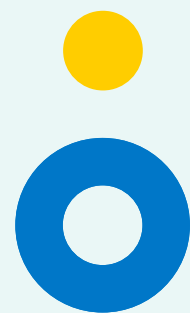
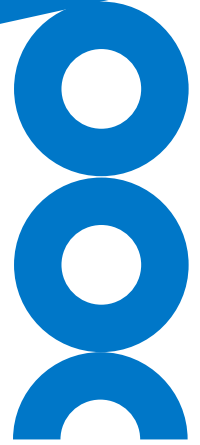


# Trans-border Solidarity: Romani Movement towards a Stronger Europe





## Dr. Jekatyerina Dunajeva

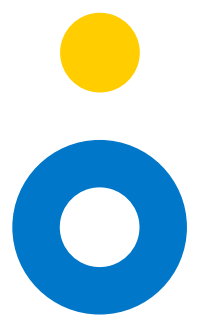
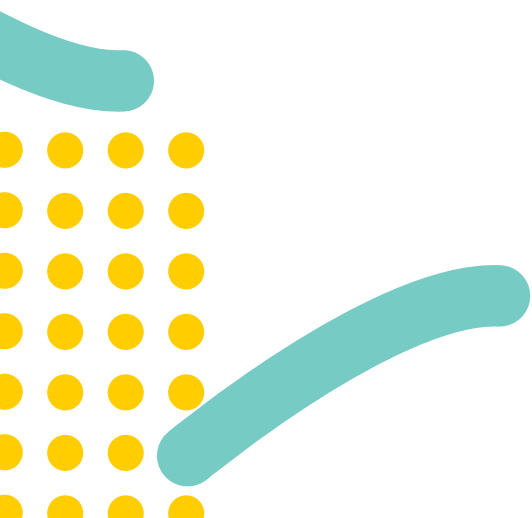
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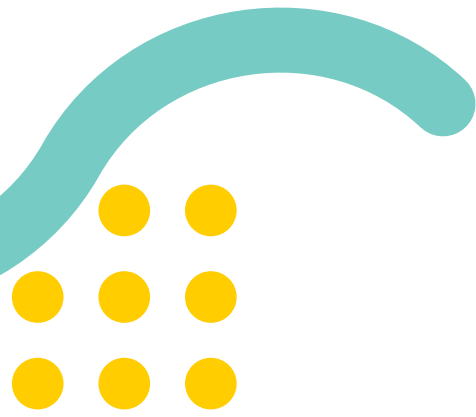
Dr. Jekatyerina Dunajeva (Katya) received her PhD at the University of Oregon in 2014. In her dissertation, she examined how educational policies affect Roma identity formation over time in Hungary and Russia. Currently, she is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Pázmány Péter Catholic University's Department of Political Science. In addition, Katya is also a Researcher and Program Manager at Central European University's Center for Teaching and Learning (Erasmus+ project), one of the editors of the Critical Romani Studies Journal, and contributes to the work of PPMI, a policy analysis and research center, as a senior researcher. Throughout her career, Katya acted as a consultant, advisor, researcher and political analyst for international and local NGOs, think tanks and other institutions.



Katya's research has been published in several book chapters and peer-reviewed journals, exploring topics such as Roma identity, discrimination, youth politics, nationalism, state- and nation-building, education, fieldwork as research methodology, and contemporary Russian and Hungarian politics.

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If there can be anything more contagious than a virus, it is our solidarity. Europeans need to stand up for each other now.

—  
HELENA DALLI, EUROPEAN  
COMMISSIONER FOR  
EQUALITY<sup>(1)</sup>

## ABSTRACT

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This study examines the role of the trans-border Roma movement and associated institutions in creating a narrative of Roma solidarity in the context of the European project. My goal is twofold: first, to illustrate how a particular case of trans-border solidarity in the context of diversity is formed and maintained; and second, how the narrative of Roma solidarity promotes Europeanness. I analyse the past and current narratives of Roma nation, identity and solidarity with the assumption that these concepts are constructed, through discursive and other means. Trans-border solidarity is key in fighting against discrimination, promoting inclusion, and building positive identity. The case of Roma has clearly brought forward transnational political and ethnic solidarities, as well as claims of transnational forms of democracy. Furthermore, collective solidarity in the case of Roma is explicitly aimed at inclusion in the European space. Roma are thus an instructive case study to understand how trans-border solidarity is formed, maintained and affects the pan-European project.

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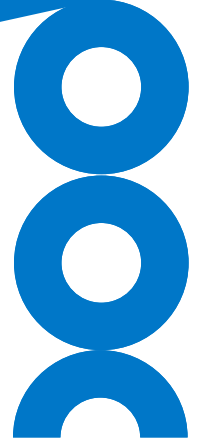
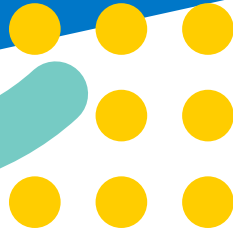
## 1. Introduction

From its inception, the political project of the European Union (EU) was coupled with the forging of a European identity based on shared ideas and values - a common identity that has evolved from historically implying a joint position on foreign policy, to an identity that entails respect for national plurality, common values and a shared past (Tarkus 2003). Recently, many have criticised the European Union for various deficits - identity deficit, democratic deficit or even solidarity deficit. These concepts are interconnected: a strong European identity is a vital source for European solidarity, and only a strong sense of European-ness<sup>[2]</sup> - as a manifestation of collective identity - can sustain shared values of justice, democratic principles and trans-border solidarity. Overall, there is a broad consensus that strengthening the “feeling of EU belonging” and solidarity has become critical for maintaining the Union.

Importantly, reproducing Europeanness must have a multicultural component and engage in “intensifying cultural conversations” within the EU (Dâmaso et al 2019). The goal is for all citizens of the EU “not [to be] seen as ‘the other’, but as one of their own” (Verhaegen 2016); this cultural openness is the core of transnational solidarity (Lynch, Kalaitzake and Crean 2018). Initiatives like the Solidarity Corps strive to strengthen and nurture the values of solidarity, equality and inclusive society. The Solidarity Corps is unique in its explicit focus

on transnational (or trans-border) characterisation of solidarity, which is promoted through youth volunteer participation across the EU. Moreover, its “4Thought” project has proved to be a milestone in proposing a common narrative of solidarity as a way to establish common ground and mutual vision.<sup>[3]</sup>

To better understand the principles of transnational solidarity and ways to strengthen it, the case of trans-border Roma solidarity movement may be imperative. In fact, in Resolution 1203 of the Council of Europe, Roma are referred to as “a true European minority” who live “scattered all over Europe,” and “greatly contribute to the cultural diversity of Europe” (Council of Europe 1993). Furthermore, according to Martin Kovats, “they are used as a symbol whose deprivations can be said to expose the failure of the nation-state model, thereby justifying trans-European governance” (Kovats 2003). Trans-border solidarity is seen as key in fighting against discrimination, promoting inclusion, and building positive identity (Bačlija Knoch and Nicodemi 2020). The case of Roma has clearly brought forward transnational political and ethnic solidarities, as well as claims of transnational forms of democracy (Rövid 2011). Furthermore, collective solidarity in the case of Roma is explicitly aimed at inclusion in the European space. Roma are thus an instructive case study to understand how trans-border solidarity is formed, maintained and how it affects the pan-European project.



This paper examines the role of the trans-border Roma movement<sup>(4)</sup> and associated institutions in creating a narrative of Roma solidarity in the context of the European project. My goal is two-fold: first, to illustrate how a particular case of trans-border solidarity in the context of diversity is formed and maintained; and second, to analyse how the narrative of Roma solidarity may promote pan-European solidarity. I analyse the past and current narratives of the Roma nation, identity and solidarity with the assumption that these concepts are constructed, through discursive and other means. Discursive production of these concepts implies an analysis of topics, discursive strategies and linguistic devices that are employed as part of the narrative on solidarity, identity and belonging (de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak 1999).

## 2. Identity, Nationhood and Solidarity Across Borders

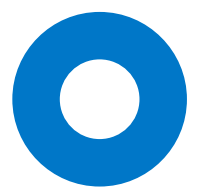
### 2.1 European Roma: Trans-border identity in the making

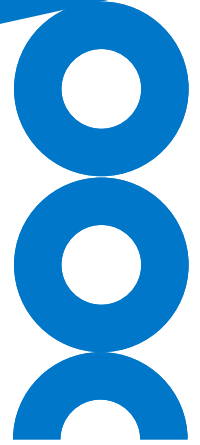
According to Emil Durkheim, all societies imply a form of social solidarity; organised (industrial) societies rely on (organic) solidarity to form bonds between complex and diverse groups. Departing from Durkheim's focus on division of labour, the key recognition here is the collective consciousness, moral base and a sense of belonging that integrates members into a society. Members of "imagined communities" are defined by a collective

consciousness and a sense of belonging, underpinned by a perceived solidarity based on shared knowledge (Anderson 2006). Importantly, the construction of such knowledge and its mass dissemination builds these ties of solidarity in imagined communities.

Scholarly inquiry has long been biased towards nation-states and communities bound by state borders. Yet, there were several parallel nation-building processes among the Roma, on local, national and transnational levels (Georgieva-Stankova 2015). Building on the claim that solidarity fosters social cohesion, as well as a feeling of attachment and belonging, solidarity is inseparable from processes of cultivating shared national (or transnational) identities (Komter 2010; Keating 2020). Correspondingly, three contexts of solidarity should be differentiated: national solidarity, member state solidarity and transnational solidarity (Sangiovanni 2013).

Many see the First World Romani Congress in London on April 8th, 1971 as the foundation of institutionalising the transnational Roma nation (Kóczé and Rövid 2012). Participants of the First Congress were referred to as the "founding fathers" (Jovanovic 2014). This Congress marked the beginning of a new form of nation building that united Roma communities across borders and built transnational bonds of solidarity. This solidarity was rooted in a shared culture and history. The Congress immediately showed its solidarity and stood





up for discriminated Roma. Yet, many criticised these nation-building efforts for their top-down nature, the imposition of values and homogenising effects, and even today Roma identity remains highly contested and politicised.<sup>[5]</sup> Moreover, some Roma have never affiliated with this trans-border movement.<sup>[6]</sup>

Since its inception, the transnational Roma movement has developed in distinct phases, continuously forging bonds of transnational solidarity (Rövid and Kóczé 2012). The beginning of transnationalisation of Roma political activism can be placed in the 1970s and '80s (Kóczé 2012). Since then, the movement has galvanised, and efforts of self-determination have resulted in not only defining, but also institutionalising Roma identity and nationhood. Political activism culminated in an organised Romani national movement, which started consolidating various transnational Roma networks and embarked on a path of a political nation-building project.<sup>[7]</sup>

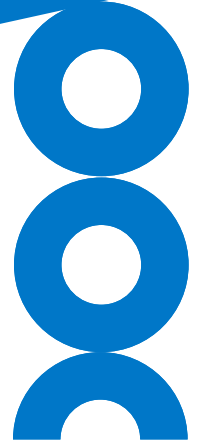
After the fall of the Berlin Wall, Eastern European pro-Roma civil society<sup>[8]</sup> also began to join the transnationalised Roma movement; under the leadership of mushrooming pro-Roma organisations, their focus turned to human rights violations and carving out spaces for political representation. Roma activism began drawing international attention in the 1990s (Vermeersch 2005). The European Union was a significant actor in the development of the Roma movement, and the Europeanisation

of Roma issues began, making Roma a pan-European concern. This also meant that Roma issues were increasingly discussed and addressed from a pan-European perspective (Ram 2012).

In addition, since the 2004 enlargement of the EU, Roma were no longer considered an external issue for the EU, but became one of the most important points on the EU's internal agenda of social inclusion (Sobotka and Vermeersch 2012).

Consequently, activists and human rights organisations increasingly called "for new commitments from member states towards their Roma minorities that link to a strong Europe-wide approach"; in turn, one of the priorities of the Hungarian EU presidency from 2011 indeed became the consolidation of this European strategy for Roma (Tremlett 2011). As Roma issues, and specifically integration, were primarily in the context of the EU, this led to 'Europe' becoming an important part of the pan-Roma identity processes, whereas 'Europeanness' was incorporated into the identity and belonging of European Roma (for Europe playing a role in identity formation, see Patel 2013).





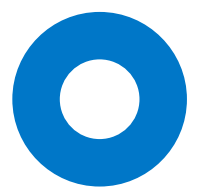
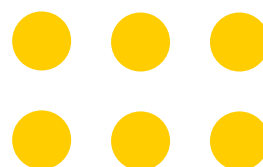
The role of the EU is not without its critics: some argued that efforts of “making good EU citizens out of the Roma” was a narrowly defined economic integration or efforts of assimilation through the market (Goodwin and Buijs 2013). Others suggested that organisations that “mobilised around the acquisition of funds” contributed to the establishment of the “Gypsy industry,” where the only concern was to “maintain a positive commercial image” and “create an image of reliable partners” rather than act in the interests of Roma (Nasture 2015). Partially as a result of such criticism, since the 2010s, with the “deliberative turn” in European governance<sup>(9)</sup> and the “Roma awakening,”<sup>(10)</sup> Roma-led organisations have taken the lead in (re-)defining Roma identity and nationhood. With that, calls for self-representation and trans-border solidarity have emerged even more strongly.

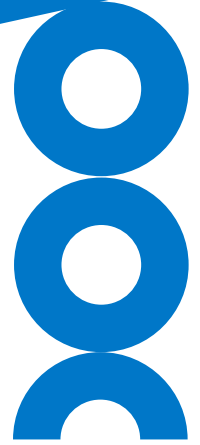
Importantly, the Roma movement called for solidarity among Roma and with Roma. Trans-border solidarity among Roma is increasingly shaped by top-down non-state efforts. Pro-Roma institutions not only strive to re-conceptualise Roma identity away from the negative stereotyping, but their launching point has also been the construction of a shared historical narrative, cultural characteristics, and importantly, a collective sense of belonging in Europe as a European Roma trans-border nation. This form of solidarity is strongly “related to people’s right to be involved, to not be excluded; it’s about human rights, basic needs, respect, dignity and social justice” (Bacliija Knoch and Nicodemi

2020 p34). Accordingly, Roma are conceptualised as significant contributors to the European identity and culture, and as a group, actively shaping Europe’s future (see for example a report by the EPP Group 2020). Solidarity was not only part of the nation-building effort, but it was also needed in the fight against discrimination, so that there is “space for everyone to be able to participate in society” (Bacliija Knoch and Nicodemi 2020 p34). Indeed, there is a growing realisation that “solidarity is needed to increase fairness, equality, justice and integrity” (Bacliija Knoch and Nicodemi 2020 p35).

## 2.2 Narrative of Roma Solidarity in the Pan-European Space

In fact, solidarity is a concept deeply ingrained in Roma cultural values, generally known as Romanipen or the fundamental law of Roma; within Romanipen “there is the concept of Phralipe (brotherhood), which may be equivalent to solidarity in the civic world” (Nasture 2015 p31). Nicolae Gheorghe, one of the most prominent intellectuals, human rights defenders and activists in the Roma movement, argued for a greater sense of Phralipe amongst the different sections of the movement: “[the] main challenge facing Roma activists today is moving beyond their cluster-like mentalities and practices, which can hinder further development of the movement as a whole” (Acton and Ryder 2015 p12).



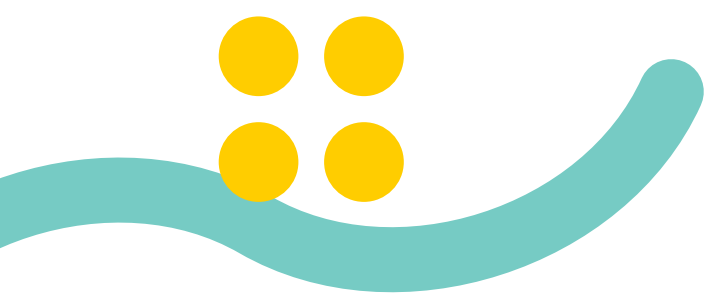


There is no consensus on the nature or desirability of trans-border Roma solidarity. Some maintain that solidarities and identities are more local than universal, and “distinct groups placed under the umbrella term of European Roma (Kaale, Gypsies, Travellers, Manouche included) do not always share very much in common” (Roman 2014 p806). Similarly, there may be tensions inherent in trans-border solidarity movements; for instance, “Turkey’s Romanlar... find themselves between local discourses of national belonging and those of global solidarity with the larger Romani rights movement” (Schoon 2018 p176). Others, in the meantime, suggest that the Roma movement may embrace a broader approach to solidarity and “seek to build broad intersectional alliances across Roma communities and constituencies, incorporating not only interests but solidarity and altruism. There is important scope for Roma interests to link with wider social justice and anti-poverty movements” (Bogdán et al 2015).

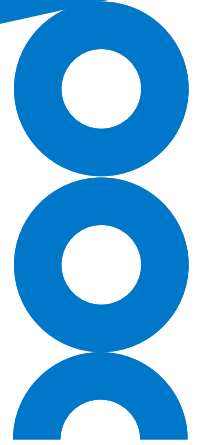
Since the first articulation of the European Roma Nation, as part of the “Declaration of Nation” during Fifth Romani World Congress in 2000, it is clear that “the sheer diversity of groups coming under the umbrella ‘Roma’ suggests the need for caution in any attempt to articulate a unified identity” (Goodwin 2004). Instead, it is more constructive to consider it as a, “mosaic... partially under the control of the individual as an active agent” (European Commission 2012 p8), in which “the Romani experience and attempts at creating a collective transnational Roma-ness does not negate individual Roma nationalities” (Lubomirova Herakova 2009).

Moreover, Roma identity is increasingly embedded in the common European narrative, ingrained in the democratic principles of Europe, and endorses Roma history and culture as a great contribution to European history and traditions. Consequently, the trans-border Roma identity and solidarity must be understood within the framework of pan-European solidarity.

Resemblances between the trans-border Roma identity building project and that of the EU have been pointed out most notably by Lubomirova Herakova (2009), who argued that “similarly to the European identity project, the Roma are actively building a transnational identity without abandoning national identities.” Raluca Roman, studying discursive and performative elements of transnational Roma identity and solidarity, suggests



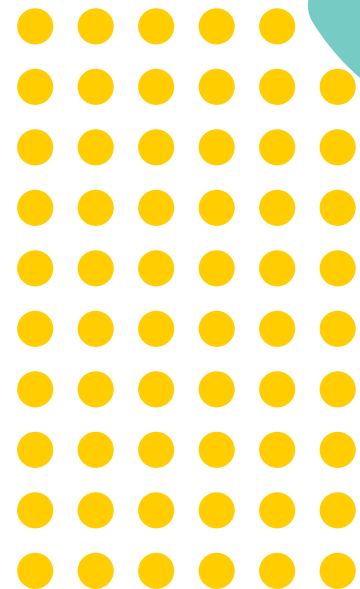


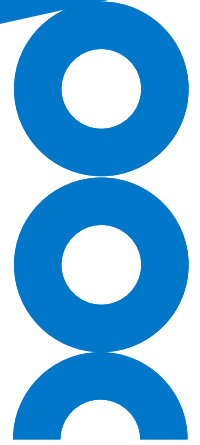


that, “the metaphor of ‘unity in diversity’ has also recurrently been adopted and employed by international Roma elite and international organisations in their attempts to strengthen the political goals of European Roma and the establishment of a Roma Nation” (Roman 2014 p804). Roman also showed that using discursive tools such as “referring to the Roma population as a trans-national minority” contributed to the effort of forming “a common consciousness of belonging among diverse Roma groups across Europe” (Roman 2014 p795).

Overall, there are three important concepts that recur in the discourse about a transnational Roma nation: multiculturalism, human rights and pan-European space. Undoubtedly, an important aspect of the Roma nation is the emphasis on multiculturalism (Georgieva-Stankova 2015). This resonates well with the “United in diversity,” motto of the European Union, recognising that thriving cultures culminate in a prosperous Europe. Another component of the narrative of the contemporary Roma nation, is the promotion of human rights ideology “as a central nation-building device” (Georgieva-Stankova 2015). Most importantly, protection from discrimination as a human right has been a core principle defining Roma, who, in a sense, found unity and solidarity in their sorrow and oppression. Indeed, the centrality of human rights assumes solidarity, both among Roma and beyond, as “solidarity can be regarded as a founding general principle of human rights” (Khoo 2015; Baclija Knoch and Nicodemi 2020 p58).

In a joint statement for International Roma Day, anti-racist organisations called for “solidarity [to] become a value in European societies as violation of the rights of one group affects everyone else in our society” (European Network Against Racism 2014). The cause of ending racism and discrimination is thus a cause that unites all of the European Union, and demands solidarity with Roma and across borders. In another joint statement for the International Holocaust Remembrance Day, Roma and anti-racist organisations also called for solidarity between communities to unite against hatred and “actively work against insidious stereotypes, structural racism... in fighting for the rights and freedoms of Europe’s minorities” (European Roma Rights Centre 2007).





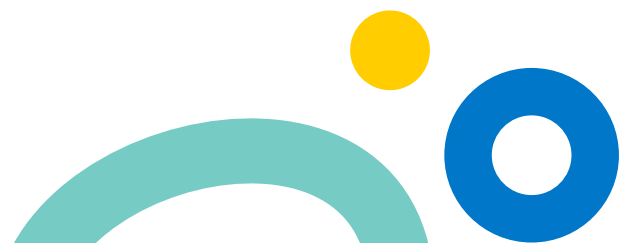
A strong identification with Europe promotes the idea of a pan-European space. In an article tellingly titled, “Europe is ours: A manifesto”, Ethel Brooks, Board Chair at the European Roma Rights Centre and a prominent member of the international Roma movement, states:

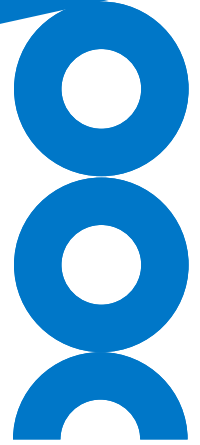
*We are Europeans.... We claim our humanity, we claim our history, and we claim our place on the soil of Europe. ... we call for an end to cultural apartheid, to cultural appropriation. We call for solidarity amongst the oppressed. ... Europe is ours. We are Europe...* (Brooks 2017)

The European Institute for Arts and Culture (ERIAC)<sup>(111)</sup> also illustrates how the trans-border Roma nation, expressed through its cultural heritage, is explicitly enriching as well as maintaining the pan-European cultural space and solidarity. For example, ERIAC’s recent project “Diaspora Europe” called for “diverse forms and practices developed by Jewish and Roma/Sinti ordinary citizens, public figures, scholars, artists and creatives, to contemplate and employ the idea on how to transcend national boundaries, creating a mutually accessible, translatable, and inspirational European culture that invited participation.”<sup>(112)</sup> This project has a strong ‘European dimension’, in fostering cultural cooperation and exchange across Europe, and an instance of Europeanisation of culture – elevating it to European level, rather than national. In other words, by positioning Roma culture in the pan-European cultural space, these projects enhance the sense

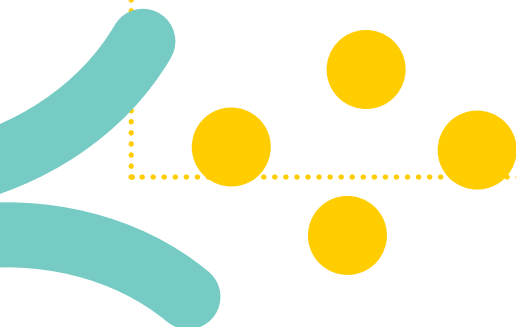
of belonging to a European culture, and reinforce European identity and a sense of solidarity.

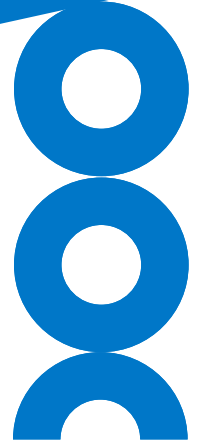
By examining the institutional statements of some significant pro-Roma organisations, summarised in the table below, we can see there is often an emphasis on identifying with Europe, therefore strengthening the idea of pan-Europeanness. These organisations and other initiatives of the trans-border Roma movement are thus supporting European-wide solidarity by communicating values of fairness and justice, and supporting an inclusive European political, economic and cultural space. Inclusiveness as a core value of solidarity is also highlighted in the “4Thought” project, buttressed by the central principle of the European Solidarity Corps to nurture diversity and support vulnerable people (Baclija Knoch and Nicodem 2020 p127). Many pro-Roma organisations are also calling on the larger society and privileged groups (i.e. non-Roma majority society) to recognise and use their privileges to acknowledge the equality of Roma and celebrate diversity.





Name of the organisation	Value	Statement
International Roma Union	Respect for cultural diversity, multiculturalism	To continue a unified social, economic and cultural programme of World Roma with a view to fulfil the will of the Romani people in a multinational cultural environment. <sup>[13]</sup>
European Roma and Travellers Forum	Idea of pan-European space	Achieve official recognition of the Roma as a European people and of Romani as a European language. <sup>[14]</sup>
Open Society Foundation	Idea of pan-European space	Open Society's Roma efforts focus on supporting the nascent and pan-European movement to increase Roma participation in European civic life and electoral politics. <sup>[15]</sup>
European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture	Idea of pan-European space	ERIAC aims to be the promoter of Romani contributions to European culture and talent, success and achievement, as well as to document the historical experiences of Romani people in Europe. <sup>[16]</sup>
Critical Romani Studies Journal	Human rights, combat social exclusion and discrimination	The Journal actively solicits papers from critically-minded young Romani scholars who have historically experienced significant barriers in engaging with academic knowledge production. <sup>[17]</sup>





RomArchive	Human rights, combat social exclusion and discrimination	internationally accessible space that makes Romani cultures and histories visible as well as respond to stereotypes with a counter-history told by Roma themselves. <sup>[18]</sup>
European Roma Rights Centre	Human rights	Become one of the leading advocates in implementing anti-discrimination and human rights law in Europe. <sup>[19]</sup>

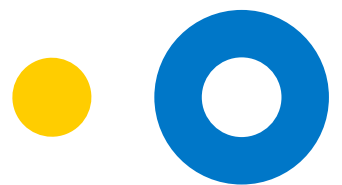
## Conclusion

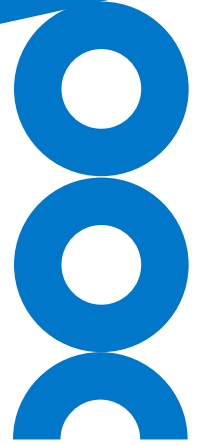
In lieu of summary, in this concluding part I will draw lessons from the pan-European Roma solidarity that can inform efforts to increase solidarity in Europe.

First, the role of solidarity-promoting initiatives, activism and civil society is remarkable. In the case of Roma, scholars confirmed that transnational civil society, including political and civic activism, are conducive to creating social cohesion and solidarity (Rövid 2011; Nagy, Székely and Vajda 2010). The “4Thought” project also highlighted the importance of civil society to promote solidarity actions; in fact, civil society must be considered as the foundation of collective solidarity (Bacliya Knoch and Nicodem 2020 p24 and p135).

Second, collective identity constructions should be seen as a mosaic, and transnational forms of collective identities, such as the European or Roma identity, may serve as a strong common ground for trans-border solidarity (see also Bacliya Knoch and Nicodem 2020 p144). With that understanding, European or Roma identities may become salient, strengthening solidarity among members, without negating the importance of national, regional or other collective forms of belonging.

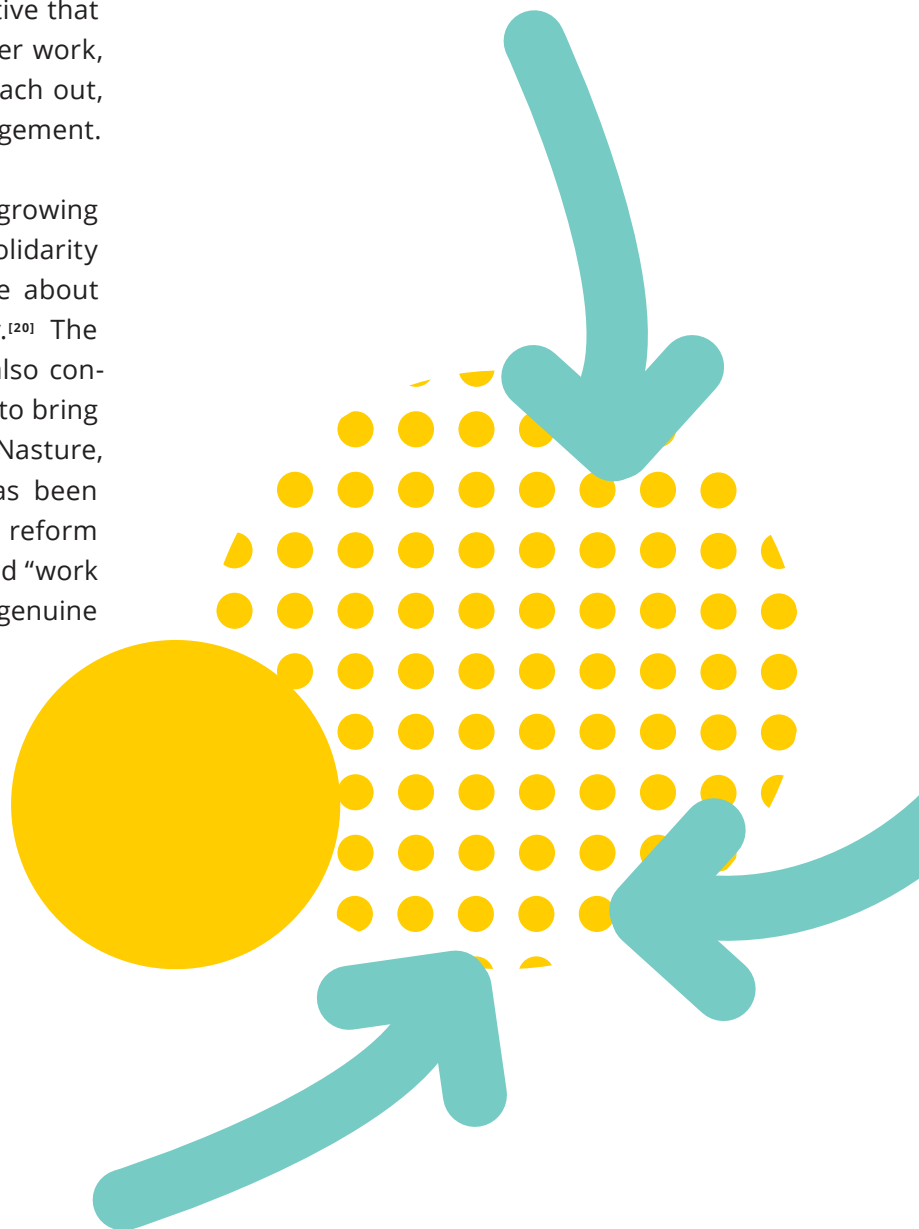
Third, equality, fairness and human rights are directly linked to solidarity (Bacliya Knoch and Nicodem 2020 p58), and, in turn, it is beyond doubt that solidarity is needed in the fight against discrimination and the successful building of inclusive societies in Europe and beyond. Initiatives such as the “4Thought” project are imperative in their goal to reach out to the “other,” which promotes





the inclusive nature of solidarity and, importantly, makes solidarity well-grounded (Bacliya Knoch and Nicodem 2020 p77). The work of the European Solidarity Corps, as a youth-focused initiative that strives to build solidarity through volunteer work, is not only supporting young people to reach out, but also strengthens society through engagement.

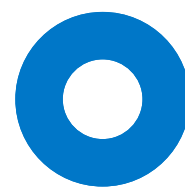
Fourth, as ethno-nationalism is finding a growing base of support in Europe, trans-border solidarity may indeed offer an alternative narrative about shared belonging and value of diversity.<sup>1201</sup> The narrative of trans-border solidarity may also contribute to a “moral reform” that is needed to bring about social change. According to Florin Nasture, a Roma advocate from Romania who has been involved in Roma civil society since 1997: a reform would support “Roma to find their way” and “work with responsibility, accountability and with genuine care for others” (Nasture 2015 p31).





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- [2] My use of the term "Europeanness" conveys "European feeling of belonging" (Patel 2013). This feeling of belonging is often secondary, after national or ethnic affiliation. Furthermore, the European Union as an institutional framework, is an important point of reference, and hence there is a tendency to identify Europeanness with 'European' identity (ibid.).
- [3] Read more about the project here: [http://media.voog.com/0000/0041/2687/files/08\\_Solidarity%20Research%20outcomes.pdf](http://media.voog.com/0000/0041/2687/files/08_Solidarity%20Research%20outcomes.pdf)
- [4] The Roma movement involves an intricate network of "Romani international organizations, the local or national parties and associations, and individual Romani activists" (Georgieva-Stankova 2015, 444).
- [5] For instance, attempts to establish strong symbolical markers involved Romani language codification and standardisation, while many continued to advocate for linguistic pluralism and maintaining the "web of language varieties" (Matras 2005). Similarly, imposition of a "politically correct" label "from above" resulted in Roma communities publicly demonstrating their reluctance to comply with this label (Marushiakova and Popov 2018).
- [6] According to Aladár Horváth, one of the main leaders of the Roma civil rights movement in Hungary, not all Roma affiliated with the trans-border nature of the movement: "The only emancipation we want is to have the right to our versatile, communal inner self-identity and, at the same time, to have the right to live with our external identity as members of our home nation, to be equal citizens of the Republic" (Horváth 2006).
- [7] It is important to acknowledge that this path of nation-building has earlier precedents, one of the first signs of Romani nation-building was the 19th century Balkans (Marushiakova and Popov 2005). Then in the 1930s during an international conference, the United Gypsies of Europe under the leadership of Gheorghe Nicolescu proposed the establishment of various institutions representing their interests, an early flag was adopted, and plans were made to strengthen trans-border solidarity (Hancock 1991).
- [8] I follow the definition of Rövid and Kóczé (2012): pro-Roma civil society and pro-Roma movement may refer to a number of organizations that advocate on behalf of Roma. Based on my earlier research, I broaden the participants of the pro-Roma movement to include not only of international and supranational organizations, but also of activists and grassroots organizations, and academics who have participated in building the discourse and the movement (Dunajeva 2014).
- [9] The deliberative turn arguably placing "nonstate actors at the heart of processes of policy-making and implementation," making "active participation of Roma" and "involvement of civil society" critical (Mirga-Kruszelnicka 2018).
- [10] The "Roma awakening" or "critical turn" has been used in the context of the emerging Roma scholarship, advocating for the inclusion of Roma voices in knowledge production (Selling 2018; Acton and Ryder 2015).
- [11] The establishment of ERAIC has indeed spurred debates and confrontation across the civil society, activists, scholars and even Roma actors, some claiming that this organisation is contributing to the "solidification of a culturalist European Romani identity politics, where Romani elites are given (have taken?) a space to produce forms of cultural 'authenticity'" (Ivasiuc 2018, 4).
- [12] ERIAC's official website: <https://eriac.org/diaspora-europe/>



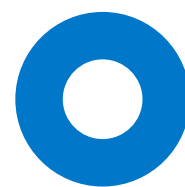


- [13] Website of the International Roma Union: <http://iru2020.org/#memorandum>
- [14] See more at: <https://www.europewatchdog.info/en/instruments/platforms/roma-forum/>
- [15] Website of the of the Open Society Foundations: <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/roma-europe-and-mission-open-society>
- [16] Website of the European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture: <https://eriac.org/about-eriac/>
- [17] Website of the Romani Studies Program at Central European University: <https://crs.ceu.edu/index.php/crs/about>
- [18] European Heritage, Europa Nostra Awards website: <http://www.europeanheritageawards.eu/winners/romarchive-digital-archive-roma-germany/>
- [19] Website of the European Roma Rights Centre: <http://www.errc.org/who-we-are/overview>
- [20] Some even suggested the possibility of the Roma nation creating a precedent for the eventual demise of the nation-state (Gheorghe cited in Georgieva-Stankova 2015).

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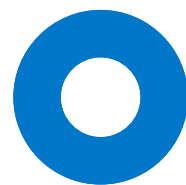
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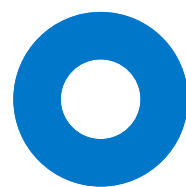
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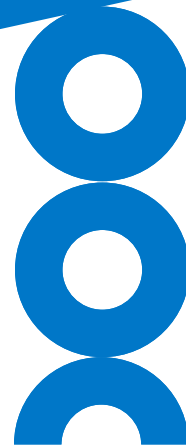






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## EUROPE TALKS SOLIDARITY

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This article is part of “Europe talks Solidarity” – a series of events and publications that offers a platform for the exploration of the concept of Solidarity, initiated by the European Solidarity Corps Resource Centre ([www.salto-youth.net/rc/solidarity](http://www.salto-youth.net/rc/solidarity)). The discussion on Solidarity benefits from inputs from a wide range of experiences and backgrounds. However, the opinions and views expressed in the articles in this series do not necessarily reflect those of the Resource Centre.

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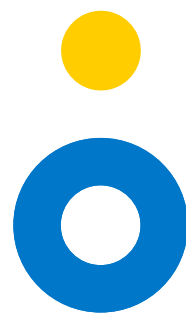
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