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In our 3rd edition of the RED-SPINEL Newsletter, we highlight some of the past and forthcoming activities of the project, include a report on the opening keynote address of Mr. Marc Tachelet, Director of the European Research Executive Agency (REA) at the RED-SPINEL 2024 Annual Conference on 20 February 2024, and we provide a short commentary on the all-important European elections, scheduled to take place during the period 6-9 June 2024. Included are also reports and details of past and upcoming RED-SPINEL events and publications.

The RED-SPINEL project is advancing through the continuous collection of data and publishing, the further consolidation and refining of the “dissensus” concept, and outreach initiatives to policymakers, civil society, and academia. The RED-SPINEL training agenda will be launched in early June, and members of the RED-SPINEL community will fulfill a prominent role in forthcoming international and academic conferences during the period May to July 2024.

The RED-SPINEL project received a very positive assessment from REA following the submission of the Mid-Term Review Report. I am very proud of the efforts and support of the RED-SPINEL community to ensure a successful implementation of the project.

As we enter the last few weeks before the European elections, I am convinced that the RED-SPINEL project is contributing to the understanding and safeguarding of liberal democracy. I hope that European citizens will turn out in their numbers to exercise their constitutional right to vote and thereby make their own contribution to the strengthening of democracy.

Enjoy the reading of the Newsletter!

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Academic coordinator: Joint Doctorate Network Marie Skłodowska-Curie GEM-DIAMOND (2022-2025)
The “Respond to Emerging Dissensus: SuPranational Instruments and Norms of European Liberal Democracy” (RED-SPINEL) Project is funded by the European Union through Horizon Europe and is executed under the authority of the European Research Executive Agency (REA) of the European Commission. The 36-month long, 3.2 million euro, interdisciplinary, international and intersectoral project started in October 2022 and the expected completion is foreseen during the first half of 2026.

RED-SPINEL seeks to shed light on the growing dissensus surrounding liberal democracy and the rule of law within and beyond the European Union. It examines how policy instruments and legal mechanisms at the EU level have evolved in response to dissensus surrounding liberal democracy and its constitutive dimensions.

RED SPINEL aims to produce theoretically innovative understandings of the nature and implication of the present-day dissensus; examine innovative empirical findings on how the EU’s supranational instruments have fared in an environment shaped by increasing dissensus; and to develop recommendations and toolkits that aim to restore the legitimacy and effectiveness of European multi-level liberal democracy.

RED-SPINEL addresses the following key transversal questions:

What is the nature of the current dissensus and how disruptive is it to the EU?

How have EU institutional actors and instruments contributed and responded to this increased dissensus?

What are the implications of this dissensus for policy instruments at EU and Member State levels?

These main questions are explored empirically, and the work of the project is organised as follows in corresponding Work Packages:

- Conceptualising changes to EU policy instruments in the face of mounting dissensus (Work Package 1);
- Instruments relating to the promotion of democracy and the rule of law within the EU (Work Package 2);
- Instruments relating to the promotion of democracy and the rule of law within the EU’s Neighbourhood (Work Package 3);
- Legal mechanisms and technocratic instruments fostering citizen participation, defending fundamental rights, and promoting climate justice (Work Package 4);
- Instruments relating to EU economic governance, notably the European Semester (Work Package 5);
- Capacity building for the promotion of democratic deliberation and problem solving (Work Package 6); and
- Communication and outreach (Work Package 7).
The RED-SPINEL consortium consists of 11 partners (7 academic institutions and 4 non-academic organisations), and the project is coordinated by the Institut d'études europeennes (IEE) of the University Libre de Bruxelles (ULB).

The governance structure of the RED-SPINEL project comprises a Supervisory Board, an International Advisory Board, and the IEE-ULB central project management team.

**Partners**

**Academic Partners**

- Institut d’études européennes - Université libre de Bruxelles
- Università Luiss Guido Carli
- Universiteit van Amsterdam
- Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai
- HEC Paris
- University of Warwick
- Nicolaus Copernicus University

**Non-Academic Partners**

- MILIEU
- Clingendael
- Magyar Helsinki Bizottság
- PATRIR
Mr. Tachelet pointed out that the EU has responded to the challenges that liberal democracy is facing. He highlighted, in particular, the European Democracy Action Plan and the Defence of Democracy Package that marked significant milestones in the defence of democratic processes. He stated that the European Commission has reaffirmed its continued support to research on strengthening democracy, which is the aim of the Horizon Europe funded RED-SPINEL project. Mr. Tachelet expressed his confidence in the research activity carried out by the RED-SPINEL consortium members, and noted that “the project’s findings will reveal critical areas needing attention in our democratic systems, from enhancing voter engagement to ensuring transparency in governance”.

But how to translate research findings into action? That was the central topic of Mr. Tachelet’s presentation during which he provided useful advice to researchers on how to fully exploit the potential of the RED-SPINEL project to influence the policy agenda. He proposed two complementary implementation pathways that can run in parallel.

The first implementation pathway, called “enablers” aims to break barriers for policy impact and deliver results faster.

In concluding this section of his address, Mr. Tachelet said, “Thus, to achieve outcomes in the pathway for impact, the best advice I could give you is to set realistic targets as early as possible and to continue monitoring progress towards them”.

In his address, Mr. Tachelet remarked that we live in an age characterized by rapid transformations and emerging challenges, such as a troubling decline in trust towards political institutions and a shift away from liberal governance models that have been the bedrock of societies. Therefore, he noted that “supporting the resilience of our democratic institutions has never been more critical”, and emphasized the importance of the contribution of projects such as RED-SPINEL to evidence-based policymaking.
The second implementation pathway is the dissemination, exploitation, and communication of research results as for example, the effective clustering and networking strategy aimed at embedding constant knowledge exchange and collaboration with similar projects and initiatives towards other audiences.

Mr. Tachelet summarized the essence of his message to the members of the RED-SPINEL project by saying that "possibilities are multiple and the more your research and your actions engage, the more they will stimulate interest to captivate and ensure the uptake by users".

Acknowledging that researchers are not alone in their endeavour to exercise impact on policy making, Mr. Tachelet pointed out that REA plays an essential role in guaranteeing that funded research projects contribute to the European Commission’s policy priorities and thus taken into account when making policy decisions. Based on long years of experience, Mr. Tachelet ensured the RED-SPINEL partners that Horizon Europe funded projects do have measurable impact. For example, approximately 30% of the projects have produced knowledge cited by European Institutions and related Agencies in their policy documents. In addition, about one thirds of the research projects in the field of social sciences have led to social innovations, some of which could even be commercialized. Data also indicate that about 40% of the funded projects were cited or mentioned in EU publications. "These figures allow us to have confidence in objective research leading to more informed and effective decision making", noted the speaker.

Mr. Tachelet briefly discussed some of the challenges that remain for the Horizon Europe Research and Innovation Programme. First among these challenges is the need to reinforce the impact of research and innovation in policymaking and make sure that the impact is perceived by citizens. He also highlighted the opportunities offered by technological advancements providing new ways of gathering and analysing large datasets, such as the rise of big data and the emergence of collaborative technologies. Bureaucratic inertia and political resistance were identified as another challenge due to the lack of sufficient involvement of political parties and political actors in democracy-related research projects.

Considerations of ethics and freedom of research were also mentioned by Mr. Tachelet, because they pose a significant constraint for projects focusing on democracy topics, particularly in consortia involving non-EU countries. To this end, some project coordinators have reported threats and risks, such as attacks, via social media or physical, against researchers/partners.

Even though challenges remain, researchers need to have trust in their ability to bring about positive changes together with policy makers. Mr. Marc Tachelet concluded his address with the following positive message to the members of the RED-SPINEL project: "With your actions, engagement and motivation, with evidence as our guide and research as our tool, we have the opportunity to reshape policies that resonate with the contemporary ethos of our society and to forge a future where liberal democracy thrives in the diversity of opinions and democratic deliberation."

**BIOGRAPHY - MARC TACHELET**

Marc Tachelet took up his first post at the European Institutions in 1994, joining the European Court of Auditors in Luxembourg, with 5 years of experience in the private audit sector and a degree in Business Economics.

He moved back to his native Belgium in 1998 to join the central finance unit of DG INFSO (now DG CNECT) at the European Commission. He first became a Head of Unit in 2003, responsible for Financial Resources, Internal Control and Strategic Programming at DG Translation.

Marc Tachelet then joined DG RTD in 2008, where he was later seconded to the newly established Research Executive Agency (REA) as Head of Department for Administration, Finance and Support and then as Head of Department ‘Industrial leadership and societal challenges’.

He became Director of REA in April 2017, where he provides strategic direction to a motivated team of managers and staff.
On Tuesday, 30 April 2024, Professor Vivien A. Schmidt, member of the RED-SPINEL International Advisory Board visited the IEE-ULB, and also presented and discussed at a Seminar, co-organised with CEVIPOF, the topic, “Populist Agenda-Setting: Shaping the Narrative, Framing the Debate, Captivating the ‘People’, Upending the Mainstream, Capturing Power”.

The Seminar was moderated by Prof. Ramona Coman, Professor in Political Science at the Université libre de Bruxelles and Principle Investigator of the Horizon Europe RED-SPINEL project. Dr. Tiago Moreira Ramalho, post-doctoral researcher at the Université libre de Bruxelles, participated as discussant. Professor Vivien A. Schmidt argued that populism has recently become the label for a seemingly new kind of anti-system politics pushed by confrontational social movements and challenger political parties led by charismatic leaders with extremist policy agendas. What makes this populism different from previous versions is not only how successful it has been in disrupting the long-standing political practices of compromise and consensus-seeking in Europe’s liberal democracies, but that contemporary populists have managed to influence policy agenda-setting in liberal democracies in unprecedented ways.
Professor Schmidt shared and discussed with the participants her findings on how populist messages shape the policy narrative; how populist messengers frame the debate; how they use the media, as medium, to captivate ‘the people;’ and why, depending on milieu, populists are able to leverage ‘the people’s’ support to upend the mainstream or capture power.

In her conclusion, Professor Schmidt stated that populism is a multi-faceted phenomenon. In analysing populism, it is necessary to examine the political style and content of the messages; the personality and networks of the messenger; the medium - social and traditional media, through which the messenger channel their messages; and the milieu - economic, social and political, in which populists endeavor to set and pursue their agenda.

The topic of the Seminar, “Populist Agenda-Setting: Shaping the Narrative, Framing the Debate, Captivating the ‘People’, Upending the Mainstream, Capturing Power”, is also the title of an article published in the Journal of European Public Policy by Prof. Schmidt.

BIOGRAPHY - PROF. VIVIEN A. SCHMIDT

Vivien A. Schmidt is Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration, Professor Emerita of International Relations and Political Science, and Founding Director of the Center for the Study of Europe at Boston University, where she taught from 1998 to 2023. Professor Schmidt is currently Visiting Fellow in the Schuman Center at the European University Institute in Florence, Honorary Professor at LUISS Guido Carli University in Rome, and Senior Fellow in the Zoe Institute. Professor Schmidt has published extensively on European political economy, institutions, and democracy as well as on the role of ideas and discourse in political analysis (discursive institutionalism).

Her latest book is Europe’s Crisis of Legitimacy: Governing by Rules and Ruling by Numbers in the Eurozone (Oxford, 2020) which received the Best Book Award (2021) from the American Political Science Association’s Ideas, Knowledge, Politics section and Honorable Mention for the Best Book Award (2019-2020) of the European Union Studies Association. Recent honors and awards include decoration as Chevalier in the French Legion of Honor, recipient of the Lifetime Achievement Award of the European Union Studies Association, and a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship for her current project on the ‘rhetoric of discontent,’ a transatlantic investigation of populism.
A month before the 2024 European elections, the 68th edition of the Eurovision Song Contest took place in Malmö, Sweden. Every year, the evolution of and changes to the rules of the Contest, an event originally conceived as an experiment in transnational television broadcasting[1], are on public display. Despite these changes, constant evolution, improvements to the organisation and an adaptation of the voting rules, the popular Contest remains controversial in some quarters, which results in an outcry for more fundamental changes to and new rules for the Contest. Why then this dissensus? Because, as people we are evolving, we are living in an interconnected and interlinked world, we access most needed information at our finger tips, and we want to be, as citizens, involved and have a greater say. The same could be said for the role of citizens in democracy, and the shaping of the political debate on matters that are of importance to people.

In 2019, Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission, promised, “The record-high turnout in the 2019 European elections shows the vibrancy of our democracy. We must respond to that call by giving Europeans a stronger role in decision-making. We will go further than ever before to make this happen”[2]. The 2024 European elections, which take place every 5 year and allow European Union (EU) citizens to elect the 720 Members of the only directly elected transnational Assembly, the European Parliament, will to a certain degree, also provide a verdict on democratic reforms or lack thereof by the EU executive. To this end, only time will tell whether the European elections, which also take place in a transnational setting, will have similar outcomes than that of the Eurovision Song Contest - mixed satisfaction or a cry from citizens for changes to the system that would allow for a greater say by EU citizens in democracy and matters that impact their lives.

The current Assembly (2019-2024) did not manage to pass critical reforms[3] to make the EU more democratic - strengthening of transnational elements, harmonisation of electoral rules, and protection against disinformation and foreign meddling. Ensuring these reforms could have contributed to the strengthening of EU democracy, more democratic legitimacy, a higher pro-European voter turnout, and minimised the appeal of extremists at the 2024 edition of European elections.

Following the elections in 2019, there was much needed general optimism, including for the strengthening of democracy. Voter turnout at the European elections improved for the first time in decades, young people became more engaged[4], and the European Union project was evolving on a positive trajectory. However, geopolitical shifts, multiple crises (energy, climate, migration), challenges from the COVID-19 pandemic to conflicts around the world – including on the EU’s borders with the war in Ukraine – had a major impact on the EU. In the interests of its citizens, the EU reacted with the launch of the NextGenerationEU project to provide support to the recovery from the pandemic, and various other research, investment, educational and healthcare programmes. The Green Deal and combatting climate change became the flagship EU programme, much to the satisfaction of citizens. However, it can be argued that these initiatives, in support of its citizens and as a response to multiple crises, also contributed to a diversion of the stated intention to strengthen democracy and to give citizens a greater voice in decision-making.

What do the 2024 European elections have in stall in a context of increased dissensus over liberal democracy and challenges to democracy worldwide? European citizens have taken note of unfulfilled promises, the Green Deal has exposed some economic and social consequences for citizens, European security and defence have become key priorities, migration, including the strengthening of the EU’s outer border, has gained prominence, and the external security-internal insecurity nexus of EU enlargement has taken on a new dimension which could influence EU unity, expose difference among EU institutions, and weaken the EU’s role on the international scene.
Recent opinion polls indicate a swing to the right and Eurosceptic parties in Europe – a phenomenon which is also observed among younger voters in national elections. The perception is that young voters are now more concerned about their socio-economic position and status, and less concerned about the climate crisis, as was the case in 2019. Some commentators are of the view that right and Eurosceptic parties are seen as more sympathetic to the concerns and interests of young voters than the traditional parties, hence the change in support away from traditional political parties.

To further boost voter turnout, and to promote early participation in politics, the voting age was lowered in Austria, Belgium, Germany, Greece, and Malta[5]. It is expected that this will have a positive influence on voter turnout in the European elections. However should the perceived swing by young voters to the right and Eurosceptic parties be confirmed by eventual election results, then young voters will indirectly have a greater say in the composition of the European Parliament, which in turn will have an influence on the promotion of pro-European initiatives and policies by the European Parliament, and the appointment of the EU institutional leadership.

The participation and involvement of citizens are crucial for democracy. Democracy is an ideal that is people-driven. By voting, citizens participate in decisions affecting their lives. Involved citizens can strengthen democracy and thereby safeguard the Rule of Law. Will the 2024 European elections be a game-changer, or more from the same songbook? Greater voter turnout, strong and stable centrist groupings, and less fragmentation among political representation in the European Parliament could contribute to a more accountable and attuned EU executive, and greater EU institutional democratic legitimacy - all elements that will make the 2024 elections a game-changer.

The citizen – voter - should be at the heart of EU decision-making. If enabling conditions are not created and enhanced, including the introduction of structured civic education programmes and greater citizens ownership of the EU project, the new EU executive will risk an even further alienation from its citizens. A low voter turnout and/or a swing to right and Eurocentric parties, could contribute to increased disensus over liberal democracy, which would have an impact on the role of citizens in EU decision-making. This would be a repetition of the past and copying the same songbook, which would make the European electoral process less innovative, progressive and evolutionary than the other transnational project, the Eurovision Song Contest!

On 29 March 2024, HEC Paris organised a seminar on “Conditionality and the Rule of Law in the European Union” as a part of the European project RED-SPINEL (“Respond to Emerging Dissensus: SuPrantional Instruments and Norms of European democracy”). The participants discussed challenges raised by spending conditionality to ensure the respect for the rule of law. The discussions mainly focused on conditionality in the framework of the Conditionality Regulation (Regulation 2020/2092), the cohesion funds, the European Semester, and the Recovery and Resilience Facility.

As an opening lecture, Saskia Hollander (Clingendael Institute) presented a state of the art on “Economic governance and the Rule of Law in the European Union”. Following the Covid-19 crisis, and the adoption of the current multi-financial framework, the European Union has added new instruments to its rule of law toolbox. These instruments make it possible to link the granting of European funds to compliance with conditions relating to the rule of law – which is known as spending conditionality. As they are recent, it is difficult to assess their effectiveness. But the presentation showed that spending conditionality has led to dissensus between the EU institutions and between the EU institutions and Member States. The dissensus mainly drives from the legal and technical nature of these instruments – the application of which is largely in the hands of the Commission. On the one hand, there is a lack of clarity as to which instruments and measures apply under which conditions. On the other hand, the context in which decisions regarding spending conditionality are made is highly political, and such decisions have far-reaching consequences for targeted Member States. The presentation concluded with three avenues for research on the output legitimacy of spending conditionality, on the democratic legitimacy of spending conditionality, and on its impact of intra-EU relations.

The opening lecture was followed by three roundtable discussions. The first roundtable welcomed a presentation of Cecilia Rizcallah (Université catholique de Louvain and FNRS) and was chaired by Louise Fromont (HEC Paris). It was the occasion to analyze how fundamental rights, including social rights, are taken into consideration in the cohesion funds, the Recovery and Resilience Facility, and in the Conditionality Regulation. The discussion focused on the current Common Provisions Regulation as it includes a horizontal principle and an enabling condition related to the protection of fundamental rights and allows for ex ante and ex post conditionality.

In the second roundtable, chaired by Pauline Thinus (Université libre de Bruxelles), Roïla Mavrouli (CNRS/EUI) explained the phenomenon of “economisation” of the rule of law in the European Union – i.e. the process by which the rule of law is protected by economic and budgetary instruments. The presentation analysed the extent to which economic objectives shape the inception of rule of law protection through the establishing of the influence of economics in rule of law compliance and through the specific rule of law dimensions protected by these instruments.

In the third roundtable, chaired by Louise Fromont (HEC Paris), it was welcomed a presentation of Nathalie Maudet (Université de Genève) on “Institutional and procedural conditionality in the European Union”. The discussion focused on the legal framework of conditionality and its implementation as a part of the rule of law. The presentation highlighted the importance of procedural aspects in conditionality, such as the involvement of the European Court of Justice in the review of conditionality decisions. The discussion concluded with an analysis of the impact of conditionality on the autonomy of Member States and the role of the European Union in this context.
The third roundtable was led by Amandine Crespy (Université libre de Bruxelles) and Dimitrios Argyroulís (Université libre de Bruxelles) and was on politicisation and democratisation of the European economic governance. During the discussions, Amandine Crespy explained how the Covid-19 pandemic has led to an important reconfiguration of European economic governance. This reconfiguration necessitates to rethink the dilemma between responsibility and responsiveness – highlighted by Peter Mair. It seems that deeper economic integration followed the emergence of a form of “responsive responsibility”, which has led to the incorporation of responsiveness imperatives in prevailing notions of “responsible government”. Dimitrios Argyroulís presented the preliminary conclusions of an ongoing research on the European Semester, as a potential tool for the management of disensus. To answer this question, this research uses case studies to determine, on the one hand, if macroeconomic conditionality in the Recovery and Resilience Facility brings continuity or change comparing to the pre-pandemic conditionality and, on the other hand, if conditionality triggers disensus at the national level.

The concluding remarks of the seminar were given by Arnaud Van Waeyenberge (HEC Paris) and Louise Fromont (HEC Paris). They identified the main findings of the presentations and discussions, and paved the way for future research activities.
- RED-SPINEL lecture with Prof. Birgit Peters on "The need to revolutionize EU Biodiversity protection: the role of spatial biodiversity planning" - ACELG - University of Amsterdam (UvA) (26 February). Event page here: The need to revolutionize EU Biodiversity protection: the role of spatial biodiversity planning - ACELG - University of Amsterdam (uva.nl)

- Forthcoming: Podcast with Dan Kelemen and Ramona Coman on "Mounting dissensus and the prospects of liberal democracy in the 21st century".

- RED-SPINEL participation in panels:
  - 19-21 June: ECPR SGEU Conference in Lisbon
  - 4-6 July: EPSA Conference in Cologne
  - 3-5 July: Council for European Studies Conference in Lyon
  - 8-10 July: ICON-S 10th Annual Conference in Madrid
  - 12-15 August: ECPR General Conference in Dublin
  - 1-4 September: UACES Conference in Trento
  - 24-27 September: DVPW Conference in Göttingen

- RED-SPINEL training - Formation sur le contentieux stratégique en cas de violation de la Charte des droits fondamentaux de l'Union européenne - at the IEE-ULB (7-8 June). Event page here: https://redspinel.iee-ulb.eu/formation-sur-le-contentieux-strategique-en-cas-de-violation-de-la-charte-des-droits-fondamentaux-de-lunion-europeenne-iee-ulb-7-et-8-juin-2024/

- RED-SPINEL Consolidation Citizens/Agora Forum on "Citizen Participation Practices in 21th Century Liberal Democracies organised by the UvA at the IEE-ULB (25 June)

- RED-SPINEL lecture with Christina Eckes (UvA) (27 May). Event page here: Judges between Democracy and Science: Exposing the False Dilemma of Climate Litigation - ACELG - University of Amsterdam (uva.nl)

**Publications**

- Policy Brief: "Strength and Weaknesses of EU Conditionality Regimes: The Case of Hungary" (HHC)

- Report: "Use and Potential Use of the Threat Since the Launch of the EU-level Rule of Law Alert System" (Milieu)

- Report: "Rule of Law Instruments - Country Report" (Milieu)

- Report: "EU Member State-level report on non-discrimination instruments" (Milieu)


Forthcoming:

- Report: 'Economic Governance and the Rule of Law in the European Union (Clingendael)
**RED-SPINEL Working Papers Series**

Ongoing series of Open Access publications covering initial findings of research accessible via the project’s website.

**RED-SPINEL Policy Briefs**

Forthcoming on project’s website

**RED-SPINEL Reports**

Forthcoming on project’s website

**RED-SPINEL Podcast**

As part of RED-SPINEL’s communication efforts, a podcast series was launched on the challenges liberal democracy is facing in the European Union. So far 4 episodes were published with more scheduled in the first half of 2024.

- Is liberal democracy in danger? A new EU research project looks for answers!
- Making sense of EU economic governance in a context of dissensus
- Making Sense of Dissensus Over Liberal Democracy: Conceptualization in Research
- Making sense of conditionality and its use in EU governance

Although only in its infancy, the Podcast series was already recognized as it was awarded the 2023 ULB Scientific Dissemination Prize

**RED-SPINEL Blog**

The Blog provides updates on the implementation of the project, activities of the partners, and any relevant news related to RED-SPINEL.

**RED-SPINEL on Social Media**

RED-SPINEL is active on social media via its own X (Twitter) account. The project’s handle is @redspinel_EU

The project also disseminates via the IEE-ULB webpage, Facebook, Instagram, and Linkedin accounts.

All Resources can be readily found on the RED-SPINEL website

[https://redspinel.iee-ulb.eu/](https://redspinel.iee-ulb.eu/)
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