Evidence Matrix

The documentary record of European Ombudsman case OI/4/2024/MIK · October 2026

This matrix indexes every document in the case archive at vozesdopovo.org. Each document carries a stable code (VP-###), assigned by date. Documents that surfaced later carry a letter (VP-002a), so that no code ever changes. The same codes appear in square brackets in the footnotes of The Price of a Relationship and The Devil Is in the Details, so that any claim can be checked against its source.

The matrix is descriptive. Analysis belongs to the papers. One column is an exception, and is marked as such: “In the Decision?” records DEMOS’s reading of whether, and how, each document is reflected in the Ombudsman’s Decision of 8 July 2025.

How to read it

- Three views of the same documents: by date (the full matrix), by phase of the case, and by the submission in which each document reached the Ombudsman.
- Archive status: Published · Published (redacted) — personal or family details removed · Published (excerpt) — part of a longer document · Held on file — submitted to the Ombudsman but not posted · Withheld by the institution — never disclosed to DEMOS.
- Telephone numbers are removed throughout. “Published (redacted)” marks the three documents from which personal or family details were removed: VP-002, VP-002b and VP-004a. Nothing of substance was removed.
- “In the Decision?” — Reflected · Partly reflected · Not reflected · Relied on. A dash means the document is procedural.
- “Cited in” refers to footnotes of The Price of a Relationship (final version) and The Devil Is in the Details (final version).

At a glance

38 documents and one withheld item. Of the documents that bear on the substance of the case, 2 are reflected in the Decision, 10 are partly reflected and 13 are not reflected. The Decision relies on one item that DEMOS never saw.

View 1 · All documents, by date

ID	Date	Document	Type	From → To	What it establishes / website caption	In the Decision?	Cited in
VP-001 *Published*	Dec 2018	DEMOS concept note for the follow-up project (Exhibit 8)	Email + concept note	Miguel Carter (DEMOS) → EU Delegation, Bissau	Establishes that DEMOS proposed the research-and-dissemination phase and that the EU Delegation invited Terms of Reference and a budget — the origin of the contract. *Web: DEMOS's December 2018 concept note proposing the Voices of the People follow-up project to the EU Delegation in Bissau.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	Paper n. 36
VP-002 *Published (redacted)*	Jun 2019	Service Contract FED/2019/406-596, with General Conditions (Exhibit 1)	Contract	European Union / EU Delegation ↔ DEMOS	Establishes the contractual basis as a service contract whose Article 14 vests ownership of all results and copyright in the contracting authority, and whose Article 40 governs dispute settlement. *Web: The June 2019 EU service contract under which the study was produced (FED/2019/406-596).*	**Partly reflected** The Decision reads the contract (paras. 2, 23–25) but adopts the Commission's reading of it.	Paper n. 26, 29, 33, 50; Details n. 12, 15
VP-002a *Published*	20 Mar 2020	Contract Addendum 1 to FED/2019/406-596, with the DEMOS proposal that led to it (Exhibit 14)	Contract addendum	EU Delegation, Bissau ↔ DEMOS	First amendment to the Phase II service contract: it raised the contract value by €12,321 (≈ 13.5%) and added a revised Annex V (Budget) to fund a scholars' workshop, later cancelled by the pandemic. It did not alter the Terms of Reference or methodology. *Web: The March 2020 budget addendum to the EU service contract, funding a scholars' workshop later cancelled by the pandemic.*	**Partly reflected** The Decision notes the contract was modified by two addendums (para. 3).	—

ID	Date	Document	Type	From → To	What it establishes / website caption	In the Decision?	Cited in
VP-002b *Published (redacted)*	3 Mar – 11 Nov 2020	Correspondence between the EU Delegation and DEMOS, 2020, with WhatsApp messages (Exhibit 15)	Correspondence compilation	EU Delegation (Guidetti, Maximo Pestana, Schlede) ↔ DEMOS	Establishes how Addendum 2 was negotiated: the Delegation requested a rationale, annexes were revised and exchanged, and funds for a cancelled workshop were reassigned to the English translation and contributors' honoraria because of the pandemic. *Web: The 2020 correspondence that shows how the second addendum — and the English edition — were agreed by both parties.*	**Not reflected** Para. 3 says Addendum 2 was signed "on the complainant's initiative"; this correspondence shows a negotiated amendment.	Paper n. 15; Details n. 7, 10
VP-002c *Published*	18 Aug 2020	Annexes II and III to the Terms of Reference, revised (Exhibit 16)	Contract annex	DEMOS → EU Delegation	Establishes the revised Terms of Reference and methodology submitted with Addendum 2, including the English manuscript for submission to an academic press. *Web: The revised Terms of Reference of August 2020.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	—
VP-003 *Published*	Aug 2020	Contract Addenda — Revised Annex II / Terms of Reference (Exhibit 4)	Contract addendum	European Union ↔ DEMOS	Establishes the agreed commitment that the English manuscript would be submitted to a reputable academic publisher and the studies published — the basis later contradicted by the no-sale condition. *Web: The August 2020 addenda revising the Terms of Reference, including the commitment to academic publication.*	**Reflected** Quoted on the English manuscript and the citation indicator (paras. 3, 23, 30).	Paper n. 8; Details n. 12
VP-004 *Published*	n.d. (c. 2021)	Voices of the People — Project Description (Exhibit 3)	Report / synopsis	DEMOS	Establishes the scope, methodology and scholarly value of the suppressed study: a 1,184-respondent survey, 55 indexes, focus groups, a comparative review, and a 324-page edited volume. *Web: A synopsis of the Voices of the People study — its design, methods and main findings.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	—

ID	Date	Document	Type	From → To	What it establishes / website caption	In the Decision?	Cited in
VP-004a *Published (redacted)*	11 Oct – 26 Nov 2021	DEMOS–EU Delegation correspondence before the suppression (email and WhatsApp)	Correspondence compilation	DEMOS ↔ EU Delegation (Velasco, Pantaleoni, Schlede)	Establishes that the Delegation authorised 400 additional copies at DEMOS's expense; that DEMOS asked whether it could sell them to recover costs, and the Delegation undertook to consult headquarters — an open question, not a settled prohibition; and that on 5 November 2021 the Head of Cooperation wrote: "we fully support your ambition for publication." *Web: DEMOS's correspondence with the EU Delegation in October–November 2021, as the book was prepared for print.*	**Not before the Ombudsman** Not submitted to the inquiry; published to verify the paper.	Paper n. 16, 30
VP-005 *Published*	27 Nov 2021 – 30 Jun 2022	DEMOS–EU Delegation correspondence (Exhibit 6)	Correspondence compilation (email, WhatsApp, call notes)	DEMOS ↔ EU Delegation (Schlede, Velasco, Neto, Cozier)	Establishes the praise for the study, the 29 November 2021 order not to print, the Delegation's silence on reasons, and Schlede's recorded statement (28 Dec 2021) that she did not know the Ambassador's reason and disagreed with it. *Web: DEMOS's correspondence with the EU Delegation, November 2021–June 2022, documenting the halt to publication.*	**Partly reflected** The printing hold appears (para. 3), dated "2022"; the praise for the study and the absence of reasons do not.	Paper n. 4, 5, 9, 11, 15, 25; Details n. 5, 10, 16
VP-006-007 *Published*	15 Dec 2021 – 17 Jan 2022	Proposed Addendum 3 (rejected) and the correspondence on it (Exhibit 9)	Contract addendum (proposed) and email	DEMOS ↔ EU Delegation (T. Cozier)	Establishes the text of the proposed amendment that would have conditioned publication, which DEMOS declined. Establishes the Delegation's transmittal of the draft addendum and DEMOS's formal refusal (17 Jan 2022) to sign any addendum restricting publication. *Web: The Delegation's proposed Addendum 3 and the exchange in which DEMOS declined it.*	**Partly reflected** Mentioned (paras. 3, 11); the Decision infers the Commission did not need to amend the contract (para. 25).	Paper n. 10, 15, 28; Details n. 10, 13

ID	Date	Document	Type	From → To	What it establishes / website caption	In the Decision?	Cited in
VP-008 *Published*	9 Aug 2022	“President Awards Medal to EU Ambassador” (Exhibit 10)	News article (exhibit)	Public source (O Democrata GB / UCCLA)	Establishes that President Embaló decorated EU Ambassador Sónia Neto with a high state honour on 9 August 2022 — context cited for the suppression. *Web: Press report on the August 2022 presidential decoration of the EU Ambassador in Bissau.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	—
VP-009 *Published*	5 Oct 2022 – 21 Apr 2023	DEMOS–European Commission correspondence, Brussels phase (Exhibit 7)	Correspondence compilation (email)	DEMOS ↔ European Commission (DG INTPA – Stausboll; Cabinet – Urpilainen)	Establishes the 5 October 2022 escalation to Brussels, the 25 November 2022 call, the 20 March 2023 imposition of the no-sale condition, and the 21 April 2023 rejection of formal mediation. *Web: DEMOS’s correspondence with the European Commission in Brussels, October 2022–April 2023.*	**Partly reflected** The March 2023 condition appears (para. 4); the October 2022 go-ahead, the copyright exchange and the refused conciliation do not.	Paper n. 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 28; Details n. 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16
VP-010 *Published*	Apr 2024 (living)	Supporters of the Voices of the People Petition (Exhibit 5)	Petition	Signatories → EU authorities	Establishes the support as submitted in April 2024 — then over 300 signatories from more than 30 countries (later 501 from 48). *Web: The petition to EU authorities calling for the restrictions to be lifted.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	Paper n. 60
VP-011 *Published*	Apr 2024	Complaint to the European Ombudsman (Exhibit 2A)	Submission (complaint)	DEMOS → European Ombudsman	Establishes the formal complaint and its seven grounds of maladministration, with the submission clock dated from the 21 April 2023 refusal of mediation. *Web: DEMOS’s April 2024 complaint to the European Ombudsman.*	**Partly reflected** Arguments summarised (paras. 10–14); censorship, academic freedom, human rights and mediation are absent.	Paper n. 31; Details n. 1, 3, 20
VP-012 *Published*	29 Apr 2024	Cover letter to Emily O’Reilly (item 1A)	Letter	Miguel Carter (DEMOS) → European Ombudsman (E. O’Reilly)	Establishes the transmittal of the complaint and ten exhibits, and that the complaint was filed at the suggestion of MEP Heléne Fritzon. *Web: The April 2024 cover letter transmitting the complaint to the European Ombudsman.*	**—**	Details n. 1

ID	Date	Document	Type	From → To	What it establishes / website caption	In the Decision?	Cited in
VP-012a *Held on file*	2 May 2024	DHL proof of delivery to the European Ombudsman, Strasbourg	Delivery record	DHL → DEMOS	Establishes that the complaint and its exhibits were received on 2 May 2024. *Held on file.*	—	—
VP-013 *Published*	5 Jun – 11 Jul 2024	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence, case intake	Correspondence (email)	DEMOS ↔ European Ombudsman (M. Krajewski)	Establishes registration of the complaint (2 May 2024), the admissibility review, DEMOS's submission of the English manuscript, and DEMOS's feedback on Krajewski's case summary — noting that three volume authors are EU citizens. *Web: DEMOS's June–July 2024 correspondence with the Ombudsman's inquiries officer during the intake of the case.*	**Not reflected** The inquiries officer's note that the English text must stay unpublished is not reflected; para. 18 records that "nothing prevents" online publication.	Paper n. 24; Details n. 19
VP-013b *Published (excerpt)*	12 Jun 2024	Voices of the People — English book manuscript, as submitted to the Ombudsman	Manuscript (excerpt)	DEMOS → European Ombudsman (M. Krajewski)	Establishes that the Ombudsman held the full English manuscript, unpublished, from June 2024. *Web: Title pages, contents and Introduction of the English manuscript. The full text is available to researchers and journalists on request.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	—
VP-014 *Published*	11 Jul 2024	Ombudsman (R. Hickey) → M. Carter — opening of the own-initiative inquiry	Letter	European Ombudsman → DEMOS	Establishes that, DEMOS being Paraguay-registered and barred from lodging a complaint, the Ombudsman opened an own-initiative inquiry (OI/4/2024/MIK) and would meet the Commission before 31 August 2024. *Web: The Ombudsman's 11 July 2024 letter to DEMOS opening the own-initiative inquiry.*	**Partly reflected** The opening of the inquiry is recorded (para. 7).	Paper n. 19, 27; Details n. 2
VP-015 *Published*	11 Jul 2024	Ombudsman (R. Hickey) → C. Linder (EC Secretariat-General), with six-question Annex	Letter	European Ombudsman → European Commission	Establishes the questions put to the Commission — why a service contract not a grant, why printing was halted, and why the no-sale requirement — the inquiry's substantive agenda. *Web: The Ombudsman's 11 July 2024 letter to the Commission setting the inquiry's questions.*	**Partly reflected** Questions 4 and 5, on proportionality and open-access costs, were skipped at the meeting and are not addressed.	Paper n. 29, 35, 39; Details n. 11, 14

ID	Date	Document	Type	From → To	What it establishes / website caption	In the Decision?	Cited in
VP-016 *Published*	17 Jul 2024	DEMOS (M. Carter) → Ombudsman (R. Hickey) — reply welcoming the inquiry	Letter	DEMOS → European Ombudsman	Establishes DEMOS's acknowledgement of the opened inquiry and its readiness to engage constructively. *Web: DEMOS's 17 July 2024 reply welcoming the Ombudsman's inquiry.*	—	—
VP-016a *Published*	5 Sep 2024	Report on the meeting of the Ombudsman inquiry team with the European Commission	Report	European Ombudsman (Krajewski, Le Bellec, More O'Ferrall) ↔ European Commission (INTPA.A.6, INTPA.R.4, SG.DSG1.C.2)	Establishes the Commission's recorded positions — that the EU Delegation halted printing because it judged some conclusions "subjective" and liable to "undermine the EU's relations with Guinea-Bissau"; that more than EUR 154,000 was paid for both contracts; and that it considered a copyright transfer unnecessary. *Web: The Ombudsman's report on its 5 September 2024 meeting with the European Commission.*	**Reflected** The Decision's background follows this report closely; 15 of 21 Commission positions are adopted in the Ombudsman's own voice. The reading committee and the word "censorship" are dropped.	Paper n. 9, 15, 24, 29, 32, 36, 52; Details n. 4, 10, 11, 14, 19, 20, 21
VP-017 *Published*	23 Sep 2024	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence, September 2024	Correspondence (email)	DEMOS ↔ European Ombudsman (M. Krajewski)	Establishes that the inquiry team had met the Commission, that the meeting report would be shared for comment, and that the Ombudsman declined to mediate or to meet the complainant. *Web: September 2024 correspondence on the inquiry's next steps.*	—	Details n. 19
VP-018 *Published*	18 Oct – 21 Nov 2024	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence, October–November 2024	Correspondence (email)	DEMOS ↔ European Ombudsman (Krajewski; T. Nilsson)	Establishes the Ombudsman's 18 October 2024 transmittal of the 5 September meeting report and its open-access question, the deadline extension, and the 21 November transmittal of DEMOS's Response. *Web: October–November 2024 correspondence transmitting the meeting report and DEMOS's Response.*	—	Details n. 19

ID	Date	Document	Type	From → To	What it establishes / website caption	In the Decision?	Cited in
VP-018a *Published*	18 Oct 2024	Transmittal of the meeting report (T. Nilsson) and request for comments	Letter	European Ombudsman (T. Nilsson, Head of Case-handling Unit) → DEMOS	Establishes the Ombudsman's transmittal of the meeting report for comment by 19 November 2024 and its open-access question to DEMOS. *Web: The Ombudsman's 18 October 2024 letter transmitting the meeting report.*	—	Paper n. 22; Details n. 4
VP-019 *Published*	1 Nov 2024	African Studies Association → U. von der Leyen (Exhibit 13)	Letter	African Studies Association → European Commission	Establishes a formal expression of concern from the ASA, welcoming the inquiry and urging transparency and safeguards for academic freedom in EU-funded research. *Web: The African Studies Association's November 2024 letter to the Commission President.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	Paper n. 61; Details n. 22
VP-020 *Published*	20 Nov 2024	Cover letter to Ms Tina Nilsson	Letter	DEMOS → European Ombudsman	Establishes the transmittal of DEMOS's Response, its annexes and three new exhibits, answering the open-access question raised on 18 October. *Web: The November 2024 cover letter transmitting DEMOS's Response to the Ombudsman.*	—	—
VP-021 *Published*	20 Nov 2024	DEMOS Response to the European Commission (FINAL)	Submission	DEMOS → European Ombudsman	Establishes DEMOS's rebuttal across thirteen questions — including the Commission's first admission of suppression for political reasons and its "subjective conclusions / undermine EU relations" justification — and that DEMOS bore roughly three-quarters of project costs. *Web: DEMOS's November 2024 response to the Commission's submissions in the inquiry.*	**Partly reflected** Received (para. 9); its analysis of censorship and of project costs is not weighed.	Paper n. 20, 31, 36; Details n. 20, 22
VP-022 *Published*	20 Nov 2024	Annexes to the Response — Annex A (Restrictions timeline) and Annex B (Points of Clarification)	Annex	DEMOS	Establishes the four-period timeline of overt, oblique, limited and by-product restrictions imposed on the study from November 2021 onward. *Web: The annexes to DEMOS's Response, including the timeline of restrictions.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	Paper n. 7; Details n. 20, 22

ID	Date	Document	Type	From → To	What it establishes / website caption	In the Decision?	Cited in
VP-023 *Held on file*	20 Nov 2024	Exhibit 11 — Afrobarometer Budget for the Guinea-Bissau Survey	Budget (spreadsheet)	DEMOS	Establishes the benchmark cost of a comparable national survey, supporting DEMOS's cost analysis. *Web: A budget exhibit benchmarking the cost of the Afrobarometer survey.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	—
VP-024 *Held on file*	20 Nov 2024	Exhibit 12 — Budget for the Follow-Up Study (2019–2022)	Budget (spreadsheet)	DEMOS	Establishes the project's full cost (about EUR 410,000) and that Commission payments financed roughly a quarter, with DEMOS and partners bearing the rest in kind. *Web: A budget exhibit showing the full cost of the study and the share borne by DEMOS.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	—
VP-025 *Published*	16 Dec 2024 – 10 Jan 2025	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence (M. Krajewski), December 2024	Correspondence (email)	DEMOS ↔ European Ombudsman (M. Krajewski)	Establishes DEMOS's request for a timeline and the Ombudsman's 10 January 2025 reply that its work was in progress and that it would not facilitate meetings with the Commission. *Web: December 2024–January 2025 correspondence on the inquiry's timeline.*	**—**	Details n. 19
VP-025a *Published*	13 Jan 2025	European Ombudsman request for reply and inspection to the Commission (T. Nilsson), with transmittal to DEMOS	Letter (request for reply & inspection)	European Ombudsman (T. Nilsson) → European Commission (C. Linder); transmittal to DEMOS	The Ombudsman's January 2025 escalation: it put four further questions to the Commission on the publication and no-sale conditions and asked to inspect all contracts, addendums and related exchanges, with a reply due end February 2025. The transmittal to DEMOS also restated the inquiry's limits — that a copyright transfer might not follow even if maladministration were found. *Web: The Ombudsman's January 2025 request to the Commission for further answers and document inspection, copied to DEMOS.*	**Partly reflected** The four questions and the promise to share the Commission's reply are not mentioned.	Paper n. 21, 22; Details n. 17

ID	Date	Document	Type	From → To	What it establishes / website caption	In the Decision?	Cited in
VP-025b *Published*	24–30 Apr 2025	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence: request for an update and reply	Correspondence (email)	DEMOS ↔ European Ombudsman (M. Krajewski)	Establishes that on 30 April 2025 the inquiry was analysing "additional clarifications and documents recently obtained from the Commission," none of which was shared with DEMOS. *Web: The Ombudsman's office confirms, in April 2025, that it had obtained new material from the Commission.*	—	Paper n. 27; Details n. 18, 19
VP-026 *Published*	13 May 2025	DEMOS additional submission to the Ombudsman — cover email and revised Annex B, "Point of Clarification" (rev. 12 May 2025)	Submission / correspondence	Miguel Carter (DEMOS) → M. Krajewski, European Ombudsman	Corrects the addendum record at the Ombudsman's request: two 2020 amendments — the March 2020 budget addendum (VP-002a) and the August 2020 publication addendum (VP-003) — plus a third, unsigned, that would have removed the publication duty. Resubmits the contract amendments and the 2020 Delegation–DEMOS correspondence and renews the request to lift the restrictions. *Web: DEMOS's May 2025 submission clarifying the contract's two 2020 amendments and resubmitting the supporting record.*	**Not reflected** Not mentioned.	Paper n. 31; Details n. 7, 20, 22
VP-027 *Published*	8 Jul 2025	European Ombudsman Decision, case OI/4/2024/MIK (Teresa Anjinho), with the transmittal email of the same date	Decision	European Ombudsman → DEMOS and the European Commission	The closing decision. It holds that the Commission, as contracting authority holding copyright, could require the study to be distributed free of charge, but finds it regrettable that this condition was made clear only in March 2023. It closes the case — "no further inquiries are justified" — with a single suggestion for improvement and no individual remedy. *Web: The Ombudsman's 8 July 2025 closing decision: it faulted the Commission's late communication of the no-sale condition but ordered no remedy.*	—	Paper n. 9, 15, 23, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 47; Details n. 2, 3

ID	Date	Document	Type	From → To	What it establishes / website caption	In the Decision?	Cited in
VP-028 *Published*	5 Dec 2025	European Commission reply to the suggestion for improvement, C(2025) 8523 final (Jozef Síkela)	Reply	European Commission → European Ombudsman	The Commission's formal reply. It welcomes the closure and reports that it updated PRAG e-learning module 7 and will amend the PRAG 2026 (Annex b8b §13(f); Annex b8d Art. 14.6) so that contractors are told up front that results, including copyright, become Commission property and must be distributed free of charge. *Web: The Commission's December 2025 reply, accepting the Ombudsman's suggestion and amending its contract guidance so the conditions are stated up front.*	—	Paper n. 49, 50; Details n. 11
VP-029 *Published*	24 Apr 2026	Transmittal of C(2025) 8523 final by the Ombudsman's office (M. Krajewski) to DEMOS	Transmittal (email)	M. Krajewski, European Ombudsman → Miguel Carter (DEMOS)	The Ombudsman's office forwarded the Commission's reply to DEMOS for information — the date DEMOS received the Commission's final position. *Web: The Ombudsman's 24 April 2026 note forwarding the Commission's reply to DEMOS.*	—	Paper n. 49
WITHHELD *Withheld by the institution*	2025	The Commission's written reply to the Ombudsman's questions of 13 January 2025, and the "additional clarifications and documents" obtained in 2025	Reply and documents	European Commission → European Ombudsman	Never disclosed to DEMOS, although the 13 January 2025 letter said the reply was likely to be sent to the complainant for comments. *Web: Logged, not archived: the Commission's reply was never shared with DEMOS.*	**Relied on** The Decision closes the case on a "reasonable explanation" (para. 32) that DEMOS never saw.	Paper n. 22, 27; Details n. 17, 18

View 2 · By phase of the case

ID	Date	Document	Archive
I. The Study and the Mandate (2018–2020)			
VP-001	Dec 2018	DEMOS concept note for the follow-up project (Exhibit 8)	Published
VP-002	Jun 2019	Service Contract FED/2019/406-596, with General Conditions (Exhibit 1)	Published (redacted)
VP-002a	20 Mar 2020	Contract Addendum 1 to FED/2019/406-596, with the DEMOS proposal that led to it (Exhibit 14)	Published
VP-002b	3 Mar – 11 Nov 2020	Correspondence between the EU Delegation and DEMOS, 2020, with WhatsApp messages (Exhibit 15)	Published (redacted)
VP-002c	18 Aug 2020	Annexes II and III to the Terms of Reference, revised (Exhibit 16)	Published
VP-003	Aug 2020	Contract Addenda — Revised Annex II / Terms of Reference (Exhibit 4)	Published
VP-004	n.d. (c. 2021)	Voices of the People — Project Description (Exhibit 3)	Published
II. The Suppression (2021–2023)			
VP-004a	11 Oct – 26 Nov 2021	DEMOS–EU Delegation correspondence before the suppression (email and WhatsApp)	Published (redacted)
VP-005	27 Nov 2021 – 30 Jun 2022	DEMOS–EU Delegation correspondence (Exhibit 6)	Published
VP-006-007	15 Dec 2021 – 17 Jan 2022	Proposed Addendum 3 (rejected) and the correspondence on it (Exhibit 9)	Published
VP-008	9 Aug 2022	“President Awards Medal to EU Ambassador” (Exhibit 10)	Published
VP-009	5 Oct 2022 – 21 Apr 2023	DEMOS–European Commission correspondence, Brussels phase (Exhibit 7)	Published
III. The Inquiry (2024–2025)			
VP-010	Apr 2024 (living)	Supporters of the Voices of the People Petition (Exhibit 5)	Published
VP-011	Apr 2024	Complaint to the European Ombudsman (Exhibit 2A)	Published
VP-012	29 Apr 2024	Cover letter to Emily O’Reilly (item 1A)	Published

ID	Date	Document	Archive
VP-012a	2 May 2024	DHL proof of delivery to the European Ombudsman, Strasbourg	Held on file
VP-013	5 Jun – 11 Jul 2024	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence, case intake	Published
VP-013b	12 Jun 2024	Voices of the People — English book manuscript, as submitted to the Ombudsman	Published (excerpt)
VP-014	11 Jul 2024	Ombudsman (R. Hickey) → M. Carter — opening of the own-initiative inquiry	Published
VP-015	11 Jul 2024	Ombudsman (R. Hickey) → C. Linder (EC Secretariat-General), with six-question Annex	Published
VP-016	17 Jul 2024	DEMOS (M. Carter) → Ombudsman (R. Hickey) — reply welcoming the inquiry	Published
VP-016a	5 Sep 2024	Report on the meeting of the Ombudsman inquiry team with the European Commission	Published
VP-017	23 Sep 2024	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence, September 2024	Published
VP-018	18 Oct – 21 Nov 2024	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence, October–November 2024	Published
VP-018a	18 Oct 2024	Transmittal of the meeting report (T. Nilsson) and request for comments	Published
VP-019	1 Nov 2024	African Studies Association → U. von der Leyen (Exhibit 13)	Published
VP-020	20 Nov 2024	Cover letter to Ms Tina Nilsson	Published
VP-021	20 Nov 2024	DEMOS Response to the European Commission (FINAL)	Published
VP-022	20 Nov 2024	Annexes to the Response — Annex A (Restrictions timeline) and Annex B (Points of Clarification)	Published
VP-023	20 Nov 2024	Exhibit 11 — Afrobarometer Budget for the Guinea-Bissau Survey	Held on file
VP-024	20 Nov 2024	Exhibit 12 — Budget for the Follow-Up Study (2019–2022)	Held on file
VP-025	16 Dec 2024 – 10 Jan 2025	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence (M. Krajewski), December 2024	Published
VP-025a	13 Jan 2025	European Ombudsman request for reply and inspection to the Commission (T. Nilsson), with transmittal to DEMOS	Published
VP-025b	24–30 Apr 2025	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence: request for an update and reply	Published

ID	Date	Document	Archive
VP-026	13 May 2025	DEMOS additional submission to the Ombudsman — cover email and revised Annex B, “Point of Clarification” (rev. 12 May 2025)	Published
WITHHELD	2025	The Commission’s written reply to the Ombudsman’s questions of 13 January 2025, and the “additional clarifications and documents” obtained in 2025	Withheld by the institution
IV. The Decision and After (2025–2026)			
VP-027	8 Jul 2025	European Ombudsman Decision, case OI/4/2024/MIK (Teresa Anjinho), with the transmittal email of the same date	Published
VP-028	5 Dec 2025	European Commission reply to the suggestion for improvement, C(2025) 8523 final (Jozef Síkela)	Published
VP-029	24 Apr 2026	Transmittal of C(2025) 8523 final by the Ombudsman’s office (M. Krajewski) to DEMOS	Published

View 3 · By submission

ID	Date	Document	Archive
Complaint of 29 April 2024 (Exhibits 1–10)			
VP-001	Dec 2018	DEMOS concept note for the follow-up project (Exhibit 8)	Published
VP-002	Jun 2019	Service Contract FED/2019/406-596, with General Conditions (Exhibit 1)	Published (redacted)
VP-003	Aug 2020	Contract Addenda — Revised Annex II / Terms of Reference (Exhibit 4)	Published
VP-004	n.d. (c. 2021)	Voices of the People — Project Description (Exhibit 3)	Published
VP-005	27 Nov 2021 – 30 Jun 2022	DEMOS–EU Delegation correspondence (Exhibit 6)	Published
VP-006-007	15 Dec 2021 – 17 Jan 2022	Proposed Addendum 3 (rejected) and the correspondence on it (Exhibit 9)	Published
VP-008	9 Aug 2022	“President Awards Medal to EU Ambassador” (Exhibit 10)	Published
VP-009	5 Oct 2022 – 21 Apr 2023	DEMOS–European Commission correspondence, Brussels phase (Exhibit 7)	Published
VP-010	Apr 2024 (living)	Supporters of the Voices of the People Petition (Exhibit 5)	Published
VP-011	Apr 2024	Complaint to the European Ombudsman (Exhibit 2A)	Published
VP-012	29 Apr 2024	Cover letter to Emily O’Reilly (item 1A)	Published
VP-012a	2 May 2024	DHL proof of delivery to the European Ombudsman, Strasbourg	Held on file
Additions of June 2024			
VP-013	5 Jun – 11 Jul 2024	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence, case intake	Published
VP-013b	12 Jun 2024	Voices of the People — English book manuscript, as submitted to the Ombudsman	Published (excerpt)
Response of 20 November 2024 (Annexes, Exhibits 11–13)			
VP-019	1 Nov 2024	African Studies Association → U. von der Leyen (Exhibit 13)	Published
VP-020	20 Nov 2024	Cover letter to Ms Tina Nilsson	Published

ID	Date	Document	Archive
VP-021	20 Nov 2024	DEMOS Response to the European Commission (FINAL)	Published
VP-022	20 Nov 2024	Annexes to the Response — Annex A (Restrictions timeline) and Annex B (Points of Clarification)	Published
VP-023	20 Nov 2024	Exhibit 11 — Afrobarometer Budget for the Guinea-Bissau Survey	Held on file
VP-024	20 Nov 2024	Exhibit 12 — Budget for the Follow-Up Study (2019–2022)	Held on file
Additional submission of 13 May 2025 (Exhibits 4 rev., 14–16)			
VP-002a	20 Mar 2020	Contract Addendum 1 to FED/2019/406-596, with the DEMOS proposal that led to it (Exhibit 14)	Published
VP-002b	3 Mar – 11 Nov 2020	Correspondence between the EU Delegation and DEMOS, 2020, with WhatsApp messages (Exhibit 15)	Published (redacted)
VP-002c	18 Aug 2020	Annexes II and III to the Terms of Reference, revised (Exhibit 16)	Published
VP-026	13 May 2025	DEMOS additional submission to the Ombudsman — cover email and revised Annex B, “Point of Clarification” (rev. 12 May 2025)	Published
DEMOS correspondence with the Ombudsman			
VP-016	17 Jul 2024	DEMOS (M. Carter) → Ombudsman (R. Hickey) — reply welcoming the inquiry	Published
VP-017	23 Sep 2024	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence, September 2024	Published
VP-018	18 Oct – 21 Nov 2024	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence, October–November 2024	Published
VP-025	16 Dec 2024 – 10 Jan 2025	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence (M. Krajewski), December 2024	Published
VP-025b	24–30 Apr 2025	DEMOS–Ombudsman correspondence: request for an update and reply	Published
Documents issued by the Ombudsman and the Commission			
VP-014	11 Jul 2024	Ombudsman (R. Hickey) → M. Carter — opening of the own-initiative inquiry	Published
VP-015	11 Jul 2024	Ombudsman (R. Hickey) → C. Linder (EC Secretariat-General), with six-question Annex	Published
VP-016a	5 Sep 2024	Report on the meeting of the Ombudsman inquiry team with the European Commission	Published

ID	Date	Document	Archive
VP-018a	18 Oct 2024	Transmittal of the meeting report (T. Nilsson) and request for comments	Published
VP-025a	13 Jan 2025	European Ombudsman request for reply and inspection to the Commission (T. Nilsson), with transmittal to DEMOS	Published
VP-027	8 Jul 2025	European Ombudsman Decision, case OI/4/2024/MIK (Teresa Anjinho), with the transmittal email of the same date	Published
VP-028	5 Dec 2025	European Commission reply to the suggestion for improvement, C(2025) 8523 final (Jozef Síkela)	Published
VP-029	24 Apr 2026	Transmittal of C(2025) 8523 final by the Ombudsman's office (M. Krajewski) to DEMOS	Published
WITHHELD	2025	The Commission's written reply to the Ombudsman's questions of 13 January 2025, and the "additional clarifications and documents" obtained in 2025	Withheld by the institution
Not submitted to the Ombudsman (published to verify the papers)			
VP-004a	11 Oct – 26 Nov 2021	DEMOS–EU Delegation correspondence before the suppression (email and WhatsApp)	Published (redacted)