Personal and family remarks removed by DEMOS to protect privacy. Nothing bearing on the case was removed. The full document was submitted to the European Ombudsman.

Communication between the EU Delegation and DEMOS

March 3 to November 11, 2020

Key dates and points highlighted in yellow

Vozes do Povo- Workshop & Contract Addendum
Inbox
DEMOS

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Mar 3, 2020, 6:16 AM

to GUIDETTI, Simona.SCHLEDE, MAXIMO, Carlos

Dear Chiara,

I understand you and your colleagues must be preoccupied by the political situation in Bissau and the uncertainties derived from this. Still, I wanted to get back to you to propose new dates for the *Vozes do Povo* workshop, as discussed in our call on Thursday, February 27.

Based on consultations with the contributors to our volume, Carlos Cardoso and I believe it would be beneficial to postpone the workshop to the latter part of May 2020, at the end of the academic term. This deferment should not alter in any substantial way the timeline agreed during our recent visit in Bissau regarding the project conclusion. In fact, by our meeting time in May, we expect to have draft chapters in advance form, ready for final review and publication.

Deferring our workshop has two clear advantages. First, it enables us to make sure all authors can be there and have ample time to process the data available for their chapters. In addition, it provides adequate time to complete other project deliverables prior to the meeting.

Secondly, from an administrative point of view, a delay would afford enough time to process the contract addendum, plan logistics and purchase air tickets well in advance.

Given the project needs and the political circumstances in Guinea-Bissau, we think it would be in our best interest to defer the workshop to May 24-26.

Attached please find a copy of the rationale requested for the contract addendum, along with a list of workshop participants, a draft agenda for the meeting, and detailed budget agreed in our last meeting in Bissau.

We sense there is a strong momentum among our colleagues in support of this initiative and look forward to its successful completion by mid-year.

Thank you for your enduring support and kind understanding.

Sincerely, Miguel

Attached document posted below:

Vozes do Povo – Fase II

Contract Addendum

Objective

To enhance the scope and value of the main project publication – the volume entitled, *Sociedade, política e opinião pública na Guiné-Bissau*- by enriching its content and incorporating 15 top-end contributors to the book, including 7 international experts on Guinea-Bissau.

Rationale

The *Vozes do Povo* initiative has created a unique opportunity for collaboration among prominent scholars and experts on Guinea-Bissau. All this with the purpose of generating valuable knowledge on the country´s prospects for democracy and development, and practical insights on how to address the challenges at stake. The wealth of data produced on this country through the public opinion survey, follow-up data mining and focus group interviews provide an exceptional venue for this.

This addendum builds on the project´s original plan to hold a meeting among volume contributors. But it broadens this effort considerably by including a larger number of participants and expanding the activities and output involved. These efforts will strengthen the project´s capacity to generate actionable knowledge, by enhancing the breadth and caliber of the volume published as result of this important collaboration among scholars from various academic and national backgrounds.

An outline of the edited volume and list of the experts involved is provided below.

Activities & Methodology

The project supplement will finance a two-day workshop in Guinea-Bissau in which volume contributors can review and discuss the chapters prepared for publication. This meeting will include a special session to advance sensible ideas, strategies and engagements designed to address the country´s main political and development challenges. This conversation will help inform the volume´s final chapter, geared towards offering practical lessons and insights derived from the findings made through the *Vozes do Povo* initiative.

In addition to the editors and contributors to the volume, the gathering will include a select group of commentators (probably 3 o 4 local experts) who will be invited to take part of the broader exchange. These invitations will be made in consultation with EU Delegation in Bissau.

The workshop will follow the basic structure of the book proposal. A draft copy of the meeting agenda can be found below.

This activity will provide an opportunity to present and gather feedback on the draft chapters prepared for the book. Carrying out this event in an agreeable setting outside Bissau, with about

20 participants, will create a positive ambiance in which to generate a substantial and constructive debate on Guinean politics and society. Sharing meals and two evenings together will help strengthen group dynamics, foster opportunities for networking, and facilitate time for informal dialogue. Such milieus are conducive to creative ideas and can greatly enrich an enterprise devoted to knowledge production.

Budget

A detailed copy of the budget request for this addendum is provided below. The total sum requested is 12,321 Euros. Of this sum, 58% will cover international air travel (at economy rates) for 7 participants, along with a 2-day per diem to pay for their lodging and meals in Bissau. The lodging, meals, meeting venue and transport to the workshop site would involve close to 35% of total outlay.

We have identified two possible venues for this event. The Slave Memorial in Cacheu and the Uaque Hotel near Mansoa. Budget-wise there appears to be no substantial difference between them. A final decision will be made based on an assessment of the pros and cons of each site.

In establishing the addendum budget, we assumed a meeting of 15 people. The possible inclusion of 3 or 4 additional experts, as noted above, will be paid for by contingency funds included in the financial plan.

The addendum budget, it should be noted, does not include any professional honorariums for additional time and effort involved in preparing an expanded version of the project's main publication.

Society, Politics and Public Opinion in Guinea-Bissau

Miguel Carter and Carlos Cardoso, editors

Book Outline and Table of Contents

Voices of the People: An Introduction

Overview of Guinea-Bissau's First Public Opinion Survey

Society

Setting the Historical Context

Economy, Social Structure and Life Conditions

Social Dynamics and Coexistence

Gender Relations

State and Politics

Historical Patterns and Trajectory

State Fragility and Corruption

Regime Instability and Freedoms

Political Parties, Elections and Citizen Participation

Conclusions

State-Society Disjunctions

Development Insights and Lessons

Workshop Participants

Miguel de Barros, Tiniguena (Guinea-Bissau)

Hamadou Boiró, INEP (Guinea-Bissau)

Carlos Cardoso, CESAC (Guinea-Bissau)

Miguel Carter, DEMOS (Paraguay)

Clara Carvalho, ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (Portugal)

Birgit Embaló, INEP (Guinea-Bissau)

Raul Mendes Fernandes, Universidade Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau)

Joshua Forrest, La Roche University (USA)

Toby Green, King's College (UK)

Philip J. Havik, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Portugal)

Nafiou Inoussa, DEMOS (Senegal)

Paulina Mendes, UNDP (Guinea-Bissau)

José Lingna Nafafé, University of Bristol (UK)

Ismael Salidú Sanhá, ISCTE (Portugal / Guinea-Bissau)

Rui Semedo, INEP (Guinea-Bissau)

** We anticipate the participation of 3 or 4 additional experts to take part of workshop discussions.

Workshop Agenda

(Draft)

Arrival at Meeting Venue

18:00 hours

Words of Welcome

19:00 hours

- Miguel Carter
- Carlos Cardoso
- EU Delegation Representative

Dinner – 20:00 hours

Vozes do Povo: Overview of the Project´s Findings

9:00 hours

- Miguel Carter
- Carlos Cardoso
- Selected commentators

Lunch – 12:30 hours

Panel on Societal Relations in Guinea-Bissau

14:00 hours

Setting the Historical Context

- José Lingna Nafafé

Economy, Social Structure and Life Conditions

- Raúl Fernandes and Nafiou Inoussa

Social Dynamics and Coexistence

- Clara Carvalho and Hamadou Boiro

Gender Relations

- Birgit Embaló

Dinner – 20:00 hours

Panel on the State and Politics in Guinea-Bissau

9:00 hours

Historical Patterns and Trajectory

- Toby Green

State Fragility and Corruption

- Carlos Cardos and Ismail Salidú Sanhá

Regime Instability and Freedoms

- Miguel Carter and Miguel de Barros

Political Parties, Elections and Citizen Participation

- Paulina Mendes and Rui Semedo

State-Society Disjunctions

- Philip J. Havik and Joshua Forrest

Lunch – 13:00 hours

Development Insights and Lessons

14:00 hours

- A collective, practical and proactive reflection
- Moderated by Miguel Carter

Closure - 18:00 hours

Vozes do Povo - Phase 2				
Budget for Guinea-Bissau Meeting with Volume Contributors				
Travel to Bissau from	No. of People	No. of Days	Unit Cost in Euros	Total Cost in Euros
* Air Tickets, economy travel				
London	1		930	930,0
Bristol	1		1.090	1.090,0
Lisbon	2		420	840,0
Pittsburgh	1		1.290	1.290,0
Washington, DC	1		1.190	1.190,0
Dakar	1		330	330,0
Lodging & meals in Bissau	7	2	210	1.470,0
* For international scholars, 2 nights				
* 105 Euros / day x 2 days				
Lodging & meals during Workshop	15	2	200	3.000,0
* For international Guinean scholars, 2 nights				
* 100 Euros / day x 2 days				
Meeting Auditorium & Venue		2,5	100	250,0
Local transport	15	3	375	1.125,0
* Renting a van for 3 days to take 15 people				
Sub-Total				11.515,0
Contingecy & Administrative Expenses				806,1
(at 7% of project cost)				
Total Expenses				12.321

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Mar 10, 2020, 5:12 PM

to GUIDETTI, Simona.SCHLEDE, MAXIMO, Carlos

Dear Chiara,

I am writing to follow up on my March 2 email and inquire if there is anything else DEMOS can do to move forward on the contract addendum.

Thank you for your support.

Best wishes, Miguel

G

GUIDETTI Chiara (EEAS-BISSAU) <Chiara.GUIDETTI@eeas.europa.eu> Mar 10, 2020, 5:30 PM

to me, Simona.SCHLEDE@ec.europa.eu, MAXIMO, Carlos

Caro Miguel,

Estamos a tratar da adenda, neste momento esta bloqueada no Sistema não sabemos por qual razão.

Por outro lado com respeito à vosso pedido, que vem depois do tratamento da adenda da vossa parte, como já disser ao telefone estava um pouco surpreendida de tanto adiamento da missão, mas as recente situação mundial sanitária e a situação no pais indicam –nos que de toda maneira teremos que adiar a miss

A data sugerida de toda maneira coincidiria com uma possível Reunião de alto nível dos países Palop TL que podia ser em Bissau mas que nesta altura ainda não seria confirmada.

Também pergunto-me se a data fixada como data final do contrato 30/06 seria viável com este adiamento.

Melhores cumprimentos,

Chiara

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Mar 10, 2020, 6:26 PM

to GUIDETTI, Simona.SCHLEDE@ec.europa.eu, MAXIMO, Carlos

Dear Chiara,

Thank you for your prompt response.

Carlos and I are committed to finishing the book and ending the project as soon as we can, and in a way that can offer a lasting impact.

If we hold the workshop in the last week of May, in days that don´t coincide with the PALOP meeting in Bissau, we will need 6 weeks to get the publication out. The book presentation could take place in mid-July, and, our last activity, the three trainings/workshops would follow right after this. As such, the project would conclude by the third week of July, at the latest. Given this scenario, it would be best to set the termination date for July 30.

We are eager to see this project through and see it shine brightly.

Again, thank you for your kind support.

Best regards, Miguel

G

GUIDETTI Chiara (EEAS-BISSAU) <Chiara.GUIDETTI@eeas.europa.eu> Mar 10, 2020, 6:57 PM

to me, Simona.SCHLEDE@ec.europa.eu, MAXIMO, Carlos

Thanks Miguel, this is ideed 1 minth later than what we had foreseen in the addenda.
I will have to revise accordingly – namely restart the addenda process internally - so please let's avoid any other addenda.

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Mar 10, 2020, 8:53 PM

to GUIDETTI, Simona.SCHLEDE@ec.europa.eu, MAXIMO, Carlos

Thank you, Chiara.

Best wishes, Miguel

G

GUIDETTI Chiara (EEAS-BISSAU) <Chiara.GUIDETTI@eeas.europa.eu> Mar 19, 2020, 2:39 PM

to me

Caro Miguel,

podes confirmar o endereço onde enviar o contrato?
Na realidade vou ver se podemos fazer online devido a esta situaç:ao ….
Obrigada,
Chiara

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Mar 19, 2020, 6:19 PM

to GUIDETTI

Prezada Chiara,

Meu endereço é:

[redacted]

Seria melhor para todos fazer-o online. Se for possível.

Quanto "esta situação," a pandemia do coronavírus é uma locura. Ela vai mexer com muitas coisas. Ainda assim, como gostam dizer na Guiné: "isso vai passar ..."

[redacted]

Como está a tua familia na Itália?

[redacted]

Um abraço, Miguel

G

GUIDETTI Chiara (EEAS-BISSAU) <Chiara.GUIDETTI@eeas.europa.eu> Mar 23, 2020, 6:09 PM

to me

Caro Miguel!

Stay safe ! Sinto muito e esparto que toda a família possa recuperar pronto;

Nos estamos de teletrabalho e espero ter resposta sobre si vamos enviar por email ou por DHL.

Abraço muito grande às crianças e a Kristina !

Signed contract addenda- Vozes do Povo

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Tue, Mar 31, 2020, 6:57 PM

to Simona.SCHLEDE, GUIDETTI, MAXIMO

Dear Simona,

I trust this email finds you well.

Thank you for sending the addenda contract for the Vozes do Povo- Phase II project. Attached please find a copy of the signed contract.

Please let me know if you what would be best in terms a of mailing a hard copy of the contract.

Given air travel limitations in the coming days, I suspect it might be best to send it to Brussels, as I have done in the past, to a P.O. Box that can forward the document to the EU Delegation in Bissau through diplomatic pouch.

If this works better for you, kindly send me the mailing address where I can direct the correspondence.

Despite the extenuating circumstances, our team has been working diligently on the project. We expect to send you some very interesting findings quite soon.

Do take good care.

Kind regards, Miguel

Vozes do Povo- Focus group study
DEMOS

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Tue, Jul 14, 2020, 9:55 PM

to GUIDETTI, Simona.SCHLEDE, DANIEL, MAXIMO

Dear Chiara,

I trust this email finds you well and in good health, amid all the concerns and disruptions produced by Covid-19.

I am writing to submit two significant reports prepared for the Vozes do Povo Phase II project.

Attached to this email you will find the focus group study carried out with ten different communities across Guinea-Bissau. This includes a main report, which highlights core findings, and five large annexes. Research for the focus group study was conducted in partnership with the Centro de Estudos Sociais Amílcar Cabral (CESAC), led by Carlos Cardoso.

A follow up email includes the comparative study of public opinion trends in 18 African countries, including, for the first time ever, Guinea-Bissau. This includes a full report, which illustrates key findings, and three annexes, with information on comparative responses provided to 193 survey questions. The discoveries made owe much to our collaboration with Afrobarometer, which provided access to its extensive polling data base across Africa.

Both reports are unique in the quality and scope of the data generated. Together, they address issues that are of great and timely importance to Guinea-Bissau and its prospects for development and democracy.

We will follow up soon with a detailed update and plan for the conclusion of the Vozes do Povo project. As you will see from the reports provided, we have put in an enormous effort into this initiative. We have done so with a firm belief in the power of knowledge and understanding that endeavors of this kind can make a discernible difference. They can do so, especially by shaping the quality of public conversation, inspiring creative strategies, and informing practical efforts made to address major challenges.

As always, we appreciate your good support and patience.

Kind regards, Miguel

Email includes six attachments related to the focus group study.

G

GUIDETTI Chiara (EEAS-BISSAU) <Chiara.GUIDETTI@eeas.europa.eu> Jul 25, 2020, 6:26 PM

to MAXIMO, me

Dear Miguel,

Thank you very much for the documents-

Unfortunately they arrived during my arrival in italy and my final rush to end my handover and all project's follow up, so I still could not open them!

I will do next week, my last week for the EUD Guinea Bissa!

Inês- who's on holiday and will be back in early august- will take over the project, at least for the moment; she knows very well everything about it.

I was wondering if you could update with an overview of the situation, given the historical momentof the world and the situation in Bissau.

Kind regards,

Chiara

Message clipped] View entire message

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Jul 28, 2020, 10:59 AM

to GUIDETTI, MAXIMO

Dear Chiara,

Glad to hear you arrived well in Italy.

Sorry to know you are closing your duty station in Guinea-Bissau. You have done much for the country, as the country and its people have surely done much for you.

It seems like no one is ever the same after leaving Guinea-Bissau. Something about the place sort of sticks to you.

Thank you for all you have done for the Vozes do Povo project. One day you will see the full fruits of this venture and you will be impressed and proud to know you helped make it happen.

I am delighted to see that Inês is back on board with the project. Bem vinda!

As you can imagine, the Covid ordeal has upset many of our plans, affected work conditions and altered our project timeline.

When you have time to look at the attachments, you will see that the caliber and scope of the study is first rate and unique. We know of no other African country that has produced something like it. All this can and should play a role in shaping development strategies and democracy-building initiatives in Guinea-Bissau.

We have been in conversations with various colleagues involved in the book project to discuss alternative engagements and set up a timeline for this. Our roadmap for completing all project deliverables is this:

August: completion and delivery of the data mining study (this is the most complex and innovative of the reports produced).

September (first week): Zoom meeting with all book collaborators, to go over the three reports prepared, advise contributors on how to use these materials for their chapters, and provide other writing guidelines.

November (second week): collaborators deliver draft copies of their chapters.

November (fourth week): editors provide feedback on each chapter. Zoom meeting with contributors held to present and discuss the chapters.

December: final revision of all chapters.

January: copy edits and graphic design.

January (second week): Zoom meeting with all collaborators to discuss ideas and proposals for development strategies and democracy-building initiatives, derived from the findings generated through this project. Our plan is to engage EU and possibly other partners in this constructive exchange.

January (third week): final book chapter is prepared based on ideas generated through this exchange.

February: book publication, presentation and closing workshops. Final project report is delivered.

There is a keen interest among the contributors to the book to have the chapters translated into English and try to publish the book with a top UK press. The underlying feeling here is that we should try to showcase the original research methodology and findings to a broader international audience and raise Guinea-Bissau´s profile in the English-speaking world.

In any event, I would be delighted to set up a time to speak with Inês about these issues.

On a more personal, you might be interested to know that we will be heading back to Africa with the family in the coming months. Kristina was recently named World Bank Country Manager in Somalia. For security reasons, we will be living in Nairobi, not too far from your next posting in Tanzania. Hope to have you over for a visit when you come to Kenya.

As you will see when you examine the reports sent, we have been pouring our heart and soul into this project, despite Covid, derailed plans and unexpected delays. The final outcome, in the end, will make it all worthwhile.

Cheers, Miguel

M

MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU) <Ines.MAXIMO-PESTANA@eeas.europa.eu> Aug 10, 2020, 1:28 PM

to DANIEL-RAMANANARIVO, SCHLEDE, me

Dear Miguel,

I trust this email finds you and your family well and safe!

As you already know, I'll be taking on this project (again!), so it's with great pleasure to see how much things are advancing, despite all the constraints imposed by the global sanitary crisis.

I understand you have sent two major outputs- the focus group report and the comparative study report- which I will try to read in the next few days.

But for the time being, my major concern is the project's calendar. I see the project's end date is at the end of the current month of August. At the same time, I read from your email bellow there is a new plan to extend activities up until February 2021. We will need to act quickly if this is to be materialised.

As you know, in order to extend the project duration we will need to make a rider to the contract. For that, we need a request from your side, requesting and justifying the project extension; and attaching also all the revised contract annexes which are affected by this calendar extension- in this case, revised Annexes II (ToR) and III (Methodology and Organisation).

I suggest we discuss this ASAP over the telephone or VC. I'm available tomorrow or the next day (11 or 12 August) and, for the time being, I'm pretty flexible to adjust to your preferred timing (please note I'm currently teleworking from Portugal).

I look forward to hearing from you!

Kind regards, Inês

From: Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com>
Sent: 28 July 2020 07:59
To: GUIDETTI Chiara (EEAS-BISSAU)
Cc: MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU)
Subject: Re: Vozes do Povo- Focus group study

MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU) <Ines.MAXIMO-PESTANA@eeas.europa.eu> Aug 13, 2020, 11:54 AM

to me, DANIEL-RAMANANARIVO, SCHLEDE

Dear Miguel,

I just wanted to check if you have received my email bellow, as I haven't had feedback so far.

I look forward to your prompt reaction, so we can see how to move forward with the contract rider for extending the project's duration. We have little more than 2 weeks to finalise the entire process.

I also sent you a message via whatsapp to your USA phone contact.

Thanks for getting back to me asap.

Kind regards, Inês

From: MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU)
Sent: 10 August 2020 10:28
To: Miguel Carter
Cc: DANIEL-RAMANANARIVO Patrick (EEAS-BISSAU); SCHLEDE Simona (EEAS-BISSAU)

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Aug 13, 2020, 3:11 PM

to MAXIMO, DANIEL-RAMANANARIVO, SCHLEDE

Dear Inês,

Very good to hear from you and have you oversee the Vozes do Povo project in this new and creative phase.

Sorry for the delayed response. We have been traveling with the family through Sweden, visiting relatives and friends. Today is the first day we have been a bit more settled.

I would be happy to talk with you on WhatsApp and can do anytime this week. I am also available this afternoon, if you are. Let me know what works best.

We can move on all the contractual adjustments in the coming days, and try to get this done ASAP. Thank you for reaching out on this matter.

I look forward to receiving your feedback on the reports sent out earlier.

Hope all is well in Portugal.

Cheers, Miguel

MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU) <Ines.MAXIMO-PESTANA@eeas.europa.eu> Aug 13, 2020, 4:32 PM

to me, DANIEL-RAMANANARIVO, SCHLEDE

Dear Miguel,

Many thanks for getting back to me.

Could we discuss tomorrow at 10am Sweden time (9am PT)?

Looking forward!
Inês

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Aug 13, 2020, 4:39 PM

to MAXIMO, DANIEL-RAMANANARIVO, SCHLEDE

Dear Inês,

Yes, tomorrow at that time works well for me.

Look forward to catching up.

Cheers, Miguel

*** August 14, 2020: Inês Pestana and Miguel Carter discuss the extension request for the Voices of the People project over a WhatsApp call. Carter explains the expectations and rationale for an English volume publication based on the study. He agrees to draft a revision of the project TOR and methodology and submit this for approval by the EU Delegation in Bissau. Pestana and Carter confer over the reallocation of funds assigned to carry out the two-day Volume Workshop, cancelled due to the COVID pandemic. Instead, the sums should be used to finance preparation of the Voices of the People publication, namely, honorariums for volume contributors and English translation of the book manuscript, for submission to a scholarly press. The conversation makes clear these funds are meant to subsidize activities related to manuscript preparation – not the cost involved in producing the English edition, which, as understood, would be assumed by the academic publisher.*

Request for extension of Vozes do Povo- Phase II project

DEMOS

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Tue, Aug 18, 2020, 2:11 PM

to MAXIMO

Dear Inês,

I am writing to follow up on our good conversation last Friday, August 14.

As discussed, DEMOS would like to request an extension of the Vozes do Povo – Phase II project and a partial reallocation of its funds.

We are pleased to have delivered two substantive project reports, earlier in July. The first based on a focus group study carried out in various locations across Guinea-Bissau, and the second offering a comparative assessment of public opinion across 18 African countries, including the entire ECOWAS region.

We expect to complete and submit the data mining report by early September. Because of its innovative quality and complexity, this study has required far more time and effort than originally anticipated. The result, however, should provide startling revelations on matters dealing with public perceptions and social values in Guinea-Bissau.

Carlos Cardoso and I have discussed these findings and our research methodology with other scholars in Europe and Africa and have come to realize that our project is a path-breaking initiative in Africa and could serve as a model for other countries in the region. As such, we are eager to see it bear full fruition.

As outlined in my July 28 email to Chiara, and in our recent exchange, DEMOS would like to fine-tune two project deliverables and recalibrate their timeline.

Our discussions with scholars involved in the *Vozes do Povo* book project have inspired us to find a way to prepare an English edition of the volume, in addition to the Portuguese text. The goal, here, would be to translate the manuscript into English and submit it to a leading academic press. A publication contract in English, would facilitate an edition in Portuguese, with a good publisher based in Portugal. Together, the English and Portuguese editions of the book would greatly enhance the study's visibility and raise awareness of Guinea-Bissau in relevant international circles.

To achieve this, however, we need to bear in mind that academic publishers in English would be less willing to accept a manuscript that has been published as a book elsewhere. Hence our interest in reframing the deliverables we would be providing at the end of the project. Rather than call it a "book," registered with an International Standard Book Number (ISBN), we would like to call it the "Vozes do Povo report," and present it as such. The actual product would have a book-like format and feel. Moreover, it will be delivered in the 500 copies anticipated in the

original project TOR. But it would not be a formal book publication. This would enhance our chance of getting the English book manuscript accepted by a prestigious academic press. In revising the project outputs, therefore, I have included the English translation of our book manuscript.

To accomplish these outputs, we would like to request a project extension until March 2021. We believe we can have the *Vozes do Povo* report ready and available for public presentation in February, and plan to carry out the workshops and training sessions, set in the project TOR, right after this public event. As discussed with Inês, we will need to consider adequate provisions for both activities considering the Covid-19 pandemic. One possibility would be to launch the *Vozes do Povo* report in an open-air setting, with proper physical distance. We reserved the month of March to complete the manuscript translations and submit the final project report.

Attached please find copies of the project TOR and its methodology, with the proposed revisions.

Finally, we would like to request a reallocation of the project funds made available with the March 28, 2020 addendum to our contract. Given the obstacles to holding a project meeting in Guinea-Bissau, due to the pandemic, we would like to reassign the 12,321 euros budgeted for this activity to help cover two unforeseen expenditures: the English translation of the book manuscript and the additional sums needed to provide an honorarium to our volume contributors. The original TOR anticipated a smaller book project, with only 6 contributors. This number, however, has risen to 16 scholars (noted below). As a result, our project would greatly benefit from having additional funds to offer a reasonable level of support to our book contributors, at a time of great economic uncertainty for many of our scholars.

In practical terms, we would like to reallocate 4,500 euros to the manuscript translation and 7,821 euros to enhance the funds available to provide an honorarium to volume contributors.

We greatly appreciate your kind understanding and support on these matters and look forward to successful completion of the *Vozes do Povo* initiative.

Sincerely, Miguel

Volume Contributors

Miguel de Barros, Tiniguena (Guinea-Bissau)

Hamadou Boiró, INEP (Guinea-Bissau)

Carlos Cardoso, CESAC (Guinea-Bissau)

Miguel Carter, DEMOS (Paraguay)

Clara Carvalho, ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (Portugal)

Birgit Embaló, INEP (Guinea-Bissau)

Udé Fati, Voz di Paz (Guinea-Bissau)

Joshua Forrest, La Roche University (USA)

Toby Green, King's College (UK)

Philip J. Havik, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Portugal)

Nafiou Inoussa, DEMOS (Senegal)

Paulina Mendes, UNDP (Guinea-Bissau)

José Lingna Nafafé, University of Bristol (UK)

Fernando Jorge Lopes Pereira, Journalist (Guinea-Bissau)

Ismael Salidú Sanhá, ISCTE (Portugal / Guinea-Bissau)

Rui Semedo, INEP (Guinea-Bissau)

** Attachments to this email included in Exhibit 15.

MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU) <Ines.MAXIMO-PESTANA@eeas.europa.eu> Aug 18, 2020, 4:03 PM

to me

Dear Miguel,

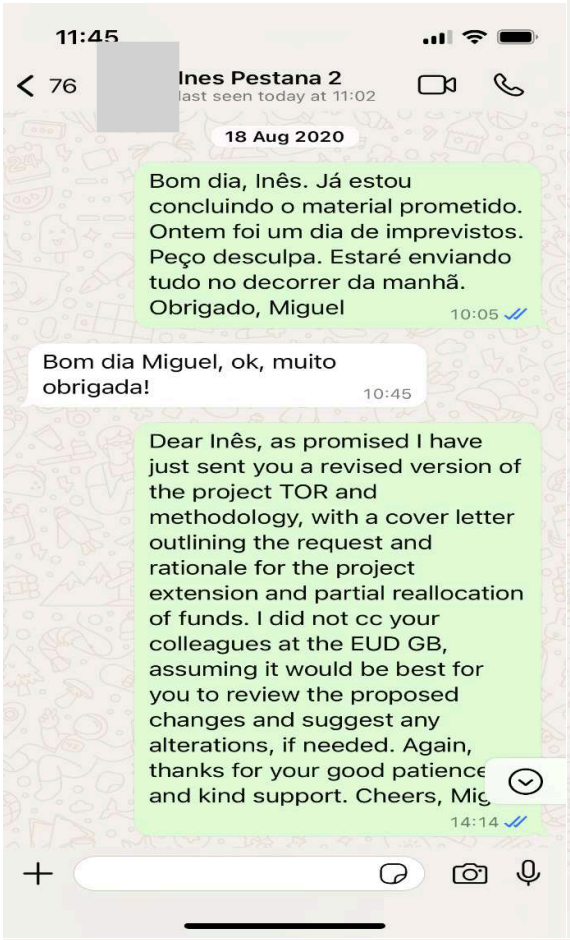
Thank you for your email, and the detailed contract addenda request, as well as the 2 attachments. I will now analyse everything and move forward with the preparation of the contract documents.

I'll get back to you should I have any questions.

Have a nice day!
Inês

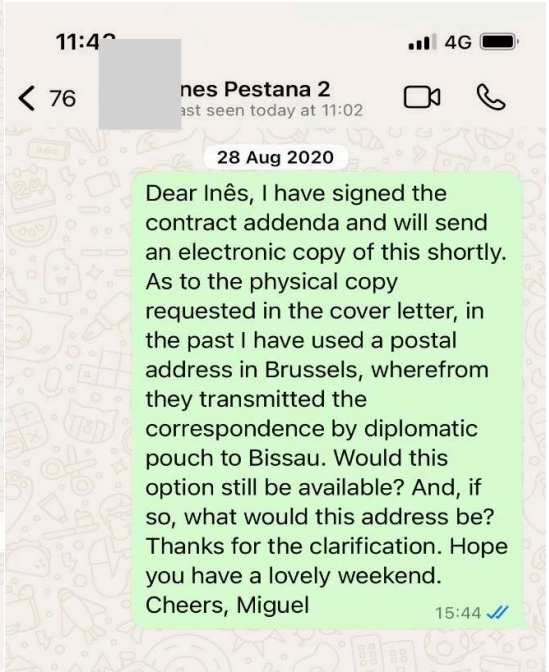
From: Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com>
Sent: 18 August 2020 11:11
To: MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU)
Subject: Request for extension of Vozes do Povo- Phase II project

** Communication between Inês Pestana (EUD) and Miguel Carter (DEMOS), during August 2020, also included the following WhatsApp messages.


11:45
76
Ines Pestana 2
last seen today at 11:02
18 Aug 2020
Bom dia, Inês. Já estou concluindo o material prometido. Ontem foi um dia de imprevistos. Peço desculpa. Estaré enviando tudo no decorrer da manhã. Obrigado, Miguel
10:05
Bom dia Miguel, ok, muito obrigada!
10:45
Dear Inês, as promised I have just sent you a revised version of the project TOR and methodology, with a cover letter outlining the request and rationale for the project extension and partial reallocation of funds. I did not cc your colleagues at the EUD GB, assuming it would be best for you to review the proposed changes and suggest any alterations, if needed. Again, thanks for your good patience and kind support. Cheers, Mig
14:14


11:42
4G
76
Ines Pestana 2
last seen today at 11:02
alterations, if needed. Again, thanks for your good patience and kind support. Cheers, Miguel
14:14
Dear Miguel, many thanks, all well received. I'll move forward now, and get back to you if I have any questions. Have a nice day! Inês
16:04
Great. Same to you!
17:48
27 Aug 2020
Dear Inês, I hope all is well with you. I am writing to follow up on my last email and see if all is in order regarding the contract extension and partial budget reallocation. We have planned a Zoom meeting with our book colleagues on September 11. So, it would be reassuring to know all is going well. Thanks and have a good afternoon. Cheers, Miguel
14:54


11:43
4G
76
Ines Pestana 2
last seen today at 11:02
27 Aug 2020
Dear Inês, I hope all is well with you. I am writing to follow up on my last email and see if all is in order regarding the contract extension and partial budget reallocation. We have planned a Zoom meeting with our book colleagues on September 11. So, it would be reassuring to know all is going well. Thanks and have a good afternoon. Cheers, Miguel
14:54
Dear Miguel, all is going as foreseen. You should be receiving the Adenda any time now for you to sign by 31/08. Best, Inês
15:23
Thank you, Inês. This is excellent news. I see the forms have just arrived. Will review and sign them shortly. Cheers, Miguel
Perfect!
20:38


4G
76
nes Pestana 2
st seen today at 11:02
28 Aug 2020
Dear Inês, I have signed the contract addenda and will send an electronic copy of this shortly. As to the physical copy requested in the cover letter, in the past I have used a postal address in Brussels, wherefrom they transmitted the correspondence by diplomatic pouch to Bissau. Would this option still be available? And, if so, what would this address be? Thanks for the clarification. Hope you have a lovely weekend. Cheers, Miguel
15:44

Vozes do Povo- Focus group and comparative studies
DEMOS

M

MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU) <Ines.MAXIMO-PESTANA@eeas.europa.eu> Wed, Sep 9, 2020, 11:54 AM

to me, Simona.SCHLEDE@ec.europa.eu, DANIEL-RAMANANARIVO

Dear Miguel,

I trust this email finds you well.

I am writing to you in relation to the first 2 outputs of the project which you have shared with us: the focus group and comparative study reports. Let me apologise for our delayed reaction on this.

These are, indeed, very interesting to read! I think we can say many of the findings point out precisely to what we already know and experience about Guinea-Bissau's political and socio-economic life, but now we have the evidences from the "voices" of the Bissau-Guinean people to support these perceptions. Congratulations to you and the team for this groundbreaking work!

On the reports, allow me just to raise the following questions:

Relatório sobre os grupos focais:

- Anexo B, pág. 39: o tema corrupção não foi abordado nos grupos focais em Bissau?

Relatório da pesquisa comparativa:

- Porque se utilizaram dados de várias rondas do Afrobarómeter e não apenas da última ronda realizada em 2017, que é a que está temporalmente mais próxima do inquérito Vozes do Povo de 2018?

- Para contribuir para demonstrar a "comparabilidade" entre o estudo Vozes do Povo e o Afrobarometer seria talvez também importante indicar o tamanho da amostragem utilizada (nº de pessoas entrevistadas).

- Quadros da pág. 22: indica-se que "Comparado com outros países da região, apercebe-se que na Guiné-Bissau há uma tendência de aceitação mais alta no que se refere ao abuso do poder presidencial,(…)". Mas a forma como as perguntas foram feitas- "Na sua opinião, quantas vezes, neste País: O Presidente ignora a constituição?" e "Na sua opinião, quantas vezes, neste País: O Presidente ignora a Assembleia Nacional e faz o que ele quer?" – permite chegar a esta conclusão? As perguntas parecem mais apontar para uma opinião acerca da constatação destas violações, mas não necessariamente que isso seja aceite pela

população. Noutras palavras, as pessoas estão cientes de que existe esse abuso de poder, mas poderá daí inferir-se que o aceitam?

Moving ahead, I understand the next step would be to make these reports publicly available. How do you plan to do this? From our side, we could give publicity through a press release and possibly also post both reports on our website. I'd be grateful if you could prepare and send me a draft text for the press release following our template.

Many thanks in advance and looking forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,
Inês

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Sep 18, 2020, 8:01 PM

to MAXIMO, Simona.SCHLEDE@ec.europa.eu, DANIEL-RAMANANARIVO

Dear Inês,

Thank you for your good email and kind words on the reports submitted for the *Vozes do Povo* – phase II project.

We are pleased to see it is of a "groundbreaking" quality and useful in documenting issues we have intuited and perceived over time.

Here are responses to the specific points raised about the reports.

Focus Group Report

We used a question comparing corruption at micro and macro levels in the first four focus groups, carried out in the Quinará and Bafatá regions. But in evaluating the discussions triggered by these questions, we felt we were not getting the traction we hoped to find. Several respondents did not seem to understand the distinction between the two levels of corruption, and to explain it better would have limited our time to discuss other questions.

More importantly, corruption issues were already so prevalent in the exchange that took place around other questions that it began to feel a bit of an overkill. Having a good focus group meeting is an artful engagement and avoiding the overkill questions or discussions can help facilitate a better flow. Hence, our decision to adapt our questionnaire by the time of the fifth focus group in Bissau.

If we were to gather all the discussions recorded around issues related to corruption, we would find that the bulk of the focus group report would be devoted to this topic. It is a pervasive topic of conversation among citizens in Guinea-Bissau.

Comparative Report

1. We choose to work with responses from more than one Afrobarometer round to maximize our opportunity to make comparisons with other African countries. The *Vozes do Povo* data set had only 144 questions in common with the Afrobarometer 7th round, carried out between 2017-2018. There were additionally 38 other questions in our data set that matched those in Afrobarometer's 6th round and had not been included in the 7th round. We thought it would be best to include a comparison with the questions in this round, even though they were carried out three to four years earlier, since the alternative to this would have been to discard all possibility of comparison. The same thinking prevailed with the questions undertaken only in previous Afrobarometer rounds (which all together amount to about 5% of the questions used in this study). Readers can use their own discernment in considering the time lag and making analytical inferences from this. At this point in our inquiry, though, we felt it was better to have more information available for comparison than less.

2. The *Vozes do Povo* data set is comparable to the size of the population sample used in most of the ECOWAS countries, which was 1,200 people. Nigeria, Ghana, and Mozambique were the only countries that had a larger population sample in the Afrobarometer's 7th round. Information on the size of each country sample is provided in the tables offered in Annex C, under "Cases" in column C. We can add a brief note on this in the opening report to clarify this further.

3. The comment in the top of page 22 of the report about the greater acceptance of abusive uses of presidential powers refers to the graph in page 21, not the graphs below, in page 22. This point can be clarified better to avoid misunderstandings.

***

As to the publications of the report, we would be delighted to see this happen, with whatever improvements might be needed. Our only concern might be the timing of this. In the Annex III to our contract, in Organization and Methodology, we had proposed the publication of these studies towards the end of the project (see point 15 under Strategy). The assumption here was that we would use these reports to prepare the book manuscript and then present them with the *Vozes do Povo* Project Report, due in February 2021. This would give the team working on the book manuscript a chance to examine the information and data sets produced and, if needed, suggest revisions and point of clarifications that could be incorporated to the final version we would publish online.

I would be happy to discuss this further if you wish by WhatsApp and explore options.

Again, thank you for the positive and constructive feedback. I hope these comments have been helpful.

I trust you will have a lovely weekend.

Cheers, Miguel

M

MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU) <Ines.MAXIMO-PESTANA@eeas.europa.eu> Sep 21, 2020, 12:29 PM

to me, Simona.SCHLEDE@ec.europa.eu, DANIEL-RAMANANARIVO

Dear Miguel,

Thank you for your email and all the clarifications provided. It is well understood now.

As for the publication of the reports, I obviously misunderstood the timing, so thanks for clarifying that too. It certainly makes more sense to publish all the outputs together at the end.

So, we look forward to the next steps (data mining report?).

Wishing you a nice week!

Kind regards,
Inês

RE: Regularization of signature of Addendum Nº 2 to contractFED/2019/406-596
Inbox

M

MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU) <Ines.MAXIMO-PESTANA@eeas.europa.eu> Nov 10, 2020, 8:08 PM

to me

Dear Miguel,

I would like to confirm that my email below was well received. Looking forward to hearing from you.

Kind regards,
Inês

From: MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU)
Sent: 03 November 2020 10:59
To: 'Miguel Carter' <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com>
Subject: Regularization of signature of Addendum Nº 2 to contractFED/2019/406-596

Dear Miguel,

I trust this email finds you well.

We need to regularise the signature in paper of the Addendum Nº 2 made to contract FED/2019/406-596. You may recall that, due to the pandemic, we were accepting the digital version of signatures, but now this needs to be regularised with the paper version signature.

According to the contract, we would send the paper version to be signed to the following address:

DEMOS – Centro Para a Democracia Criatividade e Inclusão
To the attention of Mr Miguel Carter
Bairro dos Ministros, Alto Bandim
Bissau, Guinea Bissau
Email: miguelcarter.4@gmail.com

Can we proceed?

Thank you in advance for confirming.

Kind regards,
Inês

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Nov 11, 2020, 6:20 AM

to MAXIMO

Dear Inês,

My apologies for the delayed response.

I have been transitioning out of Washington, DC, in the last few days.

[redacted]

I will send this address to you by tomorrow.

Thank you for the kind consideration.

Sincerely, Miguel

Miguel Carter <miguelcarter.4@gmail.com> Nov 11, 2020, 4:12 PM

to MAXIMO

Dear Inês,

Here is my address in Sweden until November 30:

[redacted]

Thanks, Miguel

MAXIMO PESTANA Ines (EEAS-BISSAU) <Ines.MAXIMO-PESTANA@eeas.europa.eu> Nov 11, 2020, 4:43 PM

to me

Dear Miguel,

Happy to hear from you and that your family is doing well.

I will try to have the documents sent to the indicated address.

Kind regards,
Inês