high-level, ["Property Inquiry Commission"](#) was formed to investigate the assets and lifestyles of public officials and potential illicit wealth. However, its work is currently suspended following a Supreme Court order pending a full-bench review of its legality. The government has, however, introduced the [National Integrity Policy, 2083](#), focusing on good governance, ethical practices, asset disclosure, transparency and oversight. The [100-point Reform Plan](#) also emphasized zero tolerance and greater accountability within the bureaucracy.
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Accountability and publication of the Karki Commission report:

The interim government formed the Karki Commission to investigate the September 8–9 incidents and submit its report before the elections. However, the report was released only after the elections and is available in limited excerpts. Former PM K.P. Sharma Oli and former Home Minister Ramesh Lekhak were subsequently arrested on charges of negligence related to the unrest, but were released on bail after the Supreme Court accepted their habeas corpus petitions. The report also identified Inspector General Chandra Kuber Khapung for his role in the crackdown, but he has yet to face arrest or prosecution.

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Constitutional reform:

Progress on the constitutional reform agenda remains stalled. A Constitutional Amendment Task Force was formed in March to prepare discussion papers, but major opposition parties withdrew from the process by July 2026. The complexity and political sensitivity of the issue have since slowed progress, with no new reports publicly released.

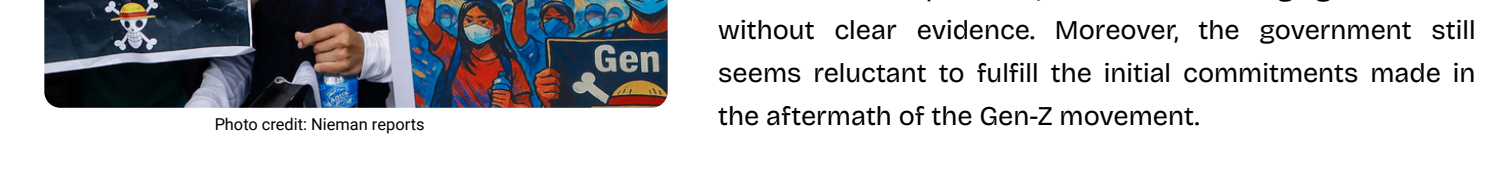
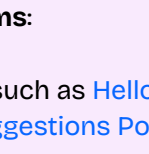


Photo credit: Nieman reports

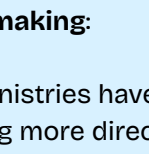
Digital Space as a New Avenue for Civic Participation

Digital participation has continued to emerge as an important avenue for youth engagement and civic scrutiny in Nepal. The government has introduced and streamlined several digital platforms to facilitate citizen feedback, policy engagement and grievance reporting. However, their long-term impact will depend on whether public feedback is meaningfully incorporated into decision-making.



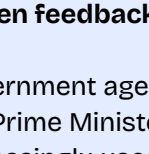
Digital grievance and feedback mechanisms:

Platforms such as [Hello Sarkar](#), the [PM Suggestions Portal](#) and the [Nepal Government Updates Portal](#) have been strengthened to allow citizens to report grievances, provide feedback and engage with government services.



Citizen participation in policymaking:

Line ministries have begun creating more direct avenues for public input. The Ministry of Law, for instance, allows citizens to provide [feedback on proposed bills and policies](#), creating a formal channel for public participation in policymaking.



Tracking and responding to citizen feedback:

Government agencies, including the Prime Minister's Office, have increasingly used digital systems to collect and track public feedback on government actions, budgets, policies and programmes. The [Nagarik Portal](#) has also been introduced to facilitate citizen input on proposed policies and bills.

Gen-Z Movement and its Ripple Effects Across Political Spectrum

The Gen Z Movement also triggered shifts within traditional political parties. The Nepali Congress (NC) saw younger leadership emerge through a special convention, while the CPN-Maoist Centre unified with the CPN-Unified Socialist and other smaller communist groups to form the Nepali Communist Party (NCP). Meanwhile, attempts to significantly reform the CPN-UML's leadership and structure were unsuccessful.

At the provincial level, the NC-UML coalition remained largely intact across six provinces until July, when the NC withdrew its support. This led to coalition changes and minority governments in Koshi, Gandaki and Lumbini, although their Chief Ministers largely remained unchanged. Bagmati and Sudurpaschim subsequently faced prolonged government-formation challenges, while internal competition also affected government expansion in Karnali.

“The movement has definitely renewed the recognition of youth. Rather than being sidelined in institutional or programmatic spaces; young people are deliberately mobilized across institutional agendas and programs. This has allowed youth to undertake greater responsibility to contribute and participate in political change while holding the government accountable.” — [Laxman Pandey, a Gen Z youth from Bajura sharing his experience with the new government.](#)

Beyond political structures, the movement created wider administrative consequences. Civic pressure contributed to the resignation or suspension of officials, while damage to government infrastructure on September 9th protests disrupted administration and service delivery. Provincial and local governments have also faced additional costs from relocating or rebuilding offices, further straining already limited resources.

Overall, the movement created significant political and administrative ripple effects across government tiers, but these have largely manifested as changes in political alignments and institutional disruption rather than deeper structural reform.



Photo credit: Counterpunch

One Year Later: Has the Revolution Changed the System?

A year after the Gen Z Movement, Nepal presents a mixed picture. On one hand, the movement has undeniably altered the political landscape. Young people have greater visibility in parliament, political parties have been compelled to respond to demands for generational inclusion, youth have taken on roles as political actors and electoral observers, and government institutions have expanded avenues for digital civic participation. The movement has also demonstrated that young people can exert significant political influence outside traditional party structures.

“I observed that during the March elections, youth engagement moved beyond discussion to influencing their families, mobilize communities, and expand their collective voice to a historic opportunity for change. There was a unique blend of optimism and urgency among the youths, where voting was framed not merely as a civic duty but as a generational responsibility.” — [Diwakar Uprety, a youth activist shares his reflection on the pre-election environment.](#)

On the other hand, accountability for the deaths and injuries during the protests remains contested; several commitments under the Gen Z Agreement have yet to be implemented; constitutional reform has slowed; and political and bureaucratic decision-making remains concentrated within established structures. It appears Nepal has experienced substantial political change, but it has not consistently translated into institutional change.

The movement succeeded in changing the composition and expectations of political institutions. However, it has been less successful, in changing the incentives, practices, and accountability mechanisms through which those institutions operate. Until the accountability is delivered rather than promised, and reform becomes structural rather than merely procedural, Nepal's democratic transition may continue to remain fragile.



Photo credit: Human rights watch

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