<u>Executive Summary: Professional relationship between Isabella Gonçalves</u> Miranda and Boaventura de Sousa Santos

Isabella Gonçalves Miranda (IGM), currently a Brazilian Member of Parliament, was one of the signatories of the sixth letter from the 'Collective of Victims of CES, published in March 2024. In it, she accused Boaventura de Sousa Santos (BSS) of moral and sexual harassment, as well as extractivist practices during her time at the Centre for Social Studies (CES) at the University of Coimbra. The document examines the inconsistencies in these accusations, demonstrating contradictions and presenting documentary evidence that refutes the alleged facts.

Beginning of the professional relationship between Isabella Gonçalves Miranda and Boaventura de Sousa Santos

The relationship between Isabella Gonçalves Miranda (IGM) and Boaventura de Sousa Santos (BSS) began in the context of the World Social Forum (WSF). IGM and her partner, FM, met BSS in 2009, resuming contact more directly at the WSF in Porto Alegre in 2012, where they expressed their interest in studying at the CES.

In February of that same year, they moved to Coimbra for an academic stay, where they participated in CES activities and classes at the ALICE project's Summer School seminar. At the end of one of these activities, they requested a formal meeting with BSS through his secretary (**evidence 1**: email coordinating the meeting with BSS's secretary).



From: Isabella Gonçalves Miranda

To: Boaventura de Sousa Santos <

Subject: RE: encontro com Professor

Date: Tue, 6 Mar 2012 17:28:22 -0300

X-OriginalArrivalTime: 06 Mar 2012 20:28:22.0860 (UTC) FILETIME=[AD2930C0:01CCFBD7]

Querida Lassalete,

Estamos em estado de extase!!! Porque viemos para Coimbra com o único proposito de ouvir as poéticas palavras do Professor Boaventura que tanto nos encanta já há anos...

Claro que estamos disponíveis sempre, qualquer dia e qualquer hora!!! Quinta-feira estaremos ai no CES antes mesmo das 12:30.

Muito obrigado por nos enviar a melhor mensagem do ano!!

Abraço,

Isabella Miranda e Fábio A. D. Merladet.

During this meeting, both presented their academic and activist backgrounds, which made a favourable impression on BSS. From that moment on, they began to actively collaborate in the initiatives of the Popular University of Social Movements (UPMS), coordinated by BSS. Their involvement grew progressively, leading them to lead activities, systematise reports, contribute to project platforms and represent CES at international events.

In January 2013, BSS issued a letter of recommendation for IGM to be admitted to the CES doctoral programme. Later, he also supported IGM's application for a CAPES scholarship. This means that IGM has always had the academic support of BSS, both for her admission to CES and for her scholarship application and subsequent renewal throughout her PhD, as shown in the following evidence in images (**evidence 2**: letter of recommendation and CAPES scholarship).



Coimbra, 20 de Janeiro de 2013

Exmos. Senhores,

É com muito gosto que venho dar o meu parecer sobre Isabella Gonçalves Miranda e manifestar o meu interesse pelo seu plano de estudos para o doutoramento.

Conheço a Isabella Miranda desde 2009, quando conversamos pela primeira vez no Fórum Social Mundial. Tive o prazer de acompanhar a sua estadia no Centro de Estudos Sociais da Universidade de Coimbra no período de Fevereiro a Julho de 2012.

Ao longo da sua estadia, a Isabella Gonçalves Miranda assistiu a um conjunto de palestras, colóquios e seminários realizados no Centro de Estudos Sociais da Universidade de Coimbra, bem como às aulas magistrais do meu seminário "Globalizações Alternativas e a Reinvenção da Emancipação Social", dos Programas de Doutoramento "Pós-Colonialismos e Cidadania Global" e "Democracia no Século XXI".

A Isabella Gonçalves Miranda desenvolveu um intenso e muito produtivo trabalho. Tivemos algumas reuniões em que debatemos vários temas teóricos e epistemológicos.

Durante a sua estadia participou ainda, e muito activamente, no meu projecto "ALICE - Espelhos estranhos, lições imprevistas: definindo para a Europa um novo modo de partilhar as experiências do mundo", financiado pelo European Research Council, tendo, junto com Fábio André Diniz Merladet, dinamizado as actividades relativas à Universidade Popular dos Movimentos Sociais.

Pelo acompanhamento que tenho feito do trabalho desenvolvido pela Isabella Gonçalves Miranda, posso comprovar as suas qualidades pessoais e profissionais, grande dedicação e rigor no desempenho das actividades de investigação e uma boa capacidade de iniciativa.

Por todos estes motivos, manifesto o meu especial interesse no plano de estudos de Isabella Gonçalves Miranda intitulado *"Ecologias da Terra: Para uma ecologia de saberes e práticas na luta dos povos pelos direitos à terra, ao território e à moradia"* e recomendo vivamente a concessão da bolsa solicitada para o doutoramento em "Pós-Colonialismos e Cidadania Global" do Centro de Estudos Sociais da Universidade de Coimbra.

A sexta edição do doutoramento em "Pós-Colonialismos e Cidadania Global" terá início em setembro de 2013 e as atividades serão desenvolvidas até junho de 2017.

Com os meus melhores cumprimentos,

Prof. Doutor Boaventura de Sousa Santos

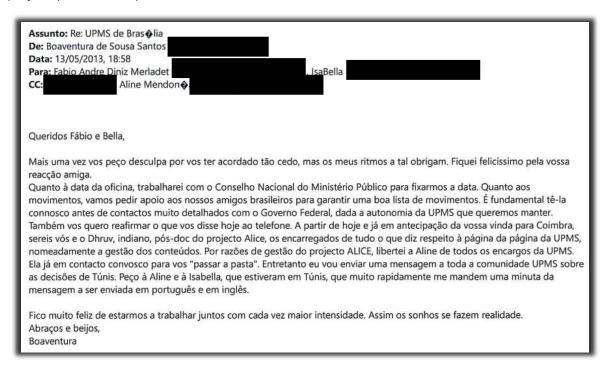
Centro de Estudos Sociais Laboratório Associado Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra Colégio de S. Jerónimo Apartado 3087 3001-401 Coimbra, Portugal T. +351 239 855 570 F. +351 239 855 589 www.ces.uc.pt ces@ces.uc.pt Pessoa Colectiva de Utilidade Pública NIPC: 500 825 840



From then on, BSS acted as her thesis supervisor and facilitated her integration into the academic and political environment of CES.

This beginning was marked by close and friendly collaboration, with frequent correspondence, participation in seminars and an intense professional and intellectual relationship, which was supported by an ideological affinity centred on social activism, justice and equity.

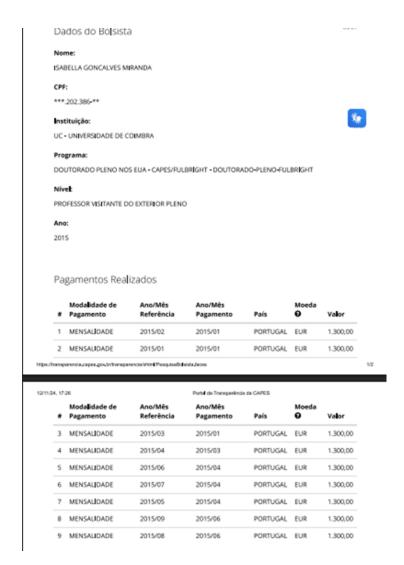
From 2013 onwards, IGM and FM participated fully in the coordination of the UPMS project (*evidence 3*).



3. Accusations

IGM reported in the media and interviews various acts allegedly committed by BSS, including:

- non-consensual physical contact during an alleged meeting at his flat (denied: it took place in an office) and an insinuation of emotional-sexual exchange for academic benefits (the meeting was intended to restructure IGM's academic future and never had any sexual connotations). However, numerous testimonies from former students of BSS. which can be consulted www.supportboaventuradesousa.com, show that BSS has always behaved correctly with his students. If there was any inappropriate or abusive behaviour in the case of IGM, it was committed by her. As proof, here is part of the testimony presented by a researcher from the University of Coimbra to the Independent Commission, who has requested anonymity: "The professor's status as an internationally renowned academic and public intellectual undoubtedly attracted a lot of attention—for better or for worse—from people who wanted to chat or attract attention. Furthermore, the precarious and competitive nature of the academic world undoubtedly contributed to a struggle for favours... It was Dr Isabella who, on several occasions and over a considerable period of several months, used her charm to try to gain influence with Professor Boaventura. Although all those involved were adults, her behaviour, even in public, seemed to exceed the professional behaviour expected of a PhD student. Over the course of several dinners, I remember her writing and reciting poems expressing her love for Professor Boaventura, as well as sitting on his lap. At the time, several colleagues felt embarrassed by this unprofessional behaviour, which we considered inappropriate and opportunistic".
- Being forced to leave for Brazil after the incident and, by dropping out in the second year of the course, losing her PhD and having to repay the full amount of the scholarship. This meant suffering and material and academic losses, including the loss of a CAPES scholarship.
- This is false. According to information obtained from CAPES, IGM received the scholarship from that institution from October 2013 to September 2015 (when she was already residing in Brazil), for a total of 38,680.00 euros, which, adjusted to current values, would be equivalent to 257, 061.74 reais (evidence 4: official CAPES data showing the continuity of the scholarship until September 2015).



IGM stated in the media that she had reported BSS's alleged abuses to the
competent authorities. However, data obtained from CAPES/MEC-BRASIL prove
that this was never the case (evidence 5: data provided by CAPES). No
complaint was filed with CAPES, CES, or the Public Prosecutor's Office. Nor was
any complaint filed with the Labour Conditions Authority.

Resposta	06/12/2024	Prezado Senhor, bom dia! Cumprimentando-o cordialmente, informamos que, após análise do processo referente à ex-bolsista, não foi identificada qualquer ocorrência ou solicitação desfavorável ao Dr. Boaventura de Sousa Santos, no âmbito da Diretoria de Relações Internacionais (DRI). Atenciosamente, Diretoria de Relações Internacionais Caso seja necessário, em até 10 dias é possível entrar com recurso de 1ª instância para análise do Diretor de Relações Internacionais	Acesso
Conclusiva	08:41		Concedido

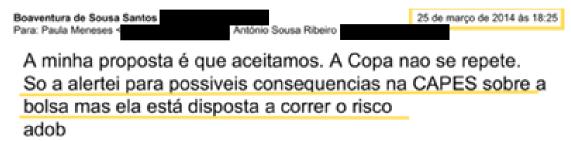
- Suffering academic reprisals for rejecting the professor, which will be proven not to be the case in subsequent evidence.
- Unrefuted link to street graffiti accusing BSS of rape, despite the fact that in her own account she does not claim to have suffered direct sexual abuse.

 These statements contradict her own actions and omissions, such as the total absence of formal complaints to CES, CAPES or judicial authorities, and their coexistence with individuals (e.g. Gabriela Rocha) who never observed any signs of what has been reported.

Analysis of IGM's passage through CES and relations with BSS

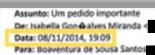
The relationship between IGM and BSS was initially one of intellectual closeness, academic collaboration and political affinity, notably:

- Her admission to CES was directly supported by BSS, which recommended her admission and scholarship, as previously demonstrated in Exhibit 2: BSS letter of recommendation dated January 2013.
- She was actively involved in the ALICE project and in the activities of the Popular University of Social Movements (UPMS).
- BSS showed constant flexibility in allowing IGM to reconcile her political activism with her PhD.
- The reason for her return to Brazil was to reconcile her academic life with her activism, despite the risks this posed to the continuation of her scholarship, of which BSS warned her and which she ignored (evidence 6: warning email from BOA about the consequences of the decision).



In addition, her return to Brazil was also motivated by her new relationship, which would later be consolidated in marriage in a collective celebration called 'CASAMENTAÇO BH.'

The key episode of the 'declaration of love' occurred in October 2014, during a
private conversation without physical contact, after which IGM maintained cordial
relationship with BSS and even sought academic and organisational advice from
him, commenting on her doubts about whether to pursue a doctorate at CES or
a political and academic career in Brazil (evidence 7: email of 8 November 2014
shown below).



Boaventura EUA

Querido Professor Boaventura,

Como conversamos pela última vez em Coimbra eu me encontrava em um impasse muito grande entre fazer o doutoramento no CES e construir minha vida acadêmica e política no Brasil, onde estou envolvida em uma série de processos que me são muito caros e que, mais do que isso, demandam de mim uma escolha de vida.

Como te disse, optei por conciliar a academia com a militância, entretanto, a distância de Coimbra e a própria duração do doutorado me levou a decidir voltar para o Brasil e construir minha vida acadêmica aqui a partir de 2015. Portanto, devo terminar esse semestre em Coimbra e voltar para o Brasil definitivamente na sequência.

Entretanto, tenho pensado nas possibilidades de fazer isso de forma a aproveitar o doutorado em Coimbra e manter as relações que tenho com o programa, com você e, especialmente, com a UPMS. Gostaria de contar mais uma vez com o seu apoio e compreensão nesse processo.

A alternativa que me pareceu melhor é a transferência do doutorado para o programa de Ciência Política da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, com o qual tenho bastante afinidade teórica e familiaridade.

No último mês a angústia dessa decisão me causou alguns transtornos emocionais que me fizeram vir ao Brasil por esses dias. Aqui, estive com o professor Leonardo Avritzer, que conheço desde a graduação, e ele se dispôs a me ajudar nessa transferência. Pensamos juntos em realizar a transferência do Programa Pós-colonialismos para o Democracia no Sec. XXI e combinar com o professor Giovanni Alegreti a realização das disciplinas de 2015 aqui na UFMG. Futuramente eu poderia transferir definitivamente o doutorado para cá com certa facilidade.

O professor ressaltou que isso deve ser feito em comum acordo entre as universidades. Portanto, preciso saber se da parte de Coimbra existe essa possibilidade de transferência entre programas e entre universidades. Temas técnicos que acho que a Rita Paes domina, mas também uma situação que demanda a anuência sua e do corpo de coordenadores do curso.

Ressalto, finalmente, que o período de estudos em Coimbra e a possibilidade de trabalhar com você foram muito proveitosos e prazerosos, o que me deixa profundamente agradecida e com um certo pesar... Entretanto, estou bastante segura da minha decisão, do caminho que estou a trilhar na vida.

Saiba que pode continuar contando comigo nos processos da UPMS e em outras áreas. Sempre será um prazer participar das contribuições que o senhor tem dado ao mundo e aos movimentos sociais.

Aguardo ansiosamente alguma sinalização da sua parte.

Forte abraço,

Isabella G. Miranda

BSS responded promptly to this email with the following message:

Assunto: RE: Um pedido importante De: Boaventura Santos Data: 08/11/2014, 20:55	
Para: Isabella Gon∳alves Miranda <	>, Boaventura de Sousa Santos
doutoramento sobre o modo de o faze	ència tens de fazer. Expoe o problema aos coordenadores do r que cause menos transtorno a ti e a todos. O facto de estares em e tudo se pode fazer sem grande sobressalto e sem que percas
	Por mim está tudo bem. Podes continuar a contar comigo. Alegra-
Desejo-te a melhor sorte	
Um abraço amigo	

- The claim that she suffered emotional damage as a result of this episode is inconsistent, as demonstrated above, nor did it prevent her from continuing her immediate political growth, which included her candidacy and subsequent election to legislative office beginning in 2015. In 2016, when IGM ran for municipal office in Belo Horizonte, although she was not elected, she won a seat as a deputy. She took up a parliamentary commitment as co-councillor in 2017 and formally took office as councillor in 2018, having requested a period of leave and an extension of her doctorate, as her political duties took up much of her time during that period.
- One matter deserves special attention: on 11 February 2019 (almost five years after the meeting mentioned by IGM), in Belo Horizonte, at the Minas Tênis Clube restaurant, IGM met with BSS and his advisor Leonardo Avritzer, from UFMG, a person trusted by both, for a friendly lunch. It was a friendly meeting, witnessed by Leonardo Avritzer, in which IGM commented that the situation between her and BSS had been resolved. They discussed personal relationships between professors and students, and IGM expressed her opinion that there should be mechanisms in place to protect students when personal relationships exist between them and their professors. This was a more general view and not related to her case with BSS. In fact, at no time during that lunch did IGM complain about the negative repercussions of the meeting on 10 October 2014. BSS informed her that CES had already created an Ethics Committee and would move forward with the creation of a Code of Conduct and an Ombudsman. And although every effort would be made to ensure that the next chair of the Scientific Council would again be a woman (which happened), they ended the lunch on friendly terms and said goodbye. Since then, they have had no further contact. The alleged academic deterioration did not occur either: IGM transferred her doctorate to Brazil without any relevant academic prejudice and continued to be associated with CES as co-supervised by José Manuel Mendes at CES and Prof. Leonardo Avritzer at the UFMG (evidence 8: email showing continued association with the CES).

Assunto: Resposta

De: Isabella Gonçalves Miranda <bellagm20

Data: 06/12/2014, 17:58

CC: Boaventura de Sousa Santos

bsantos@

<bsantos2@

Olá Boaventura,

Estarei em Portugal do 9 ou 14 de dezembro. Quando você chega? O que queria discutir?

Desculpe não responder antes, estava muito atarefada na construção da oficina da UPMS em Brasília - que, como te disse - foi muito boa.

Bom professor, desde que nos falamos pela ultima vez por email, estou buscando a melhor solução para uma "transição suave" para instituições no Brasil. Verifiquei que a melhor solução para o meu caso é a realização de uma co-tutela.

A co-tutela exige que eu tenha 2 orientadores e estude pelo menos 9 meses em uma instituição estrangeira. O que pensei é em entrar com o pedido de co-tutela para que a partir do próximo ano eu termine a tese no Brasil.

Para tal, tenho que defender a tese em Coimbra em meados de março de 2015, mas desde já devo entrar com a papelada.

O meu plano, portanto, é terminar as aulas em Coimbra e voltar para o Brasil nas férias para escrever/discutir o projeto e voltar para discuti-lo e defendê-lo em finais de fevereiro, inícios de março.

Nesse momento da minha vida sinto-me melhor escrevendo a tese em casa. Além do mais terei a possibilidade de enriquece-lo com contribuições do Avritzer e de outros acadêmicos do Brasil.

Um abraço,

Isabella

Enviado de myMail para iOS

Isabella Gonçalvez's political career was never hindered, but rather strengthened after her time at CES, suggesting that the story was exploited for political visibility. Among the various Brazilian colleagues and political leaders who visited BSS in the months following the smear campaign triggered by the publication of the chapter, one of them, who is well acquainted with the political strategy of the party to which IGM belongs and who has carefully read all the documentation reproduced here, commented as follows to BSS: "Professor, there is nothing here, but I am going to give you some news: Bella is going to run for mayor of Belo Horizonte next year. The interview she gave was calculated down to the last detail to win over the national audience, as she was virtually unknown outside Belo Horizonte. Look at the number of followers she gained after the interview and the accusations against you. She is white and blue-eyed, so she could only jump on the feminist bandwagon to win votes. I'm sorry to say this, but you have been the victim of political exploitation."

Isabella Gonçalves' accusations are therefore unsubstantiated and contradictory, as proven by official documentation and personal communications. Furthermore, there is no record of a formal complaint, and the only 'evidence' presented by Isabella Gonçalves consists of oral accounts and media reports without documentary support. She has never been a victim of harassment by BSS, and it is concluded that she granted the interview to Agência Pública and signed the sixth letter from the collective for political self-promotion.