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Contribution of Compacts to Black and Minority Ethnic Voluntary and Community Organizations in England:

The case of Southwark

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Chapter I
Introduction

This is an analysis on the launch of Compact on Relations between Government and the Voluntary and Community Sector in England in contributing to political legitimacy by enhancing political equality to Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) Voluntary and Community organizations. This thesis will try to understand this problematic by analyzing the regulations of National Compacts, Compact Code of Good Practice for BME Voluntary and Community Organizations and Southwark Local Compacts and assessing the situation of BME Voluntary and Community organizations after launch of these regulations.

The focus has been chosen as a BME Voluntary and Community organizations on purpose due to their traditional political marginality from mainstream. This study is restricted itself to state of BME Voluntary and Community Organizations which are operating in the Southwark- an inner-city borough in London.

As a case, Southwark has chosen deliberately. Because in Southwark, there is vibrant and well-established BME voluntary sector due to high number of black and ethnic minority communities. Also, for them Southwark Local Compact is developed which considers BME Voluntary and Community Organizations. The key aim here is to research the Compacts' role as a contributor to political legitimacy by reinforcing political equality to BME Voluntary and Community Organizations. While doing so, this study will base itself on a combination of theories that link the political legitimacy and political equality.

1.1. Change of Characteristics of Relations between Government and Voluntary Sector

Over the past twenty years in the UK, The relationships between the governments and voluntary sector have undergone significant transformation with the Third way approach of New Labour. Although in the 1980s and early 1990s, under conservative government voluntary sector has a central role in service delivery, they were treated as an agent of a government (Taylor & Warburton, 2003, p.327). However with the Third way policies of New Labour government, voluntary sector which includes community associations, agencies, organizations or groups of citizens started to undertake the diverse tasks of government which are removed from the state bureaucracy (Ilcan and Basak, 2004, pp.129-130). Government and voluntary sector became indispensable partners for each other in providing public services (Plowden, 2003, p.416). Moreover, New Labour promised a commitment to ensure independence of the sector while initiating partnership (Taylor & Warburton, 2003, p.327).

Third way is defined as 'beyond Old Left and New Right'. Both Old Left and New Right have been criticized by Labour modernizers for variety of reasons. Old Left refers to Keynesian, egalitarian social democrats who tended to favor state and corporatist forms of economic and welfare governance which is accused of being too statist; too concerned with the redistribution and not the creation of wealth; too willing to grant rights but not to demand responsibilities. By 'New Right', Labour modernizers refer to Thatcherite Conservatism which is opposed of being the slave to neoliberal dogma by favoring market solutions in all cases; by having a laissez-faire view of the state; by promoting an asocial view of society; and by championing economic individualism which prioritize individual gain above wider social values (Driver &Martell, 2000, pp.2-3).

Voluntary sector appeared as major vehicle through which Third way policies are being delivered. According to Kendall, voluntary sector is defined as a cost-efficient provider, innovator and advocator operate as a "partner" to state by complementing and supplementing primary vehicles of social welfare that are the state, the informal and family care (Kendall, 2000, p.47). In the Almanac of UK National Council of Voluntary Organizations, Voluntary

& Community Sector is shown as a subpart of Third Sector which consists of non-charitable not profitable organizations, self help groups which are between state &market.

The centrality of voluntary sector in Third way approach is defined as a logical and pragmatic response to economic and social failures went before due to Old Left and New Right policies. Voluntary sector initiated to respond both needs of government, increasing costs involved in delivering welfare and providing an alternative way of organizing society by delivering services also assisting in the need to promote membership (social inclusion) within wider society (Popple &Redmond, 2000, pp.393-394).

According to Müller (2006) failure of the process of democratic political decision-making is apparent in modern societies. In respect of this model, there is an apparent loss of legitimacy of political institutions because of decline in political participation, uncontrolled growth of state surveillance and finally the threat of social atomization. There are causal interconnections between these risks. Giddens (1998) argues that Third Way approach is a necessary response to the changes in politics. He links up globalization and individualism with Old Left and New Right politics as changes in politics in order to represent how Third Way approach comes out as a necessary response. Mainly Giddens (1998) argues that Old Lefts' overemphasizing on the issue of greater equality objectives lead to state domination over civil society. Also, he mentions the New Right's politics of little interference to the maintaining political and economic equality as a cause to the social apathy and social fragmentation within society. Moreover, in general Giddens (1998) touches on the issues of globalization and individualism which lead to increasing localism at the expense of state and loss of faith to conventional spheres of big government.

1.2. Mission of the Voluntary Sector in the UK
Third way politics has a special concern on social justice and egalitarianism measures are proposed as a way to increase the range of freedoms open to individuals. Third way aims for forming a new relationship between individuals and community with redefinition of rights and obligations. Giddens suggests that prime mottos of Third way are: "new rights with responsibilities" and "no authority without democracy". Expanding individualism leads to extension of individual obligations. If in a society, tradition and custom is losing their importance, only way to reestablish of authority is via democracy. Expansion of individualism and new demands should be reflected by active and participatory solutions. (Giddens, 1998, pp.64-66).

Democratizing democracy is proposed as a solution for combating with the crisis of modern democracies. According to Giddens (1998) democratizing democracy necessitates decentralization and downward devolution of power in order to reassert power and ensure responsiveness of state. Accordingly, there should be "experiments with democracy" to reestablish more direct contacts with citizens and government rather than mere orthodox voting processes. Deliberative processes should be enhanced to increase public involvement Fostering of an active civil society constitute core of the politics of the Third way to perform the objectives given above (Giddens, 1998, pp.72-78).

In the literature voluntary sector is treated as a "panacea" by many, in order to tackle the problems of the states which are mainly; fears about declining political participation, anxieties about meeting welfare needs, and worries about the nature of citizenship (Jessop, 2002). Fyfe (2005) emphasizes the contribution of the third sector, that is ''located between market and state'', to development of social cohesion. According to Brown (2000) the third sector tend to be regarded as ''a place where politics can be democratized, active citizenship strengthened, the public sphere reinvigorated and welfare programmes suited to pluralist needs designed and delivered''.

Voluntary sector is considered as crucial to both to New Labour's programme of welfare reform but also to prospects of tackling social exclusion by reinvigorating civil society in terms of encouraging active citizenship and fostering social capital (Fyfe, 2005, p.3). In the framework of New Labour perspective, in order to cure anomie of late modernity flourishing of social capital is expected from voluntary sector by renewal of communities through their involvement in providing services (Kelly, 2007, p.1009).

1.3. The launch of Compacts on relations between Government and the Voluntary and Community Sector in England

According to Blair (1998), the mission of Third way is "to promote and reconcile the four values which are essential to a just society which maximizes the freedom and potential of all people- equal worth, opportunity for all, responsibility and community. The launch of Compacts ("On relations between Government and the Voluntary and Community Sector in England") can be considered as an initiative to supply these values to voluntary and community sector.

New Labour government in 1997, with emphasizing on partnership and proposing commitment to independence of third sector, a new national agreement was negotiated between government and the third sector in England. With the agreement of "Compacts", the right of the sector is formally acknowledged as "to campaign, to comment on Government policy and to challenge that policy, irrespective of any funding relationship that might exist" (Home Office, 1998: paragraph9:1). Similar agreements were signed at local level (Taylor & Warburton, 2003, p.327)

The National Compact contains lists of "Undertakings" by both sides. The principles include the statement that "The underlying philosophy of the compact is that voluntary and community activity is fundamental to the development of a democratic and socially inclusive society." (Murdock, p.11, 2006). The launch of Compact is an initiative of recognition of activities of voluntary and community sector as a precondition for democratic and socially inclusive society. The Compact is a starting point for developing partnership between Government and voluntary and community organizations to achieve shared aspirations which are the pursuit of inclusiveness, dedication to public life, and support for the development of healthy communities, based on shared values and mutual respect.

New Politics defines equality as inclusion and inequality as exclusion. As Giddens (1998) wrote: "Inclusion refers in its broadest sense to citizenship, to the civil and political rights and obligations that all members of society should have, not just formally, but as reality of their lives. It also refers to opportunities and to involvement in public space."

1.4. The Cause of the necessity for a BME Code

For historical and structural reasons, black and ethnic minorities lack real opportunities for dialogue with both local and national political institutions (Bousetta, 2001, p.9). Same problem exists in the situation of BME voluntary and community sector. As a solution to the challenge of diversity within the public sphere, political marginality and the question of the participation, consultation and representation of black and ethnic minorities in public and political life, strengthening BME voluntary and community sector is proposed.

In the Compact document, situation of BME voluntary and community organizations are highlighted. It is suggested that many BME voluntary and community organizations feel outside the traditional structures of the voluntary and community sector and the aim is to ensure that BME organizations have the opportunity to be directly involved in partnerships, consultation and decision making in order to develop and realize their potential.

Special consideration was given to needs and views of BME organizations and "Compact Code of Good Practice" was developed to build a framework of partnership between Government and the BME voluntary and community sector. The BME code take account of ethnic minorities' frequent distance from the policy mainstream, and their typical shortage of resources, and encourages government to recognize these and other particular features of BME organizations (Home Office and CWG, 2001a). In this study, main concerns are the undertakings of the government towards BME voluntary and community sector.

1.5. Focus of the study: Southwark Local Compact and BME Voluntary and Community Organizations

Local Compacts are agreements between local government, local public bodies and voluntary and community sectors. In the England, now all local authority areas are covered with a local compact. Southwark is an inner-city borough in London with a resident population estimated at 230,500 in 1997. In Southwark 37.1% of the population is made up of people from black and minority ethnic communities, this is compared with 34.3% across inner London. The largest ethnic group is of African Origin (16.1%). The Refugee Council estimates about 11,000 refugees and asylum seekers live in the borough. There are around 250 BME groups in Southwark the majority of which are entirely reliant on volunteers without whom the organizations and their services would not exist

The voluntary sector in Southwark is well established and made up of around 18,000 individuals delivering services through 1,200 community groups and voluntary organizations. The Southwark Compact aims to consolidate a new approach to partnership in which local communities have a real voice in decision-making and service design and delivery.

In Southwark Local Compacts, similarly to Compact Code of Good Practice for Black and Minority Ethnic Voluntary and Community Organizations there is a special reference to supporting diverse population of Southwark. According to McPherson Report (1999), there is institutional racism towards these groups that means that collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their culture, color or ethnic origin. It is acknowledged that BME Organizations still feel excluded from mainstream partnerships and initiatives and in order to preserve diversity of the population of Southwark it is essential that this part of the community sector be properly supported to engage in and influence policy decisions and deliver services that directly affect them. Southwark Council commit new duty that all public sector bodies to promote equal opportunities between people of different racial groups by ensuring community involvement techniques, policies and procedures do not discriminate against particular groups.

1.6. Research Objectives

Formal partnership agreements to regularize relations between the state and voluntary sector have either signed, or are in the process of elaborating in a number of welfare states. Britain, France and Canada have signed the agreements and the European Union is also eager to have agreements which would undoubtedly produce a snowball effect amongst its member states (White, 2001, p.4).

In the UK, decline in political participation, excessive growth of state and social atomization are experienced. These are the major attributes of crisis that occurred in modern democracies and caused loss of political legitimacy .The crisis' consequences are inability of state to fulfill new demands of citizens which arise from expansion of individualism and increasing pressure of globalization on governments.

Voluntary sector in the UK was given a mission to cure loss of political legitimacy by enhancing public involvement with increased deliberative processes. In this thesis, Compacts are considered as regulations to fix deliberative democracy mechanisms that aim to reflect

"will of the people" to political decision to contribute political legitimacy. As it is mentioned before, in new politics inclusion to decision making is reconciled with the political equality.

In that respect, the launch of Compacts, BME code and Southwark Local Compact are attempts to reach democratically and socially inclusive society by reinforcing mechanisms to reflect will of the people to decision making. These regulations have common discourse towards black and ethnic minorities who are traditionally excluded from traditional mechanisms. In several ways, regulations pursue to enhance political equality for BME voluntary and community sector because of their traditional distance from policy mainstream.

All these considerations lead to the following objective. The goal of this research is to understand the extent of launch of Compacts in ensuring political legitimacy by providing political equality for BME voluntary and community organizations.

In this study, launch of Compacts will be analyzed through the theory of input legitimacy and deliberative democracy theories and in which political equality is given importance. In the literature in respect of political legitimacy it is frequently mentioned the requirement of a substantive political equality which refers to equal availability of political influence to keep political process fair. Political equality as a foundation of democracy has the function of legitimizing regimes (Greven, 2005, p.273). In respect of equal power over outcomes perspective of Beitz (1989), political equality is the requirement that democratic institutions should provide citizens with equal procedural opportunities to influence political decisions. Beitz's theory of political equality which depends on regulative interests of citizens will be used as a model in order to assess political equality notion of Compacts.

1.7. Research Questions

This study intends to answer the following questions. In the research, the question that reflects the departure point of the analysis is;

§ To what extent does the launch of Compacts in Southwark contribute to regaining political legitimacy of politics by providing political equality to BME voluntary and community organizations?

In this study, in order to provide a coherent and precise answer to this question there are two approaches. First of all, the documents of the National Compacts, BME Code and Southwark Local Compact will be revisited. Later on, implementation aspect of these regulations will be searched.

In order to observe the political legitimacy notion in the documents of National Compacts, BME Code and Southwark Compact and reveal the linkage between political legitimacy and political equality, following three sub-questions are proposed.

§ What are the arguments used in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact to regain political legitimacy of politics in Southwark?

§ How the notion of political equality is interrelated to political legitimacy within the documents of the National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact?

§ How the National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact provide the political equality to the BME voluntary and community organizations in Southwark?

In this respect, the first objective is to look for the argumentation in the documents of Compacts, BME Code and Southwark Compact as a way of regaining political legitimacy of politics in accordance to the theoretical framework. These issues will be observed with looking up to regulations whether these regulations include proposals for a new style of governance, arguments for redevelopment of society and curing defects in politics and decision makings. Description of problems in politics and solutions within regulations will give hints about argumentations for regaining political legitimacy of politics. The analysis of argumentations for new arrangements in politics in order to regain political legitimacy will be conducted from the perspectives of input legitimization theory that necessitates a convergence between will of people and political decisions.

Second, the aim is to investigate in what sense there are connections between political legitimacy and political equality notions within the features of the regulations. Answer of second sub question will determine interrelationships of political equality notion to political legitimacy within the regulations. In the theoretical framework, political equality is given significance as conditionality for political legitimacy. In the content of regulations, in what ways political equality notion is related to the proposals for a new style of governance, arguments for redevelopment of society and curing defects in politics and decision makings will be searched. The interrelationship of political equality to political legitimacy will be searched also in description and solutions of problems that are determined in the regulations.

Thirdly, the Compacts, BME Code and Southwark Compact will be analyzed to reveal how these regulations provide the political equality to the BME voluntary and community organizations in Southwark. Substance of political equality notion within regulations is main concern in this part. Political equality as procedural fairness is conceptualized with the regulative interests of citizenship theory of Beitz which are recognition, equitable treatment and deliberative responsibility. According to theory, these are the foundations that specify the resources in terms of rights opportunities and within institutions. The contents of regulations will be analyzed whether there are initiatives to provide substantive procedural political equality in the sense of recognition, equitable treatment and deliberative responsibility for BME organizations.

As it is mentioned above, apart from analyzing the content of regulations also this study pursues to look for the implementation aspects. So, following question is proposed;

§ To what extent there is a convergence between objectives of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact in terms of political equality for BME and voluntary and community organizations in Southwark and implementation phase?

In next steps, this study aims to look for whether these regulations' objectives are realized. In other words, the implementation of the National Compacts, BME Code and Southwark Local Compacts and the actualization of objectives of political equality for to BME Voluntary and Community Organizations is one of the concerns of the research.

Accordingly, the state of BME voluntary and community organizations in Southwark after the launch of regulations will be examined. The focus will be the extent of convergence between the proposed objectives in documents regarding political equality and the actual situation of BME voluntary and community organizations. This step is significant in order to assess whether the regulations of Compacts enhanced political legitimacy by providing political equality to BME voluntary and community organizations in Southwark.

1.8. Methodological approach

In this study to provide precise answers to research questions above, two methodological approaches will be proposed. Regarding first three sub questions Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is one of the approach of documental analysis, will be applied. Especially for the operationalization theoretical considerations of CDA, the analytical framework of Fairclough will be used for the textual analysis. This framework depends on three levels which are; textual level, discursive practice and social practice.

In order to answer last sub question, it is necessary to contact with Southwark BME voluntary and community organizations because these questions cannot be answered without getting the feedback from them. In accordance to the analysis in the first part, survey research will be prepared in order to show to what extent there is a convergence between objectives of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact in terms of political equality for BME and voluntary and community organizations in Southwark and implementation phase.

Chapter II
Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In this research, major objective is to look for to what extent the regulations of Compacts contribute to political legitimacy in Southwark by enhancing political equality for BME voluntary organizations which are operating there. In this respect, sub questions examine the content and the implementation of regulations within the framework of the relation between political legitimacy and political equality. So, to provide precise answers to questions from a scientific perspective, theoretical framework of this study relies on combination of three major theories which are; *Scharpf's "Input-oriented" Legitimization Theory, Micro Deliberative Approach within Theories of Deliberative Democracies* and *Theory of Complex Proceduralism and Regulative Interests of Citizenship.*

These theories are chosen and systematically lined up because either they complement or fill the gaps or specify each other. The theoretical chapter intends to come up with a model which encompasses the notion of political legitimacy, the relationship between political legitimacy and political equality, the specific definition of political equality and systemic requirements for both ensuring political equality and political legitimacy. But, before giving the substance for each theory it is needed to assess what are risks in modern societies and loss of political legitimacy with special reference to UK within framework of Müller. This part will be the theoretical foundation for the background behind launch of Compacts and increasing importance of voluntary and community sector in UK.

2.2. Risks in Modern Society and Loss of Political Legitimacy

Although, this part does not intend to provide a framework to answer the research questions it is put in the theoretical framework. Because, in this part, within the framework of Müller, risks in modern societies and their consequences in respect of loss of political legitimacy will be discussed. This model is useful to conceptualize the sources of illegitimacy in politics in Britain that contributed to the launch of Compacts as a part of Third way politics.

In the Figure 1, serious risks and causes that are connected to the failure of the process of democratic political decision-making are configured by Müller (2006). In respect of this model, in modern societies there is an apparent loss of legitimacy of political institutions because of decline in political participation, uncontrolled growth of state surveillance and finally the threat of social fragmentation. There are causal interconnections between these risks.

Figure 1: Risk in Modern Society

State Surveillance
Bureaucratization
Centralization

CS

S

Fragmentation
Anomy

Crises
of Legitimacy

Civic Apathy
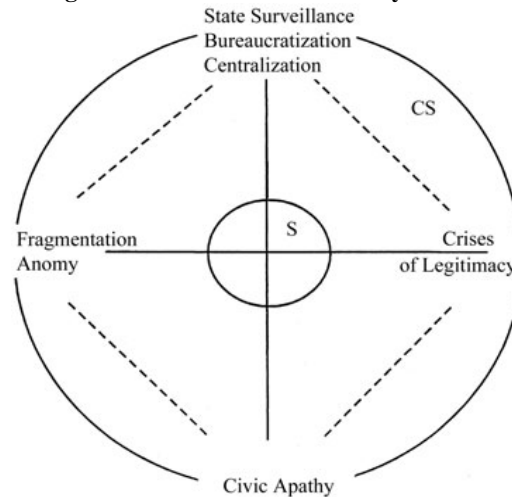
A Model by Karel B. Müller (2006)

According to Müller (2006), first risk in modern societies that challenges democratic process is that the danger of excessive centralization and concentration of political power (Cohen 1999, p.77; Putnam 2000, p.78). One of the reasons behind that is the formation of democratic mechanisms aimed at providing protections against inequality and at the elimination of privileges. In order to achieve that state becomes "regulator, adviser, teacher and judge, a kind of shelter" that guarantee the public interest. In return, growth of state power leads to the gradual accumulation of power in the hands of the centralized state which causes loss of legitimacy and endangers social cohesion.

Giddens argues that, the pursuit of equality has been concern of classical social democracy or old left including British Labour Party. Old-style social democrats were inclined to suspicious of voluntary organizations because they are considered as unprofessional and erratic when they are compared to state-provided social services. Strong egalitarianism or greater equality objectives caused pervasive state involvement in social and economic life and in return as Müller (2006) suggests there is a state domination over civil society. (Giddens, 1998, pp.7-10).

Second risk is determined as crisis of legitimacy of modern societies. Loss of trust of citizens to state emerges when state is incapable of reflecting its citizens' interests and in return this leads to crisis of legitimacy. Without the trust of citizens, state and political institutions lose their ability to govern effectively and democratically. Loss of legitimacy of political institutions' consequences are given as decline in political participation, the unregulated growth of state power, the deterioration of social cohesion and the emergence of social cleavages (Müller, 2006, p.323).

Giddens (1998) explains the Third way as a necessary response to changes in the politics. He stress on globalization and individualism. There is a growing globalism which leads to increasing localism at the expense of nation states. Globalization pulls away or weakens some powers of government used to possess and it creates new demands and possibilities to regenerate local identities. At the same time, due to the increasing prevailing the idea of the self-seeking "autonomous individual", prioritized "politics of life" which concern ecology, family, personal and cultural identity (Giddens, 1998, pp.28-37). There is a loss of faith to conventional spheres of big government and politics because of its inability to respond such demands of citizens; so sub politics and localism emerged as an alternative (Rose, 2000, p.1396).

Third risk is civic apathy. Alienation from political institutions causes a decline in political and civic participation and a reduction of the public's ability to influence the processes of public decision making (Cohen 1999; Putnam 2000; Sullivan 1999). Decline of civil participation leads to loss of legitimacy of decisions and cause a threat to social cohesion (Müller, 2006 p.323).

Fourth risk is social fragmentation, which may be a result of both from centralization, decline in political and civic participation and increase in political alienation. As quoted by Müller (2006), Tocqueville (1968) wrote that "The danger of social atomization is particularly characteristic of egalitarian societies, and it has the ability to produce a tendency towards anomy, the loss of social values and norms, the disintegration of the moral code and the overall loss of a sense of moral direction. Müller (2006) also refers to Putnam (2000) who associates social cohesion both with decline in the quality of the social environment and decline in the quality of public administration. Also, emergence of a moral vacuum and the disintegration of social norms and shared values can dysfunction the democratic political processes. Breaking up into political cleavages and the risk of a significant segment of society becoming alienated from the political system can be major consequences.

Within the model of Müller, third and fourth risks in modern societies can be linked to neoliberal policies of New Right (Thatcherism) in UK. New Right pursued minimal state objective with supporting autonomous civil society as a self-generating mechanism of social solidarity. Antagonisms to "big government", indifference to equality and the stance against egalitarian policies are the basic features of New Right. Welfare ought to be seen as an economic progress with individual initiatives rather than state benefits and markets provide the best if they are allowed to function with little or no interference (Giddens, 1998, pp.11-14). Disfavoring role of government as being provider of equalities and fostering individualism adversely affected citizens who are economically and politically disenfranchised. New Right was conservative in the sense of protecting the wealth and power of few and this paved the way to large inequalities within society which lead to social apathy and social fragmentation within society (Harris, 1999, pp.52-53).

In respects of the model that provided by Müller, it can be argued that political legitimacy require a balance between rights and responsibilities. Devolution power to sub politics prevents decline in political participation and increase the respect to political institutions. At the same time, if government's role as a being of equalities is neglected civic apathy and social fragmentation might be emerged due to exclusion of political actors from mainstream that are economically and politically disenfranchised.

According to Giddens(1998), who is considered as political theorist behind Third Way approach of New Labour, Third Way pursue to find a "third way" between Old Left and New Right policies. Third Way refrains from excessive centralization and concentration of political power and assigns political powers to voluntary and community sector that are operating in sub politics. At the same time, Third Way claims not to be indifferent to equality and egalitarian principles. As it is mentioned before, New Politics defines equality as inclusion and inequality as exclusion to the decision making processes.

2.3. Scharpf's "Input-oriented" Legitimization Theory

In this study, the concept of legitimacy and legitimization of decisions will be elaborated through the input-oriented democratic legitimization theory. This theory will be used to observe the extent of contribution of the Compacts to enhancing political legitimacy in Southwark.

This theory is appropriate because, legitimacy notion depends on the extent of linkage between will of the people and political choices which are given by governments. Furthermore, input-oriented democratic legitimization theory depends on the procedural

fairness that is essential for the legitimacy of mechanisms and procedures which connects the will of people and government

According to Scharpf's (1997; 1999) input-oriented democratic legitimization theory, political choices are legitimate if they reflect the "will of the people". Input-oriented thought emphasize on "government by the people".

Institutions can be perceived legitimate in the eyes of citizens because "they result from decisions made according to *procedures* that include rule of law, democracy or political and economic competition" (Van Kersbergen & Van Waarden, 2004, p.156). Beliefs in procedural fairness in decision makings are essential to enhance acceptance of decisions. In other words, acceptances of decisions are strong if they were made in a way that society consider fair (Papadopoulos, 2003, p.484).

Boedeltje and Cornips (2004) points out the requirement of *mechanisms or procedures* to link political decisions with citizens' preferences to provide legitimacy. They suggest that, input-oriented legitimacy depends on *mechanisms* that translate the 'will of the people' into political decisions. If those mechanisms are perceived by the people as 'democratic' or 'good', then there is input legitimacy.

Direct participation of citizens in political decision–making could be seen as a mechanism to link political decisions with citizens' preferences that is important source to enhance legitimacy on the input side. Deliberation is determined as the central *mechanism* to link political decisions with citizens' preferences. In this respect the deliberation as a way of introduction of interactive modes of governance is to be seen as an attempt to improve input legitimacy. Interactive modes of governance are changes of politics to increase citizen involvement to decision making processes. Direct participation of citizens is essential for interactive policy making which is to be seen as a mechanism to link citizens' preferences with the content of public policy.

Furthermore it is suggested that the interaction in policy-making could reduce social exclusion by contributing to cohesiveness of society. In order to actualize these objectives properly, interactive policy processes should provide fairness which refers to equal chance to stakeholders 'to be heard'. In other words, interactive processes are not merely gaining equal chance to gain access to the interactive process for all citizens but also the exercising influence ought to be distributed equally among all stakeholders (Boedeltje & Cornips, 2004, pp.4-6).

In summary, input-oriented democratic legitimization theory assess legitimacy of decisions by the democratic quality of procedures or mechanisms that enable to transmit will of people to political decisions. In this theory, deliberation of citizens is appeared as a significant mechanism, for actualization of input legitimacy. Deliberation enables to reach an increased match between preferences of citizens with the content of policy and for social cohesiveness within society. However, to fulfill full potential of deliberation, which is essential for actualization of input legitimacy, providing procedural fairness proposed as a precondition in the theory.

The research questions that inquiry the Compacts' contribution to the political legitimacy will be answered on the basis of the input-oriented democratic legitimization theory. In the regulations of Compacts, major aim is considered as to create democratically and socially inclusive society by reestablishing more direct contacts with citizens and government. In doing so, especially equality of opportunities was referred.

Compacts can be considered as initiatives which pursue to contribute to political legitimacy by supplying notion of procedural fairness to mechanisms and procedures which link up will of people with the content of policies. In this framework, this study aims to analyze the success of the regulations of Compacts that is contributing to political legitimacy,

by observing whether and to what extent they supply procedural fairness to decision making procedures and mechanisms.

At this point, in order to go into further details of the linkage between political legitimacy and political equality theories of deliberative democracy will be discussed and especially micro deliberative theory will be explained within perspectives of theorists who link up procedures of democracies and legitimacy.

2.4. Theories of Deliberative Democracy

In the input-oriented democratic legitimization theory, deliberations of citizens were given as mechanism or procedure that links up will of people with the content of the policies. According to theories of deliberative democracy, deliberation can only attain its goals properly, including political legitimacy, if a number of normative characteristics are fulfilled. In this literature, political equality is observed as the sole normative characteristic that is significant for attaining political legitimacy.

The theory of deliberative democracy will provide the basis for understanding the relation between political legitimacy and political equality. In order to specify the content of the equality, this study will refer to the micro deliberative theory. Micro deliberative theory is feasible due to the fact that, this perspective concern the procedural conditions for deliberation to encourage civil society to engage in collaborative practices with the state. Especially, Joshua Cohen's, as one of the micro deliberative theorists, viewpoints will be given which clarify nature of a deliberative procedure and its ideal conditions of deliberative procedure.

The theories of deliberative democracy depend on the ideas that, public sphere is characterized by rational thought, an equality of citizens and talk, and a fair, open, and engaged process. The public sphere is formed through a process of a 'rational and critical discourse among everyone involved' (Dutwin, 2003, p.241). According to Guttman and Thompson (1996), deliberation is defined as 'a conception of democratic politics in which decisions and politics are justified in a process of discussion among equal citizens'.

Hendriks (2006) connects the increasing interest in deliberation with the rejection of decision procedures based on the aggregation of votes or the competition of interests, which may cause irrational and arbitrary outcomes. In deliberative model collective decisions are determined through reflective public reasoning and deliberation leads to rational decisions, fairer, more publicly oriented outcomes and improved civic skills (Hendriks, 2006, p.491).

Deliberative democracy is the idea of that legitimate political decision making depends on public deliberation of free and equal citizens. According to John Dryzek (2000); 'deliberative democracy' holds that 'the essence of democratic legitimacy should be sought …in the ability of all individuals subject to a collective decision to engage in authentic deliberation about that decision.' According to Stamatis (2001); "political democracy can command adequate degree of legitimation as long as the citizens substantively equal". Substantive equality prevails if the existing distribution of power and resources could allow effective chances for free and equal access of power.

According to Cooke (2000), deliberative democratic theory's special concern on the principle of equal respect for citizens as autonomous moral agents is one of the strong arguments that favor this theory. It is because the view that "everyone is in principle deserving of equal respect as an autonomous moral agent with a distinct point of view" is one of the significant premises of the Western modernity. Equal respect means that, "everyone is capable of making an informed and insightful judgment on moral matters and no-ones' argument should be discounted on the grounds of race, class, sex and so on" (Cooke, 2000, p.955).

In the literature it is frequently mentioned that, political deliberation is an instrument by which to inform citizens and encourage public opinion. Deliberation can only properly attain these goals if the discussion reflects the characteristics of equality. In public deliberation opinion formation equality exhibits if all participants' voices are heard opinion formation. Benhabib (1996) and Cohen (1997) suggest that, in order to be inclusive in terms of public deliberation and knowledge deliberation must be equal and open to all classes. Main principle behind the equality principle is the simple requirement that every individual has to obtain equal opportunity to contribute to the deliberation (Dutwin, 2003, p.242).

According to Rawls, ideal democratic order has egalitarian implications. He argues that, in a just society political opportunities and powers should be independent of economic and social positions. Political liberties must have a fair value and political agenda should not be controlled by economically and socially dominant groups. Democratic politics requires some form of manifest equality among citizens. (see Cohen, 1997, p.69;   Rawls, 1971, pp. 225-226, 277-278; 1982 pp. 42-43).

Deliberation conception of politics is given as a necessary for legitimation of state power through democratic will-formation and decision-making. Stamatis (2001) suggest that complex theory of deliberative democracy has linkages with effective approximation of equality, liberty and solidarity for all persons who might be involved in process of justification of what is to be done. In order to achieve that, Stamatis (2001) refers to institutional credentials of welfare state such as economic and social rights, a strong commitment to decreasing material inequalities that are connected to social exploitation and domination.

In the literature, equality principle of deliberation democracy concerns over whether the formation of public opinion is dominated by the elite. Propensity of individuals to speak out in deliberation is a significant criterion. If some individuals have more opportunity to speak significantly more than others, if deliberation is dominated by few then deliberation does not fulfill equality principle (Dutwin, 2003, p.242).

In societies characterized by significant disparities of power, inequalities can prevail and cause to systematic barrier to political deliberation because of inequalities with regard to gender, race, and political minority status. Sanders (1997) claims that 'real deliberation is likely to under represent exactly those who need representation the most. . . . Even if these people show up, they are likely to be seen as the least persuasive, to be discounted more frequently'. Deliberative democrats claim that legitimate government must include all relevant social and political perspectives. Just and legitimate processes must take into account marginalized groups needs and identities (Habermas, 1996, p.183)

2.4.1 Micro Deliberative Theory

In this study, deliberative democratic theory will be discussed through the conceptualizations of micro deliberative theorists who focus on the procedural conditions for deliberation and who encourage civil society to engage in collaborative practices, usually with the state. Micro theories of deliberative democracy prescribe roles for civil society with respect to how citizens and groups should relate to the state and how they should take on a communicative or strategic role in deliberative politics (Hendriks, 2006, pp.486-487). According to Hendriks (2006); "Micro theories of deliberative democracy suggests that civil society actors should engage in deliberative politics to the extent that they are willing and capable of participating in structured deliberative fora". In that respect, it is apparent that civil society is part of communicative forms of action through collaborating with the state.

Cohen is accepted as a micro-deliberative theorist who concentrates on defining and discussing the nature of a deliberative procedure and its ideal conditions of deliberative procedure (Hendriks, 2006, p.487). As quoted in Hendriks (2006), Cohen (1997)   defines

deliberative procedures as 'arenas in which citizens can propose issues for the political agenda and participate in debate about those issues'. In this context, for Cohen (1997) a forum is democratic and deliberative if the participants are free and equal to decide on the agenda, propose solutions to the problems set for discussion and aim to settle on an alternative.

In the democratic theory of Joshua Cohen, the procedures of public deliberation are given specific importance in improving the fairness of democratic outcomes. In other words, he derives the quality of democratic outcomes from the procedure of public deliberation (Cooke, 2000, p.952).Cohen bases his arguments about "well-ordered democracy" on Rawls's idea of a "well-ordered society". According to him well-ordered democracy has three features. Firstly, it involves public debate on the common good. Secondly, it ensures the fair value of equal political liberties and "manifests equality" in public institutions. Thirdly, it provides a basis for self-respect and the development and exercise of citizens' sense of justice (Freeman, 2000, p.389).

As a strict proceduralist, Cohen's argument is that the procedure of public deliberation improves the outcome of democratic process by making them more just. Cohen (1997) argues that decisions are fair and legitimate if they are produced by a fair deliberative procedure. As quoted in Cooke (2000), Cohen writes that "democratic procedures are the sources of legitimacy" and "outcomes are democratically legitimate if and only if they could be object of free and reasoned agreement among equals."

Cohen provides conditions "internal" to deliberative democracy that regulates their deliberations on the common good. He argues that "the rights, liberties, powers, opportunities, and egalitarian social institutions that must be in place if democratic deliberation among equal citizens are to be possible" (Freeman, 2000, p.392).

Cohen describes an ideal procedure that is conditions of democratic deliberation in democratic institutions. This ideal procedure is "a place for many of the rights, opportunities, and institutions covered by liberal conceptions of justice" According to his conceptualization of "ideal deliberative procedure", ideal deliberation is free and equal if procedures ensure that parties are both formally and substantively equal, to the degree that distribution of resources does not play a causal role affecting deliberation. As a condition of deliberation citizens have to have access to resources "that are adequate to render each citizen politically independent of the influence of power-relations". This refers to a "political minimum," or sufficient income to enable citizens to be independent in effective exercise of political participation (Freeman, 2000. pp.390-392).

To sum up, the theories of deliberative democracy are explanatory for this study in terms of setting equality as one of the preconditions for deliberative democracy and legitimacy of the political decisions. Equality is defined as not only equal access to decision making but also equal discussion of issues between members of society is highlighted. In order to realize equality in both terms, micro deliberative theory is referred. Micro deliberative point view enabled to explain conditions of procedures of "well-ordered" or ideal deliberative democracies. Democratic procedures are given as a precondition for the sources of legitimacy. These ideal deliberative procedures are determined as substantively equal in which distribution of resources in terms of the rights, opportunities and within institutions are covered by liberal conception of justice.

Thus, the major research question which inquiry the extent contribution of the Compacts to enhancing political legitimacy by providing political equality to BME voluntary and community organizations will be answered in this axis. The search for argumentation of political legitimacy in the documents of regulations, the interrelation between political equality and political legitimacy and the concrete actions of providing political equality will be searched according to the conditions of procedures of ideal deliberative democracies. However, although these conditions are set as "substantive equality in which distribution of

resources in terms of the rights, opportunities and within institutions", an operational framework is needed to clarify the content of the "ideal condition". In this study "ideal condition" will be explained with the Charles Beitz's Complex Proceduralism theory.

2.5. Theory of Complex Proceduralism and Regulative Interests of Citizenship

In the framework of democratic deliberative theory and input-legitimization theories there is a special reference to the "procedures" and "mechanisms" which are considered in order to define and discuss the ideal conditions for a political legitimacy in deliberative process and for input-legitimization. As it is mentioned, procedural equality is encountered as one of the major attributes of political legitimacy in democratic deliberation and input legitimization. Beitz (1989) proposes a theory on proceduralism that conceptualizes the political equality.

Beitz's (1989) theory of complex proceduralism is based on regulative interests of citizenship; these are interests in *recognition, equitable treatment* and *deliberative responsibility.*

Beitz (1989) proposes a hybrid version of procedural theory which has insights from simple versions of proceduralism that identify fair participation with procedural equality. In order to differentiate his theory from other ones he calls that "complex proceduralism".

The central idea of Beitz's (1989) theory of complex proceduralism is that, institutions for participation should justifiable for each citizen with taking into account the interests that arise from both aspects of citizenship. Citizen is accepted as both ruler and ruled. The theory of political equality is complex due to complex status of citizenship which arises from "dual roles" of citizenry.

In complex proceduralism, *regulative interests of citizenship* are determined which reflect complex status of democratic citizenship. These are interests in *recognition, equitable treatment* and *deliberative responsibility.* Each interest represents categories that are valuable for assessing arrangements for participation.

Charles Beitz (1989) considers democracy responsive to more fundamental commitments, to the ideal of equal citizenship in particular. Beitz (1989) believes that citizens would not agree to terms that if any of three 'regulative interests of citizenship': interests are not satisfied. He wrote that; "Complex proceduralism holds that the terms of participation are fair if no one who had these ("regulative") interests and who was motivated by a desire to reach agreement with others on this basis cold reasonably refuse to accept them." (Beitz, 1989, p.100)

"The interests in *recognition* involve the public status or identities that procedural roles assign to those occupy them. Political procedures define the terms on which citizens recognize each other as participants in public deliberation and choice". Beitz (1989) gives the example of denial of the franchise to blacks in antebellum South as an extreme case to when people are excluded entirely from any public role. Exclusion and being not recognized equalized to "being not publicly recognized as persons at all" and "socially dead". Additionally, Beitz refers to assigning procedural roles in a way that conveys "social acceptance of a belief in the inferiority or lesser merit of one group distinct from others". In order to fulfill recognition interests of citizens, political roles defined by democratic institutions should convey a communal acknowledgement of equal individual worth. "Public institutions should not establish or reinforce the perception that some people's interest s deserves less respect".

The interest in *equitable treatment* of citizens is basically refusal of citizens to accept institutions under which their interests are unfairly placed in jeopardy. "The interest in 'equitable treatment' is violated when institutions are designed in such a way that some citizens can predict that their interests would be unfairly placed at risk". According to

DiQuattro (1991) "equitable treatment, which safeguards urgent or vital interests, is important for stability and prevents serious and recurring injustices when there is an alternative available that would be less likely to do so without introducing countervailing harm of other kinds".

Political decisions should satisfy the interest in equitable treatment by promoting a distribution that accords with the requirements of justice in which each person's prospects are taken equally into account. In this respect, the theory has a result-oriented consideration.

For Beitz (1989); "central virtue of democratic forms is that they provide the most reliable means of reaching substantively just political outcomes consistently with the public recognition of the equal worth or status of each citizen." Also, according to him democracy should be perceived as a "deliberative mechanism that frames the formation and revision of individual political judgments in a way likely to elicit outcomes that treat everyone's interests equitably".

Third regulative interest of citizens is in *deliberative responsibility*. Democratic institutions should be committed to political issues on the basis of public deliberation. Public deliberation should be "adequately informed, open to the expression of wide range of competing views and carried out under conditions in which these views can be responsibly assessed". Citizens should be conceived as participants in public decisions. Institutions should encourage responsible deliberation due to the fact that, integrity of political decisions and system of participation depend on deliberation.

Beitz (1989) provided two elements of deliberative responsibility. Firstly, deliberation should be open and not be constrained by exclusion of position within society. Exclusion of positions may lead to suppression of information and points of view that are essential for all citizens in reaching responsible judgment about common good. Second element is about quality of deliberation process itself. According to Beitz (1989) "the conditions of public deliberation should be favorable to the thoughtful consideration and comparative assessment of all of the positions represented" and "citizens should be enabled to reach political judgments on the basis of an adequately informed and reflective comparison of the merits of the contending positions".

To sum up, Beitz (1989) argues that democratic procedures which fulfill the regulative interests of citizenship satisfy the requirements of political fairness and thus treat citizens equally in the appropriate way. He attributes to all citizens interests in recognition, equitable treatment, and deliberative responsibility. The fulfillments of these interests are essential for regulation of the choice and operation of democratic procedures (DiQuattro, 1991, p.992).

In the study, ideal conditions of well-ordered democracy will be measured according to the extent of the regulative interests of citizens- recognition; deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment- are satisfied by the democratic procedures and mechanisms.

2.6. Conclusion

In this theoretical framework, the departure point is determined by input-oriented legitimization theory. The political legitimacy occurs when political choices reflect the "will of the people". Deliberations of citizens are proposed as a significant mechanism to enable convergence between the political choices and the will of the people. At this point, in this theory procedural fairness is given importance and is emerged as conditionality for ensuring political legitimacy. Then, deliberative democracy theories are discussed to give insight to relations between political legitimacy and political equality. In this literature, this study specifically focuses on micro deliberative theory of Cohen because it explains why procedural equality is a precondition of deliberative democracies and legitimacy of political decisions. Also, he explains the conditions of procedures of ideal deliberative democracies as; "substantive equality in which distribution of resources in terms of the rights, opportunities and within institutions". In last step, these "resources" are explained within the

conceptualization of complex proceduralism and regulative interest's framework of Beitz (1989). Democratic procedures should satisfy the regulative interests of citizens which are; recognition, equitable treatment, and deliberative responsibility.

Accordingly, with taking into consideration all these aspects of theories mentioned above; regulations of Compacts are considered as regulations to fix deliberative democracy mechanisms that aim to reflect "will of the people" to political decision to contribute political legitimacy. In accordance to the theoretical framework, the contribution of regulations of Compacts to political legitimacy will be analyzed through the level of political equality that they provide to BME voluntary and community organizations. As it is mentioned political equality is accepted as procedural fairness in this study. Procedures of ideal deliberative democracy make substantive equality as condition for distribution of resources in terms of rights opportunities and within institutions. Compacts' contributions will be analyzed with these ideal conditions of deliberative democracy. Distribution of resources is specified into regulative interests of citizenships and Compacts will be assessed whether they provide recognition, equitable treatment and deliberative responsibility.

The theoretical framework of this study is illustrated with the following scheme;

Political legitimacy

(dependent variable) ⟹ **Political Equality**

(independent variable)

⇓

Procedural Fairness

(Regulative interests of citizenship)

- **Recognition**

- **Equitable treatment**

- **Deliberative responsibility**
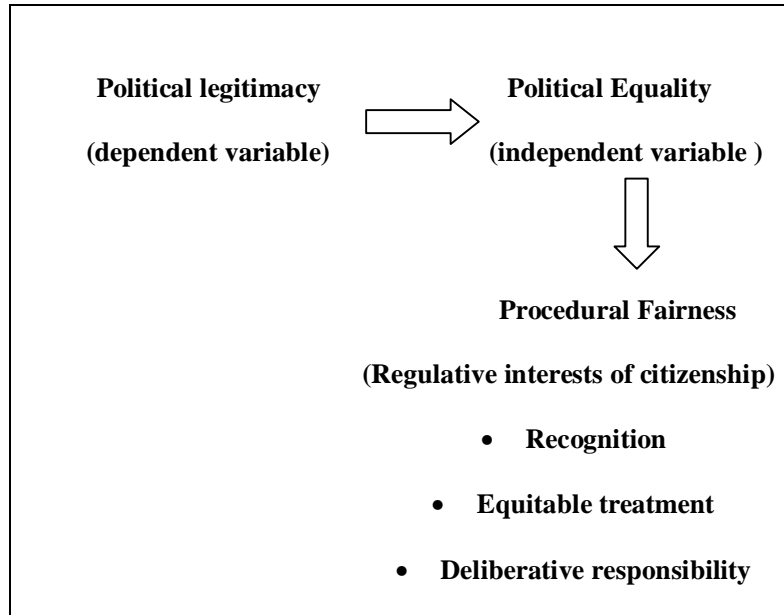
Political equality, as an independent variable, is determined as the major determinant of political legitimacy that is dependent variable. Political equality is specified with the regulative interests of citizenship which are; recognition, equitable treatment and deliberative responsibility. The analysis will be conducted within this framework.

In order to provide answer to the major research question, that investigates to what extent does the Compacts enhance political legitimacy by providing political equality to BME organizations in Southwark, three sub questions are proposed. First question looks for argumentations in regulations to regain political legitimacy of politics in Southwark, second question aims to reveal interrelationships of political equality notion to political legitimacy within regulations and third questions' objective is to show substance of political equality notion within regulations.

First, the argumentations in regulations to regain political legitimacy of politics in Southwark will be discussed. The issues to be taken into account can be specified as, whether these regulations include proposals for a new style of governance, arguments for

redevelopment of society and curing defects in politics and decision makings. Also, description of problems in politics and solutions will be searched within regulations. In this section, the analysis of argumentations for new arrangements in politics will be conducted from the perspectives of input legitimization theory that necessitates a convergence between will of people and political decisions.

Second part aims to determine interrelationships of political equality notion to political legitimacy within the regulations. In the literature, as conditionality for political legitimacy, political equality is given importance. This part is a continuation of the logic of first part. In the content of regulations, in what ways political equality notion is included in the proposals for a new style of governance, arguments for redevelopment of society and curing defects in politics and decision makings will be searched. The interrelationship of political equality to political legitimacy will be searched also in description and solutions of problems that are determined in the regulations.

In third part, the substance of political equality notion within regulations will be analyzed. As it is mentioned, political equality as procedural fairness is conceptualized with the regulative interests of citizenship which are recognition, equitable treatment and deliberative responsibility. These concepts specify the resources in terms of rights opportunities and within institutions. The contents of regulations will be analyzed whether there are initiatives to provide substantive procedural political equality in the sense of recognition, equitable treatment and deliberative responsibility for BME organizations.

Chapter III
Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In this study the main concern is to make a study on the contribution of the launch of National Compacts, BME Code and Southwark Local Compacts' to regaining political legitimacy of decision making in Southwark region. The issue will elaborated through the perspective of "political equality" which is proposed to BME voluntary and community organizations in Southwark by these regulations.

In the case of Compacts and BME voluntary and community organizations of Southwark, there is a change of discourse in terms of new rights and democratic discourses which arise due to the changes of way of governing of Third way policies of New Labour. It is apparent that there is a new discourse towards the BME voluntary community organizations that specifically transmitted through the regulations of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is selected deliberatively from diverse options of textual analysis as a methodological approach. CDA analysis is appropriate because this specific kind of analytical framework focuses on the role of discursive activity in constituting and sustaining unequal power relations (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.23).

In UK, it is apparent that there is a power imbalance between policy makers and voluntary and community sector and even for BME organizations such gap is further. Third way policies of New Labour provided a new opening out to the BME voluntary and community sector with the concrete action of launch of the Compacts. New rights and responsibilities are transmitted through Compacts.

In the book "New Labour: New Language" in which CDA is applied, Fairclough (2000) explains why he had used CDA and why it is appropriate accordingly: "In the case of New Labour, the political discourse of the 'Third Way' has brought new right and social democratic discourses, as well as communitarian discourses into a new combination; changes in a way of governing have taken the form of changes in the set of genres which are brought together in the government...Critical Discourse Analysis aims to trace these changes through close analysis of the texture of the texts…"

So, according to terminology of Fairclough (1997) there is a change in the distal context towards BME voluntary and community organizations and CDA is an appropriate tool because it focuses on "how broad changes in the discourse result in different constellations of advantage and disadvantage" (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.23).

Hereafter, first of all as an approach of discourse analysis, CDA will be explained. Then, analytical framework will be given in accordance to the theoretical framework and research questions to specify data collection and data analysis for this study.

3.2. Discourse Analysis

Discourse is defined as interrelation of texts and the practice of their production. "Social reality is produced and made real through discourses, and social interactions cannot be fully understood without reference to the discourses that give them meaning." Discourse analysts' task is to explore the relationship between discourse and reality. (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.3).

The Critical Discourse Analysis is one of the traditions in discourse analysis. This approach focuses on directly on the dynamics of power that is specifically "the relation of language to power and privilege." "Critical discourse analytical perspective has been proposed as a way to analyze the practices and techniques that produce and reproduce power relationships within organizations" (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, pp.20-27)

3.2.1 The Critical Discourse Analysis

The emergence of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an analysis tool is related to specific political context of ideological and political movements since the 1960s. CDA is interested in dominance and power relations between social entities and classes specifically between national, ethnic, political, cultural and sub-cultural groups. CDA's application is relevant to the analysis of social power. Departure point is assumed as that the "inequality and injustice are repeatedly reproduced in language and legitimized by it".

Theoretical framework of CDA is derived from theory of ideologies and philosophical tradition of Antonio Gramsci. According to Gramsci, political structure of a society is dependent on combinations of political/institutional and civil society. In order to reach agreement of majority a collective will must be formed and it can be realized by ideologies. Ideologies become concrete and achieve a discourse by the "real materiality of linguistic sign". In dialogue processes between participants -which are attributed as a significant part of a complex process of discourse formation- meanings are produced and reproduced. Institutions and social mechanisms are mediating devices between the complete mechanisms of a society and interactions. CDA is an interdisciplinary approach in the sense that forms a linkage between social structure and linguistics. The linguistic theory of ideology views use of language as ideological. Each text is viewed as a part of series of texts to which it reacts and refers and which it modifies. In this respect, every text depends on socially predetermined contexts (Titscher & Meyer & Wodak & Vetter, 2000, pp.145-146).

CDA concerns social problems. It is concerned with linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures rather than with language or language use per se. Power relations which constitutes both power in discourse and power over discourse are in the realm of discourse studies. Analysis of discourse is significant due to the fact that society and culture are dialectically related to discourse. Society and culture are affected by discourse and at the same time constitute discourse. Language is important for discourse analysis because language use reproduces and transforms society and culture including power relations (Titscher & Meyer & Wodak & Vetter, 2000, p.146).

Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. It provides a systematic methodology and a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power relations. Critical discourse analysis sees discourse- that is language use in speech and writing- as a form of social practice. Analyzing discourse as a social practice is revealing dialectical relationship between the discourse and situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) that frame it. The dialectical relationship is described as two ways: discourse is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures but also it shapes them. Therefore discourse analysis refers to the analysis of relationships between concrete language use and the wider social and cultural structures. (Titscher & Meyer & Wodak & Vetter, 2000, pp.146-149).

3.3. Analytical Framework of CDA for the Data Analysis

For Fairclough (1993), texts are significant form of social activity. In order to justify text analysis methodologically, he points out the increasing use of texts as a data. On the other hand, for him texts are good indicator of social change. Texts are evidences of redefinition of social relationships, the reconstruction of identities and of knowledge.

In terms of data collection, this study is restricted itself to state of BME voluntary and community organizations which are operating in Southwark in London. Accordingly, documental analysis encompasses only the documents of National Compacts, BME Code and Southwark Local Compact. In this study National Compacts, BME Code and Southwark Compact are considered as concrete forms and indicators of social changes which redefine
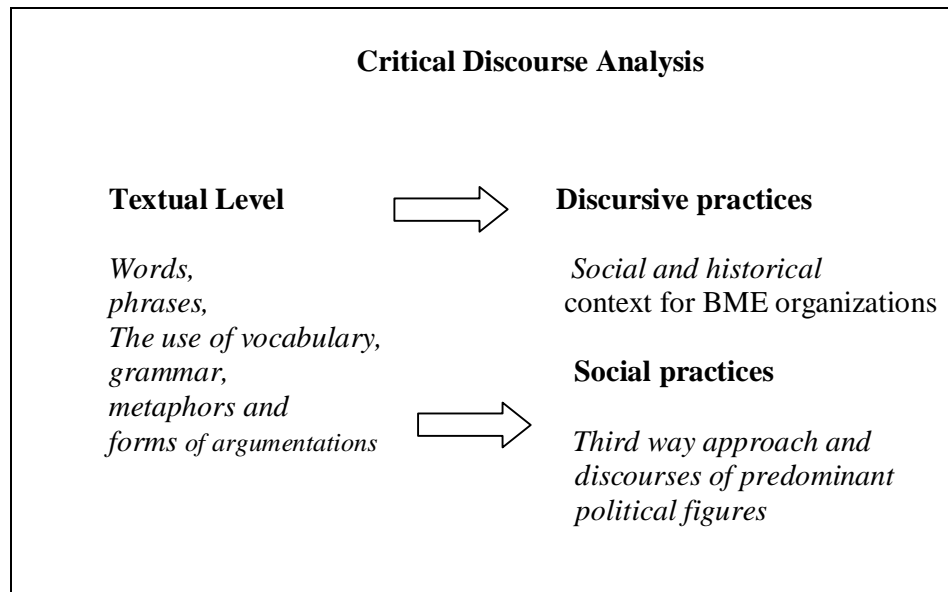
social relationships. Also, these regulations are sufficient to analyze because their content reflect the change of discourse towards BME voluntary and community organizations in Third way of New Labour.

Fairclough (1993) developed an analytical framework in order to operationalize theoretical considerations. He suggests three dimensions for discourse analysis which are: *textual, discursive practice* and *social practice.* Accordingly, this approach will be used in analyzing the content of the texts of National Compacts, Compact Code of Good Practice for BME Voluntary and Community Organizations and Southwark Local Compacts.

At the level of textual level, text will be analyzed on the basis of its content and form.. Linguistic properties are described by looking up to the grammar, vocabulary ant cohesion of the text. Regarding the research questions, the use of vocabulary, grammar, metaphors, and forms of argumentation will be assessed like for instance looking up to frequency of using terms of "inclusion", "equality", "equal", "inequality", "fair", "fairness", "unfairness". Moreover the notions of "recognition", "equitable treatment" and "deliberative responsibility" will be searched within texts. Most importantly, within texts the wordings for definitions for political legitimacy, political equality and interrelationships of these notions will be explained and analyzed through the theoretical model which is proposed by this study. However, textual analysis will be interpretative in that sense and it will not be comprehensive to fulfill Fairclough's concerns because this study does not intend to make a detailed linguistic study of the texts.

Second dimension is the discursive practice which links the text production and social practice. In this part the objective is to interpret the relationship between the productive and interpretative processes of discursive practice and the text. This level bridges the text and the context. Mainly, how the social and historical foundations are combined or modified by the texts and how texts are produced or interpreted depends upon the social context are searched. Accordingly, in this part of analysis the major concern will be to look up how these social and historical facts and foundations about BME voluntary and community sector and BME communities are combined or modified in the texts of regulations. These facts and foundations are related to political inequality and procedural unfairness for BME voluntary and community sector and BME communities. This part's major contribution will be combining discourse of Compacts with the wider historical and social context.

In the third dimension social practice will be analyzed in the level of social organizations: the situation, the institutional context, the wider group or social context. The central interest is here the question of power and it is presumed that power and ideologies may have an effect on each of the contextual levels. Fairclough refers to Gramsci's concept of hegemony and he relates discourse with the hegemony. This level explains the relationship between discursive and social practice. In this part of analysis main concerns will be to look up the Compacts from the perspective of Third Way approach of New Labour and refer to discourses of political figures like Tony Blair who is predominant figure of these policies.

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│                  Critical Discourse Analysis                      │
│                                                                   │
│                                                                   │
│   Textual Level          ═══════▷    Discursive practices         │
│                                                                   │
│   Words,                              Social and historical       │
│   phrases,                            context for BME organizations│
│   The use of vocabulary,                                          │
│   grammar,                            Social practices            │
│   metaphors and                                                   │
│   forms of argumentations ═══════▷    Third way approach and      │
│                                       discourses of predominant   │
│                                       political figures           │
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3.4. Survey Research

On the other hand, this study aims to look for whether these regulations' objectives are realized. In other words, the implementation of the National Compacts, BME Code and Southwark Local Compacts and the actualization of objectives of political equality for to BME Voluntary and Community Organizations is one of the concerns of the research. Last sub research question concerns what extent there is a convergence between objectives of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact in terms of political equality for BME and voluntary and community organizations in Southwark and implementation phase. Without asking to Southwark BME voluntary and community organizations, it is not possible to reach answers of these questions.

So, in order to search whether or what extent theory converted into practice, surveys will be sent to various to BME Voluntary and Community Organizations. The questions of the survey will be prepared on the basis of the objectives and within the framework of political equality understanding of the regulations. BME Voluntary and Community Organizations will be selected on the basis of their operating time because it's important to search for organizations which are experienced both the former period and after the launch of regulations. Their responses will be compared to the objectives of the regulations that are analyzed in the first part. The major aim will not to make a quantitative analysis but the concern will be to make the qualitative analysis of the responses.

Survey research will be used as a mode of social observation and collection of data. After selecting sample of respondents, standardized questionnaire will be administered to them. In this research the interest is to determine the particular attitude or perspective that respondents hold towards statements regarding political equality notions that are presented as objectives in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact. The statements will be presented briefly and respondents will be asked to evaluate according to Rensis Likert's model. In this model respondents are asked to strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree or strongly disagree to statements. (Babbie, 2007, pp. 244-246). Likert scale, named after Rensis Likert, is a pioneer in the field of attitude measurement. The fundamental idea of Likert scale is that an attitude can be thought of as a set of propositions about beliefs, evaluations and actions held by individuals. Accordingly, in this research respondents' answers to sample of

statements will enable to reach a better measure of the attitude (Bradburn & Sudman & Wansink, 2004, p.126).

The Directory of Southwark Signpost provides the full list of BME voluntary and community organizations which provide health and social care voluntary sector services in Southwark. Respondents will be selected within that list. There are 90 BME voluntary and community organizations. The field work of this study will be carried online. This survey will be conducted with the help of a survey software programme of Questionpro. The notice and questionnaire will be sent to the respondents via this programme. There will be a special webpage for the survey. Also, this survey software will provide real-time report and statistical results. In the analysis of the results, these reports and statistics will be the departure point. Due to time limitations of the study field work is planned to be conducted within 30 days.

The final result of survey research will provide hints about the attitude of Southwark BME organizations towards launch of Compacts. Thus, the convergence between proposed objectives in Compacts and the implementation phase will be shown with the help of the results of survey. In order to do that, without making any changes, the statements of survey will be extracted from regulations and respondents will be asked to evaluate them. The statements will be undertakings of government towards BME organizations which represents political equality and procedural fairness notions. Specifically, these statements will be determined in accordance to the critical discourse analysis of content of the regulations.

In return final analysis of survey research will be given as a verbal explanation of statistical results which will be provided by the survey research software. It is because survey research is not supported by open ended questions. So, results of this survey research will only provide answer to the question of "to what extent there is a convergence between objectives of regulations and implementation phase" but it will not answer "why" questions.

3.5. Conclusion

Consequently, methodological approach for this study is twofold. The change of discourse towards Southwark BME voluntary and community organizations is transmitted through the regulations of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact. Content of indicated regulations will be the sole sources for data collection or empirical evidences. CDA analysis will be used for documental analysis in order to grasp the new discourse regarding political legitimacy and political equality perspectives. The analysis will be in levels of *textual, discursive* and *social practices.*

In textual level, in the contents of regulations specific words, phrases will be searched and the use of vocabulary, grammar, metaphors, and forms of argumentation will be assessed in accordance to theoretical framework and research questions. However in this part, detailed linguistic study will be neglected. In the level of discursive practice, major concern is to extract arguments from regulations the ways of combining or modifying historical and social foundations or facts regarding political inequality and procedural unfairness that BME voluntary and community sector and BME communities experience. This part will enable to link up discourse of Compacts with the wider historical and social context. In third level of critical discourse analysis, in order to illustrate the situation, the institutional context, the wider group or social context in which Compacts are launched, Third way approach of New Labour and discourses of political figures like Tony Blair who is predominant figure of these policies will be given.

However, this study does not assure to apply these steps in order step by step. In contrary, analysis will depend on the approach that is a gathering of textual, discursive and social practices. Textual level will encompass discursive and social practices. The level of textual practice will be the dominant one with complementation of discursive and social

practices. It is because; this approach will be more practical due to the interconnectedness between these levels.

In the second level, survey research will be conducted in order to measure the implementation level. In the survey, there will be brief statements in accordance to the analysis of the documents and respondents will be asked to choose their attitudes towards statements according to Likert scale. The final analysis of results of survey research will depend on just verbal explanation of statistical results which will be reached by the help of survey research software.

In order to conduct the analysis in this framework, the following steps will be taken. In first part detailed description of documents will be given in order to ease the analysis and refine arguments in the regulations. In next step, in accordance to significant points that were given in the description part, the regulations will be analyzed for the purpose of the answering research questions.

Major research question concern to what extent the launch of Compacts in Southwark contributes to regaining political legitimacy of politics by providing political equality to BME voluntary and community organizations. Three sub questions will be answered on the basis of major research question and critical discourse analysis concerns. Step by step, argumentations in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact to regain political legitimacy of politics in Southwark, interrelationship of political equality notion to political legitimacy within the documents of the National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact and the substance of political equality notion within documents under the headings of recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment will be revealed. Conclusion of the analysis part will be the part in which overall inferences related to major research question and theoretical implications hold a place.

Survey research depends on the analysis of Compacts. Statements will be extracted from Compacts in accordance to the critical discourse analysis that conducted in previous part. As in theoretical framework put, political equality is major determinant of political legitimacy. Procedural political equality consists of recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment for BME organizations. So, those statements will be selected and grouped according to the final results of analysis in the part of substance of political equality notion within documents under the headings of recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment. Respondents of the survey research are determined from The Directory of Southwark Signpost which includes whole list of BME organizations. This survey will be carried online via survey software programme of Questionpro. Analysis of results of survey research will be made with the real time report and statistical results.

Chapter IV
The Critical Discourse Analysis of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact

4.1 Introduction

This study is conducted to analyze the launch of Compact on Relations between Government and the Voluntary and Community Sector in England in contributing to political legitimacy by enhancing political equality to Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) Voluntary and Community organizations.

Accordingly, in this part, National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact will be analyzed through the approach of critical discourse analysis. This analysis depends upon combination textual level, social and discursive practices which are interconnected.

In textual level, the use of vocabulary, grammar, metaphors, and forms of argumentations will be searched. There are list of words like "inclusion", "equality", "equal", "inequality", "fair", "fairness", "unfairness", "recognition", "equitable treatment" and "deliberative responsibility" which are inferred from the theoretical framework in order to lead the analysis in this level. In addition, forms of argumentations for definitions for political legitimacy, political equality and interrelationships of these notions and substance of procedural political equality will be explained and analyzed through the theoretical model.

Discursive practices contribute to combine Compacts with the wider historical and social context. In this part of analysis the major concern will be to look up how these social and historical facts and foundations about BME voluntary and community sector are combined or modified in the texts of regulations. These facts and foundations are related to political inequality and procedural unfairness for BME voluntary and community sector.

Social practices encompass the situation, the institutional context, the wider group or social context. In this part of analysis' main concern will be to analyze the texts of regulations from the perspective of Third Way approach of New Labour and refer to discourses of political figures like Tony Blair who is predominant figure of these policies.

In the part of analysis, in order to ease the analysis, first of all contents of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact will be given by referring to major points that will be explanatory for research questions. In the first part in order to provide description of documents, major concern will be to determine texture of the text. It will be presented by highlighting significant points that are explanatory in order to answer research questions in the next step. Texts will be presented briefly within the theoretical framework, research questions and methodological concerns. Significant words, terms or phrases will be put in quotation marks.

Then, in accordance to content of regulations, research questions will be answered. In this part analysis aims to give answer to three questions. First question looks for argumentations in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact to regain political legitimacy of politics in Southwark. Second question regards how the notion of political equality is interrelated to political legitimacy within the documents of the National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact. Third question concerns the substance of political equality in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact.

All these three sub questions serve to the purpose of answering the major research question which concerns to what extent the launch of Compacts in Southwark contributes to regaining political legitimacy of politics by providing political equality to BME voluntary and community organizations.

4.2. Description of Documents

4.2.1. Compact on Relations between Government and the Voluntary and Community Sector in England (National Compact)

In the introduction part of this document includes the message from the Tony Blair, who was the prime minister at that time. According to his wordings, Compacts provide "framework" between government and voluntary and community sector which will help "guide" the relationship at every level. The logic and cause behind launching such an initiative can be found in the next sentence, because voluntary and community organizations are perceived as central to the Government's mission to make "Giving Age". The work of voluntary and community organizations are found significant because they enable individuals to "contribute" to the development of their communities. Thus, they "promote citizenship, re-establish a sense of community and contribute to aim of a just and inclusive society".

Then, similar points were repeated by Jack Straw, who is Home Secretary and Sir Kenneth Stowe in their joint foreword. Jack Straw was Home Secretary and Kenneth Stowe was the chair of the English voluntary and community sector's working Group on Government Relations. In their joint foreword, the voluntary and community sector is given vital role in society working alongside the state and the market. Its contribution to community and civil life is highlighted through its engagement of volunteers and services that they provide. Compact are again given pursuit of creating a new approach to "partnership" between Government and voluntary and community sector. Furthermore, in this section it is mentioned that government and voluntary and community organizations share many aspirations specified as; "the pursuit of inclusiveness, dedication to public life and support for the development of healthy communities".

Compact is proposed as an instrument for "guiding" relationships between government and voluntary sector. Major point is here that, policy makers mention more than two times with different wordings that government and voluntary and community sector have common goals. It is repeated with using phrases of "shared aspirations" and "shared values". Compacts are determined as initiatives for first of all to "recognize" these complementary roles of government and voluntary and community sector in fulfilling development and delivery of public policy and services. Moreover, Compact is shown as concrete declaration to point out that government has a role in promoting voluntary and community activity.

In the first part, the status of compact is mentioned. Similar to the introduction, Compact's role in the "recognition" of the diversity of the voluntary and community sector and enabling to enhance relationships between government and the sector is repeated. Under the heading of "shared vision", there is an again referring to complementary functions and shared values between government and voluntary and community sector. The Compact again is defined as an expression of the commitment of government and voluntary sector to work in "partnership" for the "betterment" of society and to nurture and support voluntary and community activity.

In this section, the underlying philosophy of the Compact is spelled out directly. Voluntary and community activity is perceived as fundamental to the development of a "democratic and socially inclusive society". Their distinct but complementary role from both state and market is stressed. Voluntary and community organizations enable "individuals" to contribute to public life and development of "their communities". Especially the process of the individuals' engagement is appreciated. It is mentioned that in doing so "they engage the skills, interests, beliefs and values of individuals and groups".

Voluntary and community sector's acts are defined as "pathfinders" for the "involvement of users" in the "design and delivery of services". Also, it is highlighted that they are "advocates" for those who have no voice. In this context, it is declared that voluntary and community organizations promote both "equality" and "diversity".

In the section of shared principles, there are paraphrased versions of previous statements, there are details of some of previous statements and there are new statements. Paraphrased ones will not be mentioned again. The importance of "promoting equality of opportunity for all people, regardless of race, age, disability, gender, sexual orientation or religion" is given as shared acknowledgement of both government and voluntary and community sector. This section includes the significant role of the government as a funder of some voluntary and community organizations. "Funding" is given as an important element of the relationships between government and the voluntary and community sector.

Hereafter, Compact continues with the undertakings by government. Undertakings by government are listed into five main headings.

First undertaking is the "recognition and supporting the independence of voluntary and community sector". Especially, government undertakes to ensure recognition and independence of its right to campaign and comment on government policy within the law.

Second undertaking regards funding. Government undertakes to develop a code of good practice to address principles of good funding for government departments in consultation with the sector. In general, these principles include arrangement of the funding policy of government in order to allocate the resources against "clear and consistent criteria" with taking into account the objectives of voluntary and community organizations. Lastly, it is mentioned that, government undertakes to support voluntary and community sector's development, where appropriate, due to the recognition of the importance of infrastructure to the sector.

Policy development and consultation is the third heading in this part. Government undertakes to include positions of voluntary and community sector in the appraisal of new "policies and procedures", particularly at the development stage. Initial objective is to identify as far as possible implications for the sector. Consultation is necessitated particularly where government is proposing new roles and responsibilities for the sector. For such a consultation, reasonable timescale is mentioned to enable voluntary and community organizations to consult their users, beneficiaries and stakeholders. Hereafter, specifically "needs, interests and contributions" of those parts of the sector which represent "women, minority groups and socially excluded" is highlighted. Again, like code of good practice for funding, a code of good practice regarding consultation, policy appraisal and implementation which will be developed jointly by government and sector is proposed

Last undertaking of government in the Compact encompasses issues regarding better government. In order to promote efficient working relationships, to ensure consistency of approach and to form good relations between government and the sector, better government is set as an objective. Application of open government and good regulation is one of the facets. Apart from these, government undertakes to review the operation of Compact annually with the sector and promote adoption of the Compact by other public bodies.

In the next section of Compact, "issues relating to community groups and Black and Minority Ethnic organizations" are mentioned. In the first paragraph, the need for a particular consideration to the needs, interests and contribution of community groups and Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) voluntary and community organizations are pointed out although the Compact apply across the voluntary and community sector.

This part refers to a "feeling outside the traditional structures of voluntary and community sector" that is attributed to BME voluntary and community organizations which forms the basis a for particular consideration towards them. The Compact's role for dealing

with this issue highlighted as "providing framework for ensuring that support for, and involvement of, these organizations are mainstream issues both government and the voluntary and community sector." Afterwards, specifically resources are mentioned to be targeted at BME organizations to increase effectiveness of them at national, regional and local level. Responsibilities to ensure opportunities for BME organizations to be directly involved in partnerships, consultation and decision making are given both to government and voluntary and community organizations.

All these concerns are promised to be addressed through a specific code of practice for BME voluntary and community organizations. In the part of annexes, specific consultation process which is carried out by Sia, the national development agency for BME voluntary and community organizations is referred. Accordingly, "a number of barriers to their development and lack of recognition of their role and potential" were the main findings. Inadequate funding and a perception that other organizations excluded BME organizations were of particular concerns that were emphasized. As a result of these specific consultations, a separate Compact between Government and Black voluntary and community organizations was decided upon.

In this text, it is obvious that the Compact reflects the stance of the government despite the fact that Compact promises creating a new approach to partnership between government and voluntary and community sector. Although, there are shared visions, shared principles of government and voluntary and community sector and undertakings of voluntary and community sector parts in the document, these are only transmitted through the language and perspective of government. Especially, in the part of joint foreword there is no part devoted for a representatives of voluntary and community sector. There are only signatures of representatives of government. Accordingly, this case creates a paradox and makes the objectives of National Compact strain credibility.

4.2.2 Compact Code of Good Practice for Black and Minority Ethnic Voluntary and Community Organizations

In the introduction part, the aim for launching a BME code has given as to make a positive impact on the relationship between government and BME voluntary and community sector. In the following paragraph, it is clearly expressed that "government "recognizes" that the BME voluntary and community sector, including faith groups and refugee and asylum seekers organizations, has an important and continuing role in helping it to achieve its objectives and that government can play a positive role in supporting the work of the sector".

BME sector's potential to bring distinctive value is acknowledged due to the following argumentations. First and foremost, the sector enables BME individuals to contribute to public life and by providing opportunities for voluntary and community action the development of active communities can be developed. The "empowerment" potential of the BME sector is highlighted. They empower users through "involvement" in the design and delivery of services and actively involve some of the "most excluded" people and communities in England. Accordingly, effective partnership between government and BME sector is determined as essential to ensure full potential of BME sector as being an important contributor to society and a strategic agent of those it seeks to represent.

In the next part, Code includes the situations of black and ethnic minorities and the BME sector in England. The statement of The Government Exclusion Unit is quoted in order to refer to the issue; "Ethnic minority disadvantage cut across all aspects of deprivation. Taken as a whole, ethnic minority groups are more likely than rest of population to live in poor areas, be unemployed, have low incomes, live in poor housing, have poor health and be the victims of crime."

After this clear statement, BME sector's role is acknowledged by the Code as to "tackle the disadvantage" experienced by the communities from which it springs. However, like the BME individuals that they seek to represent, the Code affirms that many BME voluntary and community organizations continue to be "excluded from the traditional structures of voluntary and community sector". In return this causes an "exclusion from engagement with government". So, in the Code, here the aim is repeated as to address "exclusion" experienced by the BME voluntary and community sector. Actions are given as to ensure that the sector has "equal opportunity to be directly involved in partnerships, consultation and decision making with government".

In the "framework of partnership between government and BME voluntary and community sector", joint and government undertakings give hints about how the BME Code intend to achieve these goals.

Government and BME sector are committed to establish and maintain best practice in their relationships. The joint commitment from both government and BME sector to take forward race equality agenda, including promoting and sharing best practice and celebrating success is underlined. They undertake to work together to improve the policy and implementation outcomes for BME communities at a national, regional and local level. Specifically, they aim to work together in those programmes aim at community generation and more inclusive and cohesive society.

In the part of government undertakings, in the introduction there is a special reference to government's "recognition and value" of the distinctive skills, expertise and experience of BME sector.

The government undertakes to implement an effective framework of engagement to value the work, knowledge and expertise of BME and voluntary and community sector. The government affirms to recognize and independence of the BME sector and its right within law to challenge institutions, policy and practice.

The government undertakes to apply effective and transparent "equal opportunity monitoring and evaluation systems" to ensure that all BME organizations are treated equally in their interactions with government. Within that respect, government undertakes to ensure that BME organizations have fair and equal access to government funding programmes.

Improved quality and quantity of consultation and participation by the BME sector in policy development, implementation and evaluation is the undertaking of government. Building consultation with the sector from pre-consultation for policy development to implementation stages are the objective. Specifically, in this part Race Equality agenda is mentioned.

On the other hand, in accordance to Best Value Framework for Local Authorities government undertakes to ensure "equality of access" to quality public services and that BME groups are actively involved in service planning, target setting and scrutiny processes. Specifically, in the preparation processes of community strategies of local authorities, the views of BME organizations will be considered and the active participation of them will be encouraged.

Next heading is "tackling racism, inequality and exclusion". It is stressed that commitment to an inclusive society and to tackle racism by government has long been recognized. There is a determination to address "social exclusion and promote race equality and justice".

In the issue of race equality, specifically government's agenda for action in Race Equality in Public Services (2000) is referred. At this point, the following quotation is given from The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (1999): ''Institutional racism consists of the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes,

attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.''

The Compact and The Code are given here as initiatives to provide a framework that will enable to develop partnerships between BME organizations and government. Especially, this Code is given significance because of its objectives to address the concerns which are mentioned in The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report.

A successful BME voluntary and community sector is defined as an important partner in helping government make its commitment to race equality a reality. In planning and implementation of action on race equality, partnerships with key stakeholders, those from the BME voluntary and community sector is required.

BME voluntary and community sector's activities are valued in developing inclusive government policy. Their contributions are given as consultation, participation and representation.

The activities and knowledge of BME sector are shown as vital in the effective development and delivery of policy to BME communities. Accordingly, in order to include and recognize the broad spectrum of interests, consultation is required to be all inclusive. Here, the make up the BME voluntary and community is specified as women's groups, gay and lesbian groups, youth groups, disabled groups, age groups, religious and faith groups.

In the consultation processes, the BME code affirms that there are number of barriers that exclude BME voluntary and community organizations. Specifically the Code wants to address particular attention to small under-resourced groups-that are majority of BME organizations. Informal interactions, meeting language needs, offering financial support for expenses incurred for being part of the consultation process like financing meetings or payment for attendance are proposed in the BME code.

BME organizations are given significance, not only in consultation but also for "participation and representation in policy development". Policy development and implementations are required to meet to needs of BME communities and in this respect expertise and unique experiences of the BME organizations are underlined again in the processes of policy and consultations.

In the BME representation, it is mentioned that both government and BME sector should give careful consideration to selection of individuals to act as representatives from BME communities. In order to extend opportunities of involvement representatives from the BME sector should be drawn from a large pool of individuals. Secondly, here importance of Faith based groups and organizations addressing needs of refugees and asylum seekers are as a part of BME sector is pointed out. Their interests are perceived as valid and important contributors to policy making and implementation.

On the other hand this section includes an "action point checklist" for the control of these issues. Government and BME organizations ca review together how representatives from organizations and communities are selected to engage in Government processes. Government is recommended to set up departmental race equality advisory and consultation mechanisms. In some cases, if necessary government departments should develop a network specialist national and regional BME voluntary and community organizations to contribute to policy and consultation processes. Government departments should aim to develop an equality protocol for the involvement of BME voluntary and community organizations in the policy process. Government should monitor the race equality practices of funded mainstream voluntary organizations with regards to employment, service delivery and composition of trustee boards, and consider setting equality targets where appropriate.

In the part of "funding and other support", low level of funding for the BME sector is emphasized in comparison to that of similar organizations in the mainstream voluntary and community sector. The requirement for a "fair" funding and long term funding stability for BME organizations are explained with the following arguments. First of all, they are needed in order to establish a level of playing field with the mainstream voluntary and community sector and to play a meaningful role in building a fair and just society. Fair and stable funding is necessary to build sustainable infrastructure to represent and support BME communities.

Actions to address BME funding concerns are encouraging and supporting applications; implementing transparent and robust procedures designed to ensure fair treatment; and setting annual targets for funding. Also, publishing the share of funding received by BME organizations is proposed in order to identify whether the arrangements for ensuring "fair access to government funding" programme is effective.

For the identification of fair access to government funding, there are specific actions are mentioned. Regular review of which BME communities are not receiving funding, how access, approval and funding rates compare with the mainstream voluntary and community sector; the scope provided for new or unfunded BME groups to secure funding, advice and support; and policy or service areas where funding is allocated to the voluntary and community sector but not to BME organizations are proposed.

On the other hand, the BME code includes points for reducing financial risks for BME voluntary and community organizations which are defined as more vulnerable to organizational crises. Government should adopt flexible and supportive approaches to BME organizations experiencing organizational difficulties like ensuring each funding allocation accountable, providing accountable mechanisms for grants and developing effective monitoring and evaluation systems.

In the action checkpoint list regarding funding there are significant points. First of all "recognition" of BME sector's- including faith groups and refugee and asylum seekers organizations- role in consultation with government to resolve issues of their access to public funds. Secondly, it is mentioned that government should consult BME organizations on the design and evaluation of funding programmes.

Next title is "Local Relations and partnership". The Code also acts as a complement to the Local Compact Guidelines. Local level is given significance due to the fact that the majority of BME voluntary and community groups work at local level and they deliver crucial frontline services.

The development of Local Compacts are defined as a framework for the BME voluntary and community sector to establish strong and supportive partnerships with local statutory bodies. Local Government Association, the Local Government Information Unit and the Improvement and Development Agency for Local Government are charged as responsible organizations for the ensuring integration of such best practice within standard delivery.

In the process of preparation of Local Compacts, "inclusion" of diversity of BME voluntary and community organizations by representing them in Local Compact steering groups and in consultation is shown as an asset. In the implementation stage, inclusion of a protocol on BME groups or joint reviews of a strategy on working with BME groups are recommended.

On the other hand, under "promoting equality" and "regeneration" subtitles, contributions of BME voluntary and community sector is specified. Developing partnership between local statutory agencies and BME voluntary and community sector on the agenda of "race equality" is defined as "key to success" to establish race equality and tackling social exclusion. In order to realize success of local generation initiatives "involvement and empowerment" of communities are given as a necessity. The BME voluntary and community

organization's role is perceived as vital in ensuring that BME community in involvement in regeneration is effective.

Action point checklist regarding local relations and partnership summarizes significant arguments. The BME code proposes "active involvement" of BME organizations in developing Local Compacts and producing local BME codes or protocols where appropriate. Introduction of "Vigorous structures" by the government are recommended to ensure that race equality and to strengthen the involvement of BME communities for accessing regional and local partnership funding. Local statutory authorities should aim to have a lead officer on Race Equality and BME voluntary and community sector relations, within their senior management structure.

In volunteering and mentoring part, it is highlighted that black and minority people experience volunteering because "The Black and minority ethnic voluntary sector has been created on a self-help basis by people directly affected by the problems to be addressed". "Recognition" by government of different experiences of volunteering and constructing support for volunteering in the BME communities are proposed in the code. There are number of key issues are mentioned. In order to "involve" BME volunteers, taking proactive approach to deal with under-representation of BME people among volunteers, dismantling unnecessary bureaucratic procedures, offering a choice of ways to be involved and removing practical obstacles are proposed.

BME Code is in the line of the National Code however it conveys significant messages for black and minority ethnic communities and BME organizations. First and foremost it is noteworthy to observe that government accepts that those citizens who are black or belongs to minority are more likely to live in poor conditions. Also, BME Code approaches to BME voluntary and community organizations from this perspective and reaffirms that they are also disfranchised. These statements are repeated or implied more than two times with references to previous report of Government Exclusion Unit and The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report. This philosophy government towards black and minority ethnic communities and BME organizations can be detected in every part of BME Code. It is apparent that undertakings of government and a new approach to black and minority ethnic communities and BME organizations are proposed in this perspective.

4.2.3. Southwark Compact

Southwark Compact has prepared in accordance to the framework of National Compact and BME Code. Local authorities are encouraged to adopt this model at local levels and to produce guidelines on specific issues such as funding, consultation, premises and partnership. The Southwark Compact follows the national framework. The language of argumentations and the way of they are transmitted are very similar to these documents.

In foreword, Southwark Compact is represented as an illustration of vital roles that voluntary and community sector play in partnership with local authorities in "developing and delivering" the services that residents deserve. Southwark Council and Southwark Primary Care Trust "recognize" that the voluntary and community sector has an essential role in helping to achieve the objectives of these organizations. "Voluntary and community sector organizations enable individuals to contribute to public life and the development of safe, healthy and thriving communities. They empower service users in the design and delivery of services, and often act as advocates for those who otherwise would have no voice. They promote equality and diversity".

The objective of Southwark Compact is spelled out here. "The Southwark Compact aims to consolidate a new approach to partnership in which local communities have a real voice in decision-making and service design and delivery". This new approach will be building mutual trust through "transparency, fairness, inclusiveness and equality"

The vision of Southwark Compact is a declaration of partnership between Southwark's Voluntary, Community and Statutory Sectors. They show a commitment to the principle of working together for the collective benefit of everyone that lives and works in Southwark. Southwark's Compact is given a role to "strengthen this commitment by providing a framework for developing improved relationships based on shared values and mutual respect across all sectors."

In the part in which principles are highlighted, inclusive approach- which involves all statutory, voluntary and community organizations- is determined as condition to secure effective action to improve the well-being of the Borough. It is here stressed again that Southwark Compact "is an expression of the commitment of the Council, Health and Voluntary, community and faith sector to work in partnership to improve the social, economic and environmental well-being of Southwark." It is pointed out that "recognition" of each sector has a distinct, valuable and complementary role in improving quality of life and public services.

On the other hand, specifically it is mentioned that all partners are committed to the "promotion of equality of opportunity for all, regardless of race, age, disability, gender, sexual orientation or faith".

Southwark Compact includes a special chapter for "supporting the diverse population of Southwark". Black and Minority Ethnic Voluntary and Community Organizations' contributions are perceived as vital for improving the quality of life of their communities. Their contributions are valuable because "they are firmly rooted in the community and spring up as a direct response to identified need".

Negative outcomes of "social exclusion" for BME communities are emphasized. There is a reference to The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (1999). "Institutional racism consists of the collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and Professional service to people because of their color, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behavior which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people."

In this respect, new duty of all public sector bodies is mentioned as "promoting equal opportunities between people of different racial groups." That is, ensuring "community involvement techniques, policies and procedures do not discriminate against particular groups."

This part also includes some facts about BME communities in Southwark. In Southwark 37.1% of the population is made up of people from black and minority ethnic communities. The largest ethnic group is of African Origin (16.1%). The Refugee Council estimates about 11,000 refugees and asylum seekers live in the borough .There are around 250 BME groups in Southwark.

In accordance to The Macpherson Report, Southwark Compact admits that "BME groups feel that their voice is often not heard, nor do they have enough of a presence in decision-making partnerships." Then it is shown as essential that BME organizations be properly supported "to engage in and influence policy decisions and deliver services that directly affect them".

Southwark Compact admits that the statutory and mainstream voluntary sectors in Southwark both have a role in supporting the BME sector to enable organizations and groups to "fully engage and participate in processes, the development and implementation of local strategy, and effectively deliver services".

The Strategic Advisory Group (SAG) which is a forum of partners each has responsibility for providing essential and statutory services to the local community. In their five year action plan, one of the major initiatives is the establishment of Strategic Ethnic Alliance (SEA) in order to respond to the Macpherson report and to co-ordinate and support the work of existing forums dealing with BME groups. SEA has a secured funding through the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund.

In the part of undertakings there are various points to cover the objectives of this separate part that concerns situation of BME voluntary and community organizations in Southwark. All partners undertake to (statutory and voluntary sector) "recognize" Black and Minority Ethnic voluntary and community organizations' experience which the statutory and wider voluntary sectors have much to learn. Secondly, all partners acknowledge that "institutional racism (as defined by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry) exists and will work together with BME groups to Develop Guidelines for supporting the diverse population of Southwark".

The statutory sector undertakes to ensure five major issues. First, ensuring equal opportunity to participate in multi-agency partnerships for BME organizations are mentioned. Second, statutory sector undertakes to" ensure that BME organizations and other socially excluded groups have equal access to available resources, especially those that have a significant impact on these communities". Third, statutory sector will provide resources to voluntary and community organizations to enable them to provide culturally sensitive services for their community through policy objectives and commissioning strategies. Fourth, statutory sector undertakes to work with the voluntary, community and faith sector to encourage the development of a range of organizations in order to serve the needs of BME and other socially excluded groups in the borough. Fifth issue concerns responding to the needs of groups for whom English is not the first language.

Southwark Compact is the local application of National Compact and BME Code. The content of this regulation and argumentations are constituted according to these regulations. However, Southwark Compact is much more concrete in terms of its objectives and methods to achieve those objectives. In this respect rights and responsibilities are set precisely in institutional context. Thus, it can be inferred that, Southwark Compact is prepared in accordance to philosophy of National Compact and BME Code but it provides more concrete actions for BME organizations.

On the other hand, Southwark Compact includes chapters which give the details of the background of Compact, how the Compact is developed and the policy context. Therefore, in this text it is easy to see which actors were engaged in development of Southwark Compact and how this process is achieved. In the parts of acknowledgements, working groups and development groups there is a long list of participants. It is apparent that Southwark Compact is a product of compromise of various actors.

4.3. The Critical Discourse Analysis of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact

In the previous part, the contents of regulations were described. In this part, in accordance to significant points that were given in the description part, the regulations will be analyzed for the purpose of the answering research questions. Major research question aims to search to what extent the launch of Compacts in Southwark contributes to regaining political legitimacy of politics by providing political equality to BME voluntary and community organizations.

In order to answer major research question, in accordance to sub research questions, first of all argumentations in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact to regain political legitimacy of politics in Southwark will be given. In next step, interrelationship of political equality notion to political legitimacy will be revealed within the documents of the National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact. Thirdly, the substance of political equality notion within documents will be analyzed under the headings of recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment

4.3.1. Argumentations in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact to regain political legitimacy of politics in Southwark

Argumentations regarding regaining political legitimacy of politics in Southwark in these regulations are main concern in this part. There are various questions for this part that directs the analysis. First of all, it is significant whether Compacts propose a new style of governance. Arguments for redevelopment of society and curing defects in politics and decision making are significant point of views for revealing whether regulations aim regaining political legitimacy of politics. Also, it is important to find descriptions of problems and the solutions in the regulations.

As it is mentioned in the theoretical part, in this study Compacts are considered as regulations to fix deliberative democracy mechanisms that aim to reflect "will of the people" to political decision to contribute political legitimacy. Accordingly, regaining political legitimacy depends on the extent of involving will of the people to the decision making. Moreover, in the analysis, arguments regarding the notion of equality will be highlighted.

Although it is not clearly stated that there is a political legitimacy crisis, between the lines it is apparent that need for new arrangements between voluntary and community sector and government indicates such problems.

In National Compact, Compacts are considered as initiatives for providing a framework between government and voluntary and community sector in order to guide relationships at all level. Voluntary and community sector's contributions are perceived as valuable asset in order to fulfill the objective of "Giving Age" of government. Phrases of "re-establishing a sense of community" and "betterment of society" indicates the argumentation of New Labour in National Compact in order to enable a rearrangement regarding relationships between government and voluntary and community sector which can cure the defects in politics .

In these regulations, Compacts are shown as initiatives for strengthening roles of voluntary and community sector in "re-establishing communities" by reaching "just and inclusive societies", "betterment of societies" and development of "democratic and socially inclusive societies". These can be considered as components of political legitimacy notions in accordance to the argumentations in the regulations. Voluntary and community organizations enable the fulfillment of these objectives by involving users in the design and delivery of services. In the National Compact, it is mentioned that voluntary and community organizations enable individuals to contribute to public life and development of their own communities.

As a component of critical discourse analysis, social practice is detected within these regulations by observing declarations of key policy makers who are behind the processes of launch of Compacts. In National Compact, from the message from the Prime Minister and joint foreword of Jack Straw and Sir Kenneth Stowe, it is derived that what are expected from voluntary and community sector and why compacts are launched. Also, their views are representative regarding political stance and ideology of New Labour due to the fact that they were the major policy makers in the think tanks of these regulations.

In the level of social practice, the policy makers emphasize on the voluntary and community sector's potential contribution to accomplishment the mission of the government's "Giving Age". Enabling individuals' contribution for development of their communities and promoting citizenship and re-establishing a sense of community are given as potential contributions of voluntary and community sector to reach mutual goal of a "just and inclusive society". Thus, voluntary and community sector is given significance due to its potentials for realizing "Giving Age" and reaching "just and inclusive society". Moreover, by the using the verb of "re-establish" regarding communities, between the lines policy makers indicate the role of voluntary and community sector's as a facilitator for making new arrangements in society.

Voluntary and community sector is perceived as a significant asset for realizing "just and inclusive societies", "democratic and socially inclusive society" and "re-establishing" communities by recognizing and supporting complementary roles of the government and the sector. Working in partnership in development and delivery of public services for the "betterment" of society is the one of the key points of the Compact. In this context, these argumentations show that Compact are initiatives for arranging a new establishments in order to enable voluntary and community organizations to realize these objectives mentioned above. These arguments are also appropriate for indicating what sentiments are needed for regaining of political legitimacy of politics in UK.

In National Compacts, there are points that correspond with the input-legitimization theory in which political legitimacy is defined in this study. Especially, regarding the contributions of the voluntary and community sector "potential of individuals" are stressed. Compact values voluntary and community sector because, individuals can find chance to contribute to public life and develop their own communities. In that sense, "betterment of society" depends on the extent of involvement of users in the design and delivery of services. Accordingly, as input legitimization theory puts, forming a convergence between will of people and the content of policy making is directly perceived in the document of Compacts.

Voluntary and community sector is defined as vehicle that enables to direct contributions of individuals to policy making which develops their own society and in return betterment of society is realized. Specifically, voluntary and community sector's providing chances to involve individuals to policy making who have no voice-or excluded- is attributed to their roles of both promoting "equality" and "diversity" for society.

Especially in National Compact, the part which concerns "issues relating to community groups and Black and Minority Ethnic organizations" makes clear that, there are specific problems and New Labour has special considerations for members of society who have no voices. "Promoting equality of opportunity for all people, regardless of race, age, disability, gender, sexual orientation or religion" is considered prime and shared motto of both government and voluntary sector. In reaching "democratic, just and inclusive", voluntary and community organizations are given duties. However, as highlighted in previous part, BME voluntary and community organizations suffer due to the exclusion from partnerships, consultation and decision makings. Additionally, these organizations lack of resources.

In the level of discursive practice of critical discourse analysis, social and historical facts and foundations about BME voluntary and community sector and BME communities are searched in the texts of regulations. In National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact, it is directly declared that BME voluntary and community organizations and BME communities are excluded from the mainstream. Policy makers obviously accept that, like the communities they represent, "BME voluntary and community organizations are excluded from the traditional structures of voluntary and community sector". In Southwark Compact, also it is clear that BME groups feel that their voice is not heard and their contributions are limited in decision making partnerships.

The objective of The Southwark Compact is consolidating a new approach to partnership in which local communities have a "real voice in decision-making and service design and delivery". With taking into consideration all arguments mentioned above and the objective of Southwark Compact, it is apparent that all these regulations pursue to involve point of view of citizens into both design of policy making and implementations. Therefore, argumentations in these documents give the hints that philosophy behind Compacts is congruent with input-legitimization theory of Scharpf.

Words of "to involve" and "involvement" are selected as determinants. These words are used 7 times in National Compact, 21 times in BME Code and 44 times in Southwark Compact.

4.3.2. Interrelationship of political equality notion to political legitimacy within the documents of the National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact

According to theoretical framework, the political legitimacy is ensured when political choices reflect the "will of the people". At this point, political equality is given importance and is emerged as conditionality for ensuring political legitimacy. In order to see to what extent the launch of Compacts in Southwark contributes to regaining political legitimacy of politics by providing political equality to BME voluntary and community organizations, the interrelationships of political equality notion to political legitimacy in these regulations should be revealed. Argumentations for promoting equality and lessening injustice for BME organizations will be the departure point.

As it is discussed in previous part, political legitimacy of New Labour as a notion derived from these texts as being "just, democratic and socially inclusive society" in which citizens are able to involve in the process of design and delivery of services. Voluntary and community sector is given importance in that sense due to the fact that they are "pathfinders for the involvement of users in the design and delivery of services" and "advocates for those who have no voices". Both government and voluntary and community sector share the vision of "promoting equality of opportunity for all people, regardless of race, age, disability, gender, sexual orientation or religion".

Social and historical facts regarding unequal position of BME organizations constitute very significant part of regulations and objectives of regulations specifically refers to these points. Particularly, these regulations associate unequal positions of BME organizations with the disfranchised BME communities. The Government's Social Exclusion Unit's statement is quoted in BME Code that represents discursive practice of a key policy unit related to BME communities. It is affirmed that ''ethnic minority disadvantage cuts across all aspects of deprivation. Taken as a whole, ethnic minority groups are more likely than the rest of the population to live in poor areas, be unemployed, have low incomes, live in poor housing, have poor health and be the victims of crime.'

In BME Code, BME organizations efforts are defined as to tackle the disadvantage experienced by the communities from which it springs. However, it is mentioned that BME organizations continue to be excluded from the traditional structures of the voluntary and community sector which often results in exclusion from engagement with government.

Apparently, these regulations admit that voluntary and community sector organizations are not treated equally. In the regulations, BME organizations are mentioned as mostly disfranchised ones with the communities which they represent.

Therefore, BME organizations are sometimes incapable of involving users (BME communities) in the design and delivery of services and advocating for those who have no voices. Southwark Compact shows that BME groups do not feel that nor their voice is heard and neither they have a presence in decision making.

The departure point of the launch of a specific Code for BME organizations is to tackle the disadvantages of being excluded from traditional structures of voluntary and community sector and in return exclusion from engagement with government. Ensuring "equality" for BME organizations to tackle their exclusion is visible in the BME Code and Southwark Compact.

BME Code aims to ensure that the BME sector has equal opportunities to be directly involved in partnerships, consultation and decision making with government. Also, applications of "equal opportunity monitoring and evaluation systems" are undertaken by government in order to ensure that BME organizations are treated equally. Similarly, in local level government undertakes to ensure "equality of access" for BME voluntary and community organizations in service planning, performance target setting and scrutiny processes.

Southwark Compact illustrates this new approach by declaring that local communities will be enabled to have a real voice in decision making and service design and delivery though ensuring "transparency, fairness, inclusiveness and equality" for BME organizations.

On the other hand, both in BME Code and in Southwark Compact, Race Equality agenda is mentioned as a shared vision of government and voluntary and community sector. Especially BME communities are shown as most vulnerable to institutional racism. Public sector bodies' obligation is given as promoting equal opportunities between people of different racial groups by applying community involvement techniques, policies and procedures do not discriminate against particular groups.

There are two word categories for this section. Words of "equal", "equality", "inequality" are used frequently in the texts. In Compact 5 times, in BME Code 44 times and in Southwark Compact 22 times these words are used. Secondly, words of "fair", "fairness" and "unfairness" searched in the texts. These words or phrases contain these words are detected 7 times in BME Code and 6 times in Southwark Compact.

4.3.3. The Substance of Political Equality in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact

In theoretical framework, political equality is specified as procedural equality and the conditions of procedures of ideal deliberative democracies quoted from Cohen (1997) as; "substantive equality in which distribution of resources in terms of the rights, opportunities and within institutions". These "resources" are explained within the conceptualization of complex proceduralism and regulative interest's framework of Beitz (1989). Democratic procedures should satisfy the regulative interests of citizens which are; recognition, equitable treatment, and deliberative responsibility.

National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact are convergent to be analyzed from the perspective of Complex Proceduralism and Regulative Interests of Citizenship approach of Beitz. In the texts, undertakings of government towards voluntary and community sector and specifically towards BME organizations will be categorized according to theoretical framework of Beitz in which procedural equality is ensured by the fulfillment of regulative interests of citizenry which are; recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment.

4.3.3.1. Recognition

In National Compact, it is mentioned that "BME organizations had encountered a number of barriers to their development and had been hampered by a lack of recognition of their role and potential" with reference to the findings of specific consultation process carried out by Sia.

Discursive practice in National Compact depends on the social and historical fact that the situation of BME organizations are problematic regarding non-recognition or lack of recognition of their activities or significance by government or other institutions. Social practice in terms of recognition towards BME organizations is concrete in National Compact with the message of Prime Minister Tony Blair. He wrote; "This Compact between Government and the voluntary and community sector provides a framework which will help guide our relationship at every level and it recognizes that Government and the sector fulfill complementary roles in the development and delivery of public policy and services."

In each document there is a reference to recognition. All these regulations start with referring to recognition of activities of voluntary and community sector. National Compact recognize the diversity of voluntary and community sector and complementary roles of government and voluntary and community sector in design and delivery of public policy and services. Recognition is given major importance because in each regulation it is the first mentioned undertaking of government towards voluntary and community sector. Government promises to ensure recognition of rights of voluntary and community sector to campaign and comment on government policy. In the introduction of BME Code, again there is a reference to recognition of BME voluntary and community sector by government. Recognition and value of the distinctive skills, expertise and experience of BME sector and recognition of BME sector's role in consultation with government to resolve issues are highlighted within the regulation.

In Southwark Compact, reference to recognition is visible. Southwark Council and Southwark Primary Care Trust recognize the essential role of voluntary and community organizations in achieving objectives. Notably, Southwark Compact underlines the recognition of voluntary, community and faith sector's distinct, valuable and complementary roles in improving quality of life and public services.

The words of "recognition" and "to recognize" are used 10 times in National Compact, 20 times in BME Code and 31 times in Southwark Compact.

4.3.3.2. Deliberative Responsibility

In National Compact, underlying philosophy of the Compact is depends on the idea that, voluntary and community activity is fundamental to the development of a democratic and socially inclusive society. Social discourse defines their complementary role for both state and market as a chance for individuals to contribute to public life and development of their communities. In BME Code, BME sector's potential to bring distinctive value is also acknowledged due to their potential to enable BME individuals to contribute to public life and by providing opportunities for voluntary and community action the development of active communities. They empower users (citizens) through involvement in the design and delivery of services and actively involve some of the "most excluded" people and communities in England.

Thus, effective partnership between government and BME sector is mentioned as essential to ensure full potential of BME sector as being an important contributor to society and a strategic agent of those it seeks to represent. . In National Compact, Tony Blair admits that "…Government has a role in promoting voluntary and community activity in all areas of our national life..." In these regulations, there are concrete initiatives for encouraging responsible deliberation of voluntary and community sector

In National Compact, undertaking of government regarding policy development and consultation is an indication of enhancing deliberative responsibilities of voluntary and community sector. It is mentioned that "…Equally, steps will need to be taken by both Government and the voluntary and community sector to ensure that Black and Minority Ethnic organizations have the opportunity to be directly involved in partnerships, consultation and decision making. This will help these organizations to develop and realize their potential…"

In the appraisal of new policies and procedures including positions of voluntary and community sector is given importance. In BME Code, consultation, participation and representation are shown as a necessity for an inclusive government policy. However, in the consultation processes and in participation and representations of BME organizations, the BME code admits that there are number of barriers that exclude BME voluntary and community organizations. Discursive practice, as historical and social conditions, affirms that again, BME organizations are disfranchised in that sense.

Improving consultation and participation by BME sector in every phases of policy making- policy development, implementation and evaluation- is the major indicator of deliberative responsibilities for BME organizations. Specifically, in policy development and consultation process needs interests and contributions of women, minority groups and socially excluded will be included through voluntary and community sector. Arrangements are necessary consultation where government is proposing new roles and responsibilities and giving reasonable timescale to realize it. Also, a joint code of good practice of consultation, policy appraisal and implementation are proposed by government.

In the application of Race Equality agenda, voluntary and community sector and specifically BME organizations' contributions can be considered as increased deliberative responsibilities for them. Government and BME organizations have joint commitment to take forward Race equality agenda. In the shared visions and joint undertakings, BME organizations are given obligations to improve the policy and implementation outcomes for BME communities at a national, regional and local level. In both planning and implementation of action on Race equality, partnerships with BME voluntary and community sector are necessitated.

In BME Code, apart from Race equality agenda there are two additional points that correspond with the deliberative responsibility vision in Compacts. Firstly, in the design and evaluation of funding programmes, government undertakes to consult BME organizations. Similarly, in the preparation of Local Compacts, inclusion of BME organizations in Local Compact steering groups and in consultation are recommended. So, active involvement of BME organizations in developing Race equality, in preparation of Local Compacts and in designing funding programmes are clear indicators of enhanced deliberative responsibility that are observed in BME Code.

In Southwark Compact's objective is a direct declaration of providing deliberative responsibility to local communities. It is because; Southwark Compact aims a new approach in which local communities having real voice in decision making, service design and delivery.

4.3.3.3. Equitable Treatment
As it is mentioned before, political equality towards BME voluntary and community organizations is the common language that is observed in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact. In National Compact, regarding the situation of BME organizations the main findings is that there are number of barriers to their development and lack of recognition of their role and potential. Inadequate funding and a perception that other organizations excluded BME organizations are major problems.

Undertakings regarding fair funding and Race equality agenda- or dismantling institutional racism- are the main points that can be attributed to equitable treatment vision of New Labour towards BME voluntary and community organizations.

In National Code, in respect of funding government undertakes to develop a code of good practice with the consulting voluntary and community organizations in order to determine clear and consistent criteria for allocating resources. BME organizations' having fair and equal access to government funding programmes is major initiative to realize equitable treatment. Also, application of effective and transparent "equal opportunity monitoring and evaluation systems" are proposed in order to ensure that BME organizations treated equally in their relationships with government.

In BME Code, these general statements are specified with coherent actions that will be taken by government. First of all, the statement of "…action should be taken by all concerned to ensure that the sector has equal opportunity to be directly involved in partnerships, consultation and decision making with Government" shows the importance of equitable treatment for BME sector in BME Code.

Fair funding and long term stability is highlighted for representing and supporting BME communities. Actions are set specifically like implementing transparent and robust procedures designed to ensure fair treatment, setting annual targets for funding, publishing the share of funding received by BME organizations, making regular reviews of which BME communities are not receiving funding and adoption of flexible and having supportive approaches to BME organizations experiencing organizational difficulties. All these actions indicate that these regulations come up with a

In Southwark Compact, undertakings regarding BME organizations follow the same pattern of equitable treatment. Statutory sector undertakes to ensure equal opportunity to participate in multi-agency partnerships for BME organizations and to provide equal access to available resources for BME organizations and other socially excluded groups, especially those that have a significant impact on these communities. Additionally, statutory sector in Southwark undertakes to ensure resources to BME organizations to enable them to provide culturally sensitive services for their community through policy objectives and commissioning strategies.

On the other hand, equitable treatment towards BME organizations depends on government's agenda for action in Race Equality in Public Services (2000) and The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (1999). Thus, social practice regarding these issues depends on these sources. These reports are the sources of following argumentations which are related to institutional racism and race equality agenda.

In National Compact, the importance of "promoting equality of opportunity for all people, regardless of race, age, disability, gender, sexual orientation or religion" is given as shared acknowledgement of both government and voluntary and community sector

Institutional racism towards BME communities and negative consequences for BME organizations are emphasized both in BME Code and Southwark Compact. The statements of "promoting equal opportunities between people of different racial groups" and "ensuring community involvement techniques, policies and procedures do not discriminate against particular groups" is acknowledged in Southwark Compact. In order to achieve these objectives "all partners acknowledge that "institutional racism (as defined by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry) exists and will work together with BME groups to Develop Guidelines for supporting the diverse population of Southwark". Strategic Alliance (SEA) is established in order to respond to The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (1999) and to co-ordinate and support the work of existing forums dealing with BME groups under The Strategic Advisory Group (SAG).

4.4 Conclusion

The research questions that inquiry the Compacts' contributions to the political legitimacy are answered on the basis of the input-oriented democratic legitimization theory, micro deliberative theory of Cohen and complex proceduralism and regulative interests of citizenship theory of Beitz.

Methodological approach is recruited from Fairclough's (1993) analytical framework for the critical discourse analysis. Three dimensions for discourse analysis are determined as; *textual, discursive practice* and *social practice*. In this research, this framework is applied with following changes. First of all, textual level encompasses both discursive and social practices. In both description of regulations and in critical discourse analysis, textual practice was the dominant approach. Regarding the research questions and theoretical framework, the use of vocabulary, grammar, metaphors, and forms of argumentations were assessed. Discursive and social practices were used as complementary to textual level. Social and historical context for BME organizations (discursive practice) and Third way approach with reference to discourses of predominant figures (social practice) were significant empirical evidences in order to answer research questions. However, although discursive practice that illustrates social and historical context of BME organizations is observed frequently in each of the regulations, for social practices it is not the case.

In this study, Compacts are observed as an initiative which contributes to political legitimacy by supplying notion of procedural fairness to mechanisms and procedures which link up will of people with the content of policies.

Argumentations in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact to regain political legitimacy of politics in Southwark show that, Compacts are initiatives to fix deliberative democracy mechanisms that aim to reflect "will of the people" to political decision to contribute political legitimacy. In National Compact, the prominent figures behind launch of Compacts affirm that idea of strengthening role of voluntary and community sector is a solution in order to reestablish a sense of community, betterment of society and development of democratic and socially inclusive societies. Voluntary and community organizations fulfill these objectives by involving users in the design and delivery of services. According to them, "betterment of society" depends on the extent of involvement of users in the design and delivery of services.

In Compacts, both social and discursive practices reflect that, BME voluntary and community organizations are disfranchised like BME communities which they represent. So, BME organizations, in Southwark as well, are not equipped well to link up BME communities' will or decisions with policy making. This attitude determines whole textures of National Compact, Southwark Compact and necessity for a separate BME Code.

The objectives of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact are for to consolidate a new approach to involve point of view of citizens into both design of policy making and implementations in order to reestablish a sense of community, betterment of society and development of democratic and socially inclusive societies. BME organizations attract attention due to the fact that they are not empowered to realize these objectives.

The ways for empowerment of BME organizations display the interrelationship of political equality notion to political legitimacy within the documents of the National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact. In these regulations, the unequal position of BME organizations is underlined.

BME Code and Southwark Compact include concrete actions in order to empower BME organizations by providing equal opportunities to be directly involved in partnerships, consultation and decision making with government. Equal opportunity monitoring and evaluation systems and equality of access for BME voluntary and community organizations in service planning, performance target setting and scrutiny processes are detected in these

regulations. On the other hand, Compacts admit that BME organizations, as like BME communities, suffer from institutional racism. So, government undertakes to promote equal opportunities between people of different racial groups by applying community involvement techniques, policies and procedures do not discriminate against particular groups.

The substance of political equality in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact shows how these regulations provide the political equality to the BME voluntary and community organizations in Southwark.

In theoretical framework, procedural political equality and the conditions of procedures of ideal deliberative democracies quoted from Cohen (1997) as; "substantive equality in which distribution of resources in terms of the rights, opportunities and within institutions". These "resources" are specified as recognition, equitable treatment, and deliberative responsibility for BME organizations in accordance to .conceptualization of complex proceduralism and regulative interest's theory of Beitz (1989).

The analysis has shown that, National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact includes procedural political equality for BME organizations and these are the initiatives in order to satisfy the conditions of procedures of ideal deliberative democracies. Recognition, equitable treatment and deliberative responsibility for BME organizations are detected in the regulations.

Recognition of BME organizations is observed as having priority in each regulation. Improving consultation and participation by BME sector in every phases of policy making-policy development, implementation and evaluation indicates that enhancing deliberative responsibility for BME organizations is present in the regulations. Specifically, government undertakes to enhance active involvement of BME organizations in the both planning and implementation of action on Race equality, in the design and evaluation of funding programmes and in the preparation of Local Compacts. Equitable treatment for BME organizations corresponds to both equality in terms of funding and dismantling institutional racism. Compacts includes objectives to provide BME organizations having fair and equal access to government funding programmes and to promote equal opportunities between people of different racial groups.

Consequently, the critical discourse analysis has shown that National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact are the regulations which have potential to enhance political legitimacy of politics in Southwark by providing political equality for both BME organizations and BME communities. However, in order to provide a coherent answer to what extent Compacts enhance political legitimacy by enhancing political equality for BME organizations, the convergence level between proposed objectives and implementation phase should be searched. So, next chapter includes the analysis of survey research.

Chapter V
Survey Research

5.1. Introduction

This study proposed to search for implementation aspects of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact with taking into account the analysis of the contents. Major objective of conducting survey research is to look for to what extent there is a convergence between proposed objectives in Compacts and implementation phase. Regarding implementation aspects of regulations, the aim is to reveal the extent of convergence between the proposed objectives in documents regarding political equality and the actual situation of BME voluntary and community organizations.

Survey research is significant and necessary in order to assess whether the regulations of Compacts enhanced political legitimacy by providing political equality to BME voluntary and community organizations in Southwark. By conducting survey research, the state of BME voluntary and community organizations in Southwark after the launch of regulations is examined.

In the survey, data collection is carried out in following way. Sample of respondents are determined according to the full list of BME voluntary and community organizations which is provided by The Directory of Southwark Signpost. After selecting sample of respondents, standardized questionnaire are administered to them. The field work of this study is carried online and the survey is conducted with the help of a survey software programme of Questionpro. The notice and questionnaire is sent to the respondents via this programme. The analysis of results is made by the real-time report and participant statistics which is provided by the survey software. This survey research is conducted within one month. In first step, e-mail list was prepared with 89 contacts. However notice and surveys were accessed to 67 contacts. Surveys were completed by 39 respondents.

In this survey research, there are brief statements and respondents are asked to choose their attitudes towards statements. Major objective is to determine the particular attitude that respondents hold towards statements regarding political equality notions that are presented as objectives in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact. The statements are presented briefly and respondents are asked to evaluate according to Rensis Likert's model. Respondents are asked to strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree or strongly disagree to statements.

The preparation of this survey mainly depends on critical discourse analysis of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact that is carried out in previous section. In survey, the statements are directly extracted from the content of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact. These statements are selected and grouped with taking into consideration the analysis of documents in previous part and theoretical concerns. The statements are chosen in accordance to the analysis of substance of political equality within regulations under the headings of recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment.

Hereafter, the results of this survey will be given and analyzed under the headings of recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment. The analysis of final results of this survey research will be given as verbal explanations of statistical results that are provided by online survey software Questionpro. Underlying reasons behind results will not be mentioned due to lack of open ended questions in survey.

5.2. Results of Survey Research

5.2.1. Recognition

In first part of the survey, these two statements are selected as representative expressions of providing recognition for BME organizations by statutory sector;

§ "Southwark Council and Southwark Primary Care Trust recognize and value of the distinctive roles, skills, expertise and experience of BME voluntary and community sector."

Southwark Council and Southwark Primary Care Trust recognize and value of the distinctive roles, skills, expertise and experience of BME voluntary and community sector.		
Strongly Disagree	5	12,82%
Disagree	8	20,51%
Undecided	2	5,13%
Agree	**15**	**38,46%**
Strongly Agree	9	23,08%
Total	**39**	

§ "Recognition of voluntary, community and faith sector's distinct, valuable and complementary roles in improving quality of life and public services by government is visible."

Recognition of voluntary, community and faith sector's distinct, valuable and complementary roles in improving quality of life and public services by government is visible.		
Strongly Disagree	4	10,26%
Disagree	9	23,08%
Undecided	2	5,13%
Agree	**14**	**35,90%**
Strongly Agree	10	25,64%
Total	**39**	

5.2.2. Deliberative responsibility

In second part, statements which show inclusive approaches and provide deliberative responsibilities to BME organizations in decision making processes are selected;

§ "Consultation and participation by BME sector in every phase of policy making, policy development, implementation and evaluation has increased."

Consultation and participation by BME sector in every phase of policy making, policy development, implementation and evaluation has increased.		
Strongly Disagree	7	17,95%
Disagree	8	20,51%
Undecided	1	2,56%
Agree	**15**	**38,46%**
Strongly Agree	8	20,51%
Total	**39**	

§ "BME sector is strengthened to involve needs, interests and contributions of women, minority groups and socially excluded in policy development and consultation process."

BME sector is strengthened to involve needs, interests and contributions of women, minority groups and socially excluded in policy development and consultation process.

Strongly Disagree	6	15,38%
Disagree	6	15,38%
Undecided	2	5,13%
Agree	**13**	**33,33%**
Strongly Agree	12	30,77%
Total	**39**	

§ "In both planning and implementation of action on Race equality, partnerships with BME voluntary and community sector are enhanced."

In both planning and implementation of action on Race equality, partnerships with BME voluntary and community sector are enhanced.

Strongly Disagree	5	12,82%
Disagree	10	25,64%
Undecided	3	7,69%
Agree	**13**	**33,33%**
Strongly Agree	8	20,51%
Total	**39**	

§ "BME voluntary and community organizations are consulted in the design and evaluation of funding programmes."

BME voluntary and community organisations are consulted in the design and evaluation of funding programmes.

Strongly Disagree	10	26,32%
Disagree	**13**	**34,21%**
Undecided	3	7,89%
Agree	8	21,05%
Strongly Agree	4	10,53%
Total	**38**	

§ "In the preparation of Local Compacts, BME voluntary and community organizations are included in Local Compact steering groups and in consultation."

In the preparation of Local Compacts, BME voluntary and community organisations are included in Local Compact steering groups and in consultation.

Strongly Disagree	9	23,08%
Disagree	8	20,51%
Undecided	3	7,69%
Agree	**16**	**41,03%**
Strongly Agree	3	7,69%
Total	**39**	

5.2.3. Equitable Treatment

Equitable treatment, as a component of substance of political equality for BME organizations, is found as twofold in the regulations. First component regards equitable treatment in terms of funding. Second component is equitable treatment for diverse populations and preventing institutional racism. So, in this part survey includes two parts of statements which include both equitable treatment in terms of funding and equitable treatment for diverse populations.

§   "The shares of funding received by BME organizations are published."

The share of funding received by BME organisations is published.

Strongly Disagree	5	12,82%
Disagree	8	20,51%
Undecided	4	10,26%
Agree	**13**	**33,33%**
Strongly Agree	9	23,08%
Total	**39**	

§   "Transparent procedures are designed to ensure fair treatment."

Transparent procedures are designed to ensure fair treatment.

Strongly Disagree	13	33,33%
Disagree	**14**	**35,90%**
Undecided	1	2,56%
Agree	7	17,95%
Strongly Agree	4	10,26%
Total	**39**	

§   "Annual targets for funding are set."

Annual targets for funding are set.

Strongly Disagree	4	10,53%
Disagree	11	28,95%
Undecided	3	7,89%
Agree	**15**	**39,47%**
Strongly Agree	5	13,16%
Total	**38**	

§   "There are supportive and flexible approaches to BME organizations."

There are supportive and flexible approaches to BME organisations.

Strongly Disagree	12	30,77%
Disagree	**17**	**43,59%**
Undecided	2	5,13%
Agree	5	12,82%
Strongly Agree	3	7,69%
Total	**39**	

§   "BME organizations have equal access to available resources."

BME organisations have equal access to available resources.

Strongly Disagree	**15**	**39,47%**
Disagree	13	34,21%
Undecided	3	7,89%
Agree	5	13,16%
Strongly Agree	2	5,26%
Total	**38**	

§   "BME organizations are actively involved in developing guidelines in order to tackle institutional racism and to support the diverse population of Southwark"

BME organisations are actively involved in developing guidelines in order to tackle institutional racism and to support the diverse population of Southwark.

Strongly Disagree	8	20,51%
Disagree	**14**	**35,90%**
Undecided	5	12,82%
Agree	8	20,51%
Strongly Agree	4	10,26%
Total	**39**	

§   "Establishment of Strategic Alliance (SEA) is effective in responding to The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report and supporting the work of existing forums dealing with BME groups under The Strategic Advisory Group (SAG)."

Establishment of Strategic Alliance (SEA) is effective in responding to The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report and supporting the work of existing forums dealing with BME groups under The Strategic Advisory Group (SAG).

Strongly Disagree	12	30,77%
Disagree	**14**	**35,90%**
Undecided	4	10,26%
Agree	5	12,82%
Strongly Agree	4	10,26%
Total	**39**	

5.3. Analysis of the results of survey research

Analysis of the results of survey research will be given as a verbal explanation of statistical results. It is   because survey research is not supported by open ended questions due to the time considerations. This survey research will only provide answer to the question of "to what extent there is a convergence between objectives of regulations and implementation phase" but it will not enable to find out underlining determinants behind answers.

5.3.1. Degree of convergence between proposed objectives of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact in terms of political equality for BME and voluntary and community organizations in Southwark and the implementation phase

In this survey research, respondents are asked to evaluate the situation after launch of the Compacts. Statements are chosen and grouped in accordance to analysis of regulations which depends on theoretical framework. As it is mentioned, in this study political equality is shown as major determinant for ensuring political legitimacy. Political equality is illustrated with the determinants of three procedural components that are; recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment.

In terms of implementation aspect of launch of Compacts; it is apparent that respondents have different attitudes towards statements which are shown under the headings of recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment.

According to results regarding recognition part, respondents are more inclined to think that launch of Compacts contributed to enhance recognition of voluntary, community and faith sector's distinct, valuable and complementary roles, skills and expertise and experience in improving quality of life and public services by government.

According to results regarding deliberative responsibility, respondents are more inclined to think that launch of Compacts contributed to increase consultation and participation by BME sector in every phase of policy making, policy development, implementation and evaluation. Respondents perceive BME sector stronger to involve needs, interests and contributions of women, minority groups and socially excluded in policy development and consultation process after launch of Compacts.

As a specific example of deliberative responsibilities, respondents are asked to evaluate the partnerships between BME sector and government in both planning and implementation of action on Race equality, in the preparation of Local Compacts and in the design and evaluation of funding programmes. Majority of respondents think that partnerships with BME voluntary and community sector are enhanced in both planning and implementation of action on Race equality. This result is also valid for their attitudes towards preparation of Local Compacts. However, majority of respondents think that BME voluntary and community organizations are not consulted in the design and evaluation of funding programmes.

According to results of survey regarding equitable treatment in respect of funding, majority of respondents disagree or strongly disagree that launch of Compacts enhanced transparent procedures for ensuring fair treatment, contributed to supportive and flexible approaches to BME organizations and BME organizations have equal access to available resources. On the other hand, respondents agree that after launch of Compacts the shares of funding received by BME organizations are published and annual targets for funding are set.

In respect of equitable treatment for diverse populations, majority of respondents disagree or strongly disagree to the statements which are extracted from regulations. They do not think that after launch of Compacts, BME organizations are actively involved in developing guidelines in order to tackle institutional racism and to support the diverse population of Southwark. Establishment of Strategic Alliance (SEA) is not perceived effective in responding to The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report and supporting the work of existing forums dealing with BME groups under The Strategic Advisory Group (SAG).

5.4. Conclusion

This survey research is conducted online with survey software programme of Questionpro. This programme provided final statistical results of survey research that is departure point of analysis. Interpretation of results of survey research depends on statistical results and is not more than verbal explanations. Due to the time limitations and physical constrains, survey research does not involve open ended questions so underlying determinants behind responses are not captured.

Survey research enabled to observe to what extent Compacts fulfilled their objectives from the perspectives of Southwark BME organizations. Conditions for procedural political equality are illustrated as components of recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment which are determinants of political legitimacy. In this framework, according to critical discourse analysis of Compacts, specific undertakings of governments are chosen and respondents are asked to evaluate them with Likert scale.

Consequently, the degree of convergence between proposed objectives of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact in terms of political equality for BME and voluntary and community organizations in Southwark and the implementation phase is found high under the headings of recognition and deliberative responsibility. Their responses show that, Southwark BME organizations approve, after launch of the Compacts, there is an improvement for recognition and deliberative responsibilities. On the other hand, same result is not valid for equitable treatment component of procedural political equality.

Southwark BME organizations still feel that there is political inequality in respect of both funding and institutional racism. Thus, it is apparent that, undertakings regarding fair funding and dismantling institutional racism towards BME organizations are not realized. As a significant component of procedural political equality equitable treatment in that sense still needs attention.

Chapter VI
Conclusion

       The central question of this thesis is "To what extent the launch of Compacts in Southwark contributes to regaining political legitimacy of politics by providing political equality to BME voluntary and community organizations?" Departing from this interest, this study sets out to analyze the content of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact and conduct a survey research to Southwark BME organizations in order to show the level of convergence between proposed objectives in regulations and implementation phase. In this concluding chapter, the empirical and theoretical arguments will be summarized and further discussed.

       Compacts are observed as a very promising and impartial text in which arguments are conveyed in a very simple way. It is very promising because Compacts include significant and strong arguments for a new way of partnership between government and voluntary and community sector in England. It is impartial in a sense that, especially problems regarding the situation of BME communities and BME organizations are spoken out. It is noteworthy to observe that government accepts that those citizens who are black or belongs to minority are more likely to live in poor conditions and therefore BME organizations are disfranchised as well. This approach makes the solutions and recommendations more concrete and to the point.

       Especially, apart from mentioning situation of BME organizations in separate parts in National Compact and Southwark Compact, also launching BME Code for just to address issues related BME organizations shows that New Labour takes this issue seriously. Also, when the content of BME Code is analyzed it is apparent that problem statements and solutions are given with reference to examples of best practices and action checkpoint lists.

       National Compact and BME Code contains general frameworks and more philosophical background behind launch of regulations which pursue a new kind of relationships between government and voluntary and community sector. Southwark Compact is the local application of National Compact and BME Code. Although Southwark Compact follows the same logic and contains same language of National Compact and BME Code, it is more concrete in terms of its objectives and methods to achieve those objectives.

       Southwark Compact includes chapters which give the details of the background of Compact, how the Compact is developed and the policy context. Especially, regarding situation of Southwark BME organizations, there are detailed information and description of problems. Also, it is more concrete in terms of actors who contributed to the development of Southwark Compact. So, local application of Compacts consider the specific problems of the region and they are more concrete and to the point in terms of policy actions. National Compact and BME Code provides guiding principles, general framework and philosophy behind this initiative.

       On the other hand, as a critique, although Compacts aim to incorporate BME organizations to decision making processes, all arguments are transmitted through the language and perspective of government. Point of view of voluntary and community sector do not exist within documents though it is mentioned that these regulations are prepared with consultations with them. This issue weakens the ambitious goal of Compacts which is a new level of relationships between government and voluntary sector.

The contents of the regulations of National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact provided adequate data to elaborate on to what extent they contribute to enhancement of political legitimacy of politics by developing political equality for BME organizations in Southwark. In order to answer the major research question, three sub-questions are answered in accordance to critical discourse analysis. More particularly, these research questions aim to reveal argumentations in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact to regain political legitimacy of politics in Southwark, interrelationship of political equality notion to political legitimacy within the documents of the National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact and the substance of political equality in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact

First, argumentations in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact to regain political legitimacy of politics in Southwark are analyzed. The content of these regulations is examined in accordance to input-legitimization theory. According to initial results of analysis, contents of Compacts possess the notions of input-legitimization.

In Compacts, Third way approach and prominent political figures affirm that, that is social discourse; these regulations' departure point is to make a rearrangement regarding relationships between government and voluntary and community sector in order to re-establish a sense of community and betterment of society. In these regulations, Compacts are shown as initiatives for strengthening roles of voluntary and community sector in "re-establishing communities" by reaching "just and inclusive societies", "betterment of societies" and development of "democratic and socially inclusive societies". In this respect, in order consolidate this new approach, the "potential of individuals" are emphasized and voluntary and community organizations are shown as an asset to involve "users" in the design and delivery of services. Thus it is apparent that, as input-legitimization theory puts, forming a convergence between will of people and the content of policy making is prime motto of Compacts.

Social and historical context of BME communities and organizations, that is discursive practice, is captured with these following argumentations in the analysis. In Compacts, in respect of BME organizations it is proclaimed that they suffer due to the exclusion from partnerships, consultation and decision makings. BME organizations are excluded from mainstream so that they are incapable of involving users (BME communities) in the design and delivery of services and advocating for those who have no voices. This situation is contradictory to the shared vision of government and voluntary sector which make promise to "promote equality of opportunity for all people, regardless of race, age, disability, gender, sexual orientation or religion". That's why, BME Code is proposed and there are special parts devoted for them in National Compact and Southwark Local Compact.

Argumentations for promoting equality and lessening injustice for BME organizations are analyzed in the second part which aims to reveal the interrelationship of political equality notion to political legitimacy within the documents of the National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact.

As in previous part, descriptions of historical and social context for BME organizations with the terminology of exclusion in this part. In the regulations, there are direct references to promoting political equality for BME organizations in order to tackle their exclusion traditional structures of voluntary and community sector and in return exclusion from engagement with government. Political equality for BME organizations are found as twofold in Compacts: institutional and cultural.

First component regards institutional formations which aim to ensure that the BME sector has equal opportunities to be directly involved in partnerships, consultation and decision making with government. In BME Code, "equal opportunity monitoring and evaluation systems" and "equality of access in service planning, performance target setting

and scrutiny processes" are proposed for BME organizations. In Southwark Compact, the interrelationship between political legitimacy and political equality is more apparent. It is declared that; "Local communities will be enabled to have a real voice in decision making and service design and delivery though ensuring transparency, fairness, inclusiveness and equality for BME organizations".

As a second component of political equality for BME organizations concerns to dismantle institutional racism towards BME communities and promoting equal opportunities between people of different racial groups by applying community involvement techniques, policies and procedures do not discriminate against particular groups. Race Equality agenda is mentioned frequently both in BME Code and Southwark Compact.

In third part, the analysis provided the substance of political equality in National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact. These regulations analyzed from the perspective of complex proceduralism and regulative interests of citizenship approach of Beitz. Accordingly, the undertakings of government towards voluntary and community sector and specifically towards BME organizations are categorized according to theoretical framework of Beitz in which procedural equality is ensured by the fulfillment of regulative interests of citizenry which are; recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment.

In National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact there are frequent references to recognition of activities and significance of BME organizations. Recognition seems to be one of the major undertakings of government towards BME organizations due to the fact not only it is mentioned at the beginning of each regulation but also it is referred frequently in the different parts of documents as a priority.

Deliberative responsibility for BME organizations constitutes major part of regulations. It is declared that, improvement of consultation and participation by BME sector in every phase of policy making- policy development, implementation and evaluation is an objective. Especially, deliberations of BME organizations are given importance in order to include needs, interests and contributions of women, minority groups and socially excluded in policy development and consultation. The objective for including deliberations of BME organizations in decision makings are found concrete in Race Equality Agenda, in the design and evaluation of funding programmes and in the preparation of Local Compacts.

As an objective of equitable treatment for BME organizations in the National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact depend on the assumption of the policy makers that BME organizations are the most disfranchised ones. Equitable treatment for BME organizations are found twofold: in terms of funding and race equality.

In National Compact, it is proposed to develop a code of good practice with the consulting voluntary and community organizations and to apply effective and transparent equal opportunity monitoring and evaluation systems. These initiatives' objectives are set as to ensure BME organizations to fair and equal access to government funding programmes and BME organizations treated equally in their relationships with government.

In BME Code these general argumentations of National Compact is specified into more concrete approaches. Implementing transparent and robust procedures designed to ensure fair treatment, setting annual targets for funding, publishing the share of funding received by BME organizations, making regular reviews of which BME communities are not receiving funding and adoption of flexible and having supportive approaches to BME organizations experiencing organizational difficulties are proposed.

Southwark Compact follows the same pattern of equitable treatment for Southwark BME organizations. Equal opportunity to participate in multi-agency partnerships for BME organizations and to provide equal access to available resources for BME organizations and other socially excluded groups and allocating resources to BME organizations to enable them

to provide culturally sensitive services for their community through policy objectives and commissioning strategies are proposed.

Race equality is another component of equitable treatment for BME organizations. In these regulations it is acknowledged that, there are negative consequences of institutional racism towards BME communities and for BME organizations. All undertakings are depend on government's agenda for action in Race Equality in Public Services (2000) and The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (1999). In Southwark Compact, there are three concrete actions; developing guidelines for supporting the diverse population of Southwark with BME communities, establishment of Strategic Alliance (SEA) in order to respond to The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report (1999) and to co-ordinate and support the work of existing forums dealing with BME groups under The Strategic Advisory Group (SAG).

In second part of analysis, the implementation aspects of Compacts are searched. The major objective was to reveal the level of convergence between proposed objectives in the Compacts and the implementation phase. The statements of survey prepared in accordance to the analysis of regulations and they were directly extracted from Compacts. These statements are illustrative for political equality towards Southwark BME organizations within Compacts and they were categorized according to three procedural components which are; recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment.

Consequently, the analysis of this survey research indicates that convergence between proposed objectives of Compacts and the implementation phase is different in the levels of recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment. Roughly, the conclusion is that convergence between proposed objectives in regulations and implementation phase is high for recognition and deliberative responsibility. However, for equitable treatment the result is vice versa.

It is apparent that BME organizations perceive enhanced recognition of their activities and significance by government after launch of the Compacts. In terms of deliberative responsibility, the convergence between proposed objective and the implementation is found high according to results of survey research. There is increased consultation and participation by BME sector in every phase of policy making, policy development, implementation and evaluation. Especially, launch of Compacts are evaluated as positive for empowerment of Southwark BME organizations in order to involve needs, interests and contributions of women, minority groups and socially excluded in policy development and consultation process. These findings for deliberative responsibility are supported with the examples of enhanced contributions for Local Compacts and Race Equality by BME sector in Southwark.

On the other hand, convergence between proposed objectives and implementation phase for equitable treatment in respect of funding and diverse population is found low according to results of survey. Majority of respondents did not support the idea that the launch of Compacts contributed to transparent procedures for ensuring fair treatment, supportive flexible approaches to BME organizations and equal access to available resources to BME organizations. In addition, recall from deliberative responsibility part, BME voluntary and community organizations are not consulted in the design and evaluation of funding programmes.

Same result is valid for the part of equitable treatment for diverse populations. After launch of Compacts, respondents did not perceive active involvement of BME organizations in developing guidelines in order to tackle institutional racism and to support the diverse population of Southwark. Also, establishment of Strategic Alliance (SEA) evaluated as ineffective in responding to The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report and supporting the work of existing forums dealing with BME groups under The Strategic Advisory Group (SAG).

This survey research was an illustrative approach to investigate the situation after launch of Compacts from the perspectives of Southwark BME organizations. Despite Compacts are evaluated as positive initiatives to increase recognitions and deliberative responsibilities of BME organizations, equitable treatment for BME organizations in the sense of funding and diverse populations are not still present.

When the results of analysis of contents of Compacts and the survey research are congregated, a more sententious conclusion can be reached. National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact appear as successful policy initiatives that enhance political legitimacy by providing political equality for BME organizations. BME Code and Southwark Compact possess radical undertakings towards BME organizations in respect of procedural political equality sentiments that are recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment for BME organizations and communities. According to results of survey research, Southwark BME organizations inclined to evaluate initiatives in Compacts for recognition and deliberative responsibility as enhanced for them. On the other hand, the results show that initiatives for equitable treatment in respect of both funding and for diverse populations did not make a positive change for BME organizations after launch of the Compacts. Disfavored positions of BME organizations regarding funding and institutional racism are still there that are problematic for reestablishing political legitimacy of politics in Southwark.

The outcome of this research has two major points for theory development. First, it is shown that, political legitimacy can be achieved with ensuring recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment all together. Political equality with procedural conditions of recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment is feasible to ensure political legitimacy if each of these conditions are fulfilled. Recognition, deliberative responsibility and equitable treatment are indispensible rights and they should be given equal significance in order to guarantee political legitimacy of politics. Second, findings of this study made the content of equitable treatment more concrete. In this study, analysis of Compacts was illustrative in respect of content of equitable treatment aspect of regulative interests of citizenship. Each regulation provides undertakings towards BME organizations regarding both equal funding and Race equality issues. According to this inference from analysis, this point shows that notion of equitable treatment can be explained with economic, social and cultural rights and they are indispensible as well.

There are shortcomings of the research as well. There are various problems are experiences due to the time constrains. For further study, it is necessary to make analysis of wide range of political speeches and texts in order to capture social practice- that depends on stance of prominent policy makers in respect of Third way approach- in more detail. Except in National Compact, in BME Code and Southwark Compact this aspect is hardly detected in texts. Secondly, as it is mentioned, survey research did not include open ended questions due to the time limitations and physical constrains so that's why underlying determinants behind responses could not given. In further study, it is needed to support survey research with open ended questions and/or qualitative interviews.

Annexes

Survey sheet

Survey research for the master thesis : Attitudes of Southwark BME Voluntary and Community organizations towards National Compact, BME Code and Southwark Compact

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
Southwark Council and Southwark Primary Care Trust recognize and value of the distinctive roles, skills, expertise and experience of BME voluntary and community sector.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
Recognition of voluntary, community and faith sector's distinct, valuable and complementary roles in improving quality of life and public services by government is visible.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
Consultation and participation by BME sector in every phase of policy making, policy development, implementation and evaluation has increased.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
BME sector is strengthened to involve needs, interests and contributions of women, minority groups and socially excluded in policy development and consultation process.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
In both planning and implementation of action on Race equality, partnerships with BME voluntary and community sector are enhanced.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
BME voluntary and community organisations are consulted in the design and evaluation of funding programmes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
In the preparation of Local Compacts, BME voluntary and community organisations are included in Local Compact steering groups and in consultation.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
The share of funding received by BME organisations are published.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Transparent procedures are designed to ensure fair treatment.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Annual targets for funding are set.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
There are supportive and flexible approaches to BME organisations.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
BME organisations have equal access to available resources.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
BME organisations are actively involved in developing guidelines in order to tackle institutional racism and to support the diverse population of Southwark.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
Establishment of Strategic Alliance (SEA) is effective in responding to The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report and supporting the work of existing forums dealing with BME groups under The Strategic Advisory Group (SAG).	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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