

**FRONTIERS OF DEMOCRACY CONFERENCE AT CEU
in cooperation with the Open Society Foundations**

Inside the Struggle: The U.S. Civil Rights Movement and the European Roma Rights Crisis

December 7–8, 2015

CONFERENCE COORDINATOR:

- **Ellen Hume** | Annenberg Fellow in Civic Media, Center for Media, Data and Society
Central European University
Contact | ellenhume@gmail.com

CEU FRONTIERS OF DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE MANAGER:

- **Sanja Tepavcevic**
Contact | TepavcevicS@ceu.hut | www.ceu.hu

Due to limited seating, make required advance registration at: Roma_Rights_Crisis@ceu.edu

Overview

Europe's Roma communities face deepening challenges of discrimination, violence, and poverty. The U.S. minority rights movement, which has had some notable successes over the past 50 years, also faces continuing problems, including police violence and disproportionate incarceration rates. We believe that a sharing of these struggles would be worthwhile as everyone searches for effective remedies. What were the elements that made the African-American civil rights movement successful? What are the effective models in Europe for Roma integration and opportunity, including building intercontinental solidarity? While these communities and movements have very different histories and contexts, a sharing of experiences, tactics, and wisdom could lead to new thinking and effective action in both regions.

Pre-Conference Film Festival

THURSDAY–SUNDAY, DECEMBER 3–6

Open Society Archives
32 Arany János utca, 1051 Budapest

From December 3 to 6, films focusing on the Roma rights and U.S. civil rights movements will be screened at the Open Society Archives at 18:30 each evening:

December 3: *Judgment in Hungary*

DISCUSSANT: **Eszter Hajdu** | Producer and Director

December 4: *Not In Our Town: Billings and Light in the Darkness*

DISCUSSANTS: **Ellen Hume** | CEU

Paul Sheridan | Not In Our Town, United States

December 5: *Jazz Way Out* and *3Brothers* (rough cut preview)

DISCUSSANT: **Katalin Barsony** | Romedia

December 6: *Ain't Scared of Your Jails* and *Bridge to Freedom* from *Eyes on the Prize* series

DISCUSSANTS: **Taylor Branch** | Historian

Callie Crossley | Producer

Conference Agenda

MONDAY, DECEMBER 7

Central European University
Auditorium, 9 Nádor utca, 1051 Budapest

The U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Then and Now

Experienced activists and historians will share inside strategies and tactics of some of the U.S. civil rights movement's history, including its success in electing an African-American president, and discuss some continuing challenges, such as the white supremacist murders in Charleston, South Carolina, and the epidemic of police killings of black people in Ferguson, Missouri, Baltimore, Maryland, and other communities.

9:00 **INTRODUCTION:** **John Shattuck** | Rector and President, CEU

9:15 **KEYNOTE:** **Taylor Branch** | Historian

WITH RESPONSES FROM:

- **Sherrilyn Ifill** | NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund
- **Zeljko Jovanovic** | Open Society Roma Initiatives Office

10:45–11:15 **Coffee Break**

11:15 **KEYNOTE: Sherrilyn Ifill** | NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund

WITH RESPONSES FROM:

- **Patrick Gaspard** | U.S. Ambassador to South Africa
- **Angela Kocze** | Wake Forest University
- What is different about today's African-American civil rights movement, as it seeks to address the incarceration crisis, the Charleston church massacre, the killings of minorities by police, income inequality, and other issues?
- How is the Black Lives Matter initiative being organized, and how it is effective?
- What is the dynamic in Ferguson, Baltimore, and other African-American communities on the front lines? What is different than before, and what is better or worse?
- What is the role of social media like Facebook?
- What is the significance of the confederate flag being removed from some Southern statehouses?
- What are some of the things that are being done to improve the dynamic?

12:45–13:45 **Lunch**

The European Roma Rights Crisis

Two panels of Roma rights activists and scholars will discuss the ongoing struggle for human and civil rights for Europe's Roma minority.

13:45–15:45 **Panel One: Social Inclusion Policy**

MODERATOR: Violetta Zentai | CEU Center for Policy Studies

- PANEL:**
- **Nicoleta Bitu** | Romano ButiQ
 - **Iulius Rostas** | CEU Institute for Advanced Studies
 - **Andrzej Mirga** | former OSCE ODHIR contact for Roma and Sinti issues, chair of the REF board
 - **Bela Lakatos** | Mayor of Acs, Hungary
 - **Flora Laszlo** | UCCU Foundation

RESPONDENT: Sherrilyn Ifill | NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund

15:45–16:15 **Coffee Break**

16:15–18:15 **Panel Two: The Roma Rights Movement**

MODERATOR: Zeljko Jovanovic | Open Society Roma Initiatives Office

- PANEL:**
- **Mensur Haliti** | leadership development at Open Society Roma Initiatives Office
 - **Angela Kocze** | Sociologist and Activist, Wake Forest University
 - **Gabor Daroczi** | Romaversitas
 - **Ethel Brooks** | Rutgers University
 - **Djordje Jovanovic** | ERRC

RESPONDENT: Taylor Branch | Historian

18:15 **Reception**

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8

The Role of the Media

9:00–10:30 Panel Discussion**MODERATOR:** • **Ellen Hume** | CEU**PANEL:** • **Callie Crossley** | Public Radio Show Host, Producer, *Eyes on the Prize*
• **Vera Messing** | CEU Center for Policy Studies
• **Katalin Barsony** | Romedia Foundation**10:30–10:45 Break**

Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

10:45–11:45 We experience a series of 4-minute micro-presentations on the auditorium stage, followed by 30 minutes at discussion tables for each project outside the auditorium.**11:45–13:00 Lunch and Discussion Table Follow Ups**

Sandwiches will be offered during the discussion table sessions. The goal is to inspire CEU students with examples of interventions for Roma rights and inclusion and U.S. civil rights that are being tested or used in the field.

PRESENTERS: • Romedia | **Katalin Barsony**
• Romaversitas | **Gabor Daroczi**
• ERRC | **Djordje Jovanovic**
• Roma Education Fund | **Beata Olahova**
• RAPS at CEU | **Georgeta Munteanu**
• UCCU Foundation | **Andrea Ignacz**
• Not In Our Town | Hungary, Slovakia, and United States | **Ellen Hume** and **Chuck Hirt**
• Phiren Amenca | **Marietta Herfort**
• Chances for Children Foundation | **Adel Kegye**
• The Acs Playground Project | **Bela Lakatos**

Final Wrap Up: Takeaways from the Conference

13:00–14:15 Discussion**MODERATORS:** • **Zeljko Jovanovic** | Open Society Roma Initiatives Office
• **Violetta Zentai** | CEU Center for Policy Studies

People describe their takeaways from hearing each other's stories, and their final advice to the conferees. Participants from the audience have a chance to share their views.

PANEL: • **Taylor Branch** | Historian
• **Patrick Gaspard** | U.S. Ambassador to South Africa
• **Angela Kocze** | Sociologist and Activist, Wake Forest University
• **Nicoleta Bitu** | Romano ButiQ

Participants

Katalin Barsony

Romedia Foundation

DISCUSSANT: Film Festival, December 5

PANELIST: The Role of the Media

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Katalin Barsony is a documentary filmmaker and executive director of the Budapest-based Romedia Foundation, which creates films, social media campaigns, and other tools to promote Roma self-representation. Barsony is currently at work on two feature length documentary films. *3Brothers* tells the story of a German Roma family torn apart by forced “repatriation” to Kosovo. *Jazz Way Out*, a co-production with HBO–Europe, follows a Roma composer and pianist who has created a new style of music that fuses traditional rhythms with contemporary Jazz. Barsony is completing her doctoral dissertation in communications and behavioral science at Corvinus University in Budapest.

Nicoleta Bitu

Romano ButiQ

PANELIST: Social Inclusion Policy; Final Wrap Up: Takeaways from the Conference

Nicoleta Bitu is a PhD student in political science at the National School for Political and Administrative Sciences and president of the Romano ButiQ association. She has worked for more than two decades to shed light on and fight discrimination against the Roma minority in Romania and Europe, with a specific focus on women. Bitu has worked in various positions for Romani CRISS (1993–2010) and for the Open Society Institute–New York’s Roma Women’s Initiative. She also has been a designer, trainer, and facilitator of regional workshops for the Open Society Institute’s Network Women’s Program, the European Roma Rights Centre, and other organizations.

Taylor Branch

Historian

DISCUSSANT: Film Festival, December 6

KEYNOTE SPEAKER: The U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Then and Now

RESPONDENT: The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel Two)

PANELIST: Final Wrap Up: Takeaways from the Conference

Taylor Branch is a Pulitzer-prize-winning American writer, historian, and public speaker best known for his trilogy on Martin Luther King Jr. and the civil rights era, *America in the King Years*, which has won many awards. He is known as the definitive biographer of Dr. King. His books also include *The Clinton Tapes: Wrestling History with the President*, an eight-year project with then-president Bill Clinton while he was in the White House. His latest book is *The King Years: Historic Moments in the Civil Rights Movement* (Simon & Schuster, 2013).

Ethel Brooks

Rutgers University

PANELIST: The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel Two)

Ethel Brooks is associate professor in both the Department of Women's and Gender Studies and the Department of Sociology at Rutgers University. She is also a fellow at the University of the Arts, London, where in 2011–2012 she was the US–UK Fulbright distinguished chair. A Romani-American, she is a member of the U.S. Delegation to the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. She authored *Unraveling the Garment Industry: Transnational Organizing and Women's Work*.

Callie Crossley

Public Radio Show Host; Producer, Eyes on the Prize

DISCUSSANT: Film Festival, December 6

PANELIST: The Role of the Media

Callie Crossley is an award-winning American broadcast journalist whose portfolio includes the critically acclaimed *Eyes on the Prize* documentary series about the U.S. civil rights movement. One of the segments she produced shows the real story of what happened at the Edmund Pettis Bridge in Selma, Alabama, which was a turning point in the movement. At Boston's WGBH public television she offers weekly commentaries on American politics and social issues, the economy, and the arts. She hosts additional TV and radio programs, including *Under the Radar with Callie Crossley*.

Gabor Daroczi

Romaversitas

PANELIST: The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel Two)

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Gabor Daroczi has been the director of the Romaversitas Foundation since 2008. He started his career at the Hungarian Soros Foundation working with youth, Roma, and environmental protection programs. Prior to this, he worked for the Hungarian Ministry of Health, the Office of the Prime Minister, and the National Development Agency. For two years, Daroczi was the commissioner at the Ministry of Education responsible for the integration of Roma and disadvantaged children.

Patrick Gaspard

U.S. Ambassador to South Africa

RESPONDENT: The U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Then and Now

PANELIST: Final Wrap Up: Takeaways from the Conference

Patrick Gaspard is the U.S. Ambassador to South Africa. He previously served as the executive director of the Democratic National Committee, and worked for President Obama as director of the White House Office of Political Affairs from 2009 to 2011. He previously served as the national political director of the Obama presidential campaign and executive vice president and political director for the

Service Employees International Union. He was the chief of staff for the New York City Council and a special assistant to New York Mayor David Dinkins.

Mensur Haliti

Open Society Roma Initiatives Office

PANELIST: The European Roma Rights Movement (Panel Two)

Mensur Haliti is senior program manager for the Roma Initiatives Office, focusing on grassroots mobilization. Before joining the Roma Initiatives Office, he was a 2010 Roma Initiatives Fellow, concentrating on activities related to grassroots organizing and advocacy in the Western Balkans. From 2005 to 2006, Haliti worked for the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe on issues affecting Roma refugees from Kosovo. From 2007, he served as the executive director of the Forum of Roma IDPs. In 2008, he worked as a spokesperson for the Roma Party, which succeeded at winning a seat in the parliament for the first time. Haliti had a one-year internship with the European Roma Rights Centre in 2009, and completed youth leadership programs at the Belgrade Open School in 2010 and Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government in 2011.

Marietta Herfort

Phiren Amenca

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Marietta Herfort is program manager at Phiren Amenca, a Budapest-based network of Roma and non-Roma volunteers and organizations creating opportunities for informal education, dialogue, and engagement in order to challenge stereotypes and racism.

Chuck Hirt

Not in Our Town

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Chuck Hirt is an American community builder and trainer who has been based in Slovakia for the past 20 years. He is the founding director of the Central and Eastern European Citizens Network. In 2013, he created the Slovakian chapter of Not In Our Town (Nie v Nasom Meste) in Banska Bystrica, mobilizing communities to fight prejudice and discrimination.

Ellen Hume

Central European University

DISCUSSANT: Film Festival, December 4

PANEL DISCUSSION MODERATOR: The Role of the Media

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Ellen Hume is a fellow at CEU's Center for Media, Data, and Society. An American journalist and teacher, she was White House correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal*, executive director of

Harvard's Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, research director of MIT's Center for Future Civic Media, and director of the Democracy Project at American public television (PBS). She founded the Hungarian project, "Nalunk Nem" (www.nalunknem.org) based on the Not In Our Town movement in the United States, which mobilizes people to fight discrimination and hate crimes.

Sherrilyn Ifill

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund

KEYNOTE SPEAKER: The U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Then and Now

**RESPONDENT: The U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Then and Now;
The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel One)**

Sherrilyn Ifill is the seventh president and director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF), Inc. After graduating law school, Ifill served first as a fellow at the American Civil Liberties Union and then for five years as an assistant counsel in LDF's New York office, where she litigated voting rights cases. In 1993, Ifill joined the faculty of the University of Maryland School of Law, where she taught civil procedure, constitutional law, and variety of seminars; litigated and consulted on a broad and diverse range of civil rights; and groomed the next generation of civil rights lawyers. A critically acclaimed author, her book *On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the 21st Century*, reflects her lifelong engagement with issues of race and American public life. Ifill is a past chair of the Board of the Open Society Foundations' U.S. Programs and currently serves on the Open Society's Global Board. Ifill is a graduate of Vassar College, and received her JD from New York University School of Law.

Andrea Ignacz

UCCU Roma Informal Education Foundation

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Andrea Ignacz is pursuing an MA at Central European University's School of Public Policy. She completed the Roma Graduate Preparation Program at Central European University, after earning both a BA and an MA in sociology from the University of Pecs. She worked at the Human Resources Ministry at the State Secretariat for Social Inclusion in Budapest. She has been volunteering at the UCCU Roma Informal Educational Foundation for more than two years.

Djordje Jovanovic

European Roma Rights Council (ERRC)

PANELIST: The European Roma Rights Movement (Panel Two)

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Djordje Jovanovic is the networking and research director of the European Roma Rights Council, where he has worked in many capacities since 2009. He holds a BA in preschool education and completed Romology studies at the University of Novi Sad, Serbia. He studied psychotherapy at the school of Transactional Analysis in Novi Sad and is a practitioner of transactional analysis.

Zeljko Jovanovic

Open Society Roma Initiatives Office

RESPONDENT: **The U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Then and Now**

MODERATOR: **The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel Two); Final Wrap Up: Take-aways from the Conference**

Zeljko Jovanovic is director of the Open Society Roma Initiatives Office, which aims to strengthen the voices and leadership of Roma as well as to improve public policies and services provided to Roma and other people. Before joining the Open Society Foundations in 2006, Jovanovic worked for the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe on assisting the Serbian government to implement EU-funded municipal projects for Roma and on introducing Roma coordinators and teachers' assistants at the local level. He also managed an international project on the participation of Roma in local policy-making and elections. Of Roma ethnic background, Jovanovic comes from a family that, through a belief in self-determination and education, moved from extreme poverty to the middle class. He has an academic background in law and has completed the Harvard University executive education program on Strategic Management for Leaders of Nongovernmental Organizations.

Adel Kegye

Chances for Children Foundation

PRESENTER: **Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies**

Adel Kegye is an attorney specializing in antidiscrimination law. She has been working on Roma discrimination cases since 2008, starting as a legal officer at the Hungarian equality office. She joined the Chances for Children Foundation in 2012, where she has litigated strategic cases on the segregation of Roma children. She is currently running a legal clinic on the segregation of Roma children in cooperation with ELTE University and the European Roma Rights Centre in Budapest.

Angela Kocze

Wake Forest University

RESPONDENT: **The U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Then and Now**

PANELIST: **The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel Two); Final Wrap Up: Take-aways from the Conference**

Angela Kocze is a visiting professor in the Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Program at Wake Forest University. She is also a research fellow at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and a research fellow at Central European University. She was awarded the Ratiu Democracy Award by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in 2013 for her interdisciplinary work on the situation of Roma living in Hungary and elsewhere. She was a policy advisor to the Hungarian government, director of the human rights education program at the European Roma Rights Centre, and founding director of the Romaversitas program in Budapest.

Bela Lakatos

Mayor, Town of Acs, Hungary

PANELIST: The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel One)

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Bela Lakatos was re-elected to a second term last year as the mayor of Acs, Hungary, a town of 7,100, where Roma are just 8 percent of the population. Before becoming the town's first Roma mayor in 2010, he worked for seven years as the headmaster of the primary school, implementing integration policies developed during his many years as an advisor in the Hungarian Education Ministry and for the European Council. He holds an MA in history and geography from Szeged University.

Flora Laszlo

UCCU Roma Informal Education Foundation

PANELIST: The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel One)

Flora Laszlo is a civic engagement project officer at Central European University, and chief operating officer of the UCCU Roma Informal Education Foundation. The UCCU works on tolerance education, community building and development, volunteer education, and management. She holds a degree in sociology from ELTE University in Budapest.

Vera Messing

CEU Center for Policy Studies

PANELIST: The Role of the Media

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Vera Messing has been a senior research associate of the Centre for Social Sciences at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 2004, and a research fellow at the Centre for Policy Studies, Central European University, since 2008. She has over 15 years of experience in empirical research on ethnicity, minorities, and social exclusion. Her work focuses on comparative understanding of different forms and intersections of social inequalities and ethnicity and their consequences with a special focus on the media, education, and employment.

Andrzej Mirga

Former OSCE ODHIR contact for Roma and Sinti issues; Chair, Roma Education Fund Board

PANELIST: The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel One)

Andrzej Mirga headed the Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues at the OSCE's Warsaw-based Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) and has served as a leading expert for the

Council of Europe, the European Commission, and the government of Poland. He began his career as the first Roma to study at Jagiellonian University in Krakow where he later taught and went on to cofound the first Polish Roma association after the fall of communism. He formed the first Roma think tank, the Roma Advisory Council, a small team of prominent Romani leaders, activists, and experts from Europe, Russia, and the United States.

Georgeta Munteanu

RAPS at Central European University

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Georgeta Munteanu is program manager for the Roma Graduate Preparation Program at Central European University. Munteanu joined the RAPS office in early 2011, initially as a coordinator, and eventually became the manager of the program. Before joining the Roma Access Program, she interned with the European Commission and the European Roma Rights Centre, after volunteering with local human rights organizations in Romania. She holds a BA in European public administration from National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, Bucharest, and an MA in public policy from Central European University.

Beata Olahova

Roma Education Fund

PRESENTER: Flash Presentations: Some Current Intervention Strategies

Beata Olahova is project grant program manager at the Roma Education Fund in Budapest. A Roma from Slovakia, she holds a degree in business management and is an MBA graduate student at CEU's business school. She served for five years on the management board of the European Union's Agency for Fundamental Rights. An alumna of the Harvard Kennedy School's executive education program, she has worked in international development, focusing on education, project writing and evaluation, and has been an advisor on Roma integration models in various European countries.

Iulius Rostas

CEU Institute for Advanced Studies

PANELIST: The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel One)

Iulius Rostas is a visiting lecturer at Corvinus University, Budapest. Formerly director of Roma programs for the Open Society Foundations, he worked as the international advocacy coordinator with the European Roma Rights Centre and served as an expert for the government of Romania's Department for the Protection of National Minorities. An advocate for Roma school desegregation, he has been a long-term consultant to the Roma Education Fund, and the Open Society Public Health Program.

John Shattuck

President and Rector, Central European University

INTRODUCTION: The U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Now and Then

John Shattuck is the President and Rector of Central European University. Before coming to Central European University in 2009, he was CEO of the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation in Boston, and a senior fellow at Tufts University, where he taught human rights and international relations. He also served as assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights and labor under President Bill Clinton and as U.S. ambassador to the Czech Republic. Prior to his government service, Shattuck was a vice-president at Harvard University, and taught at the Harvard Law School. His many publications include *Freedom on Fire*, a study of the international response to genocide and crimes against humanity.

Paul Sheridan

Not in Our Town

DISCUSSANT: Film Festival, December 4

Paul Sheridan is a civil rights lawyer from Charleston, West Virginia, who has been working in the U.S. *Not In Our Town* movement for many years. He was Deputy Attorney General in the West Virginia's civil rights division, and was interim director of the American Civil Liberties Union of West Virginia in 2013. He founded the NIOT project in Charleston, W.V. and is currently a visiting speaker in Central Europe sponsored by the U.S. Embassy in Slovakia, where he is helping to develop *Not In Our Town* projects at Banska Bystrica, Slovakia and in Hungary.

Violetta Zentai

CEU Center for Policy Studies

PANELIST: The European Roma Rights Crisis (Panel One)

MODERATOR: Final Wrap Up: Takeaways from the Conference

Violetta Zentai is a cultural anthropologist with a PhD from Rutgers University. She has been codirector of the Center for Policy Studies at Central European University since 2003. She has been the lead researcher on a number of European Commission projects on ethnic diversity, gender, and education. Her major fields of interest are in social inequalities and equality policies, European policy-making, gender and economic justice, and post-socialist models of capitalism. She also is active in the Hungarian women's rights movement.