

About The Citizen Lab

The Citizen Lab is an interdisciplinary laboratory based at the Munk School of Global Affairs & Public Policy, University of Toronto, focusing on research, development, and high-level strategic policy and legal engagement at the intersection of information and communication technologies, human rights, and global security.

We use a “mixed methods” approach to research combining practices from political science, law, computer science, and area studies. Our research includes: investigating digital espionage against civil society, documenting Internet filtering and other technologies and practices that impact freedom of expression online, analyzing privacy, security, and information controls of popular applications, and examining transparency and accountability mechanisms relevant to the relationship between corporations and state agencies regarding personal data and other surveillance activities.

[Professor Ron Deibert \(https://deibert.citizenlab.ca/bio/\)](https://deibert.citizenlab.ca/bio/) is the founder and current director of The Citizen Lab.

An information booklet on The Citizen Lab can be [found here \(https://citizenlab.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/18033-Citizen-Lab-booklet-p-E.pdf\)](https://citizenlab.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/18033-Citizen-Lab-booklet-p-E.pdf).

Support The Citizen Lab

Financial support for The Citizen Lab’s research has come from the The Canada Centre for Global Security Studies, [Donner Canadian Foundation \(http://www.donnerfoundation.org/\)](http://www.donnerfoundation.org/), [Ford Foundation \(http://www.ford-foundation.org/\)](http://www.ford-foundation.org/), [Hewlett Foundation \(http://www.hewlett.org/strategy/cyber/\)](http://www.hewlett.org/strategy/cyber/), [HIVOS \(https://www.hivos.org/\)](https://www.hivos.org/), The [Hopewell Fund \(https://www.hopewellfund.org/\)](https://www.hopewellfund.org/), [International Development Research Centre \(IDRC\) \(http://www.idrc.ca\)](http://www.idrc.ca), [John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation \(https://www.macfound.org/\)](https://www.macfound.org/), [Oak Foundation \(http://www.oakfnd.org/\)](http://www.oakfnd.org/), [Open Society Foundations \(https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org\)](https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org), [Psiphon Inc \(http://psiphon.ca/\)](http://psiphon.ca/), [The Sigrid Rausing Trust \(https://www.sigrid-rausing-trust.org/\)](https://www.sigrid-rausing-trust.org/), [Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada \(http://www.sshrc.ca/\)](http://www.sshrc.ca/), [Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation \(http://gordonfoundation.ca/\)](http://gordonfoundation.ca/).

[RiskIQ/PassiveTotal](https://www.passivetotal.org/) (<https://www.passivetotal.org/>), [HYAS](http://www.hyas.com/) (<http://www.hyas.com/>), [VirusTotal](https://www.virustotal.com/) (<https://www.virustotal.com/>), Cisco's [AMP Threat Grid Team](http://www.cisco.com/c/en/us/products/security/threat-grid/index.html) (<http://www.cisco.com/c/en/us/products/security/threat-grid/index.html>), and others.

[Make a donation](https://donate.utoronto.ca/give/show/84) (<https://donate.utoronto.ca/give/show/84>) to The Citizen Lab. Your support plays an essential role in sustaining the quality, independence, and impact of our work.

Technical assistance

The Citizen Lab is an academic research lab focused on the study of digital threats to civil society and high-level policy engagement. Our research into digital threats involving individuals is conducted through human subject research protocols and participants must fit specific criteria and processes to be enrolled in these projects.

Providing technical support, advice, or recommendations to members of the public is outside of our mandate.

If you are interested in resources on how to be safer online, consider visiting [Security Planner](https://securityplanner.consumerreports.org/) (<https://securityplanner.consumerreports.org/>). While intended for a broad audience, the tool includes links to outside support for higher risk individuals, including [assistance with online harassment](https://securityplanner.consumerreports.org/tool/get-help-with-online-harassment) (<https://securityplanner.consumerreports.org/tool/get-help-with-online-harassment>) and [emergency support resources](https://securityplanner.consumerreports.org/tool/emergency-resources). (<https://securityplanner.consumerreports.org/tool/emergency-resources>).

Inquiries?

For general inquiries to The Citizen Lab, please email: [inquiries at citizenlab.ca](mailto:inquiries@citizenlab.ca)

For media inquiries, visit our [media resources page](https://citizenlab.ca/media/) (<https://citizenlab.ca/media/>) or email: [media at citizenlab.ca](mailto:media@citizenlab.ca)

Visiting fellowships, student supervision, and employment opportunities

As a general policy, The Citizen Lab does not take volunteer requests.

If you are interested in studying with Professor Ronald Deibert or research fellowship opportunities, please visit his [student resources page](https://deibert.citizenlab.ca/student-supervision/) (<https://deibert.citizenlab.ca/student-supervision/>).

If you are interested in working with us, see our latest [employment opportunities here](https://citizenlab.ca/category/lab-news/opportunities/) (<https://citizenlab.ca/category/lab-news/opportunities/>).

Keep the Open Technology Fund Open

By Ron Deibert (<https://citizenlab.ca/author/profd/>) and Masashi Crete-Nishihata (<https://citizenlab.ca/author/masashi/>)

June 19, 2020

To voice your support for OTF, please see <https://saveinternetfreedom.tech/> (<https://saveinternetfreedom.tech/>).

Working to ensure a free, open, and secure Internet requires efforts from a global community. Forming and maintaining a global community is hard work and needs resources and support. The [Open Technology Fund](https://www.opentech.fund/) (<https://www.opentech.fund/>) (OTF) has been a vital pillar in supporting this community

Gaining the trust of marginalized and at-risk groups is difficult and can be especially so for US government funded bodies, as many communities (for good reasons) view the US government with suspicion.

While being a US-funding body, OTF has built trust and made vital contributions to communities through an open source ethos, a transparent approach to funding, and a commitment to independence, as far as possible, from U.S. administrations under which ultimately they are governed.

Recent developments (<https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/17/media/us-agency-for-global-media-michael-pack/index.html>) in the US Agency for Global Media (USAGM), which oversees the OTF and US government-funded broadcasting organisations, call into question the ability of OTF to continue its work, maintain its perceived independence, and preserve trust among marginalized and at-risk communities

The recently appointed CEO of USAGM, Micheal Pack, has taken a number of dramatic actions across the organisation, including: [ousting](https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/17/media/us-agency-for-global-media-michael-pack/index.html) (<https://www.cnn.com/2020/06/17/media/us-agency-for-global-media-michael-pack/index.html>) Libby Liu, CEO of OTF, along with the heads of Middle East Broadcasting, Radio Free Asia, and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

He has also replaced the USAGM board of directors with individuals who have concerning histories, such as Bethany Kozma who has [campaigned](https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/lesterfeder/trump-administra-) (<https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/lesterfeder/trump-administra->

groups lobbying the USAGM to redirect some of OTF's resources to a few closed-source circumvention tools.

Together these developments raise serious concerns that the USAGM will become a partisan organisation in which the OTF model of transparent funding to open source projects will be sacrificed. The trust that has taken OTF years to build could be lost overnight.

Along with supporting many of the open source Internet circumvention tools and privacy enhancing apps that millions of users depend on, OTF has also played a significant role in supporting the study of information controls.

Tools, training, and other applied approaches are vital to maintaining a free and open Internet. Independent, impartial research on information controls is an essential foundation as well. Building a field of study around information controls is one of the Citizen Lab's main strategic goals. OTF has been a key partner in helping us and a wide community of scholars achieve that goal.

In 2014, at an Internet Freedom conference, we had a meeting with Dan Meredith, then the Director of OTF. Dan asked us what OTF could do to help our work. We explained to Dan that as a general policy Citizen Lab does not take direct government funding, such as that provided through Internet Freedom programs offered by the US Department of State. This policy is meant to maximize the real and perceived independence of our research, as governments are often the focus of our investigations. However, we understand other groups and organizations make a different choice, and we respect those decisions.

While we maintain our policy, we also felt OTF was trying to do something different in the US government funding space and that they were making positive efforts to help the budding community of scholars studying information controls. So we told Dan that rather than fund our group, OTF could establish a fellowship program that directly funds students to work with university-based research organisations (ours and others) to do cutting edge research on how censorship and surveillance affects marginalised groups around the world. Soon after that meeting, the [OTF Information Controls Fellowship Program \(https://www.opentech.fund/funds/icfp/\)](https://www.opentech.fund/funds/icfp/) (ICFP) was created. The ICFP has subsequently supported dozens of students and practitioners and helped build a community of information control researchers.

The OTF has also been a key supporter of the [Citizen Lab Summer Institute \(https://citizenlab.ca/summerinstitute-2019/\)](https://citizenlab.ca/summerinstitute-2019/) (CLSI) which acts as a hands-on workshop for the information controls research community.

Through the ICFP and CLSI, ground breaking research with implications for policy and at-risk communities have flourished, including uncovering [insecure child monitoring applications \(https://netalert.me/safer-without.html\)](https://netalert.me/safer-without.html) in Korea, exposing the [Great Cannon \(https://citizenlab.ca/2015/04/chinas-great-cannon/\)](https://citizenlab.ca/2015/04/chinas-great-cannon/)—an attack tool in China used for large scale distributed-denial of service attacks against code sharing platforms and human rights websites—and many other milestones. In the long term, the fellows who go through the ICFP will become the professors, mentors, and supporters of the next generation of students and researchers working to understand information controls and safeguard the free and open Internet. This work was made possible by the contributions of OTF and could only happen through its open approach to funding and management.

opment on Internet freedom are so important. Providing this type of support within a large government organisation can be difficult. OTF was an example of how to do that right. Losing that example will be a loss not only to the practitioners and researchers that have grown through the support of OTF but the wider community of marginalized people they support.

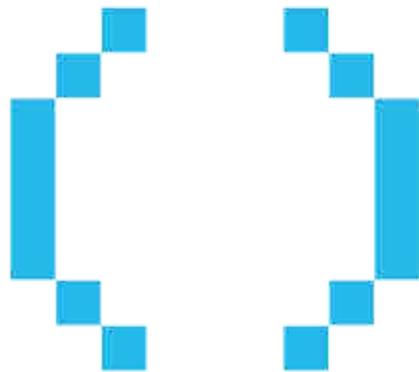
– Ron Deibert (Director) and Masashi Crete-Nishihata (Associate Director)

[Privacy Policy \(https://citizenlab.ca/privacy/\)](https://citizenlab.ca/privacy/)

Unless otherwise noted this site and its contents are licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 2.5 Canada \(https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.5/ca/\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.5/ca/) license.



[\(http://munkschool.utoronto.ca/\)](http://munkschool.utoronto.ca/)



Information Controls and Election Monitoring Group

It is expected that heavier information controls will be imposed around political events such as an election, when access to information is highly critical.

This project will bring together researchers and civil society actors to document information controls, develop and deliver rapid responses, and disseminate these findings.

Information Control Watch will promote improved online access to information in Iran through app development and research to enable greater understanding about the role that Internet Service Providers (ISPs) play in implementing government information controls such as online ce

[GET SUPPORT](#)

From ASL 19's experience localizing circumvention, privacy and security tools for users in Iran, they have learned from Iranian internet users that in addition to information controls, reliable internet service and connectivity remains the most pressing issue and challenge to accessing information on the Internet in Iran.

The project includes two main components: (1) Based on the assumption that reliable internet connectivity is vital to online access to information, an ISP consumer review app will be developed to promote the best internet service providers; (2) Research and monitoring of information controls ahead of the 2016 Majlis (parliamentary) elections, which will provide unique and holistic insights on just-in-time information controls in Iran. This will be achieved through comparing network multiple data sets, including network throughput, circumvention usage and contextual socio-political data.

Funding to date

\$150,950

2015

\$150,950
12 months

Project Status

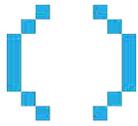
Inactive

Categories

Internet Freedom & IF Technologies

Tags

[GET SUPPORT](#)



home > news

OTF Increases Funding for Circumvention Tools to Support 46 Million Monthly Users

OTF's Multilateral Surge and Sustain Fund will support additional censorship circumvention tools to provide more people with access to the free and open internet.

Thu, 2024-04-18 16:09

GET SUPPORT

Washington, D.C. – Open Technology Fund (OTF) is pleased to announce its Multilateral Surge and Sustain Fund will support additional censorship circumvention tools to provide access to the free and open internet to up to 46 million users each month. Long-time partners [Psiphon](#), [nthLink](#), and [Lantern](#) will continue to receive support to expand their reach to millions more users in China, Iran, and Russia. Three new providers, including [FreeBrowser](#) and [RostamVPN](#), will also receive funding to significantly increase the number of users in authoritarian countries. Combined, they will serve tens of millions of users in the world’s most repressed online environments including Belarus, China, Cuba, Iran, Myanmar, Russia, Russian-occupied Ukraine, and Turkmenistan.

“Millions of people around the world now regularly rely on OTF-supported circumvention tools to access the uncensored internet, and demand is only increasing. These tools are a critical information lifeline for those who would otherwise be cut off from trusted, independent news,” said OTF President Laura Cunningham. “OTF’s ability to increase our investments to meet growing needs is the result of sustained bipartisan support for our Congressional mandate, and we are grateful for the opportunity to connect millions more people to the uncensored internet.”

As China, Iran, Russia, and other authoritarians invest in more sophisticated online information controls, demand for OTF-supported circumvention tools continues to rise. In 2021, there were 9 million monthly active users of OTF-supported circumvention tools. Today, OTF regularly supports 40 million monthly active users. OTF’s investment in these tools effectively unlocks the audiences for independent media outlets operating in closed spaces, including those funded by the U.S. Agency for Global Media, a significant contribution to the digital reach of U.S. global broadcasting.

“The Multilateral Surge and Sustain Fund is a critical initiative providing crucial access to the free and uncensored internet for tens of millions living under authoritarian governments,” said Under Secretary of State for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights Uzra Zeya. “Implemented by Open Technology Fund, this deliverable of the inaugural Summit for De

[GET SUPPORT](#)

supports 40 million users of circumvention tools every month. Together with like-minded government and private sector partners, the United States is unwavering in our support to those around the world demanding the free flow of information. Open source censorship circumvention tools, like those supported through this fund, are a key component of U.S. efforts to advance human rights and democracy around the globe, online and offline.”

OTF's [Multilateral Surge and Sustain Fund](#) was [established](#) in partnership with the Department of State in December 2021 at the inaugural [Summit for Democracy](#) to counter growing internet repression globally. The Multilateral Surge and Sustain Fund provides resources on a competitive basis to large-scale, open source circumvention tools with a documented track record of successfully circumventing authoritarian censorship in China, Iran, Russia, and other closed information environments. Without these critical resources, circumvention tool operators would be forced to throttle or limit usage of their tools in these countries at a time when they are needed most.

The Multilateral Surge and Sustain Fund is designed to maximize cost efficiencies to enable access to the greatest number of users possible. It only costs about \$0.07 to support a single user for a month – or less than \$1 per user per year. Critically, OTF's funding for anti-censorship technologies is also part of a [broader call to action by the White House to the private sector](#) to further support users in highly censored environments with affordable access to anti-censorship tools.

OTF is grateful to the U.S. Agency for Global Media for their ongoing support, and the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor and the Bureau of Near East Affairs for providing \$17.7 million in financial support to help establish the Multilateral Surge and Sustain Fund.

< Back

RPR
REVIEW OF POLICY RESEARCH

Original Article

Censors Get Smart: Evidence from Psiphon in Iran

Ronald Deibert, Joshua Oliver, Adam Senft

First published: 13 February 2019

<https://doi.org/10.1111/ropr.12333>

Citations: 4

 **Get access to the full version of this article.** View access options below.

Institutional Login



Access through your institution

Log in to Wiley Online Library

If you have previously obtained access with your personal account, please log in.

Log in with CONNECT



One account for all your research.

Wiley Online Library is part of the CONNECT Network.

48-Hour online access | \$12.00

Details



Online-only access | \$20.00

Details



PDF download and online access | \$49.00

Details



Check out

Abstract

EN ZH ES

Information controls are actions intended to deny, disrupt, monitor, or secure information for political ends. They can be implemented using a wide variety of technical and nontechnical means. Political contests over the control of information are heightened around important events, such as major anniversaries, armed conflicts, protests, and elections. In this paper, we offer a comparative case study of online censorship of the circumvention tool Psiphon during the Iranian elections in 2016 and 2013, drawing on unique access to analytics data from Psiphon. We find that the Iranian regime developed its censorship approach in two ways, deploying blocking that was more *targeted* and *strategically timed* in the more recent case. Evidence suggests that the regime relaxed censorship of Psiphon during the official campaign period for the 2016 election. The apparent objective of this new approach was to control access to information while minimizing the political consequences of doing so.

References



Alimardani, M. (2016). Iran declares “unveiling” of its national intranet. *Global Voices*. Retrieved from <https://advox.globalvoices.org/2016/09/02/iran-declares-unveiling-of-its-national-intranet/>

Anderson, C., & Sadjadpour, K. (2018). Iran's cyber threat: Espionage, sabotage, and revenge. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. Retrieved from <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/01/04/iran-s-cyber-threat-espionage-sabotage-and-revenge-pub-75134>

[Google Scholar](#) 

ASL19 and Psiphon. (2013). Information controls: Iran's presidential elections. *ASL19*. Retrieved from <https://asl19.org/cctr/iran-2013election-report/>

[Google Scholar](#) 

Bambauer, D. E., Deibert, R. J., Palfrey, J. G., Rohozinski, R., Villeneuve, N., & Zittrain, J. L. (2005). Internet filtering in China in 2004–2005: A country study. *Berkman Center for Internet & Society at Harvard Law School*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.706681>

[Google Scholar](#) 

C. J. Bennett, & K. Haggerty (Eds.). (2014). *Security games: Surveillance and control at mega-events*. Oxford, UK: Routledge.

[Google Scholar](#) 

Centre for Human Rights in Iran. (2015). Khamenei consolidates power over Internet policy in hard line council he controls. *Centre for Human Rights in Iran*. Retrieved from <https://www.iranhumanrights.org/2015/09/khamenei-internet-policy-iran/>

[Google Scholar](#) 

Dalek, J., Deibert, R., McKune, S., Gill, P., Noor, N., & Senft, A. (2015). Information controls during military operations: The case of Yemen during the 2015 political and armed conflict. *Citizen Lab*. Retrieved from <https://citizenlab.org/2015/10/information-controls-military-operations-yemen/>

[Google Scholar](#) 

Dehghan, S. K. (2016). Telegram: The instant messaging app freeing up Iranians' conversations. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/08/telegram-the-instant-messaging-app-freeing-up-iranians-conversations>

[Google Scholar](#) 

[View](#) | [Web of Science®](#) | [Google Scholar](#)

Deibert, R. J., & Rohozinski, R. (2010a). Control and subversion in Russian cyberspace. In R. J. Deibert, R. Rohozinski, J. G. Palfrey, & J. Zittrain (Eds.), *Access controlled: The shaping of power, rights, and rule in cyberspace* (pp. 15–34). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

[View](#) | [Google Scholar](#)

Deibert, R. J., & Rohozinski, R. (2010b). Liberation vs. control: The future of cyberspace. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(4), 43–57. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2010.0010>

[View](#) | [Web of Science®](#) | [Google Scholar](#)

Diamond, L. (2010). Liberation technology. *Journal of Democracy*, 21, 69–83. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.0.0190>

[View](#) | [Web of Science®](#) | [Google Scholar](#)

Erdbrink, T. (2016). Ayatollah Khomeini's grandson is disqualified from elections. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/11/world/middleeast/iran-khomeini-elections.html?mcubz=0&_r=1

[Google Scholar](#)

Esfandiari, G. (2013). Iran admits throttling Internet to “preserve calm” during election. *Radio Free Europe*. Retrieved from <https://www.rferl.org/a/iran-internet-disruptions-election/25028696.html>

[Google Scholar](#)

Filasto, A., Gwagwa, A., & Xynou, M. (2016). The Gambia: Internet shutdown during 2016 presidential election. *Open Observatory of Network Interference*. Retrieved from <https://ooni.torproject.org/post/gambia-internet-shutdown/>

[Google Scholar](#)

Freedom House. (2016). *Freedom in the world 2016: Iran*. Retrieved from <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2016/iran>

[Google Scholar](#)

[View](#)

[Web of Science®](#)

[Google Scholar](#)

Gunitsky, S. (2015). Corrupting the cyber-commons: Social media as a tool of autocratic stability. *Perspectives on Politics*, 13, 42–54. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592714003120>

[View](#)

[Web of Science®](#)

[Google Scholar](#)

Hassanpour, N. (2014). Media disruption and revolutionary unrest: Evidence from Mubarak's quasi-experiment. *Political Communication*, 31(1), 1–24.

[View](#)

[Web of Science®](#)

[Google Scholar](#)

Hellmeier, S. (2016). The dictator's digital toolkit: Explaining variation in Internet filtering in authoritarian regimes. *Politics & Policy*, 44(6), 1158–1191.

[View](#)

[Web of Science®](#)

[Google Scholar](#)

Heydemann, S., & Leenders, R. (2011). Authoritarian learning and authoritarian resilience: Regime responses to the “Arab awakening.” *Globalizations*, 8, 647–653. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2011.621274>

[View](#)

[Web of Science®](#)

[Google Scholar](#)

Hobbs, W. R., & Roberts, M. E. (2018). How sudden censorship can increase access to information. *American Political Science Review*, 1–16.

[Web of Science®](#)

[Google Scholar](#)

Kathuria, K. (2013). Psiphon and the 2013 Iranian election. *Psiphon*. Retrieved from <https://psiphon.ca/en/blog/psiphon-iranian-election-2013.html>

[Google Scholar](#)

Kedzie, C. (1997). *Communication and democracy: Coincident revolutions and the emergent dictator's* (doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http://www.rand.org/pubs/rgs_dissertations/RGSD127.html

[Google Scholar](#)

0.1017/S0003055413000014

View 

[Web of Science®](#) 

[Google Scholar](#) 

Lee, T. B. (2013). Here's how Iran censors the Internet. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-switch/wp/2013/08/15/heres-how-iran-censors-the-internet/?utm_term=.f3793fb45ede

[Google Scholar](#) 

Lynch, M. (2011). After Egypt: The limits and promise of online challenges to the authoritarian Arab state. *Perspectives on Politics*, 9(2), 301–310.

 [PubMed](#) 

[Web of Science®](#) 

[Google Scholar](#) 

Marczak, W. R., Scott-Railton, J., & Marquis-Boire, M. (2014, August). *When government hack opponents: A look at actors and technology*. Paper presented at the 23rd USENIX Security Symposium. Retrieved from <https://www.usenix.org/conference/usenixsecurity14/technical-sessions/presentation/marczak>

[Google Scholar](#) 

Michaelsen, M. (2018). Exit and voice in a digital age: Iran's exiled activists and the authoritarian state. *Globalizations*, 15(2), 248–264.

 [Web of Science®](#) 

[Google Scholar](#) 

Miller, B., & Gallagher, M. (2017). *Astroturfing in China: Three case studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. Retrieved from http://www.blakeapm.com/research/astro_report

[Google Scholar](#) 

Moss, D. M. (2018). The ties that bind: Internet communication technologies, networked authoritarianism, and “voice” in the Syrian diaspora. *Globalizations*, 15(2), 265–282.

 [Web of Science®](#) 

[Google Scholar](#) 

[Google Scholar](#) 

OpenNet Initiative (ONI). (2006). The Internet and elections: The 2006 presidential election in Belarus (and its implications). *OpenNet Initiative*. Retrieved from https://opennet.net/sites/opennet.net/files/ONI_Belarus_Country_Study.pdf

[Google Scholar](#) 

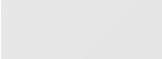
OpenNet Initiative (ONI). (2007). Internet watch report: The 2007 presidential election in Nigeria. *OpenNet Initiative*. Retrieved from https://opennet.net/sites/opennet.net/files/ONI_IWR_Nigeria_Elections_2007.pdf

[Google Scholar](#) 

OpenNet Initiative (ONI). (2013). After the green movement. *OpenNet Initiative*. Retrieved from <https://opennet.net/sites/opennet.net/files/iranreport.pdf>

[Google Scholar](#) 

Pearce, K. E., & Kendzior, S. (2012). Networked authoritarianism and social media in Azerbaijan. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 283–298.

 [Web of Science®](#)  | [Google Scholar](#) 

Radio Farda. (2016a). پهناي باند اينترنتی در ايران «شش برابر» می‌شود [Broadband Internet in Iran “six times” is]. *Radio Farda*. Retrieved from <http://www.radiofarda.com/a/f7-iran-to-speed-up-internet/27536179.html>

[Google Scholar](#) 

Radio Farda. (2016b). روحانی: مردم از کار کردن اینترنت در روز انتخابات تعجب کردند [Spiritual people working the Internet on election day surprise]. *Radio Farda*. Retrieved from <http://www.radiofarda.com/a/f12-rohani-on-internet-censurship-on-election-day/27592323.html>

[Google Scholar](#) 

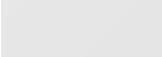
Reuters. (2016a). Iran’s top leader calls for full participation in elections. *Reuters*. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-election-khamenei-idUSKCN0UN0GX20160109>

[Google Scholar](#) 

ndidates-website/

[Google Scholar](#) 

Rød, E. G., & Weidmann, N. B. (2015). Empowering activists or autocrats? The Internet in authoritarian regimes. *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(3), 338–351.

 | [Web of Science®](#)  | [Google Scholar](#) 

Sabet, F. (2016). Why Iran's assembly of experts election is the real race to be watching. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/02/24/why-irans-assembly-of-experts-election-is-the-real-race-to-be-watching/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.e02b88f3cd7d

[Google Scholar](#) 

Small Media. (2016). Iran Internet infrastructure and policy report: February 2016. *Small Media*. Retrieved from https://smallmedia.org.uk/media/articles/files/IIIP_FEB16.pdf

[Google Scholar](#) 

Torbati, Y. (2013). Iranians face new Internet curbs before presidential election. *Reuters*. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/net-us-iran-election-internet/iranians-face-new-internet-curbs-before-presidential-election-idUSBRE94K0ID20130521>

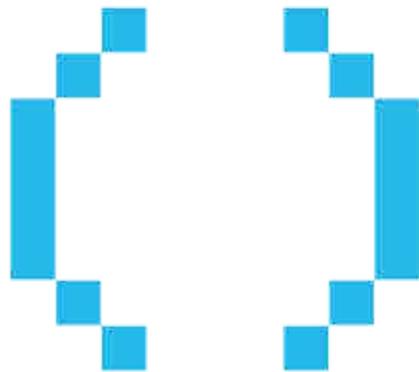
[Google Scholar](#) 

Xynou, M., Filastò, A., Alimardani, M., Kouhi, S., Bowen, K., & Sabeti, A. (2017). Internet censorship in Iran: Network measurement findings from 2014–2017. *Open Observatory of Network Interference*. Retrieved from <https://ooni.torproject.org/post/iran-internet-censorship/>

[Google Scholar](#) 

Xynou, M., Filastò, A., Karanja, M., Gwagwa, A., & Rutenberg, I. (2016). Zambia: Internet censorship during the 2016 general elections? *Open Observatory of Network Interference*. Retrieved from <https://ooni.torproject.org/post/zambia-election-monitoring/>

[Google Scholar](#) 



Information Controls and Election Monitoring Group

It is expected that heavier information controls will be imposed around political events such as an election, when access to information is highly critical.

This project will bring together researchers and civil society actors to document information controls, develop and deliver rapid responses, and disseminate these findings.

Information Control Watch will promote improved online access to information in Iran through app development and research to enable greater understanding about the role that Internet Service Providers (ISPs) play in implementing government information controls such as online ce

[GET SUPPORT](#)

From ASL 19's experience localizing circumvention, privacy and security tools for users in Iran, they have learned from Iranian internet users that in addition to information controls, reliable internet service and connectivity remains the most pressing issue and challenge to accessing information on the Internet in Iran.

The project includes two main components: (1) Based on the assumption that reliable internet connectivity is vital to online access to information, an ISP consumer review app will be developed to promote the best internet service providers; (2) Research and monitoring of information controls ahead of the 2016 Majlis (parliamentary) elections, which will provide unique and holistic insights on just-in-time information controls in Iran. This will be achieved through comparing network multiple data sets, including network throughput, circumvention usage and contextual socio-political data.

Funding to date

\$150,950

2015

\$150,950
12 months

Project Status

Inactive

Categories

Internet Freedom & IF Technologies

Tags

[GET SUPPORT](#)

[NGO Monitor](#) > [Funders](#) > [Private Funders](#)

Ford Foundation

April 02, 2025

Introduction

From 2003-2013, the Ford Foundation granted \$40 million to civil society NGOs in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza, distributed via the [New Israel Fund](#). In 2013, the Ford Foundation announced that funding to Israeli NGOs would end, citing changing priorities and a need to reevaluate “how best to contribute toward democracy and development in the region.”

Profile

Country/Territory



Activity

- The Ford Foundation is a private grant-giving foundation whose stated goal is “to reduce poverty and injustice, strengthen democratic values, promote international cooperation, and advance human achievement.”

Funding

- In [2023](#), total income was \$1.2 billion; total expenses were \$808.5 million, of which \$607.4 million was disbursed as grants to NGOs.

- The Ford Foundation has also provided grants to a number of highly biased and politicized NGOs active in the Arab-Israel conflict, including Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH), Center for Constitutional Rights, Oxfam, and Christian Aid. (See table below for further funding information.)
- In 2023-2026, Ford Foundation granted \$1.1 million to Human Rights Watch (HRW).
 - HRW disproportionately focuses on condemnations of Israel and publications related to Israel often lack credibility. HRW has also been a leader in BDS campaigns, beginning with the 2001 NGO Forum of the UN Durban conference.
 - HRW is a leader of demonization campaigns, including lobbying the International Criminal Court (ICC) to investigate Israeli officials, and leading BDS campaigns targeting banks, soccer clubs, and other businesses operating in Israel.
 - In June 2024, HRW was granted permission by the UK High Court to intervene in an “ongoing legal challenge by Al-Haq and the Global Legal Action Network (GLAN) to the UK’s transfer of arms to Israel.” In November 2024, HRW and Amnesty submitted an amicus brief to the UK High Court claiming, “Israel denies the applicability of key rules of IHL relevant to the conflict in Gaza contrary to the settled position at international law. The evidence also shows that Israel’s statements, positions and established practices in Gaza and the Occupied Palestinian Territory (‘OPT’) more generally are contrary to core rules of IHL, including rules the infringement of which constitute ‘grave breaches’ of IHL. In some instances, Israel’s position is flagrantly contrary to such rules.”
 - In June 2021, HRW Israel and Palestine Director Omar Shakir participated in a conference, “Challenging Apartheid in Palestine: Reclaiming the Narrative, Formulating A Vision,” hosted by the Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University. Conference organizers and sponsors, as well as other participants, were linked to various terror groups, including Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).
- In 2023-2026, Ford Foundation granted \$3.2 million to Amnesty International.
 - Amnesty disproportionately singles out Israel for condemnation, focusing solely on the conflict with the Palestinians, misrepresenting the complexity of the conflict, and ignoring more severe human rights violations in the region.

- In April 2024, 11 French NGOs, including Amnesty International France and Association France Palestine Solidarité (AFPS), filed three separate legal actions at the administrative court “to obtain the suspension of export licenses for war materiel in categories ML5 (fire control equipment) and ML15 (imaging equipment) destined for the State of Israel. The NGOs claimed the judge has “48 hours to respond to their request to cancel weapons exports to Israel over the risk that the Israeli military might use them to commit war crimes in Gaza.”
 - On April 13, the administrative court rejected the case.
- In March 2024, Amnesty International Denmark, Oxfam Denmark, ActionAid Denmark, and Al-Haq announced they were suing the Danish National Police and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in an attempt to stop Danish arms exports to Israel. According to the NGOs, “Denmark should not be sending weapons to Israel when there is a reasonable suspicion that it is committing war crimes in Gaza. We need to get the court’s word on Denmark’s responsibility.”
 - In April, in response to the lawsuit, Denmark announced that it would implement a “very restrictive approach” for military exports to Israel amid what it called the “disastrous consequences” of the war in Gaza. According to Foreign Minister Lars Lokke Rasmussen, “All arms exports to Israel, as applications will continue to be assessed on a case-by-case basis.”
- Amnesty is a leader of a network of NGOs that promote artificial and manufactured definitions of apartheid to extend the ongoing campaigns that seek to delegitimize and demonize Israel. (Read NGO Monitor’s reports “False Knowledge as Power: Deconstructing Definitions of Apartheid that Delegitimise the Jewish State,” “Neo-Orientalism: Deconstructing claims of apartheid in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict,” and “Amnesty International’s Cruel Assault on Israel: Systematic Lies, Errors, Omissions & Double Standards in Amnesty’s Apartheid Report.”)
- In 2023-2026, the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) was granted \$1.4 million.
 - CCR is active in lawfare suits against Israel and Israeli officials, promotes anti-Israel BDS campaigns; urges the U.S. government to stop providing military aid to Israel; presents an entirely biased and distorted view of the conflict and utilizes highly politicized rhetoric, accusing Israel of “war crimes,” “crimes against humanity,” and other such allegations.

infrastructure,” and “forced expulsion” amount to “genocide.” The NGOs demanded that the “President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense adhere to their duty to prevent, and not further, the unfolding genocide of Palestinian people in Gaza,” as well as “take all measures within their power to prevent Israel’s commission of genocidal acts against the Palestinian people of Gaza.”

- In January 2024, the Court dismissed the case. In a highly irregular note, the judge added that he believed the “current treatment of the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip by the Israeli military **may plausibly constitute a genocide**” and “implored” the White House to “examine the results of their unflagging support of the military siege against the Palestinians in Gaza.”
- The NGOs appealed the decision and filed a brief in March 2024. In July 2024, a three-judge panel affirmed the dismissal.
- In August 2024, the NGOs filed a petition for rehearing en banc, claiming that the courts “have a constitutional duty to assess the legality of the Biden administration’s actions.” In October 2024, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals denied their petition for rehearing en banc.
- In 2023-2026, various branches of Oxfam, including Oxfam America and Oxfam Mexico, received \$5.8 million from the Ford Foundation.
 - Oxfam consistently paints a highly misleading picture of the Arab-Israeli conflict, departing from its humanitarian mission focused on poverty. Most Oxfam statements erase all complexity and blame Israel exclusively for the situation, and these distortions and their impacts contribute significantly to the conflict.
 - In February 2025, Oxfam signed a letter addressed to European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, calling to “ban all trade and business between the EU and Israel’s illegal settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT), including East Jerusalem.”
 - In November 2023, Oxfam Novib, alongside the Rights Forum, PAX, and Amnesty International, sued the Netherlands in an attempt to stop “export arms to Israel” and demanding “the immediate cessation of the supply of parts for Israeli F35 fighter planes.”
 - A Dutch court rejected the lawsuit, noting that the government “‘weighed the relevant interests’ before agreeing to the delivery of parts.” It stated that the “Dutch government [has] a large degree of freedom when it comes to weighing political and policy issues in

Netherlands, claiming the “state did not correctly implement the previous ruling by not stopping all export and transit of F-35 components with a possible final destination of Israel.” In July 2024, the judge rejected the case, claiming that “it was unclear whether the earlier ruling only covered direct deliveries from the Netherlands or also deliveries via other countries, such as the United States. This ruling means that deliveries via the United States will not be stopped.”

- On September 6, 2024, the Supreme Court held a hearing to assess whether the Court’s ruling will stand and whether the Netherlands may resume the export of F-35 components to Israel. As of March 26, 2025, the Court has still not provided a ruling.
- In March 2020, following criticism, Oxfam apologized for raising funds by selling copies of the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” a fabricated text that proclaimed an international Jewish conspiracy bent on world domination and accuses the Jews of controlling government, the economy, media and public institutions.
- In 2023-2026, Ford Foundation granted \$7.2 million to the Tides Center.
 - The Tides Center provides fiscal sponsorship for “social change leaders and ventures,” including funding to a number of NGOs that promote anti-Israel narratives, lawfare, and discriminatory BDS (boycott, divestment, and sanctions) campaigns — including the Adalah Justice Project, Arab Resource and Organizing Center (AROC), and Palestine Legal.
- In 2023-2026, Ford Foundation granted \$2,152,500 to SOMO.
 - SOMO’s research claims to “expose[] the corporate impunity that characterises the business-as-usual approach of many multinationals operating in occupied Palestine. Through activities like tourism and the unlawful exploitation of Palestinian natural resources such as stone, gas, and agricultural products, these corporations actively support Israel’s illegal settlement economy.”
 - In November 2023, SOMO, alongside European Legal Support Center (ELSC), Al-Haq, and the Rights Forum, filed a criminal complaint with the Dutch Public Prosecutor accusing Booking.com of “laundering funds obtained from the commission of war crimes” and being “instrumental in facilitating the criminal Israeli settlement enterprise.” In May 2024, Booking.com rejected the allegations and affirmed, “we will permit listings anywhere in the world unless legally prohibited by the domestic laws...”

Foundation of Support for Human Rights Defenders.

- A number of EMHRF's Council of Representatives are highly biased and politicized NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including Al-Haq, Al Mezan, Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR), Women's Centre for Legal Aid and Counselling (WCLAC), Adalah, B'Tselem, and Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI).
- In 2023-2026, Ford Foundation granted \$560,000 to Diakonia.
 - In October 2024, Diakonia published a brief that called on states to "Abstaining from entering into economic or trade dealings with Israel concerning the oPt or parts thereof which may entrench its unlawful presence in the oPt," "Taking steps to prevent trade or investment relations that assist in the maintenance of the illegal situation created by Israel in the oPt," "Ban the importation of goods produced in settlements, the exportation of goods to settlements, as well as the provision of services to and investment in settlements in the oPt," and "Ban dealings with Israeli companies that engage in activities listed as high-risk pursuant to the UN database on enterprises operating in the settlements, for example in the fields of defence, infrastructure, construction, and exploitation of natural resources."
 - Diakonia has relied on data from the Ministry of Health in Gaza, a Hamas entity, for reporting on Palestinian casualties in Gaza.
- In 2024-2025, Jews For Racial & Economic Justice (JFREJ) received \$200,000 from the Ford Foundation.
 - In July 2024, JFREJ was a signatory on a letter to Attorney General Merrick Garland and Education Secretary Miguel Cardona urging a Justice Department investigation into "allegations of abuse by law enforcement" in response to the pro-Palestinian campus protests.
 - In May 2024, JFREJ members, alongside Columbia University faculty, testified to the NY City Council alleging the "NYPD's brutal assault on free speech and demand[ing] the disbanding of NYPD-SRG."
 - In January 2024, JFREJ condemned a proposal from New York governor Kathy Hochul (D.) to expand the list of offenses that can be charged as hate crimes. Those who commit hate-fueled crimes against Jews, the group said, should be met with "restorative, community-based education and healing," not "a police-driven response with criminal penalties."

October 2023, Hamas launched an unprecedented attack from Gaza towards **the occupied Palestinian territories and the illegal Israeli settlements surrounding the densely populated Strip** using thousands of rockets and breaching the wire that separates Gaza from **the 1948 territories...The operation was driven by a long historical cycle of colonial violence against the Palestinian population...** This recent escalation needs to be understood within the long and violent process and structure of Israeli settler colonialism, which has relentlessly expanded in the past century in historic Palestine... However, in the past few days, **once again the outstanding sumud [steadfastness in Arabic] of Palestinians and their will for liberation and life, has shown that Palestine lives and Arab peoples reject normalization and stand with Palestinians**" (emphases added).

- On October 8, 2023, ARDD Executive Director Samar Muhareb shared a picture of Yaffa Adar, an ill elderly Israeli woman, who was kidnapped to Gaza on October 7th, with a PIJ terrorist. Muhareb wrote, "What a remarkable sight of Palestinian resistance fighters after they entered a settlement. They showed compassion in their actions when they were with an Israeli settler woman that was carrying her child, when their resistance commander ordered them to wrap her, and not to harm her, showing the world the humanity of the Palestinians that have been repeatedly been labeled by 'Israel' as terrorists. An elderly Israeli woman raising the sign of victory next to a Palestinian resistance fighter who entered along with his cell to her settlement. The resistance fighter carried out a human act by placing his weapon in her lap, showing that the elderly people were scared or caused to be in panic by them, as was the resistance's commands. It is a sight of victory which commentators have said will push to create tears in the 'justification' of 'Israel'..."
- In May 2023, AARD published a statement on PIJ senior terrorist Khader Adnan: "Today we mourn the tragic passing of **Khader Adnan, a Palestinian revolutionary, the knight of the Palestinian prisoners' movement...Adnan was a beacon of Palestinian resistance.** He embodied tenacity, discipline, and resilience, paving the path to secure our liberation. Adnan's teachings and influence were part of the body of thought that led to **denouncing the failure of the Oslo Accords and the rejection of any compromise and negotiation over justice and rights for Palestinians...** Adnan's toleration of mortal hunger showcases that no suffering is intense enough to break Palestinians' spirit and unwavering commitment to liberate their land from the suffocating clutches of Zionist settler-colonialism" (emphases added).

2023 and indicted for membership in a terror group, supporting a terrorist organization, and incitement.

- In 2015-2017, Ford Foundation granted \$1.4 million to the International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH).
 - FIDH, which is funded by multiple European governments, is a major leader of BDS campaigns worldwide.
 - FIDH supported campaigns including the BDS campaign against Orange (2015), promoted the EU product labeling guidelines, and participated in the NGO campaign at the UN Human Rights Council to establish a Commission of Inquiry targeting Israel following the 2014 Gaza War.
 - In August 2016, Shawan Jabarin (General Director of Al Haq) was elected as FIDH's Secretary General. Jabarin has been denied exit visas for Israel and Jordan on several occasions due to his alleged ties to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a designated terrorist organization by the U.S., EU, Canada, and Israel. According to the Israeli Supreme court, Jabarin "is apparently acting as a manner of Doctor Jekyll and Mister Hyde, acting some of the time as the CEO of a human rights organization, and at other times as an activist in a terror organization."
 - According to a 1995 Israeli submission to the UN, Jabarin was convicted in 1985 for recruiting members for the PFLP. Jabarin was also found guilty of arranging PFLP training outside Israel and was sentenced by Israeli courts to 24-months imprisonment, of which he served nine. In 1994, Jabarin was again arrested for alleged links and placed in administrative detention for six months. An Israeli statement to the UN notes that he "had not discontinued his terrorist involvement and maintains his position in the leadership of the PFLP."

Ford Foundation/NIF Grantees (2003-2013)

- The Ford Foundation was among the main funders for extremist NGOs involved in the 2001 UN sponsored Durban conference, which crystallized the strategy of delegitimizing Israel as "an apartheid regime" through international isolation.
- As a result of the Durban conference, in October 2003, Congressmen Jerrold Nadler and Rick Santorum, a member of the Senate Finance Committee, launched a campaign to investigate the Ford Foundation's funding of anti-Semitic and highly political anti-Israel NGOs. As part of the campaign, twenty members of Congress sent a letter to Ford Foundation President Susan Berresford asking her to "cease

existence of legitimate, sovereign states like Israel.”

- Following these new guidelines, from 2003-2013, the Ford Foundation managed the Ford Israel Fund which provided \$40 million to Israeli civil society NGOs in partnership with the New Israel Fund. These funds came in the form of two \$20 million grants; distributed to the NIF in 2003 and 2007.
- The Ford Israel Fund was shut down in 2013 due to changing organizational priorities and changing leadership among the Ford Foundation board.
- Ford Israel Fund grantees included Breaking the Silence, Adalah, B’Tselem, Bimkom, Rabbis for Human Rights, Mossawa Center, HaMoked, Physicians for Human Rights – Israel (PHR-I), and the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI).

2018-2023 Funding to NGOs (amounts based on Ford Foundation’s “Grant Database”)

Search:

NGO	2023	2022	2021	2020	2019	2018
Human Rights Watch (HRW)	\$1,000,000		\$1,400,000			\$1,200,000
Amnesty International	\$420,000	\$3,000,000	\$2,450,000	\$400,000	\$450,000	
Oxfam	\$450,000	\$1,350,000	\$11,380,000	\$1,660,000	\$200,000	\$1,070,000
Center for Constitutional Rights	\$583,334	\$200,000	\$1,100,000		\$2,850,000	\$900,000
Tides Center	\$1,706,000	\$1,616,000	\$12,050,000	\$3,934,277	\$2,234,500	9,350,000
Front Line – International Foundation for the Protection of	\$400,000		\$400,000	\$3,100,000		

[All Articles about Ford Foundation](#)

Further Reading

[Ford Foundation Sends Millions to Organizations That Have Celebrated Oct. 7 Terrorist Attacks](#)

Owen Tilman, Free Beacon, June 17, 2024

Contents

[Introduction](#)

[Profile](#)

[Activity](#)

[Funding](#)

[Funding to Politicized NGOs](#)

[Ford Foundation/NIF Grantees \(2003-2013\)](#)

[2018-2023 Funding to NGOs \(amounts based on Ford Foundation's "Grant Database"\)](#)

[Related Articles](#)

[Further Reading](#)

Topics in this Funder

[2001 Durban Conference](#)

[Airbnb](#)

[Arms Embargo](#)

[BDS](#)

[Betty McCollum](#)

[Labeling](#)

[Lawfare](#)

[New Israel Fund](#)

[No Way to Treat a Child](#)

[Omar Shakir](#)

[Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine \(PFLP\)](#)

[Shawan Jabarin](#)

[Trading Away Peace](#)

[All Topics](#)

Sigrid Rausing Trust

June 10, 2025

Profile

Country/Territory



Activity

- Sigrid Rausing Trust (SRT) is a “UK grant making foundation, founded in 1995 by Sigrid Rausing to support human rights globally. Since then, the Trust has given away approximately £299 million to human rights organisations all over the world.”
- The Trust states: “Since all political parties or movements, and all governments, have the potential to abuse human rights, we ask that our grantees’ commitment to human rights transcend political loyalties.”
- SRT supports numerous NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict, some of which engage in anti-Israel delegitimization campaigns and promote a narrow political agenda inconsistent with the stated principles.

Funding

- In 2023, total income was £82.6 million; total expenses were £55.1 million.
- SRT’s finances are transparent, with past and current grantees listed clearly and details such as amounts and project duration provided.
- SRT states that it funds organizations, not projects: “Most of our grants take the form of core grants, or in other words grants that are not ear-marked for specific projects... **We believe that organisations are more imaginative and innovative if**

unknown if and how SRT evaluates long-term grantees, and how SRT responds to false claims, bias and political exploitation of human rights by its grantees.

[Click Here for a Complete List of the Current Grantees](#)

Search:

NGO Recipient	Amount	Duration
Adalah	<u>£760,000</u>	2010-2020
Al Mezan	<u>£330,000</u>	2013-2018
Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI)	<u>£1,125,000</u>	2010-2021
Aswat – Palestinian Gay Women	<u>£150,000</u>	2016-2019
Breaking the Silence	<u>£100,000</u>	2025-2026
B'Tselem	<u>£1,820,000</u>	2007-2019
Euro-Mediterranean Foundation Of Support To Human Rights Defenders	<u>£900,000</u>	2021-2024
EuroMed Rights	<u>£450,000</u>	2020-2023
Forensic Architecture	<u>£150,000</u>	2023-2024
Gisha – Legal Center For Freedom Of Movement	<u>£590,000</u>	2010-2020
HaMoked	<u>£1,340,000</u>	2009-2021

		2022
<u>Physicians For Human Rights - Israel</u>	<u>£985,000</u>	2025-2026
<u>Social TV</u>	<u>£572,000</u>	2010-2022
<u>Military Court Watch</u>	<u>£15,000</u>	2018-2019
<u>World Organisation Against Torture</u>	<u>£750,000</u>	2024-2027
<u>Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies</u>	<u>£100,000</u>	2021-2022
<u>Oakland Institute</u>	<u>£225,000</u>	2021-2024
<u>SOMO</u>	<u>£1,150,000</u>	2010-2020
<u>European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights</u>	<u>£825,000</u>	2023-2026
<u>972 Magazine</u>	<u>£100,000</u>	2025-2026
<u>Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)</u>	<u>£500,000</u>	2024-2025
<u>OFEK</u>	<u>£25,000</u>	2025-2026
<u>Yesh Din</u>	<u>£25,000</u>	2025-2026

[All Articles about Sigrid Rausing Trust](#)

Contents



Open Society Foundations (OSF)

March 05, 2025

Profile

Country/Territory



Activity

- Open Society Foundation's (OSF) declared objective is "to work to build vibrant and tolerant democracies whose governments are accountable and open to the participation of all people." This is the basis for OSF's often intrusive activities in both closed and democratic societies, including large scale funding of political NGOs.
- Founder George Soros has sharply criticized Israeli and American policies towards the Palestinians, specifically the refusal to accept the participation of Hamas in a Palestinian government. Soros has also accused AIPAC of "endanger[ing]" Israel's existence, and has drawn comparisons between Israel and Nazi Germany.
- In July 2017, Israeli MK Miki Zohar (Likud) introduced the "Soros Law," named for Soros, aimed at "block[ing] donations to left wing organizations enjoying foreign funding." According to the bill, "any person donating to organizations acting against Israel will not be allowed to donate to any organization or nonprofit association in Israel."

Funding

- In 2023, total expenses were \$1.7 billion and "is organized under 7 regions and 10 themes."

OSF Funding to Political NGOs

- OSF has provided grants to a number of highly biased and politicized NGOs active in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including Al-Haq, Al Mezan, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty, B'Tselem, Breaking the Silence, Yesh Din, and others. (See table below for further funding information.)
 - Many of these NGOs are part a network of NGOs that promote artificial and manufactured definitions of apartheid to extend the ongoing campaigns that seek to delegitimize and demonize Israel. (Read NGO Monitor's Policy Papers "[False Knowledge as Power: Deconstructing Definitions of Apartheid that Delegitimise the Jewish State](#)" and "[Neo-Orientalism: Deconstructing claims of apartheid in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.](#)")
 - Both Al-Haq and Al Mezan have links to the [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine](#) (PFLP), a terrorist organization designated as such by the [US](#), [EU](#), [Canada](#), and [Israel](#).
 - On October 22, 2021, the Israeli Ministry of Defense declared Al-Haq a "[terror organization](#)" because it is part of "a network of organizations" that operates "on behalf of the 'Popular Front'." Al-Haq's General Director [Shawan Jabarin](#) has been linked to the [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine](#) (PFLP), a designated terrorist organization by the [US](#), [EU](#), [Canada](#), and [Israel](#).
 - A number of Al-Mezan officials and employees are members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Hamas. For more information on Al-Mezan's PFLP ties, read NGO Monitor's report "[Al Mezan Center For Human Rights' Ties to the PFLP Terror Group.](#)"
- Other OSF grantees are the [Center for Constitutional Rights](#) (CCR) and [War on Want](#), two organizations that promote BDS campaigns against Israel.
 - CCR is active in [lawfare suits](#) against Israel and Israeli officials (including [Avi Dichter](#) and [Moshe Ya'alon](#)); promotes anti-Israel [BDS campaigns](#); urges the U.S. government to [stop providing military aid](#) to Israel; presents an entirely biased and distorted view of the conflict and utilizes highly politicized rhetoric, accusing Israel of "war crimes" and "crimes against humanity."
 - War on Want is a leader and mobilizer of anti-Israel BDS campaigns in the UK. It has accused the British government of "[Arming Apartheid](#)" and urged it "to implement an immediate two-way arms embargo to end all arms sales to and purchases from Israel."

Palestinian Citizens of Israel” department. Headed by Ammar Abu Zayyad, the ARO is one of a number of funding mechanisms for Israeli and Palestinian NGO’s in the OSF network.

- The list of ARO grantees (also in Appendix 1 below) showed that Open Society Foundation funded a number of Israeli NGOs, including some recipients that deny the legitimacy of Israel and Jewish sovereignty, and are involved in demonization campaigns.
- The 2013 NGO Monitor report “Bad Investment: The Philanthropy of George Soros and the Arab-Israeli Conflict” includes a number of Soros funding frameworks that are not included in the leaked documents, meaning that – if they are accurate – the actual funding is significantly higher than indicated by this leak.
- According to these documents, OSF provided \$405,000 to Palestinian media outlet Wattan News from 2012-2014. In 2016, Wattan published a series of articles promoting virulently antisemitic content in the form of “anti-Zionism.” After inquiries were sent to OSF by Tablet magazine, the offensive content was removed from Wattan’s website, and OSF issued a condemnation and claimed that it is “putting in place procedures that such a serious lapse in editorial oversight will not take place again.” OSF did not state that it was withdrawing funding from Wattan.
- Amongst the leaked files are instructions on pressuring the EU to adopt product labeling policies touted by many NGOs as the first step to EU-sponsored BDS, and supporting Palestinian ascension to the International Criminal Court (ICC).
- In 2010, Open Society Foundation pledged \$100 million to Human Rights Watch (HRW) over the course of 10 years.
- In 2008, Soros pledged \$750,000 over three years to J Street. J Street concealed this funding for many years, until The Washington Times revealed it in 2010. Following this expose, J Street addressed the “myth” that “George Soros founded and is the primary funder of J Street,” claiming that it would be “very pleased to have funding from Mr. Soros.”

Political Advocacy

- OSF runs a program titled “Palestinian Rule of Law Awards” to provide scholarships for law students from the West Bank and Gaza to study in the United States and

and [Gisha](#) as part of its “[Grantee Spotlight](#)” page.

- In October 2016, Shawan Jabarin, the director of [Al-Haq](#), [promoted the decision to label](#) all products from Israeli communities built over the 1967 ceasefire line adopted by the EU, ostensibly calling for the eventual boycott of all Israeli products.
- In June 2016, OSF [shared a report](#) entitled “The Occupation’s Fig Leaf: Israel’s Military Law Enforcement System as a Whitewash Mechanism” prepared by [B’Tselem](#). The report claims that “Palestinians have been living under an Israeli military regime that has wrongfully killed, injured, and abused them.”
- OSF [granted an unknown amount](#) of money to the political activist Michael Sfard to write his book, *The Wall and the Gate: Israel, Palestine, and the Legal Battle for Human Rights*. Sfard is involved in highly political NGOs (many of them getting money from OSF) and campaigns against Israel, including lawfare.
 - In February 2018, OSF [hosted the book launch](#) with Sfard and Jill Jacobs, the executive director of T’ruah, discussing “Has a generation of legal action against the occupation actually served to bolster its legitimacy?”
- The “[Open Society Justice Initiative](#),” which claims to “[foster accountability for international crimes](#), combat racial discrimination... address abuses related to national security and counterterrorism.” was [asked](#) by [Adalah](#) to “prepare a memorandum for the UN Human Rights Council’s follow-up Fact-Finding Committee” (to the “Goldstone Report”). The resulting report [alleged](#) that “the Israeli investigations to date have not complied with international or comparative standards,” and that delays “violate[] international law and taint[] the independence and effectiveness of any subsequent inquiry.”

Funding to NGOs

All grant information was taken from the [Grant Database](#) on Open Society Foundation’s website.

	Grantee	Amount	Award Date
	7amleh	\$250,000	2023-2026

	\$100,000	2021-2022
	\$300,000	2020-2022
	\$75,000	2019
+972 Magazine	\$300,000	2019-2021
Adalah	\$400,000	2022-2024
	\$200,000	2021-2022
	\$100,000	2020
	\$400,000	2020-2022
	\$400,000	2017-2019
Al-Haq	\$800,000	2020-2023
	\$8,910	2019
	\$700,000	2017-2019
Al-Haq Europe	\$250,000	2023-2025
Al Mezan	\$170,000	2023
	\$450,000	2021-2024
	\$600,000	2019-2022
Al Qaws	\$75,000	2023
	\$150,000	2022-2024
	\$120,000	2020-2022
	\$100,000	2018-2020
Al-Shabaka (via Middle East Policy Network)	\$131,250	2023-2024
	\$360,724	2023-2026
	\$200,000	2021-2023

	\$80,000	2023
	\$400,000	2022-2024
	\$125,000	2020
Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI)	\$100,000	2020-2022
	\$100,000	2018-2019
B'Tselem	\$420,000	2022-2025
	\$420,000	2019-2021
Baladna	\$300,000	2023-2025
Breaking the Silence	\$105,000	2023
	\$150,000	2021-2022
	\$200,000	2019-2021
	\$200,000	2017-2019
Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS)	\$600,000	2023-2026
	\$200,000	2022
	\$300,000	2021
	\$100,000	2020
	\$100,000	2019-2020
Center for Constitutional Rights	\$1,000	2023
	\$5,000,000	2021-2026
	\$350,000	2020
	\$34,000	2019-2021
Democracy for the Arab World Now (DAWN)	\$500,000	2022-2023
EuroMed Rights	\$100,000	2023-2024

	\$300,000	2021
	\$1,500,000	2018-2021
Euro-Mediterranean Foundation of Support to Human Rights Defenders (EMHRF)	\$200,000	2023
	\$200,000	2023
	\$250,000	2022-2024
	\$400,000	2021-2023
	\$50,000	2021
	\$240,000	2020-2022
	\$710,000	2019-2021
European Council on Foreign Affairs (ECFR)	\$17,732,000	2023-2028
	\$250,000	2023
	\$2,132,355	2022-2024
	\$5,000,000	2022-2024
	\$999,774	2021
	\$136,304	2019
European Middle East Project (EUMEP)	\$50,000	2023
	\$100,000	2022-2024
	\$100,000	2020-2022
Forensis (Forensic Architecture)	\$210,000	2023
	\$100,000	2022
Foundation for Middle East Peace (FMEP)	\$300,000	2023-2025
	\$140,000	2022
	\$275,000	2021-2023

	\$140,000	2020
	\$140,000	2019
Gisha	\$90,000	2023
	\$180,000	2020-2022
	\$180,000	2018-2020
Global Legal Action Network (GLAN)	\$175,000	2022-2023
	\$40,000	2022-2023
Grassroots Jerusalem	\$200,000	2022
	\$100,000	2019-2021
Human Rights Defenders Fund (HRDF)	\$50,000	2022
	\$60,000	2021
Human Rights Watch	\$125,000	2023
	\$3,000,000	2022-2024
	\$3,000,000	2021-2022
	\$75,000	2021
	\$75,000	2020
IfNotNow	\$283,888	2023-2025
	\$200,000	2021-2023
	\$200,000	2019-2021
I'Lam	\$100,000	2020
International Commission of Jurists	\$300,000	2023-2025
	\$800,000	2023-2026
	\$100,000	2023

	\$200,000	2022
	\$200,000	2022-2023
	\$593,000	2020
International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH)	\$750,000	2023-2026
	\$175,000	2022
	\$500,000	2022
	\$80,000	2022
	\$500,000	2021-2022
	\$20,000	2021
Ir Amim	\$140,000	2020-2022
	\$140,000	2018-2020
Jewish Voice for Peace	\$300,000	2023-2026
	\$225,000	2022-2023
	\$150,000	2021-2022
Just Vision	\$325,000	2023-2025
	\$200,000	2023-2025
	\$350,000	2022-2024
	\$150,000	2021
	\$100,000	2021
Kayan	\$300,000	2022-2025
	\$275,000	2020-2022
	\$200,000	2018-2020
Mada al-Carmel	\$225,000	2023-2024

	\$200,000	2019-2021
Middle East Children's Alliance (MECA)	\$200,000	2022-2024
	\$400,000	2020-2022
	\$300,000	2017-2019
New Israel Fund	\$300,000	2023-2024
	\$50,000	2023-2024
	\$25,000	2022
	\$360,000	2021
	\$25,000	2021
	\$50,000	2021
	\$500,000	2020
	\$1,000,000	2019
Norwegian Refugee Council	\$565,000	2022-2023
Organisation Mondiale Contre la Torture (OMCT)	\$200,000	2023-2024
	\$300,000	2023-2025
	\$450,000	2022
	\$350,000	2022-2024
	\$910,000	2020-2022
	\$340,000	2021-2022
	\$999,000	2021
	\$95,000	2021
	\$1,470,000	2019-2021

Rights - Israel (PHRI)		
Public Committee Against Torture in Israel (PCATI)	\$50,000	2020
	\$99,924	2018-2020
Rights Forum	\$360,000	2023-2026
	\$70,000	2022-2023
	\$200,000	2021-2022
	\$25,000	2020
Save the Children	\$500,000	2022-2024
	\$208,500	2021
SOMO	\$600,000	2023-2026
	\$474,253	2023-2026
	\$350,000	2022
T'ruah	\$100,000	2023-2024
	\$50,000	2022
	\$50,000	2021
Telos Group	\$350,000	2018-2020
Viva Salud	\$300,000	2022-2023
	\$350,000	2021-2022
War on Want	\$150,000	2023-2024
	\$150,000	2021-2022
	\$74,388	2021
	\$358,469	2020-2021
	\$108,365	2019-2020

Assistance and Counseling (WCLAC)	\$200,000	2021-2022
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom	\$350,000	2023-2026
	\$200,000	2019-2021
US Campaign for Palestinian Rights (under the name of Education for Just Peace in the Middle East)	\$250,000	2022-2024
	\$150,000	2021
	\$300,000	2018-2020

Appendix I

[All Articles about Open Society Foundations \(OSF\).](#)

The Arab regional Office is presenting the portfolio of Palestinian Citizens of Israel for presidential review. This body of work falls under our goal in Palestine aimed at challenging Israeli laws and discriminatory practices against Israel's Palestinian minority through litigation, advocacy, and constructive engagement with the general public in Israel and abroad. This portfolio includes the following grants:

- **ARO's Current grants:**

#	Organization's name	Tool	Latest Grant	History of Support
1	Adalah - The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel	Organizational grant	General Support - \$400,000 (1/1/2014-12/31/2015) <i>Grant purpose:</i> Promote equality and non-discrimination for Israel's Palestinian minority through litigation and advocacy.	14 grants since 2001 totaling \$2,688,561
2	Women against Violence	Organizational grant	General support - \$300,000 (4/1/2015-4/1/2017) <i>Grant purpose:</i> Strengthening the role of women in decision-making positions, and creating social change towards gender equality.	7 grants since 2004 totaling \$1,430,000
3	I'lam, Media Center for Arab Palestinians in Israel	Organizational grant	General support- \$150,000 (1/1/2015-12/31/2016) <i>Grant purpose:</i> Defend rights of media professionals, and training of Arab media professionals in Israel through media research and advocacy	9 grants since 2003 totaling \$1,083,000
4	New Israel Fund	Organizational grant	Project support for the NIF Herman Schwartz Human Rights Law Fellowship - \$60,000 (1/1/2015-12/31/2015) <i>Grant purpose:</i> Strengthen the capacities of young Palestinian legal professionals in legal advocacy by undertaking an LL.M. degree in human rights law in the U.S. along with internships opportunities in Israel.	9 grants since 2002 totaling \$837,500
5	Mada al-Carmel - Arab Center for Applied Social Research	Organizational grant	General support - \$150,000 ((8/1/2013-7/31/2015) <i>Grant purpose:</i> Contribute to better understanding of the impact of Israeli discriminatory laws and practices on Palestinian Citizens of Israel and inform advocacy towards policy change.	6 grants since 2003 totaling \$707,000
6	Kayan-Feminist Organization	Organizational grant	Project support for Legal Assistance, Rights Education and	7 grants since 2006 totaling \$465,000

			well as, education on the legal system and legal advocacy and strategic litigation.	
7	Mossawa Center: the Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel	Organizational grant	Project support-International Advocacy - \$110,000 (1/1/2014-12/31/2015) <i>Grant purpose:</i> Build an international network of support for the Palestinian Arab minority in Israel to challenge human rights violations they face.	6 grants since 2006 totaling \$260,000
8	Molad: The Center for the Renewal of Israeli Democracy	Organizational grant	Project support to Non Viability of the Settlements & General Support -\$100,000 (1/1/2015-12/31/2015) <i>Grant purpose:</i> Garner Israeli public and political support against settlements by researching its economic implications and stimulating public debate, and presenting policy recommendations to end the Israeli occupation.	2 grants since 2013 totaling \$200,000
9	Advocacy	Providing Ad hoc support to grantees' advocacy missions to the US and EU with the support from OSF's DC and Brussels offices.		

• **List of ARO's discontinued grants:**

#	Organization's name	Tool	History of Support
1	The Galilee Society - The Arab National Society for Health Research	Organizational grant	10 grants from 2002 till 2014 totaling \$723,000. General support to promote the health and environmental rights of PCI's through service provision, awareness raising, research and advocacy.
2	Al-Tufula Center	Organizational grant	5 grants from 2005-2009 totaling \$295,000. General support to support work on early childhood care, women's rights and development issues in the PCI community.
3	Ma'an: Forum of Bedouin-Arab Women's Organizations in the Negev	Organizational grant	4 grants from 2007-2013 totaling \$277,900. Project support to promote the rights of Bedouin women in Israel through legal aid and advocacy. In collaboration with the International Women's Program
4	Injaz	Organizational grant	2 grants from 2-14-2015 totaling \$240,000. Project support to develop young municipal leadership in Arab towns, empower young PCI's civic engagement in political processes.
5	Sidreh, Lakiya Negev Weaving	Organizational grant	1 grant in 2012 for \$100,000. Project support to promote women's engagement in public life in Negev.
6	Baladna-Association for Arab Youth	Organizational grant	2 grants from 2009-2011 totaling \$90,000. Project support to
7	Arab Association for Human Rights	Organizational grant	1 grant in 2007 for \$75,000. Project support to encourage youth debate and dialogue among PCI's. In collaboration with OSF's Youth and Debate Program to provide technical assistance.
8	National Committee of Heads of Arab Local Authorities in Israel	Organizational grant	2 grants from 2003-2009 totaling \$75,000. Project support to stimulate internal dialogue within the PCI community and encourage voters to participate in Israeli national elections.
9	PILI Foundation	Organizational grant	3 grants from 2006-2008 totaling \$44,840 Project funding to support public interest law fellowships PCI lawyers from Adalah.

Further Reading

[The Truth about George Soros](#)

James Kirchick, *Tablet*, November 18, 2018

[Connoisseur of Chaos](#)

Stefan Kanfer, City Journal, Winter 2017

[A Soros Plan, A Marginalized Israel](#)

Eli Lake, Bloomberg, August 16, 2016

[George Soros and his Minions Target the Middle East Forum](#)

Middle East Forum, August 16, 2016

[George Soros-Funded West Bank University Has a Disturbing Discrimination Policy](#)

Sharona Schwartz, The Blaze, September 29, 2014

Contents

[Profile](#)

[Activity](#)

[Funding](#)

[OSF Funding to Political NGOs](#)

[Political Advocacy](#)

[Funding to NGOs](#)

[Appendix 1](#)

[Further Reading](#)

Topics in this Funder

[BDS](#)

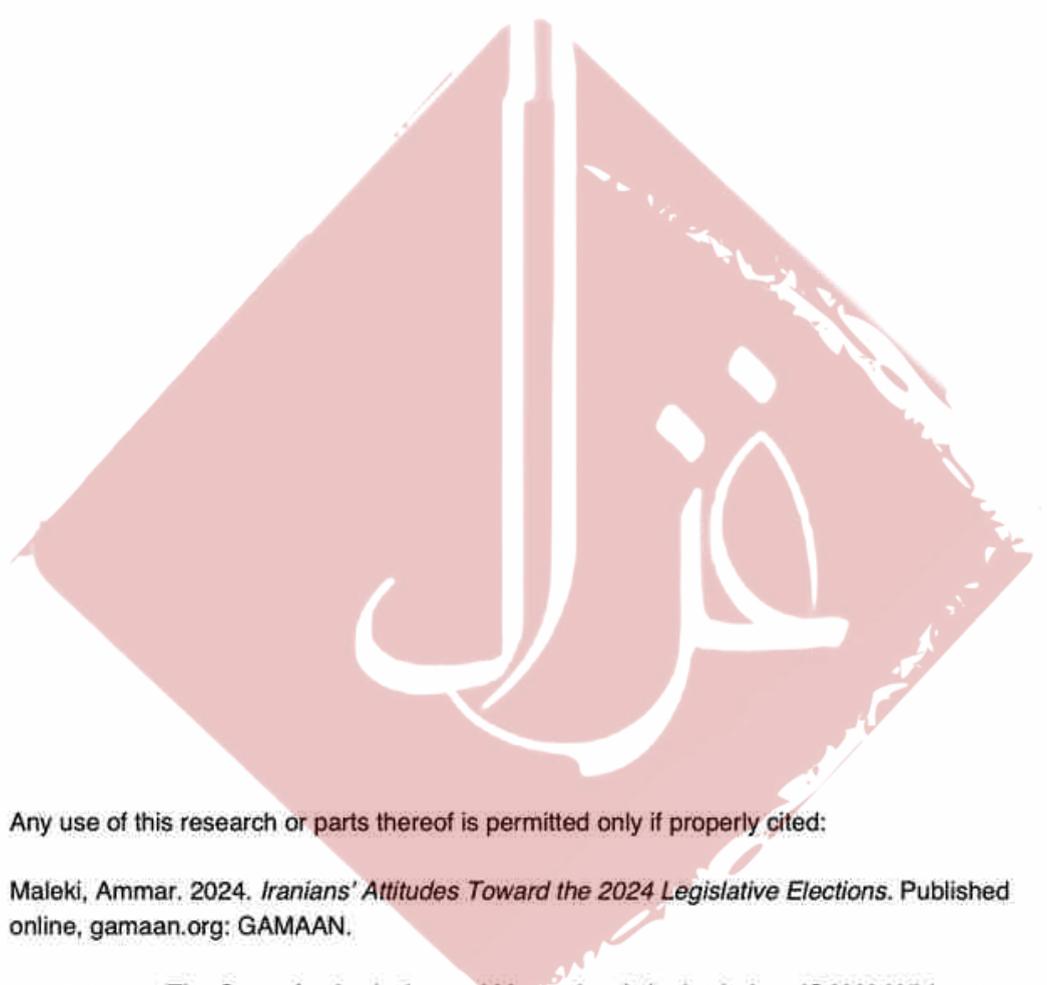
[Lack of Transparency](#)

[Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine \(PFLP\)](#)

[All Topics](#)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

GAMAAN is grateful to the Psiphon team for their voluntary assistance in disseminating this survey. We extend our gratitude also to all colleagues and volunteers who assisted us in one way or another.



Any use of this research or parts thereof is permitted only if properly cited:

Maleki, Ammar. 2024. *Iranians' Attitudes Toward the 2024 Legislative Elections*. Published online, gamaan.org: GAMAAN.

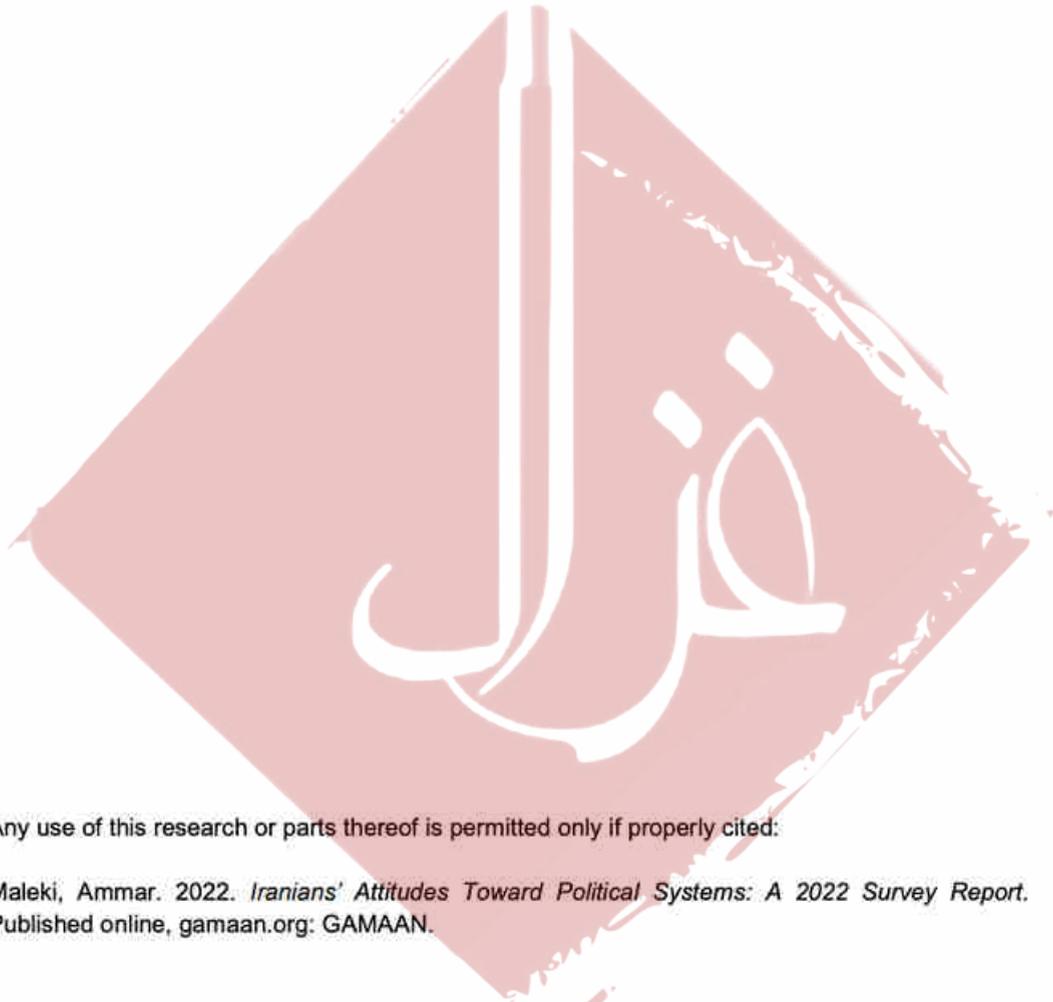


The Group for Analyzing and Measuring Attitudes in Iran (GAMAAN) is an independent, non-profit research foundation registered in the Netherlands. Copyright © 2024 GAMAAN. All rights reserved.

Website: www.gamaan.org
WhatsApp: +31644860224
Telegram: [/gamaanresearch](https://t.me/gamaanresearch)

E-mail: info@gamaan.org
Twitter: [@gamaanresearch](https://twitter.com/gamaanresearch)
Instagram: [/gamaanresearch](https://www.instagram.com/gamaanresearch)

GAMAAN is grateful to the Psiphon team for their kind collaboration, and to Dr. Pooyan Tamimi Arab for his contribution and to all colleagues and volunteers who assisted us in one way or another.



Any use of this research or parts thereof is permitted only if properly cited:

Maleki, Ammar. 2022. *Iranians' Attitudes Toward Political Systems: A 2022 Survey Report*.
Published online, gamaan.org: GAMAAN.



The Group for Analyzing and Measuring Attitudes in Iran (GAMAAN) is an independent, non-profit research foundation registered in the Netherlands. Copyright © 2022 GAMAAN. All rights reserved.

Website: www.gamaan.org
Twitter: [@gamaanresearch](https://twitter.com/gamaanresearch)

E-mail: info@gamaan.org
Telegram: [/gamaanresearch](https://t.me/gamaanresearch)

WhatsApp: +31-6-44860224
Instagram: [/gamaanresearch](https://www.instagram.com/gamaanresearch)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

GAMAAN is grateful to the Psiphon team for their voluntary assistance in disseminating this survey. The author of this report also wishes to thank all colleagues and volunteers who contributed in various ways.

Any use of this research or parts thereof is permitted only if properly cited:

Maleki, Ammar. 2025. *Iranians' Political Preferences in 2024: An Analytical Report on GAMAAN's Survey Findings*. Published online, gamaan.org: GAMAAN.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

GAMAAN is grateful to the Psiphon team for their voluntary assistance in disseminating this survey. We extend our gratitude also to all colleagues and volunteers who assisted us in one way or another.

Any use of this research or parts thereof is permitted only if properly cited:

Maleki, Ammar. 2024. *Iranians' Attitudes Toward the 2024 Snap Presidential Election*.
Published online, gamaan.org: GAMAAN.



The Group for Analyzing and Measuring Attitudes in Iran (GAMAAN) is an independent, non-profit research foundation registered in the Netherlands. Copyright © 2024 GAMAAN. All rights reserved.

Website: www.gamaan.org
WhatsApp: +31644860224
Telegram: [/gamaanresearch](https://t.me/gamaanresearch)

E-mail: info@gamaan.org
Twitter: [@gamaanresearch](https://twitter.com/gamaanresearch)
Instagram: [/gamaanresearch](https://www.instagram.com/gamaanresearch)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

GAMAAN is grateful to the Psiphon team for their voluntary assistance in disseminating this survey. We extend our gratitude also to all colleagues and volunteers who assisted us in one way or another.

Any use of this research or parts thereof is permitted only if properly cited:

Maleki, Ammar. 2024. *Iranians' Turnout in the 2024 Elections*. Published online, gamaan.org: GAMAAN.



The Group for Analyzing and Measuring Attitudes in Iran (GAMAAN) is an independent, non-profit research foundation registered in the Netherlands. Copyright © 2024 GAMAAN. All rights reserved.

Website: www.gamaan.org
WhatsApp: +31644860224
Telegram: [/gamaanresearch](https://t.me/gamaanresearch)

E-mail: info@gamaan.org
Twitter: [@gamaanresearch](https://twitter.com/gamaanresearch)
Instagram: [/gamaanresearch](https://www.instagram.com/gamaanresearch)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

GAMAAN is grateful to the Psiphon and Lantern teams for their voluntary assistance in disseminating this survey. We extend our gratitude also to all colleagues and volunteers who assisted us in one way or another.

Any use of this research or parts thereof is permitted only if properly cited:

Maleki, Ammar. 2023. *Iranians' Attitudes Toward Media 2023*. Published online, gamaan.org: GAMAAN.



The Group for Analyzing and Measuring Attitudes in Iran (GAMAAN) is an independent, non-profit research foundation registered in the Netherlands. Copyright © 2023 GAMAAN. All rights reserved.

Website: www.gamaan.org
WhatsApp: +31644860224
Telegram: [/gamaanresearch](https://t.me/gamaanresearch)

E-mail: info@gamaan.org
Twitter: [@gamaanresearch](https://twitter.com/gamaanresearch)
Instagram: [/gamaanresearch](https://www.instagram.com/gamaanresearch)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

GAMAAN is grateful to the Psiphon team, and to the television channels Iran International and Voice of America Persian, for their voluntary assistance in disseminating this survey. We extend our gratitude also to all colleagues and volunteers who assisted us in one way or another.

This second version of the report was published in September 2023; corrections and updates were applied in the methodology section. Any use of this research or parts thereof is permitted only if properly cited:

Maleki, Ammar, and Tamimi Arab, Pooyan. 2023. *Iranians' Attitudes Toward the 2022 Nationwide Protests*. Published online, gamaan.org: GAMAAN.



The Group for Analyzing and Measuring Attitudes in Iran (GAMAAN) is an independent, non-profit research foundation registered in the Netherlands. Copyright © 2023 GAMAAN. All rights reserved.

Website: www.gamaan.org
WhatsApp: +31644860224
Telegram: [/gamaanresearch](https://t.me/gamaanresearch)

E-mail: info@gamaan.org
Twitter: [@gamaanresearch](https://twitter.com/gamaanresearch)
Instagram: [/gamaanresearch](https://www.instagram.com/gamaanresearch)