

Anticipatory Preparedness For the Anti-LGBT Propaganda Law in Kazakhstan

December 2025

Current Context in Kazakhstan

On 12 November, the Lower House of Kazakhstan's Parliament adopted legislation introducing a ban on so-called “LGBT propaganda,” closely modeled on the Russian legislation in force since 2022 and now mirrored across parts of the CEECCNA regions, including [Kyrgyzstan](#), [Georgia](#), [Hungary](#), and [Belarus](#).

The adopted amendments rely on broad definitions of “LGBTQIA+ propaganda,” giving authorities wide discretion and enabling discriminatory and arbitrary enforcement. The legislation imposes restrictions on the rights to freedom of expression, access to information, peaceful assembly and association, as well as cultural and educational rights. The provisions allow state bodies to censor media and cultural content, suspend publications, block online materials without judicial oversight, and restrict broadcasting and film distribution.

By labeling all LGBTQIA+ related information as harmful or unlawful, the law entrenches stigma and prejudice, exacerbates risks of harassment, and further marginalizes LGBTQIA+ persons. The penalty introduced includes administrative fines and detention for individuals and entities accused of producing, disseminating, or hosting content labeled as “propaganda.”

Several international human rights organizations published statements saying that “anti-LGBT propaganda” fuels stigma and violence, contributes to bullying and mental health risks among LGBTQIA+ youth. As the draft law proceeds to the Senate and may be signed by the President at any point in November, local organizers in Kazakhstan are mobilizing a rapid response. They are conducting [public hearings, roundtables](#), awareness-raising campaigns, and [petitions](#) to highlight the harmful impact of the legislation and to advocate for its rejection.

Dalan Fund supports several LGBTQI led organizations in Kazakhstan that are at the forefront of this response. These groups continue to provide essential services and safe shelter, provide community-based support, document human rights violations, and engage in national and international advocacy to protect the rights, safety of LGBTQIA+ people amidst escalating repression.



Dalan Fund's Work on LGBTQIA Rights in Kazakhstan

At the moment, in Kazakhstan, we fund three LGBTQIA+ and trans-led organizations and groups that work to build safety, resilience, and rights protections for transgender, gender-diverse, and queer communities in an increasingly hostile political environment. They use a vast array of strategies to strengthen the LGBTQIA communities across the country, namely:

Community Safety and Care <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Creating safe spaces and support groups• Peer counseling and mutual aid• Emergency assistance and rapid response during police raids• Safety networks for high-risk individuals (e.g., trans women, sex workers)	Services Provision <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Direct service provision and referrals to friendly medical providers, HIV services, and legal support• Assistance with gender-affirming healthcare (hormones, documentation changes, etc.)• Psychological support and counseling
Human Rights Advocacy <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Monitoring, documenting, and reporting violence and discrimination• Preparing alternative reports for international human-rights mechanisms• Advocacy for trans-inclusive healthcare and legal gender recognition• Challenging discriminatory legislation and public petitions	Research and Knowledge Building <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Studies on transgender healthcare access and discrimination• Documentation of violence, policing, and systemic barriers• Intersectional research (e.g., queer youth, climate vulnerability)• Narrative analysis and grounded theory research to inform policy
Public Education and Awareness Campaigns <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Producing informational materials on rights, health, and gender diversity• Podcasts and media projects challenging societal myths• Outreach campaigns reaching tens of thousands• Training on human rights, safety, and community organizing	Capacity Building <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Skills-development programs for queer youth and marginalized groups• Training in marketable skills, activism, and community resilience• Intergenerational knowledge transfer within the trans community

Economic and Social Strengthening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support for employment pathways (e.g., internships) • Addressing economic marginalization, job and housing discrimination • Support for migrants and displaced trans people 	Community Mobilization and Movement Building <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizing collective actions, community events, and advocacy platforms • Strengthening the broader LGBTQIA+ movement across Central Asia • Collaboration with partner organizations to expand impact
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It is critical to note that these three organizations have been pivotal in moving resources to neighbourhood countries in Central Asia. They have been a critical fiscal and mutual aid movement infrastructure on a regional scale for peer LGBTQIA organizations and informal collectives, and at Dalan Fund, we have been leaning on them and the trust-based networks these organizations have built to resource Central Asian organizers that we could not directly fund due to legislative, fiscal, and security considerations.


Therefore, we must provide timely and strategic assistance and funding to Kazakh LGBTQIA organizations and groups to ensure that we prepare and ideally, prevent larger regional-level crises.

Zooming In: Case of Education Community

Our Movement partner Education Community is dedicated to uniting and supporting sexual and gender-diverse groups. Its mission is to promote the personal, legal, psychological, financial, and overall sustainable development of LGBTQIA+ communities across Central Asia.

By providing quality educational materials to underserved youth, the organization seeks to strengthen the resilience of queer and marginalized youth and to challenge public perceptions of activism.

Before the legislative push in November to move the adoption of the law, we had spoken to the Education Community, and their goal was to work on the prevention of the law, but the context deteriorated rapidly.



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Given the current geopolitical situation and the government’s efforts to suppress our voices through new legislation, our main focus right now is to do everything we can to prevent this law from being passed. We’re working to ensure the government doesn’t gain legal power over our community.

representative

Education Community

During our last check-in with the Education Community on November 28, they shared that a week before, the Education Community organized a roundtable and presentation of the study on how stigma and discrimination against LGBTQIA+ are reflected in economic development, the health system, human capital, and human rights observance.

According to the community's account, a recent research presentation held with government representatives in attendance was abruptly disrupted by an unidentified provocateur. The individual not only interrupted the proceedings but also subsequently filed a police complaint, leading to one colleague being fined. In the days that followed, several activists were detained.

One community member reports having endured severe mistreatment while in police custody. Officers allegedly mocked him, placed him in a shared cell despite safety concerns, and issued threats of physical assault. Supporters who attempted to attend his trial were barred from entering the courtroom. Members of the group have also faced open hostility in public. In one incident, ten police officers reportedly surrounded an Education Community member, detained him, and issued a fine. A lawyer is currently assisting the community in navigating these cases.

Many say they have reached a breaking point, especially as there is no assurance that the proposed law will be withdrawn. According to activists, the Kazakhstan Union of Parents continues to oppose their work, adding another layer of strain to an already precarious environment. Uncertainty over how it may ultimately be implemented has led some organizations to consider scaling back, closing entirely, or reshaping their activities.

Community members report that, although the new law has not yet come into force, police authorities are already relying on other legal provisions to exert pressure on LGBTQI groups.



Strategies Moving Forward

Given the reality check and the high likelihood of the adoption of the Anti-LGBT Propaganda law, and its implications that are already visible, and the deep impact that is yet to be seen, at Dalan Fund, we are:

- Planning to move top-up grants to our current grantee partners for anticipatory preparedness and crisis response.
- Provide pro-bono access to legal assistance and digital security assessments that are available to all our movement partners as part of our accompaniment offering, and are tailored to country-specific needs.
- Coordinate among relevant funding intermediaries for a smoother referral system and collaborative funding to address the diversity of needs, short-, mid-, and long-term.
- Co-lead donor advocacy and coordination with the Global Philanthropy Project to enable a better funding ecosystem mobilization.